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THE UNIVERSAL SURNAME

A THEORETICAL-EMPIRICAL ENQUIRY INTO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND SAMENESS

Saul Steinberg *Fingerprint Landscape*, 1950

This Dissertation is submitted to
The University of Dublin, Trinity College for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

2006

Martha C. E. Van Der Bly

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SUMMARY

The dissertation *The Universal Surname – A Theoretical-Empirical Enquiry Into The Relationship Between Globalization and Sameness* has developed a theoretical-empirical model of globalization and cultural sameness. The motivation for the research originated in a seemingly widespread societal fear that 'we will all become the same'. Observations made during a four-year period when I worked for a multinational seemed to support a sameness-thesis. The purpose of this dissertation was two-fold. The first purpose was to lay out a theoretical framework for systematically thinking about the impact of processes of economic globalization on cultural practices. The second purpose of the research was to empirically investigate the relationship between processes of economic and cultural globalization on a local and small-scale level.

Based on an elaboration of the observations within the multinational, a basic theoretical model was developed. The descriptive question was formulated as: does economic globalization (e.g. goods and capital, people, knowledge) lead to sameness in the cultural field (e.g. language, identity, arts)? The causal question was: if (not) so, can that be explained through the effects that economic globalization has on individual actors, which lead to actions on the micro-level that bring forth either cultural sameness or difference on the macro-level? This theorical model was further elaborated and refined through the hypothetical-deductive research method and based on theoretical and empirical research.

The empirical reseach design focused on theoretical sampling and selected two communities subject to strong processes of economic globalization within a nation-state with one of the most globalized economies in the world, the Republic of Ireland. Leixlip, Co. Kildare, has the highest per capita proportion of foreign direct investment in Ireland due to te presence of both Intel Corporation and Hewlett-Packard. Inis Mór, Co. Galway and the largest of the Aran Islands, is subject to strong processes of economic globalization in the form of tourism. The research was carried out over a period of three years as a triangulation of quantitative and qualitative research techniques. Census-data were analyzed. I carried out document analysis to deconstruct documentary realities in both communities and used visual sociology, participant observation techniques and conversation-analysis. I conducted 35 taped in-depth interviews with key-informants and conducted around 50 short interviews in both locations.

The first empirical finding of the research was that a distintion can be made between what I called processes of *dominant* globalization versus processes of *autonomous* globalization. Whereas in Leixlip the local community had relatively little influence in the coming of processes of economic globalization, on Inis Mór globalization is locally fashioned. The second empirical

finding was that in Leixlip economic globalization did not coincide with sameness in the cultural field. On contrary, the reseach found in Leixlip a resurgence of the local identity, a reinvention of the local history and a revival of the indigenous language, Irish. The third empirical finding was that on Inis Mór, under the influence of processes of autonomous economic globalization, such a processes of local diversification was largely absent. On Inis Mór a process of sameness had taken place, motivated by the need for equality with the mainland, which implied a loss of cultural distinctiveness. The fourth empirical finding was that on Inis Mór a special form of diversification took place, largely ignited by non-islanders, who globally spread the local island culture.

The research turned to a theoretical enquiry into both the concepts of globalization and sameness. This included a re-definition of globalization as a process of connection and of forming into one world society. Within the sociological debate three notions are used referring to cultural sameness: homogeneity, uniformity and universality. Based upon a theoretical review of the work of Kant and Simmel, this research made a distinction between these three concepts. I defined 'uniformity' as sameness that is the product of dominant globalization and 'homogeneity' as sameness that is the product of autonomous globalization. 'Polarization' is defined as difference that is the product of dominant globalization and 'universal diversity' is difference that is the product of autonomous globalization.

The research found that depending on the effects that either dominant or autonomous globalization has on the micro-level individuals turn to different strategies, shaping the outcomes in the cultural field on the macro-level. When individuals gain from dominant globalization, they turn to a strategy of 'adaptation' resulting in uniformity on the macro-level. If they do not gain, they can turn to a strategy of 'resistance', resulting in polarization on the macro-level. Autonomous globalization is assumed to benefit the individuals, who either chose for a strategy of 'duplication', resulting in cultural homogeneity, or for 'incremental innovation', creating universal diversity on the macro-level.

Further empirical research is required to both test and refine this model for globalization and sameness. The dissertation concludes that most cultural outcomes of globalization, as essentially a process of connection, refer to the shared and to a collective horizon, rather than to the distinctive and to segregation. This finding is reflected in the title of the thesis. Individual uniqueness, remains intact: the first name. Yet globalization merges society, objective culture and humanity gradually into a universal and common experience of all humanity as the basis for mutual understanding: the Universal Surname.

For my grandmothers

Margaretha Duyker - Stadlinger

&

Martha C.B. Van Der Bly – Duintjer

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Once the interest was elicited, the research still had to be carried out. I thought beforehand that after working for ING Group for several years the return to academia would be challenging. Yet this transition was almost seamless, thanks to my supervisor Bob Holton, who combines academic rigor with a remarkable insight in creative and intellectual processes and above all, a great talent for coaching. Therefore, right after my family I want to thank my supervisor Bob Holton, without whom this dissertation would have never been written. I am particularly indebted to Bob for his careful guidance and his extensive knowledge of sociological literature in general and on globalization specifically.

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Tot slot. In a dissertation with the title the *Universal Surname* I want to translate my own surname, Van Der Bly, from Dutch to English. With 'bly' (blij) meaning 'happy' and 'van der' meaning 'of the', the meaning of this surname is: 'Of The Happy'. And I hope that it will be to happiness that one day a universal surname will refer...

Martha C.E. Van Der Bly

Dublin, Autumn 2006

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CHAPTER 1 FINGERPRINT LANDSCAPE

1.1 Introduction: fading fingerprints

Sometimes individuality within the masses is blurred by perspective. In *Fingerprint Landscape* (1950) the Romanian-born Jewish-American artist Saul Steinberg depicts on canvas the evanescence of numerous fingerprints in one grey cloud.[1] The cloud is draped from the sky protectively over the shoulders of three wanderers and a dog. At least that could be one interpretation. But, maybe, it is a thundercloud threatening the wanderers who walk slowly and unsuspectingly in a halo of light towards the spectator. There seems to be nothing between the black cloud, the fading fingerprints of unidentified others, and the lone wanderers: nothing but a white stripe of reconciliation or, perhaps, of hope.

It is easy to forget that the lone wanderers in this painting are a product of the artist's imagination, but that the fingerprints are real. Maybe the fingerprints are identical. Maybe they are the fingerprints of the painter and of one of his friends. Fingerprints as representations of human uniqueness are most commonly used to identify criminals. How often are fingerprints used in art? In *Fingerprint Landscape* Steinberg transforms the fingerprint into a landscape, a mental geography in which individuality is related to the faceless masses and to the small group of wanderers. While the collective consumes the individual, the fingerprint landscape becomes both poetic and painful, for masses can protect or destroy.

Within this atmosphere of frailty the painting suggests there is one security; the composition of fingerprints into one cloud is a product of fiction and of artistic choice, a social construct if you like. Yet the singular existence of the fingerprints is factual. They were printed, dripped in ink and fixed firmly on paper somewhere in New York circa 1950.

The sociologist, addressing the complex relationship between the individual and the group, is in many ways the painter of a fingerprint landscape. But unlike a painter, the sociologist does not have the luxury of incorporating objective individuality, like a factual fingerprint, in an imagined social constellation. Sociologists sketch, but never print. Both the process of interaction and the range of the social are constantly subject to debate and interpretation, from the small identifiable group to the blurred masses. It is within the process of constantly defining and redefining of the social as *explanans,* (less common as *explanandum* like in many economic theories), that sociological theory takes shape. Within this dialogue the landscape that we call 'society' is pictured and we seek to understand the wanderers and their movements.

This dissertation will undertake a theoretical-empirical inquiry into the relationship between globalization and sameness. Based upon theoretical and empirical research this dissertation aims to develop, but not test, a model of globalization and sameness. On the one hand this exercise is based on theoretical research and small-scale exploratory empirical research on the other. The empirical research was conducted through an analysis of the relationship between economic and cultural processes of globalization at the local level. Section 1.2 discusses from where the motivation for the research originated. The aim and structure of the thesis are outlined in section 1.3.

1.2 Motivation: a changing landscape

It is November 2001. Two weeks ago I arrived in Dublin. Tonight I meet up with a friend from South Africa. He just arrived in Dublin, like me. The pub is dark. My friend goes to the bar to get us a Guinness. I sit down at a long table, opposite a man who writes. Sometimes the man stares outside the window without seeing anything. His eyes look beyond the square into a world I do not know. Yet. Suddenly he smiles in a friendly way.

'What are you writing?' I ask curiously. He replies: 'I write poems, you know... I am a professional world watcher. Eventually I will try to understand...and there is one thing I understood today...that is that we are all the same. We are a song that is based on the same melody. We are the reflections of the same stars of the same universe...

We are no individuals.... We are even universal in our own individuality. Look outside. Cities like this... like Dublin. A beautiful city... But Dublin isn't Dublin anymore. It is now like all the other cities. And I tell you: there will be no different cities anymore in the future. Because we are all the same... so our cities will be the same...Maybe you don't like it, but I think it will happen. That is my opinion.' He sighs. Then my friend returns with the Guinness. We drink and laugh and talk about holidays, South Africa and rugby. The professional world watcher is taking a break. For a little while.

Globalization is often thought to create sameness of cultures. Thomas Friedman writes that: 'Globalization has a distinctly American face: It wears Mickey Mouse ears, it eats Big Macs, it drinks Coke or Pepsi and it does its computing on an IBM or Apple laptop, using Windows 98, with an Intel Pentium II processor and a network link from Cisco Systems' (Friedman, 2000:309). According to the cultural sameness thesis the culprit is clear: profit-maximizing multinationals[2]

operating within the capitalist system drive the world towards a monoculture and that process is called globalization (Wallerstein, 1979).

My observation of a seemingly widespread societal feeling that 'we will all become the same', as expressed, for example, by the world-watcher in the story above, was the motivation for this dissertation. Some observations of mine made over the four-year period during which I worked as a manager for a multinational seemed to confirm this fear. My experience as a manager with the corporation will be further discussed in chapter 2.

The relationship between globalization and sameness, together with the concomitant fear as that previously mentioned, is, in academic sociological literature, generally referred to as the cultural homogeneity thesis (Holton, 1998). As discussed more fully in chapter 3, the cultural homogeneity thesis consists primarily of the idea that globalization will lead to a uniform world culture.[3] My aforementioned simple observation motivating this research can be represented as follows.

Figure 1.1 Theoretical Model Step 1. Simple observation

Globalization ---------- ▶ ---------- Sameness

This dissertation will further develop this proposition both theoretically and empirically with the goal of systematically exploring the relationship between globalization and sameness from a sociological perspective.

'Society', in sociological theories, has generally been associated until recently with a territorial reference point,[4] generally specified as the area that is enclosed within the boundaries of the nation-state[5]. If the social expands beyond the national boundaries, the concept of society will essentially change.[6] Therefore any profound transformation of the very concept of society will be at the heart of contemporary sociology. If its main subject, society, changes intrinsically, so will sociology.

As such, the greatest challenge for sociology in this millennium will be to provide the analytical tools and the conceptual frameworks that transform the concept of sociology based merely on national societies to a global sociology. Earlier sociologists faced the challenge of contributing to the establishment of national societies. Contemporary sociologists face the challenges of contributing to the understanding and the building of a global society.[7] Finding a satisfying and, indeed, practical definition for a word that describes those processes is absolutely vital.

Economists seem to have succeeded in reaching a more or less commonly accepted definition of globalization. Namely, economic globalization is defined as international economic integration which can be pursued through policies of 'openness'; the liberalization of trade, investment and finance, ultimately, leading to an 'open economy' (see for example: Khor 2001:7, World Bank 2002:23).

Today, the main point of discussion amongst economists is the extent to which this economic integration stimulates economic growth and whether or not such integration can lead to poverty reduction in developing countries. Indicators[8] such as trade flows, amount of foreign direct investment and portfolio capital flows and investment have been developed to measure the openness of an economy.

Closely related to this definition is the notion of *unilateral inequality* which implies that the Western world provides the standards on certain variables that cannot yet be met by other parts of the world, and that international policy making should aim to neutralize that inequality. Even though the indicators of international economic integration might be disputable and the concept of unilateral global inequality certainly questionable, progress is nonetheless made in agreeing on the definition of globalization.

Do we see that kind of development in sociological studies of globalization? Besides the subject's societal relevance, this dissertation intends to address three gaps in the existing sociological theory on globalization that this research has identified.

First, it aims to unravel the 'left-side' of the simple observation of figure 1.1, namely the concept of globalization within sociological debate. This is discussed in chapter 3. Moreover, chapter 4 presents an innovative definition of globalization.

Second, this dissertation aims to conceptually unravel 'sameness', or the 'right-side' of the simple observation of figure 1.1. Whether arguing that globalization leads to cultural sameness or to diversity within the current sociological debate, the concepts of 'uniformity, 'homogeneity' and 'universality' are used in an undifferentiated and interchangeable way. This dissertation aims, with a theoretical inquiry into the relationship between globalization and sameness, to disentangle these three concepts. It is concluded that they are essentially three different outcomes of processes of globalization. This is discussed in chapter 4 and is based upon the empirical fieldwork discussed in chapters 6-12.

Third, the research has identified that sociological work on globalization has been conducted largely at the theoretical level and is not sufficiently grounded in empirical research. This has led to a representation of globalization as an 'invisible' process in which individual agents play little part. This dissertation aims to make processes of globalization and sameness visible by

conducting small-scale empirical research that focuses on individual agency. The empirical research design is discussed in chapter 5, and chapters 6-12 discuss the empirical research.

1.3 Structure

The exploratory theory of globalization and sameness discussed in this dissertation has been constructed using the hypothetical deductive method, i.e. the formulation and reformulation of hypotheses on the basis of empirical research.

The thesis consists of two parts. Part I, chapters 1-5, discusses the theoretical inquiry into the relationship between globalization and sameness. Part II, chapters 6-13, discusses the empirical investigation into the relationship between globalization and sameness based on two case studies. Chapter 6 discusses the context of the nation-state in which the research has been carried out. Chapters 7-9 discuss the first local case study and chapters 10-13 discuss the second local case study. Chapter 12 theoretically explores sameness and difference.

Chapter 1, *Fingerprint Landscape*, sets the context by describing where the motivation for the research originated. This is a simple observation, made in the context of everyday life: globalization leads to sameness. The aims and structure of the thesis are also outlined in this chapter.

Chapter 2, *From the Iron Cage to the Open Field,* discusses the context in which the simple observation that is the basis for this research occurred, namely a financial multinational.

Chapter 3, *Globalization: a Triumph of Ambiguity,* explores the sociological literature on the subject. This chapter offers a Dialectical Globalization Framework to position sociological theories on globalization.

Chapter 4, *Basic Theoretical Model* discusses the basic theoretical model that was the framework for the empirical work undertaken in Ireland. This chapter develops the definition of globalization used in this research. Indicators for economic and cultural globalization are operationalized and the micro-to-macro transition is discussed. Figure 4.4 represents the theoretical model that was the basis for the further empirical research. This basic model was then further developed and refined on the basis of empirical and theoretical findings, resulting in figure 14.8, and discussed in chapter 14.

Chapter 5, *These Little Clods of Earth*, discusses the empirical research design. Selected for study were two case studies from a nation-state with one of the most globalized economies in the world: the Republic of Ireland. The first case study, Leixlip, Co. Kildare, is a suburb of Dublin

and subject to the influence of a strong presence of Foreign Direct Investment. Both Intel and Hewlett-Packard have large factories in Leixlip. The second case study, Inis Mór, Co. Galway, is one of the Aran Islands, off Ireland's west coast. Inis Mór was selected because it is a place subject to a very different process of globalization: tourism.

Chapter 6, *Introducing the Country and the Village*, explores some characteristics of the nation-state in which the empirical research is conducted, and the village in which the first case study is set. In this chapter the national and the local context of the empirical research are introduced.

Chapter 7, *Global Proximity, Global Business*, discusses the arrival of economic globalization processes to both Ireland and Leixlip, Co. Kildare.

Chapter 8, *The Resilience of Cultural Diversity*, describes the local developments in the cultural field coinciding with the arrival of economic globalization.

Chapter 9, *Homerule - the Origins of Cultural Polarization as the Result of a Global Negotiation Strategy* discusses why economic globalization has lead to cultural polarization in Leixlip.

Chapter 10, *This Hidden World Society*, introduces the second case-study conducted in Inis Mór, Co. Galway. Through a historical analysis this chapter develops a concept of globalization that is very different from the more 'classical' form of globalization in Leixlip, namely that of an American multinational.

Chapter 11, *Some Reflections on Cultural Difference*, explores the origins of some of Inis Mór's distinctive cultural practices. In doing so, the research simultaneously explores the concept of sameness.

Chapter 12 *A Typology of Sameness and Difference,* theoretically further develops a typology of four different forms of sameness and difference, mostly based on Simmel's work *On Individuality and Social Forms.*

Chapter 13, *Rainbow Land*, discusses the relationship between processes of economic and cultural globalization and their effects on contemporary Inis Mór.

Chapter 14, *The Universal Surname: Conclusions and Discussion*, gives an overview of the work undertaken in Part I, chapters 1-5 and Part II, chapters 6-13. The main findings are presented and future research is discussed. Section 14.6 discusses the findings and contains a personal reflection. Section 14.7 explains the title of this dissertation: *The Universal Surname.*

1.4 Concluding remarks

As this research was being carried out, the worldwide landscape changed. The research for this dissertation began in the winter of 2001, just after the attacks on the World Trade Center. During the four year period over which this research was conducted,[9] terrorist attacks took place in New York, Bali, Madrid, London, Egypt, Iraq, Israel and Turkey. The international armed conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq caused numerous deaths. On a smaller scale, the Netherlands, my native country, witnessed the first political assassinations since 1672 with the murder of the sociologist and politician Pim Fortuyn in 2002 and the killing of filmmaker Theo Van Gogh by an Islamic fundamentalist in 2004.

In 1990 Margaret Archer wrote that the process of globalization would not occur equitably or fairly, 'nor immediately, for part of the process is a gradual globalization of consciousness which the sociologist is amongst the first to share' (Archer, 1990:1). Fifteen years later, we have observed that, as Martin Albrow stated, with globalization 'we are indeed seeing the rise of humanity as a collective actor' (Albrow, 1990:8).[10] However, the transformation from a national consciousness to a global consciousness neither arises gradually, nor manifests itself as a bright new future. The development of a global consciousness seems, in the first instance and most obviously, to arise as a shared notion of vulnerability.

Steinberg's *Fingerprint Landscape* was drawn in the aftermath of the Second World War and in response to the irrational rationalism of the Nazi-ideology. Through this drawing Steinberg explored the dynamic between man and the masses, creating a landscape of despair.

Now, at the beginning of the second millennium, with suicide bombers posing a constant threat to worldwide security and safety, it seems to be not so much the masses of enmity that disturb the world, but rather individual actors. In a contemporary context, it is less the power of the masses, and more the power of the individual that is feared. It seems less the discipline, organization and systematic rational precision of the masses as destructive forces that attracts attention and more the seemingly irrational, incomprehensible, random and sheer individuality of appearance: an enmity that cannot be banned by geographic boundaries and is not pre-dominantly linked to one nation-state. If, in Steinberg's *Fingerprint Landscape,* individuality is threatened by the masses, then now it seems the masses are threatened by the individual.

This dissertation will explore the relationship between globalization and sameness within the context of a time when both concepts have quickly gained new meanings and connotations. It was through the reflection on these time-bound changes that more profound mechanisms came to

surface, more referring to continuum from the past to the future, and less to the eruptions of the present.

It is that journey of quiet discovery amidst a world in turmoil that I hope to share with the reader.

NOTES

[1] Saul Steinberg *Fingerprint Landscape*, 1950. Graphite and ink on paper, 14 1/2 x 11 1/8". Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

[2] The literature tends to call multinationals 'transnationals'. I do not agree with that description as it suggests a footlessness that is often not justified. There is no doubt that both Intel and Hewlett-Packard are American-based multinationals and not just rootless transnational companies without conflicting loyalties between country and corporation. An expression of conflicting loyalties between corporation, country, and indeed, one's own family is expressed in the words of Intel CEO Craig Barrett when he says, in an interview with the *Times of India,* that "Intel will go where it will find talent. But I worry for the United States and I worry for my grandchildren." Source: Times of India, Sunday. 6 March, 2005. www1.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/1042610.cms. March 2005.

[3] Albeit the sameness can have different characteristics: Americanization, Westernization, et cetera.

[4] See for example Oxford Dictionary of Sociology 'a group of people who share a common culture, occupy a particular territorial area, and feel themselves to constitute a unified and distinct entity.' In: Marshall G. et al. *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[5] With more specification of the particular territorial area: 'The concept (of society) is a commonsense category in which 'society' is equivalent to the boundaries of the nation-state' (Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, ed. N. Albercrombie, S. Hill, Bryan S. Turner. Hardmonthsworth, Middlesex England, 2000).

[6] See for example Urry (2000).

[7] See for example Albrow (1990). Albrow distinguishes five stages in sociological research: universalism, national sociologism, internationalism, indigenization and globalization. I would argue that the last phase to some extent implies a return to the first phase: an emphasis on universal characteristics, rather than on national-specifics.

[8] See for example *Globalization Index 2004. Measuring Globalization: Economic Reversals, Forward Momentum* (A.T. Kearney, 2004). In: Foreign Policy Magazine.

[9] Between November 2001 and November 2005.

[10] However, concepts like the rise of humanity as a collective actor, a growing global consciousness or the emergence of a world society are explicitly not normative or value-based accounts. Within the context of this sociological dissertation they primarily refer to growing interconnection and interdependence.

CHAPTER 2 FROM THE IRON CAGE TO THE OPEN FIELD

2.1 Introduction: the masses as a construction of the artist

When individuality seems overshadowed by the masses as in Steinberg's *Fingerprint Landscape*, it is easily forgotten that on this canvas a factual fingerprint represents the individual. Yet the masses are a construction of the artist. How are the masses constructed? How would globalization shape the masses and generate sameness? This research has begun with a simple observation: globalization leads to sameness. This chapter discusses briefly the background of this simple observation by placing it in the context from whence it emerged, namely within a financial multinational corporation.

Section 2.2 places the case of the Bank within the worldwide expansion of financial institutions driven by processes of globalization. Section 2.3 discusses the specific context in which the simple observation occurred, the development of a product called 'Euro-Navigator' by the Bank. Section 2.4 relates this concept of economic expansion to an inclination towards uniformity, represented by a mechanism called 'overlay and country-specifics'. Section 2.5 discusses how the mechanism of 'overlay and country-specifics' brings about uniformity in the field of language, identity and work culture within the context of the Bank, but possibly outside the social setting of the Bank as well.

2.2 A worldwide financial landscape

When globalization is perceived as a process of capitalist expansion, the financial sector is often placed at the centre of analysis. In Saskia Sassen's concept of the 'global city', the financial sector plays a leading role (Sassen, 2000). She argues that some cities have become global cities along with their transformation to post-industrial production sites for the leading industries of our period: finance and specialized services. With the growth of volume of Foreign Direct Investment along with the stock exchange and other financial markets, the role of cities, where these functions take place, has been enlarged.

Hirst and Thompson (1996) argue that part of the myth of globalization is the idea that capital mobility is restructuring the world economy into a single, open and competitive market where the location of economic activity is dictated by purely commercial considerations. Hirst and

Thompson counter the myth of worldwide capital mobility by pointing at the relative concentration of both total accumulated stock and of the flow of Foreign Direct Investment within the USA, Japan and Europe.[1] Nonetheless, that does not refute Sassen's argument of a growing influence of the financial sector within this triad.

Sklair (2005:40) argues that banks have the dominant place in global capitalism,[2] while 'the Transnational Corporations (TNC) are the honey pot around which all those who are dependent on the capitalist global system circulate.'[3] Sklair's conceptualization of transnational corporations is problematic in the sense that it might be hard to distinguish those who are *not* dependent one way or another on the capitalist global system in contemporary Western society.

The important merit of Sklair's concept of a 'transnational capitalist class' however, is that individual agency is attributed to the concept of globalization. Sklair explicitly argues that 'fatalism in this case - i.e., of globalization as a force from outside without human control'-, is both profoundly mistaken and profoundly immoral' (Sklair, 2001:10). Yet the weakness of the concept is that this agency is seen as being restricted to a limited group, which suggests a certain degree of helplessness to those who do not belong to that group. 'Globalization is thought out, organized, managed, promoted and defended against its opponents by identifiable groups of people working in identifiable organizations', writes Sklair (2001:10). But who are these identifiable people?

Between 1997 and 2001 I worked as a manager for the financial multinational ING Group, both in the Direct Marketing sector and as project leader in International Payments and Cash Management. This chapter will discuss some of my observations made during this period. It also discusses ING's strategy in integrating different foreign banks into one global brand, thus providing insight into mechanisms that might lead to sameness.

While these comments are neither part of a set research nor claimed to be representative, some of the observed mechanisms might serve as examples to gain insight into the dynamics between globalization and cultural sameness as represented in Figure 1.1. For when the logic of globalization is driven by the logic of capitalism (Wallerstein, 1974, 1979; Ritzer 1993, Barber, 1885), an understanding of the logic of capitalism will improve our understanding of the logic of globalization.

2.3 Euro-Navigator

ING was founded in 1991 by a merger between *Nationale-Nederlanden* and *NMB Postbank Group* to become the first banking and assurance company of the Netherlands. Over the past

fifteen years, ING has become a multinational with diverse international activities. The first large acquisition took place in 1995 when ING took over *Barings Bank*, notoriously for one single British pound. Currently, ING Group is a global financial services company of Dutch origin with 113,000 employees providing a wide array of banking, insurance and asset management services in over fifty countries.[4]

ING Group has a broad customer base: individuals, families, small businesses, large corporations, institutions and governments. Based on market capitalization, ING is one of the 20 largest financial institutions worldwide and ranked in the top-ten in Europe.[5] At the dawn of the new millennium ING had bought several foreign banks: besides *Barings Bank*, the German *BHF-Bank* and the Belgian *Bank Brussels Lambert.*[6]

In addition, ING's activity in the United States doubled as a result of organic growth and the acquisition of *Equitable of Iowa, ReliaStar, Aetna Financial Services* and merchant bank *Furman Selz*. ING is also active in other parts of the world. In 2001 it acquired a majority interest in the Polish *Bank Śląski* and purchased the remaining stake in the Mexican insurer *Seguros Comercial América.*

In other words, in the course of fifteen years ING Group has transformed itself from a Dutch bank to a global financial institution. While working International Payments and Cash Management I had the opportunity to study some social mechanisms that coincide with economic integration and that related closely, - but implicitly, - to processes of social integration within the company.

These intra-company mechanisms, I expected, could sketch the framework for mechanisms that are found outside the company and within society. Would these intra-company processes not be unique to integration within a company? Could they also provide a framework for understanding more general processes of integration of sub-global entities into one global entity? Or would the intra-company mechanism be specific for a company, ING Group for example, with very little relevance outside of the corporate context? Since this is not a case study of the ING-Group as such, but rather a reflection of some more general observations that occur in the process of corporate international integration, I will henceforth refer to ING Group as 'the Bank'.

The aforementioned foreign acquisitions gave the Bank access to markets and customers across Europe, previously only reachable indirectly. The Bank used this opportunity to develop a new product aimed at the business market. This product, facilitated through global expansion, albeit in this case it was mostly Pan-European, and the possibilities brought by an international payments platform, was in itself the commercial response to a market generated by an increasing

internationalization of its business customers. The Bank called the product 'Euro-Navigator'. This product was advertised with three slogans formulated in English:

1. 'Doing Business *in* Different Countries Does *not* Mean Doing Business *with* Different Countries';
2. 'Euro-Navigator: One Solution for Your International Cash Management'; and
3. 'Pay without Time Differences and without Language Barriers'.[7]

The concept of Euro-Navigator has been continually developed and redeveloped since 1997 to improve service to customers from the Small Businesses Segment who were increasingly doing business internationally. For example in the past, a Dutch tulip trader who would do business in Spain and Italy would need to have a Dutch, Spanish and an Italian account. While he might have the account in The Netherlands with the Bank, he would have an account in Italy with an Italian bank and an account in Spain with a Spanish bank.

This situation from an organizational point of view is relatively complicated, especially for a small business. Besides organizational complications, this situation generates financial disadvantages that can be overcome through adequate cash management.

These financial disadvantages arise as follows. One could have credit on the Spanish account, but be in deficit on the Italian account. With the interest rates on the deficit account being higher than the interest on the credit account, a financial loss occurs. That loss would not have been generated if the Spanish funds could have been transferred to the Italian account when the deficit occurred. This mechanism is called 'cash management', and aims to overcome interest disadvantages.

With more small businesses increasing their international activities and doing business with more countries, the customer base for a potential cash management 'tool' increased. Hence, the market for international cash management for small business had grown. At the same time the Bank acquired a foreign bank with a broad pan-European network of interlinked branches[8] and it became possible to offer a 'pan-European solution', launched on the market under the name 'Euro-Navigator'. This service provides the customers with the possibility of having one main account in what is called the 'homeland', while they could keep several accounts in other EU-countries, simulating a Pan-European clearing system that makes optimal cash-management possible.

With Euro-Navigator the tulip-trader in The Netherlands would have a home-account with the Bank in The Netherlands and other accounts in branches in France and Italy, based on local

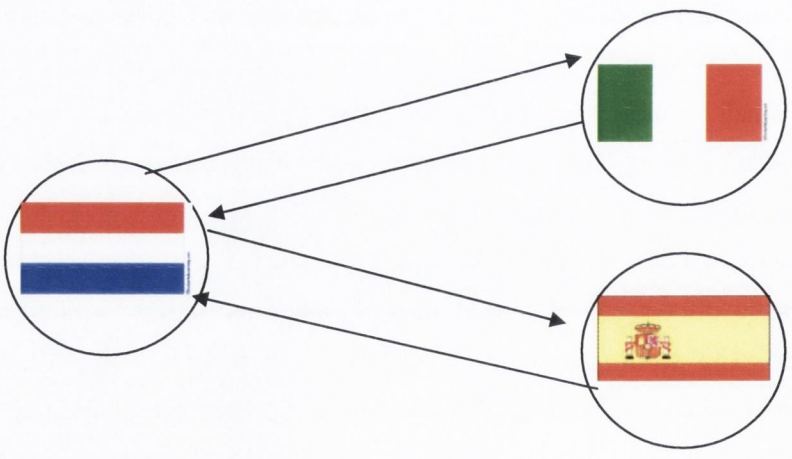
tariffs and still have clearing over night. For example, this would allow the money from the French account to be transferred to the Italian account, and thus the interest-rates would be optimized. The tulip-trader would no longer need to do separate business with Spanish and Italian banks.

The other disadvantage in which the Dutch-based tulip trader found himself while doing business in other countries was the need to be proficient in several languages. The trader would need to speak different languages, which is expensive, time-consuming and inefficient, and might cause confusion. So, besides Euro Navigator solution that enabled real-time payment from the account of one country to the account of another, the Bank developed a system of business desks in these countries.

These European Business Desks are staffed by two types of account-managers: a) account-managers who speak the language of the customers' home country (the Netherlands, and in a later phase Germany) and b) by local residents. In practice, the European Business Desks created job opportunities for Dutch-based employees in offices all over Europe.

Figure 2.1 represents this development. In situation A, before the acquisition of the BBL with a Pan-European network of branches, the Dutch based small business entrepreneur, (the target group of the Bank), communicated with a Dutch bank, an Italian bank and a Spanish bank. Between these banks there was no communication, at least not within the context of this case.

Figure 2.1 Situation A: before Euro-Navigator.

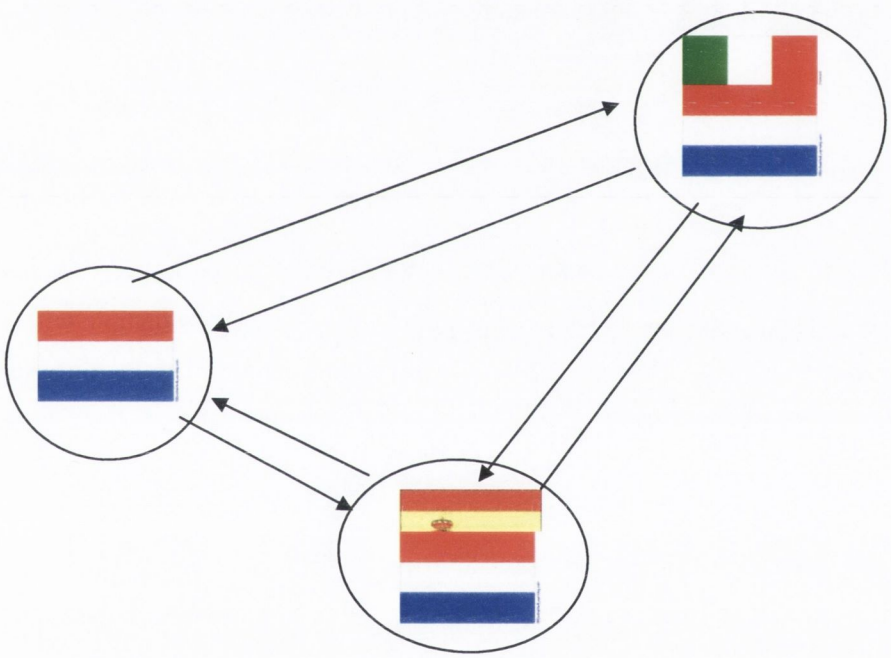


Driven by small business entrepreneurs' decreasing loyalty to the Bank and a changing product demand brought about by increasing international trade, the Bank aimed to develop a

product that would encourage loyalty to the Bank. The acquisition of a foreign bank with a Pan-European network of branches facilitated this development.

To meet their customers' need for easy communication, the Bank set up a network of customer support desks. These desks serve the customer in his/ her native language. This generated a transfer of Dutch-based employees abroad, who worked together with local employees. The composition of the different desks became nationally diverse and communication between all the offices was established. At this stage the Bank was aiming mainly for the Dutch-based customer base as represented in situation B in figure 2.2.

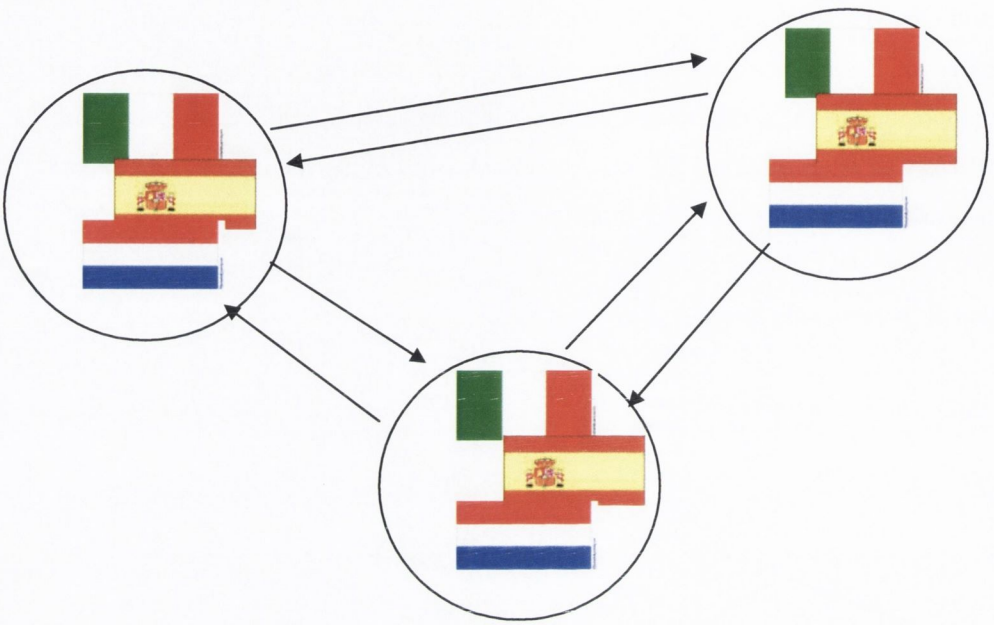
Figure 2.2 Situation B: present situation with Euro-Navigator.



However, if the Bank succeeds in reaching a similar target group of small business entrepreneurs in Spain and Italy, in this example, then one might imagine that the same mechanism will be applied for these target-groups, offering Italian-speaking employees a customer support office in The Netherlands et cetera.

In that case the three different offices have become identical (see Figure 2.3 Situation C.) However, that situation has not yet been reached and is unlikely ever to be reached, as manning those offices would be costly. The Bank would probably seek to find another solution.

Figure 2.3 Situation C: future situation of maximum Euro-Navigator?



Can this schedule represent a situation *before* globalization (situation A), *during* globalization (situation B) and *after* globalization (situation C)? The latter situation would represent the hypothesis of 'sameness'. How and why does the system push towards this situation C (and why is it unlikely to be established)?

2.4 Overlay and country-specifics

Euro-Navigator, as a mechanism towards uniformity seems strongly driven by the demands of the Bank's customers or by the rational choices made by the individual entrepreneur, the tulip trader in the above example. This customer is likely first to strive for optimal cash management that contributes to profit maximization and second, for an efficient organization structure that saves on personnel costs and time. Third, this small business entrepreneur will expect a similar level of services in all branches of the bank, whether in Spain, Italy or the Netherlands.

A uniform level of service is therefore a pre-requisite of Pan-European expansion. However, the need for uniformity does not just come from the customers, but also from within the Bank. The Bank needs to integrate different foreign bank IT systems with its own bank into one compatible system. This will necessarily increase the costs depending on the number of systems.

The Bank, therefore, strives for a situation in which the IT-systems are as uniform as possible.[9] What infrastructural design must the Bank develop to integrate its systems and simultaneously provide its customers with a uniform level of service? Which integrating mechanism will we find?

The Bank is divided into two parts. The front office handles sales and has contact with clients, while the back office processes the products and generally does not have contact with clients. Whereas the front office inevitably has to deal with specifics that are related to the country in which their clients live such as language, culture and type of consumer, the back office basically consists of systems and the people who operate these systems..

For both front and back offices, the structure at which the Bank aimed seems a compromise between an ambition of uniformity and the reality of diversity. The Bank calls this mechanism: *overlay and country-specifics*. What countries have in common is part of the 'overlay-structure', and what features make a country unique are called: 'country-specific'. 'Overlay' is used for everything that can be made uniform. 'Country specifics', is anything that cannot be made uniform at the moment due to specific rules, such as a country's different legal system.

From the Bank's perspective all country-specifics are cost-inefficient, at both front and back office level. Costly adjustments follow any difference. An example is the way ZIP-codes are presented in European countries. Were they presented in the same manner in all countries, ZIP-codes then could have been added to the overlay structure, as are the uniform manner of presenting dates of birth, sex, first and last names, city and street names.

Since ZIP-codes are constructed differently and have different digits in each country, a different data field needs to be created. This specific difference is of no advantage to the Bank (whereas some juridical differences might have certain advantages), but rather a costly disadvantage.

The uniformity-mechanism is relatively innocuous when referring to ZIP-codes. However, it is relevant for all operational aspects of the back office and it refers not only to systems but also to the front office and thus to people. A uniform service level can only be guaranteed when job descriptions, procedures, education and training skills amongst the different Pan-European office are made uniform.[10]

Within the context of the back office the ambition was to create a radical overlay-situation called a 'Single International Payments Platform'[11] that would replace all existing payment structures of every bank acquired by the Bank during its transformation from Dutch bank to a global financial player. Yet establishing the unification of the separate customer service offices,

by means of what one might call a 'Single International *Service* Platform', is much more complicated.

From the Bank's perspective a strong preference for uniformity over diversity can be discerned. Diversity is generated as an answer to the reality of diversity in society rather than valued as a quality *sui generis*, not just regarding IT-services, but with respect to employees as well. But in reference to which aspects should employees be uniform? The Bank's strategic plan[12] gives some insight into the quintessential ingredients of a uniform service level.

2.5 Towards a uniform service level

Uniformity is not a goal in itself for the Bank. Rather, it is derived from, on the one hand, customer's requests for uniform services and on the other, the desire for cost-efficiency within the Bank. Uniformity is one of the answers, one of the side-products, of a process of international economic integration, driven by companies whose overall goal is to raise profit and keep costs low.

However, as soon as it is formulated as an answer and since it is occurring within the context of a multi-national, uniformity assumes the character of an imperative - and does not arrive as the result of an organic process of integration. This is illustrated by some quotes taken from a document discussing strategies for the Pan-European integration of the Bank.[13] Given the above-mentioned desires for service level and back office operational uniformity, the following requirements might be interpreted in a more general context, rather than within the context of this specific multinational.[14]

First and foremost, uniformity in service levels requires that employees carry out the same tasks in the same way. This in turn requires identical job descriptions for comparable jobs. This mechanism is shown in the following strategic goal formulated by the Bank:

'* Clear and uniform job description for comparable jobs with the regions/ labels.'[15]

If this is interpreted as a strategic economic goal, part of the process of globalization, then what is its social implication? Banking is in principle a people's business. While uniform job descriptions within other type of industries, such as manufacturing for example, do not necessarily have a social implication (e.g. the assembling of a motherboard in the computer-industry), uniform job descriptions in financial services industry refer to the way employees

interact with customers. If the manner of people's interaction with each other is considered part of culture, then uniform job descriptions within the financial services sector imply, to a certain extent, that human interaction is to be made uniform; i.e. a requirement for uniformity of work culture. This implies that the Bank aims for uniformity in *culture*: norms and values underlying human interaction.

Like many other multinationals, the Bank has formulated a set of business principles.[16] While these business principles are general, they nonetheless reflect a set of general values that are not necessarily part of the different cultures in which the Bank operates. They reflect the dispersion of a set of uniform values that are to be respected within the context of the organization.

Since there might be a gap between the culture as proclaimed by the Bank and the culture of the society within which the Bank operates it is necessary, in order to make the required transformation in work culture, that the employees within the different countries identify primarily with the Bank and not with the national culture.[17] Whether the other cultures or attachments refer to brand labels or to regions, the Bank states that uniformity in service levels can only be achieved when the group's interest are placed first and above 'regional/local interests'.

'* In order to achieve our objectives, what needs to be built is a pool of highly skilled and motivated professionals, with clear knowledge of client needs and market development as well as of product range. Additionally, personnel need to have a clear view of the group's-interest. Regional/ local interests of labels are secondary.'[18]

Therefore within the model of overlay- and country specifics a clear hierarchy can be distinguished. The Bank's interests are primary and regional and local interests are secondary. This requirement is understandable. Integration of the different parts into one whole will not be successfully established when the parts retain their own interests. While a prevalence of the interest of the group above the subgroup might be a requirement for successful economic integration, this implies on a cultural level a transformation of identification and ultimately of the sense of *identity* of the employee.

Practically, this implies that the Bank will have for example a preference to employ an account manager willing to put more effort into making a Polish corporation their client, than an account manager who is mostly interested in a local, but less profitable company. The question then arises: which Polish account manager is more likely to let the Bank's interests prevail above the local interests? Is it the one who is inclined to feel attached to the world as a whole? Or the one whose sense of belonging is strongly and exclusively connected with his or her own country?

The one who just speaks Polish or the account manager who speaks English and Polish? Besides culture and identity the aim for uniform services and a maximized overlay situation has implications for *language* as well. This mechanism is expressed in the following objective:

'A uniform account opening mandate and the specific country appendixes (for countries where applicable): The account opening mandate and the specific country appendix will be bilingual (English and local language). The general terms and conditions will be available in English. If a version in the local language is desired, the countries should provide the translation of the general terms and conditions into the local language.'[19]

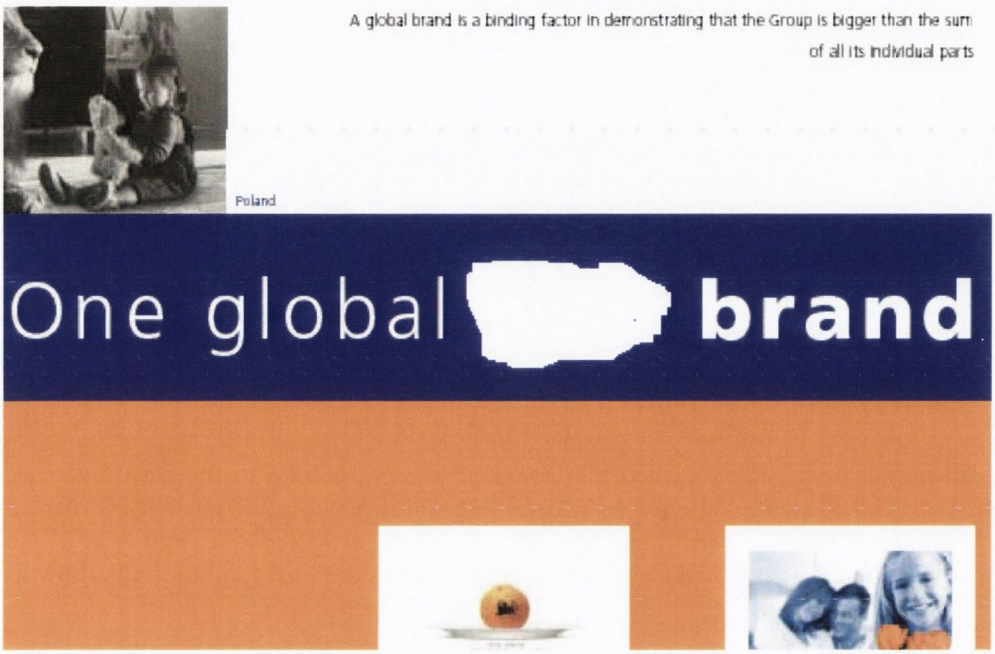
While the 'account opening mandate' will be bi-lingual, the general terms and conditions are in English and a translation is not facilitated by the central organization, but should be provided locally.

Bilingualism therefore, just like the situation of awareness of group interest versus local interest, is profoundly unequal. The language of the overlay (English) prevails over the language of the country-specifics.

Since the Bank is originally Dutch and its headquarters (where the above-mentioned objectives are formulated) are situated just outside Amsterdam, it can be concluded that the language of the overlay is *not* the language of the company that acquired the different branches. In other words, the culture of the headquarters is not imposed on the acquired territory, as in a colonial situation.

An overlay-characteristic replaces the country-specific. The language of the overlay increasingly takes precedence over the language, culture and identity that are country-specific. However, the overlay-characteristic cannot be attributed to any one country, but seems in this case, to a certain extent transnational. As the Bank states in an advertisement, 'a global brand is a binding factor in demonstrating that the Group is bigger than the sum of all its individual parts.'[20]

Picture 2.1 One global brand. Advertisement of the Group.



While the characteristics of the overlay might not be directly identifiable with a single nation or specific national culture but rather belong to the domain of a diffuse 'group', the concept of overlay itself is nonetheless heavily centralized and its conditions are deeply unequal. This is shown in the formulation of the overall strategy:

'* Strategy: to develop a centralised overlay organization for Payments & Cash Management in Amsterdam.'[21]

The overlay organization is centralized and determined by the headquarters of the Bank, located in Amsterdam. The concept and the content of the overlay therefore cannot be seen without it connoting power. Those in power construct the overlay – even when the overlay does not necessarily include the country-specifics of the mighty.

While from the perspective of the company the pursuit of maximized overlay and minimized country-specifics is completely legitimate and in every way an example of rational capitalism, one wonders what the same mechanism means for the development of our societies. Will the growth of the influence of multinationals and a concomitant pressure for uniformity, make societies more alike, especially in the fields of language, identity and work culture? Do we see a similar mechanism occur in societies, outside the realm of the multinationals? Based upon these explanatory observations Figure 1.1 can be redesigned as follows:

Figure 2.1 Observation B

If globalization leads to sameness in the fields of language, identity and work culture, then how can one measure whether societies are becoming more alike? In other words, which sociological indicators can be distinguished that eventually might belong to the 'overlay' and which will always be part of the 'country-specifics'? Under this hypothesis a certain set of variables measuring sameness in the fields of language, identity and (work)-culture will show a greater sameness when globalization progresses.

However, figure 2.1 might be the graphical representation of just one trend in society. Under an alternative hypothesis, developments in other sectors of society might counterbalance this effect, for the observed mechanisms that seem to take place are only some observations within the context of one financial multinational. Maybe these mechanisms are specific to this multinational? Or perhaps do they apply to all multi-nationals, therefore being limited to just one sector of society? Or is the effect true just for a multinational in the financial sector?

Even if it is the case that they just reflect mechanisms of economic globalization, then the question arises: what is the relationship between economic and sociological indicators? Does a global economy imply a global society? All these questions lead us out of the bank, and into the open field.

Yet before exploring the open field, the concept of globalization needs to be explored. So far this dissertation has assumed that globalization is driven by a singular logic of global expanding capitalism, which logic might be a force *sui generis* or the result of human agency: driven by identifiable actors working through institutions they own and /or control (Sklair, 2001). In that view globalization is the cause and sameness is the effect: multinationals are driving the world towards a monoculture. However, this interpretation seems too simplistic. Globalization's logic might be more complex than suggested in figure 2.1. Maybe globalization is not just cause but effect as well.

2.6 Conclusion: from the iron cage to the open field

In this chapter I have further elaborated the simple observation as formulated in chapter 1, based upon some impressions of integration processes within the context of a financial multinational. In section 2.2 it is argued that banks have a dominant place within global capitalism and that globalization is closely linked to the emerging worldwide financial landscape. Understanding the processes of globalization within financial institutions will help to improve an understanding of the changes it might cause in the cultural field.

This chapter discussed a case-study of the Bank. Section 2.3 sketched the economic background that prompted the Bank to develop a new product aimed specifically at the enlarging European market. The product, Euro-Navigator, was made possible through both global expansion and the demands of a growing worldwide customer base.

Based upon an analysis of the mechanism of Euro-Navigator, three outcomes were sketched. Situation A, consisting of separate countries with relatively little communication. Situation B, that of mixed countries with increased communication and situation C, identical countries with maximized communication. Could that sketch a scenario before (A), during (B) and after (C) globalization?

Section 2.4 analyzed the background of the pressure towards uniformity. This can best be illustrated using the mechanism that the Bank calls 'overlay and country-specifics'. The Bank aims to expand the overlay and to minimize the country-specifics, to improve cost efficiency, but also to provide the customers with uniform service levels. A mechanism of overlay and country-specifics along with strong pressure both from clients and multinational companies to expand the overlay and minimize the country-specifics creates a drive to uniformity with diversity being pushed aside as inimical to success. From this perspective an image arises of a world rich in money, but poor in variety.

Section 2.5 discussed and concluded that it is predominantly the requirement of uniform service levels that results in the pressure for uniformity that transcends the purely economic field and influences the shape of the cultural field. Based upon analysis of the Bank's strategic documents, section 2.5 argues that especially in the fields of identity, language and work culture, uniformity as an economic requirement influences the cultural characteristics of employees. From its headquarters, the Bank demands uniform job descriptions, a mastery of the language of the overlay and an identification with the overlay, rather than with the particular countries in which the Bank operates.

With this analysis the simple observation mentioned in Chapter 1 is grounded in the context of one of the driving forces of globalization, namely the worldwide financial landscape. One of the main mechanisms that might steer globalization towards sameness, overlay and country-specifics, was discussed. Some of the fields in which sameness under influence of processes of economic globalization might occur were identified: those being identity, language and work culture.

This is the simple observation from which this dissertation begins: multinationals are driving the world towards a monoculture, and that process is called globalization. However, since this imagery is based on an analysis largely situated within the walls of the Bank, confined within the strict borders of Weber's iron cage of rationality, this might only be one side of the story. There are possibly counter-movements within society. We need to explore society beyond the confines of the Bank, to see if what is expected to be found, will appear. Does a global economy imply a global society? That question leads us out of the iron cage and into the open field.

Before the field can be explored, the globalization concept of the initial observation needs to be theoretically discussed. What *is* globalization? Is this concept as singular as suggested? Then why does it arouse such emotional reactions all over the world? Chapter 3 contains the literature review and discusses the conceptualization of globalization within the contemporary sociological debate.

NOTES

[1] According to Hirst and Thompson (1996) 75% of the total accumulated stock and 60% of the flow of FDI were located in just three players in the beginning of the 1990s: USA, Europe and Japan.
[2] Unfortunately without explaining why exactly.
[3] I have previously argued that I do not agree with the terminology of *transnational* companies as it suggests a footlessness that is often not justified and denies conflicting loyalties between country and corporation. Instead I will use the term multinationals.
[4] www.ing.com/group. November 2005.
5 www.ing.com/group. November 2005.
6 www.ing.com/group/showdoc.jsp?docid=074177_EN&menopt=abo|his. November 2005.
7 www.betalenineuropa.com.September 2005.
[8] BBL: Bank Brussels Lambert.
[9] This is usually called 'synergy' suggesting it is a bundling of energies - but it is in fact rather an operation towards Pan-European uniformity, demanded from the head quarters.
[10] This was part of my task: to coordinate an integration of the different front offices in terms of education, job description, process descriptions et cetera, therefore my project team and I travelled to London, Paris, Liege, Cologne, Madrid and Dublin: bank destinations identified by Sassen's (1994) as global cities.
[11] This was internally known as the Pan-European STAR architecture.
[12] In: ING Group. PCM, European MTP Strategic Plan for Payments and Cash Management 2001-2003, ING Group. Internal report. Version 1.0, 15 September 2000:3
[13] In: ING Group. PCM, European MTP Strategic Plan for Payments and Cash Management 2001-2003, ING Group. Internal report. Version 1.0, 15 September 2000:26
[14] See for example Ritzer (2000).
[15] In: ING Group. PCM, European MTP Strategic Plan for Payments and Cash Management 2001-2003, ING Group. Internal report. Version 1.0, 15 September 2000:16.
[16] ING Group states the following business principles. 'As a global provider of financial products and services, ING plays an important role in society. In order to fulfill this role it needs to maintain the confidence of its customers, shareholders, employees, and other stakeholders by acting with professionalism and integrity. ING Group attaches paramount importance to upholding its reputation, and the ING Business Principles play an important role in this respect. ING expects the highest levels of integrity from its employees, regardless of their position in the organization. The ING Business Principles were first introduced in 1999. They were updated in 2004. The ING Business Principles are: 'We are committed to our integrity; We aim for an above average return; We are open and clear; We promote sustainable development and respect human rights; We respect each other; We are involved in the communities we operate in.' www.ing.com/group/showdoc.js. November 2005.
[17]The Bank does not refer to nation-states in this document, but to 'regions' and 'brand labels'. Apart from cultures related to different geographic areas, the different foreign banks the Bank bought are characterized by different work-cultures as well.
[18] In: ING Group. PCM, European MTP Strategic Plan for Payments and Cash Management 2001-2003, ING Group. Internal report. Version 1.0, 15 September 2000: 16.
[19] In:. ING Group. PCM, European MTP Strategic Plan for Payments and Cash Management 2001-2003, ING Group. Internal report. Version 1.0, 15 September 2000: 25.
[20] www.ing.com February 2003.
[21] In: ING Group. PCM, European MTP Strategic Plan for Payments and Cash Management 2001-2003, ING Group. Internal report. Version 1.0, 15 September 2000: 3.

CHAPTER 3 GLOBALIZATION: A TRIUMPH OF AMBIGUITY

3.1 Introduction: sign of the times

Recently, I attended a theatre performance for deaf children. While we were waiting for the performance to begin, the group of children circulated in the hall of the theatre in a whirlwind of movements and gestures driven by what seemed to me unusually strong and intense emotions. Their teacher explained to me that deaf children who have not yet learned to express themselves through sign language show significantly more aggressive behaviour than children of the same age who express themselves through normal speech. 'To discipline them, we need to teach them sign language as soon as possible', he said, apologetically. 'Do you not like strong emotions?', I asked him while we were watching the extraordinarily vivid group of children. He smiled and said: 'Well, maybe, I do but... I don't like chaos.' And then he ran off to a little boy who had suddenly begun pawing a little girl with braids in her hair.

The subject of this chapter[1] is a word: globalization. One of the capacities of words is to regulate emotions both as transmitters and organizers of unstructured feelings, as is illustrated with this anecdote. In that sense words in themselves can be instruments for disciplining behaviour and transmitters of harmony. Words - whether formed by characters or by signs - can be seen as a limited collection of clearly prescribed structures, used to describe the world and all its complexities as they appear to us. As such, words can streamline emotions by offering frameworks in which unrestrained observations and experiences are embedded and narrowed-down. Yet while structure frees us from chaos, it might limit imagination. As a visible reality words are the restricted reflections of unlimited thoughts, emotions and feelings of an invisible reality: the invisible reality of the ever-wandering mind. The Lebanese poet Kahlil Gibran writes in his chapter on 'Talking':

'And in much of your talking, thinking is half murdered. For thought is a bird of space, that in a cage of words may indeed unfold its wings but cannot fly.'[2]

Gibran sketches the endless horizons of the mind and the soul compared to the defined structures of speech. When we leave the iron cage of rationality, why would we turn to a cage of words? The shared human imagination about the world, its future, its current developments, its

possibilities and limitations are shaped by the word 'globalization', steered in a certain direction. In this self-created verbal cage humanity's soul might not be able to fly. 'Globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole', writes Robertson (1992:54), and remarkably this could well have been a general outline of the creative capacities of words. Words both compress the world - creating Gibran's cage - but at the same time, through verbal transformation of unstructured thoughts, they intensify human consciousness.

It is precisely because of their restrictive nature that words create the human freedom of expressing oneself. While unspoken, internal thoughts bear a character of infinity and therefore a suggestion of freedom (it is to this freedom that the poet and philosopher Gibran refers) such freedom is an individual, unshared experience. In the end, therefore, it captures the individual in the cage of detached isolation. The word 'globalization' has both limited and fed human imagination.

Before the research can turn to an exploration of the open field in the following chapters, this chapter opens in section 3.2 with the unravelling of the meaning of the word 'globalization' in the common sense. It is felt that sociology should not define its main concepts in isolation from the common-sense meaning of words, but should aim to counterbalance common sense Section 3.3 offers a theoretical framework, the Dialectic Globalization Framework, positioning current sociological concepts of globalization, based upon an overview of some major sociological conceptualizations of globalization. These dialectical approaches to globalization are dialectical in a Platonic rather then a Hegelian sense, to be used as a method to acquire knowledge by interrogatory dialogue rather than as a process whereby contradictions are overcome through synthesis. Section 3.4 offers a formal analysis of a commonly used definition of globalization and places this definition within the Dialectic Globalization Framework. At the same time, it points out the possible shortcoming of this definition. Having analyzed a commonly used and elegant definition of globalization and being aware of its shortcomings and possible dangers, in Chapter 4 I then turn to the operationalization of the definition of globalization used for this research.

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3.2 Common sense and the definition of 'globalization'

Science is nothing else but refinement of everyday thinking. (Einstein)

Whereas dictionaries are neither normative nor prescriptive, they generally aim to reflect the meaning words have within the common sense. The word 'globalization' as such does not

surprisingly enough have its own entry in the *Oxford English Dictionary*,[3] but is mentioned under the section 'global'. Global means, first:

> **1.** Spherical, globular. *rare*.
>
> **1676** R. DIXON *Nat. 2 Test.* 2, I could challenge the best Mathematician..to demonstrate..that they can so much as..frame a Global Circle without the least gibbosity or concavity therein. **1848** *Lond. Mag.* 119 According to the modern System..there is no Upper nor Under, the Earth being global. **2.** [After Fr. *global.*] Pertaining to or embracing the totality of a number of items, categories, etc.; comprehensive, all-inclusive, unified; total; *spec.* pertaining to or involving the whole world; world-wide; universal.

The second meaning of global directly refers to McLuhan's (1968) 'global village' and 'globalization' is mentioned.

> ***global village***, a term popularized by M. McLuhan (1911-80) for the world in the age of high technology and international communications, through which events throughout the world may be experienced simultaneously by everyone, so apparently 'shrinking' world societies to the level of a single village or tribe; also in extended use. Hence '**globalism**, internationalism; **globali'zation**, the act of globalizing; '**globalize** *v. trans.*, to render global; so **globalized** *ppl. adj.*

Interestingly, the second meaning of 'global' seems to somehow precede the first meaning. When events are experienced simultaneously all over the world, they might become all-inclusive, worldwide. Thus 'globalization' as the 'act of globalizing', which is 'to render 'global', culminates eventually in the first signification of 'global': to become universal.

Nonetheless, while related concepts are in an exclusive entry extensively defined, including several quotations, globalization is not. This could be explained by its novelty. Yet the word 'globalization' is not that new. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* the word 'globalization' was used for the first time in 1962, in an article in *The Spectator* (Cerami, 1962). In this article, titled 'The US Eyes Greater Europe', it occurs in the following sentence: 'After so long privately chiding the French for their fear of *mondialisation*, the Americans are struck by the thought that globalisation is, indeed a staggering concept.'[4]

The vocabulary in a dictionary generally omits words that are too fashionable, too technical, or only marginally used. Globalization is neither new, nor only in usage for a short period of time. Maybe the word is only rarely used?

On Monday 9th of August 2004, at 15.06h I searched the web through www.google.com for the word 'globalisation' (spelled with a s). I found 1,580,000 pages for globalisation. A search for 'globalization' (spelled with a z) resulted in 3,130,000 pages. In a search for the word 'socialism' (own section in the *Oxford English Dictionary,* first mentioned in 1837)[5] on the same day I found 1,420,000; for communism: 1,490,000 (which also has its own section in *the Oxford English Dictionary* and was first mentioned in 1840)[6] and 2,510,000 pages for capitalism (which again, has its own section in the Oxford English Dictionary and was first mentioned in 1854)[7].

The word 'globalization' on that particular day had more hits on the Internet than 'socialism' and 'communism' together and more than 'capitalism' on its own, while these words have their own sections in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Apparently these established words referring to older theories play a less important role at the moment in the public debate. One might argue that the Internet is pre-eminently the medium for debate on globalization and that the distribution will be overestimated, and this seems to be the case.

In the British Library, on 9th of August 2004, I found 575 hits for 'globalisation' in the subject search of the online catalogue, 2,986 items for 'globalization' and on the same day 10,546 hits for 'socialism' and 8,837 for communism. While more manifest within the context of new channels of communication than through the established ones, globalization still seems to be subject to intense public debate. So the infrequency of its use could hardly justify its rather volatile position in the dictionary. But the argument here is of course not about a word being represented in a dictionary.

The argument is that within the context of common sense the concept of globalization is currently so diffuse and multi-interpretable, that it is difficult to define, or give meaning to it other than semantically, as in 'the act of globalizing'. When McLuhan refers to a situation of global experiences one assumes these shared experiences will lead to a shared language. With the word 'globalization', society has not yet found that shared language.

This is not just a theoretical problem, but has very practical consequences too. As I illustrated with the anecdote about the theatre visit of the deaf children, one of the capacities of words is to regulate emotions both as transmitters and as organizers of unstructured feelings. In that sense, words in themselves can be instruments for disciplining behaviour and transmitters of harmony. The word 'globalization' seems unsuccessful as a streamliner of thoughts and emotions. On the contrary, it gives rise to passionate expressions worldwide and is clearly a subject of recurring aggression.

One might argue that this has nothing to do with the very nature of the word as such, but everything with the subject it represents. I would agree with the latter but disagree with the first

part of the argument. The discussions around globalization are obviously rooted in the problems it refers to, but, as I argue in this chapter stem from the very nature of the word and its meanings as well. Forty years after first being mentioned, globalization still seems to be a staggering concept that has apparently not lost any of the overwhelming connotations of its imagination to the limitations of reality.

Yet the profound changes that are currently unmistakably taking place, and which add to a growth of insecurity, cause at the same time a deep felt need for a concept, a framework to understand and interpret these changes. The challenge for sociology is to offer this clarification to society and to reduce uncertainty, while at the same time acknowledging the growth of complexity.

The current sociological concept of globalization, being not a grand theory but open to various interpretations, offers both the advantages *and* the disadvantages of an undefined subject. The advantage might be the freedom to highlight the concept in a broad variety of ways and from various perspectives, which is an interesting intellectual exercise from a sociological perspective.

The disadvantages arise exactly because confusion is caused by the combination of broad and yet undefined and implicit points of reference in the subject. If something is everything, eventually it becomes nothing, and at this point *The Globalization of Nothing*[8] has become a tautology.

True freedom and progress come only when certain limitations are acknowledged. When sociologists want to strive for a commonly accepted definition of globalization, new choices have to be made and implicit choices have to be made explicit. In the next section I distinguish three dialectics that seem to characterize the current sociological debate on globalization, based upon an overview of the literature.

3.3 Three dialectics within globalization as a sociological concept

One example of dissatisfaction with existing conceptual approaches to globalization can be found in the work of James Rosenau (1996: 249-50). 'Does globalization', he asks, 'refer to a condition, an end-state, or to a process? Is it mostly a state of mind, or does it consist of objective circumstances? What are the arrangements from which globalization is a departure?'[9] Common sense is apparently struggling with defining the word, while at the same time globalization is not a grand theory like communism or socialism with founding fathers. Which main themes can be discovered in the approaches taken by sociologists?

I distinguish three dialectics within the conceptualization of globalization: the dialectic between globalization-as-a-condition versus globalization-as-a-process; between globalization-as-a-reality versus globalization-as-futurology and one-dimensional-globalization versus multi-dimensional globalization.

Globalization-as-a-condition vs globalization-as-a-process

For most thinkers 'globalization' refers in some way to global proximity and to a shrinking world, echoing its origins as laid out in McLuhan's 'global village'. Tomlinson (1999:2) highlights this aspect in his understanding of globalization as: 'an empirical condition of the modern world, which I call *complex connectivity*. By this I mean that globalization refers to the rapidly developing and ever-densening network of interconnections and interdependences that characterizes modern social life.'

Within this basic idea of complex connectivity, Tomlinson emphasizes the multidimensionality of globalization: 'the economic, the political, the social, the interpersonal, the technological, the environmental, the cultural and so forth' (Tomlinson, 1992:13); and highlights in his further analysis 'the cultural dimension'. One of the interesting premises that Tomlinson does not share with other approaches is that his concept of globalization is mostly 'an empirical condition of the modern world', i.e. a tangible situation rooted in the here and now of modern life, rather than a process.

Globalization defined as 'complex connectivity, an empirical condition of the modern world', is clearly incompatible with an idea that globalization is 'at least as old as the rise of the so-called world religions two thousand years ago', as Roland Robertson (1992:6), argues.

When Hirst & Thompson in *Globalization in Question* (Hirst & Thompson, 1996), aim to counter what they call 'the strong variant of the economic globalisation thesis', they do not necessarily argue that globalization is age-old, but they do oppose – among other things - the idea that globalization is 'unprecedented in history', arguing that in fact some manifestations of globalization (such as openness of the markets and immigration flows) were stronger between 1870 and 1914 than they are now. Unlike Tomlinson, though, they emphasize that globalization is a process rather than a condition, yet criticize the idea that all the manifestations of this process of globalization are 'new'.

In Tomlinson's definition globalization is explicitly not perceived as 'a process', but explicitly defined as a 'condition',[10] moreover a 'modern' condition. Against this approach, one might argue that by its very semantic meaning every '-ion' word represents a process and not a condition.[11] Even though every process creates certain conditions which are measurable at any

moment in time, one might argue that quintessentially globalization as a 'word' refers to a process rather than to a condition: to 'an act of globalizing', rather than a situation of 'being globalized'.

On the other hand, considering globalization as an age-old process denies the fact that something has changed. What happened from around 1960 that made it necessary to find a new word for a new reality? Has the process changed, has it been intensified, become manifest? Something has changed or in the words of W.B. Yeats:

'All changed, changed utterly
A terrible beauty is born'

In his poem *Easter 1916*, Yeats asserts that Ireland and its people have 'changed utterly', through 'a terrible beauty' of rebellion and chaos, suggesting that Ireland had to affirm its independence and national identity through rebellion and the passionate pursuit of change. Is there a 'terrible beauty' the birth of which we are witnessing during our times: an act of rebellion and a passionate pursuit of change? Is this terrible beauty that will change the world and its people utterly needed to affirm a global identity? Or is the comparison too daring?

Something has changed, changed utterly. And that is why any argument that globalization is an age-old process, even though the argument in itself might be valid, is in the end unsatisfying to explain the contemporary phenomena. How can we capture the dialectic between the idea that what is happening in our times is structurally different from what happened before and at the same time acknowledge the fact that processes like these might in fact be age-old?

As one of the main issues in defining globalization, I distinguish a tension between the idea that somehow the processes that we are witnessing here and now are not new, have been there before, yet in another form and shape and to another extent; while on the other hand undeniably these processes *are* very new, they *do* refer to something unprecedented - for which it was even necessary to create a new word.

The question is in this case: is globalization as a process new, or has the process come to a certain stage in which it has grown from a latent process, to a dominant process; from an invisible motion of societies to an undeniable development influencing all mankind? 'Globalization as an empirical condition of the here and now' might be new, while 'globalization as a process' might be dating back to ancient times. This is what I call the dialectic between globalization-as-a-condition and globalization-as-a-process, and I call it a true dialectic as in the dialogue between these two characteristics' accumulation of knowledge is generated, albeit not an amalgamation.

When globalization is considered an empirical condition it only can successfully be attributed to modern times, or in Tomlinson's interpretation be: 'an empirical condition of the modern world'. One might argue that there was once an era that was an 'era of globalization' in ancient times, but then inevitably the question arises as to what extent the condition of that specific era relates to the present condition, thus returning to a concept of globalization as a process, and not as a condition. If globalization is a condition, it is a modern condition.

On the other hand, if globalization is considered a process, then the cross-tabulation with the factor 'time' creates a large assortment of undefined matters and possibilities. First of all, one might ask when did this process start. Is it a new process or an old process? If it is an old process, questions might be asked such as: how old? As old as mankind? Or a product of a recent history? Of western history? If it is so old what is new about the process, why do we need to define it *now*?

If globalization is considered as a new process (and this definition comes close to the idea of globalization as an empirical condition of modern times), the question that needs to be asked is: what exactly is new about the process? Which elements form part of the process with the generic term 'globalization'? This is what I will call the dialectic between multidimensional and one-dimensional globalization, and I will discuss that later.

The dialectic between globalization-as-a-condition and globalization-as-a-process does not only generate discussion about the history, but about the future as well, and in doing so, about the sociology that is produced by certain definitions of globalization. Sociological studies of globalization, I argue, easily fall into the trap of futurology, because it is not clear to what extent the reality relates to the concept of globalization that is sketched. This I call the dialectic between globalization-as-reality and globalization-as-futurology.

Globalization-as-reality vs globalization-as-futurology

When globalization is considered as an empirical condition of the modern world, it is clearly defined by the occurrence of contemporary manifestations. On the other hand, when globalization is defined as a process, questions about the beginning of the process need to be answered, a task perhaps best suited to historians, but most pertinent for sociologists, questions are raised about the *direction* the process is going.

In their definition Hirst and Thompson sum up various features of the destination of globalization. In the strong variant[12] of the economic globalization thesis, they argue, globalization is portrayed as a process that leads to a highly internationalized and open economy, unprecedented in history, driven by the power and the will to expansion of transnational

companies, with no roots in any country, thus enforcing huge amounts of capital mobility, and eventually people, all over the world.

Central in this definition of globalization is that it refers to a world that might come, *the outcome of the process* and does not necessarily refer to the characteristics of today, or the 'empirical condition', which Tomlinson places at the core of his analysis. The way of analyzing the process is to formulate a theoretical idea over the outcome situation, and then – as we cannot empirically research the future - question to what extent we see these trends in the here and now.

Once globalization is considered as a process that is mostly defined by the outcome of the process, a broad variety of scenarios arise: we might see the rise of a homogeneous culture and that culture might be Americanization (Schiller, 1976) or it might be mostly based on business principles of multinationals and then it might be McDonaldization (Ritzer, 2000); it might lead to global consumer capitalism (Barber, 1996) or a heterogeneous culture with hybridization (see for example Hannerz, 1990; Nederveen Pieterse, 1995); a polarization, such as a clash of civilizations (Huntington, 1993); or a McWorld vs Jihad (Barber, 1996). In fact, we might see it all happening at the same time.

The very basic idea of defining globalization as a process implies that it intrinsically refers to an outcome situation that lies in the future, which is by definition immeasurable and indefinable. This suggests that the possibilities of the concept as a research framework for empirical research are restricted, and one needs to turn to the discipline of futurology to find appropriate research methods, such as scenarios, trend analysis, chaos theory, simulation games or mathematical modelling (see, for example Malaska, 2000).

Besides the fact that the empirical research techniques used to collect knowledge about the future are intrinsically different from those techniques that aim to provide us with knowledge about contemporary society; the approach of globalization-as-futurology implies that it is very unlikely that consensus will be found on a definition. A statement such as 'globalization is cultural homogenization' is irreconcilable with the statement 'globalization is cultural heterogeneity'. How can consensus be achieved when the roots for definition are to be found in the future: invisible, unclear?

Globalization-as-futurology has very little ability to reduce information, narrowing down fears and aggression by capturing the ever wandering mind in clear definitions. On the contrary, its power for imagination is unlimited, which is theoretically challenging, but again might not always be the best way to increase knowledge.

Not only for the academic community is globalization-as-futurology a limited and ultimately unfruitful concept. If it is presented to the public without making clear that it *is* futurology, it

creates either fear (in the case of a nightmare-scenario) or false hopes (in the case of an Utopian-scenario), and in both cases it creates the image of a powerless individual, or even a powerless society, which has no free will to construct its, always unknown, future. The sociology of globalization in the form of futurology is in the end deterministic, and therefore limits freedom.

One-dimensional globalization vs multi-dimensional-globalization

Another difference between the approach of Tomlinson's and that of Hirst and Thompson is that the latter choose a one-dimensional approach: a primarily economic dimension of globalization.[13] Tomlinson on the other hand places his argument on cultural globalization explicitly within the multi-dimensions of globalization. Even though at the moment the concept of a multi-dimensional globalization is the one most accepted, this is, from the point of view of trying to find a definition for globalization, not necessarily a step forward.

In fact: globalization's multi-dimensionality makes it even more difficult to clarify the word and give it meaning through reducing the possible significances. Whereas on one hand an one-dimensional approach to globalization offers more clarity, but as a consequence of the reductionism denies the broad variety of fields in which processes of globalization occur, a multi-dimensional treatment of the subject also faces serious problems of loss of meaning.

According to Mittelman (1997:2) the manifestations of globalization include:

'...the spatial reorganization of production, the interpenetration of industries across borders, the spread of financial markets, the diffusion of identical consumer goods to distant countries, massive transfers of population within the South as well as from the South and the East to the West, resultant conflicts between immigrant and established communities in formerly tight-knit neighbourhoods, and an emerging world-wide preference for democracy'.

Somehow, intuitively, we might agree that indeed such a broad variety of developments stems from something that we might call 'globalization', yet at the same time the question arises as to what is the common identifier. In this case, the common identifier does not lie explicitly in the future, so the processes must be united by something other than the expected outcome.

Can all these developments stem from one common identifier? Is it still justified to name them all under the same denominator, or do we simply need more words? Do the political manifestations have the same character as the economic manifestations of globalization? Or the same driving force? One might oppose the capitalist form of globalization, the expansion of the

multi-nationals, but what if that brings a wider spread of different art forms all over the world at the same time? Would one oppose that too?

Who can oppose or favour a term that is in itself contradictory and ambiguous? Yet it might be exactly this ambiguity, this lack of clarity of the idea of globalization that arouses aggressive reactions, just like the lack of an ability to use sign language leads to aggressive behaviour among deaf children. For sociologists, this multidimensionality involves extra challenges, as we need to define what is the sociological aspect of globalization? Is it the cultural dimension? Is it the dimension of class and status, or inequality? What is the sociological dimension of globalization?

Whereas the common-sense definition of globalization is remarkably open and undefined, so is the conceptual framing of globalization among sociologists. Incompatible definitions between globalization-as-a-condition, leading to the conclusion that 'globalization is unprecedented in history' juxtapose definitions of globalization as 'an age-old process'. A multi-dimensionality consideration of globalization does justice to the reality of growing interconnectedness between different fields of society and human behaviour yet blurs the term with intrinsic contradictions and paradoxes that a more one-dimensional approach to globalization lacks.

The idea of globalization-as-a-process tends to lead towards futurology, as the common identifier of the underlying processes is often the direction that the processes are supposed to head for and by definition are unknowable. I further elaborate on these dilemmas based upon a formal semantic analysis of a definition that is commonly used among sociologists.[14]

3.4 Formal analysis of a commonly used definition

Albrow's definition in the preface of *Globalization, Knowledge and Society* (Albrow, 1990) is not only one of the first conceptualizations of globalization among sociologists, it also offers an elegant and commonly used definition:

'Globalization refers to all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society.' (Albrow, 1990:8)

With all the elegance of the definition, the very nature of this idea of globalization implicates its limitations as well. I do not criticize the definition as such nor offer an alternative definition in this chapter, but point out the limitations of the concept, intrinsically linked to this definition,

based on a formal semantic analysis. With this I hope to provide some dilemmas that every definition of globalization faces and highlight the previously discussed dialectics.

A process: underestimation of the present

In Albrow's definition globalization is seen as a process, not as a condition. Since globalization is considered a process, or more precisely as a sum of different processes defined by a future that is supposedly the destination of these different processes and which can be opposed to the past which is supposedly the origin of the different processes; the main focus of refining the definition is drawn to the form and the shape of the future, and the extent to which it distinguishes itself with the past. This implies that there is relatively little attention paid to the actual here and now of the processes of globalization.

In this here and now, these different processes might actually happen at the same time. Obviously, there *are* in the present traces that can be described as Americanization, Westernization or MacDonaldization, but there are counter-processes as well. One could for example distinguish what I call here: *Sushi-nation*: an infiltration of eastern practices such as Yoga, food like Sushi, Buddhism, or Tai-Chi into the Western hemisphere.[15] These counterprocesses are either undervalued or even ignored as practices when attention is too exclusively drawn from the present to a future extrapolated from restricted features of contemporary society.

In other words: the future cannot be unveiled by just looking at one aspect of today's society; if sociology wants to draw maps of society and offer a framework for understanding change, we cannot draw a map of the future, we have to draw a map of the here and now. Within the context of globalization-as-a-process there is very little space for the static character of globalization's present reality - which will be different tomorrow.

Multi-dimensional: neglect of internal contradictions

This process of globalization is in Albrow's definition, in fact, the sum of a broad variety of processes of change, which occur in a broad variety of sectors - in the field of economy, of tourism, of law, international trade, music, of politics and of religion - thus being multisectoral and embedded in every sector of society. This defines globalization intrinsically as a multi-dimensional process. Research done on globalization therefore has to mention specifically which aspect of globalization it discusses, and involves all humanities. As all the globalization processes influence one another and together make up a process in itself, called globalization, an interdisciplinary academic approach is required.

The use of globalization as a singular word representing a multidimensional concept, poses the serious problem that the different processes of the dimensions might refer to different realities, to different possible outcomes, which could be paradoxical or even contradictory. For example, one might argue that globalization leads to more uniformity and to capitalist / Western domination. Even if this might be true for *economic* globalization, does it mean that *cultural* globalization leads to more uniformity and to capitalist / Western domination?

Quite the opposite, one can argue: there is a growing exchange of cultural patterns all over the world, with a growth of diversity - at least *within* European societies.[16] Setting aside this specific argument, it seems to hold that when globalization refers to quintessentially pluralistic processes, statements like 'globalization will lead to more inequality' cannot be made. Yet if the different globalizations lead to different destinations, what do the processes have in common? What is the singular cause the different processes are referring to and that makes it possible to represent them with one single term?

Common identifier is destination: ignoring unique features

The last part of Albrow's definition is focused on the common identifier: the processes incorporate the 'peoples of the world (...) into a single world society, global society.' This implies that the common identifier is not found in a singular feature that the different processes have in common, but lies solely in the destination to which they are headed. This way of defining the common identifier is very different from Tomlinson's approach.

Tomlinson, as I argued before, sees globalization as a multidimensional modern condition, with all the different features having one single feature, which he calls 'complex connectivity'. Here the common identifier is defined as a singular feature of all the different processes, precisely because the basic premise of the concept is that globalization is a condition rather than a process. This premise forces one to consider the present rather than the future and thus discourages futurology.

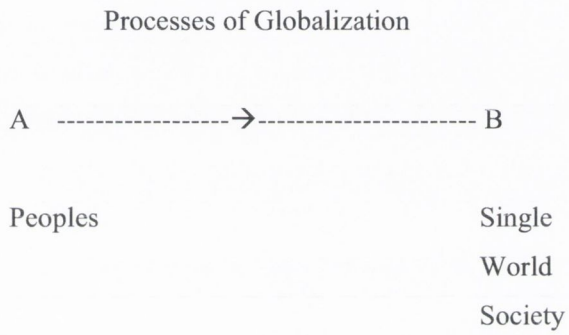
If globalization is the sum of different processes, all pointing in one direction, the question is: what are the characteristics of this destination and what are the characteristics of the origin? Or in other words: what is the nature of the transformation that takes place? To analyze the nature of this transformation, a formal semantic analysis of the definition is presented in the following.

Nature of the transformation: overestimation of uniformity

Globalization is in Albrow's definition essentially considered as a process of transformation with an initial situation A and a new situation B. One parameter of the initial situation is mentioned and three of the possible outcome situations.

The definition - 'Globalization refers to all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society.' (Albrow, 1990:8) - can formally be described as illustrated in figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1



The transformation process is defined mostly by the direction of its possible outcome, albeit it mentions one characteristic of the initial situation, A: 'peoples'. According to the definition, in the initial situation A, there are 'peoples' who are, during the transformation processes, becoming incorporated into the new situation, B, in a 'single world society'. Can any more information about the initial situation A be derived from the definition?

In order to characterise the initial situation, it must be defined as being intrinsically different from the outcome situation, or, else it would simply not be a process of profound change. If, according to the definition, the outcome of the processes of globalization is a single world society, then in the initial situation at least there was *no* single world society, or not anything that with any logical reason could be called a world society.

The concept of the outcome situation B can be thus be broken up into three terms: single, world and society. To begin with the last: if under B one 'society' can be distinguished, then under A that must not have been the case, so the initial situation must have been characterized by 'societies'.

In the outcome situation, if the society is defined as 'world', the territorial embeddedness of the societies under A cannot be distinguished as 'world', but should be characterized by other geographic areas, maybe nation-state. It is equally arguable that the societies referred to could be

embedded in smaller (provinces or counties) or bigger (continents) geographic entities. As 'society' tends to be associated with the boundaries of the nation-state, we might choose this as the main feature under A.

Now a common identifier of both the initial and the outcome situation unfolds itself. Opposed to the singularity of the outcome situation, reflected in the aspect of a 'single', 'world' 'society', the feature of 'pluralism' can be attributed to the initial situation A. Along the same lines, another characteristic can be added to the outcome situation B: as under A there are 'peoples', under B, after a process of profound change, there must be 'one people'.

Thus arguing that globalization is a sum of transformation processes whose main congruity is the direction in which they point, and assuming that the initial situation must be intrinsically different from the outcome situation, the initial situation (under A) can be defined as a situation of peoples operating in societies embedded in nation-states, together creating a truly pluralistic situation. This is, of course, indeed a rough reflection of our world today (see figure 3. 2).

Figure 3.2

Processes of Globalization

A ----------→---------- B

Peoples	People
Plural	Single
Nation-States	World
Societies	Society

But will the outcome of these processes indeed be a single world society inhabited by one people?[17] On each level of the transformation, the process refers to a transformation from a situation with a pluralistic character to one with a singular character. This is reflected as well in the second part of the definition: ' We are indeed seeing the rise of humanity as a collective actor' (Albrow, 1990:8).

Within this interesting concept the idea of pluralism as a distinct feature of humanity is replaced by a notion of humanity as a collective actor, facing strengths, challenges, responsibilities and vulnerabilities as if it were one person. The transformation that is implied by the definition is even more profound. The peoples of the world will not only be incorporated into a single society - which could still be considered largely an external change - but at the same time

they will be transformed per se, acting no longer as 'peoples' but as 'people': a collective actor involving the whole of humanity.

The common identifier of the different processes is not just the direction in which the processes are heading, but also a principle that they share: a notion of transformation from pluralism to singularity. Even though this principle is not inevitably linked with a notion of uniformity, the association is easily made. This is reflected in the doom-scenarios of globalization, which frequently foresee the loss of individual uniqueness in favor of anonymous group generality.

As uniformity is a strictly human concept, nothing that grows from nature is completely uniform; uniformity can only be generated as the result of a human group process, involving the exercise of one person or group of persons over the others.

If a hundred different people were provided with the same materials and were asked to build a house, a hundred different houses would be built. Yet if one company were asked to build a hundred houses for a hundred people and was provided with the same materials for each house, one hundred identical houses might be built.

The transformation from singularity to plurality does not necessarily have to be based upon the idea of uniformity though; it might be based on the principles of homogeneity or universality as well. And these notions tend to be underestimated when the outcome of the process seems to be a given fact and the concept in itself highly deterministic. Because what is the driving force behind the processes and how can the outcome be altered?

No causality: determinism and neglect of human agency

In later work Albrow (1996) explicitly replaces the notion of globalization as a process with the hypothesis of a Global Age[18], thus leaving space for human agency and avoiding both the trap of futurology and determinism and rejecting the view that globalization is an irresistible one-way direction in history. In the previous mentioned definition of globalization, though, there is no place for causality: processes of globalization are being described as they occur and related to the direction in which they are moving, without mentioning the driving force.[19]

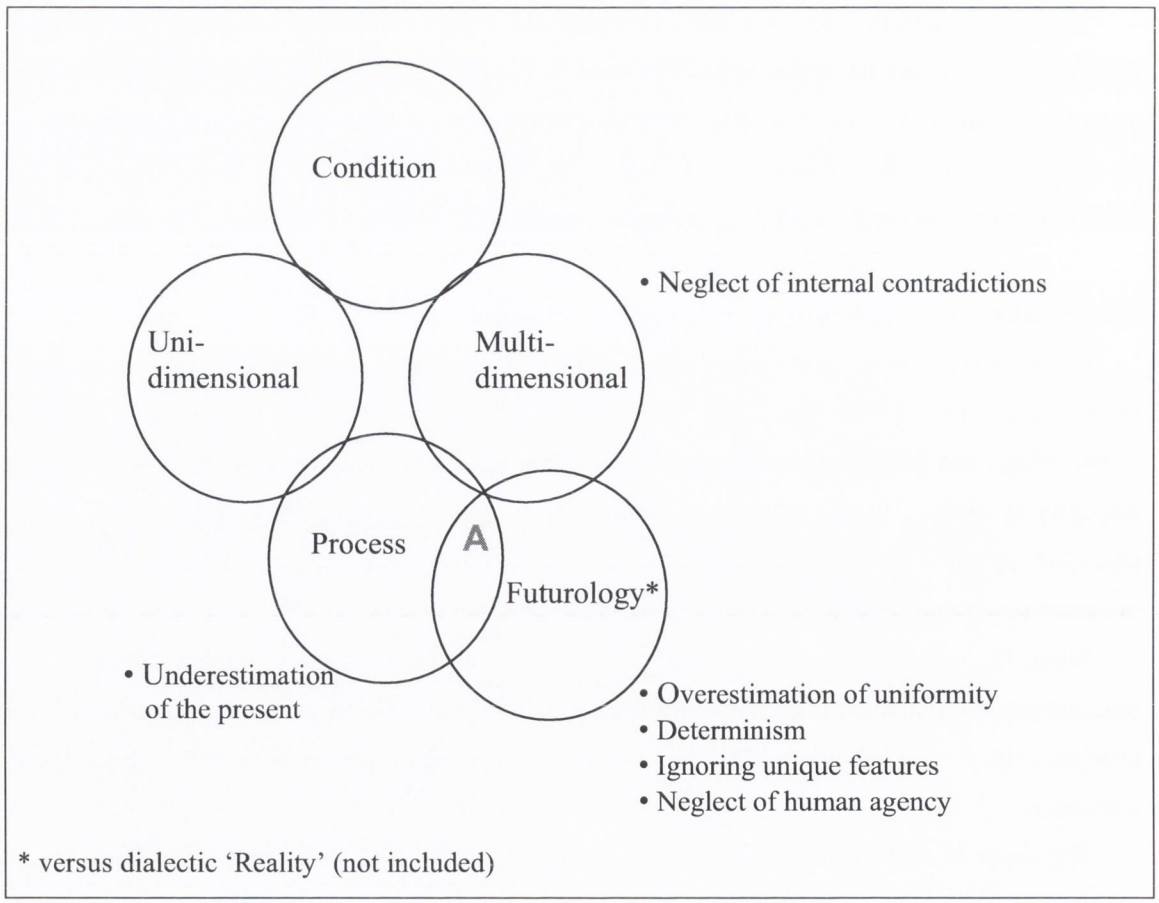
When the causality is unspecified, the concept of globalization faces the serious danger of underestimating human agency. Globalization, instead of being the product of different types of processes that are all outcomes of human actions, is perceived as a *deus ex machina*, a panacea or a disaster.

The myth of globalization, as Hirst and Thompson argue, exaggerates the degree of human helplessness in the face of contemporary economic forces in the same way that primitive myths

were a way of masking and compensating for humanity's helplessness in the face of the powers of nature. But nature's forces did not aim for money and profit. One of the major representatives of contemporary economic power, Bill Gates, writes in *The Road Ahead*: 'One thing is clear: we don't have the option of turning away from the future (...) I believe that because progress will come, no matter what, we need to make the best of it' (Gates, 1995:11).

Portraying globalization as inevitable is instrumental behaviour for those who will profit from the foreseen developments. This kind of economic determinism, often in the name of 'freedom', is in fact a threat to human agency and therefore to human freedom. Sociologists therefore should aim to bring back human agency in the conceptualization of globalization and explicitly face the causality question. The place of Albrow's definition within the dialectic framework is represented in figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3 Dialectic Globalization Framework - to Position Sociological Theories on Globalization. Positioning Albrow's (1990) definition (A) and its limitations



3.5 Conclusion: a triumph of ambiguity

Is 'globalization' an adequate 'word' or 'sign' for a new social reality? This chapter has argued that the concept of globalization is quintessentially ambiguous, thus creating an accumulation of confusion rather than an accumulation of knowledge. This ambiguity is not only reflected in the obscurity surrounding the meaning of globalization in common sense but in sociological debate as well. Three main dialectics in this debate are distinguished.

Firstly, I see a discrepancy between those who approach globalization-as-a-condition and a feature of modern reality, versus those who envision globalization-as-a-process. Second, I have distinguished the dialectic between those who approach globalization-as-futurology and those who study globalization-as-reality. The third dialectic is seen as between a one-dimensional and a multidimensional approach to globalization.

I have illustrated the dilemmas that go hand in hand with the three dialectics, by analyzing a commonly used definition of globalization: focusing on globalization as a process leads to a neglect of the present, whereas the multidimensionality approach leads to underestimation of internal contradictions. Defining the process by a common destination leads to an overemphasis on the danger of uniformity and determinism, while specific features of the process and, above all, human agency are neglected.

Whereas economists have rather successfully defined globalization as 'an open economy', sociologists might switch the debate and consider the idea of globalization as the idea of an 'open society' and discuss which empirical parameters indicate the level of 'openness' of a society.

In conclusion, from a social perspective words can be seen as the premise for common understanding by reducing complexity and creating clarity and shared meaning. Words can be seen as the common good, the 'universal treasure' or the *langue* providing the structure for individual external *parole*, as De Saussure[20] argues.

Globalization as a new word clearly is not only part of different languages, but with a comparable construction in different languages it might as well be part of a newly constructed, supranational *langue*. Yet when new words appear on the verbal horizons universality might be unmasked at the same time as power relations are revealed, exposing what Bourdieu has called the 'illusion of linguistic communism which haunts all linguistic theory' (Bourdieu, 1991:43). As both ambiguity and determinism might serve those who will profit from the processes of globalization, sociologists should aim to strive for a commonly accepted definition that explicitly creates space for human agency and focuses on clarity.

At the moment we may be just like young deaf children, watching the theatre performance of every day life unfolding before us, without having the sign language to express our observations and instead angrily and fearfully watching the curtains fall on a triumph of ambiguity. The next chapter will discuss the theoretical model developed in this research, based upon a further theoretical and empirical elaboration of the simple observation presented in figure 1.1.

NOTES

[1] This chapter is published as 'Globalization: A Triumph of Ambiguity', in *Current Sociology* 53 (6) 875-893, Van Der Bly (2005).

[2] In: *The Prophet* by Kahlil Gibran (London: Pan, 1991).

[3] On-line version: www.oed.com. August, 2004.

[4] '1959 *Economist* 4 Apr. 65/1 Italy's 'globalised quota' for imports of cars has been increased. 1961 WEBSTER, Globalism... Globalization. 1962 *Spectator* 5 Oct. 495 Globalization is, indeed, a staggering concept. 1962 *Sunday Times* 28 Jan. 12/2 Our own comparatively timid intentions towards globalising the Common Market. 1965 *Economist* 23 Jan. 316/1 Between globalism and isolationism there is extensive middle ground.' www.oed.com. August, 2004.

[5] '1837 *Leeds Times* 12 Aug. 5/1 *Socialism.* Messrs. Fleming and Rigby. On Monday evening...these two gentlemen attended [*sic*] an audience..on the topics of the real nature of man. 1839 J. MATHER (*title*), Socialism Exposed: or 'The Book of the New Moral World' Examined. *Ibid.* App. 22 To explain and expose what Robert Owen's Socialism is.' www.oed.com. August 2004.

[6] '1843 *New Age* 20 May 24 Works on Communism, Religious, Political, and Domestic. 1844 *The Movement* 25 Sept.' www.oed.com. August, 2004.

[7] '1854 THACKERAY *Newcomes* II. 75 The sense of capitalism sobered and dignified Paul de Florac. 1877 A. DOUAI *Better Times* (1884).' www.oed.com. August, 2004.

[8] See: Ritzer, G. *The Globalization of Nothing* (California, Thousand Oaks / London: Pine Forge, 2004).

[9] In: J. Rosenau (1996).

[10] 'Globalization refers us to an empirical condition: the complex connectivity evident everywhere in the world today' (Tomlinson, 1999: 32).

[11] Apart from 'condit-ion'.

[12] See for example: 'The strong version of the globalisation thesis requires a new view of the international economy... one that subsumes and subordinates national-level processes' (Hirst and Thompson, 1996:4).

[13] Or bi-fold: a 'political economic dimension'.

[14] Before the formal analysis I want to make explicitly clear that the following analysis is a formal, semantic analysis, and does not necessarily refer to developments in the 'real world', and is certainly not necessarily the description of what the real outcome of globalization will be – after all there is free will.

[15] Whereas McDonaldization refers to a food-practice within Western society, Sushi-nation equally refers to a food-practice symbolic of the Eastern civilization. However, while McDonalds is merely an American, not a Western concept, equally Sushi is a Japanese and not an Eastern food practice. McDonaldization refers to rational values: rationality, calculability, efficiency and control. On the other hand, Sushi-nation might refer to labor-intensive, to beauty, to individual uniqueness of each piece.

[16] Yet maybe a growing uniformity *between* the societies: an incline of *intra*-society diversity might go hand in hand with a decline of *inter*society diversity.

[17] The situation of a single world society is obviously not necessarily the description of what the real outcome of globalization will be. This is merely the translation of a frequently used definition into a formal figure. After all, for every process of transformation it holds that there might be some security about the direction but that the outcome cannot be defined until it has realized itself.

[18] See for example page 214, endnote 1 of Chapter 6: 'We follow Robertson (1995:35) here in stressing the importance of referring to globality as distinct from globalization when we want to avoid the connotations of process' (Albrow, 1996: 214).

[19] This refers to the definition. In other work, such as *The Global Age: State & Society Beyond Modernity* Albrow (1996) explicitly emphasizes human agency through knowledge and the importance of a 'history of the present'.

[20] Course in general linguistics / Ferdinand de Saussure ; edited by Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye in collaboration with Albert Reidlinger; translated from the French by Wade Baskin (London: Fontana, 1974).

CHAPTER 4 BASIC THEORETICAL MODEL

4.1 Introduction: cartographical contours

The poet and I look outside the window to the square: a long queue in front of the cash dispenser. He leans over to me as if we are part of a conspiracy. He whispers: 'Forget about all those same cities! Let's talk about music. I love music! I must tell you about Natasha Atlas. She combines western rhythms with Arabic folklore. She used to sing for the Trans Global Underground....' 'What is her name again?', I ask. 'Atlas. Natasha Atlas.' He replies slowly and thoughtfully. 'Her surname is Atlas....' No longer is the window closed. It is wide open.

The pub is no longer dark, but bright. There is the river filled with drops of the stream of thoughts. 'Atlas...', the poet slowly repeats, ' that sounds like.... the universal surname...'. Silence. He mumbles: 'Atlas... The universal surname... That is a poem in itself'. Then he stands up and leaves mysteriously. Before the professional world watcher dissolved, he has opened a little window on the world. Or maybe he has never existed, really.

This dissertation addresses the complex relationship between globalization and sameness. Two sides of sameness are addressed through the story of the poet in the pub. The poet, while calling himself a 'professional world watcher', fears the sameness of identical cities. Yet at the same time he celebrates another form of sameness. In his thoughts he explores the idea of a metaphorical 'universal surname', an expanding, collective shared frame of reference. Could there be different forms of sameness and difference? And in which sense could they be related to different conceptualizations of globalization?

This dissertation has developed a theoretical model of the relationship between globalization and sameness. This has been conducted through an analysis of the relationship between economic and cultural globalization. This exercise has been based upon theoretical research on the one hand, and small-scale exploratory empirical research on the other. This research is not intended to test, but rather to develop and elaborate this model.

For the remainder of this dissertation I elaborate the model according to the lines of the hypothetic-deductive research method, which is a combination of induction and deduction (Schuyt, 1986). This 'scientific method' is generally cyclical. Usually it begins with a simple observation or a statement within everyday or common sense worlds from which some hypotheses are derived. The simple observation that has been the basis for this research, (and that

can be found in the common sense too as will be discussed in the next section), was made within the context of the Bank. It can be summarized in the observation that 'globalization' seems to lead to 'sameness' as follows (Step A).

Figure 1.1 Theoretical Model Step A. Simple observation.

From this initial observation and hypothesis a theoretical research design is developed that serves as the basis for the further development of the model. Within the context of the hypothetic-deductive method, the second step after the initial simple observation is to verify if these hypotheses are plausible through new observations. In this dissertation the basic theoretical model was firstly derived from a theoretical inquiry into the definition of globalization, resulting in Step B. Secondly, the basic theoretical model was based on a further elaboration of the empirical case of the Bank, identifying in which cultural areas economic globalization (Step C) is expected to bring forth sameness. Thirdly, the myth of globalization and the connection with the micro-to-macro transition was discussed and after explicitly including the micro-level, the basic theoretical model could be formulated (Step D).

This chapter discusses the basic theory and its first consecutive steps (Step B – Step D) of development. In section 4.2 I will unravel some ambiguities within the common sense conceptualization of globalization, just like Chapter 3 has unravelled the ambiguity in the sociological debate. Section 4.3 then offers the definition of globalization used in this dissertation. Section 4.4 discusses Step B, which makes a distinction between processes of economic and cultural globalization on the macro-level. Step C defines the selected parameters of economic and cultural globalization used in this research. Section 4.5 abandons the exclusive macro-level. With Step D the basic theoretical model includes the micro-level, based upon Coleman's (1990) model. Section 4.6 discusses the structure of the hypothetic-deductive research method in the next chapters.

4.2 Unravelling ambiguities in every day common sense

Chapter 3 has discussed the ambiguities within the sociological conceptualization of globalization. A similar ambiguity can be found in everyday or common sense debate. This

research explicitly aims to connect a sociological definition of globalization to the ambiguity of globalization as expressed in every day common sense. I see sociology operating not in isolation from the public debate, but rather in constant reflection of current issues, especially with regards to a fashionable concept such as globalization. Therefore, before defining globalization, I will first unravel some of the ambiguities as reflected in the common sense understanding. I will highlight different processes of economic and cultural globalization as they occur in a story exhibiting such understandings. These different processes are further elaborated in section 4.4.

The following quote is taken from an interview with a sculptor published in a newspaper at the time of the referendum on the European Constitution. The sculptor is a Dutch citizen living in Utrecht, a city in the very heart of the Netherlands. She is originally from Sarajevo. When asked if she will vote pro or contra on the European Constitution in the referendum on the 1st of June 2005, she says[1]:

'A couple of months ago, I knew that I was going to vote. But I had not decided what. I already felt: the European Union is only concerned with the economic interest of the multinationals, not about the people. After that I did not think about it for a while. I went to Senegal to make a film, and after that I went to Portugal for an exhibition. My mum came over from Sarajevo to take care of the children. Sunday I came home, and because you asked me, I started to think about it again. Now I am sure: I will vote *no*. Maybe it is me, but to me the European Union is just a product of capitalism. (...) Because I travel so much, I see all the time that beauty and the human, all that is valuable, can be found in the small-scale things, the regional. I am more and more annoyed about the whole idea of globalization.' (Kostana Banovic)[2]

This quote reflects not only ambiguity within the concept of globalization through the integration of seemingly conflicting processes under one umbrella, but it also gives us some insight into individual agency in the global context. Analysis of this quote will reflect both some of the meaning globalization is given in popular debate and at the same time reveal the meanings that can be attributed to globalization, implicitly rather than explicitly.

First, the subject of the interview is the European Union.[3] The interviewee quickly associates the European Union with 'the economic interest of multinationals' and capitalism, only to conclude that she is getting 'more and more annoyed about the whole idea of globalization.' Analyzing the association process, it can be argued that the respondent relates globalization to capitalism, to the economic interest of multinationals and even to the European Union in general. The respondent mentions as well a couple of things which globalization is not. In this quote the

sculptor juxtaposes globalization with the words 'beauty', 'human', 'valuable', 'small-scale', 'the regional', even 'people'.

In terms of the Dialectic Globalization Framework as represented in figure 3.3, her definition can be classified as a *one-dimensional* interpretation of globalization as a merely *economic* process, driven by a specific form of capitalism as an inhuman, ugly capitalism that just destroys and does not build up. It is therefore a normative interpretation, being an expression of the common sense and clearly not a research definition. Globalization is not only economic globalization, it is rational capitalistic globalization and it is something bad. In a way this interpretation refers to *futurology,* a nightmare scenario that needs to be prevented, rather then to contemporary reality. For this reason she will vote no.

However, behind the overtly manifest interpretation of globalization in her words in this quote lies an implicit manifestation of globalization in her actions. The shape globalization takes in her actions, displays a countermovement. It is this implicit form of globalization that functions as a breeding ground for her critique on its overt manifestation.

The respondent argues that she 'travels so much', she is getting 'more and more annoyed about the whole idea of globalization.' Yet one might argue that an increase in travelling is typically a form of globalization involving cross-border movements (Urry, 2002). Not only is travelling and a growing *tourism* industry pointed to as a manifestation of globalization, so is *migration*. The respondent in the above-mentioned quote is an emigrant herself, having moved from Sarajevo.

Thus a truly globalized citizen appears; one no longer living in the country where she was born but who travels widely and abroad, not just as a tourist but to work. In Senegal she makes a film. In Portugal she has an exhibition. Possibly the making of the film in Senegal involves the transportation of goods, such as the film-equipment, and certainly of capital.

Money will be spent locally on food, light and the local crew. Maybe the making of the film profoundly transforms the local Senegalese economy. Processes of economic globalization generally refer to the movements of *goods and capital* over the world. In that sense the sculptor's travels are a manifestation of a process of economic globalization.

Then she travels to Portugal for an exhibition. Maybe it is the exhibition of her own sculptures, which will involve the transport of the sculptures from The Netherlands to Portugal. Maybe the exhibition is in conjunction with local artists, which will generate the exchange of mutual knowledge. Possibly the contacts have been established through email, and the information about the town acquired through the Internet. A third aspect of economic

globalization can be identified as the movement of *knowledge*, both through the Internet and through other channels.

At the same time, her mother comes over from Sarajevo to take care of the children. This might also be defined in economic terms as movement of knowledge as well as transport of goods and capital, replacing costly commercial childcare. Surely, during her stay the mother will teach the children some values and convictions of her own background.

In conclusion, in many ways this respondent is a carrier of micro-processes of globalization. Yet while she might be an embodied agent of globalization, she argues that globalization has nothing to do with for what she stands and what she feels is her identity. While 'acting' as an agent of globalization, she verbally opposes globalization.

A significant feature of the current public debate on globalization is how globalization is seen as a synonym for economic globalization, indeed a very specific form of economic globalization. This quote shows that the economic concept of globalization, overt and dominant in the public debate, can mask a less prominent and more hidden sociological form of globalization. Within the quote above an overt conceptualization of globalization and a hidden conceptualization of globalization can be distinguished. The overt conceptualization of globalization is mostly associated with capitalism, with multinationals and an economic paradigm and covers the pragmatic and self-realizing sociological mechanisms of an unspoken, hidden conceptualization of globalization. The latter, without being defined, categorized and recognized is therefore so hidden that it is even invisible to the acting social agent herself.

Having unraveled some of the ambiguities within the concept of globalization, both in the sociological debate and within the common sense, I now will discuss the sociological definition of globalization used in this dissertation.

4.3 Definition of globalization

With the Dialectic Globalization Framework I proposed to distinguish three main dialectics within theories on globalization. The first dialectic is a discrepancy between those who approach globalization as a condition and a feature of those of modern reality, versus those who envision globalization as a process. Secondly, a distinction is made between those who approach globalization as futurology and those who study globalization as reality. The third dialectic is seen as between a one-dimensional and a multi-dimensional approach to globalization.

Giddens defines globalization as an 'intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (Giddens, 1997:64). The Dialectic Globalization Framework would position this as defining globalization:

a) As a condition, not a process;
b) Multi-dimensional[4] not one-dimensional; and,
c) Referring to the contemporary reality rather an inclination towards futurology.

How does this research define globalization? If globalization is considered as a feature of the modern condition it clearly cannot be attributed to the past. On the other hand, if globalization is considered a process with historic roots then the contemporary manifestations can be examined while being placed in a long-term context as well. Thus, the first choice that I made is to define globalization as a process.

Second, globalization is, in this dissertation, defined as an essentially multi-dimensional process. This dissertation specifically examines the relationship between the economic and the cultural dimension, as will be discussed in section 4.5. Third, this research is explicitly interested in the manifestations of globalization within contemporary reality and does not seek to speculate about the future drawn from certain features within the present. Equally, the present might hide something and the future is always unknown.

Approaching globalization as a multi-dimensional process to be studied in contemporary reality does not provide any contents to the concept. Which content can be attributed to globalization? For an answer to that question I turn to Albrow's (1990) definition of globalization as leading to a world society. In the previous chapter it is argued that this is not only one of the first conceptualizations of globalization amongst sociologists, it also offers an elegant and commonly used definition. Besides that, I have in the previous chapter systematically highlighted the limitations of this definition so that we are aware of the shortcomings. It is clear that there is neither a 'perfect' nor 'exclusive' definition of globalization available.

To elaborate Albrow's definition of globalization as a process leading to a world society, I have turned to a more familiar concept of a society, that of the nation-state. What was the primordial meaning of 'nationalization'? According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* the word 'nationalization' initially meant (1) 'the action of forming into a nation or nations; the process of becoming a nation' or, (2) 'inclusion or absorption into a nation'. Both meanings now are qualified as 'rare' in the *Oxford English Dictionary* for obvious reasons.[5] Based upon flawed linguistic analogy with the word 'globalization' I redefine globalization as:

(1) 'the action of forming into a global society; the process of becoming a global society', or,

(2) 'inclusion or absorption into a global society.'

This raises the question whether globalization leads to a 'world society' or to a 'global society'. Castells (1996) makes a distinction between a world economy that has existed since the sixteenth century and a global economy that is characterized by time and space compression and a feature of contemporary times. Following Albrow (1990), and especially Luhmann (1997), this dissertation defines globalization as a process leading to a world society rather then to a 'global' society. I then define globalization as follows:

4A. Definition of Globalization:

'Globalization refers to (1) the action of forming into a world society, the process of becoming a world society or to (2) inclusion or absorption into a world society'

Conception of a world society

This definition is closely related to Albrow's definition as discussed in Chapter 3, but places much more emphasis on globalization as 'an action'. By including 'action', I have explicitly included individual agency within the concept. At the same time however, the common identifier is not a certain characteristic that is attributed to the one world society, for that leads to the danger of futurology. Yet globalization is not understood as a unique feature of the contemporary condition. This allows the research to empirically explore processes of globalization from an historical perspective and connect those processes with contemporary manifestations of globalization.

This definition of globalization as a process of transformation refers essentially to a growing interconnection between all peoples of the world, to such an extent that the result is eventually a one-world society, as in Albrow's definition (1990). The use of the term 'incorporate' in Albrow's definition specifically includes the Latin *corpus* or the ablativus singularis *in corpore*, hence the act of blending several parts into one body, one organism. This, like the processes referring to forming into a world society, inevitably raises associations with Hegel's Absolute Spirit.

Yet a conceptualization of globalization as leading towards a world society is not related to Hegel's Absolute Spirit in the sense that Hegel's Spirit is very much rooted in the idea of a nation-state, especially the German nation-state, obedience to which is seen as instrumental in achieving freedom by exercising control over the uncontrollable. The concept of Hegel's *Weltgeist* is quintessentially moral-philosophical. The concept proposed here, a concept of an

unfolding and gradually self-realizing world society, is ultimately sociological and not moral-philosophical. The development is not defined by its progress in moral terms or in culture, even though this might or might not be adjacent to the observed development. Neither is a world society (and an emerging world culture) *a priori* linked to growing sameness. As Hannerz (1987:552) argued: 'a culture need not be homogenous, or even particularly coherent.' Similarly the conception of a world society as suggested here has no other *a priori* characteristics but interconnection, interaction and interdependence between the parts.

If, as Hegel (1977) argues, self-awareness is the highest form of knowledge on an individual level, then the highest level of knowledge of mankind is a full awareness of all the wants, needs, benefits, sufferings, good sides and bad sides of all its parts, and that is the progress in itself. While self-awareness of the individual can be achieved through introspection, the only way that mankind can access this kind of awareness is through communication. Through intensified connection and communication on a global level, identified as 'globalization', mankind therefore progresses towards a higher level of self-awareness.

Is the world society a Utopian or idealistic concept? No. For even the individual with a very high degree of self-awareness will still make mistakes and suffer. In other words, he or she will be human and, therefore, imperfect. Thus, to equate the realization of a world society with Utopia is a misunderstanding of the concept. The incorporation of all peoples of the world into one world society refers exclusively to increased connections, and while that might be crucial in the development of knowledge in the above-mentioned sense, it has no direct moral-philosophical consequences as such.

Beyond borders

When globalization is essentially defined as a process of interconnection, to all the actions of forming into a world society and all the processes of becoming a world society, it undeniably refers to crossing borders. This definition therefore logically presupposes and emphasizes that borders are not objective facts, but contested constructions. The empirical research therefore opens with section 6.3: *The fluidity of borders*, an exploration of the concept of borders within the local context of one of the case studies, Leixlip in Co. Kildare. Based upon the respondents' perceptions of the borders that enclose and define Leixlip, I make a distinction between what one respondent calls 'a postal address' and 'a physical address', between 'social' and 'geographical' borders.

Even on a local level, when a borderline at first seems very clearly marked by a Toll House, river or a bridge, further inquiry reveals the fluidity of borders. In Leixlip, Co. Kildare, the

physical and the postal address of one respondent's house are located within a set of borders that do not necessarily coincide. There seems to be a part of Leixlip that geographically belongs to County Dublin, and a part that geographically belongs to County Kildare. Yet since 'Leixlip, Co. Dublin' does not exist socially, the geographical distinction is neglected. Therefore, what unites larger entities (co. Dublin, co. Kildare) might divide smaller entities (Leixlip) and vice versa, even on a small-scale local level. Globalization involves the crossing of borders both in a social and a geographical sense.

Borders do not just unite, they separate as well. The title of section 6.3 refers to this paradox: *The fluidity of borders: the water separates the counties, but the bridge unites the town.* The river unites the population of Co. Dublin on one side and the population of Co. Kildare on the other side, but divides the population of Leixlip, who live on both sides of the river. Yet the bridge connects them. This paradoxical character of borders makes them dynamic and contested, by definition. I argue that borders are either socially or geographically constructed (or both) and society *and* geography are under the influence of constant change, and therefore their borders change. Since borders change, they are not objectively given.

It is the contested character of borders that, I argue, in a sense is the driving force behind globalization. For if borders are no objective facts, it is an objective fact that they can be and will be crossed, changed, subjectified. That objective fact, that originates in the subjective and contested character of borders, that objective quality that essentially is derived from the subjective quality that this research attributed to permeable borders, I call 'globalization'.

If borders are no objective facts but contested constructions while crossing and redefinition are intrinsically linked to their conceptualization and the terminology of 'globalization' is attributed to this dynamic, than the following question arises. Does globalization refer to expanding or to receding borders, to dismantling or erecting borders, to transgressing borders or to guarding borders?

In this dissertation globalization is defined as the process that changes borders in such a manner that it refers to the expansion of borders, both socially and geographically, to a single planetary border resulting in an historic consequent advancing, even if fragmented, expansion of collective life.[6] This expansion occurs, I argue, since the unifying quality of borders prevails over the separating quality. Therefore national life is dominated by a collective life of an international nature. As Durkheim argued:

'There is no people and no state which is not a part of another society, more or less unlimited, which embraces all the peoples and all the States with which the first come in contact, either

directly or indirectly; there is no national life which is not dominated by a collective life of an international nature. In proportion as we advance in history, these international groups acquire a greater importance and extent' (Durkheim, [1915] 1971:426).

Durkheim's words have in hindsight a prophetic character. Almost a century later, this 'collective life of international nature' has acquired a considerably greater importance. The very term 'globalization' was invented to describe the process itself as the process has become increasingly relevant to modern discourse, as I discussed in chapter 3. For now, I conclude that this research defines globalization as the process that changes permeable borders in such a way that they expand both socially and geographically, an expansion towards a single planetary border, creating a world society of one interconnected people.

While borders are fluid and constantly defined and redefined, I argue that the process of globalization is remarkably static in its consequent interconnective expansion. The process seems to realize itself as Hegel's Absolute Spirit, largely detached from subjective interpretations, and bound to time and place. As the historian Robbie Robertson argues: 'Globalization as a human dynamic has always been with us, even if we have been unaware of its embrace until recently. Instead we have viewed the world more narrowly through the spectacles of religion, civilization, nation or race.' (Robertson, 2003:3).[7] Globalization, as a process of interconnection leading towards a world society, I argue, is a central underlying structure of societies, an underlying organizing principle that only recently has become subjectively visible.

With Hegel, I argue that the human intellect is designed in such a way that it is able to grasp a vision of the underlying structure of reality, simply through observation and contemplation. Similarly, the sociologist can grasp a vision of the underlying structure of social reality through observation and contemplation. That is what I have aimed to carry out. This research has aimed to study globalization as such an underlying structure. In taking this view, this research explicitly is the product of contemporary times, since it is only now that such an approach *can* be taken.

This dissertation addresses the question whether globalization, this process of increasing global interconnection, necessarily brings forth cultural sameness. This is further elaborated in the following empirical chapters.

Elaborated definition of globalization

Having discussed globalization as essentially a process of transcending borders and inspired by the empirical research, I have elaborated the section 4A definition of globalization as follows:

4B. Elaborated Definition of Globalization:

'Every action or process of connection carried out by any individual or group transcending the boundary of a society in its restricted sense (be it a tribe, a village, a sub-group, a nation, a region et cetera) with the intended or unintended consequence of a connection to a larger society is an action or a process of globalization.'

This definition raises three issues: a) the definition of society, b) the intentional quality attributed to individual action, and c) the exclusivity of this definition of globalization.

First, with respect to the *definition of society*, the 'larger society' does not refer to a larger society in the traditional sense of a society associated with a nation-state. A larger society is not necessarily a larger nation-state. In that case, the act of a Russian moving to Ireland would clearly not be an act of globalization. Intuitively, however, we feel that such an action is indeed an act of globalization.

The mechanism of transcending a smaller society to connect to a larger society can be illustrated with the previous example of the sculptor who left Sarajevo and fled to the Netherlands. Without suggesting that this was an intended act of globalization, her departure nonetheless establishes a manifestation of globalization. The society to which the sculptor belongs is no longer only the Bosnian society but also the Dutch society.

However, her act of globalization is not the replacement of a connection to the Bosnian society with a connection to the Dutch society. Instead, besides the continuation of direct connections, (her mother, visits), she is also the embodied carrier of indirect connections such as those aspects of the Bosnian society that she brought to the Netherlands. Her larger society includes both. The larger society that is the unintended consequence of her act of globalization is the sum of (aspects of) the Dutch and the Bosnian society.

This brings us to the *intentional aspect* of the action. Clearly, intentional actions to connect to a larger society can be seen as acts of globalization. For example, the world-wide expansion of multinationals can be seen as an intentional act of transcending national borders in order to connect to a larger society, or a 'larger customer market', since these actions are usually economically motivated and driven.

On the other hand, not all actions or processes of globalization are intentional. In fact, in the example of the sculptor from Sarajevo, the intention was probably not so much to connect to a larger society, but possibly more to escape a smaller society in which she no longer felt safe. While possibly unintentional in its origins, its consequences are nevertheless an act of

transcending boundaries. By bringing along her language, identity, cultural values, arts and religion, and while being changed by this act of unintended globalization, the sculptor simultaneously changes the Dutch society as well, which has now established another line of direct connection with Sarajevo in the form of the sculptor's mother. At the same time, the sculptor continues to transcend the boundaries of the society in which she lives. She is working closely with people in Senegal and Portugal, both changing and being changed by the surroundings and constantly enlarging the society to which she belongs.

But what about the globalization she opposes? Certainly, the global expansion of multinationals consists of innumerable acts and processes of transcending the boundaries of a society in a restricted sense and connecting to a society in a larger sense. Yet multinationals might transcend borders, but within protective compounds a smaller society might actually be recreated. Perhaps these acts of well-known globalization are therefore less all-embracing and by their very nature more exclusive than the patterns demonstrated by the individual sculptor, even though their nature is more intentional.

A true act of globalization does not exclude. Having included both intentional and unintentional acts of globalization in the section 4B elaborated definition of globalization, the legitimate question that immediately rises is what this definition excludes. The issue of the non-exclusivity of the definition is the third issue regarding definition 4B that I will address. For if a true act of globalization does not exclude, then what is excluded from the definition of globalization?

In chapter 3, I have argued that the current sociological concept of globalization, being not a grand theory but open to various interpretations, offers the advantages *and* the disadvantages of an undefined subject. The disadvantages, I argued, arise exactly because confusion is caused by the combination of broad, yet undefined and implicit, points of reference in the subject, so that if something is everything, ultimately it becomes nothing. At this point 'The Globalization of Nothing'[8] has become a tautology, I argued.

Does this seemingly all-inclusive definition of globalization contain a similar disadvantage? To a certain extent, like all non-exclusive definitions, it does. However, is exclusivity within this definition of globalization required? While the point made in chapter 3 referred to non-exclusivity because the concept had not been defined, in the above-mentioned definition it is the feature of non-exclusivity that lies at the very heart of the definition. This research argues that it is exactly the non-exclusivity that reflects the quintessence of the process of globalization: a process of transformation towards the all-inclusiveness of all peoples of the world into one society.

Holton (1998), surveying globalization and its impact on the nation-state, identified globalization as 'a natural human condition' and not simply the late-twentieth-century remake of modernization, since humans are a traveling species.[9] Similarly, Robertson argues that globalization is 'part and parcel of the eternal human quest for security and well-being, a quest that has seen humans employ agricultural techniques for the same purpose, raid and conquer neighbors, undertake treacherous trading ventures, carve out far-flung empires, and devise get-rich-quick strategies to sustain corporate share values' (Robertson, 2003:265). Therefore, the above-mentioned definition is all-inclusive in that it refers to the broadest range of human actions as being part of a natural human condition.

Can non-globalized actions and processes be distinguished? Every definition needs to make a distinction between those actions that are included in the definition and those that the definition excludes. Without that, any definition is worthless. Since the qualifying factor of my definition of globalization is 'transcending borders between societies', every action or process that refers to '*not* transcending borders between societies', or even as 'building borders between societies', can be seen as non-globalized processes and actions. Those actions that refer more to the inclination towards isolation and separation from an emerging world society do not belong to the domain of globalization according to my definition.

That does not mean that these trends towards isolation and separation are not intrinsically linked to the phenomenon of globalization, since all qualities gain meaning through the existence of their antipole. The same quest for security that inspires treacherous trading adventures, as Robertson (2003) mentions, might inspire a choice for disconnection and separation resulting not in transcending borders, but in creating borders.

As I argued before, borders have by definition a paradoxical nature of both uniting and separating. This is reflected in their relation to globalization.[10] I will return to this issue in due course, but, for the present, I contend that globalization should be reclaimed as an action or a process, which can be carried out *in principium* by every single human actor. Having defined globalization for the purposes of this research and having highlighted the strengths and limitations of the definition, I will now further specify the research design.

4.4 Economic and cultural globalization

Since globalization is defined as a multi-dimensional process, subject to internal contradictions, it includes processes of both economic and cultural globalization. While similar

processes of political, judicial and historical globalization can be distinguished, this research concentrates on processes of economic and cultural globalization.[11] For now, this research into the relationship between globalization and sameness is narrowed down to the question whether economic globalization leads to sameness in the cultural field. This implies that the initial hypothesis is refined as follows.

Figure 4.1 Theoretical Model Step B. Economic and cultural globalization.

In order to empirically research this question, the multi-dimensional concepts of economic and cultural globalization need to be unravelled. How can processes of economic globalization be defined? And in turn, what fields can be identified in which cultural globalization operates that reflect an increasing sameness under the influence of processes of economic globalization?

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) defines 'economic globalization' as 'a historical process, the result of human innovation and technological progress. It refers to the increasing integration of economies around the world, particularly through trade and financial flows. The term sometimes also refers to the movement of people (labour) and knowledge (technology) across international borders' (IMF, 2000:1). The IMF further distinguishes four dimensions of economic globalization: a) trade, b) capital flows, c) movement of people and, d) spread of knowledge and technology. Following this definition of economic globalization, this research defines economic globalization first as the movement of goods (trade) and money (capital flows) throughout the world, and second as the movement of people in the form of migration or tourism. Thirdly, it includes the movement of knowledge through, for example, the Internet.

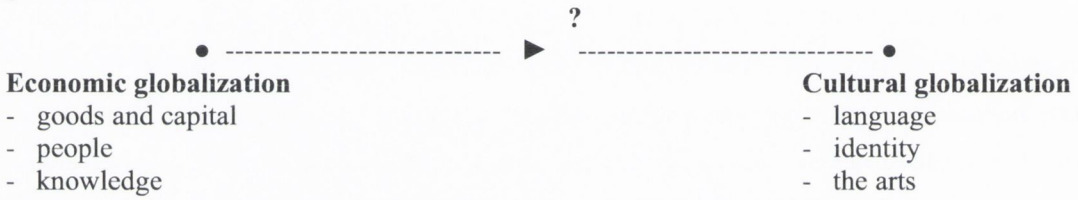
How can we define cultural globalization? This is not the place to extensively unravel such a complex term as culture that I have discussed theoretically and empirically elsewhere.[12] The case study of the bank, as discussed in chapter 2, deduced that globalization as a mechanism of international economic integration might drive cultural sameness, especially in the fields of language, identity and work culture. While the latter category is broad and involves many aspects, this research has further narrowed 'work culture' down to 'culture', and then to 'the arts'.[13] This is simply a choice to put limits on the empirical research.

This implies that this research does not discuss two main aspects of cultural globalization, namely, mass media and religion. The exclusion of the mass media might lead to an underestimation of observed sameness. However, mass media typically do not operate from a

local, peripheral context, and this research aims to study processes of globalization within such local context.

Religion is a major aspect of globalization and quintessential within the context of a possible development towards sameness or difference. Precisely for that reason it is not included in this research as 'one variable', since it was felt that exactly because it is such a large and important research topic, it would not be done justice when studied as 'one aspect of cultural globalization'. The other, more practical reason is that the selected research area, as will be discussed in the next chapter, turned out to be still very religiously homogeneous, with little religious influence other than Christianity. Having refined the conceptualizations of both economic and cultural globalization, the initial research question can now be reformulated as Step C.

Figure 4.2 Theoretical Model Step C. Selected parameters of economic and cultural globalization.



After having formulated the main theoretical research question, and defined and operationalized the key concepts for the purposes of this research, the empirical research was designed. The choice of small-scale intensive case-study research aimed to develop, rather than test, a model of globalization and sameness. The principle was to select these case-studies based upon the principle of theoretical sampling, in this case a strong manifestation of economic globalization that had been formulated as the independent variable of the research. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

First, the Republic of Ireland was selected as the nation-state with the most economically globalized economy in the world. Within this nation-state, three case studies were selected that reflected a strong presence of:

a) Movement of goods & capital: Foreign Direct Investment — Leixlip, Co. Kildare
b) Movement of people: Tourism — Inis Mór, Co. Galway
c) Movement of knowledge, Internet — Ennis, Co. Clare

When an interesting contrast occurred between Leixlip and Inis Mór, it was decided that the empirical research would not be carried out on Ennis within the context of this dissertation. Empirical research discussed in this thesis has only been carried out on Leixlip and Inis Mór. The

empirical research design will be discussed and further elaborated in chapter 5. For now I have only theoretically discussed the macro-level. The theoretical model will be further elaborated in the next section 4.5 by descending to the micro-level and thus explicitly including individual agency.

4.5 The myth of globalization and the micro-to-macro transition

Coleman (1990) argues that a widening gap between theory and research in social theory stems partially from differences in the level of analysis. Social theories 'continue to be about the functioning of social systems of behaviour, empirical research is often concerned with explaining individual behaviour' (Coleman, 1990:1). The theoretical model has been positioned on the macro-level up to this point.

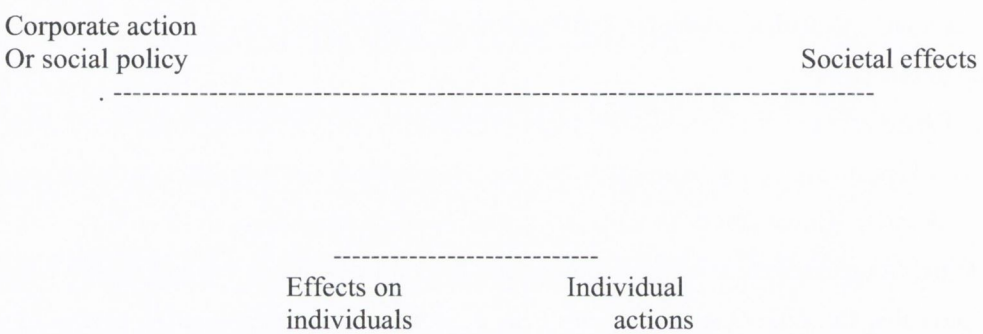
Chapter 3 first discussed that one of the main deficiencies of the sociological studies on globalization is a lack of systematic empirical research. Secondly, it was argued that theoretical studies tend to describe globalization in terms of social configurations, largely driven by their own internal logic. Sometimes these studies come in the shape of futurology where an often dark and ominous invisible hand leads mankind into a society that nobody wants and nobody can control. Both characteristics of sociological studies on globalization have led to an underestimation of individual agency.

The combination of these deficiencies is not coincidental. In other words, I argue that some theories of globalization underestimate individual agency *because* they are not based on empirical research. As Coleman (1990) argues, empirical research is often concerned with explaining individual behaviour. A systematic lack of empiricism on one subject, in this case globalization, will lead inexplicably to a theoretical conceptualization that wrongly underestimates individual agency within that subject. This is not because of the nature of the subject, but rather because of the nature of the research. Simply stated, the micro-level has not been researched.

This research aims explicitly to include the micro-level. It aims to explain phenomena on the macro-level through an understanding of the micro-level and of the processes of globalization on a world scale by scrutinizing individual behaviour on the micro-level, within the context of small-scale research. It is hoped that with empirical research on the micro-level, unravelling the rationale behind the apparently intangible macro-concept of globalization can be achieved, whilst doing justice to individual agency's place in the dynamic of globalization.

However, the choice for seeking understanding of a phenomenon on the macro-level through the analysis of individual actions and orientations, (macro-to-micro), automatically implies the problem of the micro-to-macro transition. In other words, with a theoretical question that has so far been formulated on the macro-level and an empirical research question on that below the macro-constellation, the micro-level, the problem of moving from the lower level to the higher level arises. This is what Coleman has called the micro-to-macro problem (Coleman, 1990:6). Coleman's variant of methodological individualism with both the macro-micro and the micro-macro transition explicitly defined can be summarized as follows. It is illustrated with the macro-to-micro relations in effects of social policies (Coleman, 1990:646).

Figure 4.3 Coleman (1990): Micro-Macro transition.



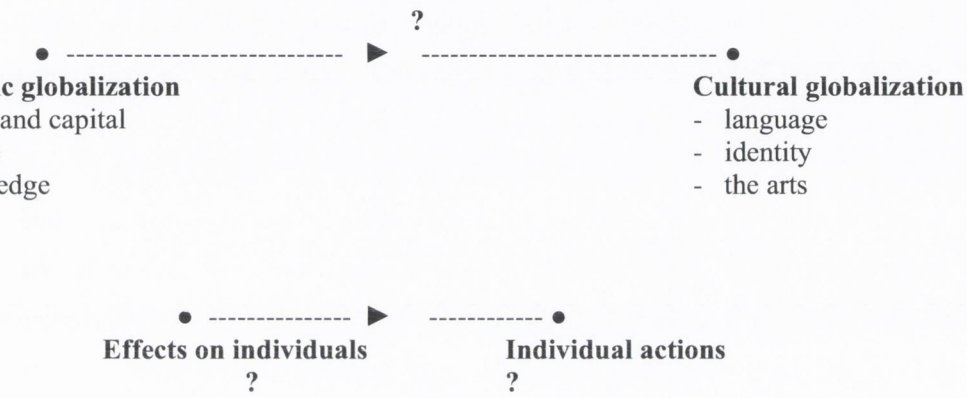
While individual behaviour can explain some of the observed phenomena, it is the unexplained residue between the sums of individual actions and the *de facto* observed macro-phenomenon that is seen as part of the micro-to-macro transition in Coleman's approach. Coleman's variant of methodological individualism is therefore one where 'the interaction among individuals is seen to result in emergent phenomena at the system level, that is, phenomena that were neither intended nor predicted by the individuals' (Coleman, 1990:5).

I contend that it is especially the neglect of this seemingly inexplicable residue that has given theories on globalization its diffuse character. With the micro-level and individual agency being largely unexplored, the micro-macro transition is not made. Yet it might be exactly within this transition that a seemingly inexplicable incongruence occurs between the actions on the micro-level and the phenomena on the macro-level. Then, the 'myth of globalization' is born..

When individual agency is systematically underestimated, the macro-to-micro and especially the micro-to-macro transitions are not revealed or made visible through empirical research. In this way, globalization becomes a myth and seems the unintended result of actions carried out by an unidentified social actor: a force *sui generis*, rather than an act of collective human agency.

Including the micro-level might unmask the myth. Expanding the theoretical model with the micro-level and including Coleman's micro-to-macro transition, the model can be refined as follows.

Figure 4.4 Theoretical Model Step D. Basic theoretical model.



This is the theoretical model that was the departing point of the empirical research.

4.6 Conclusion: a basic theoretical model

This chapter has further developed the initial simple observation into a basic theoretical model, the framework for the empirical research and the foundation for further development of the theory. The basis for this model was a new definition of globalization that this research presents. Like chapter 3 unravelled some ambiguities within the sociological debate on globalization, section 4.2 discussed some ambiguities within every day common sense debate on globalization. Section 4.3 defined globalization as used within the context of this research.

Section 4.4, step B, refined the research question as the relationship between economic and cultural globalization. Step C defined the selected parameters of economic globalization that were used in this research and of cultural globalization, based upon the case study of the Bank as discussed in chapter 2. In section 4.5 the exclusively macro-level analysis was abandoned and the micro-level was included within the basic theoretical model. Step D presented the basic theoretical model: the framework within which the empirical research has been carried out.

This model can be summarized with a descriptive and a causal question:

a) Does economic globalization (e.g. goods and capital, people, knowledge) lead to sameness in the cultural field (e.g. language, identity, arts)?

b) If (not) so, can that be explained through the effects that economic globalization has on individual actors, which lead to actions on the micro-level that bring forth either cultural sameness or difference on the macro-level?

Foreshadowing the further development of the theoretical model, I shall now briefly discuss how the different modules relate to the hypothetic-deductive method and to the following empirical chapters. In many ways these consecutive steps are undertaken simultaneously, both in thinking and in the fieldwork. Nonetheless, after unravelling the process of the model's development, the following steps are highlighted.

The next phase in the hypothetic-deductive method empirically tests hypotheses against the social reality. This is described in the empirical chapters 6 - 13. Through the empirical research, the theory is refined and expanded from the initial descriptive question, (does globalization lead to sameness?), to a causal question, (why does globalization lead to sameness or difference?). Fieldwork gave some insights into the causality of the relationship. Chapter 7 discusses that a specific forms of economic globalization can be discerned, namely dominant globalization (Step E).

Chapter 8 discusses that, besides 'sameness', an outcome of economic globalization in the cultural field can be 'difference'. Step F reformulates the descriptive research question based upon this empirical research and concludes that an outcome of 'sameness' and an outcome of 'difference' can occur. Chapter 9 relates the causal question to the descriptive question for dominant globalization. Step G concludes that the observed form of difference that coincides with dominant globalization can be called polarization, and describes those strategies on the micro-level that result in cultural polarization on the macro-level.

Chapter 10 finds that, beside a form of dominant globalization, a form of autonomous globalization can be discerned (Step E'). The dichotomy dominant versus autonomous globalization is further elaborated in the Conclusions. Chapter 11 then empirically discusses if, since different form of globalization can be discerned , different forms of sameness and difference can be classified as well. This empirical finding is theoretically elaborated in Chapter 12, which includes a theoretical sociological-philosophical discussion on sameness and

difference. Chapter 13 relates the causal question to the descriptive question for autonomous globalization. It describes different strategies stemming from autonomous globalization on the micro-level that lead to sameness or difference on the macro-level (step G'). Chapter 14, the conclusions, present Step H, which is the final model on globalization and sameness that is developed in this thesis.

This chapter has discussed the theoretical model that was the initial framework for the empirical research. The next chapter discusses the empirical research design.

NOTES

[1] Translation mvdb.
[2] In: NRC Web- en Weekeditie voor het Buitenland, 24 mei 2005. Interview by Jannetje Koelewijn.
[3] The processes of the European Union can be interpreted as both favoring and undermining globalization. Favoring, since it is a process of integration of 'all peoples of Europe'and undermining, precisely because it is a process of integration on the sub-global level. Respondent 18 refers in section 7.3 to 'fortress Europe.' This dissertation does not as such extensively analyze processes of European integration and their relationship to globalization. That is not the subject of this dissertation. However, chapter 7, section 7.3 *In Europe: globalization fuelled by European factors* discusses the European influence on globalization's arrival in Leixlip.
[4] Giddens sketches, in reaction to Wallerstein's world's system theory, four dimensions of globalization including economic, political and military process (Giddens, 1999), hence multi-dimensional and not one-dimensional.
[5] Oxford English Dictionary, on-line version. July 2005.
[6] In other words, the physical address of the house is located in an area that is constantly expanding. Where it once may have been the house beside the bridge in Leixlip, (Co. Kildare), now, expanding layers of geographical location have become more and more relevant and it is now an Irish house, a European house, a Western house. The inhabitants of the same house have expanding multi-layered identities, they are not just Leixlip villagers living beside the bridge, they are part of the Republic of Ireland and they are Irish, European or Western. Ultimately they are world citizens.
[7] Religion is mentioned by Robertson as a similarly old construct. I do not agree since most religions in a theological and philosophical sense refer to universality of mankind (Armstrong, 1999) and thus promote global consciousness, unlike nations, races, or civilization that are limited to sub-global groups by definition. However, religion in a social sense is an old construct and equally refers to sub-global groups. One of the exciting convergent movements of the coming times will be to overcome this antagonism.
[8] See: Ritzer, G. *The Globalization of Nothing* (California, Thousand Oaks / London: Pine Forge, 2004).
[9] In: Robertson (2003:265).
[10] The processes of integration in the European Union, for example, can be interpreted as both favoring and undermining globalization; favoring, since it is a process of integration of 'all peoples of Europe', and undermining, precisely because it is a process of integration of 'all peoples *of Europe*', therefore on the sub-global level. Therefore, all sub-global borders will have a contested character and never fulfill the act of globalization. However, according to my definition, Europeanization can essentially be perceived as an act of globalization since it implies the connection to a 'larger society', even though not the 'largest society'.
[11] This research choice means that certain aspects of sameness-producing processes of political globalization, such as standard-setting as a form of globalization that produces sameness in the absence of mobility of goods and services across borders, are explicitly not part of this research.
[12] *De Kunstmatige Kloof* (Van Der Bly, 1995) explores the definitions of culture in the performance arts field in The Netherlands. Based upon the criteria used by the national government the performance arts are generally divided into high-brow and low-brow arts. Subsidizing the former is generally legitimized by the idea that participation in these arts stimulates the participant. However, based upon a Mokken scale-analysis this research argues that the level of originality, innovations and expression experienced by the higher educated audience of high-brow performance arts, is not significantly different from the experiences on the same criteria of the lesser educated audiences of the low-brow performances. The experience, in itself, then would not be enough to legitimize not subsidizing the low-brow arts. At the same time, the study included a quantitative systematic analysis of the participation in low-brow and high-brow art, that showed that culture participation doubles in the statistics if all venues were included.
[13] Language and identity are part of 'culture'; therefore these three categories are not mutually exclusive. The importance of culture is here derived from the influence on 'work-culture' as the case study of the Bank indicated.

CHAPTER 5 THESE LITTLE CLODS OF EARTH

5.1 Introduction: an exploratory and intensive research method

How can a theoretical research question as ambitious and large-scale as presented in the previous chapter be empirically researched? What can the empirical research design be of an inquiry into globalization and sameness? With such a broad and explorative theoretical research question, it was argued that the empirical research must be conducted modestly on a small scale. This chapter discusses how the empirical research was designed and which choices were made with regards to the research method, selection of the population, selection of case studies, data-collection and data-analysis.

Since the aim was to research the relationship between globalization and sameness rather than to rigorously verify or falsify formulated hypotheses, the choice was made for an intensive research method. Most scholars argue that intensive small-scale and exploratory research should ideally precede extensive research that aims to test hypotheses.[1] Instead of investigating a few characteristics amongst a large research population, the choice for an intensive research method allows for the inclusion of many different manifestations of the research object within the context of a small case study.

However, as Harré (1976) argued, intensive research is not only slower, but has a higher risk than extensive research. The latter can always report some results, even if not relevant, while with intensive research the total failure of a conceptual framework is conceivable. The choice of theoretical sampling minimizes that risk.

Yet theoretical sampling bears the dangers of a tautology insofar as the research area is selected based upon the theoretical model and might present conclusions accordingly. This research studies the effects of processes of economic globalization in the cultural field. Therefore, in order to prevent a tautological research design, I decided to apply the principle of theoretical sampling in such a way that the research area is selected solely based upon the independent variable, namely the presence of processes of economic globalization.

Setting the risks as highlighted by Harré aside, the choice for an intensive research method has strong advantages, especially when addressing the subject of globalization. As Schuyt (1986) argues, the aim of generalization in extensive research is to other non-researched members of a group, while intensive research aims to generalize to other situations in which the researched persons will act. This research does not address 'globalized people' nor does it seek to make

generalizing remarks about non-researched people of the same population ('non-globalized people'). Assuming that the research population of a general theory on globalization is the world population, such an approach would naturally be unrealistic.

On the other hand, intensive research can unravel the social mechanisms of the situation in which the persons being researched act. The aim of generalization is thus to investigate to what extent these social mechanisms can be extrapolated to other situations. This dissertation aims with intensive research on globalization to clarify some social mechanisms that can be extrapolated beyond the context of the chosen case studies.

Section 5.2 elaborates the empirical research design and discusses the choice for three local case studies, situated within one nation-state. Section 5.3 discusses how, based upon the criterion of a strong presence of processes of economic globalization, a nation-state is selected as the research area for this study. Section 5.4 discusses how the same principle has been applied in selecting the different case-studies. This section highlights how three case-studies have been selected with a strong presence of economic globalization within the nation-state with the strongest presence of economic globalization in the world, during the research period.

Section 5.5 discusses the data collection and analysis. The empirical research is carried out through quantitative and qualitative research. The qualitative research has been a triangulation of research techniques, gradually descending from the macro and institutional level to the micro-level. The techniques subsequently discussed are analysis of documentary realities, visual sociology, participant observation, in-depth interviews, short interviews and conversation-analysis. Section 5.6 discusses the researcher's place within the social settings and the difference between the two case-studies that were eventually selected.

5.2 Population and sampling

One of the reasons why relatively little empirical research on integrated processes of globalization has been carried out, is the vastness of both the research area and population. The research area can be defined as the world and the research population as the world population. Boundaries are hard to define. Empirical studies on globalization have generally be conducted in the following three genres: a) distinctive processes of globalization located in one local area[2], b) a distinctive process of society located in the global area[3], and c) a distinctive national group located in the global area.[4]

This research aimed to integrally research the different processes both of economic and cultural globalization, yet to narrow down the research through limits on the researched geographic area. I specifically chose to limit the research based upon a geographic area, instead of for example sectors, assuming that this would make globalization's effect on one little clod of earth, visible and tangible. The next question then became which little clod of earth to choose.

The theoretical research question can literally be researched all over the world, in every small village or in the neighbourhood of every big town. The relationship between globalization and sameness can be explored on every continent: Asia, Australia, Europe, Africa, North America and South-America (save only, maybe, for Antarctica).

In greater or lesser degree, globalization as a worldwide process is expected to influence every part of human civilization within the boundaries of planet earth. Nonetheless, there might be areas where its influence is more significant, either since the economic processes are stronger or because the cultural consequences are more profound. Which criteria are used to select the research area?

This research chose to select the research areas based upon the procedure of theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), 'in which cases, be they people, groups, sub-groups or settings are purposely selected in order to provide the best possible test of some theory or theoretical statement or the optimal opportunity to develop some theory or theoretical statement' (Brewer, 2000:192). A disadvantage of the choice for theoretical sampling is that the research population is explicitly *not* representative for the larger population. Yet how could any sample be representative for processes on a world scale, where the population includes the world-population?

The choice for theoretical sampling has significant advantages as well. Firstly, theoretical sampling provides the opportunity for in-depth explorations of the theory, since the research area aims to expose the indicators required for the theoretical concept. The second advantage is that theoretical sampling minimizes the risk inherent to the choice for intensive research. As I argued, the choice for intensive rather then extensive research implies a higher risk to the extent that the conceptual framework might not be conceivable at all.

It can be imagined that selection of a community or village, where very little influence of processes of economic globalization can be found, would make it hard to investigate the effects of cultural globalization. The choice for theoretical sampling minimizes that risk. For these reasons, I decided to select the research population of this dissertation based upon theoretical sampling. This principle, was applied on two levels, the choice of a) the national context discussed in section 5.3 and b) the local context, discussed in section 5.4.

Based upon theoretical sampling one nation-state was selected and within that nation-state, three local case studies. Why decide to research different case studies located in one nation-state instead of in different countries? Such a research scenario would inevitably raise questions about national differences between the case studies as if this were an international comparative study.

On the other hand, if the case studies are selected within the context of one nation-state the possible disturbing effects stemming from differences on a national level will be minimized. Variations on the national level will not occur *between* nation-states, but *within* one country.

This research is not so much interested in differences between countries, but in the manifestation of processes of globalization on a local level. With the processes of economic globalization divided into three categories and each case study mainly focusing on one process (while taking into account the other processes), the research population was selected as represented in table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Selection of case studies.

Selection criteria	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3
Economic globalization A = movement of goods and capital B = movement of people C = movement of knowledge	Abc	aBc	abC
National	I	I	I
Local	X	Y	Z
Cultural globalization	?	?	?
U = of identity V = of language W = of the arts	Uvw	uVw	UvW

In other words, three case studies (X, Y and Z) in one nation-state (I) were selected to research the relationship between processes of economic and cultural globalization. On the national level, the nation-state that was selected was the nation-state with the most globalized economy in the world at the time of the research, as will be discussed in section 5.3.

On the local level a similar principle was applied. The first case study was selected because it had the strongest presence of economic globalization in the form of movement of goods and capital, namely the highest proportion of per capita Foreign Direct Investment in the selected nation-state (A).

The second case study was selected because it had a strong presence of economic processes of globalization in the form of the movement of people, namely a strong presence of tourism (B).

The third case study was selected because it had a strong presence of economic processes of globalization in the form of the movement of knowledge, in this case, Internet access (C).

It was argued that, while the cases were selected based upon the main independent variable, a specific form of economic globalization, other manifestations of economic globalization in the selected cases would nonetheless be discussed. Thus case study X, selected based upon strong presence of movements of goods and capital, takes into account the movement of people and of knowledge would be taken into account (Abc) and case study Y similarly (aBc) and case study X (abC).

At the same time, while the selection of the independent variable, the processes of economic globalization, was the main selection criterion, the different aspects of cultural globalization have been taken into account. This was done in such a way that a case study would be included where the effects on language could be studied, one case-study were the effects on identity could be studied and one on the arts. However, these criteria were secondary. The primary theoretical sampling was done based upon the presence of processes of economic globalization.

5.3 Selection of the nation-state

The theoretical research design as presented in chapter 4 was developed from the simple observation that globalization leads to sameness or more precisely, that economic globalization leads to cultural sameness. In the context of this observation therefore, the processes of economic globalization are the driving force, in examining its effects on processes of cultural globalization. Economic globalization is, in this model, the independent variable and cultural globalization the dependent variable.

Since this simple observation was the basis of the developed model, this implied that the selected research area should strongly manifest processes of economic globalization. How could the effect of economic globalization on cultural sameness be researched when economic globalization in the research area is absent? This selection criterion is therefore, quintessential in the empirical research design. Economic globalization on a national level usually refers to the integration of national economies into the global economy. This means that the national context of the selected communities needs to be strongly influenced by processes of economic globalization. The question then arises of how can we determine which nation-state has the most globalized economy in the world?

The A.T. Kearny / Foreign Policy Magazine Globalization Index, collaboration between *Foreign Policy Magazine*[5] and management consultancy firm A.T. Kearney, aims to quantify globalization.[6] Published annually since 2001, the Globalization Index measures four aspects of globalization that are cumulated into one index.

These four dimensions of globalization are economic integration, political engagement, personal contact and technology. Fourteen variables[7] are clustered into these four aspects for 62 countries, according to *Foreign Policy Magazine*, measuring 84% of the world's population and 96% of the world's gross domestic product (Kearney, 2004:58). The Globalization Index 'only scratches the surface of globalization's complexity' (2004:63) and, most notably, cultural globalization is not included.[8]

The Globalization Index is therefore a *de facto* index measuring economic globalization and some indicators of political globalization. While this might be seen as a serious deficit in terms of the pretensions of the title, in the light of this research the explicit exclusion of cultural globalization in the index is actually beneficial, as the use of an index that would include cultural globalization surely would make the research tautological.

The Economic Integration cluster consists of four variables: Trade, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), Portfolio Capital Flows, and Income Payments and Receipts. Personal Contact clusters three variables: International travel and Tourism, International telephone Traffic, and Cross-Border Transfers[9]. Under the Technology heading the variables are the numbers of Internet Users, Internet Hosts and Secure Servers. Political Engagement combines four variables: memberships in international organizations, personnel and financial contributions to U.N. Security Council missions, international treaties ratified, and governmental transfers. The field of political globalization or global political integration is, however, beyond the scope of this research.

The construction of such an index raises several methodological problems. The first problem is the weight given to each of the variables within the clusters and then the weight of the different clusters within the Index. One can argue that the clusters are not exclusive or separated in rendering their respective sums, but rather influence each other. For example it is possible that a higher score on the Technology-cluster a high number of Internet users, will lead to a lower score on the Personal Contact cluster, i.e. a lower number of international phone calls, perhaps with e-mails replacing the phone.

A second problem refers to the selection of the variables and the question whether they actually measure that which they aim to measure. For example, a high score on international telephone traffic does not necessarily indicate international personal contact in the case of international phone calls made in a call-centre in Dublin manned by French speaking staff

providing customer service to French companies based in France. Is international phone traffic made by migrants to their families in their fatherland not a very different, and much culturally profound, transformative form of globalization? Yet the index does not distinguish between these different types of international phone calls.

The presence of a large airport can have disturbing effects when measuring international travel and tourism. Schiphol Airport is for many passengers used as a transfer on a flight to other destinations. Yet a three-hour stay in Schiphol for a transfer is not a visit to the Netherlands. Another problem with this index is that it measures globalization on the level of the national economy when it is arguable whether a globalized national economy necessarily means a globalized national society.

While outgoing phone-calls and busy airports might indicate the level of globalization of a national economy, it does not necessarily measure the level of globalization of a national society. It is theoretically possible that a small country consists of a fully homogeneous population, yet maintains very successful international call-centres and an airport mainly used for transfers. This would make the economy quite global in terms of the Globalization Index while the national society would still be very isolated from the world society. This contradiction would not be expressed in the Globalization Index. Therefore the Globalization Index measures the level of integration of national economies into the global economy and not whether the national society is globalized.

However, acknowledging both the theoretical and methodological criticisms that can be made of the index itself this research has relied for its selection of the national research area on the commonly accepted A.T Kearny / Foreign Policy Magazine Globalization Index (Kearney, 2002-2004). Factually, this Globalization Index mainly refers to what I call 'processes of economic globalization', and is thus very suitable for the purposes of the selection of the national area of this research.[10]

In which country will we find the strongest presence of processes of economic globalization? The Globalization Index ranked the Republic of Ireland first[11] for three consecutive years.[12] The following picture shows how *The Irish Times* announced the Republic of Ireland's top-position of in the Globalization Index in the Home-News section.

Picture 5.1 The Irish Times. January 8, 2003.

8 THE IRISH TIMES, Wednesday, January 8, 2003

GLOBALISATION REPORT/HOME NEWS

Ireland ranked as the most globalised of 62 states due to exports

IRELAND has again emerged as the most "globalised" country among 62 states included in the annual AT Kearney/*Foreign Policy* magazine survey. The Republic's high level of trade and multinational investment and high telephone call volumes with the rest of the world were the key factors maintaining its position at the top of the survey.

The globalisation survey aims to measure the integration of the countries surveyed into the world political and economic system. Undertaken by AT Kearney management consultants and the prestigious *Foreign Policy* magazine, it uses a range of measures covering political engagement, technology, personal contact and economic integration.

Ireland ranked sixth in the first survey, conducted in 1998, and was first in the 2000 survey, a position maintained in the latest research, which relates to 2001.

So why does Ireland count as the most globalised? The export-driven nature of the economy – much of it driven by multinational industry – is a central factor.

Irish trade (imports and exports

Trade, multinational investment and high telephone call volumes were key factors, writes **Cliff Taylor**, Economics Editor

the ending of exchange controls and latterly by the advent of the euro. Recent Central Statistics Office figures show that Irish portfolio investment abroad rose from €43 billion in 1998 to €64 billion in 2001, excluding the holdings of IFSC-based companies.

This means your pension fund is now as likely to be invested in Philips or Nokia as in a share on the Irish exchange and represents a genuine deepening of economic integration. Personal investors are also now much more likely to look overseas for investment opportunities, as shown recently by interest from Ireland in British property.

Other financial flows boosting Ireland's rating may overstate the growth over the past year may have closed the gap somewhat.

The other area where Ireland scores highly is "personal contact". This is boosted by high telephone call volumes in and out of Ireland. This partly reflects trade and business volumes and also the large number of people with relatives abroad, relating to previous periods of high emigration or more recent trends for young people to head off travelling for a prolonged period.

One caveat on the phone traffic figures is the high volume of calls relating to call centres based in the Republic. A number of large technology and financial firms have such facilities here, providing ser-

league in terms of political integration, as measured by the index. This uses measures such as membership of international organisations (where we rank 15th) and the number of foreign embassies hosted here (where we rank 38th).

Obviously this measure does not fully capture our involvement at EU level or the importance of decisions made by the likes of the EU Commission and the European Central Bank to our political and economic situation, nor does it attempt to measure the impact of the increasing number of non-nationals living here.

Is Ireland's ranking likely to have altered significantly over the past year? It is unlikely that it has. The foreign direct investment sector has been less buoyant – particularly information technology where exports have fallen.

However, Ireland will not have suffered disproportionately in this area and the major pharmaceutical companies have been supporting the overall levels of exports with massive export gains.

Likewise tourism volumes have been weak over the past year, but again the Irish experience here

The Global Top 2

For the second year in a row, Ireland ranks a nation in our survey, buoyed by its strong por and foreign investment, particularly in its hig Even during the weak global economy of 2001 to increase its levels of trade. The United Stat place it maintains because of its strength in t indicators.

The leading position of the Republic of Ireland on the Globalization Index is pre-eminently based on the Economic Integration and Personal Contacts clusters[13] with significantly lower rankings on the Political Engagement and Technology clusters.[14] Political globalization is beyond the scope of this research, yet the cluster of what here is referred to as Technology is explicitly part of the research, since one of the three main processes of economic globalization is the movement of knowledge, i.e. the internet.

The high score of the Republic of Ireland on the Economic Integration dimension is mainly due to the large portion of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and to Portfolio Capital Flows.[15] On the Personal Contact dimension the Republic of Ireland scores specifically high on International Phone calls and Travel and Tourism. While the national economy is now allegedly strongly integrated in the global economy, the Republic of Ireland's economic development as the Celtic Tiger has been very recent. Besides that, the Republic of Ireland does not have as strong a history of global trade as the United Kingdom or the Netherlands, as it was never colonial but colonized. Economic globalization seemingly emerged only recently and relatively suddenly.

The phenomenon of recent and very strong economic globalization is in either case beneficial for the empirical research of this study as it will facilitate tracing the effects of cultural globalization caused by strong economic globalization in a nearby past. In conclusion, the national context of the empirical research has been identified as the Republic of Ireland, hereinafter referred to as 'Ireland'.

5.4 The local context: Leixlip, Co. Kildare and Inis Mór, Co. Galway

In order to select the nation-state, globalization has been perceived as a container term for processes of economic globalization. Yet for the selection of the research areas on the local level, I have turned to the three distinctive processes of economic globalization as defined in chapter 4: the worldwide movements of goods and capital, people and knowledge (Theoretical Model Step C).

These categories can be compared with the clusters used in the A.T Kearney / Foreign Policy Magazine Globalization Index. Economic Integration refers to the movement of goods and capital, Personal Contact to the movement of people and Technology to the movement of knowledge. Specific contemporary variables can be attributed to the aforementioned general categories. For the selection of the case studies on the local level, the 'movement of goods and capital' is narrowed down as the proportion of Foreign Direct Investment, 'movement of people' as 'tourism' and 'movement of knowledge' as 'use of Internet.'

These selection criteria denote the absence of certain aspects of economic globalization in the research design, most notably the migration of people. While acknowledging that migration is an essential aspect of globalization, this aspect has not as such been directly used to select the local case studies. Where its manifestations occur in the empirical field though, it will be discussed. Using 'migration' solely as indicator for economic globalization, I argued, would not do justice to the complexities of the subject. Similarly, 'religion' has not been chosen as an indicator for cultural globalization as discussed in section 4.4.

The selection of the cases is therefore narrowed down to the question of where we can expect strong influence of Foreign Direct Investment, tourism and Internet use in Ireland. Inherent to intrinsic research is the risk that the conceptual framework is not conceivable at all. Along the lines of the principle of theoretical sampling, the case-studies are selected in such a way that not only economic globalization in the shape of Foreign Direct Investment, tourism and Internet is

included but also cultural globalization addressing transformations in the fields of language, identity and the arts. Based upon these arguments the following case studies have been selected:

Table 5.2 Processes of economic and cultural globalization for the three case studies

Cultural / ***Economic***	**Identity**	**Language**	**The arts**
Movement of Goods & Capital Foreign Direct Investment	Leixlip (Co. Kildare)		
Movement of People Tourism		Inis Mór (Co. Galway)	
Movement of Knowledge Internet			Ennis (Co. Clare)

The selection of case studies was motivated as follows.

Leixlip, Co. Kildare: Due to the presence of the largest plant of the Intel Corporation (Intel) outside of the United States of America (USA) and a large Hewlett- Packard plant, this village of just over 15.000 inhabitants is the geographic area with the largest proportion of Foreign Direct Investment in Ireland. Leixlip used to be part of The Pale, the British ruled area around Dublin.

Inis Mór, Co. Galway: Inis Mór is the largest of the Aran Islands of Ireland's West-Coast, with around 800 inhabitants. It has recently experienced an increase in the tourism industry and is a favourite tourist destination. Inis Mór is situated in a Gaeltacht area and is thus traditionally Irish speaking.

Ennis, Co. Clare: In 1997, this town of around 15.000 inhabitants won the *Ireland Information Age Town Award*, which lead to a 15 million pound investment in Information Age Technology.[16]

As discussed in chapter 4 in an early stage of the research a contrast emerged between the processes of economic globalization and their influences in the cultural field in Leixlip on one hand, and Inis Mór on the other hand. At that point it was decided that instead of further exploring the descriptive research question, 'does globalization lead to cultural sameness?', address the causal question, 'why does globalization (not) lead to cultural sameness?'

The empirical research then has further explored that question within the context of the selected case studies of Leixlip in Co. Kildare and on Inis Mór, Co. Galway. The methods of data-collection and data-analysis will be discussed in the next section. For now it needs to be

pointed out that this research does not pretend to offer either a community study of suburban life in Leixlip or of contemporary island-life on Inis Mór.

Instead, the empirical research has been limited to systematically research the intertwining of processes of economic and cultural globalization in Leixlip and on Inis Mór. The question arises whether the empirical findings of this research have any meaning beyond their manifestation within the context of the two different communities in Ireland? To what extent can the patterns of globalization as found on Inis Mór and in Leixlip be generalized beyond their local settings?

The extrapolation of these results depends firstly on the chosen research design and secondly on the nature of the findings and their origins as well. In other words, if the found patterns are the result of characteristics of social circumstances that are not unique for the two sites but which either occur in a national or even beyond a national context, the plausibility of generalization is higher than when the found patterns are seemingly the result of unique, particular characteristics of the chosen sites. However, the answer to this question largely depends on the particularities of the research findings.

5.5 Data collection: quantitative and qualitative research

The empirical research was carried out over a period of almost three years, between January 2003 and November 2005. The empirical research on the two case studies was carried out more or less simultaneously, with some periods of more emphasis on the Leixlip-case alternating with periods that were more intensively focused on the Inis Mór study.

In both cases the empirical research consisted of a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods, with an emphasis on the latter. The qualitative research was a triangulation of research-techniques including document analysis, visual sociology, participant observation, field notes, audio and visual observations of the use of language, conversation-analysis, in-depth interviews and short interviews. In this section, I will discuss how the data was collected and analyzed for both case-studies.

5.5.1 Quantitative research

The quantitative research was composed firstly of an analysis of the census data reflecting general indicators on population and of those variables indicating cultural transformation in the

field of language and identity. Secondly, it consisted of a socio-economic analysis of the economic growth of Ireland based upon economic literature on the subject.

Census data

The empirical research began with the collection of quantitative data available for all three cases: Leixlip, Co. Kildare; Inis Mór, Co. Galway and Ennis, Co. Clare. I was mainly interested in general data to make myself familiar with the social settings. The analysis consisted of two parts, an analysis of the population development based upon the census and an analysis of variables provided by the *Small Areas Population Statistics* (SAPS), both provided by the Irish Central Statistics Office (CSO). The census data are available since 1841 for Leixlip and for Inis Mór. The census data on population were available for all three of The Aran Islands separately. The SAPS was somewhat more useful for Leixlip than for Inis Mór, since the area of Inis Mór included the two other islands as well, Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr.

The older census data provided information on the number of houses (divided in inhabited, uninhabited, building and out offices and farmsteadings), the population demographic (males and females) and valuation of houses and land (in £). For purposes of this research analysis of the development of the population was carried out on the raw data of Leixlip and of Inis Mór and the other islands, as provided by the CSO.

The SAPS-data are available for the census years since 1981 and provide detailed analyses of small areas. The 2002 SAPS contain 1,161 variables for 4,334 electoral divisions along with all towns with a population of 1,000 or more and many other administrative areas. There are some changes in the variables that are available through the SAPS, reflecting the changes the Irish society has experienced over the last decennium. The SAPS-data provide variables on general population characteristics, number of household units, employment and education, and also on the number of people that speak Irish, religion and nationality, reflecting some information on cultural sameness and diversity.

The variable on the Irish language appears in the first SAPS-data in 1981 and is divided into what the Census calls 'Irish Speak' and 'Non Irish Speak'. In 1996 a second variable indicating the use of the Irish language is added to the SAPS: 'Frequency of speaking Irish', was added to the SAPS and focused with the categories 'daily', 'weekly', 'less often', 'never' and 'not stated'.

The variable on religion has appeared since 1981 in the data but seemed to be measured inconsistently. In 1981 the variable on religion was divided into the categories 'Catholic' and 'other'. In 1986 the variable does not seem to be included. The census of 1991 adds some sub-categories to the question and includes, besides 'catholic', 'other stated religion', 'no religion'

and 'not stated.' In 1996 the variable is again not available. In 2002 religion is included and divided in the same sub-categories as in 1991.

In 2002, for the first time, two variables indicating the nationality of the respondents are added to the SAPS-data. Firstly, the variable 'Place of Birth' with subcategories 'Ireland', 'UK' and 'other' is introduced. Secondly, a variable 'Nationality' with categories 'Irish', 'UK' and 'Other' is included. In the same year, two variables measuring PC-literacy were added: 'PC in private household' and 'Internet-access'.

The quantitative analysis consisted of an analysis on the raw data of the SAPS for both Leixlip and Inis Mór on the relevant variables. Furthermore, these data have been compared with the data available on the national level for the Republic of Ireland. Analysis has been carried out on the raw data on the national level. These census data for Leixlip are discussed in chapter 6 and chapter 8. The census data for Inis Mór are discussed in chapter 10 and chapter 12. Extra information on the census data, especially the comparison with the national level is included in appendix D, E and F.

Literature analysis

Part of the research was an inquiry into the arrival of processes of economic globalization to Ireland in general. This has been a broadly studied subject, especially amongst economists. This part of the research has included a review of the (socio) economic literature on the subject. The results of this analysis are discussed in chapter 7. This included some analysis of European policy at the time and the possible influence that European regulations have had on the advent of processes of economic globalization to Ireland, especially to Leixlip.

5.5.2 Qualitative research

The qualitative research was a triangulation of research methods which I will now briefly discuss. The sequence of the research methods was more or less driven by a descent from the macro to the micro-level, in the sense that I first have explored the case-studies through quantitative data-available on the macro-level (see section 5.5.1) then through data available on the collective level, mostly through document analysis. After the quantitative analysis and the document-analysis, I have explored both case studies through visual photography, before I had informed the population that I was carrying out fieldwork, in order to see which manifestations of sameness or diversity I would visually find in the field.

After most of the research was conducted through these three research methods on the macro-level, the institutional and collective level, I then turned to the second phase of the empirical research: the micro-level, explored through in-depth interviews, short interviews, participant observation and conversation-analysis. This section discusses the different research techniques used, descending from the macro to the micro-level and from the collective to the individual level.

Analyzing documentary realities

While ethnographic research was historically was received and developed for research in essentially oral settings, contemporary fieldwork is often conducted in settings that are themselves documented by the indigenous social actors (Atkinson and Coffey, 2004). Qualitative field research then includes the research of documentary realities, the location of documentary work within the fabric of everyday social life.

A large part of this empirical research was the systematic analysis of documents on the subject. In chapter 4 I discussed how an overt and a hidden conceptualization of globalization can be distinguished. Text-analysis of an interview with a sculptor from Sarajevo revealed that the subjective perception of opposing globalization can cover an objective act of globalization.

Documentary realities are what they are: constructed realities in which the actors are concerned with self-presentation, exploring a variety of ways of representing themselves collectively both to themselves and to others. However, there might be a truth hidden behind and within the constructed documentary realities. It was aimed therefore to deconstruct the documentary realities and to find an objective reality within and behind the constructed documentary realities, as was done with the analysis of the interview with the sculptor from Sarajevo.

The empirical research therefore focused firstly on an analysis of the documentary realities created by the social actors within the context of Leixlip and of Inis Mór. Secondly, it consisted of a confrontation between this constructed reality and the observed situation in the field, explored through visual sociology, participant observation, in-depth interviews and short interviews, the latter in the more oral tradition. While the first aspect focused more on the collective and the institutional level, the second parts of the empirical research aimed to unravel the goals and strategies of individual actors on the micro-level.

The typology of analyzed documents within the context of Inis Mór and of Leixlip was somewhat different. In Leixlip, I explored those documents representing the processes of economic globalization and the reaction to them within the cultural field on an institutional level.

Organizations produce significant and substantial amounts of documents that include a variety of materials concerned with their self-presentation. On an organizational level these documents present the collective identity that the group wants to express, both to themselves and to others.

For the Leixlip-case the documentary analysis concentrated on the deconstruction of the documentary reality of the intertwining of processes of economic and cultural globalization created on an institutional level. This reality is constructed on one hand by the organizations representing the processes of economic globalization, namely Intel and Hewlett-Packard, and on the other hand by those institutions and organizations that shaped the local reaction in the cultural field, including, among others, the Town Commission, the local theatre group, the school committee, a resident committee, the committee for design of the town crest, the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), the church committee and the Chamber of Commerce.

These documents, annual reports, prospectuses, financial accounts and brochures but also websites and promotional videos, are often created in a dialogue of intertextuality, not constructing systems or domains as individual, separate activities, but collectively, shaping a reality reflecting the influence that processes of economic globalization have had on Leixlip. Most documents were produced by groups and therefore represented self-presentation on a collective level.

Since the initial research question focused on the relationship between economic globalization and cultural sameness, with economic globalization argued to be the independent variable and cultural globalization the dependent variable, the first part of the document analysis concentrated on the self-presentations of local institutions within the cultural field.

These self-presentations include:

- several brochures by the Town Council (for example *Leixlip- Proud of Its Past. Rejoices in its Present. Confident of its Future)*;
- the Leixlip Town Commissioners Annual Report 2001;
- a study issued by the Town Council, namely *Leixlip Town Centre Study* (Brady, Shipman Martin, 2002);
- *The Leixlip Report* a community study (Waddington, 2000);
- a promotional CD-Rom of the town;
- an in-depth analysis of the town's website and the consecutive parts it addressed including the distinctive linguistic registers used, especially with reference to observed bilingualism;
- of the Leixlip Chamber of Commerce;
- of the Tidy Towns Association;

- brochures by the Leixlip Festival;
- and the Leixlip Theatre and Drama Group, including an analysis of their website and the national identity of the writers of the plays that they have put on since their foundation in 1974;
- a report relevant for the Residents Association (An Bord Pleanála, 2005);
- but as well less official documents like menus of restaurants in Leixlip[17];
- leaflets handed out in the church during the Irish mass,
- the Shuttle Time Table et cetera

The main purpose of this part of the research (further: see Printed Sources) was to investigate the perception of the local identity, expressed by the different social groups within Leixlip society, under the assumption that the experience of a local identity would diminish under the sameness-hypothesis. The results of this part of the research are presented in chapter 8 and chapter 9.

Through analysis of these documents, I researched the collective identity of Leixlip as presented by representative resident groups. Some studies on a more individual level would give insight into the way the social actors saw themselves and how this self-perception has changed under the influence of processes of economic globalization. This has most strongly been researched by an analysis of the recently published historical studies on Leixlip (see: Printed Sources).

These studies are written by local historians and thus create a documentary reality of the way Leixlip is perceived, and especially how its historical development is interpreted. While the mentioned historical facts were taken into account, I was mostly interested in the contextualization of the studies, for example who wrote the preface and why. Why was there an increase of local studies? Who reads these historical studies? Who wrote these studies? And when? Who paid for these studies to be written? How was the history of the different invaders described and interpreted in these studies? How did the town define itself, as seen through the eyes of their local historians? What does the writer seem to take and not take for granted? In what way is the history of Leixlip framed? The analyses of this cluster of documents, (including the historical part of the town's website), resulted in a preliminary analysis of the way Leixlip's history was perceived and constructed by its contemporary inhabitants. The findings of this analysis are discussed in chapter 8.

The results of the individual written studies supported the impressions of the document analysis on an institutional level, namely about how the relevant Leixlip institutions represented themselves collectively both to themselves and to others. Moreover, the documentary realities

research, informed by an ethnographic sensitivity, confirmed conclusions derived from the quantitative analysis based upon census data: the presence of processes of economic globalization did not coincide with an increasing cultural sameness on the local level or an abating local identity. The number of local historical studies increased during the time when economic globalization came to Leixlip.

The research question then turned to explore the causal question. Why did processes of economic globalization not lead to sameness in the cultural field? Why in fact do they seem to have led to a stronger experience of local identity? This is discussed in chapter 9. This question has been explored based upon the collective representations at the institutional and organizational level and through individual interviews as I will discuss later. The relevant organization representing processes of economic globalization in this case are Intel and Hewlett-Packard.

The first step was to explore this question through an analysis of the documentary realities. Several Intel reports, on the global level, were analyzed including *Intel Global Citizenship 2001 and 2002*, Intel's anniversary report *Thirty-five years of Innovation* (2003) and *Leadership is In* (2000) (see: Printed Sources). The question was, how do the global players perceive themselves and how might this self-perception influence the development of the local identity. While these reports contain valuable information of the self-perception of the global player, more objective information can be derived from these reports as well.

Based on these reports I conducted research into Intel's expansion and it was concluded, contrary to initial expectations, that the company is not as 'footloose' as is often suggested in the debate on multinationals and globalization. This has been discussed in section 7.2. It was by no means Intel's aim to counter a thesis of 'footloose companies' in producing these publications. In fact the term is not even mentioned in the anniversary brochure. Yet from the factual representation and through a verification of secondary sources one of the key-assumptions underlying the sameness-thesis, seemed to be countered, namely that economic globalization is driven by footloose multinationals with no interest in their local surroundings - that is: for the case of Intel.

Other reports showed the rhetoric used on the national or the local level, for example *Introduction to Intel Ireland* (1998) illustrated with the figure of a little Irish dancer, and a series of *Local Updates* (2001-2004), especially aimed at the local population of Leixlip. These documents represent Intel's self-image, but as well the self-motivations and the values held on the institutional level, while at the same time reflecting the concerns and issues raised by local organizations, as discussed in the *Local Updates*.

Besides the published documents, unpublished documents that were required during the research were analyzed as well. Most notably I was delighted to get hold of the unpublished *Public Affairs CAP Handbook*, which gave valuable insight and information into the global dissemination of locally produced practices through economic globalization. This part of the research consisted of a systematic analysis of these documents, mainly focusing on the causal research question of why did we not find sameness in the cultural field under circumstances of strong economic globalization? The results of this document analysis are presented in chapter 9.

At the same time, Hewlett-Packard documents were analyzed, not so much for what was expressed, but for what was omitted. Hewlett-Packard had not provided me with documents on the national or the local level, but only on the global level. The very fact of the absence of relevant documents, and therefore of communication both on the national and local level, became a key element in the analysis of Hewlett-Packard's position as a form of 'splendid isolation', which through the absence of domination in the cultural field allowed the local population more autonomy. This is discussed in chapter 9, section 9.4.

Enquiry into documentary realities is not just confined to the inspection of documents themselves. It must also incorporate a clear understanding of how documents are produced, circulated, read, stored and used for a wide variety of purposes (Atkinson and Coffey, 2004). Sometimes the main insight comes from the absence of documents. It was especially the lack of Hewlett-Packard's documents and hence its limited involvement in the local community, that further seemed to confirm an initial hypothesis on the relationship between domination versus autonomy of economic globalization on one hand and sameness versus difference in the cultural field on the other.

The research method of document analysis was applied to Inis Mór as well and involved the analysis of a wide variety of sources, both formal and informal, factual and fictional. The documentary reality of Inis Mór however is somehow different by nature. In Leixlip two different documentary realities were constructed at the same time and somewhat in reaction to each other. The research therefore focused how these two documentary realities were constructed in relationship to each other. On Inis Mór on the other hand, there seemed to be one documentary reality, reflected in a number of published studies on Inis Mór. This documentary reality tells in different ways the narrative of a traditional and isolated community, with a distinctive Irish culture.

Both through field work in the oral tradition and through the analysis of another set of documents, not so widely (globally and nationally) but more locally available, another documentary reality emerged constructed by the islanders themselves, not so much by the visitors

to the island. The discrepancy between the two drew attention to a further analysis between overt globalization and hidden globalization, whereby the latter seemed to be both driving and constructing a form of cultural sameness that was described as homogeneity.

The first cluster of analyzed documents was a number of relevant historical studies on Inis Mór (see: Printed Sources). Several studies were published on Inis Mór at the beginning of the 20th century. For purposes of this dissertation, I decided to analyze extensively the most significant studies, including Synge's [1907] *The Aran Islands*[18] and Bridget Dirrane's (1997) *A Woman of Aran*.

These studies were systematically analyzed with the aim of unravelling an insider's and an outsider's perspective. While Synge was an outsider, the historic account of island woman Bridget Dirrane is an insider's narrative of historic Inis Mór. From the perspective of empirical research, I did not research these studies at face value as accurate representations of social reality, but rather in an effort to suggest themes, images and metaphors.

One of the images that arose was how nationalism was discussed at a breakfast table, by powerful men, speaking in Irish, while in the background an English speaking girl listened and dreamed of a future somewhere far away. This drew my attention to the powerless as a driving force for processes of globalization. This is very different from the concept of globalization driven by the powerful. This opened the way to further explore the possibilities and consequences of a concept of autonomous globalization.

Besides an analysis of these studies, I analyzed O'Flaherty's film *Man of Aran* in order to unravel how, from an outsider's perspective, an imagery of the island has been created. The film contains very little spoken word, but does have written texts. I have analyzed these texts especially referring to the question: what is recorded? And what is omitted? How do images of historical material shape contemporary reality? This documentary reality sketched in the historical studies lives on in contemporary tourists books. So the next step was the systematic analysis: the analysis of all the tourist books available on Inis Mór (see: Printed Sources) and an in-depth analysis of an article in *Backpacker Magazine* and of *Lonely Planet Ireland.*

Since the documentary reality of widely published material revealed a culture that was distinctive but that at the same time, as local field work revealed, was largely lost, the question of why these distinctive features were lost was raised. Based upon an analysis of what in historical texts, in *Man of Aran* and in contemporary tourist brochures, had been identified as distinctive, several distinctive cultural features of the island culture were identified. Chapter 11 explores systematically how and why these distinctive features were lost, based upon an analysis of

secondary material. Gradually, through this analysis was the concept of 'universal diversity' developed.

The second set of document analysis focused not on what was available in the global or national domain on Inis Mór, but mostly that which was available in the local context. Sometimes the absence of certain documents or research material reveals more than its actual presence. One of the findings was that no copy of *Man of Aran* could be bought on the island, while this documentary reality of Inis Mór has found its place in the global domain and was widely available, it was uprooted from its own background.

Since the selection criterion for the case-study of Inis Mór was the strong presence of economic globalization in the form of tourism, the analysis of the documentary reality of Inis Mór focused on the presence of economic globalization and the reaction in the cultural field. In Leixlip, the question was whether economic globalization in the form of FDI brings forth sameness in the local field, especially in the field of identity. More specifically, the question from Inis Mór was whether economic globalization in the form of tourism brought forth sameness in the local cultural field, especially in the field of language.

Unfortunately, the data on tourism that were provided by the Tourist Board (Fáilte Ireland) were not detailed enough and could not be used. Nor were attempts successful to get data from the ferry companies on the numbers of passengers that were brought to the islands over the last years. While therefore the number of quantitative data on tourism was limited, interviews with the islanders on this subject were quite insightful, so that for this aspect of the research I relied on the qualitative research.

To explore how the processes of economic globalization operated into the cultural field and to investigate how the islanders present themselves to the outside world, all tourist brochures were gathered and analyzed, with an emphasis on the use of language. The analysis included general analysis and an analysis of the use of language in *all* tourist brochures and maps available in October 2004, including literature from the Heritage Centre, Aer Arann, Island Ferries, Aran Bike Hire, Aran Islands Hotel, 2 Guest Houses, 2 B & B's, 2 Hostels and one restaurant, an analysis of the Website of Celtic Spirit, Guest Book Entries and a map of the island circa 1975.

While this set of documents revealed how the indigenous social actors construct the reality of contemporary processes of tourism on Inis Mór, it was at the same time revealed that this documentary reality somehow seems to be at odds with another documentary reality, constructed in more widely published documentation and studies. The image that arose of the latter set seemed somehow at odds with the documents that were mostly locally available.

These documents provide an imagery of collective self-presentation by relevant groups and sub-groups on the island. These ranged from formal information such as an official tourist information sheet provided by the Inis Mór Tourist Information Office, factual sheets provided by the national Tourist Board, Fáilte Ireland, the Visitors Welcome leaflet of the Heritage Centre, to less formal reports such as the brochures of all the guesthouses and the youth hostels on the island.[19]

Besides published documents, the document review included unpublished documents as well, such as a long note on the hostel in Galway offering a special package with the Queen of Aran II and all labels on the sweaters that were sold in the souvenir shops.[20] Furthermore, the document analysis included an analysis of the different maps that were provided by the bike rental, the airplane and the Heritage Centre and how the place names were formulated on these maps, in Irish or not. I was especially interested in the use of language in these documents, while I aimed to remain open to elements that could not be codified at the time of the fieldwork. Most of these documents are documented by the indigenous social actors. Therefore rather then using these documents to support the research with factual information, the documents themselves were used as 'social facts', produced, shared and used in socially organized ways.

A special analysis of a document that was included in the research was the analysis of the guestbook of one of the B & B's. Since there was very little factual and official information available on the nationality of the visitors to the island, it was felt that this might reveal some of the backgrounds of the visitors, taking into the account the methodological restrictions of a guestbook sample of one. While I gathered some insights into the background of the visitors to the island, especially the middle-class price range, this analysis was particularly useful in an exploration of the reasons why visitors would come to the island (see appendix F).

This was important in developing the concept of 'universal diversity' and how a third layer in cultural distinctiveness could be distinguished (discussed in chapter 11), referring to neither a subjective nor objective distinctiveness, but paradoxically to the universal accessibility of a distinctive feature. The results of this analysis are discussed in chapter 12.

In conclusion, through deconstructing the documentary realties of the social settings of both Leixlip and Inis Mór this research has explored the cultural presentation of the self on the institutional and organizational level, expressed through the experiences of identity and the linguistic register, within a setting of economic globalization. Examples of a group's self-presentation and collective identity are altered with an analysis of more individual accounts in the form of historical studies in the case of Leixlip, and of personalized accounts of a life of visit to the island in the case of Inis Mór.

Through an analysis of these documents the construction of a documentary reality on an institutional level was revealed which, almost by definition, was neither 'accurate' nor 'useful' as evidence about the social world. In the case of Leixlip, processes of economic globalization, largely concerned with the future, seemed to have produced the history of Leixlip, which can only be understood when referring to its intertextual conception. While the future produces the history in Leixlip, to some extent the history produces the future in Inis Mór.

These analyses on the institutional and organizational level of self-presentation and identity, and how they are altered under the influence of processes of economic globalization (how autonomous processes of economic globalization lead to an outward looking inclination in the cultural field, while dominant processes of economic globalization lead to an inward looking inclination and a reorientation on national identities), provided the empirical basis for a typology for sameness and difference on the macro-level.

Visual Sociology

Another part of the research consisted of the collection and analysis of visual data. Several sources of visual data were collected in this research. Firstly, visual data was created in the form of over three hundred photographs of the two research settings, and secondly, visual data such as signposts, bill boards, postcards, film, illustrated maps, logos, advertisements, notice- boards et cetera present in the research area, was collected and analyzed. The first method is somewhat different from the second. If 'the very act of observing is interpretive, for to observe is to choose a point of view' (Harper, 2003: 183), then certainly photographing includes the subjective view of the researcher. Howard Becker (1974) stated that to do visual sociology is to photograph with sociological consciousness. I chose for both case-studies to first address the initial research question through visual sociology.

For Leixlip the question was reformulated as whether we find visual manifestations of sameness or diversity in Leixlip's landscape. The initial series of photographs taken in Leixlip contained several expressions of sameness in the obvious and most superficial form, such as the bottle of Coca-Cola under the Hewlett-Packard sign, discussed in chapter 8. There were other less obvious manifestations of sameness. One picture shows how I came across a remarkable quiet and green street, which seemed to be strangely invaded by an almost surreal series of identical blue garbage bins. I wondered how these uniform images of modernity had become part of what seemed to me at the time still a small rural village.

Picture 5.2 Blue bins in Leixlip.

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On the same day I photographed a group of young, seemingly foreign people waiting for the bus to Dublin, standing up straight in a landscape of green trees, dressed in identical blue uniforms. Who were these people dressed in blue? Where did those blue bins come from? Later on during the research I wanted to know where these garbage bins were coming from and who the people at the bus stop were. It turned out that these blue bins were part of Intel's recycling project and that the young people dressed in blue uniforms were Intel workers on their way back to the city centre.

While in that case observed sameness, indeed uniformity, turned out to have a relationship with economic globalization, in other cases I ruled out that relationship. For example, I photographed a series of pictures of identical houses, with identical red cars parked on the street in front of the houses. I wondered if these could be housing estates built by Intel and Hewlett-Packard for their employees. However, this turned out not to be the case. In fact, very few employees of Intel and Hewlett-Packard live in Leixlip. I therefore argued that this was sameness produced by sub-urbanization and did not include it in the further empirical research.

In fact, very unexpectedly, it was through the exploration of visual sociology that I came across not relatively little manifestations of sameness in Leixlip, but rather a remarkable number

of strong expressions of local and national identity in the social landscape. The way to this research finding was literally guided by a Celtic cross. The next picture shows an old cross, almost neglected in the grass in front of the Intel buildings in the background.

Picture 5.3 Cross in front of Intel Buildings, Leixlip.

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It was not so much the presence of this cross in the landscape that attracted my attention, but its sheer lack of protection. There was no surrounding little gate or plaque marking the ancient cross as a symbol of unique national heritage. The cross seemed very vulnerable, self-evident, yet prone to dereliction. I also noted that without the cross this picture could have been taken anywhere in the Western world. But it was this cross that situated the photograph in one place in Ireland.

When, literally, following this trail I came across the signboard that welcomes visitors to Leixlip (placed a little bit further on the road of picture 5.3) and that I will be discussing extensively in Chapter 8, it was the beginning of unravelling a much more complex image of globalization than the simple observation that globalization leads to sameness.

At the very end of the research I returned to Leixlip and took some more photographs. Since photography is observing and thus largely represents the imagination of the researcher on the

subject as it is vivid in the mind at the time when the pictures is taken, my observations had changed profoundly. This is shown by one of the last photographs I took in Leixlip. It is a picture of a girl of mixed parents walking in Leixlip Main Street on a Sunday Morning. She carries a white doll on her shoulder, and bows a little bit forward as if the weight is almost too heavy too carry. On her T-shirt is written 'A Fairy Tale'. Her grandmother tells me the name of the little girl. It is Eva.

This portrait of globalization reflects a gradual developing sameness and homogeneity, driven by the shared human hope for a better life, a burden sometimes hard to carry – but ultimately by dreams.

Picture 5.4 Little girl Eva with doll in Leixlip Main Street.

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On Inis Mór I used similar techniques to explore the relationship between globalization and sameness in the social setting of the field. Chapter 11 discusses some of the results of this research. I took a picture of a young islander boy, dressed in clothes that could have been worn anywhere else in the world, and found a picture of a boy of similar age, circa 1900. This

comparison provided valuable data to measure a development toward increasing sameness in clothing.

In general, I used photographs of the subject to identify key-themes within the social setting of the research area, to explore the hypotheses and further develop a theory on globalization and sameness through theoretical imagination. They have been essential in the development of the theoretical imagination that has driven this dissertation.

The second category of data consisted of visual data available within the researched setting, like the billboards in Leixlip, but also included several notes and a notice-board on which was posted such advertisements as 'French lessons offered', 'tango-dancing Monday night' I began the research in Inis Mór, by systematically exploring the island for traces of the Irish language. The research question was reformulated as whether globalization leads to sameness in the field of language on Inis Mór.

I made an inventory of all signboards on the island across which I came, and divided them into whether they were in English or in Irish and according to where on the island they were located including extensive research on the headstones of the graveyards on the same criteria. An inventory was made from all visual data celebrating the Irish nationality, including among others the flag and signs with the word 'Irish' on them. .

Whereas in Leixlip the result of the visual sociology was not so much the absence of sameness as the presence of a strong local and national identity, in Inis Mór what was most remarkable was the absence of such a strong local or national identity in the visual landscape. In Inis Mór, the visual research also included the analysis of postcards, analysis of the film *Man of Aran*, an analysis of a video on Inis Mór broadcast by national Irish television, RTE, and several signposts on the island (see chapter 12). After having visually explored the island and the village, I conducted in-depth interviews, short interviews and some participant observation.

Participant Observation

The character of the field work in Leixlip was somewhat different from the field work on Inis Mór. Besides document analysis and visual sociology, the ethnographic research on Inis Mór also consisted of participant observation. For several reasons participant observation was somewhat more difficult in the case of Leixlip, although I did consider applying for a temporarily job with Intel or Hewlett-Packard.

However, it was decided that in that case the research would be more focused on the practices within these companies than on the companies' interaction with the local community. I included in the empirical research an analysis of a train-trip to Leixlip, an experience that would be very

much a part of the day-to-day experience of people commuting to and from work between Leixlip and Dublin. I also attended an Irish Mass in Leixlip.

On Inis Mór however, the potential was present for conducting more participant observation in the roles of both tourist and tourist industry worker on the island. I participated in several events as a tourist, while at the same time observing both other tourists and their interaction with the islanders. I participated in a tour in Dun Aonghasa, took part in a music-session for tourists in Ti Joe Mac's, and attended four different screenings of the *Man of Aran* while observing and noting the behaviour of the audience.

During my stay I lodged at different B & B's, guesthouses, and youth hostels to observe tourists from different backgrounds as well as observe islanders who, from different perspectives, attempted to attract tourists.

I helped the islanders wherever I could while searching for a perspective of the observer-as-participant. For example, I helped a fisherman (discussed further in chapter 11) as he tried to get his boat out of the water. The casual conversation during this episode and the manner in which the task was carried out lead to valuable insights into the mechanisms of autonomy, which in turn were used in the further development of an idea of autonomous globalization.

I worked in the restaurant of one of the youth hostels on the island for some time. I thus had the chance to observe my colleagues, both the guests as well as the islanders who came to the youth hostel (as is discussed further in chapter 12, section 12.7). This experience led to valuable insights into the mechanism of homogeneity as the product of autonomous economic globalization.

In these cases I was driven by what Angrosino and Mays de Pérez (2003:115) call the 'conscious adaptation of a situational identity'. This adaptation is driven by a principle that they have formulated as 'the basis of social interaction is the decision (which may be spontaneous or part of a careful plan) to take part in a social setting rather than react passively to a position assigned by others.' In Galway, I pretended that I wanted to buy a house on Inis Mór in order to find out how accessible the island was to foreigners. In many ways, the fact that the research on the island was carried out in intervals, that never lasted longer then two months on the island, was somehow an advance. It helped to keep the necessary distance as an observer, and to give the islanders some space in the process of being researched.

In-depth Interviews

Beside the above-mentioned research methods I conducted roughly 35 in-depth interviews, fifteen in Leixlip and twenty on Inis Mór. In both Leixlip and Inis Mór the respondents were

selected based upon the principle of key-informants and through the snowball effect. While sometimes certain respondents would suggest other respondents, I did not always follow that line, as I thought it would contribute to an over-emphasis of one perspective on the research.

In Leixlip, I interviewed strategic representatives of both the organizations representing economic globalization (Intel, Hewlett-Packard and the IDA) and of those civil organizations representing the reaction in the cultural field (among which are included the Town Council, residents committee, school, church, historical society, G.A.A. and drama-club et cetera).

On Inis Mór, the selection of the respondents for the twenty in-depth interviews was made structurally, in the sense that I aimed to speak with the key-players in the field of economic and cultural globalization. I aimed to interview representatives of the main tourist organizations on the island, representing economic globalization (the hotel, restaurant, airport, main guesthouse, main island knitter, owner of the supermarket, a representative of the ferry, organizer of the main Celtic cultural tours, representative of the bike rental and several fishermen) and at the same interview key players in the cultural field (the headmaster of the school, basket maker, a local musician, several painters and historians).

Since the dynamic on Inis Mór was not so much between two groups, unlike in Leixlip, where the dynamic was Leixlip inhabitants and Intel and HP, but between two imaginations, Inis Mór as the True Ireland and Inis Mór as an island, I merely focused on the imaginations, the different visitors and residents had of Inis Mór. Some people living on the island had a very strong image of Inis Mór as the True Ireland – and these 'islanders' were not necessarily born on the island.

All in-depth interviews were semi-structured and taped. For the data-analysis the data have been organized into manageable units, coded and indexed into categories and themes; content analysis was carried out and patterns in the data have been established. While transcribing the interviews, I was at the same time writing a document called *Themes and Preliminary Findings*, in which I summarized any question, research line, finding or theme that emerged during the interviews.

The data analysis involved searching for typologies, taxonomies, and classification schemata and ordering and explaining the data. Specific attention was paid to examining negative cases and seeking to explain the exceptions and the things that did not fit the analysis. It was through this analysis that for example and as discussed in section 12.4, an exception emerged within the context of Inis Mór (namely a wish for a resurgence of the national identity: 'they should have a plague on it... Synge stayed here...'), which pointed towards a mechanism of dominant globalization.

In general, my approach has been to aim to research both cases with an 'open mind', not to judge or confront but to represent as well as possible the opinions and stories of the respondents. I ended most in-depth interviews by asking the respondents to propound their definition of globalization, while stressing that there was no 'right' answer.

Many respondents were hesitant to answer that last question. Yet whenever their definition was, I would reassure them that that was the right definition. I was not actually interested in the 'right definition', but instead intended to reveal the opinion and feelings of the respondents, regardless of what they were. I believed that by confirming their opinions as if they were my own, I would get as 'pure' a view as possible from my respondents.

Short Interviews

Beside the in-depth interviews I conducted about 40 short interviews on Inis Mór and around roughly 10 in Leixlip, reflecting the somewhat different approaches of the social settings of Leixlip and Inis Mór. The nature of these interviews was generally more guided conversations than the in-depth interviews, and were never taped. Sometimes I selected the respondents beforehand, for example to include a brief view on the island of somebody from the day-tripper persuasion, but mostly I started to talk to tourists, trying to find out where they came from, why they came to the island, how the island changed through their presence and how they changed through the visit to the island. Similarly, I tried to talk in a more informal way with the islanders, while they were carrying out their work, to see how they perceived tourism and the change of the island. It was mostly through these encounters that insight was gained into the mechanisms of both 'homogeneity' and 'universal diversity'.

Conversation-analysis

The qualitative research included some conversation analysis. This was mostly conducted within the context of pubs and restaurants, where I sat down and overheard conversations indicating how different groups on the island defined themselves and how they defined others. Because these conversations were not taped, some subtlety might have been lost in translation. However, as I appeared to many to be a tourist or a writer, (which is not an unusual presence), notes could be made relatively easily. I never used direct quotes from these conversations, since I felt that would have been inappropriate and too close to eavesdropping for comfort.

However, it was from these conversations especially that an image emerged deconstructing the image of the island as an isolated community. In their talks, the islanders discussed how they just had returned from Spain, from Prague, the United States, Australia or Africa so that within

the quiet surroundings of a rather geographically isolated island, the world seemed to come alive even in absence of tourism as such. One of my analyses consisted of observations of the use of the Irish language on one day on Inis Mór (see Appendix G: Visible and audible manifestations of the Irish language on Inis Mór).

Since the subject of the research was not so much the use of language as such, but rather the intertwining of language with the processes of economic globalization, these research methods were used more as an exploration of cultural practices on the island in search of developing a theory, rather than testing a theory.

In conclusion, the empirical research consisted of a triangulation of quantitative and qualitative research methods, some more focused on the macro-, institutional and collective level and some more on the micro- and individual level. Since the research was carried out in two different case-studies at the same time and with exactly the same subject, yet with a very different outcome, the research aimed to go beyond the anecdotal character often attributed to qualitative research and instead to systematically investigate the relationship between economic globalization and cultural sameness in a small-scale setting.

The empirical research has been conducted over a course of three years, with a method of gradually descending from the macro-level to the micro-level and then, with an improved understanding of the micro-level, return to the macro-level, in more or less the manner of Coleman's theoretical model (Coleman, 1990).

5.6 A stranger has arrived

To end with a short note on being a stranger, in both cases I spent a relatively short, but nonetheless intense, period, exploring the areas, without talking to anybody or revealing myself as a researcher. What happened when the foreign visitor becomes a researcher? An observant social cartographer? From the perspective of a gradual development of the relationship between the researcher and those researched, the interaction between us was stronger on Inis Mór, due to the geographic composition of the area being an island and the relatively small population.

While I expected that the effect of disclosing my identity as a researcher on Inis Mór (being an island) would be much more profound then in Leixlip, where I expected to disappear in the masses of the larger community, this was not the case. In fact, in many ways, I felt that my

presence as a researcher and as a foreigner in Leixlip was more remarkable and attracted more attention then on Inis Mór.

Firstly, the islanders are used to being constantly the subject of research.[21] The writer Synge recalls that at some point around the turn of the nineteenth century, the islanders had the impression that all foreigners were linguists (Synge, [1907] 1998). Secondly, they are used to foreigners. My own experience of being a foreigner on this island certainly confirmed the following quote and observation of a black man who has been living on Inis Mór for twenty years.

'If you take any of the children in any of the B&B's here on the island, they have contact with foreigners, and they have no fear of them, because they integrate in their houses, they interfere with them and they realize that maybe they speak a different language but that essentially they have something in common. Which they do not have in Dublin. They have all kinds of problems, other problems, social difficulties, which they take out on refugees, but the difference is that these children have very little exposure to non-Irish people, or even outside their community. They are not part of their community. So there is a great sense of fear. The kids here have black people staying in their house, they have Japanese. So for them it is absolutely nothing, it is just another human being. And *that (with emphasis)* is the contribution that tourism has made.' (Respondent 3)

Since the practice of being researched is very much a part of the islanders' daily life, many stories are told about researchers who came to the island trying to carry out research on one or another subject, and not all of them are successful:

'There was this journalist who was literally kicked off the island, because he was everywhere, taking pictures of everything. He was even filming a funeral, and then the islanders just said: that's it.' (Respondent 47)

The geographic constitution of the island gives the islanders great power in literally controlling who is let in and who will be sent out, although on Inis Mór there is not a tradition of an island-king, unlike, for example on Tory Island (Co. Donegal).[22] But there are other powerful ways of social exclusion, as is illustrated with this example:

'And we just had this anthropologist on Inis Sheer, who got himself in enormous trouble, because he wanted to know too much... he was looking at the effects of tourism on Inis Sheer, but apparently the main effect was that nobody of us wanted to talk to him any longer.' (Respondent 46)

An example of the fact that the practice of being researched has become an aspect of daily life for the islanders, is an experience I had with one of the first interviewees. I visited his shop while nobody was there and he turned out to be a great storyteller. As I always carried my recorder with me, I asked him rather abruptly if he would mind if I switched on my tape recorder. He did not even bat an eye, nor did he ask why his stories were being taped. He just nodded and continued talking. The storyteller was not born on the island. Together we shared a common interest, to make the story of the island heard, he by telling and I by listening.

While on the island the presence of both a foreigner and a researcher is part of the daily life, and the sights of strangers so familiar that they are no longer strangers; in Leixlip a foreigner is still less common and a researcher rare. Interestingly enough, this implied that whereas on Inis Mór, I could almost forget my own national background,[23] in Leixlip I became a foreigner, more so even than in Dublin. The experience with the man in the shop on Inis Mór was in that sense almost diametrically opposed to the one specific research experience in Leixlip, when I coincidentally stumbled across the monthly mass in Irish in Leixlip.

Picture 5.5 End of Irish Mass in Leixlip.

This is the entrance to the Church of Our Lady's Nativity in Leixlip, built in 1833 reflecting the increased prosperity and confidence of Catholic gentry after Catholic Emancipation in 1829 (Kelly, 2000:21). It is Sunday morning. On the left hand side there is a statue of the French saint Joan of Arc. It was a present by the French ambassador when the French Embassy was located in Leixlip Castle and was brought back from France by his driver, who was from Leixlip.

On the right side of the main entrance is a statue of Mary, erected, according to a memorial sign at her feet, by the people of Leixlip in the Marian year 1954. In the shadow, with his back to the camera, a surgeon from Nigeria who studies in Ireland collects money for World Youth Day to be held in Cologne in August 2005. Under the Gothic-shaped arch, mass attendees leave the church. I had decided to randomly visit a mass in Leixlip's main church and much to my surprise the mass was in Irish. After the mass I walked up to the choir members, who all spoke to each other in English. An older lady tapped me on the shoulder and asked me friendly smiling:

'Where are you from? I was admiring your plaits, when I saw you entering the church and said to myself. She must be a foreigner. Oh… are you from Holland? I thought you were from somewhere … eh… outdoors… Very healthy looking! Compliments. Welcome to Ireland.' (Respondent 23)

'She must be a foreigner', the lady had said as she smiled and welcomed me to the country that I now had been living in for almost four years. It was confusing. Firstly, I was not prepared that the mass would be celebrated in Irish. Secondly, I was not prepared that my role as an outsider, a participating observant would become suddenly so relevant. While the mass transformed into an Irish mass, I transformed from outsider into a foreigner. How often is an Irish mass held?

I – Excuse me, do you know if there is another Mass in English?
R – Oh but this is the only Mass in Irish we have. All masses are in English; there is another one at a quarter past 12. The mass in Irish is only every third Sunday of the month and this is not our priest, but this priest is from Lucan and he comes over because he has proficiency in Irish…
I – Oh… I see
R – And where are you from yourself? I noticed you coming in the church.
I – I am from Holland.
R – Oh yes, yes, you look typically Dutch because I noticed the plaids.. now I see.. that is typical Dutch.

I – (…)

R – Now… what is your name? My name is Ann and this is Diane.

I – Martha.

R – So Martha, Welcome to Ireland. (*with emphasis*) You are very welcome here. Very welcome. Maybe we see you some other time?

I – Maybe… I thought the Irish mass was very interesting…. You know, when we were shaking hands during Mass… and they wished me 'peace' in Irish, I replied 'Vrede'… you know, 'peace' in Dutch! Usually I would say it in English, but now I said it in Dutch… for the first time, since I came here….

R - (*laughs*) Well, the Lord understand all our languages! So that is no problem. We got to go now. Bye! (Respondent 24)

Whereas this research is concerned with the relationship between globalization and sameness, it tells us something about strangers as well. With a progressing sameness of cultures, the notion of strangers slowly alters. They might gradually disappear. If we are all the same, strangers no longer exist.

5.7 Conclusion: to the open field

The previous chapter has presented the theoretical model that was developed during this research. This chapter has described the empirical research design of this dissertation and how the empirical research was carried out. The theoretical research question focused on the impact of processes of economic globalization on the local cultural field. The theoretical question is explorative and a conceptual failure of the theoretical model is conceivable when, for example, the research areas are selected at random. In other words, I did not want to risk selecting a local setting where economic globalization was not strongly present. How then could the effects in the cultural field have been studied?

Therefore, I decided to select the research population based upon theoretical sampling. Aiming to prevent the research from being tautological, the population was selected by the independent variable only, the presence of processes of economic globalization. I decided to select three case-studies subject to strong, but different, processes of economic globalization. I argued that this first required that the locality was situated in a nationally-strong, globalized

economy. Secondly, the local cases themselves needed to be influenced by a strong presence of economic globalization. This has been discussed in section 5.2.

Section 5.3 discussed the selection of the nation-state. The research aimed to select the nation-state with the most globalized economy of the world, at the time when the research was carried out. The Globalization Index ranked Ireland during the research period, (between 2001 and 2004), as the most globalized country in the world. This brought the research to the Republic of Ireland, also referred to in this research as 'Ireland'.

The second step was to select within the nation-state three case studies that were subject to the very strong presence of economic globalization. This is discussed in section 5.4. I first selected the place with the highest per capita Foreign Direct Investment in Ireland as the first case study: Leixlip in Co. Kildare.

Secondly, I selected a place that was evidently subject to strong processes of economic globalization in the form of tourism: Inis Mór, Co. Galway, one of The Aran Islands off the West-Coast of Ireland. The third case-study that was selected was subject to strong presence of economic globalization in the form of IT, Ennis in Co. Clare. However, since, as is argued in chapter 4, the case-studies of Leixlip and Inis Mór showed a contrast that I argued was worthwhile to further explore in-depth, I decided not to study this case in the context of this dissertation.

Section 5.5 discussed how the empirical research was conducted. The research has largely follows Coleman's (1990) theoretical model, in that first the macro-level, or the collective level, was explored and that through different research methods is the focus descended to the micro-level in order to gain insights into individual motivations and strategies that would then explain the manifestations on the macro-level.

The macro-level, (or since it is such a small-scale research I might prefer to call this the 'collective' level), is studied firstly through quantitative analysis and secondly through qualitative analysis in the form of documentary realities study and through visual sociology of collective visual material such as signboards. The question addressed was whether economic globalization in the form of FDI and tourism leads to sameness in the cultural fields of identity and language? For that purpose, document analysis on the collective level of relevant institutions and organization in the field was carried out.

Through research methods mostly addressing the micro-level (in-depth interviews, participant observation, short interviews, and conversation-analysis), the causal question was addressed: why does economic globalization (not) lead to cultural sameness? For this purpose, I have conducted in-depth interviews and short interviews, analyzed about 300 photographs and participated in

several ways in the tourist industry on Inis Mór, for example by working in a youth hostel for some time. The empirical results of this research process will be discussed in the next chapters.

All the necessary equipment is packed in the backpack of the observant social cartographer. Or so it seems. Look inside the rucksack. There it is: the social problem, the positioning in the existing literature, the theoretical research question, the empirical research method, the selection of the research area. We know where to go. Now it is just a matter of leaving something behind.

The desk.

NOTES

[1] Schuyt (1986) argues that extensive research forms the adequate preparation for explanatory intensive research, and not the other way around. He argues that the advantage of intensive research is to provide in-depth understanding of correlations generated by extensive research. However, as discussed previously, there is very little systematic empirical research on globalization available. Since this research is therefore not preceded by extensive research it bears the character of an explorative-intensive study.

[2] E.g. *Mass Media and Transnational Subjectivity in Shanghai* (Mayfair Mei-hui Yang, 1997).

[3] E.g. *The Global Traffic in Human Organs* (Schepers-Hughes, 2000).

[4] E.g. *Networking for a Living. Irish Software Developers in the Global Workplace* (Ó Riain, 2000).

[5] 'Founded in 1970 by Samuel Huntington and Warren Demian Manshel, and now published by *the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* in Washington, D.C., FOREIGN POLICY is the premier, award-winning magazine of global politics, economics, and ideas. Our mission is to explain how the world works—in particular, how the process of global integration is reshaping nations, institutions, cultures, and, more fundamentally, our daily lives.' www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms, March 2004.

[6] 'The Globalization Index brings globalization into sharper focus by assessing changes in its most important components, whether engagement in international relations and policy making, trade and financial flows, or the movement of people, ideas and information across borders. The index tracks these changes across 62 advanced economies and key emerging markets to draw a picture of globalization across all the world's regions' (Kearney, 2003:62).

[7] Thirteen from 2001-2003. A fourth variable was added to the cluster 'Political Engagement', in 2004: 'governmental transfers' (Kearney, 2004:59). However this aspect of globalization is beyond the scope of this research.

[8] The authors write: 'Cultural exchange has undoubtedly grown in tandem with the movement of people and ideas across borders and with the growing use of communications technology, but little accurate data are available. For instance, statistics on trade flows in music or books might show a country's comparative advantages in manufacturing these products, such as CDs and technical manuals, but would not reveal whether the goods reflect the ideas and culture of the exporting nations. Consequently, cultural trends are not included in this index' (Kearney, 2004:63). Prof. Dr. R. Kluver from the Singapore Internet Research Centre, School of Communication and Information; Nanyang Technological University is working on the development of a cultural index for *Foreign Policy*. We have been in contact about some preliminary conclusions.

[9] This includes: remittances and personal transfers, including worker remittances, compensation to employees, and other person-to-person and non-governmental transfers (Kearney, 2004:54).

[10] This research does *not* consider globalization equal with processes of economic globalization. The Globalization-Index is only used to gain insight in the level of economic globalization.

[11] Globalization Index 2005 ranked Singapore on the first place and Ireland on the second.

[12] This was in 2002, 2003 and 2004, i.e. during the time when this research was carried out.

[13] Economic Integration: 1 in 2002, 2003 and 2004. Personal Contact: 1 in 2002 and 2003, 2 in 2004.

[14] Technology: 24 in 2003 and 2004. Political Engagement: 22 in 2003 and 11 in 2004.

[15] 'Grown as one of the largest owing largely to the growth of Dublin Financial Services Centre a leading location for international banking, investment funds, corporate treasury and insurance activities' (Kearney, 2002:8).

[16] Provided by Eircom.

[17] One of the restaurants in Leixlip mentioned in a menu of Pizza Margarita, Singapore Sling Noodles, and Penne Primavera a pizza called 'An Bró Dan Mor, 'a 9" pizza with fresh Irish salmon, capers, red onion, black olives, crushed tomatoes and mozzarella'.

[18] While Inis Mór remains a popular subject for studies, somehow the development seems to have been the reverse from Leixlip. Very few studies on Leixlip were published around the beginning of the twentieth century, and a lot on Inis Mór. However, now the number of studies on Leixlip is growing, whereas Inis Mór is still a popular subject, but seemingly less than in the previous century.

[19] Further: of the restaurant and the hotel, business cards of smaller B & B's, postcards issued by other B & B's, different maps of the island issued by the hotel and by the bike hire, brochures with programs of a Celtic Spirit organization, calendar of events, brochures of the ferry companies (Queen of Aran II: 'The Only Ferry Owned By The Islanders' and Island Ferries: Sail in Comfort and Luxury To an Island Culture

Older than Time'), timetable of the ferry, brochure of the airplane ('Fly to the Edge Of The world in Less than 10 Minutes') and timetable of flights to Inis Mór over the years, all brochures that were available at the time of the research in the post office (all in English), form for the European and Local Elections (in Irish), the church leaflets (in Irish) brochures provided by the island knitters.

[20] And that I have taken and analyzed in the way 'The Aran Sweater' is defined, by island knitters and by those shops who import the sweaters to the island.

[21] Research has been carried out such diverse aspects as the religious facets of the island life (*Aran of The Saints*, James G. Barry, Royal Society of Antiquities of Ireland Journal, vol. VII, 1885-6), on superstition and witchcraft (*Witchcraft In the Aran Islands*, Nathaniel Colgan, Royal Society of Antiquities of Ireland Journal, vol. 25, 1895), the relation between field patterns and jointing in the Aran Islands, (*The Relation Between Field Patterns and Jointing in the Aran islands*, L.E. Klimm, Geographical Review, vol. 25, 1935) or rain tanks (*The Rain Tanks of Aran* , L.E. Klimm, Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia, 1936), the thatched houses (*Thatched homes of the Aran Islands*, An Teachin Ceanntui, Dara O'Connaola, Ceard Shiopa Inis Oirr Teo., 1988), knitting on Aran (*Harmony Guide to Aran Knitting*, Lyric Books Ltd., London, 1991) and numerous more general studies most famously an account of his stay on Inis Mór and mostly Inis Méain in the beginning of the last century by the Irish writer John M. Synge's (1907) *The Aran Islands* and recently Tim Robinson's *Stones of Aran: Pilgrimage*, and *Stones of Aran: Labyrinth*. At the time when I was visiting the island, an anthropologist from New York carried out research on Inis Mór , concerned with the way archaeological sites shape contemporary identity on Inis Mór: *The archeology of identity in Aran* (Veerundra Prabodh Lele, Columbia University: 2003).

[22]Where the islanders still elect their own king and are said not to pay taxes. www.littleireland.ie/toryisland. December 2005.

[23] Excluding some anecdotal experiences of which one will be mentioned in chapter 11.

CHAPTER 6 INTRODUCING THE COUNTRY AND THE VILLAGE

6.1 Introduction: 'I hope you find it'

It is October 2003 and I am on my way to Leixlip, a camera around my shoulders and a notebook in my bag. My journey begins from my office in the Institute for International Integration Studies where I drink one last coffee with my colleague from Belarus. As I am walking in the city streets, the autumn rain drizzling and the cabs restless, I recall our conversation. While sipping on the institute's Fair Trade coffee, he had asked me: 'What are your plans for the day?' and I remembered how I replied, half-ironically: 'I am going to look for globalization in Leixlip'. He had smiled and said: 'Well, good luck. I hope you find it.'

If globalization is a narrative in which different storylines come together, a detective story whose Byzantine plot keeps a worldwide community turning the pages, its protagonists are disguised as geographic entities. They have familiar names, but always appear in different shapes. They are often called the Global, the National and the Local. On every page and to every reader, in every place in the world they have distinctive features, sometimes good, sometimes bad, sometime plain ugly. There are many narratives of globalization, and yet, somehow, they might all have something in common. We have to find out what that is.

In this chapter the main characters of this globalization tale are introduced. We meet the Local, called Leixlip, an old picturesque village close to Dublin once famous for its Salmon Leap. The National is in this globalization narrative the Republic of Ireland, a young nation-state currently in economic boom. And then the Global appears on stage almost as a split personality, consisting of two global companies: Intel and Hewlett-Packard.

Yet, as in any detective story, nothing is quite as it seems. In chapter 7 the main storyline begins with an exploration of the interactions between the three protagonists and their complex relationship. On our journey we might unmask some of their outer characteristics and the labels they carry. For although they are known as the Local, the National and the Global, those names might in fact be aliases. But that will be discussed later. In this chapter the stage will be set: the National and the Local will be described plainly, as they first occur to us.

Section 6.2 discusses the national context in which both the studies of Leixlip and of Inis Mór have been carried out. The section, 'Leaving the Global City' describes, from the perspective of a train journey to Leixlip departing from three different train stations all located in Dublin's city

centre, the different historic aspects of the national context, the Republic of Ireland. The names of the train stations represent different conceptualizations of Ireland as a nation-state.

The first name, Tara Street Station, refers to Ireland before the birth of the nation-state. This section discusses briefly the Celtic and Catholic background of the national context in which this study on globalization and sameness has been carried out: Ireland. It places this name in the contemporary situation, where the Hill of Tara has been subject of a debate about Ireland's expanding infrastructure and the limitations of progress. With a reference to globalization this section highlights how a national heritage can belong to the global domain, while locally other interests are pursued.

The second name, Pearse Station, refers to Ireland's national past. Pádraig Pearse was one of the leaders of the Easter Rising, a revolt against British rule in Ireland. In this section I briefly discuss the birth of the Irish nation-state. It is stressed that Irish nationalism occurs within a context of a relatively young nation-state. When observing sameness in the field of identity, we need to be aware of that mechanism. The importance of nationalism in Ireland is illustrated with an example of an exhibition called *Would You Die for Ireland.* This section discusses the contested character of the Irish national identity in a contemporary context.

The third name, Connolly Station, refers to another leader of the Easter Rising, James Connolly. This section places Irish nationalism in a cosmopolitan context and makes a distinction between a) nationalism and the creation of a nation-state as an end in itself and b) nationalism and the creation of a nation-state as a means towards a higher goal. For Connolly, the cause of Ireland was the cause of Labour and the freedom Ireland would achieve would ultimately contribute to the liberation of millions of workers worldwide. In this section I argue that, within the conceptualization of the second meaning of nationalism, with the nation-state being a means towards a broader, more cosmopolitan goal, the nation-state at some point can become obsolete.

Having discussed some relevant aspects of the national context, section 6.3 discusses the local context from a geographical point of view. Through examining the borders of the chosen social setting, it is argued that borders are contested constructions and that any study of globalization operated within the local context needs to acknowledge the fluidity of borders.

Section 6.4 discusses the local context and social indicators (population growth, age structure, marital status) of the Leixlip population based on the quantitative research. Having empirically explored some geographical and social aspects of Leixlip, section 6.5 further theoretically elaborates the transformation process discussed in Chapter 3 on the global level for the local level. It is concluded that homogenization between nation-states will cause a process of

disintegration on the local level. Now first the national context will be discussed, revealed through leaving the global city behind.

6.2 The national context: the Republic of Ireland

Leixlip can only be found when the global city (Sassen, 1994) is left behind; the global city where globalization is self-evident, where it penetrates every corner of every street, where it is in the high-rise buildings in the financial district and written in capital letters on the banners of the demonstrators in the square. 'Another world is possible', they shout. We need to deliberately get out of the global city in order to detect the traces of globalization in the hinterlands. For if globalization becomes universal, it will embrace all earthly geographic areas – the same embrace that warms some will be a shrewd, smug squeeze to others, leaving a fertile landscape robbed and desolated. Panacea or poison, globalization is everywhere: by definition.

A special train service called the 'Arrow' connects the inner city of Dublin with one of its outer suburbs: Leixlip, a village just across the border between County Dublin and County Kildare. The commuter who travels in the opposite direction from living in Dublin to working in Leixlip as I did that morning when I began my research, can leave the city from Tara Street Station, Pearse Station or from Connolly Station. All these names refer to icons of Ireland's national past. Before the Local can be explored, first we have to briefly pause at the National. How could one travel straight from the global city to the global village? No one can trace the mysteries of globalization without passing the gates of the nation-state. Or so it seems.

Tara Street: the Celtic past and the Celtic present

Tara Street Station is situated directly beside the Liffey, the river that splits Dublin in two. Trucks coming from the harbour thunder past the station carrying goods to Ireland that the island does not provide itself. And many times I have seen trailer trucks filled with flowers coming from Aalsmeer in Holland over the Irish Sea to decorate the windowsills and the balconies of pubs and restaurants of Dublin.

'Isn't that a lovely tradition?' one of my Dutch visitors had observed pointing at the geraniums hanging abundantly over the window sill of O'Neill's pub opposite the former church now turned into a tourist office. 'We do not decorate our cafés like that.' I nodded and imagined a truckload of Dutch grown purple geraniums moving softly in their dark compartment to the rhythm of the Stena Line crossing the sea, unaware of their final 'typical Irish' destination.

Escalators lead from street level up to the platform of Tara Street Station and commuters hasten up the stairs unable to hear the voice of the ticket master over the rumbling sound of the roaring trucks and trundling juggernauts. Rarely has the sound of flowers been so loud that it makes people long for nature's stillness. An electronic voice announces the minutes left until the arrival of the next train to the countryside.

A board indicates where we are: **Tara Street** it says, in a bold, self-confident letter type, very visible underneath a long line of smaller cursive letters: *Sráid na Teamhrach*, the name in Irish, Ireland's official first language since 1937. Under this bilingual sign waiting *Arrow* passengers are huddling together. Some listen to music, an old man feeds the birds.

In Irish legend and folklore the ancient Hill of Tara is known as a 'meeting place for heroes' (Ó Riordáin, 1977). If the other stations, Pearse Station and Connolly Station, flag Billig's (1995) banal nationalism through incorporating the landmarks of the national history within practices of everyday life, then Tara Street Station flags nationalism referring to a time before the nation-state existed: when the island of Ireland was still divided into kingdoms and provinces.

One hundred and forty-two kings are said to have reigned from the Hill of Tara in prehistoric and historic times. The title 'King of Tara' was so powerful that it was said to be synonymous with the 'King of Ireland'. Celtic kings they were; descendants from what are said to be warlike Celtic tribes coming from Central-Europe around 500 B.C to Ireland, subjecting the native people of the island of Ireland (Ó hÓgáin, 2002).

These Celtic invaders spoke an Indo-European language that formed the basis for what is now known as Irish, the language that would become instrumental in Ireland's fight for freedom against the British invaders. It was from the Hill of Tara as a symbol of Celtic identity that in 1843 Daniel O'Connell addressed a crowd of hundreds of thousands of people speaking for Catholic emancipation.

As Tovey and Share (2003) argue, the Irish nation-state has often been described as Catholic and Gaelic, while 'it is this particular religious inheritance and connectedness with a specific linguistic and cultural past that is believed to constitute us[1] as a separate and distinctive nation' (Tovey and Share, 2003:330). This twofold distinctiveness seems to be reunited in the Hill of Tara.

For not only is the Hill of Tara a centre of ancient Celtic history. Legend connects the hill with Christian and Catholic Ireland as well. Ireland's patron saint, the English-born and Rome-educated Saint Patrick, according to legend, used a shamrock on the Hill of Tara to explain the Christian Trinity to King Laoghaire in the fifth century. The three-leafed shamrock springing up from one stalk seems to graphically represent the principles of the Trinity - how three can be one

and how three can originate from one. Saint Patrick used the shamrock to explain the complex theological Christian doctrine of the Trinity.

The shamrock and the harp are Ireland's two most important symbols. The shamrock is painted in green on the tail of every airplane of the national airline Aer Lingus. On the tails of national airplanes, the Irish shamrock symbolizing a basic principle of one of the world major religions, is currently dispersed to a quickly growing number of destinations - if only symbolically.

One of the interpretations of the name of Tara says that it means 'A Place of Great Prospect' (Ó Riordáin, 1977). While this for a long time, when Ireland was one of the poorest European countries, might have had only a symbolical or spiritual and not a monetary meaning, the name now seems a prophecy. Currently Ireland is one of the richest countries in the world,[2] a development that is often referred to as the 'Celtic Tiger'.

As Ireland changes, so does the place of the Hill of Tara in the Irish landscape. Currently the Hill is the subject of controversy caused by the plans of the Irish Government to build the four-lane highway M3 partly through the landscape of the Hill of Tara.[3] The protesters refer to the unique historical and archaeological value of the Hill, but also to the spiritual meaning.[4] When the website 'protect-tara.org' ends its homepage with citing the following quote from a 'tenth century Irish poem Dindenchas manuscript: Tara - she was the secret place on the road of life'[5]; the suggestion is that the road as a metaphor for the spiritual path of every individual life, is replaced by a literal road connecting cities.

While on the metaphorical road Tara was a spiritual sojourn, it will be destroyed by the cement and asphalt of the literal highway. The loss is not just historical or archaeological, but spiritual. The defence of the Hill has gained international, mostly American attention.[6] However, nationally and locally there seem to be as many people in favour of as against the new motorway.

In a poll, carried out by *The Irish Time*, with the question: '*Do you think the archaeological heritage of Tara will be irreparably damaged by the construction of the M3?'*, 43% answered yes, and 57% percent answered no to this question. One of those who replied 'no', elaborated his answers as follows:

'I support the motorway as I will benefit from it. At the same time I find it difficult to understand how opponents of the M3 can complain about an undiscovered heritage being destroyed. If the motorway was not being built, any historical material would simply remain unknown, unexcavated and buried, as it is at Tara itself. (....) We can conserve our past without having to forego our future (...) I have wondered just how much of the frequently impassioned comments

we hear, particularly from international sources, bear any resemblance to the facts on the ground. There are many articulate opponents of the M3, but they don't speak for me, or many, many others in Meath' (John Brady, Co. Meath, Ireland).[7]

The international aspect of the campaign for preservation seems to be a source of irritation and is possibly seen as a threat to autonomy. While hills and mountains might be relatively stable and unmovable elements within a landscape, their meaning and place in society constantly changes. In some visions the landscape defines a *Volksgeist*. Yet in other cases the landscape is defined and redefined by a *Geist* that cannot necessarily be attributed solely to one *Volk*.

Pearse Street: would you die for Ireland?

The second station from which the *Arrow* to Leixlip leaves is Pearse Street Station commemorating Ireland's national past. Pearse Street Station is named in memory of Pádraig Pearse, one of the leaders of the Easter Rising and signatory of the 1916 Proclamation of Independence. Eire/ Ireland, comprising 26 of the 32 counties of Ireland, independent since 1922, is one of most recent nation-states to be formed in Western Europe.[8]

Until 1949 when it became the Republic of Ireland, the state was formally part of the British Commonwealth as the Irish Free State, called Éire since 1937, the same year that Irish became officially the first language. Billig (1995:38) argues that: 'in the established nations there is a continual 'flagging', or reminding, of nationhood. The established nations are those states that have confidence in their own continuity (...) national identity embraces all these forgotten reminders'. Yet much illustrative material supporting Billig's thesis of banal nationalism is derived from the British (sometimes English) context, with England being one of the oldest nation-states in the world.

One might argue that since nationalism within the daily reality of Ireland refers to a much younger nation-state, this might alter the manifestation of forms of 'banal nationalism', for banality implies a certain degree of self-evidence. Possibly still insecure in its own identity and until these days searching for its definite boundaries as a very tangible part of daily reality, the 'forgotten reminders' within the British context might turn into 'deliberated constructed flagging' within the Irish context.

Whereas in England nationalism might be evident in everyday practices and language almost as a slip of the tongue, an echo of a self-evident traditional past, in judging expressions of banal nationalism in the Irish context we need to bear in mind the relative youth of this nation-state.[9] These background remarks do not make Billig's argument less valid, for it is still within the

practices of everyday life that almost undetectable symbols of nationalism emerge and perhaps implicitly shape individual identities. Yet why and how these national flagging leach into the public domain might be different.

Pádraig Pearse, born of an English father and an Irish mother in 1879, was an advocate of the use of knowledge and education to defeat the English. He was a writer and, while not a native Irish speaker himself, he insisted on the promotion of native Irish language. He founded St. Enda's College near Dublin structuring the curriculum around Irish traditions and culture, tutoring both in Irish and in English, after witnessing the advantages of bi-lingual education during a trip to Belgium. More and more he became convinced that education was not enough but that violence was needed.

As one of the leaders of the 1916 Easter Rising, leading a section of the Irish Volunteers against the British, he read the *Declaration of Independence* from the steps of the General Post Office,. The rebellion lasted for just a week and fifteen leaders of the Easter Rising were executed, with Pearse being shot on 3 May 1916 in Kilmainham Gaol.[10]

After the Anglo-Irish war that followed the Easter Rising, the Irish delegation signed the Anglo-Irish Treaty in London on 6 December 1921, giving twenty-six counties of Ireland independence and allowing six largely Protestant Ulster counties the choice of opting out. Since the consequences of this division on the island of Ireland are still subject to heated debate, we need to bear in mind when studying processes of globalization how at the same time processes of the building of nation-states are also in train.

On 18 September 2003 an exhibition with the title *Dearcadh- visionaries of 1798-1803* opened in Kilmainham Gaol. The Robert Emmet Society had commissioned a number of contemporary Irish artists to respond to the revolutionary period 1798- 1803, on the occasion of the bi-centenary of Robert Emmet's death in 1803. Dublin's Kilmainham Gaol was the venue for the show.

One of the pieces was called *Would you die for Ireland?*, a projected 12-minute digital video shot in Dublin, Belfast and Cork over the Summer months of 2003 and simply involving the artist John Byrne stopping people in the street and asking them the question: Would you die for Ireland?

Picture 6.1 Would you Die for Ireland?

© John Byrne

The design of the invitation for the exhibition shows the question written on the background of a seemingly uniform suburban architecture that could be anywhere and a swing referring to children and to life, rather than to destruction and death.[11]

The result is a fascinating compilation of seemingly authentic reactions, with a relatively large number replying promptly in the affirmative. The artist when interviewed in July 2005 indicated that just over the half of the people would say yes immediately when approached on the street.[12]

J – Oh yes, I had the camera in my hand, but most of the time on the tripod (John Byrne)

When asked if most people would request a context first, the artist replied:

J – Not really. In generally people did not ask me for the context, because we are so recently liberated. So the Irish identity is still subconscious present everywhere… I do not know about Holland, or France, or England, but the Irish identity is still really fresh. (John Byrne)

This sometimes led to complex situations. Since the artist's aim was to collect reaction from a broad variety of sources, in one case in order to get a sub-group represented, he had to set up an interview and slightly alter his approach as the following quote shows.

J - And I must say sometimes I felt a bit scared to ask the question and it was a bit dangerous, as was in the case of the Orange Parade, you know that fragment, I was quite nervous, and it was a pre-arranged interview, and that was the only time when I had to do some work to set it up.

What solution did the Northern Ireland-born artist find to include the members of the Orange Parade into the piece of art?

'So I explained them that Robert Emmett was a Protestant as well, and that I was interested in the Protestant side.... and that made it easier for them, that it was not actually about the nationalism of the Irish nation-state, and they felt less and less offended and then I finally got to the point when I could drop the question: would you die for Ireland?'

However, when the question is answered it is not so much the positive reply that surprises the artist but the motivation behind it.

'And they said: 'yes, but we have lost most of it.....' So I thought that was quite interesting, that it was the opposite of what we always think: that we gained Ireland, but do not have all. And they think they lost most of Ireland, and only kept a little bit of Ireland.'

Conceptualizations of loss and gain are largely matters of perspective. Depending on the viewpoint, the land transforms, the country changes, and what Ireland is alters.

Connolly Station: sowing a Cosmopolitan Revolution

The third station from which the train to Leixlip departs is called Connolly Station. It commemorates another leader of the 1916 Easter Rising: James Connolly. He was born in Edinburgh in 1868 of poor Irish Catholic parents and had worked from the age of eleven. He joined the Socialist Labour Party in Scotland and worked in America between 1903 and 1910. While Pearse rented a cottage in Rosmuck in Connemara to improve his Irish language skills, James Connolly lived in America where he consolidated the *Industrial Workers of the World* (Holton, 1976). After returning to Ireland in 1910 he joined the Socialist Party of Ireland and published *Labour, Nationality and Religion* defending a Catholic's right to be a socialist and a socialist's right to be a nationalist (Greaves, 1986).

After the beginning of the First World War his interest in the national cause grew, to 'rid this country once and for all of its connection with the Brigand Empire that drags us unwillingly to

war.'[13] As commandant-general of the Irish Citizen Army he led the assault on the General Post Office during the 1916 Easter Rising. A bullet smashed his left ankle, leaving Connolly crippled. He was later shot by firing squad tied to a chair at Kilmainham Gaol on 12 May 1916. His execution shocked the labour movement of the world, 'although his participation in the Easter Rising was met with little comprehension' (Greaves, 1986: 422).

Some saw socialism and nationalism as complementary, yet most socialists at the time stressed its antagonistic character, most notoriously Rosa Luxemburg.[14] Connolly defended a juxtaposition of nationalism and socialism, which was not the majority view amongst the Irish Socialists at the time, 'many of whom had been affected by the cosmopolitan influences of British craft unionism' (Greaves, 1986: 425). Connolly however, saw the national revolution as a prerequisite for a socialist revolution.

Since Connolly supported the national revolution as instrumental to the broader socialist revolution, a prerequisite rather then the ultimate goal, we might argue that his conceptualization of the nation-state of Ireland was essentially carried by a cosmopolitan ideal: it saw the one freedom, from the political oppressors, as a precondition for an ultimate goal, the freedom of class and world-wide equality. A statue of Connolly can be found near Connolly Station, opposite Liberty Hall where the Irish union *SIPTU* has its headquarters.

While for Pádraig Pearse Ireland's independence fight was intrinsically linked to the cause of the Irish language, for James Connolly Ireland's freedom fight seems to have been more a fight for the rights of workers. As is stated underneath a statue of James Connolly, currently almost invisible amidst the busy traffic of the capital: 'The Cause of Labour is the Cause of Ireland.- The Cause of Ireland is the Cause of Labour'.

Pearse's Ireland seems exclusive, *ex ultimo* harbouring the community of native Irish speakers in the West of Ireland, while Connolly's Ireland appears as more all-embracing. For if the cause of Ireland is the cause of labour then millions of workers worldwide can connect to Ireland, and liberation of Ireland then would somehow add to the liberation of labourers worldwide.

As such, Connolly's conceptualization of Ireland could at some point have become obsolete, i.e. when it would no longer be indispensable for the ultimate goal, whereas Pearse's Ireland would always remain an end goal, never a stage en route to a higher ideal. Pearse's Ireland is the Utopia itself. Connolly's Ireland is the gateway to a socialist Utopia. In that sense, Pearse's Ireland essentially refers to geographic exclusion,[15] while Connolly's Ireland is quintessentially built upon a desire for inclusion.

Tara Street Station, Pearse Street Station and Connolly Station connote different historical visions. Yet at the same time they are identical as beacons of national identity that now have become reference points for departures and arrivals of public transport. Where we arrive might be determined by whence we set out. From which station to depart when aiming to research globalization? Somehow it seems apt to begin a search for globalization from the earliest beginnings, even before the nation-state was formed. Maybe an understanding of ancient mythology might help to unmask the myth of globalization.[16] Accordingly, I choose to leave from Tara Street Station.

6.3 Leixlip: the fluidity of borders

The Arrow

The first day of the fieldwork and the Arrow is almost empty, apart from three youngsters dressed in brand-less sport outfits. One is apparently sleeping, his walk-man playing inaudible music. The other is reading a book with a picture on the back cover of James Bond, the British secret agent in his latest films immortalized by Irish born actor Pierce Brosnan. The third wears over his brand-less tracksuit a blue sweater with on the left side, just above the heart, a brand composed of a little white rectangle beside a little red cubicle recognizable as the logo of New York fashion designer Tommy Hilfiger. In his hands he holds a can of Diet-Coke.

A young woman talks into a mobile phone clamped to her left ear while her eyes seem fixed on the clouds above the landscape. 'No, she is going to Australia', she says to her speechless phone. 'Yes, she was there last year for three weeks… Now she'll go back for a year… My mum talked to her dad… We are the same age', and the young woman stands up and leaves.

Every time the doors open an alarm goes off to alert the blind. We pass many stations. Each station has bilingual signs for example *Ashtown* and *Baile As*. The Arrow track runs beside the Royal Canal, a royalty not related to the Kings of Tara, but to British royalty. The canal was dug in 1790 during the height of the British colonial power and just one year after the French Revolution began.

Between the towns of Clonsilla and Leixlip suddenly the built-up area ends and the large windows of the *Arrow* allow a beautiful view of the hills, the mountains and the green fields. I look out and think that it is hard to imagine that the *Arrow* is on its way to a suburb or to globalization, let alone to the future. To me it seems a journey into the past, to a lost countryside, possibly ending up near a small creek, or a pasture at the feet of gentle slopes.

There are two stations: Leixlip Confey and Leixlip Louisa Bridge. After the idyllic view I decide to get out at the station with the most idyllic name: *Louisa Bridge*, hoping for more picturesque views. Just before the Arrow enters the station a wall emerges on the left side and in enormous black graffiti three letters appear: **IRA.** The train slows down. One of the youngsters put his phone back in a little leather bag, attached to his belt like a gun holster. Another plays with his bunch of keys, a rattling sound of metal on metal. The alarm sounds. The doors open.

I get out in the middle of nowhere. There is one long highway. There are new housing estates on the other side of the road in the far distance. There are cars. It is windy. There is no pub. That surprises me the most. Every central meeting point in Ireland seems to have a pub nearby. Not here, in Leixlip Louisa Bridge. Where can I find anything? Where can I find the centre of this town? There is no information. There is only one sign: yellow on blue. It points towards the left and says: Hewlett-Packard, 2.5 kilometres.

Before the changes wrought on Leixlip by economic globalization can be investigated, Leixlip has first to be demarcated. In 1837 the Topographical Dictionary of Ireland described Leixlip as:

'A market, and post-town, and a parish, in the barony of North Salt, county of Kildare, and province of Leinster, 12 miles (N.N.E.) from Naas and 8 (W) from Dublin; containing 1624 inhabitants, of which number 1159, are in the town' (Lewis, 1837).

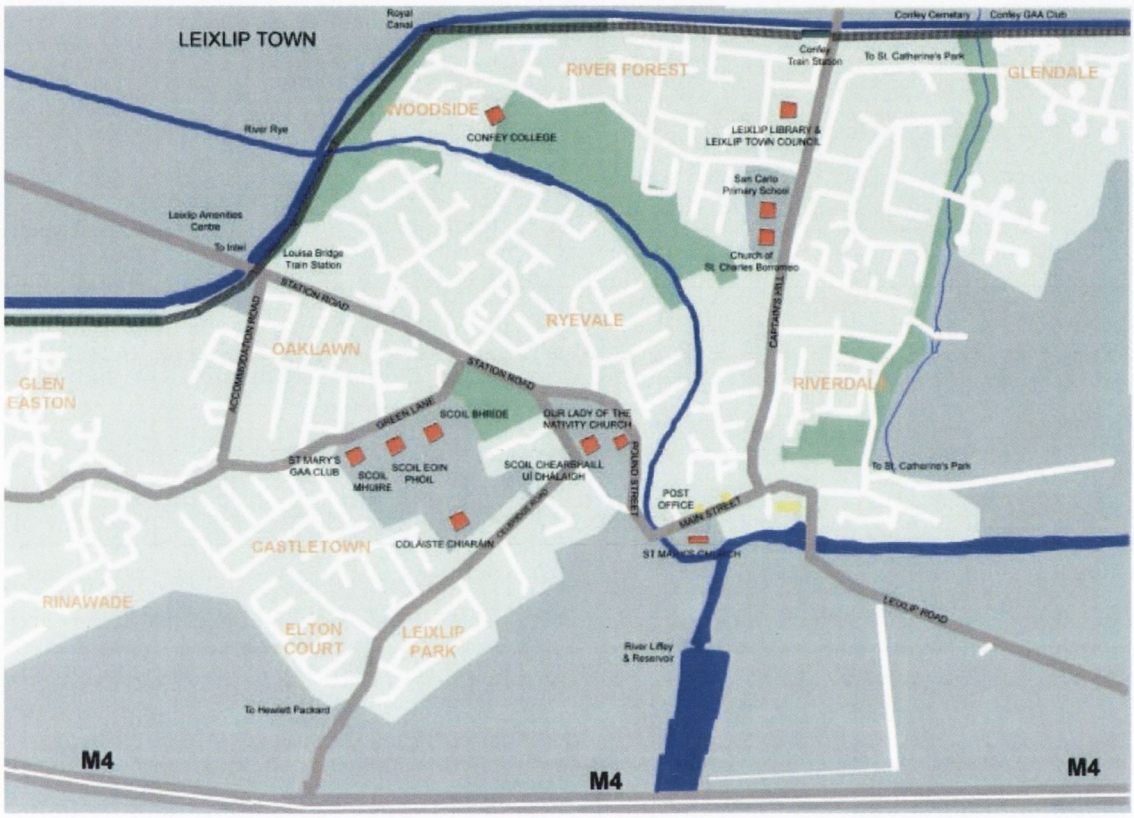
Today in 2005 Leixlip would not be classified as a market or a post-town, but as a suburb of Dublin on an area of land of 2,813 acres[17] located in county Kildare[18], in the province of Leinster[19] in the Republic of Ireland; containing 15,016 inhabitants, all of them located in the town as the division between town and town lands is no longer made.

These indications firstly suggest a multi-layered identity for an inhabitant of Leixlip. He or she belongs not just to the community of Leixlip, but at the same time to that of County Kildare; to the community inhabiting the urban area of Dublin; to the inhabitants of the province of Leinster; to the Republic of Ireland. We can continue: to the community who lives on the island of Ireland, to Europe, to the world. All these territorial entities might coincide with different, possibly conflicting, identities with some identities being more at the forefront than others.

Secondly, the question arises as to whether the aforementioned borders serve the purpose of demarcating the Leixlip-community. To what extent can borders define entities? Some borders dissolve over time. The indicator 'in the barony of North Salt', has lost its meaning in the

contemporary context. Alongside that development the Leixlip inhabitant has lost a layer of his or her identity: a sense of belonging to the barony of North Salt.

Figure 6.1 Map of Leixlip Town.



Other borderlines are not as self-evident as they seem. The division of the island of Ireland is evidently consistently subject to controversy. Sometimes the borders of different geographic entities are conflicting: the borderlines of Ireland's provinces are not identical to the borders of the two nation-states.[20] While all inhabitants of the province of Leinster are inhabitants of the Republic of Ireland, an inhabitant of the province of Ulster can be inhabitant of both nation-states on the island. At other times borders merge. County Kildare still exists, but some counties have disappeared.[21] Embedded in protean geographic entities, the borders surrounding the very area of Leixlip itself seem to express certain fluidity as well.

At first sight Leixlip's borders seem clear. An old bridge over the Liffey, leading towards Leixlip's Main Street defines the border between county Dublin and county Kildare. The town known as Leixlip, Co. Kildare thus begins after the bridge. On that very place stands the former Toll House, heralding officially the beginning of the town of Leixlip to visitors coming from

Dublin over the Leixlip Road. Rarely did the border of a village or a town have such a clear landmark.

But does it? The town's oldest pub, *the Salmon Leap Inn*, is located *before* the bridge. Apparently so are some of the houses as a respondent tells me:

'R- I was born in the house my father built here in the fifties. On (*mentions address*) just before the bridge you go up and…'
I – (*surprised)* Before the bridge…?
'R- Yes, yes there is a small part across the bridge that belongs to Leixlip. The division between the counties is the bridge. Leixlip is known as Leixlip, Co. Kildare. So the postal address of our house is Leixlip, Co. Kildare. But the bridge is the division between the two counties, not the town. So physically our house is in county Dublin. But as my address to friends or family, I always mention Leixlip, Co. Kildare.' (Respondent 7)

Leixlip might be situated in County Kildare, but some Leixlip houses are *de facto* part of County Dublin. In the quote mentioned above, the respondent seeks to overcome this incongruity by making an explicit distinction between the 'postal address' that is mentioned to 'friends and family' and the physical placement of 'the house'. The latter is less important than the former, which is seen as decisive in defining whether or not one belongs to the Leixlip community.

Smith argues that 'location might sometimes be more important in the sense of social recognition, then mere geo-political territoriality' (Smith, 1986:94). Similarly, in this case to the respondent the actual place of the house is less important in defining the sense of belonging to a certain community, than the recognition derived from a certain location. For Leixlip, Co. Dublin is a non-existent geographic entity, an empty community. The respondent then reaches out to those across the bridge.

In chapter 4 I have defined globalization as follows: 'Every action or process of connection carried out by any individual or group transcending the boundary of a society in its restricted sense (be it a tribe, a village, a sub-group, a nation, a region et cetera) with the intended or unintended consequence of a connection to a larger society is an action or a process of globalization.'

If globalization is defined in such a fashion, it ultimately refers to expanding borders. Smith (1986) explores which elements contribute to the survival of ethnic communities or what he calls an *ethnie*[22], in pre-modern eras. He argues that location is more important in the sense of social recognition than for geopolitical reasons. Globalization as defined above refers to the opposite:

the dissolution of the ethnic community into a larger, ultimately possibly the largest society, an *ethnie* that encompasses mankind.

Besides social recognition, Smith argues that the location can contribute to the survival of the *ethnie* through four distinctive geo-political factors: a) the size and extent of population and terrain, in relation to neighbours b) compactness of territory and defensibility of borders c) distances from centres of wealth and power and d) special resources and economic assets: ports, trade routes, water supplies, minerals, and so on (Smith, 1986: 94).

With globalization as a process that is assumed to contribute to a further dissolution of local communities into a global community, abatement of what once contributed to the survival of ethnic communities now will bring about their dissolution. What determines the downfall of an ethnic community will indicate the success of globalization.

Both the importance of location in the sense of social recognition and of geopolitical territoriality are expected to diminish under the globalization thesis. The previous example showed how social recognition, i.e. the postal address, might prevail over geo-political territoriality, i.e. the physical house with regards to the factor location.

In many ways, Leixlip has in terms of geopolitical territoriality strong features. Being located at the confluence of the river Rye and the river Liffey, the locality of Leixlip possesses in terms of Smith's categories 'special resources and economic assets' as well as a 'defensibility of borders'. Leixlip Castle, traditionally the town's centre, built in a strategic position (Nelson, 1990:1) seems to reflect the geopolitical reasons behind the contribution of location to the survival of *ethnie*.

For now, it can be concluded that globalization as a concept of transformation essentially refers to expanding borders and is studied within a context of borders that are fluid, creating identities that are multi-layered and shifting. If sameness occurs, then it emerges paradoxically within the context of constant change. Even when a borderline seems at first sight very clearly marked by a Toll House, further inquiry reveals a discrepancy between the borderlines of the larger entity and of the smaller entity.

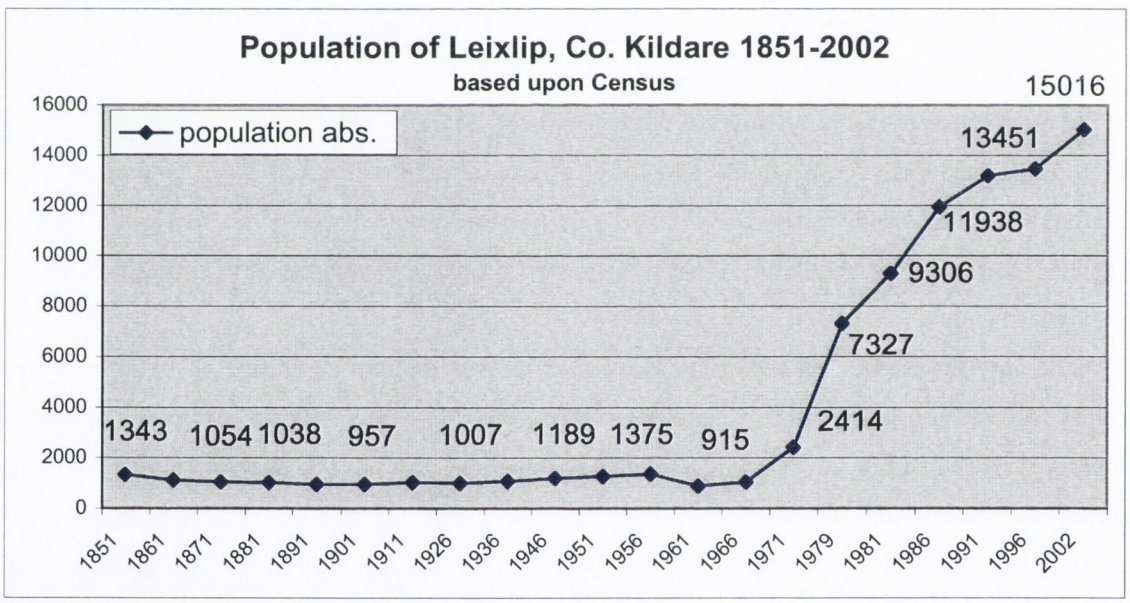
Also, while location once played a role in the survival of ethnic communities in pre-modern eras, a receding significance *mutatis mutandis* will contribute to their downfall - and therefore possibly to the onward march of globalization. But, before the changes influenced by economic globalization can be discussed, the people of Leixlip town need to be further described: while the water separates the counties, the bridge unites the town.

6.4 Leixlip: from village to suburb

According to the 2002 census Leixlip consists of 15,016 inhabitants, over nine times as many inhabitants as in 1837.[23] The first census figures are of 1851[24] and indicate that Leixlip at that time had 1,343 inhabitants, a decline compared to Lewis's numbers possibly caused by the famine that ravished Ireland between 1846 and 1850. But another explanation is possible.

Around 1860 one Thomas Lacey visited Leixlip. In his *Sights and Scenes In Our Fatherland* (1863) he found Leixlip to be situated in beautiful scenery in a romantic valley. He admired the Salmon leap yet he believed the town to be 'a very sinking place'.[25] The difference between the 1837 and 1851 numbers might reflect a general period of recession for Leixlip, which would last until the beginning of the twentieth century. Between 1901 and 1936 the population remained relatively stable around one thousand inhabitants.

Figure 6.2 Population of Leixlip, Co. Kildare based upon Census 1851-2002.



After 1936 the population begins to grow again and by 1956 the population is 1,375 inhabitants, almost the same as a century before. Between 1956 and 1961 the population sharply declines. Numbers drop to just over nine hundred, a historic low. However, it is from this low that the population rapidly expands: between 1966 and 1971 the population doubles. Over the next eight years, the population triples to 7,327 by 1979. Between 1979 and 1991 the population almost doubles again to 13,194 inhabitants.

The period of strong expansion seems over, but with a population of 15,016 it seems unlikely that the large suburb will ever shrink back to the small village it was in 1900. That small village, according to the 1901 Census, consisted of 163 inhabited houses inhabited by 957 people (an average of almost six people per house) and 28 uninhabited houses. Now it has expanded enormously and would by no longer be described by any visitor as a 'sinking place'.

While the world turned into a global village, the village changed into a suburb.[26] In the inter-census period 1966-1971, the same period in which McLuhan's (1968) 'global village' was published, Leixlip's population doubled. Between 1977 and 1983 almost three hundred acres of land were developed for residential purposes, and within twenty years the population had increased tenfold. In some senses the suburbanization of Leixlip was typical: people moving out of the city, yet continuing the urban economic ties. A Dublin woman who moved to Leixlip twenty years ago after her marriage to a man from County Tipperary says:

'We liked the idea that it was close to Dublin, yet very clearly separated from Dublin, we did not have the motorway at the time, there was just the country road going into the city, so both of us worked in Dublin at that time, but we were able to get there reasonably easy and then in the evening get home again…' (Respondent 4)

However, in other ways the origins of Leixlip's growth were not so much suburban.

R- And I moved into Leixlip… one because it was affordable, but secondly because I am from the Midlands, County Westmeath and a lot of people like me, from the Midlands, from middle Ireland moved to Leixlip because it is only an hour away from home. So rather than move to the North of Dublin or the South of Dublin I chose to work in Dublin and to live in a place close to my home county, or what we called 'the reservation'…
I – The reservation…?
R- *(laughs)* That was the way we talked about the Midlands… and a lot of people chose to live in Leixlip for that reason, my sister and some brothers and friends. There is a practical reason for it… it made home reasonably accessible… and today with all the traffic I am quicker home than in Dublin…' (Respondent 5)

Suburban Leixlip in that sense was not so much created by an exodus from city people to the countryside but by people from the countryside who moved closer to the metropolitan area to find work. They brought their own culture and values to a new place that still is not considered

'home'. Even though this respondent has been living in Leixlip for almost thirty years, 'home' is still in the Midlands. Leixlip, only an hour away from home and an hour away from work, is somewhere in the middle, a midland in its own right.[27]

Many respondents mention the rural atmosphere as a reason to move to Leixlip notwithstanding the fact that Leixlip has turned into the largest town of County Kildare, and by the time that this respondent moved had already turned into a suburb of over 10,000 inhabitants. A respondent who moved to Leixlip around 1983 gives the following reasons:

'And I think that we liked the fact that there was so much, two rivers... the canal....the lake.. very much a feeling of countryside... for us it married the best of both worlds.'(Respondent 12)

Corcoran (2003) in a study of European neighbourhoods has described a tension between place as a material reality and place as the locus of sentiment. 'Even if an inner-city neighbourhood is degraded, residents may still feel strongly attached because they remember how the place was, and imagine how it might be' (Corcoran, 2003:3).

Yet this tension, I argue, can predate the decision to actual settlement, which has strong consequences for the shape and form of Leixlip. In other words: Leixlip does not necessarily have to be a village, in order for people to move there *because* it is a village – while I am not denying nor underestimating the fact that Leixlip does actually *have* the rivers, the lake, and the canal as factual presences.

The idea that Leixlip represents the countryside is a powerful treasure that needs to be defended. The image of Leixlip as representing the countryside is *a necessary idyll*, a precious symbolic possession which needs to be nourished, protected - for this idyll has been the motor behind life changing decisions; its destruction might destroy lives.

In the meantime, the native people witnessed the explosive growth of their village into a town, ironically driven by people who wanted to live in a village. Some of them recall the expansion with resentment:

'There was a very interesting priest at the time, late sixties... his name is Father Freeny...he is still alive... he wrote an interesting series of letters to the papers under the heading *Village For Sale*. He said they were throwing up houses, big development... without any structure... He took over the sub parish; he felt he was being placed in an unfortunate position, a village raped by developers.' (Respondent 7)

The title, chosen for these articles, seems very apt: what essentially was sold to the thousands of newcomers was not as much the land but the feeling of a village, in proximity to an opportunity for economic prosperity: Dublin. At the same time, the expansion of the town seems to have brought about a physical division. Residential developments to the North and the West are physically separated, and communication between both areas is only possible via the main street.

Whereas the earliest growth was mainly due to intra-national immigration, growth in following years was mostly due to natural growth of the population as reflected in a very young age-structure (see figure 6.3a). By 1981 over forty percent of the population was younger than nineteen years and 67% younger than twenty-nine years. From 1981 onwards the population structure shows a gradual aging of the population (with especially a decrease in the age group younger than nine years) and in 2002 just over fifty percent of the population is younger than 29 years.

The marital structure (see figure 6.3b) reflects the pattern of young families: in 1986 45% of the population was married, while the other half was single. But almost all of the 'single people' were aged under twenty: only seven percent of the population was single and over twenty. The numbers of widowed and separated people were very low (1%). By 2002 the percentage of married people has dropped by 6%. Married couples form 39% of Leixlip's population, while the amount of people who are widowed or separated has increased to three percent. The amount of single people seemed to have remained constant. Yet in fact, the biggest change has taken place in the group 'single'.

Figure 6.3a Age structure Leixlip.

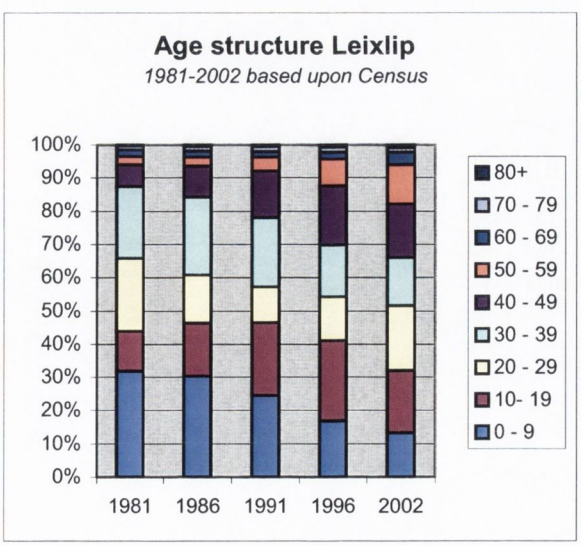
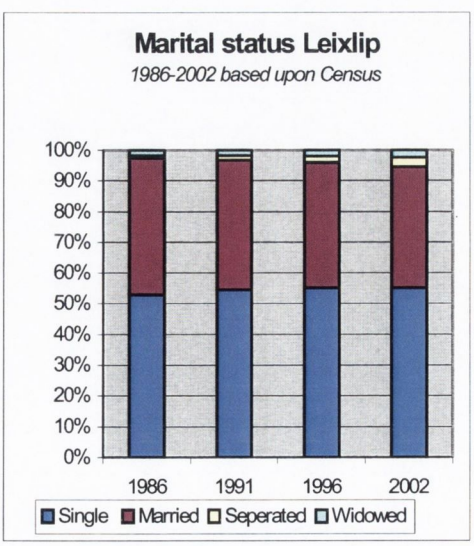


Figure 6.3b Marital Status Leixlip.



Whereas in 1986 only seven percent of the population was over twenty years of age and single, in 2002 it was 23%. This means that in 1986 the category 'single' was rather rare in Leixlip. Yet it is now almost a quarter of the population. Almost ten percent of the population[28] are single males and females between 25 and 35. While the census statistics on the level of the town thus do not show a significant change in the structure of the marital status, underneath this seemingly stable picture a gradual change seems to be unfolding, changing Leixlip from a village that had become a suburb whose inhabitants mostly were part of traditional family structures to a town with a more diverse and possibly more urban way of life.

This is the town that will be researched for traces of globalization: a picturesque village in Ireland close to Dublin, that through rural migration and sub-urbanization had grown into a town physically split in two, a town that would have been unlikely to be put on the world map were it not for Intel's decision in 1989 to move one of its largest manufacturing plants to farmland in Leixlip.

Before the relationship between globalization and sameness in Leixlip are explored empirically, I will first discuss theoretically the implications that a transformation from plural to singular on the national level, has for the local level.

6.5 Global village, local city?

As discussed in chapter 3 globalization defined as a sum of processes leading to one world society can be graphically represented as follows:

Figure 3.2

Processes of globalization on a global level

A ----------→---------- B	
Plural	Single
Peoples	People
Nation-States	World
Societies	Society

Globalization, considered as a process leading to one world society, indicates a transformation from plural to singular on three levels: i.e. peoples, nation-states and societies. What are the consequences on the local level? For the global level the initial situation A has been derived from outcome situation B. On the local level, I argue, this transformation process can be defined in a reverse way, defining the outcome situation as intrinsically different from a known initial situation A.

On a global level the initial situation A has been defined as the opposite of the outcome situation B, since, based upon Albrow's definition, the common identifier of processes of globalization are related to their outcome situation. Yet in the case of the hypothesis of globalization processes on a local level, the situation seems to be reversed: the outcome situation B is unknown and subject to a recurrent debate, while initial point A appears as the landmark against which the emergence of globalization processes on a global level are interpreted.

What could the perceived initial situation A be on a local level? In several interviews the Leixlip respondents painted for me, an outsider, a picture of their Leixlip with words. One respondent says:

'Leixlip was always small.... very small, local[29] population on the Main Street, only a few shops, most of them very old fashioned shops... sweet shops and you would not use the term 'supermarket' but ehm... grocery...' (Respondent 6)

This quote suggests that once the population was very much one people, indigenous, living in a small entity, called 'village'. But was it one society? How integrated was this community? While the use of 'Main Street' suggests a centre, an axis and not division, this respondent does not call the population explicitly a community or a society. Another respondent born and bred in Leixlip emphasizes how integrated the community was in the late 1950s, sketching an image that raises connotations with Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft.*

'There were maybe only 300 people living in Leixlip back then... it was a small hamlet... Leixlip was always an integrated community. They had their own G.A.A. club, compared to Maynooth they were always generous... The people of Leixlip would give more... even if they were not regarded as wealthy... they would give more then the village of Maynooth. It just shows how tight-knitted, generous and vibrant a community it was. The ladies who ran the boarding house and the tearoom used to play the organ ... '(Respondent 11)

This society of one people, according to this quote, was characterized by interwoven interconnections and dependencies: the ladies running the boarding house during the week brought music to the church on Sunday. The integration of this society is not only defined by its internal characteristics - the Main Street, the clubs, the neighbours - but as well by its external reference points: the way these people distinguished themselves from the neighbouring village, which the G.A.A. *(Gaelic Athletic Association)* would compete against.

While on a global level the initial situation A is described as pluralistic, through arguing inversely from the expected outcome situation, the initial situation A on a local level as sketched by the respondents seems to have been singular on three levels: one people, living in one society, located in one clear geographic entity: the village.

Figure 6.4

Processes of globalization on a local level

A ----------→---------- B

Single

People

Village

Society

Situation A on a local level then can be defined as singular: consisting of one people, living in one local community called in this case a village (but it could refer to a town, to a neighbourhood, to a region, and eventually to a country), and in one society. Whereas the transformation processes on a global level were juxtaposed with an expected outcome situation, on the local level outcome situation B is defined through juxtaposition with A.

However, the processes on a local level cannot be described without bringing the previously defined transformation-processes on a global level into the equation. If processes of globalization are profoundly transformational processes generating on a global level a homogeneous monoculture then on the local level this must result in the sacrifice of a previous homogeneous culture, characterized by local distinctiveness.

In the above-mentioned schedule the distinctiveness and homogeneity is attributed to the local level, as we have not yet included the national level. If an increase in *inter-national*

homogeneity is attributed to the global level, hence between nations, then this inevitably leads to a decline of *intra-national* homogeneity within nations.

Yet a pluralistic notion on a national level does not necessarily imply pluralism on a local level. Segregation on a local level will also generate pluralism on a national level. Pluralism on a national level caused by segregation on a local level suggests two possible scenarios on the local level.

Firstly, a situation where the homogeneity on a local level remains identical to initial situation A: hence, one people, living in one village, in one society. Secondly, a radical transformation process has taken place on the local level, not from a singular to a plural notion, but from one singular notion to another singular notion, i.e. a radical transformation from one integrated society into another integrated society.

Both forms of homogeneity on the local level can co-exist and still result in plurality on the national level. However, whilst acknowledging a possible situation of segregation on the local level, a decrease of intra-national homogeneity as a result of transformational processes on the local level, can, less static and less radical, be described as a transformation on a local level from a situation with a singular notion to a situation with a plural notion: of peoples, of societies, living in one geographic unit.

How can this one geographic unit be described, if it is no longer a village? If the quality of pluralism is attributed to a city, then this geographic entity of outcome situation B can best be described using the term 'city': Tönnies' transformation from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*.[30]

Setting aside the conceptual problems of defining a 'city', it seems plausible that if on the global level a transformation takes place from 'nation-states' to 'world', on the local level a transformation can be defined from 'village' to 'a geographic entity with a plural notion'; hence in something that is called here a 'city'.

Situation B can be derived from a given situation A on the local level. After the processes of transformation on a global level have been taken into account, the transformation on a local level can be described as situation A with a singular character to situation B with a pluralistic character. This includes peoples instead of people, societies instead of society and 'city' instead of village.

Figure 6.5

Processes of globalization on a local level

A ----------→---------- B	
Single	Plural
People	Peoples
Village	'City'
Society	Societies

A process of integration and homogenization on a global level in this model therefore inevitably implies a process of disintegration on a local level, unless within the national context segregation occurs. In the context of an inquiry into the relation between globalization and sameness, this possible development needs to be taken into account.

6.6 Conclusion: introducing the country and the village

This chapter has opened the empirical research with an account of the national context in which this research into the relationship between globalization and sameness has been carried out: the Republic of Ireland. This introduction has been presented by referring to the three different train stations from which a train departs from Dublin to Leixlip: Tara Street, Pearse Street and Connolly Station.

Tara Street is named after Tara Hill and in this section stresses that this study on the impact of globalization on the local level is carried out within a context of a nation-state that used to be relatively culturally homogeneous and that has been described as Celtic and Catholic. Pearse Street is named after Pádraig Pearse, was one of the leaders of the Eastern Rising a revolt against the British occupation. This section discusses that the Irish nation-state is relatively young, being for centuries colonized by the British Empire. Irish nationalism occurs within a context of a relatively young nation-state, which does not have the self-evidence of an old nation-state like England. Not only so, in present times the contemporary borders of Ireland still have a contested character. The third name, Connolly Station, refers to James Connolly, another leader of the Easter Rising. This section places Irish nationalism in a cosmopolitan context and makes a distinction between a) nationalism and the creation of a nation-state as an end in itself and b) nationalism and the creation of a nation-state as a means towards a higher goal. For Connolly, the

cause of Ireland was the cause of labour, and of socialism. The freedom Ireland would achieve through the founding of the Irish nation-state would ultimately contribute to the liberation of millions of workers worldwide.

In this section I have argued that within the conceptualization of the second meaning of nationalism - with the nation-state being a means towards a broader, more cosmopolitan goal - the nation-state at some point can become obsolete, as contrasted with the conceptualization of the first idea of a nation-state, where it remains an end in itself.

This relatively young and homogeneous nation-state, with a colonial past, has been going through one of the greatest miracles of economic growth since around 1990, as will be more extensively discussed in the next chapter. The cradle, if we can say so, of this economic boom might be Leixlip in Co Kildare, a small village outside of Dublin where the multinational Intel decided to move in 1989.

The second half of this chapter has introduced some general characteristics of the first case-study. Through examining the borders of the chosen social setting, it is argued that borders are contested constructions and that any study into how globalization operates within the local context, needs to acknowledge the fluidity of borders. Through analysis of this concept of borders, the definition of globalization as mentioned in chapter 4 is further specified as the elaborated definition 4B. Globalization is then essentially an act of connection to a larger, and possibly always expanding, society.

Section 6.4 has discussed some social indicators of Leixlip. Whereas Leixlip's metamorphosis in the seventies was tangible and literally reflected in the number of houses built, the contemporary changes seem to be more diffuse. Embroidering on this development, section 6.5 further elaborates the theoretical process of transformation discussed in chapter 3 on a global level. One of the consequences of homogeneity on a global level is disintegration on a local level. It is argued that if on a global level globalization consists of a process of profound transformation towards cultural sameness, then on the local level the reverse is expected: a transformation from cultural homogeneity to plurality, possibly leading to disintegration. It is theoretically argued that to a certain extent the observance of a growing diversity on the local level can imply sameness on the global level.

However, before the interaction between the Global and the National and the Local can be explored, the entrance of the leading character of this story needs to be singled out: the Global, entering the stage in two acts and as a split personality: Intel and, six years later, Hewlett-Packard.

NOTES

[1] The use of 'us' in this quote can be interpreted in Billig's (1995) terms as an example of banal nationalism. It addresses the 'we' that belong to what is said to be a separate and distinctive nation and offers an explanation what 'our' Irish identity is. It is written from an 'insiders perspective'. This study on the other hand is written from an outsider's-perspective.

[2] With an annual GDP of $37,738, according to Human Development Report 2004. www.hdr.undp.org. December 2005.

[3] 'The Minister for the Environment, Dick Roche, has cleared the way for the construction of the M3 motorway by issuing directions to Meath County Council on how archaeological work is to be conducted' (...)The Director of the National Museum, Dr Pat Wallace, had submitted a report to the Environment Minister in which it is reported he opposed the routing and, in particular, an interchange north of the hill' www.rte.ie/news/2005/0511/m3.html. May 11, 2005.

[4] See for example: 'Tara is 'a timeless sacred place, which cannot be claimed by any one religion, but is instead a sanctuary for all. .. For so long as Ireland lasts, Tara will always carry a spiritual message.' The Book of Tara, by Michael Slavin, p.39.' www.protect-tara.org/index.html. December 2005.

[5] www.protect-tara.org. December 2005.

[6] For example with Hollywood stars Charlize Theron and her boyfriend Stuart Townsend campaigning against the highway.

[7] Source: *The Irish Times,* on- line May 2005. Quotes provided by *The Irish Times*.

[8] See for example Smith (1986:138). 'The earliest cases (of nation-formation) occurred in the West, in England, France, Spain, Holland, and later, Sweden and Russia.'

[9] Billig mentions the weather as an example, arguing that albeit it appears as an 'objective, physical category, (it is) yet contained within national borders' (Billig, 1995:17). Similarly, the reception of the Weather as aired by the BBC and watched in Ireland might cause feelings of revolt against this 'homeland-making transformation'. I remember how Aiofe, my 23-year-old Irish flatmate who had studied the Irish Language at College and I, watched the news one day on BBC. Then the weather man appeared in the left side of the screen, indicating the weather. Suddenly, in a very rare and uncharacteristic burst of aggression in her usually very quiet and composed personality my flatmate exclaimed: 'Why do they *always* have to stand in front of Ireland?! I can't stand it!', and I realized that while informing us about Britain's weather indeed the island of Ireland was made invisible. The presenter blocked the Republic of Ireland completely out, including its weather. Only, just above his head, a little bit of the island was seen: Northern Ireland. Dark clouds. Banal nationalism therefore occurs sometimes as a small-scale insurgence - if only in a living room.

[10] See for example: Crooke (1995).

[11] This ambivalence is expressed in the following quote of the Belfast-born artist, motivating his work: 'Because... you know in a way with the suicide bombers now.. the question is not completely ridiculous... I mean in my youth as a teenager 'Dying for Ireland' was a career option.... To be macho... to impress the girls... to be a warrior.... .... Besides that: we all want to be part of something.' (John Byrne).

[12] www.johnbyrne.info/Ireland.htm.

[13] James Connolly in: *The Irish Worker* (Greaves, 1986: 352).

[14] See for example her speech addressing the International Socialist Congress, Paris 1900. 'On the one hand are purely international socialists who accept annexation and who want to walk hand in hand with their brothers of all countries, without occupying themselves with the unfortunate partition between Russia, Germany and Austria. It is this section, which my friends and I have the honor to represent. On the other hand there are socialists who cling to an Utopian and fantastic plan for the reconstitution of Poland. This dangerous utopia, this nationalist heresy, is exactly what we struggle against, convinced that the proletariat is not in a position to change capitalist political geography, nor to reconstruct bourgeois states, but that it must organize itself on existing political foundations, historically created, so as to bring about the conquest of socialist power and the social republic, which alone will be able to liberate the proletariat of the whole world,' Rosa Luxemburg (Greaves, 1986: 128).

[15] Understandable, at that time. For this mechanism of 'exclusion', mostly referred to the exclusion of the British government, of Ireland's society. However, an ideal of exclusion within a context that is not colonial, but globalizing, might be exclusion in a negative way, in that it seeks to create a sub-community within an emerging world community by deliberately excluding others. In that sense, I would argue that

Pearse's Ireland was of the past, while Connolly's Ireland is of the present: an in-between phase that at some stage might become obsolete.

[16] Hirst & Thompson (1996) argue that in the same way that primitive myths were a way of masking and compensating humanity's helplessness in the face of the powers of nature, globalization now might be a myth that exaggerates our helplessness in the face of contemporary economic forces.

[17] Source: Census 1946 (CSO Ireland).

[18] County Kildare as part of the province of Leinster, is situated in the southern of the two states on the island. This state is composed of twenty-six counties and known as the Republic of Ireland, in this dissertation referred to as 'Ireland'.

[19] There are thirty-two counties on the island of Ireland, while the island is divided into four provinces, former kingdoms: Munster, Leinster, Connaght and Ulster.

[20] While all counties of Northern Ireland are within the borders of the province of Ulster, not all the counties of province of Ulster are located in Northern-Ireland, some are located in the Republic of Ireland.

[21] In Northern Ireland, a major re-organization of local government in 1973 replaced the six traditional counties and two county boroughs (Belfast and Londonderry) by 26 "single-tier" districts for local government purposes, which cross the traditional county boundaries. The six counties and two county boroughs remain in use for purposes such as Lieutenancy.

[22] Smith argues that the French term '*ethnie'*, unites an emphasis upon cultural difference with the sense of an historical community. 'The generic features of *ethnie* are derived, less from 'objective' indicators like fertility, literacy or urbanization rates (important though these are in given circumstances) than from the meanings conferred by a number of men and women over some generations on certain cultural, spatial and temporal properties of their interactions and shared experiences. A community, with Weber, based more upon symbolic meaning and shared history and less on blood ties' (Smith, 1986:22).

[23]In 1837 according to Lewis' Topographical Dictionary of Ireland Leixlip had 1624 inhabitants, of which number 1159, are in the town' (Lewis, 1837).

[24]In the earliest census figures Leixlip is divided in Barnhall townland, Collinstown, Easton, Leixlip, Leixlip Demense, Newston, St. Catherine's Park and Leixlip Town. A footnote of the Census of Ireland for the year 1901 states 'Leixlip town stands on town land of the same name, in which its area and valuation are included. Its estimated area is 26 acres.' Population in figure 4.1 includes the town lands. In the 1911 this distinction is no longer made and Leixlip is said to consist of 2813 acres (CSO Ireland).

[25] Thomas Lacy is quoted in Costello (1991:20).

[26] See for example Corcoran, (2003:3) 'Leixlip. C. Kildare, an established suburb where growth has stabilised.'

[27] Weafer (1985:186) finds similar results based upon an interview questionnair (n=233) he finds that 'the majority of respondents lived less than one hour away from parents or immediate family.'
Unfortunately the article does not mention the sample-techniques, apart from it being 'random'.

[28] (9.75).

[29] The respondent who sketches this image was one of the people who arrived in Leixlip in the seventies coming from the Midlands. Possibly that is the reason why he uses the word 'local' to describe the population in contradiction with his own non-native background.

[30] Yet to give a short comment on the definition of 'city' in this context, I need to point out that the use of the word 'city' in this exclusively pluralistic sense is problematic, as it is assumed that cities are by definition pluralistic, while this is not necessarily true. On the other hand, as various scholars have pointed out, processes of globalization are closely related to urbanization and specifically to the emergence of what Sassen (1994) called 'global cities', a network of cities which have more in common with each other then with the nation-state they are a part of, creating what I call *inter-urban homogeneity* based upon *intra-urban plurality*.

CHAPTER 7 GLOBAL BUSINESS, GLOBAL PROXIMITY

7.1 Introduction: international business practices

Left of the road to Intel is a newly built suburban estate with seemingly identical houses. All is quiet. Then, suddenly, the door of one of the houses opens. A black woman steps outside, two children on her arm. As her husband departs for work, she waves goodbye. When the car has disappeared around the corner, I approach the woman and ask her if I can take pictures of her and her baby. She asks me why, and I shrug my shoulders. It is a drizzly weekday morning. The lawn on the other side of the street is empty. There is nobody on the street. I walk away. But she calls me back: Let's take pictures!, she says. 'Okay', I say, 'I'll take a picture of you and the two children'.

Picture 7.1 Nigerian woman with her babies in Leixlip.

© Martha C.E. Van Der Bly

The woman is from Nigeria and has been living in Ireland for three years. I tell her that I am not Irish but from Holland. Suddenly she gets interested and she speaks determined and staccato.

R - From Holland. (*immediately*) What kind of things would be nice to bring from Holland?

I – Well, eh.. eh… I don't know. Maybe cheese… or tulips….

R – And clothes.

I – Yes, we have beautiful clothes and nice bracelets, necklaces and little gadgets.

R – Do you want to come inside?

We go inside. She asks me pragmatically:

R - But how will we get those things form Holland to Ireland?

I – Well, the flight, I mean, a return ticket is about 150 euro.

R – Is your husband in Holland?

I – ….

R – You don't have a husband?

I - ….

R – Do you like black men?

I - I… (*Pause)* ….. . Were you thinking of somebody specific?

R – My brother… (*points at picture on the wall*)

Not only have we begun to do business, we might be family soon.

I – No, it is very kind of you. But I already have a boyfriend.

R – (*continues immediately*) So what if I give you 200 euro, can you bring me some jeans and nice tops and bracelets?

I – I can, but I cannot do it for free. It will cost me at least a morning to do the shopping…

R – How much do you want?

I - Well, you can tell me.

R – No, you tell me.

I – I was thinking of 50 euro…. But were will you sell it?

R- In the church, here in Leixlip.

However, whereas in a very concise way mutual information has been exchanged about nationality, marital status and commercial interests, one hurdle needs to be taken in building trust. The woman continues:

R- I am Pentecostal. Are you Christian or Muslim or Buddhist?

I – I am Catholic.

R – Do you want to come this Sunday at one?

I – Well, we have our own mass at 11.30 in Dublin, off Grafton Street.

R – I think I know that church. *(very persuasive)* But when you will come to mine?

I – (*defensive*) Hey! I am catholic and I l don't want to change!

R – Oh no, I am not trying to change you. The next time I will come to your mass.

I – Okay… Maybe I will be there next Sunday. But I cannot promise anything!

R – Okay. Let me take a picture of you. (Respondent 2)

Picture 7.2 Researcher and little Nigerian girl in Leixlip.

Different processes of economic globalization have come to Leixlip. This chapter discusses Leixlip's economic globalization, in the shape of Foreign Direct Investment, first with Intel's arrival in 1989 and then Hewlett-Packard six years later. Intel's arrival in Leixlip was a landmark decision on the national level as well, and very much marked the beginning of a prosperous era for Ireland.

Understanding why and how processes of economic globalization came to Leixlip, will in turn help one to understand how Ireland transformed from one of the poorest countries of Europe, into one of the richest countries of Europe in less than two decades.

Section 7.2 discusses factors on the global level, especially in America, that influenced Intel's decision to open its largest non-United States' manufacturing plant in Ireland. This section highlights how globalization is related to unlikely concepts such as 'a sense of place' and 'proximity'.

In exploring its origins, some of the notions commonly associated with this almost classical stereotype of globalization, an American multinational expanding abroad, are unravelled. To what extent do footloose companies characterize this type of globalization as the 'death of distance'?[1] Just as the Local and the National are no static entities but subject to constant change, so the Global may be less dynamic then it is sometimes suggested.

Section 7.3 briefly discusses the factors on a European level that contributed to the development of the Irish economy and that were influential to Intel's decision. Section 7.4 highlights the Irish national government's role in bringing these economic globalization processes to the Republic. Section 7.5 discusses Hewlett-Packard's arrival in Leixlip and empirically illustrates the economic concept of cascade effects. Section 7.6, in conclusion, describes the local factors that contributed to Intel's and Hewlett-Packard's respective arrivals in Leixlip.

7.2 In America: globalization fuelled by global factors

The appearance of economic globalization processes in Leixlip has not been subtle or marginal. Recently, local historian Seamus Kelly produced the *Walking Tour of Leixlip,* a walk among Leixlip's historical highlights (Kelly, 2000). In the booklet Intel Ireland states in a full-page advertisement that:

'Intel Ireland's state-of-the-art manufacturing campus at Leixlip, Co. Kildare is a major location for the manufacture of the high speed Intel microprocessor –The Pentium III Processor. The

campus represents a cumulative investment of over $2.5 billion, with more than 4,000 people employed on site' (Intel Corporation in: Kelly, 2000:50).[2]

Intel Corporation, referred to in this dissertation as 'Intel', was founded in 1968 in Santa Clara, California, by Bob Noyce and Gordon Noore[3] and by 1989 had become the world's largest computer chip manufacturer. In 1988, Intel celebrated its twentieth birthday with 'custom-labelled beverages and all-out parties at the company's major sites around the world.'[4]

At the end of the eighties, Intel sought to establish a manufacturing base in Europe. The U.S. economy had begun its longest uninterrupted period of growth since the Second World War. American corporations were profitable, confident and ready to go global (McAleese, 2000:48).

From the very beginning, Intel operated as a global player. The first non-US sales office was established in Geneva, Switzerland in 1969, one year after Intel was founded. Also in 1969, sales and marketing functions opened in Japan. In 1972 Intel opened its first international manufacturing facility, an assembly plant in Penang, Malaysia.

Two years later, when the world was hit by oil crises, the company expanded its international manufacturing operations to the Philippines, by opening an assembly facility in Manila (Intel Corporation, 2003:8). In 1972 Intel opened a design centre in Haifa, Israel and five years later, in 1977, a design centre in Tsukuba, Japan. Contradicting the often heard argument in the globalization debate about footloose companies, these factories are still in operation thirty years later.[5]

However, an assembly site opened in Barbados in the West Indies (Intel Corporation, 2003: 11) and an assembly and test facility opened in Las Piedras, Puerto Rico in 1981 (Intel Corporation, 2003: 15) no longer exist. The 428,000 square-foot Puerto Rico plant, located on sixty acres of property that once employed 1,300 people, working on assembling network interface cards and motherboards, was closed in mid-2001.

'It was more expensive to run than its operations in Asia and [we decided] to transfer the work to a plant in Malaysia', said Intel spokesman Chuck Mulloy.[6] Similarly, a board assembly factory opened in 1984 in Singapore is no longer in operation. This suggests that lower-skilled manufacturing facilities such as assemblage are prone to global transfers in order to cut costs.

On the other hand the stability and indeed growth of generally low-skilled[7] production work in manufacturing facilities in Malaysia and in the Philippines over a period of thirty years suggests the opposite, that of longevity and a 'sense of place' from the point of view of the global player. When this holds for lower-skilled production work one might expect an even stronger

'sense of place' for manufacturing facilities requiring higher-skilled employees such as the manufacturing facility in Leixlip.

The 'footloose companies' thesis seems only partially true. Another aspect of the globalization thesis is the argument that distance no longer matters, 'the death of distance' thesis (Cairncross, 2001). This add to an image of intangibility and, therefore, of globalization as an exogenous force. Yet one of the factors that made Intel decide to move to Europe was the need for proximity, according to a former vice-president of Intel Ireland:

R - (...) Intel was rolling out an European business, so proximity to the customers base in the European market was an important factor... maybe to save some on the shipping costs as well, ... but mostly so of being close to the customers.... The really successful companies get close to their customers. They (*with emphasis*) *understand* their customers. (..)
I – But why....? It seems so irrational...
R – Oh... no! It is not irrational. Most deals are done face to face. There is an awful lot of work you can do electronically.... But you still need to do a face-to face communication... that will never disappear... because trust come from person to person communication... you have to be physically close to your customers... (Respondent 18)

The American journalist Joel Garreau (1992) distilled from interviews with businessmen a set of tongue-in-cheek 'laws of location. One of his laws concerns 'back shop' locations (locations that perform office work that does not require continuous face-to-face contact with top management). He argues that the maximum desirable distance a back shop location can be from a corporate headquarters is one and a half hours by car or three hours, non-stop, by plane. The latter criterion brings Leixlip virtually within the proximity of the most of continental Europe.

This argument and especially the distinction with back shop offices, is in line with my own observations as described in chapter 2. However, the combination of the back offices and front offices that I distinguish, together form Garreau's back shops. The back shops are divided into a back office and a front office. One might then argue that isolated back offices, ones without a front office, are those production-factories that do not need to have *any* contact with customers or need frequent contact with top-management. Isolated back offices can be relocated to locations far away from the corporate head quarters, for example to India or China.

Krugman confirms both Intel's motivations and Garreau's interviews with other businessman, when he argues that 'distance does matter' (Krugman, 1997: 46). However, Krugman and Intel give different reasons why 'distance matters' or, *mutatis mutandis,* 'proximity matters'. Krugman places an emphasis on 'speed and ease' when arguing that distance not only matters but that its

importance is actually growing. 'It increasingly does so because of the impediments it places on speed and ease of communication and shipment, rather than because of its impacts on crude transportation costs' (Krugman, 1997: 46). The reasons behind the relevance of distance pointed out by Krugman therefore refer to practical matters involving logistics and technique.

Intel Ireland's former vice-president only mentions such practical arguments indirectly. The emphasis is placed on the human dimension. Proximity is needed because the company needs to *understand* the customers. Secondly, proximity is a requirement to generating *trust*. Rarely is globalization associated with a desire to expand understanding and trust, yet in this case one of its driving forces seems to be precisely that.[8]

Globalization has not reduced the importance of proximity. In fact proximity's relevance might be growing as a consequence of another dimension of globalization, i.e. the growth of non-physical products, goods and services, which are more dependent on trust and understanding.

As Krugman argues: 'Many producers of traded goods and services are starting to resemble back shops: they either do not produce a physical product at all, or produce a good with such a high value-to-weight ratio that transportation costs are not important; but because of sophistication of the product and the need for close interaction with customers, they must be produced in locations easily accessible when necessary' (Krugman, 1997:46). Following the 'distance does not matter' and partially the 'time-space compression' (Harvey, 1989) argument, one might assume that international travel will diminish, especially in these sectors that deal with financial services.

However, this is not the case (Haynes, Vecchi and Wickham, 2005). Financial services, because they do not refer to a physical product, are based upon trust and understanding. Despite techniques like video-conferencing, they require face-to-face contact. Improving understanding and trust with as large a mass as possible, all of a company's potential client base in other words are, from the perspective of most multinationals,[9] rational choices. Contrary to popular belief, one of the driving forces behind economic globalization is, paradoxically, the desire for proximity and is partly driven by a need for understanding and trust.[10]

This chapter has discussed global developments that fuel globalization. Yet to what extent was Intel's appearance in Leixlip the coming of the Global? One might argue that what is here called 'the global level' seems merely to be an *American* level; the development of the American economy. America, being the world's largest economy, profoundly influences the global economy. A vibrant American economy thus reflects a *global* development, America's economy being tightly knit in the world-economy.

However, the U.S. is one of the least economically integrated countries in the world-economy. In the Globalization Index 2004 on the overall cluster Economic Integration the U.S. ranked 56 out of 61 countries, just after Pakistan and just a little bit more economically integrated than Kenya (57) and Egypt (58) (Kearney, 2004:57). Ireland ranked number one on the same index of Economic Globalization.

It is argued that this economic disintegration is merely a large-country effect. Japan (60), India (61) and Bangladesh (62) are on the bottom of the list. Yet this is not the place to discuss economic arguments. However, America's economic disintegration possibly coincides with a certain form of cultural disintegration as well and that will be discussed in the next chapter. For now the question is: how did Intel find Leixlip?

7.3 In Europe: globalization fuelled by European factors

Intel established its first European sales office a year after it was established in Geneva and continues to have 'sales offices around the world' (Intel Corporation, 2001:6). Yet manufacturing did not yet take place in Europe. One incentive to expand manufacturing to Europe seems to have been European Union (EU) regulations.

R - Originally there was a requirement in Europe, that you had a manufacturing here to provide the duties to buyers here.... that subsequently disappeared as an issue, because Europe could not do that, it is violating all kinds of international rules, but at that stage Europe was pushing that, there was pressure from the European Union... many factors involved... but that was one effect...

I – Until when did that last?

R – It lasted for two or three years...

I – Only?

R – Yes. Because (*passionate*) because it was (*with emphasis*), obvious that... greatly obvious... that other major blocks would exclude Europe! You can't exclude competition. Europe had this naivety that it could maintain the standards of living that it had... that it would not need to deal with the competitive forces from Japan... that it could protect itself...build this wall around Europe... it was called *fortress Europe*.. this fort... idea... its... you cannot be a fortress in a global economy...

I – But... (*emphatic)* eh, so in fact... this euro-centrism... in Brussels at the time forced Intel...

R – (*interrupts decisive*) Did not force Intel to do anything!

I – No… but…

R – No. It is important to understand this.

I – Okay…

R – No company will ever let a bureaucrat force him to do anything. The bureaucrats were pushing this as a concept. It was one factor, but nobody ever makes a decision based upon one factor. It was *one* of the *many* factors. (Respondent 18)

The current spokesperson for Intel mentions the European regulation first when asked why Intel moved to Leixlip:

'… So why Intel came to Ireland at all is obviously because Intel saw Europe as a market and it decided to put a manufacturing plant here, because there were going to be restrictions on, or there were going to be very heavy penalties on companies that did not have a manufacturing factory in Europe already.' (Respondent 3)

Developments on a global level made Intel look for worldwide expansion. Yet it was the threat of being excluded from the European market by being subject to unfavourable tax-regulations, that made Intel decide to build a manufacturing plant somewhere in Europe. The European Union created thus pull-factors for her member-states. While Europe was 'building a wall' around it, it sought at the same time to bring down the walls within Europe. In 1987 the *Single European Act* was enacted:

'The Single Act means, in a few words, the commitment of implementing simultaneously the great market without frontiers, more economic and social cohesion, an European research and technology policy, the strengthening of the European Monetary System, the beginning of an European social area and significant actions in the environment.'[11]

Thenceforth, the level of European Union structural funding increased substantially. Resources doubled in the period up to 1992 (Barry et al., 2001). Especially the goal of social cohesion within the Union resulted in a doubling of funds supporting the first objective of the structural funds, the development of the least prosperous regions and the funds aiming to combat long-term unemployment.

At this time, Ireland was one of the poorest member states. With very high unemployment and a young population, (McGowan, 2000) Ireland was an obvious choice for allocation of these funds. The *Single European Act* led to a substantial growth in transfers from the European Union to Ireland.[12]

McAleese writes that '[f]rom being one of Europe's poorest countries in 1973, Irish GDP (...) surpassed the UK level[13] in 1996 and the EU shortly afterwards. It now stands at 115 per cent of EU average GDP, compared with 58 per cent when Ireland joined the Common Market in 1973' (McAleese, 2000:47). Structural Funds, coming from the European Union, have been used to improve Ireland's infrastructure. As Intel's spokesperson emphasized:

'Ireland was chosen as the country, because of its infrastructure, so roads... you can have easily access to the M50, to get to the airport, so just the infrastructure was there... and continuity of electricity so power... energy and water. So they were the big things that we were interested in, and also because of the young, educated workforce.' (Respondent 3)

However, other relatively poor regions in the EU have received substantial funding with little economic growth results (Braunerhjelm et al., 2000). Intel did not choose Ireland solely because of a good infrastructure, though clearly it is unlikely that Ireland would have been chosen had good infrastructure not been present.

While global developments ignited processes of economic globalization, European developments firstly drew globalization to Ireland's coastlines and, through infrastructural funding, literally paved the way for global companies.

7.4 In Ireland: globalization fuelled by national factors

As the American economy flourished, Ireland's economy was on the edge of bankruptcy. Ireland had the highest debt in Europe, namely 130 per cent of the Gross National Product and one of the highest inflation rates over fifteen per cent. It had the second highest unemployment rate within the European Union (McGowan, 2000).[14] According to the standards of the International Labour Office, unemployment in Ireland was 17,1 per cent in 1986 and, in 1987, ran at 16,9 per cent.[15]

The government needed to make drastic choices. In the late 1980's Ireland established a model of social partnership involving businesses and trade unions. This model included three-

year agreements in which wage were kept low in return for income tax cuts and participation in economic decision-making through social partnership committees (McAleese, 2000). At the same time, the Industrial Development Authority (IDA) played an active role in attracting Foreign Direct Investment:

'Well there are two things and they were coinciding at the time. A lot of companies like Intel, are constantly evaluating the sites that are on board in anticipation of their future, as I did when I was a corporate, I did that too.... I was constantly evaluating: if we expand next, where are we going to expand. So the IDA were very good at anticipating of what the big companies next were going to do and provide all the incentives and support.' (Respondent 18)

While Intel was looking for expansion, the Irish Industrial Development Authority actively sought companies looking for investment.[16] What did they have to offer American companies? The fact referred to often is that Ireland, at that time, had a well-educated workforce of young people or a 'supply of well-qualified entrants to the labour-market' (McAleese, 2000).

As a result of a high fertility rate, Ireland had a young population. Free, universal secondary schooling introduced in 1967 had laid the foundations for the development of a technically-skilled workforce over the coming decades so that by 1995, 27 per cent of the population aged 25-34 had reached third-level education, which exceeded the OECD country average of 23 per cent (Ó Riain, 1997).

Whereas Burnham (2003) argues that changes in the state-run education system were *enabling* factors in the acceleration of economic growth in the 1990s, and not *causal* factors, one might argue that the presence of a well-educated work force was indeed one of the causal factors that brought Intel to Ireland. As Craig Barret, Intel CEO says:

'If the world's best engineers are produced in India or Singapore, that is where our companies will go', Barrett says without batting an eyelid. 'This is the reality in the modern world. We locate facilities where we can find or import talent'.[17]

However, when talent cannot be found locally, sometimes it can be imported. While a well-educated workforce might be a requirement, it might not be the decisive factor. At that time Ireland had a highly favourable regime of corporate taxation, with a preferential rate of ten percent[18] on all corporate profits for export-oriented manufacturing and traded service, while prior to the 1990's the standard corporate profits tax rate was 50% (McAleese, 2000).

The effect of the differences in corporate taxation in attracting Foreign Direct Investment cannot be overestimated. While working for the Bank, I participated in an intensive two-week course on Financial-Economic Management for bank managers. This course taught us that one of the things that needs to be taken into consideration when finding a new location for a subsidiary are the European guidelines regarding investment. Several examples were given such as the Madeira Laws for Portugal with reference to royalties. For insurance, the Captive Insurance Companies in Luxembourg were mentioned.

Special attention was paid to Ireland. In a rather extensive example, under the heading *The use of an Irish IFSC* it was explained that 'according to European regulation a company in Dublin had a tax of ten per cent, if economic substance is brought to Dublin and if executing banking activities.'[19] Sachs (1997) confirms that corporate taxation is an important dimension of competitiveness in relation to the growth of foreign investment, arguing that conditions for high profitability of Foreign Direct Investment include 'low rates of corporate taxation, or special tax incentives for foreign investment in targeted sectors' (Sachs: 1997:56).

This mechanism is implicitly confirmed by Intel's spokesperson.

'So the driving forces for coming to Ireland were, that there was an educated workforce...the population was very young...it was growing.... and obviously because there were very good tax-incentives at the time...and the IDA helped Intel to actually set up here... so there was a support system for helping foreign countries to come here and invest...' (Respondent 3)

As Intel's spokesperson states: 'obviously there were very good tax-incentives at the time.' Sometimes what seems the most obvious is in fact the most important.

In 1995 Hewlett-Packard established a large facility in Leixlip, that currently employs over 2000 people. In almost the same words Hewlett-Packard's spokesperson mentions the weight of corporate taxes as a decisive factor. [20]

'HP was expanding... we were actually at that time making inkjet cartridges in the US and in Singapore... and we needed to expand... so we did not move jobs, we just added new jobs, we needed to expand, because our customer base was expanding and we went to Europe and Ireland won, for a number of reasons. One reason was the low corporation tax, the obvious one, but the most important one to us was the availability of the workforce, of a technically competent work force.' (Respondent 9)

Some argue that American foreign investment especially has become more sensitive to differences in host country taxes in recent years (Altshuler and Cummins, 1998). However, even when the twin requisites of a well-educated work force and adequate infrastructures are fulfilled, the corporate taxation rate is not necessarily of overriding importance, as there are other financial incentives that have to be taken into consideration. For example, Intel has received 218 million euro in state aid since Intel first moved to Ireland.[21]

Ireland's favourable corporate tax rate was established by the government in 1987 in the International Financial Services Centre (IFSC), originally meant for Irish or foreign firms located in the twenty-seven-acre redevelopment site in the Custom House Dock area - it is from this area that many of the so-called coffin ships departed for the United States during the time of the Great Famine. Maybe there was another, not so financial factor that attracted American Direct Investment to Ireland.

Impressive statues of lean figures, black silhouettes against a grey sky, one of Ireland's Famine Memorials, now welcome the American investors, many whom are of Irish descent, to the docklands and to the high-rise buildings of the flourishing financial district. Intel found not only a favourable corporate tax regime and governmental support in Ireland, but also a workforce with whom they shared the language and culture.

If globalization is partly driven by a need for understanding and trust, how crucial is it to speak the same language or to have a shared cultural background? The global, American companies did not only find their future in Ireland, they found their past as well.

7.5 Cascade effects: Hewlett-Packard

How did Hewlett-Packard find Leixlip? And in what sense was its arrival different from Intel's? In Intel's case, I have stressed the importance of physical proximity to counter the argument that globalization is composed of rootless companies to whom arguments of physicality are of relatively little importance. In fact, as manifested by Intel, the desire for proximity was one of the driving forces behind the economic globalization. Even while one can argue that the range of proximity is broadly interpreted, that does not change the nature of the argument.

Globalization, often associated with an increasing risk, can as well be driven by what is essentially risk-avoiding behaviour. What Krugman (1997) calls 'demonstration and cascade effects', seems to have been the decisive factor for Hewlett-Packard's move to Ireland. These

effects are an example of risk-avoiding behaviour within globalization, often associated with an increasing risk (Beck, 1992).

Demonstration and cascade effects occur when firms that are considering opening up production facilities in other countries are faced with uncertainties about how and how well the operations will run. These uncertainties are considerably higher than for those companies who remain at home (Krugman, 1997:49).

In order to decrease uncertainties, there will be a strong focus within companies to first observe the performance of countries, and then take such observations into consideration in deciding whether to re-locate or expand (demonstration-effect). This in turn leads to an accumulation of investment into one physical area (cascade-effect).[22] Both demonstration and the cascade effects are mentioned in the next quote of the Hewlett Packard spokesperson.

I- Was there any relation with Intel's presence here…?
R – Intel would have been important, yes. The fact that there was a big multinational who was actually very successful here.... I say that Intel was the trade-blazer for most multinationals coming here. Because we came after that… then Dell came, and then IBM, in fact IBM came before Dell…But Intel was first. (Respondent 9)

Intel's former vice-president confirms this.

I – Did you have a lot of contact with the people from Hewlett-Packard?
R – I did. I did. And the main reason why they came here, they told me the reason why they located to Leixlip was to come under our umbrella. I remember that well, when that was going to happen I was thinking, oh my God…
I – What were you thinking?
R – Well I was encouraging them to come in, of course I was, but when they came through the backdoor that was a big surprise. Big competition. But like I said, you have to be for competition in every way. (Respondent 18)

Hewlett-Packard aims to increase global competitiveness by reducing risk factor uncertainties. This leads to an increase of local competition for the other global player, in this case Intel. While Intel and Hewlett-Packard are not direct competitors on a global scale, as they cover different market segments and offer different products, they do compete for employees on a local level.

'In the case of Hewlett-Packard it was different, it would have been an important reason for them that Intel was successful in Leixlip, - if it has happened before, it will happen again- so they choose Leixlip. (Respondent 19)

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Hewlett-Packard did not just choose Ireland, they chose Leixlip. At the same time, on the national level, there seems to be a difference in the role played by the Industrial Development Authority. For a number of years, the San Jose, California branch of the Industrial Development Authority extensively approached Hewlett-Packard in an effort to persuade it to set up a manufacturing business in Ireland. It seems as if Hewlett-Packard had to be actively convinced to expand to Ireland.

'The Industrial Development Authority had been knocking on the doors of Hewlett-Packard for a number of years. When Hewlett-Packard decided to expand, they actually rang the Industrial Development Authority and said, hey you have been asking us to come over, and we are ready to look at Ireland.' (Respondent 9)

There is another difference between the two companies. The Industrial Development Authority owned the lands on which Intel's factories are built. The Collinstown Stud Farm was already earmarked for industrial development. County Kildare owned some surrounding land occupied by farms. Intel bought the land, both from the Industrial Development Authority and County Kildare. That resulted in the closure of some farms.

'And then we, within the IDA, have our own property development department and they found the site of about 200 acres for HP and bought it from a private landowner.'(Respondent 19)

Hewlett-Packard bought its land from a private landowner on which was located a local meat factory, an existing industrial function. The land directly transferred from a local industry to a global industry. Compared to Intel, Hewlett–Packard's arrival in Leixlip seems to have had a closer and more direct involvement on two levels. Compared to Intel, within the initial process of economic globalization, the *movement of goods and capital*, initiative on a national level seems to have played a bigger role while the role on the global level was less.

Secondly, the *place* where these movements came to a standstill had less national and more local involvement in Hewlett Packard's case than in Intel's, and was already used as industrial land. Hewlett-Packard replaced industry while Intel replaced farms, albeit ones already earmarked for industrial development.

Castells (1996) makes a distinction between the contemporary global economy and a world economy that he sees as having existed since the sixteenth century. He argues that, in the global economy, all the processes involved work simultaneously, and thus the distinctive variable is 'time'. In this global economy, nations and nation-states will not disappear but will in fact become 'major players (..) on the basis of the defence of the specific national interest they represent' (Castells,1996:80).

However, whereas the power executed on the national level has been clearly demonstrated in the previous examples of both Hewlett Packard and Intel, I argue that it might be exactly this increase in the importance of nation-states and their representatives operating within the global field representing the national interests that causes dissonance and alienation on a local level. As one of my Leixlip respondents stated, in the context of discussing Intel's arrival in Leixlip:

'This is the problem of multinationals you see, the state authorities will do nearly anything to please them.' (Respondent 16)

National interests do not always go hand in hand with local interests. Sometimes the distance between the global and the local might be smaller when an intermediating national interest does not interfere.

7.6 Finding Leixlip

In cooperation with the Irish Industrial Development Authority, Intel sought a site in Ireland. The Industrial Development Authority suggested a site of hundred fifty hectares as a possible location, a former stud farm near Dublin and with easy access to the main highway, the M50, and close to the national airport.

'So the IDA, they found this site. They purchased the land from the landowners and then they sold the land to Intel.' (Respondent 3)

No longer did an ocean divide the global and the local. They had become neighbours. But to what extent was the local community involved in this decision? The current spokesperson of the Leixlip Town Council indicates:

'Kildare County Council owned most of the land, it was earmarked for industry, but Intel bought up all the farmland around the plant. They like to have a sterile ehm... area. They don't like neighbours near them.' (Respondent 8)

The site was located on the land of Leixlip, Co Kildare. Global, European and national developments had lead to economic globalization in Leixlip. Yet the town itself had very little involvement in it.

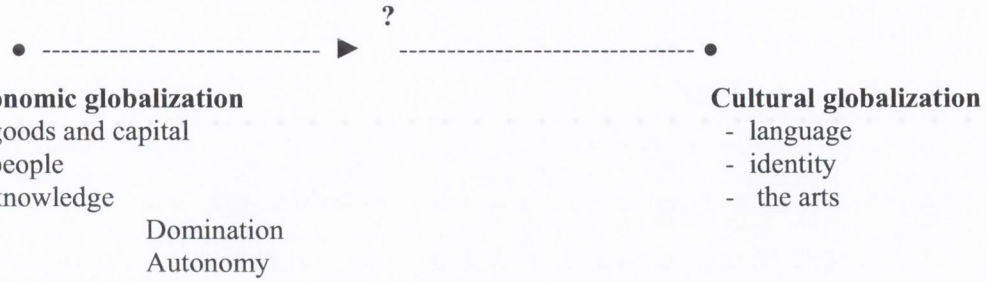
7.7 Conclusion: global business, global proximity

In this chapter the Global has been introduced. Just as with the National and the Local, the first impression is not always right. Intel's appearance in Leixlip, a landmark decision in Ireland's recent economic history, seems to have been influenced by factors on the global, the European and the national level. While globalization often refers to 'footloose' companies, the history of Intel does not necessarily show such a development. In fact, its global expansion seemed to be rather stable and long-term, not just in the case of Intel in Ireland but also in Asia and the Middle East. At the same time one of the driving forces behind the global expansion of the American company is what seemed to be better described as a 'pursuit of proximity' than as a 'death of distance'. In fact, if products are less manufactured and industrial and more services and sales, then closeness to the customers seems to become more important.

This importance of proximity is driven by the need for understanding the customer and the necessity of building trust. Even in the economic context of profit-driven multinationals, global expansion coincides with increasing communication in order to build trust. Globalization then is driven by the need for increasing communication either as a need *sui generis* or as a premise for generating trust and understanding.[23]

At the same time, while globalization might be partly driven by the need for understanding and trust, it is concluded that the local had very little say in the coming of processes of economic globalization to Leixlip. We therefore might want to distinguish *dominant globalization*, a form of globalization where the macro-processes steer the changes on the local level, and where relatively little autonomy is allowed on the local level.

Figure 7.1 Theoretical Model Step E: Dominant and Autonomous Globalization



Distinguishing a form of dominant globalization might imply that there are different sets of economic globalization processes allowing for greater autonomy. However, before we explore that question in chapter 10, first the question is whether we find sameness in the cultural field, under the influence of processes of globalization that we might describe as 'dominant'? How do the Local, the National and the Global interact? The next chapter looks at the development in the cultural field in Leixlip.

NOTES

[1] This chapter will explore Intel's arrival more extensively since Hewlett-Packard very much followed Intel and its arrival lacked the landmark quality of Intel not only on a local level, but even more acutely on a national level.

[2] The quote continues: Intel Ireland are delighted to support the *Walking Tour of Leixlip Village*. We aim to earn the support of our local communities through being responsible, concerned and involved'.

[3] The rights for the name Intel was purchased from a company called Intelco for $15,000 (Intel, 2003:2).

[4] Source: Intel Corporation: *Thirty five years of Innovation'*, (USA: Intel Corporation: 2003:21).

[5] By 2000 the facility in Penang, Malaysia employed 5,500 people working mainly in assembly and testing of components, but in research and development (R & D) as well. In Kulim, Malaysia, another 2,500 employees worked in the assemblage of motherboards and networking/ communication boards. Intel Philippines is now no longer housed in Manila, but in Cavite and in Makati and currently employs 6,300 people working in assembly and testing of chipsets and flash memory. Currently there are 1,150 employees working in the Intel Design and Development Centre in Haifa, Israel, while the company has facilities in Jerusalem and Qiryat Gat as well, that employ together another 2,300 employees. Intel Japan now employs 640 people in support services and web hosting. A water fabrication plant in Jerusalem that opened up in 1984 is now the Intel Design and Development Centre; Fab 8, employing 800 people. Source: Intel Corporation, *Leadership is In. 2000 EHS performance Report* (USA: Intel Corporation, 2001).

[6] In: http://www.forbes.com/technology/newswire/2003/09/17. Reuters, 09.17.03, 6:07 PM.

[7] There seem to be some R & D functions in Malaysia.

[8] In the case of business expansion of a multinational understanding and trust are instrumental to a higher goal of business consolidation and profit. On the other hand, this suggests that there might be forms of globalization driven by the desire for understanding and trust for its own sake, thus as a goal in itself.

[9] Especially for multinationals who sell services or sophisticated products. Exceptions are self-evidently those companies who sell goods or services that benefit by misunderstanding and distrust, most notably by war.

[10] Even if that goal is instrumental to a higher goal: of profit.

[11] Jacques Delors. In: '*The single European Union and the road toward the Treaty of the European Union (1986-1992). The history of the European Union.*' ww.historiasiglo20.0rg/europe/acta.htm , July 2005

[12] Some economists argue that while the *direct* effects of the Single Market and the Structural Funds seem relatively modest compared to the scale of Ireland's recent economic performance, *indirect* effects cannot be underestimated. It has been argued that for example infra-structural expenditures may have non-linear effects, while they are studied by linear models (Barry, 2001), which leads to an underestimating of their net contribution towards growth. Yet this is not the place to discuss of economic theory and I do not feel I know enough about this issue to comment.

[13] It is interesting that leading Irish economist McAleese explicitly as a first milestone mentions the economic triumph of Ireland over the United Kingdom in 1996, a highlight reflecting more then competition between neighbouring countries. It is a bittersweet revenge on Ireland's former colonisator.

[14] Kieran McGowan was from 1989 to 1998 Chief Executive of the Industrial Development Authority (IDA).

[15] The ILO standards are more strict then other standards which reflect an even higher unemployment figure. McGowan (2000) argues that the unemployment rate since 1987 was over 18 per cent.

[16] Having six offices in the U.S and an annual budget of $200 million (McGowan, 2000).

[17] Source: Times of India, Sunday 6th March 2005, USA-section., by Chidanand Rajghatta. www1.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/1042610.cms. March 2005.

[18] Currently it is 12, 5 %.

[19] The course referred to the extension of the ten percent corporate tax rate to the additional activities established by the government in 1987 in the International Financial Services Centre (IFSC), in which eligible companies would receive a tax incentive. Although originally intended to apply only to foreign or Irish firms that located in the twenty-seven-acre redevelopment site in the Custom House Dock area, it was eventually extended to firms outside the immediate area (Burnham, 2003).

[20] In 1990 the European Commission charged a committee to investigate the effects on different corporate taxations within the Union, as the Union had been discussing corporate harmonization for a long time (Blue, 2000). This committee concluded that tax rates and tax incentives are the instruments with the

greatest impact on business decisions. Blue (2000) argues that that conclusion has been of particular importance to the Irish taxation system.

[21] Source: *The Irish Times*, 3 March 2005. Front Page.

[22] Krugman (1997:51) argues that these cascade effects only occur if the site will remain to keep its advantage: 'Fortunately', he writes', Ireland got off on the right foot.' However, as I argued before these advantages are relative in the sense, that the emergence of other sites can diminish the comparable advantage, as is shown in the example of Puerto Rico.

[23] I do not neglect the fact that this building up of trust and understanding is ultimately instrumental to the goal of profit making and not a goal *sui generis*.

CHAPTER 8 THE RESILIENCE OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY[1]

8.1 Introduction: bottles on the ground and a sign in the sky

Now that the main protagonists have been introduced, the time has come to explore how the Local, the National and the Global interact in Leixlip. Maybe we will find some hints as to which plot will be divulged. There might be some fingerprints in the global landscape. We might look up and see a sign in the sky. Or we might trace some spurs on the ground. Let's explore the site beside Louise Bridge Station where no pub or sign to the town can be found, but where an arrow points towards Hewlett-Packard.

Picture 8.1 Empty Coca-Cola bottle at the base of Hewlett-Packard sign at Louisa Bridge Station. Impressionist sketch of globalization? Leixlip 8 October 2003.

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At the base of the Hewlett-Packard sign empty Coca-Cola bottles are left behind in the high grass. Between the green leaves of the bushes they resemble a new layer of artificial flowers covering the earth, uniform, ubiquitous and recognizable to all of its inhabitants. In the distance a

block of identical suburban houses with identical red cars parked in front of almost identical lawn looms across the highway.

If urban life expresses diversity, surely suburban expresses sameness: a homogeneous extract of the population has left to build walls of reassuring sameness around the ancient, though disturbingly fast-changing, city. A new circle of uniformity seems to have been drawn worldwide. No longer is sameness the privilege of the suburb. It is everywhere. Globalization, conceived in this way, is everywhere.

This is the visual echo of the aforementioned quote of Thomas Friedman that '[g]lobalization has a distinctly American face: It wears Mickey Mouse ears, it eats Big Macs, it drinks Coke or Pepsi and it does its computing on an IBM or Apple laptop, using Windows 98, with an Intel Pentium II processor and a network link from Cisco Systems' (Friedman, 2000:309).

From the Coca-Cola bottles on the ground to the Hewlett-Packard sign in the sky, the image is clear: a layer of homogeneous culture has been laid upon humanity - like grass was once laid upon the earth - and this ubiquitous presence is by origin and by nature American. Or so it seems. One has to be careful, for these first traces found on the scene of action, the place where the protagonists meet and interact, might be misleading.

As I argued in chapter 2, this dissertation started with the observation that uniformity serves the interest of multinationals certainly in the back-offices but possibly in the front office as well. This, along with some observations in society, led to the simple observation that globalization leads to sameness.

Chapter 7 discussed how the Global arrived in Leixlip in the shape of Foreign Direct Investment, more precisely American Direct Investment, symbolizing the appearance of classical features of 'globalization' as referred to in the popular debate: the worldwide expansion of capitalism through American-based multi-nationals. Globalization in Leixlip thus seems to fit what is perceived worldwide as the quintessential globalization: celebrated by some, feared by others.

As discussed in chapter 4, this is not the definition of globalization upon which this research is based. I would characterize Intel and Hewlett-Packard's arrival in Leixlip as a 'contemporary manifestation of a process of economic globalization'. Yet as argued in chapter 3, sociology, when operationalizing its main concepts, needs to connect to the every day common sense. In that sense it seems apt to begin the research on globalization with a 'classical' manifestation.

Chapter 7 concluded how Leixlip had very little involvement in the coming of this 'classical' manifestation of economic globalization and how, therefore, the arrival of globalization can be qualified as the result of domination rather then of local autonomy.[2] It was suggested that a set of

processes of dominant globalization can be distinguished. Do these processes of dominant globalization lead to sameness in the cultural field?

My first observation, caught by a photograph, seems, however accidental and anecdotal it may be, to confirm almost idiosyncratically the idea of uniformity and Americanization. Yet this first impression is superficial. A closer look at the community reveals different, far more complex social mechanisms as this will discuss.

Section 8.2 observes that, rather than an uniform identity, on the local level two forms of identity seem to appear: an what I call *expansive* idenity and an *explanatory* identity. Section 8.3. discusses the different layers of the explanatory identity: national language, the creation of national myths on a local level, local idenity, and global connections.

Section 8.4 discusses another aspect of the development of the local identity, namely the creation of a local history. Section 8.5. discusses the development of the national language in Leixlip coinciding with the coming of processes of economic globlaization and especially bilingualism

8.2 Welcome to Leixlip

The visitor, who does not arrive by public transport but by car, for example coming over the Station Road, will not see the Hewlett-Packard sign, but a very different sign. There it is, on her left hand side: *Welcome to Leixlip*. The signboard is placed just after the visitor in her car has pased on the left hand side the wide stretch of Intel's buildings and car parks - as if the town's boundaries only begin when the global industrial activity is left behind.

Hewlett-Packard's signpost near Louise Bridge Station just indicates the name of the global market player and the distance in kilometres. It is an effective sign, reflecting the values Ritzer (2000) attributes to McDonaldization: the qualities of efficiency, predictability, calculability. As a sign it mainly seems to aim to 'instruct the visitor to get where we are, assuming that you know who we are'. From the other angle though, the town is defined in a less unambiguous and single-minded way.

Picture 8.2 Welcome to Leixlip, 8 October 2003.

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This is a complex constellation of references to local, national and international belongings and separations, presented in an detailed and, certainly considering the context of an ordinary signboard, long-winded way that can hardly be qualified as efficient, or with references to calculability. Emphasizing distinction rather then sameness, it thus does not reflect any of the values associated with McDonaldization (Ritzer, 2000) or possibly Americanization.

It is so large and full of information, that it can hardly be considered efficient. It does not include any numbers, not even the distance to the town centre and it is disputable to what extent it aims to increase predictability. On the other hand, its main purpose seems to be to 'explain the visitor who we are and what we stand for assuming that you do not know who we are'.

In that sense the Leixlip-sign reflects an explanatory identity rather then an expansive identity: an identity that is in the process of construction and at pains to explain itself. This signboard seems merely designed to express the local identity to the visitor. Or possibly not just to the motorist who will drive too fast to be able to carefully read the signpost, but to its own inhabitants as well, sketching the content and values of an identity that is not self-evident.

If all relevant parties would know what Leixlip is and what it stands for, then the signboard would be redundant. Yet this is an identity in an *explanatory* phase, rather then an identity that is in a process of *expansion*. For an identity that is in an expansive phase does not need to explain itself. It just needs to mention the name, indicate the distance and show the way. Like Hewlett-Packard's sign.

While under the sameness-thesis I expect a diminishing of the local identity in favour of a more global identity, this gigantic sign that welcomes the stranger to Leixlip, does not show any sign of an abating local identity.

The explanatory identity manifests itself on this signboard instructing the stranger how to perceive Leixlip while reminding the Leixlip inhabitants who they are on four levels: a) which languages they speak, b) to which nation-state they belong, c) what their shared history is and d) with whom they share their present.

Aiming to understand the Leixlip identity a carefully examination of this sign board might be needed, bearing in mind that it was erected in the early nineties, just after Intel's arrival. What is the explanatory identity that needs to be explained and is not a known fact?

8.3 An explanatory identity on four levels

Language: Fáilte go Léim an Bhradáin

First of all, the visitor is told that this is a bilingual, Irish-speaking town. The signpost does not just welcome the visitor to Leixlip in English, but in Irish as well: *Fáilte go Léim an Bhradáin*. The practical use of a welcome in Irish on this board is relatively limited. For how likely is it that the visitor in her car is an Irish-speaking visitor who does not understand English? How many Irish-speaking visitors who cannot understand English will come to Leixlip on an annual basis?

Nor is it specifically designed in order to express hospitality by welcoming visitors in their native languages. For then it would have been more plausible to welcome the stranger in the language of Ireland's largest immigrant population (Chinese) or in the languages of the largest proportions of its tourists: the Spanish, the Italian, the German or the Japanese. With the practical use being limited, the *symbolic* meaning is significant.

Unlike other European languages spoken outside of the boundaries of one nation-state as well, the Irish language is exclusively associated with Ireland. Therefore the marking of Leixlip as an Irish-speaking town is not only a strong act of local distinction, singling Leixlip out from

many other towns in Europe and indeed the world, but this linguistic distinction flags nationalism a well, albeit of a banal variety (Billig, 1995). This flagging of nationalism is indirect: through the intermediating variable of language and not explicitly based upon geographical boundaries or geopolitical territoriality.

A town consists in general of land and people. When seeking local distinction, Leixlip could have chosen to distinguish itself by referring to the borders of its geographical land, and explicitly including everybody on that area as being part of the Leixlip community – and those people only. This then would *exclude* everybody living outside of the town's boundaries but for example explicitly *include* the African surgeon who lives in Leixlip.

Singling out Leixlip geographically as a town on the island of Ireland and attributing a Leixlip identity solely to that geographic area would be a very strong distinguishing act, separating Leixlip from all other towns in Europe and indeed the world. This would have referred to what Smith (1986:94) has qualified as 'the compactness of territory and the defensibility of borders,' as a mechanism in survival of communities.

However, as Smith argues, the importance of geopolitical strategic aspects of location in survival of communities has diminished. So the borders of Leixlip's identity are not geopolitical, but social; referring not to the land, but to the people. Interestingly, this act of separation is at the same time an act of connection. While Leixlip has chosen to separates itself from other people rather then from other lands, it reaches out to all those people who do not inhabit the land, but who master the Irish language.

This Irish-speaking people include the Irish Diaspora in America, in South Africa, in Australia and everywhere else in the world. But it includes also the old man who has lived all his life in the North of the Netherlands, who is a member of the Russian Orthodox Church, but is fluent in Irish and has translated stories of the Irish writer Padraig Pearse in Dutch. Maybe it includes the Sudanese anthropologist I heard about, who has fluent Irish.

Through the emphasis on the Irish language of civil society in Leixlip, or at least their representatives in the Town Commission, while reaching out to some, establish an act of implicit separation from others, possibly even with people within the town's border: those who do not speak Irish. Yet at the same time a unity is created with another people outside of the town's borderlines: Irish-speaking strangers. A unity and an inclusion though created by explicit and deliberate exclusion.

Delanty (1995) has drawn attention to the idea that the ideology of the young Irish nation-state was a remarkably pursuit of inclusiveness. Indeed, the text of the famous 1916 Declaration of Independence reads:

Irish Proclamation of Independence, 1916

'The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all of the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien Government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.'

Tovey and Share (2003:338) argue that 'successful construction of a nation in these terms required, more than anything else, the legitimation across the entire territory of a single language as that of state authority and civilised society.' Nationalism emerged within the context of a freedom from former colonisators and a fight for independence, and language became an instrument to achieve inclusiveness on a national level.

However, with the rise of nationalism within the context of processes of globalization and an increasing interdependence rather then independence, the Irish language is no longer an intrument for inclusion, but for exclusion - even on a local level.

It even can become a 'secret language', to exclude those who are perceived as a threat to local cohesion from communication.[3] While geopolitical borders by definition create local cohesion as Smith (1986) argues, borders drawn based upon social characteristics can cause local division. I will discuss the place of the Irish language in Leixlip in the next section.

The creation of national myths on a local level

The explanatory identity manifests itself on a second level on the signboard. This time nationalism is not indirectly flagged through the language, but directly flagged, through symbols. In the case of Ireland, the indigenous language is directly related to the nation-state. The act of deliberate intensification of the place of the Irish language in Irish society is therefore implicitly an act of Irish nationalism.

However, a national identity is much broader then a language, it refers to symbols, and to heroes. On the signboard that welcomes the visitor to the town Leixlip is advertised as 'The original home of Guinness'.

Through emphasizing Leixlip as the original home of Guinness, the town is legitimately placed within the imaginary identity boundaries of the Irish nation-state, while at the same time the visitor is reminded that he or she walks on Irish soil, in an example of Billig's 'banal

nationalism'. 'Forgetting is part of the operation of banal nationalism. The nation is flagged, but the flagging itself is forgotten as the nation is mindlessly remembered' (Billig, 1995:143).

However, in Leixlip nationalism is not only mindlessly forgotten as the examples Billig provides us with and that are mostly derived from the British context. In Leixlip, within the Irish context, nationalism is actively, deliberately and consciously created. I first became aware of a mechanism that seems to have the form of 'defensive banal nationalism', in an interview with one of the local historians.

I had noticed both physically in several places in the town and in brochures about the town, how Leixlip prides itself on being the home of Guinness. Without at that stage giving too much meaning to that observation, I just wanted to know the historical background. My question was simply: 'Why does Leixlip present itself as the home of Guinness?' to which he replied:

'Well, as far as I am aware, historically.... yes the first Guinness-operation was in Leixlip and I think that it is *historically safe*... Arthur Guinness set up the first Guinness brewery here in Leixlip...and I think that is broadly accepted and historians are reasonably happy as to where the actual site was, just off the Main Street Bridge.' (Respondent 6 - italics mvdb)

The answer is not a straightforward explanation, but seems to set off with a defence. The respondent uses the expression 'historically safe' to justify the explanation, as if to vindicate a stronghold that somehow seems to belong to the domain of the disputable rather then to the obvious. Leixlip might have another interest to canvass itself as the home of Guinness, turning the historical fact into a crucial instrument in a defensive strategy. But what needs to be defended? And who are the attackers?

There is no museum built around the historical Guinness site, so the emphasis placed on the historical fact seems not as much meant to attract visitors.

'No, there is no Guinness museum in Leixlip. You know there is one in Dublin. It should be moved here.' (Respondent 17)

Leixlip is not just competing with the capital, global city Dublin for the ownership of national symbols, but with adjacent towns as well.

'The people of Cellbridge (*an adjacent town - mvdb)* claimed that Guinness was brewed there first. Now it might be true Arthur Guinness lived there a little while, but the first Guinness was not porter, but ale. And ale was brewed here.' (Respondent 17)

National emblems seem to be symbolic assets worth fighting for in a subnational competition. Yet interesting enough while the plain historical fact that Arthur Guinness set up his first brewery for a very short time in Leixlip was known, the idea of Leixlip as the 'Home of Guinness', seems to be a recent creation.

'Up until relatively recent times I don't think it was a very big factor or selling point- for Leixlip.... but in more recent times, particularly since the Town Commission became aware of it, the fact of Guinness has been widely promoted, certainly compared to when I came to Leixlip in the 1970's... I was aware of it, but it was not constantly mentioned or promoted, where as the present everybody seems interested in promoting it ...' (Respondent 6)

Smith (1986) argues that part of nationalism is the creation of a national mythology generally consisting of several myths, including a 'myth of origin in space, i.e. when the community was born' (Smith, 1986:192). Shortly after Hewlett-Packard and Intel were erecting the signs pointing to their grounds, signboards are posted advertising Leixlip as the town as the Home of Guinness. Through redefining Leixlip as the Home of Guinness, Leixlip is placed in the heart of the origins of the Irish nation-state.

Therefore the promotion of this historical fact seems a deliberate and conscious act to define the local identity by 'building the nation-state within the locality.' Leixlip is not just a town in Ireland, it is an Irish town, closely connected to one of the success-stories of the Irish-nation state: Guinness.

As Smith (1986) argues, 'a myth of the golden age' is another motif in any national mythology. Guinness has expanded, wandered over the country's borderlines and exported to foreign shores, just like the Irish Diaspora, yet Leixlip is still where it once was: in the heart of Ireland, a primordial home. All else might gone and scattered over the earth, yet somewhere the origins can be found.

Ironically, the signboards claiming a unique local identity are sponsored by Guinness. Albeit Guinness is in fact no longer Irish-owned, it still is seen as eponymous for Irish identity. More so, at the time when one of the member of the Town Council approached Guinness for sponsorship, Guinness was still nationally owned - as one of the respondents assured me.

Then the two sides of the town seem a battlefield of multi-national ownership, with the national competing with the global. Signs sponsored by Hewlett-Packard point the visitor in one direction. The signs sponsored by Guinness point to another, indeed national, direction. National? Even more ironically, Guinness is no longer Irish owned but part of the multi-national Diageo, based in London- the capital of the former colonial power indeed.

The harp is Ireland's traditional symbol. The harp is a patented trademark of Guinness too. Every Irish euro prints on one side the harp as the distinctive national symbol and on the other hand the uniformized European economic value. But these apparent separate entities, national symbolism and European economic policy might be in fact two sides of the same coin, literally.

While global, European and national interests merge, to some extent the local falls apart. Once, the ruins of the brewery were the playgrounds for the children of the small community, in the fifties when Leixlip had around thousand inhabitants as the following resident tells.

I – Do you remember the Guinness brewery back then?
R– Oh yes. We used to play near the River Rye… and we played on the ruins of the old factory… Leixlip was always an integrated community. (Respondent 14)

This respondent immediately links in his memory the ruins to his perception that Leixlip was an integrated community, being an intrinsic part of what was local. Yet now the local ruins have turned into the pillars of the symbolic building of the nation-state. What was once a common local playground has changed to a distinctive selling point on a global marketplace. The historical fact has now become a unique selling point for Leixlip. But to whom is Leixlip to be sold?

Somehow this lifting out of what once belonged to the local community to incorporate it into the national context - a defensive act in a battle fought on the global field - is an act of local disintegration as discussed in section 6.5, *Global village, local city.* The local ruins of the brewery were a playground for all local children, even for this child whose father came from Northern-Ireland to Leixlip in the forties - yet the ruins as a national symbol for the Irish nation-state are not open to all. Sometimes national integration can cause local disintegration.

Banal localism: town crest

Apart from flagging nationalism on two levels on the signpost, a third level of the explanatory identity comes in the shape of an interesting display of what one might call 'banal localism' – albeit this is not a forgotten reminder of locality, but a deliberate act to establish a local identity.[4] On the gigantic signboard the complete town crest is included that was created in

1989 at the same time when Intel first arrived in Leixlip. This crest includes several references to the history of the town (Nelson, 1990).

Previously I have discussed the establishment of a distinction made between people in the here and now of contemporary society through language. I suggest calling this *global horizontal segregation*. However, what I suggest calling *global vertical segregation* can be established, too: in time – even within the context of what Castells (1996) calls a 'global economy characterized by simultaneity'.

The global vertical segregation through time refers to a separation of people who do *not* share the same history that, in the wording of one of the local historians:

> 'Reflect the different traditions that have made us what we are' (Kelly, 2000: 10).

Whereas an act of exclusion based upon global horizontal segregation can be redefined in the here and now (people speak or do not speak Irish); the act of exclusion based upon global vertical segregation is mythical, invisible and therefore in a certain way non-negotiable.

Global vertical segregation is probably the most powerful and persistent of all segregations amongst peoples. Indeed, when Smith describes an ethnic community or what he calls an *ethnie*, he argues that '*Ethnie* are nothing if not historical communities built up on shared memories. A sense of common history unites successive generations' (Smith, 1986:25).

If globalization refers to the expansion of smaller communities into a larger society, possibly the largest society, the world society, then indeed it implies the integral dissolution of all ethnic communities. The idea of a 'shared history' will have to recede in significance as a source for segregation. Yet 'shared history' has different dimensions.

Interestingly, Leixlip's town crest symbolises a shared history based upon a) local, b) regional, c) national and d) European or even global history.

Picture 8.3 Leixlip Town Crest (source: Leixlip Town Council).

At the base of the shield, a wavy effect symbolizes Leixlip's location on the rivers Liffey and Rye. Two leaping salmon, recalling the origins of the town's name, flank the long ship. The crimson rose at the top is taken from the coat of arms of the Whyte family who occupied Leixlip Castle for over two hundred years (Nelson, 1990:68). These symbols then refer to a *shared 'local' history.*

The crown symbolizes the kingdom of Meath, and it is modeled on one that appears on the crosier of Cormac MacCullinan, King Of Munster, c.896. This indeed refers to a *shared 'regional' history*, shared with all the descendants of the Kingdom of Meath. The black harp, emblem of Arthus Guinness and Sons 'whose empire was founded in Leixlip in the 1750s' (Nelson, 1990:68), refers to a *shared 'national' history*, a past shared with all the people of Irish descent.

However, at the same time the elements for a shared history beyond the local, regional and indeed national borders are incorporated in the crest. 'The basic colours of the shield are azure blue and yellow: these are Scandinavian colours which recall the Viking origins of Leixlip and this theme is repeated in the centre of the design where a Viking longship is depicted' (Nelson, 1990:68). The shared history of the *ethnie* of Leixlip then refers to all peoples of Scandinavian

origin, something that possibly can be called either a *shared 'European' history* or to some extent even a *shared 'global' history*.

Allthough, sometime references to a shared global history are in manifestations of a national identity, or even individual identity, on the local level as the following quote suggests.

'The Coat of Arms was another proposal to create some ownership of Leixlip by incomers... (...) The colours blue and yellow were the colours of Sweden. But they were also the colours of the Porgressive Democrats party, to which I, as chairman of the Coat of Arms Committee belonged! I half-guessed that our Vikings were from Norway or Denmark, not Sweden!' (Respondent 15)

In conclusion: the local identity as symbolized in the crest is therefore strongly multi-layered and based upon multiple shared histories: local, regional, national, European and possibly even global. The crest does not just include references to the past. It also includes a reference to the future. Its motto is: *Léim ar Aghaidh*, or Leap Ahead. 'While the coat of arms looks back to Leixlip's past, the accompanying motto – *Léim ar Aghaidh* - looks forward to future developments and growth, writes a local historian writes (Nelson, 1990:68).

'The motto on the crest is best translated as *Leap Ahead!* – which... has been lifted by Intel as their logo... I believe I invented it, but I may be wrong; it may have been suggested by the Chief Herald's Office...' (Respondent 15)

The town crest was launched at a reception in Leixlip Castle on 1st December 1989, two months after Intel announced in October 1989 their intention to build a major industrial plant in Leixlip.

'I – Did you know that Intel would come to Leixlip at the time when the crest was designed?
R – (*defensive*) That had nothing to do with Intel!.... (*hesitating*) It was an imposition really. There was no consultation with the local people. We were not informed. We had heard about Intel. But we did not know anything of this company. Certainly the impression was not given that Intel was a chemical processing plant.' (Respondent 15)

Through the design of the crest the local community designed the local identity. At the same time, within this quote it becomes clear how some perceived the coming of globalization: as something that is imposed, a product of dominion over the local, not of local autonomy.

Global connections: Town Twinning

The shared history, a source for the display of banal localism, shows traces of globalization in ancient times: the Viking invaders left literally their colours as a legacy to Leixlip's town crest. Yet a fourth dimension on the signboard exposes an explicit and contemporary globalized element of Leixlip's explanatory identity. Leixlip announces on the board to be 'twinned with Bressuire in France and Niles in the United States of America'.

'Bressuire was first. Niles was added later in the nineties. I did not want an American town. I wanted a Northern-Ireland or UK town, or possibly a German town. But that did not happen. They choose an American town.' (Respondent 17*)*

This social mechanism shows that the explanatory identity is not solely constructed through the social mechanisms of social exclusion and inclusion, but also through a social mechanism of distinction based upon geographic *connectivity*. Leixlip is twinned with Bressuire in France and with Niles in the United States of America and therefore it is unique, as there will be presumably no other towns in this world that have the same connection.

Whereas every social mechanism of connectivity assumes a certain grade of exclusiveness , (in this case explicitly excluding all the other towns that are not related to Bressuire and to Niles) the mechanism of town twinning is based upon geographic distinction, and not upon the characteristics attributed to a certain people. It refers to all people who live in Bressuire and in Niles and interlinks these people with all people who live in Leixlip – without necessary arguing that these people need to be Irish or have an Irish history. For not all of them do.

Picture 8.4 Intel workers waiting for the bus to Dublin.

© Martha C.E. Van Der Bly

At the time when I was taking the photographs of the signboard, a group of Intel workers dressed in blue uniforms was just behind the sign waiting for the bus to Dublin to arrive. I walked up to one of them. We had problems communicating extensively, but he told me where he is from: from China. Later I discovered that the original picture shows his silhouette through the piles of the enormous signboard *Welcome To Leixlip*. His head almost out of frame. His Intel blue uniformed body sitting down on the kerb. Waiting.

8.4 Not an ordinary village, but a village with a past: creating local history

Sometimes an outer appearance of sameness hides inner diversity. The unifomity thesis does not seem to be supported in the field of 'identity' in Leixlip. An emerging homogeneous world culture would imply the gradual vanishing of a local and indeed national identity. Yet in Leixlip an actual emergence of local identity through the awareness of local history and symbols occurs. Besides an emerging local identity the national identity is created and reinforced on the local level, supporting the new local 'Leixlip- identity'.

One might argue that in Leixlip two developments coincide rather than having a causal relationship with each other. In other words: the coming of economic globalization did not cause

diversity in the cultural field, but coincided with the different, parallel process including the search for a local identity of a town that just was granted Town Commission Status.

However, even when the foundations were laid out at the same time when Intel arrived and its consequences were not known, under the sameness thesis I expected a diminishing effect, a fading out of the need for a local identity in favour of adapting a global identity, a fading out of interest in local history, in favour of a global outlook on the world. Yet the opposite development seems to take place.

The signboard is erected by the Town Council. While under the most recent legislation, 'the function of Leixlip Town Council generally is to provide a forum for the democratic representation of the local community, to provide civic leadership and to promote community interest'[5], one might argue that the Town Council can be identified with the local government and not as such with local civil society.

However, the local civil society shows a similar development. The interest for Leixlip's local history *sui generis* is growing. The local civil society redefines itself not only as being Irish but also as distinctively 'local'. In the last one and half decade numerous historical studies on Leixlip have been published.[6] When I ask one of the local historians about the origin of local history writing, it appears that in many ways the history of Leixlip itself seems to be a recent development.

I – Has there been any historical studies on Leixlip before 1990?
R – I know that Leixlip is referred to in a number of works, but just in passing… and there are comments by travellers, which are known, but I don't think there is a history of Leixlip as such…(Respondent 6*)*

While local history is written national history functions as ghost-writer. Another dimension of any national mythology is a 'myth of liberation; i.e. how we were freed' (Smith, 1986:192). As the Irish nation-state is rebuilt in Leixlip, long forgotten national heroes are rediscovered in the locality. One respondent tells how he discovered a 19th century nationalist hero and made him part of Leixlip's identity.

R - There was a 19th century Fenian leader, William Roantree, the Republican Movement of that time, and he was born here in the Main Street. (Respondent 6)

However, this native son, this national hero, is not part of the oral local history for:

'Nobody had ever heard about him. Nobody knew where the house was.' (Respondent 6)

It is interesting to see how the memories of what is now called 'Leixlip's Famous Fenian' were locally long gone (Kelly, 2002: 32).

'There was a lot of studying in the National Library involved and in the National Archives...going to the prison record... to the cemetery in Glasnevin and finding his tomb...his grave... and just generally rediscovering him.' (Respondent 6)

While the national hero might on a national level still be remembered (the National Library, the National archives), he had locally sunk into oblivion. No longer part of his own local history, he had become part of the domain of national history and national history only. Now he needs to descend from the national level, return to the local level, literally: his presence needs to be physically and visible become part of Leixlip.

'It took a lot of effort to even get a memorial sign on his house. I worked with various Town Commissions on that...' (Respondent 6)

In 1996 the plaque, funded by the national Bord Fáilte, the Irish Tourist Board, was unveiled by the Cathaoirleach (mayor) of the Leixlip Town Commission.

'Well, the plaque... Oddly enough I should mention the fact that they have been taken down the plaque. Because the house is in decay and the house is reconstructed... it has been taken down for safety... Hopefully it will be rebuilt. Hopefully. Rather ironically he got twenty years limelight and now he is gone again...' (Respondent 6)

The plaque was 'erected on the front of Roantree's house in *his honour*' as another local historian writes (Kelly, 2002:32, italics mvdb). The emergence of the Fenian leader within the streets of Leixlip is not just a historical discovery. It is a patriotic act, ultimately aiming to pay tribute to a hero who made a significant contribution to the establishment of the Irish nation-state. Yet the nationalistic act occurs almost eighty years after the hero's death and the establishment of the nation-state.[7]

Connor (1993) argues that a distinction needs to be made between patriotism and nationalism, with nationalism being an irrational, primordial force, an emotional attachment to one's people

appealing to blood ties (Connor, 1993:374). Nationalism, he argues, arises in ethnic groups that claim common origins of blood. In their turn nations, as Tovey and Share (2003:336) argue: 'are not derived from cultural essences, but are the inventions of nationalists.'

Yet why does this patriotic act emerge now in prosperous, peaceful Leixlip? And to what extent is this patriotism or this form of nationalism appealing to blood ties, an irrational, primordial force? Why here, why now?

'I hope they will restore the plaque... , just to tell to younger generations... and new people... to share our knowledge... ' (Respondent 6)

While the respondent here refers to younger generations hence to blood ties, he refers to new people as well. The remembrance of the Fenian is a way to share knowledge, yet it is more then that. Knowledge is not just shared for the sake of spreading knowledge, but to get a message across, as the historian continues:

'To make clear that this is not just an ordinary village, but a village with a past. ' (Respondent 6)

Why is the discovery significant? To tell the future generations that Leixlip is not an ordinary town. The discovery is an act to highlight distinction, to establish the particular, the unique, and it does so by relating the local to the national. Leixlip is unique, because it is Irish. Through incorporating national heroes and symbols within the local boundaries, the local bolsters its own identity. At the same time through this mechanism the national identity is strengthened by the need of the local to defend its own identity. But against whom? To whom might Leixlip seem an ordinary village?

Not only has the interest in the local history only begun after the coming of Intel to Leixlip *(post hoc)* it seems that there are some indications that there is a causal relationship too *(propter hoc)*, as one of my respondents replies when I ask him if he sees any relationship between the coming of Hewlett-Packardand Intel and the emergence of numerous local history studies.

'I suppose that there is a feeling –certainly amongst my age-group- that if it is not collected... and noted... and here and now...with the sheer level of pace and development... that we will lose it all.' (Respondent 10*)*

Yet the national heritage of Leixlip seems very much something that is *created* rather than *preserved* from vanishing. The question can be posed: what will be lost? For there seem to be a lot at stake: 'else we lose it all'.

Under the cultural sameness thesis an abating local identity is expected, a diminishing interest for local history, yet I observe the opposite in Leixlip. Somehow the fume of a smouldering cultural polarization becomes visible. An American culture and its values can be distinguished on one hand and an Irish culture on the other hand. The American identity seems self-evident, self-explanatory and ready for expansion, while the Irish identity needs to be explained and possibly justified. Even on home ground.

Yet one might argue that the above-mentioned impressions are anecdotal, based upon the simple analysis of a sign and the observation of a growing interest in local history: hardly enough grounding in empirical evidence to reject a hypothesis of growing sameness. Identity is hard to quantify and to empirically measure. Which developments occur in a field that by a large majority of the Irish population is still regarded as a central element in Irish identity (Ó Riagáin, 1988), namely the field of language?

8.5 Voice of the Irish people: speaking Irish in Leixlip

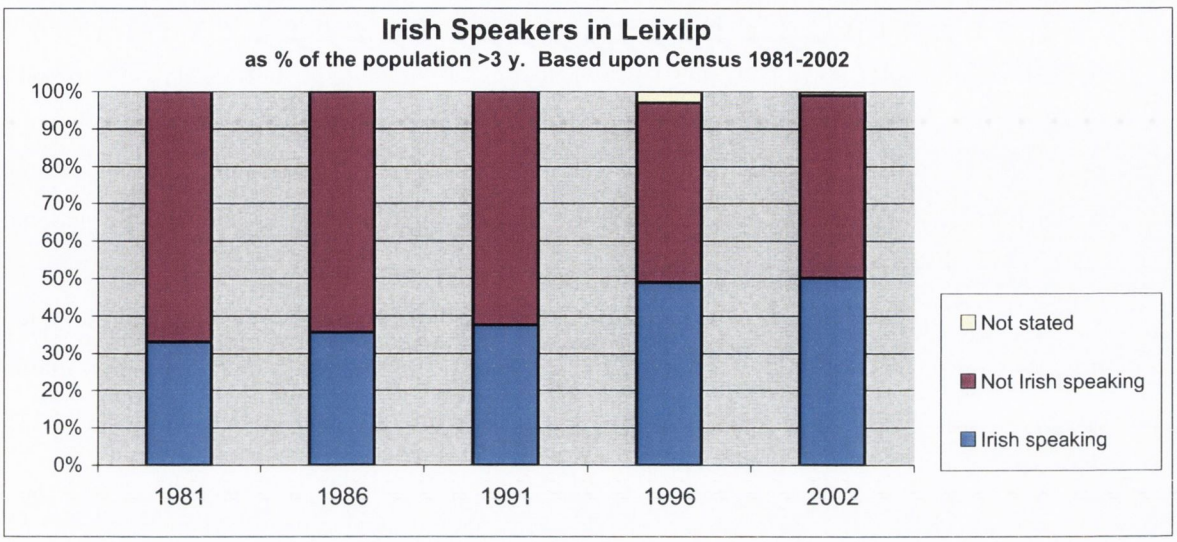
Can you speak Irish?

A gradual emerging cultural sameness under the influence of forces of globalization assumes a similar gradual decline of differnce, therefore of the relative importance of indigenous language in favour of emerging world languages. As Huntington argues: 'If a universal civilization is emerging there should be tendencies toward the emergence of a universal language and a universal religion' (Huntington, 1996: 59). Sameness then implies the emergence of one or possibly a limited number of world languages replacing indigenous languages, such as Irish, the indigenous language of Ireland.

Since cultural sameness is argued to be the resultant of economic globalization, a very strong manifestation of this mechanism in the town with the highest *per capita* proportion of Foreign Direct Investment, in the country with the world's most globalised economy is expected. Yet the opposite seems to occur.

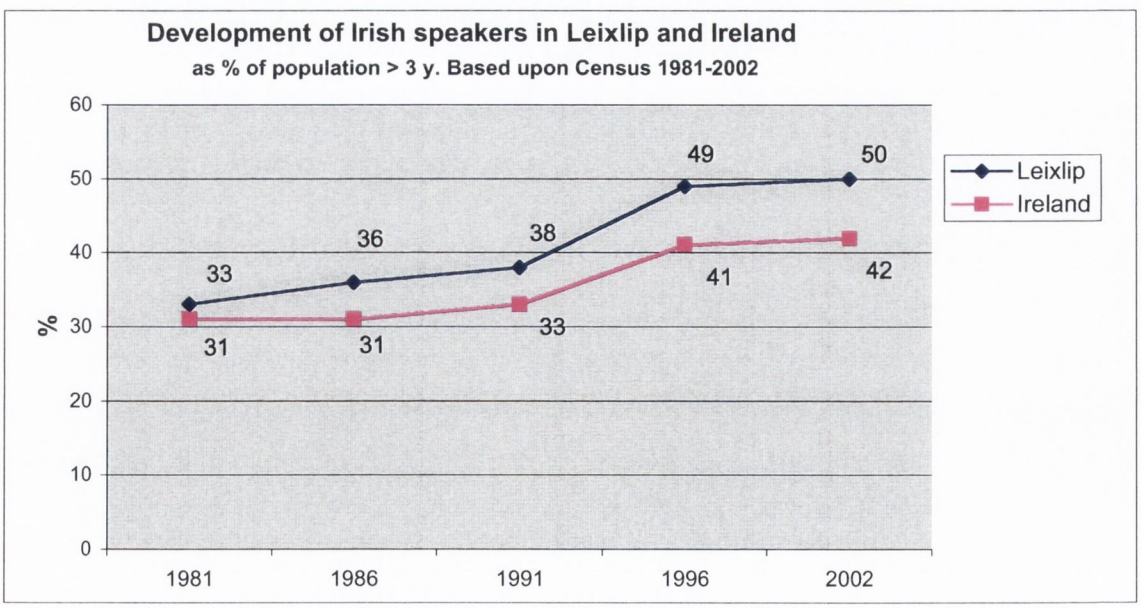
The following figure reflects the answer on the question 'Can you speak Irish?', as a percentage of the total population of three years or older based upon Census data for the period 1981-2002.[8]

Figure 8.2 Irish Speakers in Leixlip, Co. Kildare as % of total population.



If the sameness thesis operates one expects a decline in Irish speakers, but the reverse seems to be true. Not only is the percentage of Irish speakers not declining from the moment that the Census has extended a question addressing the ability to speak Irish, it has grown significantly: from 33% to half of the population in 2002. This reverse effect is not only true for Leixlip but holds for the total of the Republic of Ireland as well.

Figure 8.3 Development Irish Speakers in Leixlip and Ireland as % of total population.



As mentioned before, Ireland is the country with the highest degree of economic integration into the world-economy.[9] The sameness hypothesis suggests a strong decline in the indigenous language consequently. However, the opposite effect is true as figure 8.3 shows. This reverse sameness-effect manifests itself not only on the level of the nation-state, but also within the nation-state: in the town that is very significantly subject to processes of economic globalization, the growth of Irish speakers between 1981 and 2002 is significant stronger then the national average (17% for Leixlip versus 11% for Ireland).

Therefore, the most globalized nation-state in the world does not only show an increase of the percentage of speakers of the indigenous language, even within this nation-state a region that is very strongly effected by economic globalization shows a stronger increase of the percentage of Irish speakers among their population.[10]

While it cannot be argued based upon these figures that the increase is caused by globalization (for there might be other disturbing variables) no empirical support for the sameness thesis can be found either. The evidence of the development of the Irish language as reflected in the statistics is supported by the observations of a Leixlip respondent.

I – Do you feel there is a change in the appreciation of Irish in Leixlip over the years?
R – Yes, I do. One of our primary schools teaches entirely through the medium of Irish.
I – Do your children go to that school?
R – Well they did, they are grown up now, but yes. The school has a reasonable influence in the town, in so far that when it holds activities they are well-supported, hundreds of events … their influence ripples out into the community… Their influence is growing….
I – It is?
R – Yes. The schools are growing bigger, there are more children attending. I think the people want their children to go to Gaelic schools. (Respondent 8)

Yet the Census on Irish-speaking data are only available since 1981. Thus even when the last two decades show a growth of Irish speakers, it is still possible that the current percentage of almost half of the people indicating that they are able to speak Irish reflects effectively a decline compared to the past. As older systematic statistics of Irish speakers are lacking I ask an older, native respondent what language was spoken in Leixlip's past. He recalls his memories set in the fifties of the last century.

'Leixlip back then was a small hamlet... We were all English speaking... there were very few people who spoke Irish... you see North-Kildare was over the centuries regarded as part of The Pale and Leixlip was deemed to be inside The Pale. There were a lot of estate houses here, they gave a lot of local employment... servants... agricultural... to cut their turf... harvest their crops... it was really a small rural society...' (Respondent 7*)*

As a part of the Pale[11], the English ruled area around Dublin, Leixlip has never been originally Irish speaking. Maybe it was Irish speaking in an ancient past? Leixlip as a town was founded in the early tenth century. According to *The Annals of the Four Masters* in 915 the Leinstermen were defeated by Norse invaders in Confey. The village of Leixlip was established as the 'most westerly point of the Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin, which extended from Skerries on the north to Arklow in County Wicklow in the south' (Nelson, 1990:1).

One can assume that the language that was spoken in the Scandinavian Kingdom was Scandinavian and this is reflected in Leixlip's name that is from Viking origin (Nelson, 1990). It can therefore be speculated that the proportion of Irish speakers in Leixlip is at the moment historically on a peak.

Bilingualism: now it is easier to pick up other languages.

However, the above-mentioned sameness-hypothesis is based on a unipolar language approach, assuming that the growth of one language inevitably will lead to the decline and possibly vanishing of another language. It does not take into account a development towards a world culture based upon a bipolar language system, whereby people will be increasingly bilingual.

This bilingualism can take the shape of a language constellation where both, and possibly even more languages, fulfill different functions, used in different discourses. Huntington argues against the sameness-thesis because English speakers as a percentage of the total world population have declined since 1958. He also refers to the limitations of the use of English as a lingua franca as an indicator for the emergence of a universal culture. 'The use of English in this way, however, is *intercultural* communication; it presupposes the existence of separate cultures' (Huntington, 1996: 61).

Yet in the case of Ireland, English can hardly qualify as a lingua franca and instrument of intercultural communication – apart from the use of English among Ireland's immigrant population, to which I belong. Whereas in some places English might replace Irish as a first language supporting the sameness thesis, in other places English is not being replaced, like in

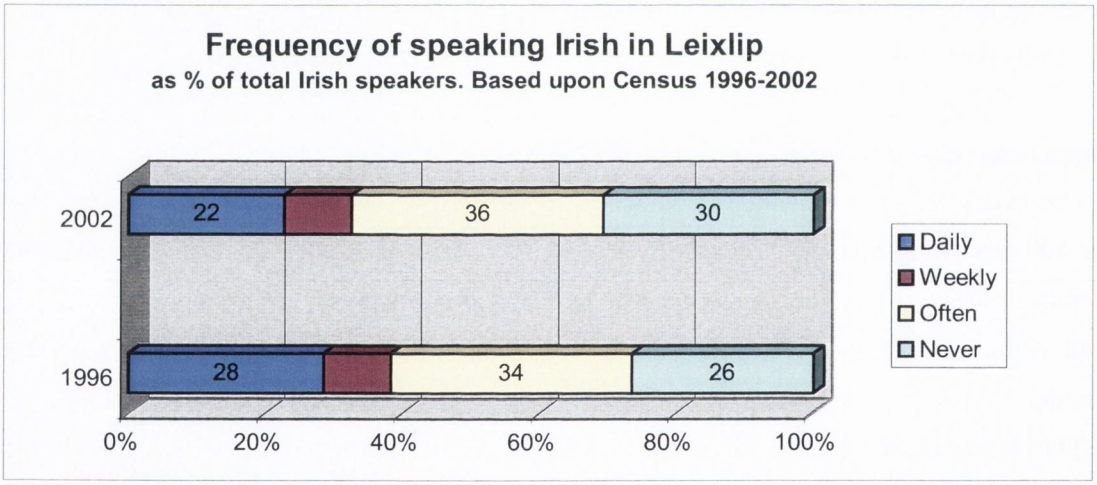
Leixlip. Rather a previous monolingual population is made bi-lingual, a process towards difference rather then sameness.

Tovey et. al. (1989) place emphasis on the development towards homogeneity that can occur within one of the languages within the bilingual situation. She suggests that in Ireland the same standard for 'good English' has occurred and that middle-class Irish people can 'pass' very easily into English society as a result. Tovey and Share (2003:335) argue that 'English in Ireland has become less distinctively 'Irish' in both accent and idiom then it was in the past'.

This seems to indicate a tendency towards sameness within the English language, in a bilingual context. Whereas a bilingualism consisting of a lingua franca and a native home-spoken language might occur in other countries, in Ireland English is not the lingua franca and Irish is not the language spoken at home.

In fact, Irish is very rarely spoken, as figure 8.4 shows.

Figure 8.4 Use of Irish as % of Irish speakers in Leixlip. Based upon Census 1996-2002.



In 1996 the Census added an extra question[12] addressing the frequency of the use of Irish. While the period of data available is too short to give any indication of a trend, I conclude that the percentage of people who speak Irish in Leixlip on a daily basis has dropped, while the percentage of people who can speak Irish, but who rarely or never do has increased. Only a fifth of the inhabitants speak Irish on a daily basis.

Possibly a large percentage of them are visiting an Irish speaking school? In 1979 the primary school *Gloir Na Gael* or 'Voice of the Irish People' was founded in Leixlip. The school is currently funded by the National Government with five percent of the budget coming from the

parents.[13] The school was founded by people who immigrated into Leixlip from elsewhere in Ireland wishing to educate their children in Irish. As Tovey and Share (2003:333) argue 'the number of children receiving an education through Irish has increased noticeably in the last twenty years.'

One of the people involved in the setting up of the school explains her motives as follows:

'No, Irish is not my first language, but I came to it when I was twelve year of age. My father would have been very interested in it and wanted me to be educated in it and I agreed, so I was educated at secondary level through Irish and it kept up a love and an interest ever since. So I was delighted when I came to Leixlip and the Irish school was being talked about. So I became involved when they set it up and was in the board of management and was manager of the school for sometime... (Respondent 20)

Whereas the school seems not to be initiated by people who were all native speakers, but mostly by people who were bilingual, the children who attend the school now are mostly neither from native Irish speaking parents nor from the *Gaeltacht* (Irish-speaking areas).[14]

'... some would be generations Leixlip, five.. six.. generations Leixlip, some would be from Dublin.... Eh... quite a lot. Dublin would have been again...for several, as many generations back as they could go. But a lot would be originally from, not necessarily from Gaeltacht areas but from outside Dublin, from the countryside' (Respondent 1).

The establishment of an Irish culture in English speaking Leixlip is therefore partly the product of intra-national migration. From that perspective the local culture of Irish language in Leixlip is effectively an (intra-national) immigrant culture.

While the number of people who can speak Irish increases, the amount of people who actually speak Irish on a daily basis declines. This might be related to the change in age-structure of the population. The percentage of people under 19 dropped from 41% to 32% between 1996 and 2002 (CSO, 1981-2002). If the daily speakers of Irish are mostly school going children who will not continue to use the language on a daily basis after they have left school, I argue that speaking Irish seems to have a *symbolic* rather then a *communicative* purpose.[15]

On an individual level the desire for distinction might be stronger when individual's innate uniqueness or distinctiveness is felt under threat. Equally, on the level of the group, a need for

social distinction in order to establish or strengthen social cohesion will manifest itself stronger when it is felt that this cohesion is under threat.

To what extent is the emergence of bilingualism the product of a defensive strategy? To whom has it to be made clear that, in the wording of one of the local historians: 'That Leixlip is not an ordinary village, but a village with a past?' As the Town Clerk tells:

'Sometimes they are just going too far. One of the estates was built for the Intel/ HP-people, approximately 1000 houses and they want to call it 'Cyberplain'. Much to our annoyance. So then we made them change it, it is now called Rinawade and it was recently sold under that name.' (Respondent 8*)*

Beside 'Leixlip residents', there are 'Intel/ HP people', as the previous quote shows and while the latter may execute power in the economic domain, they might go 'too far' when executing dominance in the symbolic domain: the possession of language, local symbols, heritage.

The question of naming occurs again when recently the adjacent Rinawade House, a two storey traditional country farmhouse that once stood as an isolated farmhouse in a rural area west of Leixlip's Main Street, was planned to be demolished and replaced with 351 'residential units'. A number of residents have opposed the plans. One of the objections includes the wish for bilingual street-names. In its reaction *An Bord Pleanála*, the national Planning Appeals Board, writes:

'Bilingual Street Names: Representations on this matter would best be made to the Local Authority whose function lies in sanction of streetname proposals. The Board should therefore not concern itself with *such detai.*[16] (italics mvdb).

A detail? While on the national level the bilingual street names might occur as a detail, on the local level, when battling with the global, language as a symbol rather then as an instrument for communication, becomes of great importance. Yet if a bipolar variety occurs, with an expansive identity on one hand versus an explanatory identity on the other hand, then will that, instead of sameness be instead polarization?

Polarization tends to refer to an antagonistic situation possibly culminating in a clash, as in Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*. If a bipolar variety occurs yet not an overt clash, then the question arises how this clash is prevented. For while the fear 'to lose it all' fuels the need for a

local identity amongst the local residents, the same fear 'to lose it all' might drive the global players to pay for the local identity in an effort to prevent polarization, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

8.6 Conclusion: the resilience of cultural diversity

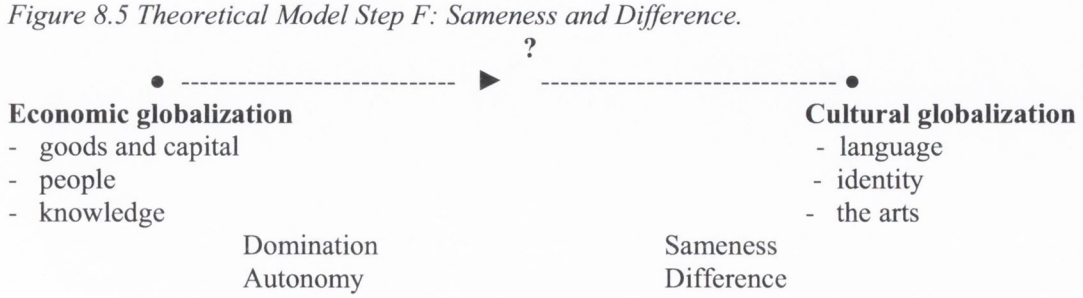
This chapter has examined the relationship between globalization and cultural sameness on a local level. This relationship has been analyzed within the context of 'dominant globalization', a processes of economic globalization established on the local level through domination of the global and the national over the local, and not as an outcome of the autonomous activities of the local community.

Paradoxically, within this global context the local society reinvents the nation-state as a buffer against what is felt as a global penetration of the local community. Whereas it was expected that economic globalization would lead to sameness in the cultural field, no strong evidence for sameness in the field of language and identity can be found.

If sameness is a prerequisite for predictability and difference a source for surprise, the surprising finding of this empirical research is that no evidence was found indicating an erosion of diversity sacrificed on the altar of sameness. Instead, local cultural diversity[17] emerges as this case-study of Leixlip, Co. Kildare, the town with one of the highest proportions of per capita Foreign Direct Investment, located in the nation-state with one of the most globalised economies in the world: the Republic of Ireland, clearly shows.

Whereas in the previous chapter I have distinguished as a causal mechanism a difference between dominant and autonomous globalization, we now can make a distinction in the outcomes in the cultural field between sameness and difference. Dominant economic globalization does not always lead to more sameness, but can produce difference, too.

Figure 8.5 Theoretical Model Step F: Sameness and Difference.



However, what could be the nature of the differnce and why does it occur? In rejecting the homogeneity thesis, Huntington argues that the end of the Soviet empire and of the Cold War promoted the proliferation and rejuvenation of languages which had been suppressed or forgotten (Huntington, 1996:64), such as Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Georgian and Armenian. These are now the national languages of independent states. The linguistic revivals occur simultaneously with the birth or rebirth of nation-states.

Yet while the Irish language revival can be placed within a history of oppression by the British Empire, the Irish nation-state is not that recently established. The question arises: if within the locality the rise of diversity and not of sameness can be observed, to what extent is this variety bipolar? And why is cultural polarization simmering under the surface of this quiet, prosperous town? The next chapter addresses these questions.

NOTES

[1] This chapter was reworked as an article called '*The Resilience of Cultural Diversity – Reinventing Local Identity in Ireland as a Gesamt-creation of Enterprise, State and Civil Society'*. This article was awarded a prize by the World Society Foundation in Zurich. It will be published as a WSF Focus Paper on the WSF's website, and is also one of the select articles that the Foundation's board members have deemed eligible for inclusion in the anniversary publication. This edited volume will be printed in September 2006 and released at the occasion of the WSF's 20th Anniversary Conference. (Van Der Bly, 2006). A second article based on this chapter, '*The Rise of Heterogeneity Within One World Culture – a Micro-Perspective of a Global Village'*, will be published in the International Journal of Comparative Sociology (Van Der Bly, 2007, forthcoming).

[2] Apart from indirect autonomy through voting for the national government obviously.

[3] This will be discussed in the case study of tourism on Inis Mór.

[4] However, the flagging of 'banal localism' can not be separated from nationalism, as the national history has shaped the local history and according to the inhabitants the local has increasingly defined the national history, as shown through the example of Guinness.

[5] http://www.kildare.ie/leixlip. August 2005.

[6] In 1990 the *Irish Countrywomen's Association* published *Leixlip: a local history* (1990), and Gerard Nelson's *A History of Leixlip, Co. Kildare* (Nelson, 1990). Approximately around 2000 (unfortunately the book mentions no exact date) local historian Seamus Kelly produced a *Walking Tour of Leixlip*, supported by Intel Ireland. In 2005 John Colgan (2005) who lives in the former Toll House, opposite the Salmon Leap Inn, published an ambitious study on the local history, as well supported by Intel Ireland. The website of the town publishes a large section on the local history http://kildare.ie/leixlip/ and is written by John Wigle.

[7] William Roantree lived from 1829-1918 (Kelly, 2002:32).

[8] The Census included this question for the first time in 1981.

[9] During the period in which this research was carried out.

[10] This is confirmed by Ó Riagáin (1997:193) when arguing that 'the number of families that use Irish as the main language in their family circle is roughly the same today outside as inside the Gaeltacht area, with a particular high proportion living in the greater Dublin region.'

[11] Remarkably is the wording the respondent chooses when describing that Leixlip was part of the pale: it was *deemed* to be in the Pale, a by some whim of fate. This reflects a negative perception of what it means to be part of The Pale: not something to be proud of. Some of the reasons why this respondent has a negative perception of being part of the Pale are given in this quote as well. For albeit 'they' (the English) provide local employment, it was the kind of employment meant to serve them: 'to cut their turf.... Harvest their crops...servants.' 'We' carried out the work, but 'they' owned the land. Ireland's colonial past is still very much alive in the contemporary discourse of respondents, even when that past seems dead and buried in Ireland contemporary prosperity.

[12] Question: IF 'Yes do you speak Do you speak Irish 'Daily, Weekly, Often, Never?

[13] According to information provided by Principal Teacher, 17 March 2004.

[14] In this context, it is interesting to note what Tovey and Share (2003) have called a 'de-territorialization of the Irish language, for example through the establishment of TG4, an Iris-speaking television-station.

[15] As Tovey and Share (2003) argue, outside of the Gaeltacht areas and increasingly in some of the Gaeltachtaí as well, Irish tends to be used most by people in higher social class positions and with higher qualifications. This class effect might confirm an increase of the Irish language as a symbolic possession, rather then for communicative purposes: those who are not solely dependent on the mastery of English for survival can afford to be educated through Irish. In the Inis Mór case we will see how an independent island knitter on the other hand is dependent for her economic survival on the use of English. While acknowledging the existing class distinction, this research does not include 'class' as a variable as such. However, when the rise of the mastery of the use of the Irish language as a symbolic possession can be seen partially as an answer to processes of globalization emerging within the context of dominant globalization, then this symbolic possession can only be obtained by those who have the power to do so. Successful polarization is a result of two powerful parties. Successful sameness is the result of one, dominating party over another, less powerful party. With the lower classes having less economic power, it is not surprising

that within their context the polarization is less successful. Their cultural situation might be more inclined towards sameness. However, as I argued, this study does not study class difference as such.

[16] Inspector's Report An Bord Pleanála ' *Demolish existing house and construct 351 residential units, at Leixlip, County Kildare*', August 2004.

[17] Manifestations of cultural sameness referring to mass media are not included in this research that has specifically addressed the development of the local culture.

CHAPTER 9 HOMERULE - THE ORIGINS OF CULTURAL POLARIZATION AS THE RESULT OF A GLOBAL NEGOTIATION STRATEGY

9.1 Introduction: The Field

'Bull' McCabe: *There's another law stronger than the common law.*
Father Doran: *What's that?*
'Bull' McCabe: *The law of the land.*

(In: The Field, 1990- Directed by Jim Sheridan)

The Field is a play by the Irish writer John B. Keane, first produced at the Olympia Theatre in November 1965 in Dublin (Keane, 1990) [1965]. The play is a study of the love a man can have for land and the ruthless lengths to which he will go in order to obtain the object of his desire. 'Bull' McCabe is the central character of the play, a tenant farmer with a ferocious temper and an obsession with the field he has been renting from a poor widow. After years of backbreaking toil, McCabe has transformed the field from three acres of rocky wasteland into a lush green pasture.

When the widow decides to put the property up for auction without considering his work, an outraged McCabe is determined to buy it at all costs. Unfortunately, there is another interested party, an Englishman of Irish descent[1], whose plans for the field include paving it over and turning it into a cement block factory. 'The Bull' cannot stand to see the land he so deeply loves slipping away from him. He decides to deal with the situation in the only way he knows, and his actions have tragic consequences.[2]

Thirty-five years later, in 1990, at the beginning of the Celtic Tiger era and the year after Intel decided to move to Leixlip, Irish film director Jim Sheridan made the play into a film.[3] The script is rewritten. No longer is the foreigner who aims to buy the field an anglicized Irishman, as in the play. This time it is an American who wants to build a highway on the land.

In 1998,the Leixlip Theatre Group staged *The Field.* One who searches for 'The Field John B. Keane' through Yahoo! as I did[4], will come across the website of Leixlip Theatre Group as the fourth search result. On their website the following picture can be found, including text.[5]

Picture 9.1 Leixlip Theater Group performing The Field

Paul, Jim, George, John: "A total stranger has come and he wants to bury my sweat and blood in concrete."

The play was staged in the same year, 1998, that Intel announced its first significant expansion since 1989, by opening up Fab 14. This expansion represents 'a growth of 1,600 in job numbers since we announced our Second Phase of Development – including Fab 14- and it involved the most intensive hiring ramp ever seen in Ireland' (Intel Ireland, 1998:3). Besides a growing number of jobs, it includes a significant expansion of land as well.

'Fab 14 represents an investment of IR31 billion. The factory building covers approximately 90,000 square meters and includes a 9,000 square meter 'Class 1' Clean room. It is the most complex construction project ever undertaken in Ireland, and including the ultra-pure water facility, costs approximately IR300 million' (Intel Ireland, 1998:4).

This chapter aims to unravel the mechanisms that lead to the manifestation of what seems a bipolar variety as shown in the last chapter by exploring the micro-level. Section 9.2 discusses controversies surrounding Intel's arrival and later expansion. Section 9.3 argues that these controversies do not as much seem to affect the arrival of Hewlett-Packard. Section 9.4 discusses Hewlett-Packard's policy towards the local community. Section 9.5 discusses Intel's local community policy.

Section 9.6 argues that one distinction between the two companies is that Intel functions more as a conveyor of universal values into the local community. It is argued that these values are perceived as universal. Two of these 'universal values' are discussed and juxtaposed with traditional local values.

This chapter highlights that these universal values might not be as universal as they first seemed to be. Through a brief discussion of the history of Leixlip, the chapter shows that the particular might be more universal and global and less local then at first seemed. Having discussed some mechanism that may feed the need for cultural polarization and the re-invention of a local identity, section 9.7 discusses how the local identity can be established through the financial resources of the global company. While the local is dependent on the global, so is the global dependent on the local. The result is an intensification of different identities.

9.2 Unrest in the open

After the local residents campaigned since the early seventies, the village was finally granted Town Commission Status in 1988 (Nelson, 1990:66). That is the lowest form of local authority in Ireland and does not include a significant budget.[6]

'The purpose of the Town Council was to provide some local control over the growing town's own destiny, it has so little. That was also the purpose of the Community Council and the subsequently Combined Residents Association of Leixlip. A second purpose of the Town Council and primary purpose of the Coat of Arms and roads signage, was to generate a sense of collegiality, effected through the creation of an awareness of a common heritage, in the face of massive immigration of busy homemakers.' (Respondent 15)

Intel decided to locate its manufacturing facilities in Ireland in 1989 and commenced production on the one hundred fifty hectares of a former farm at Leixlip in 1990. The site in Leixlip, Co. Kildare is Intel's fourth largest manufacturing site overall and the largest outside the United States. It produces microprocessors and communication silicon chips and Intel has invested some five billion euro in the site. Employment on site is 5,150 with both direct employees and indirect long-term contractors.[7]

Hewlett-Packard located an inkjet cartridges factory in Leixlip in 1995. Currently the factory employs 2,400 employees on the Leixlip site, with about 1800 involved in the inkjet factory and the rest in Sales and Services, Hewlett-Packard International Bank, Contracting and Media

Products. The employees are young, with an average age of 27, and relatively high educated. Seventy percent of the employees are college graduates and thirty percent are in continuous education.[8]

Global, European and national developments had lead to the arrival of economic globalization to Leixlip as discussed in chapter 7, yet the town itself had very little involvement in the decision.

'I read the news in the national papers. We had heard about Intel, but we did not know exactly what it was.' (Respondent 13)

Even though Intel's arrival in Leixlip has involved very little local autonomy, there seems at first sight to be little evidence that the influence of Intel's presence created direct resistance. *Au contraire*, as one of the respondents said:

'I believed at the time that the coming of Intel would make things possible.' (Respondent 7)

Six years later Hewlett-Packard followed Intel's decision probably as a consequence of what Krugman (1997) has called 'demonstration and cascades effects.' Hewlett-Packard's factory is located on the former industrial site of *Irish Meat Packers Ltd,* a factory set up by Dublin entrepreneurs.[9] Yet the local employment provided by Intel and Hewlett-Packard is relatively small. Intel estimates that just over six percent of its work force lives in Leixlip.[10]

In spite of their strong presence in quantitative terms, somehow the two companies never seem fully part of the local map. Geographically both companies are detached from Leixlip town.

A map of Leixlip on the website[11] shows the old center of the village located at the confluence of the two rivers and new housing developments spreading from Main Street until the blue borderline of the Royal Canal. There are two arrows on the map, one to the West stating 'to Intel' and one to the South with 'to Hewlett-Packard'.

Indeed, globalization appears to be locally detached. While these companies might be less footloose than often suggested, moving to where salaries are low and tax-incentives are high, they seem not to be fully part of the local surroundings.

A recent town study concludes that:

'The problems facing Leixlip town center are somewhat unusual. While the town does not suffer from significant unemployment or other economic problems, there is a perception that the

town has not benefited from the growth in recent residential and employment development as much as expected. The residential growth has taken place to the north and west of the historic core with poor linkages between the core and the new residential areas. Major new employment centers (HP and Intel) are even further removed'(Brady, Shipman, Martin 2002:1)

The researchers conclude that: 'there is a perception that the rapid pace of new development has to some extent overwhelmed the town' (Brady, Shipman, Martin 2002:2).

Yet Intel has been on the grounds of the former stud farm in Leixlip for over fifteen years and shows no signs of leaving, while Hewlett-Packard has just announced enlargement of their site.[12] As discussed in the previous chapter, I did not find sameness coinciding with processes of economic globalization, but, surprisingly, difference instead.

Another unexpected outcome occurred. At the outset of the research the two global companies were considered as driven by a similar logic that some call the logic of globalization, others the logic of capitalism, changing the cultural field as if economy and culture were one. However, this research shows that there is a vast difference in perception of the two companies amongst the local community, a difference that at first sight seemed inexplicable.

9.3 Discrepancy: fact and fiction

At first sight, Intel seems to be strongly integrated in the community. In 2003, Intel's community relations manager, who does not live in Leixlip, was the recipient of the *Leixlip Person of the Year (non-resident) Civic Award.* Yet, just like Intel is geographically not completely part of Leixlip's map, so might it not be a full part of Leixlip's community.

In my very first interview with the local town clerk, who had been in office since the establishment of Leixlip as a town in April 1989, she immediately mentioned that the local community perceived Intel and Hewlett-Packard very differently:

'People I think are always suspicious of what goes on in Intel, eh they have the perception that Intel is maybe polluting the water, polluting the air, ehm using cyanide and other harmful chemicals up there ... its only steam as far as I know (*laughs*) that comes out of the chimney stack, but they use poisonous chemicals in their process and they eh, emit their eh, effluent in the river Rye, now eh obviously its eh well controlled and regulated and there is no danger to public health on what so ever...' (Respondent 8)

Local residents tell several narratives confirming the 'suspicion' in the town clerk's statement above. This suspicion is often related to the vulnerable in society, such as children:

'My mother told me about babies strolling through the grass in the lawns of the gardens of the farms near Intel, and they got strange rashes on their skin... we complained... but then Intel bought all the farms around them...' (Respondent 13)

Or animals:

'I remember there was one farmer next door of Intel ... he complained that his calf was born without hair...other farmers had the same calves. They all were taken to the vet's... but the vet's did not have experience with toxins... so they blamed the farmer and said it was poor farmer management... that's why the animals died...' (Respondent 17)

The authorities consulted for verification never supported the local complaints and suspicions with facts. While this is not the place to discuss the scientific basis of these complaints, what intrigued me was that similar stories about Hewlett-Packard did not emerge. *Au contraire.*

'(...) Hewlett-Packard seem to get away with it, even though they are making inkjet cartridges, they are using inks and dyes and they probably *(laughs)* have more chemicals at HP then at Intel, there is a perception that what they make there is cleaner and safer.' (Respondent 8)

One explanation could be that Intel is polluting the air and Hewlett-Packard is not. However, the monitoring regulations do not point in that direction, according to the Town Council. But there might be another explanation. Could it be related to the different effects of the local strategies of the two global companies?

In one of the interviews a resident mentions the differences in the culture of the both companies. I ask him what the difference is between Hewlett-Packard and Intel, to which he replies:

'Every company has a different culture.... but... eh, ... there was this survey who suggests that people who work for Hewlett-Packard are content. I have the impression that people who work for Intel are regimented. They like to control the views the people have of them... I think Intel's approach is more domineering and manipulative...' (Respondent 17)

The observation is that there is an apparently inexplicable discrepancy between the fact and fictional stories. So what are the policies of the two companies towards the local community and to which extent do they differ? While some respondents argue that Intel's local policy is necessary to reassure the public that they are good neighbours as a panacea to heal the local wounds, one wonders if it is possible that the cure is in fact worse than the disease.

9.4 Hewlett-Packard invents: splendid isolation

Hewlett-Packard's *Government and Public Affairs Department* in Leixlip consists of one manager and four employees. They are responsible for the government and public affairs of all Hewlett-Packard businesses in Ireland. The Department includes Community Relations and, as such, the local policy towards Leixlip. Community Relations is part of Hewlett-Packard's philanthropic policy. At first this policy was locally focused, as the Hewlett-Packard spokesperson indicates:

'And she (*Carly Fiorina – CEO HP)* came aboard five years ago now.... and she at that time was looking at all our programs and one of our programs was our philanthropy program and at that stage our philanthropy program was mostly based on the local employee needs (...) . So we would put a huge amount of PC's like Intel in Leixlip itself and in community centres out here, more locally.' (Respondent 9)

While initially similar to Intel's policy, since 1999 Hewlett-Packard's policy is no longer locally focused, but target group based.

'She gave guidelines... not prescriptive but guidelines... she would like us to look at the 'Digital Divide' ... she would like us to look at the have-not's in the IT-world as opposed to the people who already had access to computers.' (Respondent 9)

On two levels the philanthropy policy of Hewlett-Packard has been delocalized. First of all, the centralized department rather than the local employees take the initiative. Secondly, the criteria are no longer based upon proximity,[13] but rather on target group, the *Digital Divide* and aims at those people who are not PC-literate. This change in policy effectively transferred money previously invested in Leixlip, to Dublin's inner city where Hewlett-Packard has built eleven

digital community centres. The change from a philanthropy based upon proximity to target-group scarcely disguises the interest of the company in the growth of its future consumer-market.

I – Why was the policy changed?
R – Because she felt there was an imbalance there. She felt that if you … that if you actually go out and open your markets to people who are not PC-literate, that you would certainly grow your market, but as well as that… These are the people who have not anybody else to do it for them. Whereas we have philanthropy money… and there is no comeback on philanthropy money, it is truly that, we don't give to get a comeback…
I – Not directly…
R – Well, it is focused in that way if you like…but that is kind of an outcome eh… eh…there is no guarantee that the people when they *do* become PC literate will buy HP equipment! But having said that it is offering them an opportunity to educate themselves and become PC literate. (Respondent 9)

Not only does the community's perception of Hewlett-Packard differ from Intel, so does its policy.

'We have a very different model to community relations… Intel's model to community relations is very local-focused, ours is not…. For the very simple reason, I told you. The local community here is not a disadvantaged community.' (Respondent 9)

The Town Commission confirms this.

'HP will respond to you, they will write a cheque sometimes all right, but they won't get involved in the same way as Intel will.' (Respondent 8)

With a philanthropic policy that overtly and honestly aims to serve the interests of the global company, maximizing profit by creating a future market, and a local community policy that is detached and involves little investment, Hewlett-Packard seems to have little reason for popularity amongst the local residents.

However, Hewlett-Packard seems to enjoy a positive overall local perception and an absence of suspicion, and this was not expected in the research. One can therefore argue that Hewlett-Packard's local position can be described as one of 'splendid isolation'. Considering the

difference in perception of the two multinationals, the following question arises. What is Intel's approach to the local community?

9.5 Intel inside: active involvement

Intel's approach to the local community seems to be one of active involvement, contrary to Hewlett-Packard:

'Intel Ireland is committed to making a positive contribution to the community. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Ireland has twice awarded Intel Ireland its Community Partnership Award in recognition of the company's deep involvement in local community. Intel Ireland has an excellent environmental management track record.'[14]

This is not just a policy of Intel Ireland but part of Intel's global policy[15] and this global goal is translated into significant action on the local level. First of all, Intel has a department specifically dedicated to Community Affairs.[16] Four people and their manager work here full-time on the relationship with the local community. The local community seems to value Intel's efforts. Their efforts are very visible to every wanderer in the town. When buying a sandwich the local bakery, it is hard to miss the poster up on the wall announcing:

'Intel Addiction Awareness Workshop for the Community' 8 pm in Intel, Collinstown. For problems with alcohol, drug abuse. ALL WELCOME.'

A little bit further, just around the corner, in the window of an office in the Main Street there is an exhibition of old pictures of Leixlip and a sign saying: '*Intel Restores the Town Project'*. And there, in the distance, just in the front of the Scoil Chearbhail ui Dhalaigh, the Irish school, huge blue Intel-garbage bins decorate the *couleur locale*. During the interview with the Town Clerk, a man walks into the office with a yellow T-shirt with blue letters that say INTEL.

The Leixlip Photo Centre exhibits photos of the annual Leixlip Festival. A clown with colourful pants covering his stilts sits on the roof of a car. Above him flaps the Irish flag on Main Street beside a banner that reads: 'Intel is delighted to support the Leixlip Festival.' The variety of supported projects is broad:

'It could be face painting at festivals. It could be helping illiterate people to read. It could be running Internet classes for people who don't know how to use the Internet. It could be... what else have we done recently? It could be making up hampers, doing food collections, and making up hampers for people who don't have enough food. It could be collecting Easter eggs and delivering them out to the local children's hospital... any of those types of projects. (Respondent 3)

At Christmas Intel organizes a Senior Citizen Christmas Party. Two hundred senior citizens from Leixlip receive invitations for a party and buses bring the guests to the party where there will be a Christmas dinner.[17] Besides the more *ad hoc* projects, Intel is involved in the social structure of the town. It helped set up the Leixlip Business and Traders Organization for example.

'I went to this little meeting in Leixlip village. And people sort of attacked me and said: 'Why are people not spending more money in Leixlip?' (Respondent 3)

The ferocious tone of voice of the people in this narrative is interesting. It might reflect an undercurrent of suspicion and mistrust. Whether that indeed refers to economic dissatisfaction, or to something else, Intel immediately defends itself with an economic solution.

'And I said: 'Look, often we don't even know what's on sale in Leixlip. You don't do a good job advertising yourselves.' So I said, you know, "If I can't get the employees to go to the village, why don't I get the traders and the businesses in the village to come here.' (Respondent 3)

This quote reflects the physical distance between the multinational and the village. But might the physical distance perhaps symbolize a distance on the level of norms and values, rather then being purely geographical?

'So I took over a canteen, a big canteen about this size in another building, took all the tables and chairs out and gave everybody a stand, like an exhibition.' (Respondent 3)[18]

Sometimes what is physically very close seems emotionally very far and vice versa. Intel makes significant donations to the town such as the £50,000 cheque to fund the new Our Lady's Parish Centre in Leixlip.[19] Intel provides material assistance and man-hours as well.[20]

'Last year *Intel Involved* volunteers gave over 20,000 hours to the local community. And em, that would have been across a *huge* number of projects.' (Respondent 3)

One of Intel's key-values is that it presents itself as an environmental leader. A special department focuses on environmental initiatives such as bicycle recycling and segregated waste collection bins provided to houses and schools in Leixlip.[21] Intel also organizes a yearly Gardening Seminar for the local community.[22] Another central key value Intel holds is an emphasis on education and Intel annually gives Scholarship Awards to several local students.[23]

Whether it is the purity of the water, the tidiness of the town, the quality of the houses or the health of its citizens, Intel is there, globally gigantic and locally omnipresent. Besides incidental and structural aid, Intel has created two structured communication channels with the local community. There is the quarterly published Newsletter, *Local Update*, that addresses the local community and there is what is called *Community Advisory Panel* (CAP), consisting of representative members of the local community.

'They come in here, every second month and they meet with Intel and tell Intel what we should be working on… so there is really a two-way communication…' (Respondent 3)

However, some local residents have a different view on the CAP.

'I used to be on the CAP which is their way of gathering intelligence locally without paying for it.' (Respondent 21)

From Intel's perspective the Community Advisory Panel is a success.
R - I would bring them up-to-date. In a totally transparent way about everything (..)… shared everything. That worked very effective.
I – In what sense did it work effective?
R – It worked in the sense that we had the community supporting what we were doing. (Respondent 18)

Intel's policy of active involvement contrasts sharply with Hewlett-Packard's policy of local detachment and what I called splendid isolation. While Hewlett-Packard might bring about a significant social and physical transformation in the town, it does not transform the town on the level of norms and of values, of what is valuable and what is not, what needs to be cherished and

what discarded, involving local belief systems. Intel explicitly aims to disseminate their values within the local community as part of the corporate policy.

'You know, some of those values that we have here, we try to go out in the community to get the people to hold those values too.' (Respondent 3)

Processes of economic globalization do not influence solely the social and physical structure of the town. The values that are closely connected with the business practices of the American multinational also gradually seep into the values of the local community. It is on this level that they gradually alter the processes of cultural globalization. The question that arises then is what are these values that seep into the local community in the appearance of a broad variety of projects?

9.6 The global corporation as conveyor of universal values

In an interview in Intel's first Global Citizen Report,[24] Intel CEO Craig Barrett states: 'At Intel, corporate citizenship is firmly anchored in our corporate values.'[25] There are six core values described as *Intel Values*: customer orientation, discipline, risk-taking, results-orientation, quality, a great place to work.[26] Beside these, there are other more general values such as an emphasis on education, diversity and the environment that I will discuss later.

These values are not corporate values solely applicable on the macro level, for part of Intel's corporate philosophy is to explicitly incorporate these values within the daily reality of its employees.

'Our values statement quickly conveys to employees and stakeholders what Intel is about – what we value. The first day on the job for every Intel employee begins with an introduction to Intel's mission, objectives and values. As well as training on the 40+ behaviors that exemplify those values. As a constant reminder, every employee badge is emblazoned with the values. Posters listing the mission and values are displayed throughout the workplace.'[27]

Within Intel's social constellation its employees, or the individual agents on the micro-level, are meant to become conveyors of the corporate values on the mental, behavioural and physical level. As we have seen, part of Intel's policy is to convey their values into the local community.

'So, on our badge here...(*points to badge on her blouse*)... it does say it here somewhere (*looks*), oh yes there it is... to be an asset to our communities globally, no it says 'to be an asset to our communities world-wide' and that is under the value 'a great place to work' (Respondent 3)

The Global Citizen Report (2001:11) states the following quote of Intel Chairman Andy Grove:

'Our values are timeless and do not depend on business conditions' (Andy Grove, Intel Chairman).

This statement contains two elements. Firstly, the values are not characteristic to this age or to contemporary Western (or American) culture and secondly they are not influenced by conditions relevant to doing business. They are thus indeed presented as 'universal values'. The deep-rooted conviction that the Intel values are neither corporate nor Western, or even American values, but that have a universal connotation seems an intrinsic, albeit possibly largely unconscious, part of the mindset on the highest management level.

'We set a *whole new* standard that the rest of the industry is now moved up to. Standards for environment. Standards for communication. Standards for safety. (...) These are (*with emphasis*) good, international values. Good values. I always thought of it like that. I never thought of it in terms of American values. Or otherwise... I mean good standards are good standards.' (Respondent 18)

The belief that these values are universal and not culture-specific might not be seen as a threat to local autonomy when kept within the corporate context. However, when these values are exported beyond the corporate walls, they can be perceived as moral intrusion.

The deliberate incorporation of business values is understandable on the corporate level. In any knowledge intensive industry successful implementation of relevant values will certainly contribute to profit-maximization. Yet seeds for ambiguity and of cultural polarization are sown when the values are presented detached from their corporate purpose. This happens first when those values are no longer interpreted as business values, and second when they are conveyed to non-employees.

Intel employees besides being trained to *become* carriers of the Intel values are also *transmitters* of the corporate values and this policy for the local community seems identical worldwide, as the Intel spokesperson explains.

I – Is the way the different community relations managers all over the world approach their job very similar to yours?
R – Yes, the approach is always the same. (Respondent 3)

For example, the Community Advisory Panel appears to be a global phenomenon within Intel, as mentioned in chapter 8. Having started in Ireland in 1992, there are currently nine sites with a CAP: Arizona, Oregon, Colorado, Ireland, Israel, Malaysia, Massachusetts, New Mexico and Philippines. The average CAP has 15,5[28] members, with the largest in the Philippines and the smallest in Malaysia and most meet on a quarterly basis.[29] The CAPs work with a handbook, that was in development when this research was carried out and that aims to standardize the guidelines, and offer an overview of 'best-practices' with regards to the efficiency of CAPs worldwide.[30]

One can argue that Intel world-wide, to a much broader extent then Hewlett-Packard, aims to transform the town on the cultural level and on the level of norms and values. This policy is supported by a probably implicit, yet intrinsic claim on universality. Yet to what extent *are* these values indeed universal and to what extent do they conflict with local values? That question will be examined on two key-values that Intel emphasizes: education and the environment.

Education: linguistics or technology

One of the values that Intel claims to hold is education. Education is a broad theme and indeed Ireland's well-educated workforce was one of the reasons why Intel chose to establish a site in Ireland.[31] However, Intel's Education Policy aims for development in a specific direction i.e. to 'support science, mathematics and technology education.'[32] While the importance of education *per se* is a value that Intel might share with the local community and to which we possibly can contribute a universal connotation, the specific content might differ.

Ireland's school curricula traditionally place less emphasis on science and more on humanities, especially Irish, history and religion. It does so as a consequence of two national characteristics (Tovey and Share, 2003). First, education was instrumental in Ireland's fight for independence from Britain and the search for its own identity and thus 'issues of moral socialisation took precedence over issues of technological socialisation' (Clancy, 1995:473).

Second, education in Ireland has been traditionally closely related to religion. Irish sociologists have argued that relying on technological solutions for human problems is at variance with a belief in the efficacy of divine intervention for the resolution of human difficulties (Drudy and Lynch, 1993:82).[33] The content of any school curriculum always takes place within the limitations of space and time. What is not taught leaves space for what can be taught and vice versa.

The written word is very much part of Ireland's daily culture. Whoever flies with Ireland national airline Aer Lingus notices hand-written quotes of famous Irish writers decorating the chairs. The small island of Ireland with a population of just over four million has produced four winners of the Nobel Prize for Literature.[34] Apart from being a source of a national identity and international recognition in the competitive field of literature, Ireland's mastery of English has become an economic value in itself, with the government attracting immigrants by promoting the possibility of learning English in Ireland.

With the local orientation geared more towards humanities and less toward technology, the value of a shift in the direction of education is something that in itself needs to be taught. This requires a change on the level of values and on the behavioural level. The following quote indicates these two levels through an explicit use of 'have learned' and the emphasis on 'will':

'I think people have learned that Intel is a good employer to have locally.... Eh... for sons and daughters who are *(emphasis)* willing to go to college and do a science related degree' (Respondent 8)

While the importance of education in itself can be argued to contain universal connotations, the extent to which an emphasis on *technological* education is a timeless value and not dependent on business conditions can be questioned. That value is the product of a specific culture and to a certain extent, at odds with the local culture.

In the process of generating a truly universal culture the limitations of what is perceived as the universal culture need to be addressed, just as much as the benefits of what is considered as the particular and possibly 'backward' culture needs to be recognized. Where in some fields Nobel Prize winners are created, in other fields they might be lost.

The environment: having but keeping, keeping but not having

Another value that Intel emphasizes is the environment.

'Our environmental health and safety is just as important to us as our economic success- you can't have one without the other' (Craig Barret, Intel CEO).[35]

This global policy is translated into several local community projects.

'So we would ...here on the site...we would tend to support a lot of environmental projects because Ireland is not very good in recycling awareness and protecting of the environment... is not very good in that...' (Respondent 3)

Environmental awareness in Ireland is said to have emerged relatively recently due to late cultural modernization and late economic development, meaning that 'there was until recently, little environmental damage for Irish people to be concerned about' (Tovey and Share, 2003:515). Some of the enlargement of Leixlip's population seems to have been driven by the perception that the village had 'very much a feeling of countryside'.

'... We liked the idea that it was close to Dublin, yet very clearly separated from Dublin, (...) there was so much, two rivers... the canal.. the lake.. very much a feeling of countryside... for us it married the best of both worlds.. .' (Respondent 12)

In a global and corporate context Intel has a very innovative and responsible environmental policy. However, from a local perspective the arrival of the global environmental leader might coincide with the loss of a 'countryside' feeling and of what now has become known as the 'environment'.

While the value of 'caring for the environment' has a universal connotation its interpretations differ locally and globally. When the environment is a self-evident presence, there is no need for keeping it. Yet sometimes trying to keep it implies that you no longer really have it. In 2002 Intel carried out an environmental program called *Bike Link* to 'reroute bicycles destined for landfills to rural South Africa and to accelerate the recycling of 10-speeds tenfold'[36] and 1,003 bicycles were recycled.[37] Yet the local use of bicycles seems to have diminished very much due to an increase in traffic.

'When I was a boy in these day there was so little traffic in Leixlip, I used to cycle everywhere... it was not dangerous... so I was used to cycle extensively from the age of seven as a family... my father bought his first car in 1953 and before that I had a bike, my mother had a bike, my father had a bike...' (Respondent 11)

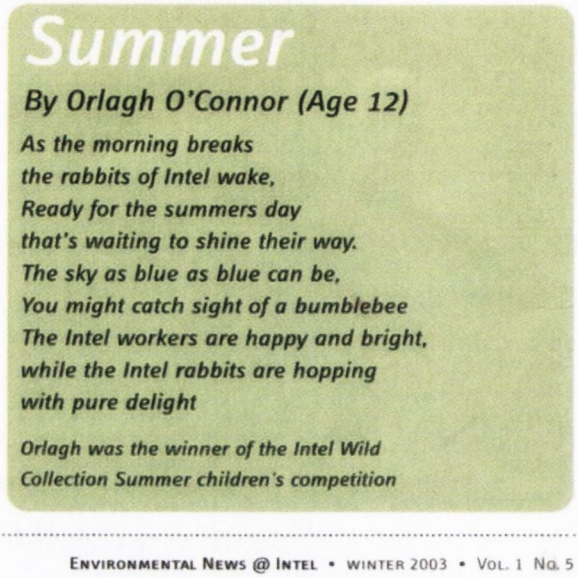
Some of these traffic problems are attributed to cars of Intel employees passing through the village. While the redundant bicycles are transported to South Africa, the car-congested streets express a solution that benefits no one. A need for environmental awareness might possibly not have been strongly felt locally[38] until the arrival of Intel, which paradoxically presents itself as an environmental leader. In the void between global values and local praxis unease flourishes: unease that is neither in the interest of the local community nor in the interest of the global company. Something has changed and something has been lost. But what?

'Intel bought up all the farmland around the plant. They like to have sterile ehm area... to work. They don't like neighbours near them. So they bought up everybody around them. Which adds... which fuels this conception that they are a big company who have muscle, who have might and the ordinary person in the street does not count in their scheme of things. Do you know what I am saying...?' (Respondent 8)

Even though the land was sold over fifteen years ago and in spite of the fact that Intel has made a considerable and creative contribution to the community, this quote still expresses a notion of helplessness and powerlessness that has lost nothing of its sense of urgency in contemporary times. The 'big company' that has 'might' is explicitly being located *opposite* 'the ordinary person' in the street who does not count in their 'scheme of things'.

While the company becomes a 'mighty big company', the local resident becomes an 'ordinary person in the street' who does not count in the scheme of things who then in turn will be at pains to explain that he or she is *not* just an ordinary person who lives in an ordinary village. The local power needs to be restored, in order to defend all, - but possibly the weakest in society, children, defended most. The following poem was the winner of Intel's Wild Collection Summer children competition, 2003.[39]

Figure 9.2 Winner Intel's Wild Collection Summer Competition.



Summer

By Orlagh O'Connor (Age 12)

As the morning breaks
the rabbits of Intel wake,
Ready for the summers day
that's waiting to shine their way.
The sky as blue as blue can be,
You might catch sight of a bumblebee
The Intel workers are happy and bright,
while the Intel rabbits are hopping
with pure delight

Orlagh was the winner of the Intel Wild Collection Summer children's competition

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When besides economic power, the global corporation claims, possibly unintentionally or unconsciously, superiority in the field of norms and values, the only local defense is to demonstrate the opposite. It is the answer to what Ireland's top heavy metal band *Primordial* describe as: 'Trying to understand all the freedoms, the liberties, the decisions that are simply taken out of our hands, out of our country's hands, out of our nation's hands.'[40] The grammatical phrasing is passive, as if there is no actual 'they' who have taken away the freedom. The enmity has become diffuse, yet the experience of dominance is the same and therefore the need for resistance is real.

I - Why do you think it is so important?
R – Irish?
I – Yes.
R – *(Self-evident)* Because our native language is part of our cultural and heritage and tradition and I think it forms part of our psyche and who we are as a nation, as a people… (Respondent 20)

This respondent who is not a native Irish speaker perceives Irish as her native language and 'part of our psyche, of who we are as a nation'. More than that, she perceives it as a powerful tool to reclaim power, shrug off dominance and autonomously create an identity. Leixlip's emerging *Volksgeist*, is not the contemporary reality resulting from historical processes. Rather, it is a ghost

from the past, like a poltergeist knocking at the borders of all nations - not just Ireland, - to be let in again; to redefine, recreate and fill a void. The seeds of polarization then, seem at first to have the shape of the universal versus the particular, but they germinate to become two opposite and possibly conflicting poles.

'Obviously, our Irish place names predate their English equivalents... they are older. So it is important that we remember them, that we use them and that we know what they mean. And they often are completely different in Irish then in English. I mean the word Leixlip is a good example. The actual English word Leixlip derives from the Norse word LaixOch, which is Leap of the Salmon.' (Respondent 22)

Yet Leixlip's original name is ironically not originally Irish, but a relic from an older process of globalization. The English 'Leixlip' is a phonetic anglicization of LaixOch, which means 'leap of the salmon' not in Irish, but in Old Norse. The Irish 'Léim an Bhradáin' is a contemporary translation from the Viking language.

From an analysis of the history of the town, this research derived that the following has been influenced by foreign forces, either from the Vikings, the Normans, the Anglo-Normans, the British or the Italians:[41]

- Name of the town[42]
- Mentality (fighting)[43]
- Structure of society (multiple groups)
- Intermarriage[44]
- Ways of craftsmanship
- Occupation (trade)
- Way houses were built in general[45]
- Architecture of a prestigious building[46]
- Transport (the bridge, Royal canal, Grand Canal)[47]

The universal is not as universal as it first appeared to be. Now we might question to what extent the particular is indeed particular.

9.7 Globalization funds the local identity

Processes of economic globalization create the need for the construction of a local identity, seemingly as a defence against what is felt as the intrusion of global and, indeed, as universally presented values. But those processes make the very construction of such local identity financially possible as well, as this section discusses. In the process the local community reclaims the power over the creation of its own identity, as the civil actions of the principal teacher of the primary Irish school in Leixlip demonstrate.

She is not just a teacher, but as well the gatekeeper to a significant consumer market: over four hundred pupils. Whether she receives promotional material from Irish business or from global companies like Nestle, if the material is only in English she will send it back because:

'We don't distribute materials in English only, they have to be either bilingual or monolingual in Irish. Some posters they are in English only... so we will send them back to them (*laughs*). I won't distribute them... No, I won't. (*firmly*) I won't put up the posters.' (Respondent 1)

However, the Irish teacher does not just fight with national and global companies over the use of the Irish language, but with the Irish government as well.

'We receive this all the time. Look here, this is from Irish Post. A project on Irish Stamps...*(she shows the brochure, titled: 'All about Irish Stamps')* All the material is in English. Look this. This is a poster for Irish Roads Safety Awareness poster... in English. Is not produced in Irish. They come daily. I have a standard letter. And if I have time... I send them off.' (Respondent 1)

This suggests in this case a stronger awareness of the importance of the national identity and indeed the national language on the local level then on a national level. The local searches for an identity through the resurgence of the national language, that never existed locally. And that nationally is deemed less relevant. At the same time, however, what might be the implicit source of a diffusely felt threat obediently facilitates the need for distinction.

I – Have you ever received anything from Intel in English, to distribute in the school?
R – Oh they know... I have... but they know now.... that I won't...ehm... distribute that. So they prepare them especially...while often they fax me something to check or to approve it first. They will issue certificates in Irish... they do. All the competitions and the literature they produce it in

Irish. … because we asked them. *And because we are big* and also they don't want to…. well they are not going to leave us out, to exclude us from any of their education activities, just for the sake of not putting themselves into the trouble of not making out things in Irish. (Respondent 1) (italics mvdb)

Suddenly the global company is no longer the big company and the school is no longer an ordinary school. 'We are big', the teacher explains. Indeed, as part of Intel's policy of local involvement, it supports many local projects that contribute to the reinforcement of the local identity. *The Walking Tour of Leixlip* (Kelly, 2000) features a description of the town crest, a picture of the bilingual street names, a visit to William Roantree's House, Leixlip's Famous Fenian *and* a page large advertisement of Intel Ireland stating that 'Intel Ireland are delighted to support the *Walking Tour of Leixlip Village* (Kelly, 2000: 50). Intel also supports the annual Leixlip Festival that 'pays tribute to our Viking and Gaelic past' and the other history books.

But why? Apparently, it is not just the local community that is driven by the fear of loss, so is the global player. The local community recreates its own identity driven by a fear to 'lose it all', the language, local history, yet ultimately possibly the local autonomy. Similarly the global company, fuelled by a comparable fear to 'lose it all', the progress, expansion, construction, success, yet ultimately, possibly, the local power, is more than willing to support the creation of the new local identity.

In the following quote the implicit power the community has over the multi-national is revealed. For you only need one….

I – How are the people selected on the CAP?
R – Well, that is interesting… because we are trying to get themselves involved in that… you know… I think we had a period of three years… and then we would get new people aboard… and we would get their advice on getting new people aboard… so that was extremely important… for if we did not have the community *with* us…. they can stop you…. They can stop you.
I – How can they stop you?
R – They can stop you because…by objecting you to move on to the next development…
I – Really? They still have the power…
R – Oh yes! Absolutely! Under the Irish constitution, all you need is one.
I – One?
R – One!
I – One… person…

R – That's correct! And they can pull it off for three until six months… construction… that would hold up the whole thing…(*disturbed*) you might be never be able to do it again…! (*recalling*) Or you go somewhere else in the world… (Respondent 18)

'We are big', the principal teacher had explained. They can execute power over the global company by using a claim on the importance of the indigenous language as a weapon. For you only need one. Local autonomy is restored, yet the intruder has paid for the weapons. What else can be the answer then unease and suspicion? The cold, taut, sound of the iron spiral of cultural polarization is muffled in the warm sheets of economic comfort and security. Yet what will be left when the comforting blankets are taken away?

9.8 Conclusion: the land owns you

Economic globalization is often argued to appear hand in hand with economic domination (Wallerstein, 1979). This chapter has argued that cultural polarization is not so much the result of direct economic or social domination, but rather from claimed authority of the globalized agents in the field of norms and values. A supposed moral authority is sustained by an indirect, diffuse and possibly unconscious, (but nevertheless persistent), conviction of global agents of the intrinsic universal character of their values. With this claim being both less visible than economic dominion and harder to verify, the local culture seems powerless. Since few jobs are filled locally, the gain for the local community might be limited and the experience of loss more strongly felt..

Robbed of its own dignity and cultural pride, another set of processes in the cultural field slowly emerges. This might take the form of a reorientation and even possibly reinvention of the local culture and the seeds of cultural polarization are thus sown. While the *global cultural assemblage* is created on the micro-level, it quickly becomes the domain of the global. Quintessentially fuelled by the fear of 'losing it all', the newly-created local identity is distributed through the channels of globalization worldwide in an unprecedented mechanism of globalized local diversity.

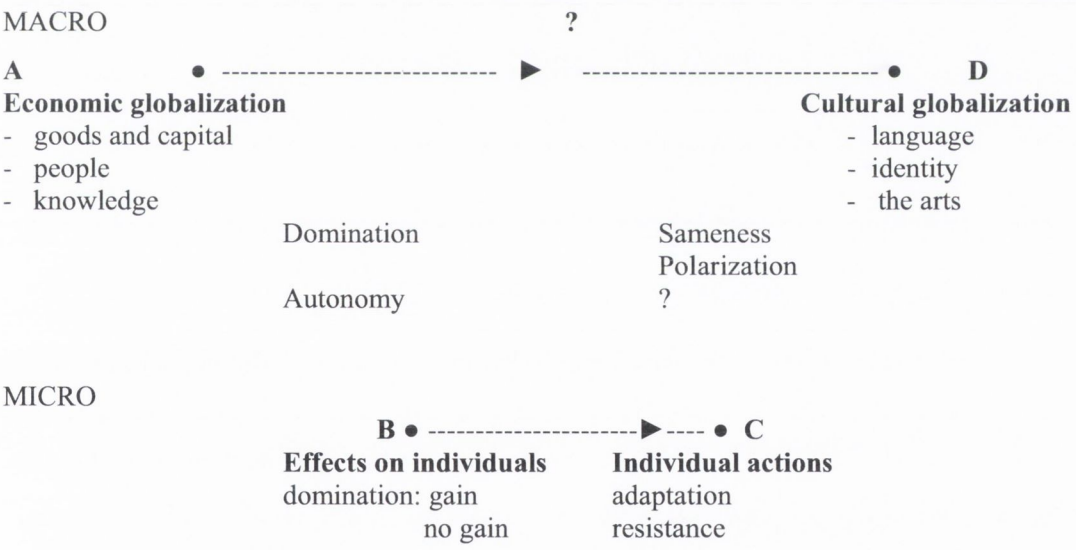
The local historians sell their history books via the Internet to people throughout the world, who somehow have a connection with Leixlip. Similarly, Intel globally disperses the locally generated expertise. The concept of a *Community Advisory Panel*, having started in Intel Ireland in 1992 is now implemented in nine Intel locations worldwide: Arizona, Oregon, Colorado,

Ireland, Israel, Malaysia, Massachusetts, New Mexico and Philippines. In the domain of the global, the local comes alive.

Figure 9.1 represents the findings in this chapter. Processes of dominant globalization allowing little local autonomy can either benefit or not benefit the individual. When the benefits seem limited, the individual might opt for a strategy of resistance. This will lead to polarization in the cultural field, on the macro-level. When the individual will gain, we might expect a strategy of adaptation creating sameness on the macro-level.

The observation that this research found relatively little signs of increasing sameness on the macro-level goes hand in hand with the observation that in the Leixlip community only a few individuals are employed by Hewlett-Packard or Intel. These findings are represented in the following figure.

Figure 9.1 Theoretical Model Step G: Dominant globalization and Polarization: strategies on the micro-level.



One might wonder whether if local autonomy is allowed in the field of norms and values and where the presence of economic globalization is not culturally dominant, but only economically dominant, polarization will not emerge. But can dominant economic presence ever be separated from its cultural influences? Can a position of 'splendid isolation' be continued on foreign

grounds? Furthermore we can speculate to where economic processes of globalization that are the result of autonomy will lead.

In conclusion, in John B. Keane's play *The Field*, 'Bull' McCabe murders the foreigner, who wants to buy his land. The last scene portrays 'Bull' McCabe in a pub, questioned by the priest about his conscience. In the film the end is much more ambiguous. In a haunting final scene 'Bull' McCabe runs over Ireland's high cliffs, to the beach, to the rocks in the surf and further and further. His wife is unable to help him and watches from the cliff how he is fighting against unseen sea dragons, his fist clenched and rose against the high waves until he disappears and nothing remains but the calm surface of an endless sea. Maybe he survives his fury. But maybe, ironically, his quest for land ends with his drowning in the sea. When the law of the land is stronger than the common law, murder or insanity might be the price to be paid to hold that truth to be self-evident. Maybe *The Field* could be renewed as:

The land that is our wisdom
The land that shines us through
The land that feeds our children
The land you cannot own

The land, the land owns you...

(Dolores Keane, 'Solid Ground')

An Aran sailor told me once: 'the land divides, but the sea unites'.[48] But that leads us away from the global city, from the town, to County Galway, where the Irish singer Dolores Keane is from. That brings us from Galway over the sea to the island of Inis Mór, the largest of The Aran Islands and the second case study of this research.

NOTES

[1] 'William: I am a Galway man. I live in England. Living there twelve years. Me, if I had my way, that's where I'd like to stay (Keane, 1990:119).
[2] As summarized on the website of the Leixlip Theatre Group. http://homepage.eircom.net/~berginj/ltg.htm December 2005.
[3] Starring Richard Harris as McCabe, a role that rendered him an Oscar-nomination.
[4] On 8 December 2005.
[5] http://homepage.eircom.net/~berginj/ltg.htm. December 2005.
[6] Under the most recent legislation, the Local Government Act 2001, the function of Leixlip Town Council generally is to provide a forum for the democratic representation of the local community, to provide civic leadership and to promote community interest. See: http://www.kildare.ie/leixlip/responsibilities.asp. November 2005.
[7] http://www.intel.com/ireland/about/thesite/index.htm. 22 October 2005.
[8] Information provided by Head Government and Public Affairs Officer Hewlett-Packard Ireland, d.d. 22-3-2004.
[9] With 644 workers in 1981 this was the largest local industrial activity before Intel's arrival and half of its employees were located in Leixlip (Nelson, 1990:40). Estimation provided by local historian John Colgan.
[10] See Planning Register Number 05/296 County Council Kildare. Information provided by Intel
[11] http://www.kildare.ie/leixlip.
[12] According to HP Spokesperson d.d. 22 March 2004 were moving out from one of our Compaq locations in Dublin to Leixlip in April 2004.
[13] However, in spite of the shift in policy towards the Digital Divide, Hewlett-Packard still supports some local projects. 'Now we have given money to the new parish centre, a community centre, there are two parish centres in Leixlip, we were co-sponsoring with Intel for the building of one of them and we also put an IT-centre into the other one. The other community centre, we will give money this year. We also sponsored the Leixlip Salmon Festival. And we would do some outreach… there are a number of projects, quite specific projects…' (Respondent 9).
[14] www.intel.com/jobs/ireland/sites/Leixlip.htm, 27 October 2003.
[15] In: *Intel Global Citizenship Report* (2002:9) Intel states as one of the 2003 Goals & Targets that 'Our global citizenship objectives for 2003 reflect Intel's long term commitment to being a good neighbor in our communities and a great place to work.'
[16] While in Hewlett-Packard community relations are part of the Government and Public Affairs Department.
[17] Local Update, November 2002.
[18] This turned out to be the Leixlip Traders Gift Fair onsite where forty local businesses set up stands and sold products to over 1,700 employees. See: *Local Update – Fab 24 forging ahead on schedule* (Intel Ireland, March 2003).
[19] *Local Update – Putting 2001 in Perspective* (Intel Ireland, May 2001:8).
[20] *Local Update – Coping with Today and Investing for Tomorrow* (Intel Ireland, November 2002:8).
[21] Environmental Summary @Intel. Environmental Department (Intel Ireland, 2003).
[22] Local Update – *Intel Ireland Marches Forward* (Intel Ireland, September 2003).
[23] Local Update – *Looking Forward to 2002*, (Intel Ireland, December 2001:6).
[24] Paradoxically, the gradual shift from responsibility to shareholders (i.e. making profit) to stakeholders (i.e. responsible citizenship) results in an enlargement of corporate values into the (local) community.
[25] Intel Global Citizenship Report 2001 *Vision & Values* (2001:4).
[26] Intel Global Citizenship Report 2001 *Vision & Values* (2001:10).
[27] Intel Global Citizenship Report 2001 *Vision & Values* (2001:11).
[28] This number is mentioned in the handbook. An example of Ritzer's calculability?
[29] Source: *Intel Public Affairs CAP Handbook*, Compiled from worldwide input by the CRC CAP Sub team, Rev. 3 Feb. 2004.
[30] Source: Intel-Makati Community Advisory Panel. P 24 In: *Intel Public Affairs CAP Handbook*, Compiled from worldwide input by the CRC CAP Sub team, Rev. 3 Feb. 2004.
[31] 'The main factors that attracted us to Ireland were its location as a member of the European Union, the quality of the infrastructure – roads, airport, water- the overall balance of costs, the financial incentives

offered by the Irish authorities and, above all, the quality and numbers of highly qualified young people coming out of the education system. In: *Introduction to Intel Ireland* (Intel Ireland, 1998:3).

[32] In: *Local Update* (Intel Ireland, December 2001: 6). This is mentioned as the first objective of Intel's Education Policy. Other objectives are: b) Enhance technology collaborations at strategic focus groups c) promote the adoption of Intel technology at selected major third level colleges, d) Support Intel's college recruitment activities at targeted schools, e) Support strategic research in partner colleges f) promote the adoption of ICT in the classroom as pedagogic tool.

[33] When questioned about future of Ireland in 1981, before the Celtic Tiger, 62% of the population indicated wanting 'more emphasis on development of technology', higher then Europe's average (57%) yet similar to Britain, 61% (Fogarty et al., 1984).

[34] William Butler Yeats (1923), George Bernhard Shaw (1925), Samuel Beckett (1969) and Seamus Heany (1995). See: http://nobelprize.org

[35] In: Intel Global Citizenship Report 2001. *Vision and Values* (Intel, 2001).

[36] In: Intel Global Citizenship Report 2002 *Accountability in Action* (Intel, 2002).

[37] Environmental Summary @ Intel (Intel Ireland, 2003:2).

[38] Allthough there seems to be quite a lot of resentment towards the Dam that ESB built in 1946, which destroyed the salmon leap (Nelson, 1990. In: preface by Desmond Guinness).

[39] 'The Intel Wild Collection. During 2003, a competition was held which invited employees to submit photographs taken onsite. The purpose was to create a collection of photographs, which capture the changing beauty, and diversity of wildlife and plantlife onsite at Intel Ireland across the four seasons of the year.' In: *Environmental Summary @ Intel* (Intel Ireland, 2003)

[40] In CD-text of the CD *The Gathering Wilderness* by Primordial 2005. On Metal Blade. Texts by lead singer Alan Nemtheanga.

[41] Based upon analysis of historical part of the Leixlip Town Councils' homepage. www//kildare.ie./leixlip. Date: 14 December 2003. Analysis: d.d 15 December 2003. See endnote 42-47, all based on this website.

[42] The English name 'Leixlip' is a phonetically Anglicization of LaixOch, which means leap of the salmon. Not in Irish. But in Norse. The Irish 'Léim an Bhradáin' is a direct translation from the Norse leap of the salmon and a contemporary invention only first mentioned in 1989 when Leixlip was granted Town status.

[43] After the Vikings were defeated in the Battle of Clontarf in 1014 by Brian Boru, they left Leixlip besides the name, according to the writer of the website a legacy of 'fighting, trading and craftsmanship.

[44] According to the website: 'Beginning with Strongbow who took an Irish wife on the battlefield, the policy of intermarriage between foreigners and native created a new group within society with different allegiances. The Fitzgeralds became the Sean Ghalls: The New Irish.

[45] While the Vikings left behind 'fighting' or a 'fighting mentality', the Normans influenced strongly the way houses were built. 'The Norman's built strong stone building with wooden roofs which were not immune to warfare and fire.

[46] Castletown House was built between 1722-1732 in adjacent Cellbridge. This is one of the largest Irish mansions and designed by the Italian architect Alessandro Galilei in a Palladian style, i.e. influenced by the Italian architect Andrea Palladio (1508-1580). According to the website this design has served as the model for the White House in what was to become the United States of America.

[47] The British built what is now considered as some of Leixlip's most distinctive local landmarks such as the Bridge (in 1734), the Toll House and the Grand Canal (1755) followed by the Royal Canal.

[48] If not in life, then certainly in death.

CHAPTER 10 THIS HIDDEN WORLD SOCIETY

No man is an island, entire of itself.
Every man is a piece of the continent, apart of the main.
If a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as
Well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friend's or of thine
Own were: any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind, and
Therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee. [1]
John Donne

10.1 Introduction: expanding borders

It is May 2004 and Ireland chairs the European Union. Dublin welcomes the new member states with colourful festivities. I left Dublin to carry out fieldwork on globalization on Inis Mór, the biggest of The Aran Islands, off Ireland's West Coast. Before leaving Galway, I enter the local newsagent to buy the Irish Times. The young Indian man behind the corner speaks broken English with a heavy Indian accent. I have been in Ireland for two years. Maybe he just arrived. We talk a little bit about nothing and then he asks me:
- Where are you from?
- From Holland, I reply.
But it is noisy in the shop. He misunderstands me and says enthusiastically:
- Poland!
I hesitate. Immediately, looking at me with a spark in his brown eyes, he spreads his arms and says with a big smile:
- 'Welcome to the EU!'

Sometimes behind the concept of political integration debated within the contemporary political arena, very different processes of social integration take place. As this little story shows, the process of European Integration appears within the context of much wider process of integration, namely of global integration. In this example, the process is embodied by the arrival of a young Indian man to Ireland.

The previous chapters have discussed a 'classical' and very obvious manifestation of contemporary globalization and researched its cultural effects. This chapter explores historical processes of globalization, mostly hidden behind an overt and obvious process of nationalism. Economists have argued that the present highly internationalized economy is not unprecedented (Hirst & Thompson, 1996). Others have argued that similarities between the globalizing world economy between the First World War and the Second World War are far more striking than are the differences (O'Rourke & Williamson, 1999:29).

However, of what sociological form were these historical forms of globalization? And how do they relate to contemporary forms of globalization? Can these historic processes of globalization alter the aforementioned classic perception of globalization? In this chapter on historical processes of globalization, I aim first to investigate if a form of globalization other than 'dominant globalization', identified in the previous chapters, exists. Second, if so, I aim to identify what the mechanisms are that characterize this form of globalization. This chapter therefore introduces the second case study of Inis Mór by empirically exploring how behind the visible facade of Irish nationalism on the island of Inis Mór around 1900 invisible processes of globalization took place.

The research is carried out by analyzing historic documentary realities. It also includes qualitative empirical research based upon interview and document analysis in the present. It places these historic, invisible processes of globalization in the context of contemporary, visible processes of globalization on Inis Mór.

Section 10.2, *Inis Mór, Co Galway* introduces the second case study and places it in the context of Ireland's emerging nationalism around 1900. Section 10.3, *There is no earth. Just stones*, focuses on the contemporary perceptions of Inis Mór, based upon accounts of visitors. Section 10.4, *Give up Paris,* traces the historical roots of these contemporary perceptions and highlights their cosmopolitan background.

Section 10.5, *They took no notice of me*, illustrates with a small empirical case study based upon document analysis, how, behind the facades of the emerging Irish nation-state, processes of globalization took place, less visibly, but no less influential. Section 10.6, *Peregrini*, discusses how cultural differences of Inis Mór, perceived by the Irish nationalists were in fact constructions of ancient global movements.

Section 10.7, *Books and free trade of the future*, discusses how historic processes of globalization only, literally, come to surface in contemporary times. One of Inis Mór's descendants was to become the first Olympic champion. Section 10.8 *New boundaries and the Géographie Sportive* discusses the principles of the first Olympic Games. It discusses how processes of what we might call autonomous

globalization redefine national borders and at the same time generate sameness and all-inclusiveness as a goal in itself.

10.2 Inis Mór, Co. Galway

The Aran Islands is the collective name for a group of islands off the West-Coast of Ireland. The Northeast side of the islands face Galway Bay, the Southwest side of the islands face the Atlantic Ocean. The islands are geographically and geologically part of the Burren, the karst[2] region in the adjoining county of Clare. Administratively the Aran Islands are a distinct barony within the county of Galway. There are three islands. The closer they are to the mainland, the smaller their geographical area. Inis Mór is the biggest island with 7,635 statute acres. Inis Meáin, the middle island covers an area of 2,252 statute acres and Inis Oírr, the smallest island, of 1,400 (Spellissy, 2003). With a population of 838[3] Inis Mór is the largest inhabited island in Ireland. The population of the islands shows a steadily decline, although the population of Inis Mór has been relatively stable since 1971.

Figure 10.1 Map of the Aran Islands, off Ireland's West Coast[4], with Kilmurvey, Killeany and Oghil on the largest island, Inis Mór.

The Republic of Ireland is one of the most recently formed Western European nation-states, established only in 1922. The Aran Islands played a significant role in the process of nation-state building. A century ago many Irish nationalists turned, in a search for the Irish national identity, to the Irish-speaking *Gaeltacht* areas and especially to the Aran Islands.

John Millington Synge's account, *The Aran Islands* [1907] (1998), made the islands known as the spiritual heart of Ireland.[5] Robert Flaherty's documentary *Man of Aran* (1934) made the largest island, Inis Mór, world famous for its assumed isolation and 'distinctive primitive and typical Irish' culture. The Aran Islands are at present a popular tourist destination for tourists in search for the 'true Ireland'. What is the 'true Ireland' that the Irish nationalists found on the Aran Islands around 1900 and what is the 'true Ireland' that tourists find today?

This chapter explores globalization and sameness on the largest of the Aran Islands, Inis Mór. This angle is quite controversial, as the island would traditionally be more associated with nationalism and distinctiveness. However, the thesis of a relationship between globalization and sameness was not confirmed in the case study of Leixlip. So perhaps the relationship between nationalisation and distinctiveness is debatable as well? While I carried out research on contemporary Inis Mór, traces pointed to the historically hidden emergence of a world society behind a more visible emergence of a nation-state. Sometimes the past is only laid bare in the present. This research therefore explores the past through narratives set in the present.

10.3 There is no earth, just stones.

If an edifice called 'world society' is gradually erected, then on Inis Mór it is built on an apparently empty surface. There are no mountains and hardly any trees on the island. One of the respondents in my research is a young traveling carpenter from Switzerland. He is a member of *Der Rolandschacht,* a nineteenth century German-Suisse and Austrian guild.

Members of the guild have to travel for three years as part of their apprenticeship. The carpenters work in exchange for food and lodging and under the motto '*Mit Gunst und Verlaub das ehrbare Handwerk lebe hoch'*.[6] The traveling carpenter describes the island, where he worked for more than three months during the summer of 2004, concisely:

'What I think about the island...? *(Without hesitation)* Stones. (*pensive*) This island is like a big stone. There are stones everywhere.... In the fields... it is impossible to make holes in the fields... there is no earth.... Just stones....' (Respondent 10)

The poet Seamus Heaney (1990) writes about the Aran Islands:

'Three stepping stones out of Europe'

Three stones thrown in the vast Atlantic Ocean as a getaway from Europe, away from the sunset of the old world and across the ocean towards the sunrise of the new world, America. The young carpenter shares the same imagery with the poet. But do they share the same perspective? What to some seem to be the stepping-stones out of a place, to others are pebble stones indicating a new path. To the lost, like Tom Thumb, pebble stones help to explore a new trail, back to the mainland, back home but possibly to a brand new destination. And that does not necessarily have to be America. Maybe these islands, geographically located in the twilight zone of the old world, can reveal the dawning of a new world. Maybe the apparent emptiness contains an undiscovered content.

Not so to two Dutch older ladies, visiting Inis Mór for one day. They visited the island as a part of organized weeklong-trip to Ireland, with a society of classical music aficionados. The emptiness of the landscape seems to fuel in them the idea that the islands should be escaped from as soon as possible, maybe not to get out of Europe, but at least to return to the mainland. One of the ladies says:

'I must admit the fort is impressive. But we are lucky the sun shines. This place is so disconsolate. There is just nothing here. Nothing! (*sighs*) It would make one depressed. The boat is leaving soon. Just a couple of hours here is enough… I believe young people are leaving… there is just nothing for them to do here…' (Respondent 55)

The two older ladies are returning to Dublin to visit a symphony by Bach in the National Concert Hall. On their way to the boat, they might have purchased some drinks in the local supermarket. Maybe they have paid the cashier, a young woman from Estonia, who has been living on the island for over a year.

I – And what made you decide to come here…
R – (*Talks quickly, English on intermediate level)* Just the way of traveling and we came part of European Union … you can travel and do whatever you like…I thought, yes, it was a good opportunity for me… I came here on the 20th May … (…) It was taking maybe eight … or six months to get here. It was not too long, because first you have to call some agency and then sending your CV's everywhere, to find me a job…. And I said I wanted to live in a small place…. (*explanatory*) I do not like big cities. (Respondent 6)

Not just young seasonal workers like the travelling carpenter or long-term workers like the Estonian cashier, create an increasingly diverse community. The last professional basket maker on the island is a former sailor man from Dún Laoghaire, a harbour town near Dublin. He moved thirty years ago to the island and now makes his living mostly abroad, by giving basket-making workshops in, for example, America. He once said to me that 'the island had become really cosmopolitan.' Most familiar on the boat to Inis Mór is the sight of backpackers. How do they perceive the island? In 2004 *Backpacker Magazine* published a story by an editor who travelled with his friends to Inis Mór for a daytrip. The two-page story 'Aussies on Aran'[7] begins as follows:

Writer Backpacker Magazine 2004

'My mate Phil and his wife Karin were at the end of a honeymoon that had already taken them to Thailand, Africa and Germany.'

The context of the editor and his friends is set. These are globalized people and this is a globalized honeymoon. The Australian couple travels all over the world during their first period as husband and wife. The fresh-experience of being married goes hand in hand with the impressions of a worldwide trip, bringing the couple to Thailand, a renowned honeymoon destination. But they also travel to 'Africa', the continent is mentioned, not a specific country, (*sic!*) and Germany. Now they are in Ireland, visiting their friend.

Writer Backpacker Magazine 2004

'They were keen to do something uniquely Irish, but they only had a couple of days.'

There is time pressure. The couple has just flown all over the world. Only a few days left. From the air, the earth had looked the same everywhere. Clouds. The sea. The coastline. Mountains. Airports. Luggage Belt. Customers. Security check. Arrival hall. In a world where national and local identities are gradually absorbed by a global identity, the traveller seeks to expand his horizon, not only by travelling. Because what is the point of travelling if the point of destination looks the same as the point of departure? But by searching for the distinctive, for cultural differences. Something special. Something unique. Something Irish. Quick, please. The friend of the couple writes:

Writer Backpacker Magazine 2004

'I suggested the Aran Islands.'

Something uniquely Irish: the Aran Islands. No longer do the Aran Islands represent emptiness. No longer do they represent a place where there is nothing, or a place from which one can only leave. No longer do they represent void, but rather content, in spite of the bareness of the landscape. Ceasing to be a place to be escaped, they become a destination where something can be found. No longer are they the periphery where one drifts away from the mainstream, but the core to where someone turns. They are a heart, even when that might be a heart of stone.

The idea of the Aran Islands representing the true Ireland brings us back to the end of the nineteenth century. Around that time a famous writer, Yeats, suggested that his close friend, Synge, who was perhaps not backpacking but still living as a student in a small room in Paris, go to the Aran Islands. The echo of his voice is somehow still heard, for example in the article for *Backpacker Magazine*. Resonating over the whole world, it raises the question of what *is* the True Ireland now and what *was* the True Ireland that the Irish nationalists found on the Aran Islands in the wake of the nation-state, around 1900.

10.4. Give up Paris

The end of the nineteenth century witnessed on the island of Ireland the unfolding drama of the struggle for an Irish nation-state. The *Gaelic Revival*, the resurgence of interest in Irish customs and culture and specifically the Irish language, was at its height. Eóin MacNeill founded the *Gaelic League*, aiming to revive the Irish language, with Douglas Hyde who, after spending a year teaching modern languages in Canada, returned to Ireland (Mandle, 1987). A literary circle around William Butler Yeats wrote about the Celtic tales of Cúchulainn, epic battles and warrior queens.

Even though the *Gaelic League* specifically aimed to be a cultural and not a political movement, the connection with Irish nationalism was swiftly made (Boyce, 1995). Within this political, social and cultural climate the idea that the Aran Islands represent the true Ireland was gradually born. The most influential advocate of this idea is the writer John Millington Synge.

A graduate of Dublin's Trinity College, he lived in Paris with the vague intention of becoming a continental correspondent (Saddlemeyer, 1995) when he met Yeats in the circles of Irish expatriates in Paris. According to Yeats' introduction to Synge's play *The Well of the Saints*, he told Synge:

W.B. Yeats, 1896

'Give up Paris. You will never create anything by reading Racine, and Arthur Symons will always be a better critic of French literature. Go to the Aran Islands. Live there as if you were one of the people themselves; express a life that has never found expression.'[8]

After his return to Ireland, Synge visited the Aran Islands several times. He kept numerous small notebooks until, in 1907, his famous account, *The Aran Islands* was published. Currently the book is marketed as 'the classic account of life and lore in the spiritual heart of Ireland'.[9] Yet the teller of this tale seems to be very globalized himself. Fluent not just in Irish, but in Hebrew, French and German as well, he had travelled Europe extensively. As Yeats writes:

W.B. Yeats, 1907

'He has wandered among people whose life is as picturesque as the Middle Ages, playing his fiddle to Italian sailors, and listening to stories in Bavarian woods, but life has cast no light into his writings.'[10]

In many ways, Synge was the contemporary globalized backpacker. He was not on a honeymoon though, and certainly not a honeymoon that brought him to Thailand and Africa. Quite the opposite, he was in fact recovering from an unhappy love affair (Saddlemeyer, 1995). Nonetheless, it was a well-travelled Irishman, who established the re-invention of the Aran Islands as the True Ireland. He did so after being encouraged in Paris, within the circles of Irish expatriates.[11] Thus it was a visitor, even more so, a cosmopolitan visitor, who erected the skeleton of the Irish nation-state on the empty, stony surface of Inis Mór.

How do the islanders themselves perceive the island? Over a century later, a musician from Dublin tells me why he moved to Inis Mór a year ago. Then, something is revealed about whether the islanders identify the island with the true Ireland. This is what the musician says.

'I came here more than one and half year ago to visit a friend for three days. I never left. When my Dad died, I knew that I had to leave Ireland. I was thinking about Boston.... But then I came here.... I met in Ti Joe Mac's this old man...he used to make headstones and coffins... this man asks me one day: 'So when are you going back to Ireland?' I was surprised, because I did not think that I heard it right. So I remained silent, because I was not sure if he was serious. But yes, he was and he asked me again: 'When are you going back to Ireland.....?' (*laughs, sighs*) They are very proud people, the islanders... And then I knew I was going to stay... '(Respondent 15)

The old maker of headstones, a born and raised islander, does not identify the island with 'Ireland' at all. He even dissociates the island from Ireland. For the born and raised Dublin musician, this is the reason to settle down on the island, as for personal reasons he wants to leave Ireland. Thus these two men, islanders by birth and by choice, perceive the island as something distinctive from 'Ireland'.

Ireland is the land across the sea for both islanders *and* for people from the mainland. It is truly an imagined community (Anderson, 1983), an intangible and fluid construction that can never be experienced in the here and now. This section shows as Ernest Gellner argued that nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness, but that it invents nations where they do not exist (Gellner, 1983). But if the nation-states are not primordial, then *what* preceded their invention?

It is late October and I sit in the warm autumn-sun on a white wall facing the harbour. I am reading Synge's *The Aran Islands*, when the driver of a tourist mini-van stops unexpectedly in front of me. He screams to me, rather aggressively:

'Don't believe anything that is written in that book!'

Then he hastily drives on to the pier to pick up tourists, possibly to make them believe everything written in 'that book'. I ponder that maybe the surface is not as empty as it seems, even on stony Inis Mór. Maybe there is an undercurrent that needs to be discovered.

10.5 They took no notice of me

Yeats' encouragement to Synge begins with his suggestion to leave something behind, 'Give up Paris'. Synge needs to leave his cosmopolitan dream of becoming a continental correspondent, before surrendering to the nationalistic cause. Not the other way around. Could globalization in fact *precede* nationalism, instead of the common view of globalization, threatening a supposed stable configuration of nation-states?

One might argue that Synge's cosmopolitan ideal was an exclusive upper-class characteristic. That type of globalization might have very little to do with the contemporary processes of globalization, involving all layers of society. Yet, as Hirst and Thompson (1996) argue, it was not just the upper class that moved abroad around 1900. Large streams of people emigrated. They were travelling not because they *had* the opportunity like Synge, but because they *needed* the opportunity. This emigration fuelled processes of globalization, before the Irish nation-state was established.

These movements, these historic processes of globalization in the form of movements of people, I argue, indicate the emergence of a world society that was hidden behind the visible erection of the nation-state. These historical processes of globalization decreased isolation and increased interconnection. Therefore inevitably they generated changes in language patterns.

Along with the hidden emergence of the world society, will a global language constellation unfold which, as De Swaan (1998) argues, reveals a strongly coherent and ordered structure of its own? In this section, I will illustrate the hidden processes of globalization behind the more visible processes of nationalism, with an example in the field of language.

A Woman of Aran is the autobiography of Bridget Dirrane. Born in 1894 on Inis Mór, she died in Galway in January 2004 at the age of 110. She writes:

Bridget Dirrane, around 1900:

'Irish was our native tongue. We had it from the *cliabhán* (cradle) so to speak; we spoke English in our house too. Both my father and mother could speak English in our house, which was unusual. We were encouraged to speak and learn English at school so that we could get on well, when, and if, we left Aran.' (Dirrane, 1997:3)

Dirrane points out that it was unusual that both of her parents spoke English. At the same time, she mentions that at school children were encouraged to learn English, so that they 'could go on well, when, and if, we left Aran'. At the front stage a national society was erected based upon an identity inspired by the Irish speaking people on Inis Mór. But behind the scenes already the foundations of a world society were being laid out, characterized by an increasing connection between the parts through the mastery of common languages.

Yet, this development was largely *invisible* and occurred on the backstage while on the *visible* front stage the battle for the erection of a nation-state took place. The idea that on Inis Mór schools and parents were preparing their children for settling down in new lands would obviously not be at the core of the Irish nationalists visiting the islands.

An example of this mechanism can be found in the part of Bridget Dirrane's narrative, where she speaks about her meeting with Irish nationalists.

Bridget Dirrane

'We had many famous visitors to Inis Mór. Very important visitors to the Concannon house included Pádraig Pearse leader of the Easter Rising, Thomas Ashe, who died in Mountjoy Jail, Eamonn Ceannt, signatory of the proclamation and Joseph Mary Plunkett.'(Dirrane, 1997:26)

This illustrates to what extent the Aran Islands had become a source of inspiration for the Irish nationalists at that time. Bridget Dirrane then continues:

Bridget Dirrane:

'I remember well making tea for these four men during the month of August, one of the years before 1916. I was still in Aran when the rising took place in 1916. I felt quite sad that so many people lost their lives and some of these included the men I had made tea and sandwiches for. *I had overheard them talking about the Rising, and, being a slip of a girl and thinking I had no English; they took no notice of me.* But yet I never told anybody about what I had heard.' (Dirrane, 1997:27 italics mvdb)

This story reveals in almost literary fashion the mechanisms connected with a hidden emergence of a world society. On the front stage, at the table, well-educated men of standing design the future nation-state, while, so to speak, on the back stage, a little girl serving tea and sandwiches, tacitly prepares for an international life which would bring her to America.

The girl hid her ability to speak English, and the mighty men would never assume she did. Within this false communication gap the plans for the future Irish nation-state were discussed, the silence hiding a secret only revealed a century later.

Between 1841 and 1901 the population of Inis Mór declined from 2592 to 1941, a loss of about a quarter of the population. Thus, the rationale behind the choice of parents and schools to prepare their children for a future in a non-Irish speaking environment was evident. Indeed, by the time the Irish nationalists arrived on Inis Mór to explore the 'True Ireland', a quarter of the population had already left the island to explore the world.

The argument here is not that the idea of the Aran Islands as the 'True Ireland' was not necessary for the Irish nationalists to successfully overthrow the British rulers, but rather that, behind the visible erection of a nation-state on the front stage processes of globalization silently took place on the back stage, literally, *preceding* the processes of nationalization.[12] The awareness of the profound effects of these untold micro-stories on a macro-scale has only come in present times.

Bridget Dirrane returned after almost forty years to Inis Mór. She wrote her story in 1997 when she was 103. Sixty years after Robert O 'Flaherty's the documentary *Man of Aran* (1934) portrayed, from the perspective of an outsider, an American, an isolated, primitive people disconnected from the outside world, Bridget Dirrane's book, *A Woman of Aran* is published. This is an insider's account of an island woman, and reveals a story full of connections with the wider world and with strong references of social mechanisms leading to a future world society.

10.6 Peregrini

One might argue that the end of the nineteenth century was in itself a 'globalized' period (Hirsch and Thompson, 1996). Distinguishing a 'first wave of globalization' is hardly the same as describing the emergence of a world society. These processes, albeit preceding the Irish nation-state, took place within the context of the construction of European and American nationhood. Hobsbawm (1990:10) argues that the 'nation is a very recent newcomer in human history'. Others argue for a medieval origin (Hastings, 1997). Yet if globalization precedes nationalism, then to what extent have processes of globalization shaped the national identity?

The Irish nationalists did not only come to Inis Mór to find an Irish-speaking people. They were looking for symbols of an Irish national identity as well. Unique elements of the local culture of Inis Mór could provide those symbols. One example was the islands' patron saint: Saint Enda.

When Pádraig Pearse, inspired by a journey to Belgium, founded the famous first Irish bilingual secondary school, he called the school *St. Enda's School*, or *Scoil Éanna*. The youth of the new Irish nation-state would be educated in the spirit of the patron saint of the island that was considered the True Ireland. Again, a clear link between the culture of Inis Mór and the national Irish culture was made. How typically Irish was the monastery that Saint Enda founded on Inis Mór?

Saint Enda died around 530 on Inis Mór. He is known as the father of monasticism in Ireland (Ryan, 1992). As a young Irish monk he travelled Europe extensively, undertook a pilgrimage to Rome and was on his travels influenced in Tours, France by Saint Martin, on the Isle of Lerins in the South of France, off the coast of Cannes, by Saint Honoratius and in Wales by Saint David. He was especially made familiar with monasticism by Saint Ninian in Scotland.

When he returned to Ireland he decided to pioneer in his native country the monastic tradition that he had studied abroad. To the surprise of the King of Cashel, St. Enda requested Inis Mór and it was granted (Ó Maoildhia, 1998). He came to Inis Mór around 485 AD with one hundred and fifty monks and founded ten monasteries across the island. At its height as a spiritual centre the island is said to have housed three thousand scholars and students, and every saint would pass his noviciate on the island (Ó Maoildhia, 1998).

Celtic monasticism was full of such *peregrini* who in their constant wanderings spread monasticism throughout Ireland, Scotland and Northumbria and later to continental Europe (Ryan, 1992). For example, an ancient well, *Willibrordus Putje*, in my native hometown Heiloo, is attributed to Saint Willibrord, an English-born monk educated in Ireland. He crossed the sea to Christianize the Frisians in the 7th century.[13]

If, as I argued before, a contemporary indicator for globalization such as 'use of Internet', is replaced by the time-neutral 'movement of knowledge', then the *peregrini* functioned as early transmitters of global knowledge. The transmission is slower, that is for sure, than the Internet, not ubiquitous, not universal accessible and largely invisible, but with a comparable mechanism of interaction and interconnection.

Thus knowledge was spread widely and globally. In this example, such movement of knowledge resulted in the establishment of 'branches' of monasteries in different countries following the same 'format'. In the cultural field, we therefore might observe 'sameness' across, in this case, Europe, as not necessarily the result of dominant globalization, but as a consequence of inspiration gained through travelling.

Some of the distinctive features of Inis Mór's culture inspiring the Irish nationalists might have been the result of unique natural circumstances and relative isolation. The next chapter discusses these distinctive features. Yet some characteristics that were seen as typically local were in fact the result of early processes of globalization and of the cross-national spread of knowledge and culture. Thus based upon the case of Inis Mór I argue that globalization not only *precedes* nationalization, but has *created* locality as well – the same particularities that would prove to be successful ingredients for a later *national* identity.

10.7 Books and the Free trade of the Future

Even when the distinctive identities attributed to nation-states are in fact what we now call processes of globalization, the argument of processes of globalization leading to an unfolding world society is weak, unless there is evidence of a gradual development towards all-inclusiveness. The sum of fragmented processes of globalization does not create as such an integrated world society. But it seems unlikely that the history of the small and remote island of Inis Mór will show such a mechanism. Or is it?

In August 2004, during the time when this research was carried out, an American of Greek ancestry arrived on Inis Mór with a collection of about two hundred books, and short stories and columns from Boston newspapers. These documents were presented to the people of Inis Mór, before being handed over to the public archives on the island. Where did these books and stories come from? And why were they brought to Inis Mór?

The origins of this story begin around 1860, when smallpox breaks out on Inis Mór and the illness affects the family Connolly. They move to Boston, where nine sons are born to the young

couple. The sixth son is James Brendan Connolly. He has become known as the First Olympic Champion of the modern Olympic Games by winning the first gold medal[14] of the first modern games held in Athens in 1896. Returning from the Olympic Games, he fought with the Irish Infantry in the Spanish-American war and his accounts of the war were published in the *Boston Globe* as *Letters from the Front in Cuba*. He later became a prolific writer about the sea, publishing many short stories and fifty novels.

Over a century after his achievements in Athens, his written heritage has been brought back to the island where his parents were born. Globalization is not only a physical transportation of goods and people. Sometimes people leave a place and the only thing that returns to their family grounds are thoughts, words, ideas and stories. But does this story reveal processes of globalization building a world society characterized by all-inclusiveness?

The migration of the Connolly family from Inis Mór to Boston seems more an eternal story about a family who hopes for better circumstances and therefore decides to give up their homeland to build up a new life in a place where they hope life will be better, as families have done since the beginning of mankind. Soldiers have fought in wars between nations as long as nations have existed, and before that they fought in other wars associated with other kinds of territorial areas. What is new? Why would one witness in retrospective, through the arrival of James Brendan Connolly's books on Inis Mór, the sketches of a world society a century earlier?

10.8 New boundaries and the Géographie Sportive

When the modern Olympic Games were founded by the French baron Pierre de Coubertin, he stated:

Pierre de Coubertin, 1892

Let us export our oarsmen, our runners, our fencers into other lands. That is the true Free Trade of the future; and the day it is introduced into Europe the cause of Peace will have received a new and strong ally' (in: Guttmann, 1992).

Encouraging the French to export their 'oarsmen, runners and fencers into other lands', the goal does not seem so much an export of triumph or a colonial export of winners at the expense of others. It seems more an export to challenge the national sportsmen to improve their own performances,

while learning from the practices from other countries as a form of free trade (the 'Free Trade of the Future'), through an exchange of challenges and techniques.

Yet whereas from the outset the Olympic Games refer to a universal value like peace, how universal were these first Olympic Games? As the Games were not well publicized internationally, contestants were not chosen nationally but rather came individually, like James Connolly, and at their own expense. Some of them were tourists who happened to be in Athens (Guttmann, 1992). Thus the teams were not exclusively based upon nations. There were teams of mixed countries as well. Overall, the total amount of countries was very small (14) and almost all were Western countries apart from Egypt.

Interesting is the participation of 'Hungarian' and 'Austrian' athletes. In 1896 Austria and Hungary were at the time still part of the *Double Monarchy*. The difference between nations and official nation-states arose several times. For example, when the membership of a Finnish member in the I.O.C was at stake, at a time when Finland was officially part of Russia.

In a letter to the Vienna based *Allgemeine Sportzeitung*, Pierre de Coubertin introduced in 1911 the concept of 'géographie sportive', according to which sporting geography did not necessarily have to abide by all the conditions of conventional political geography. De Coubertin wrote: 'A nation is not necessarily an independent State'. He argued that states that were not politically sovereign, but had their own independent sporting structure, and in accordance with the 'unshakeable law of all games, all nations', were allowed to be represented at the Olympic Games (De Coubertin, 1911). With the 'géographie sportive', an independent pragmatic and territorial right was claimed which could find itself in competition with, or even in contrast to, the realities of international law and political recognition and the consequence of this fundamental principle can still be found.

While the first Modern Olympic Games might have been based upon universal notions, its pragmatic reality could hardly make any claims to all-inclusiveness. First, the number of participating countries was limited.[15] Second, all participants were Western countries, apart from Egypt. Third, the 245 athletes that competed in the first Olympic Games were all men (Mallon, 1998).

When the Modern Olympic Games returned to Athens, over a century later, the reality was brought more in accordance with its universalistic principles. Promoting peace had become a key-value as the committee stated:

International Olympic Committee, 2004

'In the Olympic Games, what matters most is to share the common vision of promoting peace and friendship among all the people of the world, through the noble competition in sport.' [16]

Having the central value gradually evolve from 'export' to 'sharing the vision of promoting peace', the participation was also more all-inclusive. At the 1996 games 11,099 athletes of both genders were competing. The athletes came from 202 different countries and thus reflected De Coubertin's 'géographie sportive', since there are only 191 countries that are members of the United Nations.

Not only is the territorial area covered by the Olympic Games currently almost world-spanning, the number of sports has shown considerable growth as well, from nine in 1896 to twenty-eight different sports today. This reflects how the notion of universality does not necessarily have to go hand in hand with sameness, but can indeed lead to a growth of diversity.

This story shows that at the same time when Irish nationalists were visibly defining the nation-state as an exclusive and distinctive entity, one of the descendants of Ireland had begun on the back stage to participate in a process redefining the system of nation-states, born out of war, as a source for peace, unity and all-inclusiveness, rather than as a source for separation. The Games might not have been universal at their outset, but they contained the seeds for what had the potential and ambition to become a global event.

10.9 Conclusion: this hidden world society

The case study of Leixlip has addressed contemporary, classical processes of globalization. The case study of Inis Mór was selected as an area equally subject to processes of economic globalization in present times, namely in the form of tourism. However, through the narratives of contemporary globalization on Inis Mór, another perception of the island came through, namely of Inis Mór as the 'True Ireland'. This referred to the nationalist past of the island.

In tracing the roots of this national imagery, the research discovered that, behind this national past, equally important processes of globalization were hidden. These processes seemed to have a very different nature than the processes of dominant globalization discussed in the case-study of Leixlip. Through document analysis these processes of globalization and their mechanisms were further explored, and were, (more explicitly than in the case of Leixlip), related to processes of nationalism.

First, it was concluded that the nationalistic features attributed to the culture on Inis Mór were largely an invention by visitors to the island, who themselves had sometimes a rather cosmopolitan background. Second, a distinction between visible and invisible processes of globalization emerged.

These historic processes of globalization emerged largely hidden behind overt processes of nationalism.

Third, these processes of globalization were very much driven by a need to improve circumstances, which lead to a desire and a necessity of being able to communicate with as many people as possible. This results in the rational choice of learning those languages that are commonly understood. The universal quest to search for better circumstances leads to exploring new boundaries and results in recurrent processes of migration, whereby mutual dependencies are generated and the effects of actions at a distance resonate throughout the world.

Therefore, instead of the isolated, inward looking community made famous in Flaherty's *Man of Aran* (1934) and in Synge's *The Aran Islands* [1907] (1998), through analysis of some historic documents the research found a community strongly connected with the outside world through emigration.

Fourth, the research investigated that the island's documentary reality was shaped by immigration as well, in our example in the form of Saint Enda, whose monastic tradition, mostly inspired through Pan-European travels, strongly shaped the island's identity that would later inspire Irish nationalism. The research concluded that globalization not only precedes nationalization, but created the particularities that are used in the development of the national identity.

Fifth, during the time of the empirical research, it happened that one of those formerly largely invisible processes of globalization suddenly became locally visible. The written heritage of one of Inis Mór's heroic sons, James Brendan Connolly, a writer and the first Olympic champion, arrived on the island. In further exploring this research line, it was argued that while processes of globalization might precede nationalism, there movements towards all-inclusivity might only have become visible in contemporary times.

This line of thinking was further developed with a case-study of James Brendan Connolly, the first Olympic Games and the concept of the 'géographie sportive'. Within the context of a constellation of nation-states that were incorporated in what was intended to become a world-wide, universal event, national boundaries were redefined, albeit more than a century after its first foundations were lay. This then led to a further refinement of the definition of globalization.

Chapter 6 and the empirical research on Leixlip discussed the fluidity of borders and stressed the vulnerability of any border and the problem of borders to remain stabile within the context of processes of societal expansion. This chapter, with an analysis of the development of the Olympic Games, argued that the pressure on borders and on social expansion might eventually lead to a society captured within the only border that is relatively stable: the border that surrounds the planet earth.

This development, however, might not be visible to us for at least another century. Just like at the time, the first modern Olympic Games had laid out the principles of universality without actually being universal, like the heritage of the then-heroes only become locally visible, in our example, the heritage of James Brendan Connolly arriving at Inis Mór.

As Archer (1990:1) wrote, 'part of the process is a gradual globalization of consciousness which the sociologist is amongst the first to share.' A sociological sensitivity on the notion of borders and their history, vulnerability, contested character, and, ultimately, their artificiality, leads this dissertation to expect that processes of globalization will bring forth a world society, unless natural disaster strikes and communication techniques collapse dramatically.

Based upon these findings on Inis Mór, once known as an isolated community, this dissertation has redefined the definition of globalization as follows:

4B. Elaborated Definition of Globalization:

'Every action or process of connection carried out by any individual or group transcending the boundary of a society in its restricted sense (be it a tribe, a village, a sub-group, a nation, a region et cetera) with the intended or unintended consequence of a connection to a larger society is an action or a process of globalization.'

This has been summarized in chapter 4. However, not all processes of societal expansion beyond geographic borders can be called 'globalization'. Most notably among these are the processes pushing the borders of human society *beyond* the border of the globe. These processes clearly exist and will become more dominant over time. One can consider those processes as part of a likely phase after globalization and which I suggest calling *galaxiation.*[17] Thus, globalization does not imply that the idea of society as a bounded system needs to be abandoned (Giddens, 1990) when acknowledging that these boundaries are replaced by the world as a new geographic boundary.

Yet that does not imply that a world society will be an enlarged copy of the nation-state, with a world government, a core and a periphery et cetera. Just as a society and the concept of a 'we'-identity is easier to link to a national society than to a world society (after all: who are 'they?'), a world society will imply new social structures, dependencies and myths of origin.

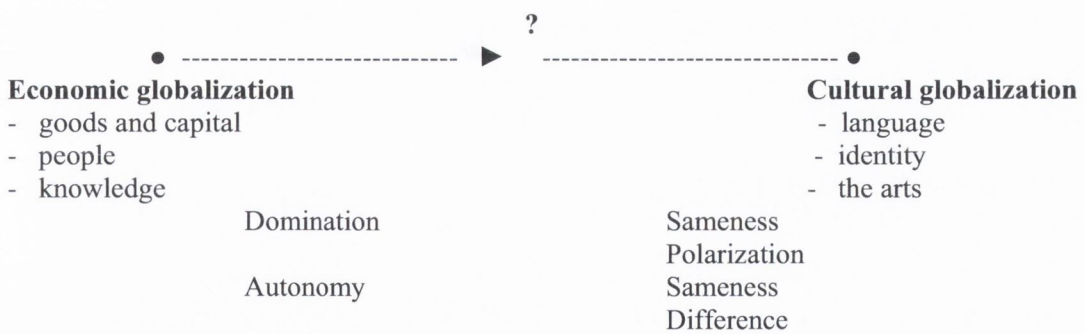
Smith (1986:192) argues that any national mythology includes a myth of origin in time and a myth of origin in space. I argue that, the emergence of the world society is no longer hidden, but in our times gradually becomes *overt* and *ubiquitously visible.* This suggests the need for a mythology, surrounding a time when and where the world society was born, and then, accounting for, how this

atomized, decomposed and disintegrated community finally reached a stage when it successfully had identified all its members, reached them in one way or another, and found itself at the beginning of a phase when what was recognized now as one, could be made whole.

At the same time, the redefinition of society beyond the national boundaries, extended to the boundaries of our earth, implies the transformation of an enmity (perceived as an entity located outside of the community that can could be battled and defeated) into an internal antagonism. A world society will not be a rigid, simple copy of the national society. The awareness of its emergence urges us to review constellations of languages, culture, identity, values, social dependencies and, *ex ultimo*, the concept of society – eventually rewriting history from the genesis of globalization to the realization of a world society.

In this chapter patterns of historical globalization have been unravelled showing a more autonomous side. In our times it is found in the stories of the travelling carpenters and backpackers, the adventurous Estonian cashier and the Dublin musician and of the classical music lovers. Yet in the past a similar pattern arose in the travels of the *Woman of Aran*, of the travelling saints, the pilgrims, and the adventurous young man who became the first Olympic champion. We have seen that autonomous forms of globalization like the travels of Saint Enda can produce cultural differences and local particularities that can become national symbols. Could autonomous globalization produce sameness as well? And what is the form of differences produced by autonomous globalization?

Figure 10.1 Theoretical Model Step E': Autonomous globalization.



The next chapter further explores the origins and patterns of the cultural differences attributed to Inis Mór's culture in the early 20th Century.

NOTES

[1] John Donne, (1572-1631), from: *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions, Meditation XVII.*

[2] The word 'karst' originated in Yugoslavia and is used to describe a limestone region with underground drainage and many cavities and passages caused by the dissolution of the rock (Spellissy, 2003:8).

[3] Source: CSO (2002).

[4] Source: http://encarta.msn.com/Aran+Islands.html, December 2005.

[5] As advertised by the publishing house on the back cover of Synge [1907] (1998).

[6] 'Grace and Respect to the Glory of Honorable Craftsmanship' (translation mvdb).

[7] Morahan.(2004).

[8] Yeats quoted in: *Mr. Synge and his Plays*, in: J.M. Synge (1995).

[9] As advertised by the publishing house on the back cover of Synge (1998) [1907].

[10] Op cit. W.B. Yeats. Preface to the first edition of the *Well of the Saints*. In: J.M. Synge (1995).

[11] European and American influences shaped in many ways the construction of Irish nationalism. See for example: Hutchinson (1987).

[12] This does not necessarily refer to individual people. Bridget Dirrane fought first for the Irish cause before emigrating to America.

[13] *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume XV.* Copyright © 1912 by Robert Appleton Company Online Edition Copyright, 2003 by K. Knight.

[14] The medal was actually silver. Silver medals were given to the first place winners for the first three modern Olympic Games.

[15] The sources mention different numbers: some thirteen, some fourteen, some eleven countries.

[16] http://www.athens2004.com/en/Values, July 2005.

[17] This word does not yet exist. But I think that a qualification of 'universalization', as referring to 'universe' would be confusing. That might be referring to the universalization of norms and values. Galaxiation makes clear (just like globalization) that the process is related to pushing human cohabitation towards the boundaries of certain *geographic* borders, i.e. globe or galaxy. But these borders are, in the case of the galaxy, obviously not yet known to us. However, there was a time when we did not know the borders of the globe, too.

CHAPTER 11 SOME REFLECTIONS ON CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

11.1 Introduction: songs of sameness

It is June 2005. I am on my way to a conference on globalization held on the island of Lesbos, in Greece. In Athens, I decide to visit an evening of traditional Greek dancing in Lykavitos, the amphitheatre. Yet upon arrival on the hill Le Kebeetos, it turns out the date is misprinted. The woman who sells the tickets does not speak English and calls her friend. She explains that tonight there is no traditional Greek dancing, but a benefit concert: 'anti-drugs'. I laugh and say: 'I am from Amsterdam'. 'That's great', she says.' I worked for ABN AMRO in Athens for sixteen years. Please be welcome to our concert. It is 20 euro'. I pay and walk to the very top of the stand shaped half-moon fashion.

It is dark. The stars shine high. The city seems far. A young man besides me whispers: 'this is to help the drug addicts, to raise money. I am on the committee. Only modern Greek bands here tonight. No English. Let me translate the songs for you.' I nod. In the depth below us, almost invisible, a lone black figure with a guitar appears. He begins to sing, a fragile utterance of unknown words.

'This is a song about a μαγκασ… a μαγκασ *is a person who is free, free from the chains of capitalism...' the voice besides me mumbles and, as if talking to himself, continues: 'you have come to the right place. Here are good people, emotional people. No superficial people... Listen carefully, now he sings:* ολα είναί ίδίου ανδεντα αγαθοίς. *Everything looks the same if you do not love it:...*ολα είναί ίδίου ανδεντα αγαθοίς*....'*

Ωλα είναί ίδίου ανδεντα αγαθοίς...fear of a global monoculture echoes throughout the ancient Greek amphitheatre. Globalization seems synonymous with capitalism and capitalism with chains and not with freedom. However, so far this dissertation has extensively unraveled the concept of globalization as being much more than capitalism. How can we unravel the other concept of the simple observation of figure 1.1, 'sameness'?

Chapter 10 discussed how Irish nationalists in their search for 'the true Ireland' turned to the Aran Islands and found cultural difference. Yet what were these cultural differences that were perceived as typical Irish? And what were the origins of these cultural differences?

This chapter reflects on the origins of cultural differences on Inis Mór. In doing so, it aims to acquire insight into its counterpart, the concept of cultural sameness. The research has identified

seven cultural particularities on Inis Mór, based upon an analysis of the brochure of *Ionad Arann*, the heritage centre on Inis Mór, '*Where your visit to Aran begins* '(2004).

The brochure mentions seven distinctive features of the island:

1. the physical landscape, especially the cliffs
2. Dún Aonghasa and Dún Eochla[1]
3. the seaweed-fields
4. fishing in currachs
5. traditional dresses: red petticoats and knitting
6. harvesting seaweed
7. the Irish language

This chapter explores the origins of what was once claimed to be one of the most distinctive cultures in Europe. It reflects on the origins of these cultural differences, and thus discusses some elements that are often associated with an emerging global monoculture, in flawed analogy that might be, a mono-:

1. landscape
2. housing
3. industry
4. transport
5. clothing
6. food
7. language

Ritzer's *McDonaldization*-thesis (Ritzer, 2000) identifies the principles that are assumed to drive the world towards a mono-culture. In this chapter, I take a different angle. Instead of focusing on the origins of and driving forces behind cultural sameness, I reflect on the origins of cultural difference. From there, I seek to understand a potential transformation caused by globalization. It is argued that an understanding of cultural differences of the periphery and of their specific benefits, like in this case Inis Mór, can bring forth radical innovation.

Section 11.2, *The potatoes you get here are the nicest potatoes you can get*, reflects on the origins of the distinctive diet of the islanders as the result of autarky. Section 11.3, *Seaweed memories*, reflects on the origins of storytelling surrounding the harvesting of seaweed. Section 11.4, *Come the end of summer they built a wall around* it, discussed the tradition of the seaweed-field on Inis Mór.

Section 11.5, *People wore pampooties and bawneens up 'till the sixties*, discusses the traditional Aran costume and compares it to clothes worn today. It discusses how sameness in

clothes emerged. Section 11.6, *I used to fish with a small boat with some lines in the bay*, discusses the tradition of *currachs* as a distinctive way of fishing from boats. It is highlighted that with the loss of this tradition, some other values are lost as well. In this section the concept of autonomy is further unravelled, as a prelude to chapter 12.

11.2 'The potatoes you get here are the nicest potatoes you can get...'

If sameness of an emerging world culture refers to something, it must be to food. The concept of McDonaldization (Ritzer, 2000) refers *de facto* to rationalistic values rather than to (fast-) food itself. But it is not coincidentally that it uses the metaphor of a food company to illustrate the sameness-thesis.[2] If we all eat the same, we might become the same. It is this fear of sameness, alongside a rejection of speed that has driven the *Slow Food Movement*. As their website states:

Website Slow Food Movement

'The founding father of the Slow Food Movement, Carlo Petrini, recognized in 1986 that the industrialization of food was standardizing taste and leading to the annihilation of thousands of food varieties and flavors. Concerned that the world was quickly reaching a point of no return, he wanted to reach out to consumers and demonstrate to them that they have choices over fast food and supermarket homogenization. He rallied his friends and began to speak out at every available opportunity and soon the movement was born and Slow Food was created.'[3]

The *Slow Food Movement,* with a large and international following, now has become a global organization in itself.

'Today the organization is active in 50 countries and has a worldwide membership of over 80,000. People have responded to the growing movement, because they have become tired of buying the same things, eating the same foods and living the same lives. With these interests in mind, our mission is to create a robust, active movement that protects taste, culture and the environment as universal social values. Slow Food programs are dedicated to the mingling of taste, culture and the environment.'[4]

Ritzer's McDonaldization-thesis explores the principles driving globalization towards an assumed uniform world culture: efficiency, predictability, calculability and control. The *Slow Food Movement* seems to be the anti-thesis to McDonalds. A possible anti-thesis to the

rationality–thesis would explore in what direction a globalization driven by reverse principles leads: inefficiency, incalculability, autonomy and surprise. *Fast Food* versus *Slow Food* generates a bi-polar globalization. Both seem to claim 'universal' values; 'our mission is (...) to create a robust, active movement that protects taste, culture and the environment as universal social values', states the *Slow Food Movement.*

Do we find such a polarization over food practices on Inis Mór?

Picture 11.1 Retired gravedigger with Coca-Cola cup on Inis Mór, 2003.

© Martha C.E. Van Der Bly

The traditional diet of the islanders of Inis Mór, around 1900, was predominantly based upon the natural resources that were available on the island. According to the following narrative the diet was not only rather diverse, but healthy as well.

'They were eating potatoes and salted fish at that time. And fresh vegetables. They grew them here. And, you see, they make their own stews and soups….. Rabbits. They ate rabbits, they ate fish, they ate seaweed. They ate seabirds. You have to catch the seabirds…the puffins on the cliffs… and they eat them… salt them… you know people say that salt is bad for you… but an awful lot of the people here lived up to their eighties… nineties… and we had one woman who lived up to hundred and nine… There was a woman a couple of months ago, and she died at hundred. So we had two people over a hundred on the island here.' (Respondent 42)

A fisherman in his late fifties gives a similar impression. He recalls the island diet, when he was young, in the 1950s. His mother was from Inis Meáin, the middle island. She came over to Inis Mór after marrying his father. They lived on the eastside of the island ever since. His father was a fisherman as well, but his parents had some land:

'With some cattle, not a lot, but they had their own milk, their own vegetables like carrot, parsnip, turnips and cabbage and their own potatoes….' (Respondent 1)

Both respondents emphasize the variety of the islander's diet.[5] Yet more official sources seem to suggest a rather monotonous diet consisting of potatoes, salted fish and some vegetables, like onions and cabbage. O'Sullivan (1977:126) writes: 'A limited variety of vegetables is produced for home consumption. Families may grow some onions and cabbage in a small 'garden' near the dwelling house.'

In the previous narratives the island diet was mentioned as a source for health and longevity. In the following story it is a source of pride as well, especially in the distinctive taste of the main crop: potatoes. As the film *Man of Aran* states (Flaherty, 1934):

Man of Aran

'The land upon which Man of Aran depends for his subsistence – potatoes- has not even soil!'

I ask a fisherman about the background of this statement:

I – Yesterday I saw the video *Man of Aran* in the Heritage Centre, and they said something like that 'There Is No Soil on Aran'…..

R – Well, there is not much soil, but the potatoes you get here, are the nicest potatoes you can get…

I – *(hesitating)* Eh…

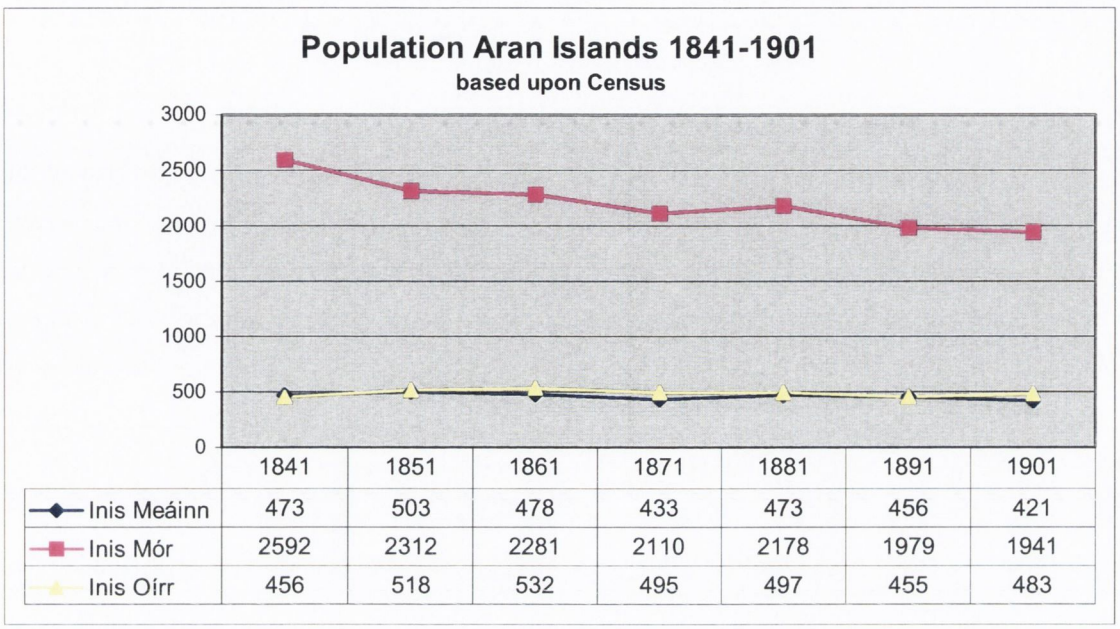
R – (*annoyed*) It is true! I don't know if it is the limestone or … there is not much lime, so there is only four or five inches… but the potatoes here are different from any other place. *(determined)* Yes. (Respondent 41)

The fisherman accepts the statements in *Man of Aran* about the poor quality of the soil on Inis Mór. But he stresses that the harsh natural circumstances did not lead to a lesser quality of the main crop. Not only that, the unique physiology improved the quality of the potatoes and generated the 'the nicest potatoes you can get'. The statement of the fisherman is not just rooted in homebound nostalgia, a local variation on the melody of *home, sweet home*, but supported by facts.

The great famine that ravaged Ireland between 1846 and 1850 does not seem to have had a great effect on the islands. In the period 1841-1851 the overall population on the Aran Islands declined from 3,521 in 1841 to 3,339 in 1851. This was a loss of only 5% percent compared to an overall loss of 27% (*sic!*) throughout the rest of County Galway (Spellissy, 2003). Even more so, the population on Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr, increased during the famine-years while the population on Inis Mór declined by 11 %. This reflected a pattern of steady decline of the population of Inis Mór during the nineteenth century.[6]

What could be the reason for this remarkable development? According to some sources the potato crops on the islands were not affected by blight until July 1850.[7] Any disastrous consequences of this late occurrence of the blight, is not reflected in the census data after 1850. In the next decade the Inis Mór population only decreased by 2%, while the population on Inis Oírr increased. Only Inis Meáinn lost 5% of its population.

Figure 11.1 Population on the Aran Islands between 1841 and 1901, based upon Census.



	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Inis Meáinn	473	503	478	433	473	456	421
Inis Mór	2592	2312	2281	2110	2178	1979	1941
Inis Oírr	456	518	532	495	497	455	483

The question is why were the potatoes on Inis Mór not or only late affected by the blight? The fact that the blight did not harshly affect the crops on Inis Mór is sometimes ascribed to the fact that the potatoes were grown on iodine rich soil, manufactured by the islanders from seaweed, earth and sand (Spellissy, 2003:40). Making the most of the 'four or five inches of soil', according to one respondent, the potato grew up, not down.

'And the potatoes grew up, not down, because the heat of the stone germinates them and helped them up…so eventually after they kept on doing this on a regular basis this garden got bigger and eventually got bigger and they put ten ridges down in a year in one garden, and in the old field was just full of soil, and in the crevices they would actually just dig out the soil by hand, a little bit of soil and then used that soil to mix.'(Respondent 2)

The difference and uniqueness of the agricultural techniques on the Aran Islands has apparently saved the lives of many islanders at some point in history. Sometimes sameness can result in catastrophic, adverse outcomes (for example the monotonous diet of the Irish at the time of the famine), whereas catastrophe might be less likely with diversity, because risk is spread.

The other main crop on the island, rye, was used for thatching the houses. Bridget N. Hedderman, the first district nurse appointed to Aran in 1903, wrote about the peculiarities of

separating the grain from the straw (Hedderman, 1917), which in her perception was 'original in the extreme'.

Bridget N. Hedderman, 1917

'Rye is the only grain crop I have seen. The straw is used to thatch the cottages and the manner of separating the grain from the straw is original in the extreme, Each sheaf is taken and beaten violently against an upturned stone, the flags beneath receiving the seed as it falls. This, in a heap, is next winnowed from the chaff. No treshing machine or flail of any kind is used – only nature's implements, the hands. It is hard labour while it lasts, but there is still no inclination to change to more modern methods. Indeed, the crop is too insignificant and each islander has only sufficient straw to protect his cottage from the storms of winter.' (Hedderman, 1917)

This way of separating grain from the straw was certainly distinctive from what Hedderman was used to observing on the mainland of Ireland. She expresses a strong feeling of wonder, as a reaction to something that she has never seen before and that she experiences as being very distinctive in its own right.

One of my contemporary respondents compares the diet of the islanders around 1900 with the diet now, after I inquired about the oldest woman on the island, Bridget Dirrane. Besides a tremendous expression of pride ('the best of food'), another specific quality of the modern diet is rejected: the transformation and the processing of food.

I - The woman from hundred nine… was she from Inis Mór?
R – She was…that was the thing about it, they had the best of food, where as now they eat all kinds of packed food, with all sorts of preservatives. We are turning potatoes into powder and we are turning milk into powder, and you know… fresh milk, sour milk, eggs… and that is what kept them going, I put it down to that, that were the long lives - having said that a lot of people died, earlier as well from diseases but they are still dying from diseases. (Respondent 39)

On different occasions I noticed that the islanders express a remarkable, seemingly self-evident disgust of the transformation of raw, natural goods into processed materials. Not only when it comes to food, but even when it concerns cleaning agents. As one island woman tells:

'Hygiene as well…you know… you almost need to do a course to wash a floor. We just would use salt and vinegar. But now the things are much more sophisticated and I think the germs are

mutating and becoming stronger and stronger... and I don't like all this. It is like the sterilized bottle of the baby... to put a chemical in the bottle... I feel I should rinse it out ... traditionally we would boil it and of course there was breastfeeding ... I think that we make things very difficult these days... it would be easier to make it simple...' (Respondent 5)

An aversion to the transformation of products might be caused by a relatively nearby past when the islands were still autarkic in many of the essentials of life, apart from timber or fuel as there are no trees on the island (O'Sullivan, 1977). Sometimes what seems backward is in fact progressive. But it might need a century to be rediscovered again.

The same disgust of processed materials, along with increasing medical evidence of their maleficent effects,[8] now inspires the organic diet within an urban context, a diet of plenty of vegetables, fish, small amounts of meat and even seaweed. As some scholars point out, the organic diet and the benefits of a healthy lifestyle are strongly divided amongst the social classes. The relationship between obesity and social class (Paeratakul, S. et al., 2002) and between obesity and a diet of processed foods suggests that, in the words of the island woman, 'simplicity' is sometime a hard-won treasure.

The islands previous autarkic situation might have resulted in an immediate, almost self-evident aversion against the import of goods. As one of my respondents stated:

'Things like fresh meat coming in from so far away in large quantities...you sometimes run the risk of food not being properly handled, not at the proper temperature and I think it goes back to the old-fashioned, you know, Law of God: we were provided with in our own corners with enough.' (Respondent 5)

This narrative expresses suspicion and fear about the origins and quality of imported goods. Sometimes feelings against importing goods and products have even a tone of bitterness, such as when an island knitter tells about the so-called Aran Sweaters, sold in the *Aran Sweater Shop* on the island. She said about the sweaters:

'They all arrive in boxes'. (Respondent 9)

I remember very well when she said that. It was as if she almost spat the word: 'boxes'. The following picture shows the arrival of the ferry on the pier of Inis Mór.

Picture 11.2 People and boxes arriving on Inis Mór, 2004.

©Martha C.E. Van Der Bly

Tourists are disembarking and with them boxes arrive, perhaps containing the Aran sweaters that will return on the next ferry in the suitcases of Aran's tourists. In the globalizing world the island becomes the meeting place where the common transforms mythically into the unique, a market place where locality is sold, but only after it has been imported.

Some distinctive local features are more difficult to import. I now briefly discuss another aspect that is often associated with a global monoculture: uniform housing estates. The traditional Aran house was a long, low single-storied cottage with a thatched roof built from thick dry stones. No mortar had been used in the walls (O'Sullivan, 1977:118). Doors were set in the front and the back of the house and were opened depending on the direction of the wind. The houses were adapted to climatic conditions on the island and they had the added advantage of using locally available materials.

Apparently, the Aran houses did not change for a long time and even within the houses a specific room would not change over generations, containing the deathbed of one generation and the cradle of the next. The following respondent, an Irish teacher who is born and raised on the island, tells me that:

'Everybody was born in the same room and my mother and grandmother died in that same room as well. People lived in the same houses, generation after generation. I was born in that room in 1952 and my grandmother died there in 1960. My brother still lives in that house. He was the only one of nine who never got married. The others all went away: to Galway, to Dublin to California. But they all came back to the island… except one sister. She came here ten or fifteen years ago, but then she emigrated again…' (Respondent 11)

Most respondents mention that in the seventies, when the flourishing fish industry brought prosperity to the island, the islands changed. Especially the shape and quantity of the houses, as this fisherman who is in his late fifties, tells:

'The island has changed….they have built so much… all these houses… And the tourists of course… well, there have always been tourists of course, but not so many. But the housing has changed the most… There is only one real thatched cottage left… it is on the very end of the island, further then Vincent… there lives a family called Flaherty and they live in that cottage and it is maybe 200 or 300 years old… No, I did not grow up in a thatched cottage… no no.' (Respondent 41)

The island's autarky influenced, amongst other things, the difference of the diet and the effect of the reverse, connection, altered most visibly its outer appearance.

11.3 Seaweed memories

The island's autarky was hard-won. As the island is covered with bare limestone terraces, the island farmer had to struggle to make his barren land fertile. The only fertilisers to be found on the Aran Islands were seaweed and sand. The sand of the Aran beaches is the result of the erosion of limestone rock, highly calcareous and beneficial to the growth of potatoes. The seaweed was gathered not only to produce kelp or to eat but also to fertilize the fields (O'Sullivan, 1977), as the film *Man of Aran* tells in black and white letters (Flaherty, 1934):

In: *Man of Aran*

'Seaweed- the foundation of their farm'

A maker of traditional baskets on the island describes the process in view of the size and the shape of the baskets.

'Do you see these baskets here with a good bottom in it? They were meant for the seaweed. The seaweed would not go through that, but it would not hold the water. Now the women did most of the carrying... And she would have to walk maybe a mile...with that on her back...now she would stop every now and then and kneel, to let the water out and to get a break...but she would not take it off her shoulder and we are talking about a hundredweight, in each basket. Because they filled the basket up and then they filled on top of the basket... and then the rope.... and she would ask somebody for a hand, so that the seaweed would not fall out of it and bind it with a rope... and then they would bring that up to the garden. Now that was the fertilizer.' (Respondent 2)

The first basket is used to bring seaweed to the fields and the work mostly carried out by women.

'Then they had another basket there, with a bottom in it, like a flash bottom, which would fall out, which you would fill with sand, now that was the soil. Now the man fills the cracks with stones. And they actually plant the potato on the rock. They would put the sand on top of it and then they would put seaweed on top of that again...the seaweed melted down through the sand...' (Respondent 2)

The second basket was used to carry the sand. With the combination of seaweed and sand, land was created on rocks. The gathering of seaweed was therefore important both as fertiliser and to produce kelp[9] and played in important role in the life of the islanders. Just like along the rest of the West-Coast of Ireland it was a source for myths and stories.

A German folklorist, Heinrich Becker, travelled to Ireland around 1938 and learned Irish.

He could not return to Germany during the war, but stayed in Ireland until 1952 collecting narratives, published under the title *Seaweed Memories. In the Jaws of the Sea* (Becker, 2000). The collection indicates who told the stories and where the storyteller was from. In *Seaweed Memories* we can find one story originating from Inis Mór. Most island stories in the collection are from Inis Oírr.

Séan de Bahilís's from Sruthán on Inis Mór tells a story about a girl gathering seaweed.

Girl Dances to Fairy Music and is Spirited Away (*Séan de Bahilís, Sruthán, Inis Mór*)

There was a girl back at Cora Phort Uí Sheáin gathering seaweed.
Her father said to her to start bringing the seaweed up from the tide and she did.
And she had twenty baskets up, when the malicious music started inside the cliff.
It seemed like grand music to her.
She started to dance and nothing would stop her dancing till her father came up from the shore and caught her and she stopped.
He went home, she was brought to home to her people.
She went to bed and never left it until she died.
(In: Becker, 2000:123).

Even though the stories were collected almost sixty years ago, the collection has only recently been published.[10] The book has become a best seller and can even be ordered on-line through Amazon, Yahoo or by the American supermarket Wal-Mart.[11] Collected by a foreigner who learned the language and therefore was able to disclose local knowledge and story-telling, these Irish narratives, seemingly so locally bound, now are dispersed worldwide. They are read by people who most likely have no seaweed memories, yet somehow recognize these memories as their own.

The disenchantment of the world, (that artificial disconnection of factual and mythical reality, rooted in the *de facto* irrational denial of the mythical dimensions surrounding the great facts of human life), somehow can only be escaped within the boundaries of fiction.

Disarmed and stripped of the fearful consequences of contemporary life, human vulnerability in the eyes of the powers of mortality dissolves in the firmness of the rationality paradigm. Some of the fumes, not efficiently, effectively, calculative or predictably swallowed, descend within the safe context of films, books, stories and dreamed-like lands. They can be found in an Ireland revealed by German folklorists to American consumers.

Turner (1987:152) argues that 'in American sociology the loss of premodern harmony, moral coherence and social unity was (...) submerged or subdued'. There is, for example, very little evidence of nostalgia in sociological theories of Talcott Parsons, who unambiguously embraced the modern world in terms of the famous pattern variables, which celebrated the arrival of a universalistic modern culture (Holton and Turner, 1986).

If modern culture is not just modern or simply a phase in human cultural history, but is rather universal, it becomes an end goal. With the end goal defined as universal but its geographic domain limited, what is left to happen but the global spread of this culture? At the same time, a hunger for enchantment awakens in the Western world as the rational response to a rationality

paradigm that implicitly yet persistently strives for predictability and thus frees the world from wonder, that essential source of freedom.

Some still hear voices, turning into a grand music no one else can hear. Unlike the girl from Inis Mór, her contemporary counterparts who dance to inaudible music and do not stop dancing, are no longer brought home but to institutionalized homes. While their invisibility extinguishes neither their existence nor their being part of humanity, it leaves a societal void, an awareness of some parts of human life that are present, but not integrated. It is within the context of memories that completeness can be found, and somehow a shared human memory is revealed. That shared human memory is accessible to those who never lived on a cliff, never carried baskets of seaweed, never saw fairies. As Robertson argues, globalization can produce nostalgia and 'currently (we are) in a new phase of accelerated, nostalgia-producing globalization' (Robertson, 1992:158).

For now, I return to a discussion of the origins of cultural distinction and conclude that when the Heritage Centre mentions the 'Harvesting of Seaweed' as one of the islands distinctive features, it refers to more than the physical, laborious activity, but also to the culture in which it was embedded. Yet the germ of these memories might have very little to do with the seaweed. Similarly, the demand for the seaweed stories in contemporary times might indicate that where something was won, something was lost too. Since what was lost might not be intrinsically linked to the harvesting of seaweed, what is lost could be restored in contemporary times. The question is: how?

11.4 'Come the end of the summer they built a wall around it.'

Some unique techniques, customs and habits of a culture disappear when they are not passed on to the next generation, becoming invisible for modern visitors unless the word has captured them and turned them into a memory rather then into something that is forgotten. Some aspects of a culture passively fade out and require action to be saved, actions such as the written observations of Inis Mór's first district nurse, Bridget N. Hedderman (1917) or the stories such as noted by the German folklorist Heinrich Becker (2000).

Other unique aspects of a culture survive, even when nothing is done. Then activity is needed to demolish the past. Stones, for example, rarely move by themselves, unless they are put into action by humans or by natural forces. The most distinctive feature of the contemporary

landscape on Inis Mór (and on the other Aran Islands) is a maze of stonewalls, covering practically the whole island.

When globalization implies time-space compression (Harvey, 1990) or time-space disembedding (Giddens, 1990), it alters the conceptualizations of those pillars of human mortality: time and space. This section explores both the origins of and the connection between the distinctive features of the landscape of Inis Mór (space) and the islanders' perception of time.

Picture 11.3 Stonewalls on Inis Mór.

Picture Peter Zöller

These intriguing walls were built as a protection for the fields against the Atlantic breeze.

Bridget N. Hedderman, 1917

'The whole sustenance of the people is derived from these patches of cultivation. Often clouds of sand sweep over them making it doubly difficult to raise a crop. The fertility is also hindered when there is a great drought: the impoverished soil becomes parched – actually scorched – if the early summer is at all dry.' (Hedderman, 1917)

In order to protect the precious soil and crops from the strong Atlantic winds, the fields were surrounded by stonewalls. As a result of the field-making practice, the islands are now covered with a maze of stonewalls without gates as there are no trees on the island and there was a shortage of timber. Metal and timber all had to come from the mainland, so the gates in the walls are made from stones as well but the difference is fairly easy to distinguish, after some practice (O'Sullivan, 1977). The tradition of field-making apparently was still vivid relatively recently as one respondent tells:

'Yes. I saw my father my father-in-law making a field on his own, in exactly the same way that he has been doing before... and that is the reason why you have all the walls...because they do this field this year... come the end of the summer they build a wall around it... so the wind does not blow it away...if you look at the big fields in the middle of the island... there used to be a landlord to own that land... so he had six families working for him.... Say a hundred people... so they could make these fields bigger and then wall them up at the end of the season.' (Respondent 2)

The bigger fields are vividly portrayed here as a visual representation of wealth and land-ownership. At the same time the importance of the season is mentioned. The fields were, according to this respondent, made during the summer and only enclosed by a wall when the winter came. This side remark reveals the islanders' perception of time, exactly because of the nonchalant, almost casual way the comment has been made, as self-evident. Synge noticed a lack of knowledge of 'modern time' on the island and wrote:

J.M. Synge, 1907

'The general ignorance of any precise hours in the day makes it impossible for the people to have regular meals.' (Synge, 1907:17)

Yet by doing so the emphasis is put on what is *not* known or maybe, *less* well known: a strong, but implicit awareness of seasons. In other words, the description is made while taking modern times as the standard and the observed local circumstances as the exception, or the aberration. How much more insight can be gained by leaving that narrow minded, stigmatizing view behind, to open up to the strengths of the locally observed and very distinct culture.

Such openness of mind is expressed in the next story, told by a Dublin musician, who moved to Inis Mór eighteen months ago. He describes how he became aware of 'seasons' as if it were the discovery of a hidden treasure in an unknown country.

'So many things here are different.... I lived in Dublin all my life... so I was never used to the seasons... I mean, I would have heard about it. *Haha.* Maybe in a song... But what kind of season do you find in The Liberties, under the smoke of the Guinness brewery...? And then I came to Inis Mór...' (Respondent 15)

With a great sense of wonder and excitement, almost as if it were a milestone, he describes what he discovers. The day of discovery becomes a memorial day, the day on which he found the seasons and on which he learned to distinguish the arrival of summer.

'And I know... very well. I remember one day... my friend Paddy and I were pheasant hunting somewhere near the cliffs and then he said... when you hear this bird, Johnny... and this bird is coming from South-Africa and when you hear its sound 'Coo-Coo', then you know that the summer is coming... and then we stood still. We listened. There it was... echoing over the cliffs... coo-coo, coo-coo and then I knew that the summer would begin.' (Respondent 15)

What 'Paddy' teaches him is a perception of time measurement based upon sources of nature. Yet the urban musician, who has a strong urban background, immediately translates the time indicator based upon nature into that indicator to which he finds it easy to relate: a *social* indicator, based upon relating to humans. He does so in a funny way:

'But you know, I said to Paddy, you know when I know when the summer begins? That is when I see my friend from South Africa coming off the ferry... she always comes in April... and then when she comes off the ferry...then I know that the summer begins. I said. Paddy. That is the South African bird, I was thinking of... *Haha.*' (Respondent 15)

This remark not only indicates the difference between an urban and a rural perspective on the indication of time, one based upon sign of nature, the other one on signs given by human beings, but at the same time tells us something about the transformation of global connections.

The global connection is not new for the South African bird to which Paddy is referring. There is little reason to assume that the travels the South African birds make these days could not

have been carried out centuries ago. These travels were not explainable as a way of discovering the world, where the flock of birds would travel further and further, but were and are part of an annual rhythm. This global seasonal time, based upon the rhythms of nature, existed long before humanity could achieve the same.

Indeed, a recurrent rhythm of seasonal *human* travelling between South Africa and the Aran Islands would have been impossible by a sheer lack of technique and resources. Yet as these resources now have become available, the global time schedule set by birds long, long ago can only now successfully be imitated by mankind.

The South African friend of the musician has spent her last six summers on Inis Mór as a childminder, seemingly imitating the ancient pattern of the birds of her native country. But does that change time? Does that imply a 'compression of time and space'? Maybe it does from the perspective of mankind. But from nature's perspective the answer is no, nothing has changed. We, as human beings, are only capable now of imitating what birds have done for millennia.

The Irish nationalist Pádraig H. Pearse wrote a story called *Eoineen of the Birds*, originally written in Irish. I read this story for the first time in a Dutch translation (*Eoineen van de Vogels*) by E.W. Tiemersma, a native Frisian. He taught himself fluent Irish. Since the translator attends the same Russian Orthodox Church in Groningen in the North of the Netherlands as some of my acquaintances, I became aware of this publication of five short stories of Pearse translated from Irish to Dutch (Pearse, 1992).

In this story the ailing Eoineen talks to his mother about the birds. The story is located somewhere in Connemara, around 1900. His mother asks:

- And where are they coming from, child? From the Southern World – the place it does be summer always. I'm expecting them for a week.
- And how do you know that it's this night they'll come?
I don't know, only thinking it. It would be time for them to be here some day now. I mind that it was this day surely they came last year. I was coming up from the well when I heard their twittering – a sweet, joyful twittering as they'd be saying: 'We've come to you again, Eoineen! News to you from the Southern World!'—and then one of them flew past me, rubbing his wing to my cheek. (Pearse, 2002:31)

The physical action from the bird 'rubbing his wings to my cheek' expresses the strange sensation that Eoineen has of being almost directly connected to the 'Southern World' where it is 'always summer', by touching the bird who has been there. This is a sensation that now can be

experienced frequently, namely the physical connection with physical goods and people who have been in far away places. Yet the sensation in itself, albeit more frequent, is not new.

The writer uses Eoineen's longing to be connected with an unknown world as an indicator for the change that has taken place in Eoineen. He has become ill and will die at the end of the story. His longing for news from the Southern World, his longing to share his own stories with the stories of the birds that come from over the ocean to the coast where he lives, his longing, in other words, to connect with a world that seems too far away to be realistically connected with, is presented in the context of illness and gradual loss of senses.

Initially it is suggested to the reader that Eioneen's dream of connection with the Southern World is a wish to connect with the land from where the birds are from come, and to exchange information about their life and his own life in Connemara. This wish, a dream then, now has become a reality, one century later. But the messengers are no longer birds that fly above the ocean, but cables that lie underneath the sea.

Yet at the end of the story, Eoineen dies, and the reader realizes that the Southern World where it is always summer, is not South Africa but Heaven. Eoineen's wish is to connect with life after death. We still cannot connect with that 'Southern World where it is always summer', neither over the ocean nor under the sea. Suddenly the story reveals an eternal truth, rather then a time-bound limitation of the development of mankind.

Another thing that has not changed is that Eoineen, in much the same way as Paddy a century later, uses the arrival of the swallows to distinguish seasons and indicate time. Synge observed that 'any awareness of modern time' was lacking on the island. Instead, it can be argued that what was apparently very much present was a strong awareness of seasons. The awareness of modern time among the islanders has now increased. But a strong awareness of seasons still exists, albeit now as much associated with the agricultural season as with the tourist season.

Some aspects of local knowledge are incompatible with globalized knowledge. Others are replaced by improved techniques. I argue that 'an awareness of daily hours', associated with modern life and 'an awareness of seasons' associated with the island life are not mutually exclusive knowledge categories, but can in fact coexist. The creation of a database of universal knowledge is not necessarily a zero-sum game.

The difference of one of the island's main features, the maze of stone walls, thus can be seen largely as the product of specific natural circumstances, or more precisely, a scarcity of soil and of land. These stone walls between the little fields, a tourist attraction, are now left in the open, largely having become less useful. The effects of scarcity have diminished through the improvement of fertilisation techniques.

Speaking metaphorically, boundaries are a product of scarcity, sometimes of land, sometimes of resources, sometimes of imagination. Boundaries between states might in the light of a long human history be a temporary solution. Just like the stonewalls on Inis Mór over time have become redundant. Since boundaries are related to scarcity, generating borders is literally a poor solution. Inis Mór shows that scarcity can be diminished by investing in improvement of the fertilisation techniques, so that the land available can be used for all. That could be a metaphor that applies to a broader territory than just this small island.

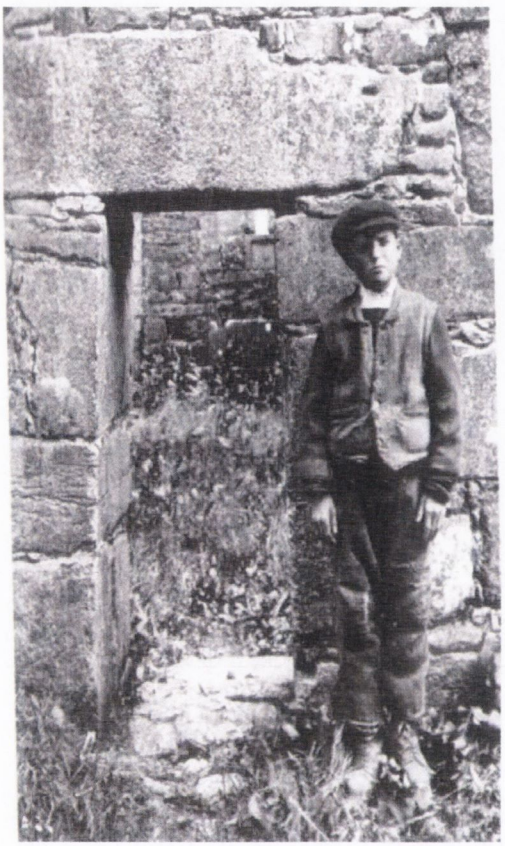
11.5 'People wore *pampooties* and *bawneens* up 'till the sixties…'

In her book *No Logo,* which has become the manifesto of the anti-globalization- movement, the Canadian journalist Naomi Klein (2000) states:

'Tommy Hilfiger is less in the business of manufacturing clothes than he is in the business of signing his name. The company is run entirely through licensing agreements, with Hilfiger commissioning all its products from a group of other companies: Jockey International makes Hilfiger underwear, Pepe Jeans London makes Hilfiger jeans, Oxford Industries make Tommy shirts, the Stride Rite Corporation makes its footwear. What does Tommy Hilfiger manufacture? Nothing at all' (Klein, 2000:4).

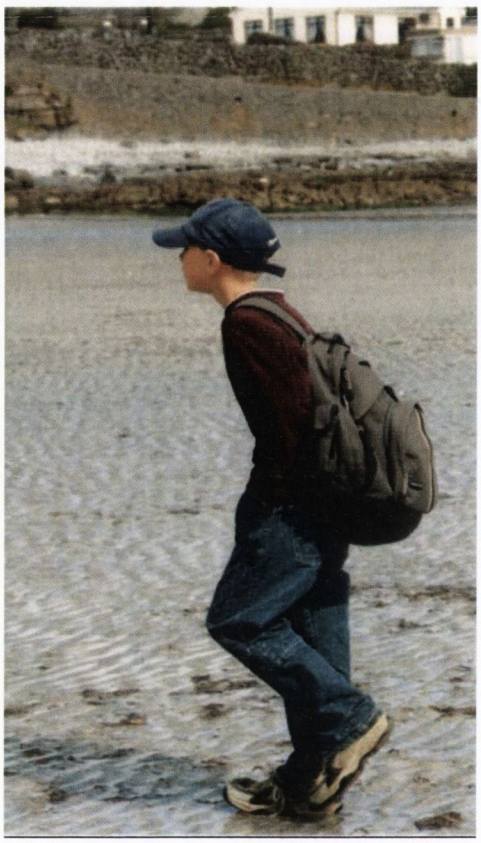
Although the analytical gaze of the critical journalist reveals that fashion Emperor Hilfiger has no clothes, branding such as this transforms uniformity of clothes worldwide. One of the fears associated with cultural sameness addresses the domain of clothes and outer appearance. When we will look the same, wear the same, we might become the same, like clones of Tommy Hilfiger. If anything refers to cultural sameness, it must refer to clothes: the global-brand-uniform.

Picture 11.4a Boy on Inis Mór, 1895



© Limerick Museum[12]

Picture 11.4b Boy on Inis Mór, 2004



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Picture 11.4a shows a boy on Inis Mór, dated 1895, standing in front on of one the island's old churches, *Templemacduagh* church. Picture 11.4b is of a boy on Inis Mór who walks home after school over the beach. At that time, swimming classes were taking place in the sea. He might have watched some of his friends running into the surf. He wears a baseball cap, jeans, a backpack and sneakers.

The 1895 photograph does not provide us with information of the context in which the picture is taken. Yet the historical surroundings of the ancient church and the posed position of the boy suggest that the photographer intended taking a picture of a 'typical young islander.' Over a century later, I took a picture of a boy of a similar age, not because I was struck by his difference, but by his similarity. The way he walked, the way he dressed, the nonchalant backpack, he could have been my nephew.

This section reflects on the origins of the difference of the traditional islanders' costume. The Heritage Centre on Inis Mór mentions 'the traditional dresses: the red petticoats'[13] as another

special feature. The red petticoats were only worn by women. Probably the most distinctive aspect of the clothes of all islanders was the footwear, the *pampooties*, an Anglicization of the Irish term *pampúta* (Spellissy, 2003). According to one respondent the pampooties were still in use halfway through the twentieth century.

'My grandparents still wore the traditional costume, but my mother did not. But people wore *pampooties* and *bawneens* up 'till the sixties…' (Respondent 38)

These shoes were originally made of raw sealskin. When the shoes would become stiff while they were worn, they could be soaked in cold water. They were worn with the hair on the outside and probably stuffed with grass, hay or stockings for warmth. Synge [1907] (1998) mentions how the family with whom he stayed advised him to replace his shoes with pampooties after 'the sharp-edged fossils which abound in the limestone have cut my shoes to pieces' (Synge, 1998: 16).

Pampooties are 'particularly suitable for clambering over limestone, are ideal wear for anyone climbing in or out of a *currach,* are very popular as sandals during the summer months and wear out after a month of constant use' (Spellissy, 2003:108). These shoes derived their difference from, on one hand, the demands the local environment placed upon men ('clambering over limestone, and in or out of a currach'[14]), and on the other, the resources and materials available locally. Local resources and local demands though do not always create an optimum match. One might wonder if these shoes were comfortable.

J.M. Synge, 1907

'In the evening (…) they are placed in a basin of water, as the rough hide cuts the foot and stocking if it is allowed to harden. For the same reason the people often step into the surf during the day, so that their feet are continually moist.' (Synge, 1907:16)

Autarky might not always generate optimized circumstances. Yet it does lead to cultural differences. Even though similar types of moccasin-like shoes can be found in Scotland and whereas the manner of making these shoes might have been similar to the moccasins of the Native-Americans, the pampootie is unique for the Aran Islands, as Carlson (1996) argues:

'It should be mentioned that this type of shoe has not been found in any ancient context that I know of, but was worn traditionally on The Aran Islands in the early 20th Century. It does

strongly resemble a "Rivelin" found in the Shetlands, and a form of shoe described in a letter to Henry VIII written in 1542.'[15]

Cultural difference is not an absolute category. Rather, it can be imagined as a sliding scale. The place of an object on this scale of cultural difference depends on the level of expertise with which an object is examined. Picture 11.5a shows a pampootie, and picture 11.5b a moccasin worn by the Mapuche-Indian tribe in the Southern parts of Chile in the first half of the twentieth century, in the accompanying text compared with the pampootie.

Picture 11.5a Pampootie, Aran Isles Ireland c. 1880. [16]

Picture 11.5b Moccasin Mapuche Indian tribe Chile, ca. 1900. [17]

According to the previous source the pampootie was unique for the Aran Islands. Yet this source writes: 'The one-piece foot covering named "moccasin" in the North-American Indian language or "opank" in the Serbian language was known by the North European inhabitants as the "Pampootie".'[18]

This dissertation is clearly not about footwear as such, and I do not feel competent to make any remarks to what extent these shoes are the same and in what respect they differ. However, these examples are mainly cited to illustrate the concept of cultural differences as a gradual scale. Sameness can emerge in gradations, as can diversity.

On the level of one category, 'shoe made from one piece', the Chilean moccasin and the Aran pampootie are 'similar'. On the level of another descriptive category, 'used material', the Aran pampootie is made from seal-skin and is unique. The Chilean moccasin is made from goatskin,

which makes it unique in its own right. In conclusion, sameness and difference, the subjects of this dissertation, are therefore not binary concepts.

Sometimes a strong perception of cultural differences for the sake of cultural differences can obstruct a perception of a common humanity, as in the following quote.

J.M. Synge, 1907

'The absence of the heavy boot of Europe has preserved to these people the agile walk of the wild animal, while the general simplicity of their lives has given them many other points of physical perfection.' (Synge, 1907:16)

Easy as it might be to dismiss this observation as the outdated reflections of a romantic soul, a comparable correlation occurs in the contemporary globalization debate. Then, in a reverse argument, the notion emerges that *because* groups wear the same clothes and eat the same food, they are the same. The identification of the London bombers as being British or 'home-grown' terrorists was mentioned in the same breath with the remark that one of the bombers loved to play 'cricket'.[19]

The love for 'cricket' implicitly seemed to suggest a validation of his British identity, and then of 'cultural sameness', which deepened the shock and the incomprehension of the act of terror, because he 'seemed one of us'. However, both in Synge's case and in the contemporary observations the correlation that is made is not just false, but dangerous as well. The idea that differences in the cultural field leads to different people in the quote from Synge, ('these people') denies common humanity. That perception gives space to expressions of inferiority ('the walk of the wild animal') or superiority (*'the noble sauvage'*, 'the physical perfection'). In both cases, it separates 'us' from 'them'. It distinguishes 'our lives' from 'their lives', as Synge writes.

On the other hand, the idea that sameness in the cultural field '(they played cricket') reflects people with the same identity ('British, like us'), encouraged by a seemingly rational paradigm of pragmatic integration, fundamentally denies the difference between the segments *within* the container term of culture and which do not necessarily follow parallel routes. That observation is superficial and therefore equally dangerous.

When the anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss states that 'humanity is installing itself in monoculture; it is preparing to mass-produce culture as if it were beetroot' (Levi-Strauss, 1955:37), the loss of cultural differences is perceived as something profoundly negative. However, when the curtains of cultural differences fall down, the common humanity is easier observed and can reveal the universal human soul – which is a very romantic idea in itself.

Cultural sameness facilitates trust, whether that trust is justified or not. Observed outer characteristics of sameness, of a global uniform, cover complex inner diversity.

11.6 'I used to fish with a small boat with some lines in the bay'

Another distinctive characteristic of The Aran Islands is said to be fishing in the *currach*. The currach, a derivative of the Latin corium meaning 'a hide, an open canoe', was commonly used along the Irish West Coast. It is traditionally made from cow-skin, but later mostly made from tarred canvas stretched over a light framework over willows withes (Spellissy, 2003). Some characterize the currach as one of the most primitive forms of watercraft used by civilised man, even considered as a 'connecting link'. The boat is said to be very suitable to the conditions of the Aran Islands (O'Sullivan, 1977). A traditional currach is extremely frail in appearance. Yet the lightness makes the crafts very buoyant and some say they rise like a feather upon waves which would prove troublesome, if not dangerous to ordinary fishing boats. The currach is now a distinctive symbol of the Aran Islands used, for example, in a logo by the Inis Meáin Knitting Co.

Picture 11.6 Inis Meáin Knitting Co.

INIS MEÁIN

The Aran Sweater arises on this black-and-white picture like a ghost above a landscape of stonewalls. The men with the currach are unable to see anything, apart from their feet, apart from the stones on the ground, blinded by the boat they are carrying above their heads. Robinson (1986:109) writes about the same image: 'Books on the West of the Ireland invariably liken a currach carried thus by two or three men to a giant black beetle, very accurately; but the sight always makes me see, nonsensically, a short procession wearing a huge communal hat.'

Whether perceived as a procession preoccupied with the celestial or as a group of bent men focused perforce on the earthly, this image does not suggest individual autonomy. It portrays a group carrying a heavy weight in such a fashion that the departure of one will cause the collapse of the other two and of the enterprise they are undertaking. In that sense, this is not a romantic image. This is the captivated *noble sauvage* taken into custody by the natural environment to which he is so closely related, without the possibility of escape.

When, as Turner (1987) argues, the nostalgia paradigm consists of a sense of loss of individual freedom and autonomy then this is an image of a primitive iron cage. The individual primarily carries the cogs of a constant process aiming to provide a bare subsistence without any possibility of individual choice or escape.

Why then is this image so appealing that it decorates all 'books on the West of Ireland' as Robinson (1986) points out? Perhaps not all desire autonomy. A lack of choice can be comforting and clarity about the path to follow can offer security.[20] The currach, often described as a typical Irish boat, became a symbol of the Aran Islands. The Aran Islands, where this typical Irish boat was still in use, became a symbol of Ireland.

J.M. Synge, 1907

'It gave me a moment of exquisite satisfaction to find myself moving away from civilisation in this rude canvas canoe of a model that served primitive races since men first went to sea.' (Synge, 1907:9)

Thus writes Synge, just as easily comparing the islanders to 'primitive races' as distinguishing them from civilisation. As discussed in the previous paragraph, cultural differences can be used to disqualify a people, separate them from 'civilization' and deny common humanity. In the case of the currach, it can cover up economic vibrancy and dynamic, too. In fact, the fishing industry on the Aran Islands at its peak in the 1830s, had a fleet of about 120 boats and thirty or forty of them had sails and were capable of carrying cargoes of fish weighing from five to ten tons (Spellissy, 2003).

If the symbol that the currach has become does not reflect individual autonomy, its actual practice seemingly did. Some fishermen still fish locally in small boats, a practice that might be compared with the fishing in currachs. The limited size of the boat could have been a reason to emphasize the restrictions and limitations of this way of life. The symbol of the currach suggests blindness of men and a connection with ancient stones and immobility. Yet the following narrative of a fisherman suggests the opposite: freedom, movement, and, indeed, individual autonomy.

'I used to fish on pollock with a small boat with some lines in the bay near the coast of the South side of the island... I fish for ... the restaurant... that is... in the summer... it is a beautiful life... I can go fishing whenever I like... I have my freedom... nobody tells me what to do... I have my freedom, every day...' (Respondent 41)

The freedom to which the fisherman is referring built of three elements. A strong presence of autonomy in respect to:

1. An immediate fulfilment of individual wants and needs ('I can go fishing when ever I like'),
2. The absence of control ('Nobody tells me what to do'), and
3. A flexibility of time ('I have my freedom, every day').

The same kind of freedom might have been experienced by the individual currach-fishermen a century ago. If this way of fishing allows a great freedom, then the way of portraying those carrying the currach above their heads, blinding them and making it impossible to see the sky, does appeal to the myth of primitive cultures, of a backward oriented people. Portraying cultural differences in such a fashion is effectively an instrument, consciously or unconsciously, that confirms the qualification of modern, Western life as 'progress' and, *mutatis mutandis,* other ways of living as 'backward'.

It is October and this fisherman brings his boat on land for the wintertime.

I ask him if he minds me watching him and his mate taking the boat out of the water and he replies laughing: 'Ha ha, of course not! I do not own the island!'[21]

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11.7 Conclusions: three layers of cultural differences

This chapter has reflected on cultural differences. Tovey and Share (2003:335) point out that while some argue that cultural differences between groups[22] 'have emerged from earlier periods of cultural isolation, sociological theories question these ideas.' They state that 'we only realise that we share a distinctive culture when we encounter people who have a different one' (Tovey and Share, 2003:335). This refers to the subjective perception of cultural differences whereas this chapter has mostly reflected on the origins of objective cultural differences,

This chapter has empirically explored some of the cultural differences on Inis Mór. First, it was argued that most distinctive cultural features were the product of the island's autarky and isolation such as the island's diet and clothing and combined with unique features of the landscape, such as practice of creating seaweed fields. Second, as was argued in chapter 10, these practices gained a symbolic meaning and became culturally unique within the context of Irish nationalism. Certain practices became symbols for the Irish culture. Third, this chapter discussed several distinctive cultural practices that might have lost their meaning and use in contemporary life, but that seem to still have a distinctive universal appeal, for example as expressed in the 'sea weed stories'.

Therefore I distinguish three levels of cultural difference:

a) the *objectified objects of difference,*
b) the *subjective meaning of difference attributed to those objects,* and,
c) the universal value that the object of difference possesses

In this chapter I have discussed several aspects of a distinctive island life by singling out the culture on The Aran Islands as an unique culture both in present times, (in the brochure of the Heritage Centre), and in the past, (in the writings of Synge and in the film *Man of Aran).* Cultural difference occurred in the field of the diet, the way the houses were build, the agricultural techniques (the use of seaweed as fertilizer and of walls to protect the fields), costume (especially footwear: pampooties) and fishing with currachs.

When these objects of cultural difference are studied as *objective* objects of cultural difference, the cultural difference on Inis Mór is the outcome of autarky (independence) and relative isolation and a unique natural environment.[23] In other words, if the environment scores high on 'uniqueness', and the situation of the community living in this environment can be characterized through high levels of autarky and isolation, then its highly likely that one will find a very culturally distinctive culture. This seemed to be the case with Inis Mór. Whether it was the diet of seaweed, fish and potatoes, the use of the currach for the high Atlantic waves and the lack

of a harbour, the making of seaweed-fields, or the flexible pampooties, these items represent an adaptation to the local situation and to the local difficulties or resources of the landscape.[24]

However, the occurrence of the opposite, a transformation form autarky to dependency[25] and a transformation from (relative) isolation to connection with the uniqueness of the environment as a constant, will lead to a loss of these objects of difference: the disappearance of the pampootie, the bawneen, the currachs, and, to a certain extent the seaweed fields.[26] This seemed to be the case on contemporary Inis Mór. The landscape is still more or less the same, but the way people adapt to the local circumstances has changed, mostly because of the fact that the second factor, which caused the difference of the culture, has been changed; relative isolation changed into integration. Therefore, when examining if these differences still exist or why they have changed, it is necessary to turn to the questions that will explain a loss of autarky, a loss of independence and a loss of isolation. Of course, these variables share the common denominator of 'communication'.

When cultural difference diminishes as a consequence of decreased autarky and isolation, it occurs within a context of *objectified object of cultural difference* and refers as such to the alteration of objects *sui generis*, possibly for the better for example in the case of pampooties.[27] But loss of autarky does not automatically lead to improvement. Indeed, Inis Mór's traditional diet might bear some resemblances to a contemporary healthy *organic* diet, often seen as a privilege of the upper classes.

However, on the second level of cultural difference, *subjective meaning of difference attributed to those objects,* another mechanism might occur, altering the process as summarized in formula 11.2. This is what Tovey and Share have summarized as 'we only realise that we share a distinctive culture when we encounter people who have a different one' (Tovey and Share, 2003:335).

Following the Norwegian sociologist Barth (1969) that argument had been developed to an analysis of the Irish culture by Tovey *et al.* (1989): 'the association of the Irish nation with Gaelic culture and Roman Catholicism occurred primarily in the nineteenth century in the context of political and economic integration into the united Kingdom' (Tovey and Share, 2003:336). Some characteristics of cultural difference might then be reinforced subjectively. This mechanism does not so much addresses the question of whether the Irish nationalists found on Inis Mór a culturally distinctive culture, but *why* they sought it.

At this point however, I want to draw attention to a third layer within the concept of cultural difference and what I called c) *the universal value that the object of difference possesses.* The visitor to Inis Mór around 1900 might have found a culture that was different in many ways. But

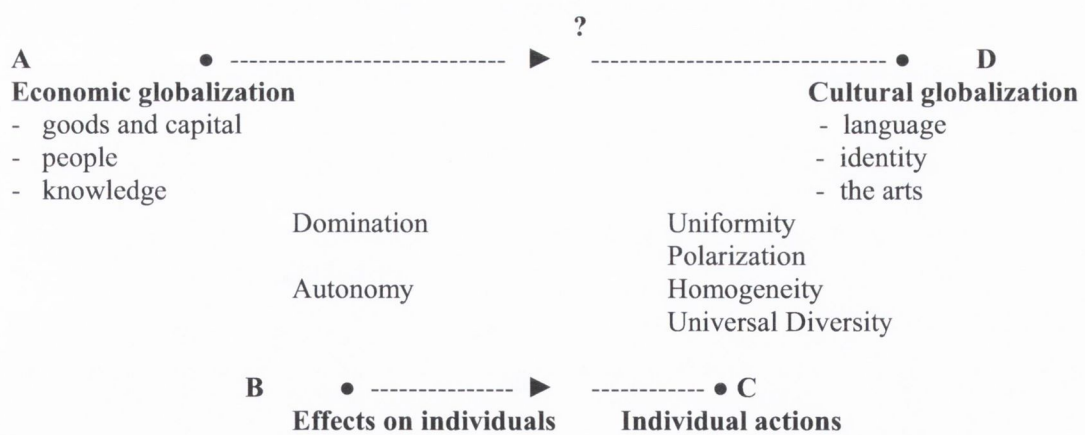
was it really the taste of the potatoes, the slenderness of the boats or the colourfulness of the clothes that the visitor sought? Was it the actual facts of the island life or the values behind it?

Whereas the pampootie, the currach, the houses with their thatched roofs, the seaweed-memories and the red petticoats might have gone, the implicit values that were represented by these explicit manifestations might not have changed. These values might be rediscovered in modern times and generate radical innovations within the cultural field.[28] Or as Turner argues: 'By converting the past into a Utopian homeland, nostalgia may lay the foundations for a radical critique of the modern as a departure from authenticity (Turner, 1987:154).' It is too early, to dismiss nostalgia.

At the same time, we can distinguish that the first aspect of cultural difference was specifically locally bound and the second nationally, but that the third layer of cultural difference is globally accessible. This we might call a form of 'universal diversity'.

In chapter 7 I have distinguished a form of dominant globalization. In chapter 10 I have distinguished a form of autonomous globalization. We now can make a distinction between sameness as the result of dominant globalization and sameness as the result of autonomous globalization. I suggest calling the first form of sameness 'uniformity' and the second 'homogeneity'. This chapter has unravelled the concept of difference, and developed a new layer of cultural differences, that I have called 'universal diversity'. The Theoretical Model therefore can be refined as follows:

Figure 11.1 Theoretical Model Step H: A Typology of Sameness and Difference.



This model has been mostly developed on the basis of the analysis of documentary realities. It will be theoretically further explored in chapter 14. The next chapter will explore this model on the micro-level.

The Irish nationalist at the eve of the building of the nation-state came to Inis Mór to look for autarky, independence and relative isolation on Inis Mór. When returning to the island a century later, in the wake of the building of a world-society, I will be looking for the reverse: for connection, interdependence and integration.

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NOTES

[1] Since Dun Aonghasa and Dun Eochla are the remains of ancient times and refer to a very different aspect of Inis Mór – as well in term of globalization - I will not discuss them in this thesis, which largely focuses on the cultural differences attributed to Inis Mór as it was around 1900.

[2] Uniformity-thesis and not a homogeneity-thesis. Often this is called the 'homogeneity-thesis'. See for example '(…) corporate brands symbolize what is taken to be the homogenization of consumer practice and a decline in particular local or indigenous cultural products and industries' (Holton, 2005:110). However, I have argued in chapter four that I make a distinction between uniformity and homogeneity thus that the latter is always a product of dominion of one over a group, whereas homogeneity can emerge as a result of autonomous processes of increasing connection and communication. Since Ritzer argues that the McDonaldized culture is the product of domineering globalization rather then of an organic process, I consider McDonaldization as a variant of the *uniformity*-thesis, not the *homogeneity*-thesis.

[3] http://www.slowfoodusa.org/about/index.html, November 2005.

[4] http://www.slowfoodusa.org/about/index.html, November 2005.

[5] The second respondent by quickly naming a variety of vegetables like carrot, parsnip, turnips and cabbage: there is no pause or hesitation in the - recorded – sentence.

[6] Relative decline of the population on Inis Mór in the 19th century pro decade: 1841-1851 (11%). 1851-1861 (-2%). 1861-1871 (-8%). 1871-1881 (+3%). 1881-1891 (-9%). 1891-1901 (-2%). Source: Census 1841-1901. (CSO, Ireland).

[7] According to a letter sent to the *Limerick and Claire Examiner*, issued on 31 July 1850. 'Dear Sir- In addition to the many unfavorable reports of the potato crop, from the Western parts of Clare, I have to inform you that the far-famed Isles of Arran have not escaped the general stroke of Providence. (…) This is more alarming as these Islands hitherto escaped the general famine' (in: Spellissy, 2003:41).

[8] Which in their turn transforms multinational business strategies. See for example: 'Putting a Healthy Spin On Processed Foods. Companies Cut Sugar, Add Vitamins'. By Caroline E. Mayer (*Washington Post*, 10 January 2005; Page A01).

[9] There are two meanings of the word 'kelp', in one case it refers to 'numerous large seaweeds found in colder seas and belonging to the order Laminariales (about 30 genera) of brown algae. The term also applies to the ash produced by the incineration of various seaweeds. Until early in the 19th century this ash was an important source of potash (derived from the plant's stemlike stipe) and iodine (extracted from its leaflike blades). (Encyclopedia Britannica –on line version, March 2005).

[10] In 1997 the collection was published in Irish: *I mBéal na Farraige* (Becker, Cló Iar-Chonnachta: 1997) followed by the English translation in 2000.

[11] http://www.walmart.com/catalog/product November 2005.

[12] 'A young islander stands in the right of the lintelled or trabeate doorway in the western gable of Templemacduagh Church, in 1895. Limerick Museum, in: Spellissy (2003:90).

[13] And 'Knitting' but as 'knitting on The Aran Islands ' as a distinctive feature has a different history and will be discussed in the next chapter.

[14] See paragraph 11.6.

[15] *Footwear of the Middle Ages* - Historical Shoe Designs/Number 56, by I. Marc Carlson. Copyright 1996

[16] Collection Northampton Museum, UK December 2005.

[17] http://www.cortina.be/cal/cal2002/december2002.htm December 2005.

18 Text: 'This opank is absolutely "back to basics" in footwear. The one-piece foot covering named "moccasin" in the North-American Indian language or "opank" in the Serbian language was known by the North European inhabitants as the "Pampootie". A fresh piece of untanned skin was cut to size around the foot. Small slits were made at the edges. A long strip of narrow depilated rawhide was then laced through these slits. This lace was pulled whereby all sides of the skin turned up and wrapped the foot. The opank was then removed from the foot and just dried in the sun, resulting in a perfectly fitting foot covering. The one shown here, made of goatskin, has the hair left on. The Mapuche-Indian tribe in the Southern parts of Chile wore it in the first half of the twentieth century. www.cortina.be/cal/cal2002/december2002.htm.

[19] See for example in an article with the heading: 'British bombers led London blitz' is stated:

'THE London terror bombings were all carried out by suicide bombers - the first such attacks on British soil. And all four were home-grown terrorists. One of the four suicide bombers was thought to be Shahzad

Tanweer, 22, who friends described as a cricket loving sports science graduate, and another of the bombers was only a teenager.' On: http://www.manchesteronline.co.uk/men/news. Tuesday, 12th July 2005.

[20] Or maybe this image is used just because the three men carrying a boat, form a shape reminiscent of a *dolmen*.

[21] Or as Dolores Keane sings in Solid Ground: 'the land, we cannot own, because the land owns you….

[22] I.e. in relation to nations.

[23] *Formula 11.1* **CD = A + I * E** Cultural Differences = Autarky + Isolation * Environment.

[24] Some of these characteristics are shared with other areas in the West of Ireland, but that is not relevant for the argument.

[25] Autarky: independence from the outside world. Dependency: independency of local natural resources (hence: increasing dependence from outside providers of good and services).

[26] Or in formula: *Formula 11.2* ↓ **A** + ↓ **I** * **E** = ↓ **CD** Decreased Autarky + Decreased Isolation * Environment = Decreased Cultural Differences.

[27] Walking around with moist feet the whole day does not seem healthy to me. But I might be wrong. As I said before, the dissertation is not as such on footwear.

[28] For example Inis Mór's diet of potatoes and home grown vegetables, of seaweed then find its contemporary equivalent in a mixture of an organic diet with for example Japanese diet, rich in seaweed. Similarly, the techniques to fertilize with seaweed, which might improve the taste of the potatoes, might be used at some stage to replace other form of fertilizers. The urge for simplicity in hygiene might return. Mysticism and the meditations of the constant threat of death as expressed in the Seaweed Stories, might find a contemporary expression. The freedom the fisher experienced might be something that has a universal appeal and something that might increasingly be reinvented in contemporary and future terms, as has the longing to connect with nature.

CHAPTER 12 A TYPOLOGY OF SAMENESS AND DIFFERENCE

12.1. Introduction

Whereas the previous chapter empirically reflected on the origins of cultural differences, this chapter aims to theoretically develop a typology of sameness and difference, based upon the empirical findings. Section 12.2 discusses the use of different terms indicating sameness in the globalization debate: universality, homogeneity and uniformity. Section 12.3 theoretically discusses sameness, based upon the work of Simmel and Kant. Two different forms of sameness are distinguished: 'homogeneity' and 'uniformity'. Section 12.4 discusses and distinguishes 'polarization' and 'universal diversity' as different forms of difference. Section 12.5 presents the conclusions and a typology of sameness and difference.

12.2 Uniformity, homogeneity and universality in the globalization debate

This section discusses some interpretations of sameness and difference within the globalization debate. What hypotheses does the literature provide? Generally scholars on the subject either defend a homogeneity thesis, a polarization thesis or a hybridization thesis (Holton, 1998).

To begin with the latter, the hybridization-thesis assumes the co-existence of 'the local' and 'the global', sometimes reconnected into one new category called 'glocalization'. Within the concept of hybridization cultural globalization is seen as the combination and merging of indigenous cultures with Western culture (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995). In glocalization the local cultures find their place in the global culture and vice-versa (Robertson, 1995).

Similarly, Holton suggests that one initial way of simplifying the analysis is to 'collapse different sub-global levels into one category, while the contrast here is between that which is spatially or metaphorically extensive and that which is spatially or metaphorically limited' (Holton, 2005:109). The hybridization-thesis will not be further explored in this dissertation. In common with Sloterdijk (2005), I submit that the global and the local are not separate, mutually exclusive dimensions or categories that can be reconnected into a new category. Neither are the global and the local perceived as distinctive points in a field.

It is also argued that essentially the 'global' and the 'local' are identical. Through time and space-compression (Castells, 1996) the intermediating variable disappears, leaving the global literary neither the time nor the isolated space to grow into something distinctively local. What makes the local global, this thesis argues, is the disappearance of the separating qualities established by time and isolation.

The polarization-thesis is often formulated to counter the homogeneity-thesis. Polarization has been interpreted as a clash of civilizations (Huntington, 1993) or as a clash between global consumer capitalism and retribalization: Jihad vs. MacWorld (Barber, 1996). Previously, I have suggested polarization as occurring between a self-explanatory, self-conscious *expansive* and an *explanatory* identity, the latter awakened through the presence of the former. Others have explored the homogeneity-thesis as Americanization or McDonaldization (Ritzer, 2000). Ritzer argues that globalization leads to McDonaldization: the expansion of the business principles that turned McDonalds into a global icon, namely efficiency, calculability, predictability and control.

Setting aside the content of either the homogeneity or the polarization thesis, it is remarkable, that, within these concepts, three notions of 'sameness' are used in an undiffererentiated and interchangeable way. Within the globalization debate, both defenders of the polarization thesis and adherents of the homogeneity thesis use the qualifications, a) uniformity, b) homogeneity and, c) universality to indicate 'sameness'. 'Modern societies thus have much in common. But do they necessarily merge into *homogeneity*?', Huntington asks (Huntington, 1996: 69). Yet, and at the same time, this homogeneous society might be *universal*. Huntington notes: 'if a *universal* civilization is emerging, there should be tendencies toward the emergence of a universal language and a universal religion' (Huntington, 1996: 59).

Baumann states that 'globalization divided as much as it unites- the causes of division being identical with those which promote the *uniformity* of the globe' (Baumann, 1998:67).[1] Ritzer argues that 'from a global perspective these rational systems tend to bring about homogenization and an increasingly *homogeneous* world is a less human world' (Ritzer, 2000: 88).

When cultural homogeneity is discussed within the sociological debate the concepts of homogeneity, uniformity and universality are used at the same time, and sometimes apparently rather arbitrarily. When Ritzer argues that an increasingly homogeneous world is a less human world, the following questions arise immediately. Is homogeneity indeed contradictory with the human condition? Is a homogeneous society identical to a uniform society and to a universal society? Does the mechanism of 'overlay and country-specifics' lead to 'uniformity', or to 'homogeneity' or to 'universality'? What are the differences between these concepts?

So far, when exploring the hypothetical framework, the concept of globalization has been unraveled but not the concept of 'sameness'. Within the sociological debate three notions are used, apparently all referring to the notion of sameness: homogeneity, uniformity and universality. I suggest making a distinction between these three concepts. What are the essential differences between uniformity, homogeneity and universality? The next section aims to dissect the concepts of 'sameness' and 'difference' and to investigate whether these concepts relate to domination and autonomy and, if so, how.

12.3 Sameness: homogeneity and uniformity

Firstly, this section and section 12.4 seek to broaden a theoretical understanding of what brings forth sameness and difference based upon sociological and philosophical literature on the subject. Secondly, these sections seek to examine to what extent these mechanisms are related to domination or autonomy.[2] Based upon this analysis, a typology of sameness and difference is presented. I will discuss these concepts while drawing on the work of Simmel's *On Individuality and Social Forms,* [1907-1918], Kant's *Idea for a Universal History from a Cosmopolitan Point of View* [1784], Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* [1915] and Habermas' *Theory of Communicative Action* (1984).

Sameness and difference may be understood within a range of disciplinary frameworks and may be applied to various types of processes, objects, societies, cultures, individuals and groups. From a sociological viewpoint, sameness and difference apply to individuals in isolation as in psychology, but mostly to social groups located within social relationships. The dynamics of sameness or difference within modernity may be largely the product of choices of individual behaviour. Yet what drives individuals in their desire to become different or the same? Understanding the nature of these dynamics requires an understanding of why, and under what circumstances, an individual is inclined to choose behaviour that results in sameness or difference on the group-level.

In his short essay *Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose* Kant [1784] (1991) discusses men's antagonism in society. 'By 'antagonism' I mean in this context the unsocial sociability of men, that is, their tendency to come together in society, coupled, however, with a continual resistance which constantly threatens to break this society up' (Kant, 1991:44).

Kant places this specific feature of men within the context of the development of a universal history. The idea of antagonism in society is mentioned in the fourth thesis: 'The means which

nature employs to bring about the development of innate capacities is that of antagonism within society, in so far as this antagonism becomes in the long run the cause of a law-governed social order' (Kant, 1991:44).

This antagonism, Kant argues, is necessary in order to 'bring about the development of innate capacities of men.' The idea of an 'unsocial sociability' as an antagonism in society employed by what Kant calls nature, is therefore placed within the context of the development of a universal history, or what Kant in the next thesis calls 'a universal civic society'. How does this concept of unsocial sociability within a universal civic society relate to a concept of sameness and difference within the context of globalization leading to a world society?

In section 4.3, I have defined globalization as referring to acts of connection or 'to entering into a larger society'. On the level of individuals, groups, regions and nation-states these acts of connection into a world society refer to the trait of 'sociability', or what Kant has described as 'their propensity to enter in society.' Acts of disconnection are in section 4.3 described as *not* belonging to the domain of globalization. From a Kantian viewpoint, they refer to the trait of 'unsociability', or 'the continual resistance which constantly threatens to break this society up', in this case, hindering the process towards world society and even threatening to break up the process of world society.

Just as individuals can withdraw from society in an act of unsociability, within the dynamic of globalization, groups can withdraw from participation in a constantly expanding larger society and establish disconnection. While I have defined these acts as acts that are not acts of globalization, they are undeniably part of the processes of globalization. Connection and disconnection are philosophical concepts that cannot be understood in isolation. Disconnection can only gain meaning within a context that connection is a possibility, and the act of disconnection might become more poignant when connection is more self-evident.[3]

When groups of society withdraw in an act of unsociability from the expanding society, that one day will be a world society, they produce difference on the level of the world society, just like unsocial behavior from one individual in a much smaller group, causes difference on the level of the group. For now, to broaden an understanding of what brings forth sameness and difference, I will further elaborate Kant's concept 'unsocial sociability'. I will elaborate this antagonistic concept by discussing the concept of 'sociability', based upon Simmel's essay with the same name (Simmel ([1910] 1971).

While Kant argues that both unsociability and sociability are required to develop all capacities of men, this does not specify how sociability can be perceived. It is here where we turn to the sociological debate. Simmel discusses five forms of social interaction in names essays with

the same name: 'exchange', 'conflict', 'domination', 'prostitution' and 'sociability' which he argues is 'the play-form of association' (Simmel, 1971:130).[4]

Sociability is driven by a need for association 'accompanied by a feeling for, by a satisfaction in, the very fact that one is associated with others and that the solitariness of the individual is resolved into togetherness, a union with others' (Simmel, 1971:128). This form of social interaction differs therefore from for example a form of interaction that Simmel describes as 'prostitution', interaction where both parties (contrary to Kant's device) are used as mere means and not as an end in itself.

On the other hand, 'sociability' is a form of social interaction which is in many ways the opposite of 'prostitution'. Both parties are treated as an end in itself and indeed the social interaction has no other means then its end. It is interaction for the sake of interaction and connection for the sake of connection. The first aspect of sociability refers to what I call the autonomous character of sociability, the result of a choice for sociability as a need *sui generis*. Sociability is a social interaction entered into freely by both parties, (unlike for example the social interaction of 'domination'), with no other aim than the interaction itself.

Simmel distinguishes a form of social interaction, called 'exchange', as the 'purest and most concentrated form of all human interactions in which serious interests at stake' (Simmel, 1971:43). While social interaction in the form of exchange can be autonomously entered by both parties, both aiming to improve their situation, this interaction differs from sociability in that both parties have a goal to achieve, in which the other party can be an end. Simmel argues that in 'human relations, interaction generally appears in forms which lend themselves being viewed as exchange' (Simmel, 1971:44). The associative concepts of 'exchange' and of 'sociability', into both of which people enter freely and autonomously, can nonetheless be distinguished since in the 'sociability' concept association is an end in itself, whereas in the 'exchange' model, association is a means towards an end.

Beside these autonomous forms of interaction, forms of social interaction can be distinguished that are typically undertaken less autonomously: 'conflict', 'prostitution' and 'domination'. While in some cases these social interactions might be undertaken more or less based upon an autonomous choice, they are not the result of 'freely operating individuals', as that phrase is defined more or less in the case of sociability and, to a lesser extent, 'exchange'.

We might therefore want to make a distinction between autonomous acts of association and dominant acts of association, whereby sociability is typically the result of a choice for autonomous association. But how can the concept of 'sociability' shine a light on sameness and difference? Within sociability Simmel argues that 'the individual renounces both the objective

and purely personal features of intensity and extensiveness of life in order to bring about among themselves a pure interaction, free of any disturbing accent' (Simmel, 1971:128).

This second aspect of sociability refers to the consequences that this autonomous need for association has for sameness. For it is within the context of sociability that the 'individual renounces both the objective and purely personal features' or 'difference'. Simmel draws attention to the fact that association within sociability requires leaving the objective, personal traits of the individuals behind: to become *less* the individual self. Kant perceives sociability in a broader sense, as an inclination to associate, while he argues that: 'Man has an inclination to live in society, since he feels in this state more like a man, that is, he feels able to develop his natural capacities' (Kant, 1991:44). In other words, Kant draws attention to *why* man is inclined to association, i.e. to feel more than man, while Simmel describes that within sociability the individual becomes *less*.

This antagonism between the emphasis Kant places on the feeling of becoming more than the individual personality through association and the renouncing of the objective self that Simmel discusses, is expressed in the following quote, 'But precisely because all is oriented around them, the personalities must not emphasize themselves too individually' (Simmel, 1971:130). With sociability the individual recedes in order to become more. Sameness in this context is therefore an outcome of an autonomously undertaken action. However, it is not just an outcome, but also a prerequisite for interaction. For sociability is *a priori* characterized by sameness, 'a common element, a likeness of psychological reaction and need, is found in all these various things – something easily distinguishable from the special interest which gives each its distinction' (Simmel, 1971:128). Not only is it through sociability that the individual recedes, sociability emerges out of what individuals share.

From Simmel's idea of sociability as a form of social interaction the image arises of the existence of a domain where the common prevails over the personal, the social over the individual, where what is shared expands and what is distinctive recedes. Within this domain the shared is dominant over the distinctive. Giving up the distinctive, the personal and the subjective is, within sociability, a rational choice in order to become more, within the context of sameness, the shared and the objective.

We can therefore distinguish a domain of social interaction characterized by sameness. Within this domain the individual freely withdraws his own, subjective traits for the sake of the establishment of the common, which will ultimately free him from himself. Analogizing with Kant's principle of freedom, Simmel argues that, within sociability, this principle holds that 'everyone should have as much satisfaction of this impulse as is consonant with the satisfaction

of the impulse for all others' (Simmel, 1971:132). This domain that brings forth sameness is entered freely and autonomously, with no other goal than for the satisfaction of association.

I therefore suggest acknowledging a domain of human interaction where the common prevails over the individual and that is entered autonomously. Within a globalizing world characterized by increasing connections, a domain of the shared emerges that is the product of the autonomous choice of individuals, of an autonomous driven association with others for mutual satisfaction., transforming solitude or separation into togetherness and union, free from domination or force, indeed a product of what Simmel (1971:133) has called 'homogenous interaction with a reduction of the personal periphery'. I suggest calling this form of sameness *homogeneity*.

While Simmel's concept of sociability has been helpful in developing an understanding of a domain in which the shared expands and the personal periphery recedes, homogeneity is not necessarily or exclusively related to Simmel's concept of sociability as a form of play-full association. Homogeneity as the result of autonomous action can as well be driven by economic, political and cultural needs and thus refers to economic, political and cultural equality. This type of interactions would refer to what Simmel has characterized as 'exchange'.

The exchange of values, culture, ideas and economic services, through all these social interactions a sameness is established. Within the context of 'exchange' sameness can be produced, just as well as profound differences. Yet, by definition, Simmel's sociability presupposes and produces sameness. The forms of sameness that emerge as a result of 'exchange' or 'sociability' have in common that they are the product of autonomy and not of domination. In conclusion, I define *homogeneity*[5] as: *'sameness as the product of autonomy and the absence of domination.'*

Can sameness be the product of domination? Surely, since it is through domination that the will of one is imposed on many others. The dominator reshapes his sub-ordinates according to his own wish. But as Simmel argues in the essay *Domination* [1908] (1971) 'the unificatory consequence of subordination under one ruling power operates even when the group is in opposition to this power' (Simmel, 1971:103). Successful domination can establish sameness as equally as unsuccessful domination.

Indeed, sometimes the social interaction of domination is entered into freely and autonomously, in those cases where man wants to be dominated or dominate. Yet those acts that are essentially acts of autonomous association produce different kinds of sameness than those acts

of association through domination, even the very domination itself is entered as the result of a free and autonomous choice.

An example of the difference between homogeneity and 'sameness as the consequence of domination' can be found in the field of languages. Language as means of communication emerges amongst a specific sub-group, changes and is redefined, so that both parties can understand each other. With Habermas, then, communication has an inherent *telos*, namely the goal of mutual understanding (Habermas, 1987). A homogeneous language emerges out of autonomous action of individuals driven by the desire to understand each other, to be in union and to overcome (linguistic) isolation.

Most contemporary languages are at some point standardized. It is only then that the specific use of a certain language of one group becomes the standard and thus establishes 'sameness' amongst different regional dialects and within a geographical area. This is therefore essentially an act of domination, of one group over another. An example of sameness as a product of domination is given in the following quote of an Irish teacher on Inis Mór;

'Another problem is that the true, good old Irish died out…when they introduced the standard Irish… we had our own version of Irish here… but there is hardly anybody left who speaks that…the Department of Education decided to standardize Irish… 'Caidhéan'… standardization. That was in the early seventies. When the British tried to stop the locals to speak Irish, it became a language of resistance…. But the standardized Irish, I call 'Plastic Irish' (respondent 11).

In this quote two processes of sameness are mentioned that are the result of domination within the Irish language on Inis Mór. Firstly, domination failed when the British tried to stop the locals from speaking Irish. The domination was ultimately not successful, and, 'the good old Irish' became a language of resistance. This is what Simmel has called the unificatory consequence of subordination, when the group is in opposition to the power. But, a form of sameness as a consequence of successful domination, the standardization of Irish imposed by the Department of Education, or, 'plastic Irish', is also mentioned. Since this form of sameness is related to domination, it involves other forms of communication than homogeneity, which is the product of autonomous actions of both parties.

Simmel argues that sociability is explored through conversation, which, 'in sociability is an end in itself' (Simmel, 1971: 136). However, I would argue that, since the point of departure of sociability and to a certain extent its destination is the domain of the shared and not of the distinctive, conversation within sociability is not an end in itself but aims, even if it might not

seem so, implicitly *to confirm* the domain of the shared and, where possible, *to expand* the shared. In sociability, I argue, communication is not an end in itself but aims to confirm sociability and 'the shared'.

Communication within the context of domination is not an end in itself nor has it as an inherent telos the goal of mutual understanding. Within relationships of domination sameness can be achieved through relatively little and sometimes rather unilateral communication. Not coincidentally, the respondent mentions almost bitterly 'The Department of Education', as the bastion of power from where sameness between the different forms of Irish has been imposed.

Relationships of super-ordination and subordination play an immense role in social life (Simmel, 1908: 98). Globalization, defined as increasing cross-border connections, does not necessarily refer solely to an increase in connections in the form of social interactions that produce homogeneity. It may also refer to an increase in connection in the form of domination. Since the sameness that is produced by these kind of interaction is not necessarily based upon a communication driven by the desire for mutual understanding, and in fact might often be a rather thin line of communication, the result is a diffuse sort of sameness that seems to emerge without that the individual actors have had a say in it, literally. It is the silent take over of domains of individual life.

Domination can be exerted by an individual, by a group, or by an objective force, whether social or ideal (Simmel, 1908:100). Within the context of globalization, processes of domination by an individual might be harder to distinguish than those by a group such as a corporate monopoly, or by an objective force such as consumerism, again whether social or ideal. This form of sameness that is a product of domination, I call *uniformity*.[6] In conclusion, I define *uniformity* as '*sameness as the product of domination and the absence of autonomy.'*

12.4 Difference: polarization and universal diversity

But what if man had only an inclination towards sociability and not towards unsociability? 'Man would live like an Arcadian, pastoral existence of perfect concord, self-sufficiency and mutual love. But all human talents would remain hidden for ever in a dormant state, and men, as good-natured as the sheep they tended, would scarcely render their existence more valuable than that of their animals' (Kant, 1991:45).

Indeed, an Arcadian shepherd's life was composed of homogenous shepherds, like their sheep, who willingly used uniform staffs and ate portions of uniform food, imposed by the

shepherd's boss, the landlord. If man's only inclination was towards play-full sociability and a search for the common how would innovation be possible? Since the nature of man is essentially antagonistic and the inclination towards sociability (and receding of individual traits) is counterbalanced by an inclination towards unsocial behaviour (and an expansion of the personal periphery) societies will never reach full sameness, in the sense that all its parts or all individual actors have become identical.

In addition to an inclination towards an association with others equally present is an inclination towards isolation and disassociation, though this inclination is stronger in some actors and weaker in others. The motivations for this act of disassociation can be different. In this section I discuss a partition in acts of disassociation based upon distinctive motivations. These distinctive motivations result in what is argued to be a 'different kind of difference' on the level of the group. The first kind of motivation to be 'unsocial', I derive from Kant. The second is based upon a distinction that Simmel makes between two forms of individuality.

Why does man want to disassociate himself from others? Kant argues that the individual has a propensity to isolate himself from others, 'since he also encounters in himself the unsocial characteristic of wanting to direct everything in accordance with his own ideas' (Kant, 1991:44). In that sense, isolation and disassociation refer to individual autonomy, *αυτο νομιά*.

The choice for disassociation, then, can be motivated because the individual feels that the 'unsocial' aspect of his 'wanting to direct everything in accordance with his own ideas', his 'individual autonomy' is under threat. It is in this circumstance that the individual seeks to re-establish its own autonomy and, in doing so, restore its own difference and thus produce a distinction that is almost a hyper-difference, a difference that would never have come to surface, had it not had been felt to be under threat.

This process refers to what Hegel has described in *The Phenomenology of Spirit* [1807] (1977) as the development of consciousness in the relations between master and servant. Through acknowledging an 'other', self-consciousness is possible and becomes necessary. But if there is another, the original self-consciousness feels threatened and asserts its freedom by trying to dominate that other and force acknowledgement of its dominance. Ultimately, as Hegel argues, by dominating the servant, the master is dominated.

How do these mechanisms relate to globalization? Chapter 9 has discussed differences emerging within the context of dominant globalization. Instead of sameness or uniformity, difference appears. This difference however, seems to be bi-polar and largely emerges as being ignited by the dominant actor. In this context, the original consciousness (the local culture) seeks to reclaim power through a re-orientation on its own identity, and to disassociate, while the

dominating processes of globalization seek to execute power through the dissemination of its own culture as 'universal'. Both inclinations lead to increased differences within society, rather then the expected uniformity as is discussed in chapter 8.

As I argued before, sameness can be constructed under the influence of domination as a process of unification against the domineering power. From the perspective of the sub-group, this might lead to a greater 'sameness', amongst the members of the sub-group. However, from the perspective of the group, we observe increasing difference. The re-orientation on the sub-groups own distinctive nature, the wish to let everything go according to its own wish, with the use of culture as a symbolic power, leads to an act of disassociation from the larger group.

Similarly, from the perspective of globalization as a process of integration into a world society, these acts that are established in order to create distinctive sub-societies, to disassociate from the larger whole, might create sameness on the level of the sub-group, but create difference on the global level. Barbers (1996) *Jihad vs. McWorld: How Globalism and Tribalism Are Reshaping the World* sketches such a development *in extremo*. However, similar acts of disassociation can be found on a less profound and threatening level. For now, I contend that cultural difference can emerge within the context of dominant globalization. Since domination typically distinguishes a dominator from a sub-ordinate, a bipolar difference can in these circumstances be expected. I define *polarization* as '*difference as the product of domination.*'

How can 'difference as the outcome of autonomy' be defined? Simmel distinguishes two forms of individuality. One form of individuality refers to the freedom that comes from a larger social circle, 'the responsibility that comes from a broad and fluid social environment'. The second form of individuality, Simmel argues, is qualitative, namely 'that the single human being distinguishes himself from all others; that his being and conduct – in form, content, or both- suit him alone; and that being different has a positive meaning and value for his life' (Simmel, 1971:271).

These are very different conceptualizations of individuality. 'In the first, the value emphasis is on what men have in common; in the second it is on what separates them' (Simmel, 1971:272). The first aspect, 'individuality through what is shared', has been discussed previously, referring to sameness, as a motivation for actors to opt for homogeneity. In order to become more, the subjective qualities of the individual actors become less.

In discussing difference as an analytical concept, I turn to the second meaning of individuality. According to Simmel, one aspect of this conceptualization of individuality, 'that his being and conduct (…) suit him alone', refers to the aspect formulated by Kant as 'wanting to

direct everything in accordance with his own ideas'. However, the other aspect that Simmel mentions, that 'suits him alone and that being different has a positive meaning and value for his life', refers to a motivation for distinctiveness for the sake of being distinctive as an end in itself, like sociability is a form of association for the sake of association, of being together and sharing the same, is an end in itself.

Whereas in the previous section I have drawn attention to the fact that sameness can be the result of an autonomous choice, so can difference. In Simmel's definition, sociability refers to the act of association as an end in it self. Similarly, we might want to distinguish an act of disassociation as an end in itself. Why would somebody be willing to disassociate for the sake of disassociation? One of these reasons could be that, while in union with others and in togetherness, man discovers what he shares with all other human beings, it is in isolation when man discovers his own distinctiveness. Placed outside of the laws of the community, every individual becomes a temporary 'out-law' and as such finds in himself that what distinguishes him from all other human beings.

How could difference manifest itself within the context of forms of autonomous globalization? I argue that, within the context of globalization, the two different forms of individualities that Simmel distinguishes, fuse. The first form of individuality Simmel specifies is as follows. 'Out of the uniqueness of the individual's being, there arises a corresponding uniqueness of that which can complement and free him, a specificity of needs whose correlate is the availability of the largest possible circle of possible selections, since as one's wishes, and inner drives become more individual, it becomes that much less likely that they will find satisfaction in a narrowly bounded domain' (Simmel, 1971:269-70).

It works the other way as well. The larger the possible circle of possible selection, the more each individual can realize his own uniqueness. I have argued before that globalization as a process, refers to the expanding of societies into one society, the world society, explicitly broadens the narrowly bounded domain into the largest possible circle of possible selections.

It is within this context that individuality increases. Within the conceptualization of both sociability and individuality, it becomes comprehensible how, through processes of globalization, that ultimately, as defined before, lead to increasing connection, *ergo* to an expansion of the social circle that encompasses individuals, the objective *s*ameness increases, the domain of sameness expands, while at the same time the individual experience of subjective distinctiveness in the form of individuality increases. Thus a society of individuals all over the world who have never has looked so much the same, or eaten so much the same, celebrates 'individuality' - and rightly so.

However, how can we fuse that concept of individuality with the other aspect of individuality? How can we fuse the concept previously discussed with the concept that separates the actor from other actors through the actor seeking distinctiveness simply for the joy of being distinctive? Chapter 11 included a systematic empirical examination of the origins of difference; in this case, the distinctive qualities that have been attributed to the culture on Inis Mór around 1900, which was said to be once one of the most distinctive cultures of Europe.

It was concluded that these distinctive features were distinctive on three levels: a) objectively (as objective objects, for example: 'a distinctive form of dancing', unique in movements, patterns and rhythm), b) subjectively (the subjective meaning given to the subject: 'distinctive Irish dancing') and c) the universally accessible value that the object of distinctiveness possesses (the beauty and joy of this type of dancing). While the first layer of distinctiveness is argued to refer to a local circle and the second to a national circle, the third addresses a global circle, or mankind.

How can a layer that refers to universality bring forth differences? I argue that through processes of economic globalization both the objective and subjective layers, together with the local and the national particularities, are receding in favour of an expanding collective horizon that contains the previously local and national or objective and subjective objects of distinctions. In other words, the distinctiveness of Irish dancing mentioned in the previous example, is through processes of globalization now increasingly universally accessible, for example through workshops given all over Europe or through videos that are sold world-wide.

While seemingly a manifestation of sameness, on another level this 'availability of the largest possible circle of possible selections' allows the individual to express his own individuality, to disassociate, to become different, from the group to which he belongs. On the macro-level I have called the results of the micro-level actions 'universal diversity'.

We can imagine an example of a Czech woman living in a small village in the Czech Republic, who teaches herself Irish dancing through the Internet, DVD's and frequent visits to Ireland. Why would she do this? She does it because she loves the dancing and likes the beauty of it, and that somehow appeals to her individual being, to her own uniqueness. But also, she does it, because it will make her different within the local society. At the same time, we might imagine her neighbour who has learned Icelandic through the Internet, DVD's and frequent travels to Iceland, because she loves the language and enjoys being different. On the level of the small society then, we then see an increased difference. This is what I call 'universal diversity'.

On the macro-level, universal diversity is the result of, on one hand, the expansion of the available 'possible circle of possible selections' and of the individual's desire to be distinctive on the other. However, the premise for the phenomenon is that the enlargement of the 'possible

circle of possible selections' is not imposed, but the result of autonomous choice. For example, the choice for learning Irish in a context of dominant processes of globalization, coinciding with the dissemination of American values and culture, is a different form of difference (polarization) then the choice of a Suisse woman, mentioned in chapter 12, who taught herself fluent Irish because she loves the language and the literature (universal diversity) and for that reason only. In conclusion, I define *universal diversity*, referring to 'universality'[7] as: '*difference as the outcome of autonomy and the absence of domination.*'

The concept of universal diversity refers to the uniqueness of every single human being, yet combines this with an ideal of equality, in that everything that is available should be accessible to all, or refers to the most extreme expansion of the circle of associated beings.[8] This form of variety will increase with an expansion of autonomous globalization, in such a sense that these objects of difference, in the past locally or nationally bound, will be more and more universally accessible and can be used by the individual to differentiate. However, distinctiveness emerging from disassociation establishes at the same time connection so that the 'social' always prevails over the 'unsocial'. This I will discuss later.

12.5 Conclusion: a typology of sameness and difference

For now the above-mentioned arguments are summarized in the following table 12.1.

Table 12.1 Four Manifestations of Cultural Globalization on Two Dimensions.

	Sameness	**Difference**
Domination	Uniformity	Polarization
Autonomy	Homogeneity	Universal Diversity

These four manifestations of cultural globalization emerged from the empirical research and were elaborated based upon the above-mentioned theoretical literature. These typologies of sameness and difference occur on the level of the group, not on the level of the individual. In figure 14.8, these manifestations of cultural globalization on the macro-level are incorporated in the theoretical model. In other words, on the macro-level we might see a correlation between processes of dominant economic globalization and either uniformity or polarization in the cultural field. Similarly, we might see on the macro-level a correlation between processes of autonomous

economic globalization, mostly locally initiated, and homogeneity and universal diversity in the cultural field.

This raises several causal questions. Chapters 8 and 9 focused on the question why processes of dominant globalization lead to polarization. Yet why do processes of autonomous globalization lead to either homogeneity or universal diversity? The observed polarization in the Leixlip case on the macro-level has been explained through mechanisms below the macro-level. Could an observed increased homogeneity on Inis Mór be explained through individual behaviour? That question brings us closer to the micro-level. The next chapter empirically explores the relationship between autonomous globalization and sameness on Inis Mór.

NOTES

[1] Italics in this section: mvdb.

[2] Since the main theoretical concept of this thesis is globalization, which has been extensively discussed in the previous chapter, the thoughts on sameness and difference and the extent to which they are related to domination or autonomy bear an explorative character.

[3] As Kant argues: 'their tendency to come together in society, coupled, however, with a continual resistance which constantly threatens to break this society up' (Kant, 1991:44).

[4] The other forms are Exchange [1907], Conflict [1908], Domination [1908] and Prostitution [1907].

[5] 'Homogeneity is the quality of being homogeneous. Emphasis on the unity of the nation and the homogeneity of society. A thing or a group that is homogeneous has parts or members which are all the same or which consist of only one substance. *The working class is not quite so homogeneous in its political preference.*' In: Collins (1988) *Collins English Language Dictionary*, London and Glasgow: Collins.

[6] Collins Dictionary defines uniformity as: 'a state in which everyone or everything behaves or looks the same as everyone or everything else'. The dreary uniformity of the housing estates appalls me... Is there a move towards uniformity between the countries in the EEC? A uniform is a special set of clothes which some people, for example soldiers or police, wear to work in and which some children wear at school. s) a particular style of clothing which a group of people wear to show they belong to a group or movement *The movement's uniform consisted of jeans and jersey.* If something is uniform, it does not vary, but is even and regular throughout. If you describe a number of things as uniform, you mean that they all look or are exactly the same.' In: Collins (1988) *Collins English Language Dictionary*, London and Glasgow: Collins.

[7] 'Universal = something that is universal relates to everyone in the world or everyone in a particular group or society; used for example of something that is available for everyone, or that affects everyone.
They touched on various topics of universal interest. Every new fact discovered by science adds to the universal store of human knowledge. Universality = It is pretentious to universality, its claim to include the whole of mankind... the universality of mankind. Universal = a universal is something that seems to be the same or equally true at all times and in all situations. universals such as beauty and justice... we must begin from universals of experience.' In: Collins (1988) *Collins English Language Dictionary*, London and Glasgow: Collins.

[8] Simmel ([1971:287): 'The ideal of equality, which unifies, in quite another sense, the most extreme individualization with the most extreme expansion of the circle of associated beings, has never been more encouraged than by the Christian doctrine of the immortal and eternal soul.'

CHAPTER 13 RAINBOW LAND

13.1 Introduction: nostalgic parameters

That day in late February when I was about to leave the mainland to sail for the very first time to Inis Mór, an older man with a goatee and a captain's cap blocked the duckboards. 'Your ticket, please', he said, looking at me with sea-reflecting blue eyes, grinding nicotine teeth in tobacco fashion, his furrowed-face a maze of traces to an unknown past. A typical islander, a sailor: the city disappeared instantly. I handed him over a little yellow paper. He said: 'No. That is the wrong ticket. You need a white ticket.' I got confused. The man growled: 'Look. It is not that difficult. The white ticket is to go. And the yellow ticket is to return....' He paused and then looked me sharply in the eyes. Then he said slowly, his low-thundering voice a bulldozer wiping obstacles off the broad road of narrow thinking: 'But for some reason... the Dutch do not seem to understand this system...' I rendered speechless. How did he know I was Dutch? Later on one of my respondents, a born-and-raised islander would say about the same man: 'Did he look like a typical islander to you? To us he looks like a German captain.'

Picture 13.1 View from Kilronan, Inis Mór.

© Martha C.E. Van Der Bly

When Barth (1969) argues that our sense of cultural or national identity develops largely with reference to others, it follows that connection *creates* rather than neutralizes cultural distinctiveness. That is the reverse of what is argued in chapter 11, where Inis Mór's cultural distinctiveness is explained by reflecting on its practical, objective origins rather than on the tempting surrounding myths. One respondent, a tourist from Dublin, said:

'I remember how the ferry slowed down when we approached the harbour of Inis Mór.... as if the boat already was adapting to a slower pace of life.' (Respondent 56)

Outer characteristics that in a different context would have been attributed with a more objectified meaning – the diminishing speed of a ferry, the goatee of an old man - turn into nostalgic parameters for those who are 'keen to do something distinctive, something uniquely Irish.' Nostalgic parameters, seductive in their offering of a safe retreat, can mask reality, especially when they coincide with unawareness of their pragmatic genesis.

Searching for the origins and nature of some of the characteristics of cultural differences on Inis Mór, (relative) autarky and (relative) isolation were found, generating *objectified cultural differences* that can be attributed to those objects creating cultural diversity. Chapter 10 discussed some of the mechanisms that contribute to the *subjectified cultural differences* attributed to those objects. As Tovey and Share (2003:336) argue: 'the nation in Ireland was defined by prioritizing those elements of culture where the contrast with the emerging English nation was clearest.'

These different qualities of cultural differences refer to different geographical domains. The first aspect, its objectivity, refers to the *local* context, through autarky and isolation different cultural objects and practices are developed. The second aspect of cultural differences[1] refers mostly to the *national* level: a symbolic meaning is attributed to objects and practices that are locally developed. Distinctiveness can take place in a much larger domain than just the local but on a regional or often national level: to create a national identity that distinguishes one national group from another national group. Local practices are incorporated into what is to become national distinctiveness, a national unique culture.

However, I have suggested distinguishing a third quality of the objects of cultural differences, which paradoxically seems to initially deny its distinctiveness: the *universal value* that the object of cultural distinctiveness possesses. Whereas the first qualities of the object are either merely locally or nationally accessible, the third quality is universally accessible by the world population. The premise for this quality to become fully accessible is first the de-localization and then de-nationalization of the objectified objects.

This line of thinking will be explored in this chapter. Instead of exploring cultural distinctiveness within the context of autarky and isolation, or as a form of polarization coinciding with dominant globalization as discussed in the case of Leixlip, I will explore cultural diversity within the context of processes of globalization that are the outcome of autonomous activities. What is the relationship between autonomous globalization and sameness?

Section 13.2 *We are in charge* discusses processes of autonomous globalization on Inis Mór and identifies local autonomy on five levels. The following sections study the effects in the cultural field. Section 13.3 *McDisneyization: the castle? But there is no plaque on it!* discusses the documentary realities of the lack of uniformity within the contemporary culture on Inis Mór. Section 13.4 *Lord bless, says I, I know the difference between what is made by hands and what is made by a machine: Knitting on Inis Mór*, discusses the knitting industry on Inis Mór and how, in the rare case that forms of dominant globalization emerge, polarization in the cultural field can be observed. Section 13.5 *He was a pioneer: Aer Arann* explores sameness as an effect of autonomous globalization, as it emerged within the case of the airline, Aer Arann. Section 13.6 *The Celtic Spirit: how it spread its wings* discusses the concept of universal diversity, that came to light especially through the case study of Celtic Spirit, a cultural travel organization. Section 13.7 *Mascarpone and vanilla hearts* shows how universal diversity emerged on the island through the influx of immigrants. Section 13.8 *E una visione... travelling stars* explores micro-processes of autonomous globalization coming to Inis Mór.

13.2 'We are in charge': globalization on Inis Mór

Economic processes of globalization are, in this research, seen as being mostly manifested within three dimensions: a) movement of goods and money, b) movement of people, and, c) movement of knowledge. In contemporary times the first dimension is mostly associated with an increase of Foreign Direct Investment, the second with growing flows of tourism and migration and the third with expansion of access to and use of the Internet.

Within the local context, these three dimensions of economic globalization do not necessarily occur separately. In fact tourism, studied in this chapter, might often be closely linked with a high proportion of Foreign Direct Investment, especially in those holiday destinations that are 'developed' into tourist areas by foreign investors.[2] It can be assumed that these regions will show a sharp increase of access to the Internet as well, so that the three dimensions of economic globalization become cumulative to a certain extent.

With the case study of Inis Mór I aimed to study the changes in the cultural field under influences of globalization processes as manifested in the shape of the movement of people throughout the world, with special emphasis on tourism. However, one of the first findings of this research was that there seems to be very little Foreign Direct Investment on the island. Many islanders, when asked about the presence of Foreign Direct Investment mention Irish-, or non-island investment in the same breath, as in the following quote.

'Hm.... Foreign Direct Investment... there used to be a factory owned by AT & T, they were making components for telephones; an islander brought it here in the middle of the seventies, to bring some work to the West of Ireland. Then he was offered a grant to open a factory on the main land and then he left for the mainland and then he left for Prague. That was the only Foreign Direct Investment ever brought to the island... Well, there is the Aran Sweater Shop Market... it is owned by people from the mainland, Irish people, but not from the island.' (Respondent 2)

In this quote the respondent, while mentioning that there is no longer Foreign Direct Investment on the island, stresses immediately that it was brought to the island 'by an islander'. Therefore there seem to have been autonomy on the level of *initiative*. Secondly, he mentions the Aran Sweater Shop in the same breath with AT & T, even though this is an Irish-owned company, 'but not from the island'. To a certain extent it seems as if, to the islanders, 'Foreign Direct Investment' includes all non-island investment.

In real estate too, the islanders appear to have largely kept their independence. The real estate market, often prone to the influence of (foreign) investors seems largely disconnected from the mainland.

In the office of a Real Estate Agent in Galway:

'House for sale on Inis Mór? Now.... Let me check the Internet.... No, nothing. I have *never* (*with emphasis*) heard something from the islands coming on the market.....Why? Ehm... I think... that... you know... the islanders sell the houses amongst themselves.' (Respondent 48)

Islanders own the biggest guesthouses, the restaurant and the hotel, although the latter has non-island investors.

R- Well, actually, we do have investors... we do. For the next seven years. It is a tax-break for those investors. They initially saw the potential of a hotel on the island so... were happy to

invest… they are from the mainland… it is a tax-break for them… *and its helps us getting things started*…but *we are in charge*…. And *it is just for seven years*.

I - They are American?

R - Oh…no…no…no...they are all Irish (*laughter*).

I – I mean… there is so much American investment in Ireland and there are so many American visitors on the island, it just seems strange that there is nothing…

R – There is nothing. No, I don't think there is anything. (Respondent 5 - italics mvdb*)*

Even with regard to the Irish non-island investors, this respondent stresses that their influence is limited. In this quote she mentions how local autonomy is kept on three levels. Firstly, the idea for a hotel was a local initiative. After approaching the investors they 'saw potential in it', which made it possible for the local entrepreneurs to 'get things started'. Secondly, the involvement of the investors is not permanent but for a limited period of time ('and it is just for seven years'). Thirdly, and possibly most importantly, the decision-making power is in the hands of the local entrepreneurs, a fact that is pointed out explicitly and with great emphasis by the respondent ('but we are in charge'). On a local level, five levels of autonomy can be distinguished.

a) *Autonomy of ideas*. The innovating idea is locally developed.
b) *Autonomy of initiative*. The first phase of the investment is locally initiated.
c) *Autonomy of time*. Pace of implementation of the development are locally determined.
d) *Autonomy of decision*. The innovative development is locally controlled.
e) *Autonomy of making*. Local people build the development.

The fifth level of autonomy can be illustrated with the next example. Recently near the harbour some new apartments have been built. This seems to have been largely a project initiated and carried out by the islanders themselves. The following quote describes how building the apartments was initiated and managed locally, and how the actual construction was carried out mostly by islanders ('locals'). Not only are these projects carried out while the local community kept autonomy of ideas, autonomy of initiative, autonomy of time and autonomy of decision, it at the same time largely seemed to have had autonomy of making.

The fact that the apartments were mostly built by locals seems to be of great importance to the respondent. When being asked who built his apartments, the answer is immediately and decisive: they were locals. References to autarky and independence seem at the forefront of the island's collective memory.

R - We had the site for a long time... a long time, yes... And we built apartments next door two years ago... and we built shop units... and had them leased out to the tourist information *Bord Failte* ... And we have another unit rent out to a craft shop.

I – Who built the apartments for you?

R – (*decisive*) They were locals. They were from the island. They were two local lads and they are doing most of the building on the island.

I – Two...just two?

R – Well, there was more than two. There were seven or eight working here, but they were from the island too. But we had a plumber and an electrician coming from the mainland, the heating... the wiring... they are working for me. They are flying on the plane in the morning and they will be working at nine o'clock... you see, if they go on the ferry they won't be able to be here early in the morning. (Respondent 1)

While the quote expresses independence and local autonomy, at the same time it reveals that that does not coincide with isolation and a lack of connection, quite the reverse. These largely locally and autonomously constructed buildings, the apartments, shops and offices, are aimed to facilitate the tourist industry on the island. One apartment is rented out to the Tourism Board and the other to a craft shop where 'hand-knit Aran sweaters' are sold.

This fisherman decided to develop the tourist industry on the island with the capital he made in the seventies and through the ownership of a piece of land he owned for a long time. It is not the result of domination on a global, European or national level, but pre-eminently a local decision. Therefore, if we define the presence of the Tourist Board and of the craft shop on the island as an example of globalization (more precisely as an example of economic globalization facilitating the movement of people throughout the world) then this is 'globalization as an outcome of local autonomous activities'.

On Inis Mór, we seem therefore to find one process of economic globalization, the movement of people throughout the world, without evidence of a significant presence of the other economic dimension of globalization, the presence of Foreign Direct Investment.[3] The aforementioned cumulative effect of globalization does not seem to occur on Inis Mór. While there is a strong presence of tourism, there is very little Foreign Direct Investment.[4] There is also not a strong connection to the Internet (see Appendix).

Whereas with the case study of Leixlip, economic processes of globalization in the form of the presence of Foreign Direct Investment are studied, the processes of economic globalization on Inis Mór are not driven by Foreign Direct Investment and are mostly related[5] to the movement of

people in the form of temporary short-term movement (tourism), and to a lesser extent as semi-permanent long-term movement, migration (see Appendix). What is the relationship between globalization and sameness on Inis Mór?

Inis Mór, subject to globalization with an autonomous character, demonstrates mostly in the cultural field homogeneity and universal diversity as will be discussed later. However, mechanisms of uniformity and of polarization are found on Inis Mór as well.

13.3 McDisneyization: the castle? But there is no plaque on it!

Cultural uniformity, associated with globalization in the form of tourism, is thought to refer to McDisneyization and to a growing rationalization of the tourism industry. Ritzer and Liska (1997) argue that McDisneyization consists of the development of theme- and amusements parks, which turns shopping malls and even cruise ships into entertainment parks, including rides and roller coasters. To what extent do we find traces of McDisneyization on Inis Mór?

Sir William Wilde, the father of Oscar Wilde, was, in his time, a leading ear and eye surgeon and a writer of books on history, archaeology and folklore. He travelled to Madeira, to Tenerife and to the Mediterranean coast but in 1848 he wrote:

Sir William Wilde, 1848

'The Western Islands of Aran contain the greatest number of Pagan and early Christian monuments – military, domestic, ecclesiastical, and sepulchral – which can be found within the same area in Europe' (in: Ó Maoildhia, 1998:1).

True or not, given the amount of historic treasures on a small amount of space and the spectacular scenery, the circumstances on Inis Mór are ideal to transform the island into a Celtic themed adventure-park. Yet very few traces of McDisneyization can be found on Inis Mór. There is no festive little train carrying tourists from historical site to historical site. There are no 'photography points', where the visitor is informed of where to take his photograph. There is no 'playground especially for children'. There are very few signs indicating the treasures of the island. There are no islanders walking around dressed in a traditional costume. There is no large artificial surf pool where tourists can try to sail in a currach.

There is no little street 'kept as it used to be', where seaweed and turnips are sold to the tourists. There is no sheltered rock were tourists can put on pampooties and climb over the cliffs,

to experience how that must have felt to the Man of Aran. There is no audio-tour that can be carried around the island, indicating the massive sound of waves that occurred in 1852 when 15 people were swept off Inis Mór on a calm day by a tsunami.[6] There is no statue for James Brendan Connolly, the first Olympic Champion, whose parents were from Inis Mór. There is no statue for Synge or for one of the many of the other Irish nationalists that visited the island around 1900. There is nothing like that. The archaeological monuments remain an intrinsic part of the land (Prabodh Lele. 2003), living history, not separated from the contemporary by a ticket that needs to be bought. As *Backpacker Magazine* writes:

Writer Backpacker Magazine, 2004

'The other good thing about getting off the beaten track a bit, or away from Dún Aonghasa, is that you don't have to pay to get in. Unless we should not have climbed that fence.'(Morahan, 2004)

With this statement the writer establishes himself as an adventurer, going off the beaten track, avoiding the crowds and climbing over a fence. One of the fascinating things about Inis Mór is that in spite of the richness of its history and the presence of unique historical monuments, the islands treasures have not, with the exception of Dún Aonghasa, been developed as tourist sites. They simply *are*.

Dún Aonghasa, the island's main tourist attraction (and the only one, apart from the Heritage Centre, where an entrance fee is charged) is a half-circular fort perched on the edge of cliff (Spellisy, 2003:83). Remarkably, even here no gate or iron rail protects the curious tourists from falling of the three-hundred-foot-high cliffs. Tourists crawl on their stomach over the field, to the edge of the cliff, to catch the breathtaking view of the Atlantic Ocean. By being not an adventure park, the island still offers the possibility for adventure.

While we have seen that the processes of economic globalization on the island seem to be largely an outcome of local autonomous activity, tourism coming to the islands can be characterized by autonomy as well for example in the shape of backpackers. To the writer in *Backpacker Magazine* the seeming absence of McDisneyization might be a reason to travel to Inis Mór.

Disorganization as a characteristic of tourism, however, presupposes organisation and routine in the daily atmosphere or, as Thompson (1983:129) writes, in relation to forms of tourism characterized by heavy eating and drinking: 'People are encouraged to spend by this *disorganization* of the normal, 'acceptable' routines of consumption.' Jobs, within the general time-structure of nine-to-five, with a weekend and a prescribed task related to a set target offer

relatively little autonomy over ideas, over time, or over management compared to the life of the individual traveller. Similarly, the freedom and independence of the backpacker might generally be experienced within the context of a holiday, often alternated with highly structured daily lives, as the number of advertisements for IT agencies and accountancy firms in *Backpacker Magazine* suggests.

Whether being a moderate diet or an industrial working routine, in both cases the normal is left behind to explore the deviant on a holiday: gastronomic excesses or an absence of dominion over time and space. Nonetheless, within the refined spatial context of Inis Mór backpacking, even while appearing within the context of a controlled day-to-day life, appears as a form of autonomous tourism, a manifestation of autonomous globalization, characterized by autonomy over idea, initiative, time and decision.

At the same time, the fact that the island has *not* been McDisneyzised causes confusion amongst other visitors. This is shown in the following example. Next to Killiney Harbour the remains of the island's castle can be found, built in 1652 by the British Cromwellians using the stones from St. Enda's church and the Fransiscan friary, both located nearby.[7] Coming from Killiney Harbour, the road comes to a sharp turn left at the harbour, and directly ahead stands the turret of the castle and the remains of the sea wall.

One day, on my way back from the airport, I ran into a group of older Americans visiting the island for three days as part of a tour in Ireland. We have talked before. Now they stare at the heap of old stones, with a puzzled expression on their face. They seem glad to see somebody who might be able to help them.

R – Do you know if <u>that</u> (*points at wall of old stones and small turret)* is the castle?
I – Yes, it is….
R – Really…??? (*looks again, bewildered expression)* ….
I – Yes, that's the castle.
R – But there is no plaque on it! (Respondent 57)

While any kind of entertainment along the lines of a theme park for now is absent on Inis Mór, there certainly seems to be a McDisneyfied expectation amongst some of the visitors. A historical building only becomes a historical building when it is visibly defined as such: with a plaque. Else, it remains an assembly of stones. Cultural distinctiveness, as I argued, consists of a quality referring to the objectified object and one to the subjectified object. Yet the latter is here

absent. This absence then diminishes the cultural distinctiveness of the object as such. It might be neglected, passed by, an invisible ruin of old stones. It could be nothing.

However, paradoxically enough, at the same time it is the absence of these subjectified meanings of many objects on the island that creates the island's cultural distinctiveness *in totum.* This distinctiveness consists of *not t*aking part in what Tovey and Share (2003) have called the 'theming of Ireland', 'seen in the production of 'Irish pubs', heritage centers, Eurovision song contests and advertising geared towards tourists and potential investors' (Tovey and Share, 2003:435).

Within the concept of the theming of Ireland, the ruins of a castle or a church are not distinctive as such. They are *made* distinctive through references to myths and stories, through plaques and information sheets.[8] Even when they are objectively distinctive, they only become subjectively distinctive when their cultural distinctiveness is made explicit to the visitors.

Yet if mythical Ireland is sold to tourists and to foreign investors, and such a mechanism does not so obviously occur on Inis Mór, the question arises: why not? Why is the theming of Ireland on Inis Mór not sold to tourists? Before I will discuss the causal mechanisms behind that question, first it needs to be stated that McDisneyization as the absent variable is nonetheless present as a subject in the island discourse. As one of the respondents literally remarked:

'They want us to live in Disneyland.' (Respondent 13)

Another respondent tells that he feels the tourists want Inis Mór to become a heritage park.

'You know, tourists can be quite annoying. You know they come and complain that there are too many cars, they want it to be silent, they have this idea of coming to the Aran Islands, more like they want it to be, like a heritage park, of no electricity, and that satisfies all their wonderful needs until they are going back home to all their mod cons. Like an attraction park…'
(Respondent 39)

Architecture, as mentioned in the previous chapter, is one of the culturally distinctive characteristics of the islands; recall the thatched cottage, with two doors on either side, which were used depending on where the wind came from. But as this respondent tell:

R - Living in a thatched cottage… I mean, I did it when I first came here, but I can tell you it is not *in least* comfortable.
I – Very windy?

R – It's damp. It's very, very damp. It is pretty expensive, because you have to keep the fire going 24/7 even during the summer, otherwise people go back to bed soaking because the walls are so thick. (Respondent 4)

While the islanders seem to be fully aware of the expectations of some of their visitors, so far these expectations have mostly been resisted. This seems a deliberate policy of the islanders. Recent plans for a golf course and a fish farm have been rejected. As this respondent tells:

'The future of Inis Mór is looking good, for several reasons. Like one of the reasons is that people here realize that what they have. They know if they abuse it, they lose it… (*Background music has changed from classical into light jazz*). An example…. Some things recently happened….. Somebody wanted to lay out a golf course. But the islanders decided: no, we don't *want* (*with great emphasis*) a golf course… You know. They decided no. It spoils the entire Aran Islands. So the islanders came together, signed a petition and said: no. Decided against it.' (Respondent 4)

While the golf course was rejected, so was a fish farm, as it was feared that it would pollute the air.

'There were plans for a fish farm. Which would create jobs, you know and that is always a big thing. You know when it is about jobs, people think twice…especially in a place like this.' (Respondent 4)

From an economic perspective, at first sight the establishment of a fish farm seemed a positive development, this respondent argues. However, this was not the decisive argument, even in a situation of scarcity as is equally suggested. Instead, an environmental argument prevailed over short-term wins:

'But then they thought about the long term and said: if you are going to have a fish farm, there will be pollution… People talked a lot about that…. They decided that the future for the Aran Islands was important, because they know what they have.' (Respondent 4)

When this respondent says 'they know what they have', he might have specifically referred to the quality of 'fresh air.' While the decision apparently was not taken lightly, it seemed not to have lead to a strong division amongst the islanders. The respondent concludes his remark:

'The sense of community is very strong.' (Respondent 4)

While there does not seem a strong presence of McDisneyization, the transformation of the island into a theme park, and we therefore can argue that uniformity in the cultural field seems largely absent, it appears that this is an outcome of autonomous local decisions, facilitated by a strong local power and self-determination over the future of the island. The eclipse of local autonomy and the spatial distribution of power referred to by Stein (1964), is not very obvious on the island.

The choices that are made, - whether it is a choice for fresh air over a fish farm, or a pure landscape over a golf course, or the almost casual presence of historical buildings in the landscape (Prabodh Lele, 2003) instead of McDisneyization -, continue the cultural distinctiveness of the island, even in present times when the causes of objectified cultural distinctiveness seem to have largely disappeared.

However, uniformity is not always successfully rejected. Sometimes, a form of dominant globalization appears and leads to resistance that is not successful and which in turn might lead to cultural polarization. This will be shown in the example of the knitting industry on the island.

13.4 O Lord bless, says I, I know the difference between what is made by hands and what is made by a machine: Knitting on Inis Mór.

The myth of the Aran Sweater is now a significant part of Inis Mór's tourist industry. Tovey and Share (2003:361) write: 'In clothing as in other aspects of Irish life it can be unwise to take categories of 'traditional' and 'modern' at face value. Hand-knitted sweaters were not part of the conventional nineteenth century Aran attire.'[9] Between 1900 and the late 1920's the Aran sweater, as it is known now, started to emerge, characterized by a sheer exuberance of the design.

Two sources might have influenced the distinctiveness of the patterns. On one hand, improved fishing industry on the Aran Islands brought fishermen from Scotland, Donegal and the Channel Islands. Their wives, who would come with them to fillet the fish, influenced the local knitters, who would copy the traditional cabled sweaters of the other coastal communities (O'Dowd, 1990).

On the other hand, returned emigrants from America brought back new ideas too. One woman, Margaret Dirrane of Inis Mór, wrote in a letter to Kitty Joyce in the 1950's that her mother Margaret had gone to America in 1906. Inspired by the fishermen's navy blue shop

jerseys that were the custom there, she knitted one on her return home for her brother in basket stitch and another in diamonds. 'From then on she copied branches and plants growing around the island' (in: McQuillan, 1993:20). The island sweater, partly an amalgamation of various foreign influences, crystallized and evolved as a unique form and pattern associated with the island and became the Aran Sweater.

While the relative isolation and the close connection between the island knitters, generated its unique form and pattern, relatively shortly after it emerged as the 'Aran Sweater', it became more and more detached from its spatial source and part of the transnational domain. One of the craft shops[10] on Inis Mór, advertising 'the finest selection of traditional Irish knitwear', sells the 'Irish hand knit Aran sweater'. In doing so, it makes a distinction between:

a) The Aran-hand knit Aran sweaters,
b) Irish hand knit Aran sweaters,
c) Not-Irish hand knit Aran Sweaters (for example knit in China), and
d) All machine-knit Aran sweaters,

This is in stark contrast with the tradition of the Aran Sweaters, knitted on the islands, as the following island knitter and shop-owner tells:

'Oh, yes. The sweaters are all knit on the islands. That is why I cannot yet give a huge discount. Most of the sweaters are knitted on Inis Meáin. I have some women knitting there for me. I buy the wool in Donegal for them. It takes the knitters about two weeks to knit a sweater. But that depends on how much time they have to knit.... some have kids at home during the day.... some have only the time to knit in the evening, but in general it takes them about two weeks. When I began the business, in those beginning days... I had at one stage 15 knitters knitting for me, mostly on Inis Meáin.' (Respondent 9)

In recent years a growing number of craft shops on the island sell hand knit Aran sweaters, which, as one respondent stated, 'all arrive in boxes'. This development seems to have seriously undermined the hand-knitting industry on the island. One of the indigenous island craft shops, employing knitters on Inis Meáin and Inis Oírr, had to close. Another knitter tries to survive by advertising 'genuine Aran sweaters' (picture 13.1b).

Picture 13.1a Closing Down.

Picture 13.1b Genuine Aran Sweaters.

© *Martha C.E. Van Der Bly*

Even though the Aran Sweater might be largely a contemporary construction, the truth behind the myth is a deception for tourists as well.

'One day an American lady came in and she showed me the sweater she bought in one of these shops and I told her: your sweater is machine-knit and she said I don't believe it, because they told me it was hand-knitted on the island and I says to her: Well it is not, and O Lord bless says I, I know the difference between what is made by hands and what is made by a machine. And then she said: But I came all the way from America to buy the sweater on the island…. And now you tell me it is not made here… I would not have known. Never. They should have told me… And she was really upset.' (Respondent 12)

The transformation from hand-knitted sweater, almost idiosyncratically expressing uniqueness, to the machine-knit sweaters, exemplary of cultural uniformity, seems to have gone hand in hand with a loss of local autonomy to domination by a non-island, albeit Irish company. Previously, when asked if there was any Foreign Direct Investment on the island, one respondent mentioned in the same breath the Aran Sweater Shop.

R – A lot of new business have come to the island, there is the Aran Sweater Shop, and what they sell that is all machine made… there is not one single sweater there sold, knitted on the island.

I – But some of them have labels… I saw one knitted by 'Mary Doherty'.

R – (*shrugs her shoulder*)

I – What do you mean… is…it…

R – A lie. A pure lie. Why is it called Aran Sweater Shop? What they sell is not knitted *on* the island… it is not knit *for* the island. (Respondent 9)

In an environment with such a strong tradition of autarky and local autonomy the difference between 'island' versus 'non-island' seems almost stronger than between 'Irish and non-Irish'. The arrival of the shop generated strong resistance amongst those individuals who most significantly did *not* gain from its presence: the island knitters. They organized the only demonstration the island ever has had.

Picture 13.2 Island knitter Mary Flaherty recalls the demonstration.

© Martha C.E. Van Der Bly

One respondent tells:

'The big shop opened about four or five years ago... I do not exactly remember when... but we have even demonstrated against it... especially the name.' (Respondent 9)

Another knitter recalls:

'They first wanted to call the shop the *Aran Sweater Co-Op*. That was so misleading... the tourist would think that there is a sweater factory here... but there is not.' (Respondent 58)

This knitter tells:

'... I and a few other women would not leave. It was the month of April. It was freezing outside. But we still would not give in.... I would get there early in the morning and not leave until the last ferry had left the island... and many women were supporting us... many women of the island were supporting the protest and the women who do not knit supported the protest as well... because they thought the whole thing was wrong.' (Respondent 12)

She continues:

'... and after maybe ten days, they even sent the Gardai one day... but I walked outside and I talked to the Garda, because I know him very well. We said: the visitors, God have mercy on their soul, they come here, buy the sweaters of the shop, and then they say: 'At least we are supporting the islanders as long as we buy here'. But they don't! I don't know *who* the likes of them are supporting, but not the island.' (Respondent 12)

Many respondents mention the fact that they protested against something what was deeply felt as being 'a lie'. This seemed to have been the largest demonstration that ever took place on the Aran Islands.

'Most of the women of the island were there at some stage...you see. Everybody would have wanted to have the name changed, but not everybody would not want to have the sweater market here.... because it did not affect everybody. We would not leave... So they had to change their name...' (Respondent 12)

It is only within this context of domination of exogenous forces over the locality that an awareness of the national identity seems to arise. On Inis Mór, once the cradle of the identity for the Irish nation-state, very little references to Irish nationalism can be found. During the research period I counted only three Irish flags on the island: one in front of the Heritage Center, right beside the European flag, one in front of one of the restaurants, in between the German, the English and the Italian flag and one on the boat of Ireland Ferries, owned by a family from the mainland. Somehow the sense of an Irish identity seems to be imported from the mainland, rather than being homegrown.

While the island offers many sites and places where the fight for the Irish nation-state can be remembered (Billig's banal nationalism), none of these sites can be found. However, within the context of what might be felt as a threat of the local autonomy, some spurs of the need for a local identity, ratified by national references, emerges, as the following quote indicates.

'The Aran Sweater Shop used to be the place where the Atlantic Hotel was… the place where Synge used to stay. It was a lovely old house… They should have never demolished it. But an old man lived there for a very long time… he did not care when they took it away from other islanders by setting up that big business over there…' (Respondent 9)

While the strategy on the individual who 'gains' from the arrival of the new shop, seems to be a strategy of 'adaptation', others who do not gain from dominant globalization, might be inclined to a strategy of resistance in the cultural field. Strangely, in a context where less local autonomy is perceived, and the processes of globalization are experienced more as imposed, a resurgence of the national identity arises. The national history is used, re-establishing a source for local pride and identity under threat – even if that process is in fact mostly national. The respondent continues:

'I think they should have kept the Atlantic Hotel, where Synge stayed. They should have put a plaque on it… 'Synge stayed here'…' (Respondent 9)

If the building would have been protected under the umbrella of a national identity, the local would be preserved as well – such is the implicit line of thoughts. When less local autonomy is experienced and the processes of globalization seem more dominant, a resurgence of the national language and identity arises in the locality, ultimately to protect the local identity.

Such a mechanism seems to occur in the field of language as well. The islands are originally Irish speaking. However, the use of Irish is gradually declining (see Appendix). The headmaster of the Irish speaking secondary school, when asked if he sees a relation between growing tourism and a decline of Irish, replies:

'No, I don't think that the growth of tourism has made much difference to the speaking of Irish...only maybe an inclination to speak it more... because of a growing awareness of being different... and it is used as a language to talk about tourists... Actually last night I attended a meeting to get 250.000 for a plan to make people speak more Irish.' (Respondent 11)

Examples of this mechanism of 'cultural polarization' under the influence of dominant globalization can be found on Inis Mór as well, albeit in a much more latent manner than in Leixlip.

However, while traces of uniformity and an inclination towards cultural polarization can be found on Inis Mór, most striking in this case study, is that the processes of globalization seem largely an outcome of autonomous local activity. The next paragraph discusses how on the macro-level sameness occurs as the result of processes of autonomous globalization.

13.5 He was a pioneer: Aer Arann

In 1969 *The Irish Times*[11] published a letter from Coley Hernon, the chairman of the Inis Mór Development Committee and coxswain of the Kilronan lifeboat. In this letter, Hernon pointed out the consequences of a lack of adequate transport services to the islands: an exodus of young people, especially women, and above all, the problems encountered in getting islanders needing urgent medical treatment to the hospital in Galway (Lawford, 2003:96), of which Hernon as coxswain of the lifeboat was fully aware. Hernon's son tells me:

'Well, his experience of bringing patients to hospital on the mainland on a bad night...on a bad day, he said, it is not from this day and age... so he said we need a small airline.' (Respondent 8)

This letter did not get unnoticed. A businessman in Galway, whose business was fruit wholesaling, read it. He was having problems shipping fresh fruit to the islands, and discussed the possibilities of starting an air service to the Island. In 1970 *Aer Árann* was established, with the

financial help of a group of Galway businessmen. Coley Hernon was appointed as Airport Manager, on the newly built Killeaney airstrip on Inis Mór (Lawford, 2003). Thus the airline was established within a context of local autonomy of ideas, initiative and to a certain extent of making and of decision.

Radical innovation can emerge from the periphery. Aer Árann developed itself into one of the first regional airlines, exploring the niche-market of connecting remote areas, while at the same time exploring the possibility of commuter-style flights. In 1994 Aer Árann was sold to Dublin businessman, Padraig O'Ceidigh. Today the airline is one of the fastest growing regional airlines, with a turnover in excess of 60 million euro and annual passenger numbers of 625,000 for 2003. In 2004 the airline was awarded the Bronze Airline of the year Award, chosen from among 65 other contenders, by the Regions Airline Association during the annual general assembly in Vienna.[12] Currently Aer Árann is looking at the possibility of serving Clare Island, Inis Boffin and possibly Inis Turk, and Tory island.

Globalization, driven by local autonomous activities, equally generates connections, established from the perspective of the periphery. To what extent does this form of (relative) autonomous globalization lead to sameness in the cultural field? Remarkably, one of the driving forces behind the establishment of the airline was the pursuit of 'equality in services with the mainland'. The son of Coley Hernon, is now Airport Manager on Inis Mór and tells me about his father.

'He was a pioneer. He was. Because the things that he wanted to do at that time are only going to be happening now.... Like electricity... he realized that we needed the same services and the same standard of living as the mainland... so that people would stay on the island... so he fought for electricity, and for running water, and a local bank. He could see things ahead... like we have boats now, every day: he wanted that as well. We have a hotel here now, he wanted that ten or fifteen years ago, anything to promote tourism, the nursing home, a proper harbour for the boats... things like that... they begin to happen now.'(Respondent 9)

If globalization *ex ultimo* involves processes of connection, then the establishment of an airline to the island is a decisive moment in the process of globalization. It neutralizes the island's isolation and connects it to the mainland, facilitating the transport of both goods and people.

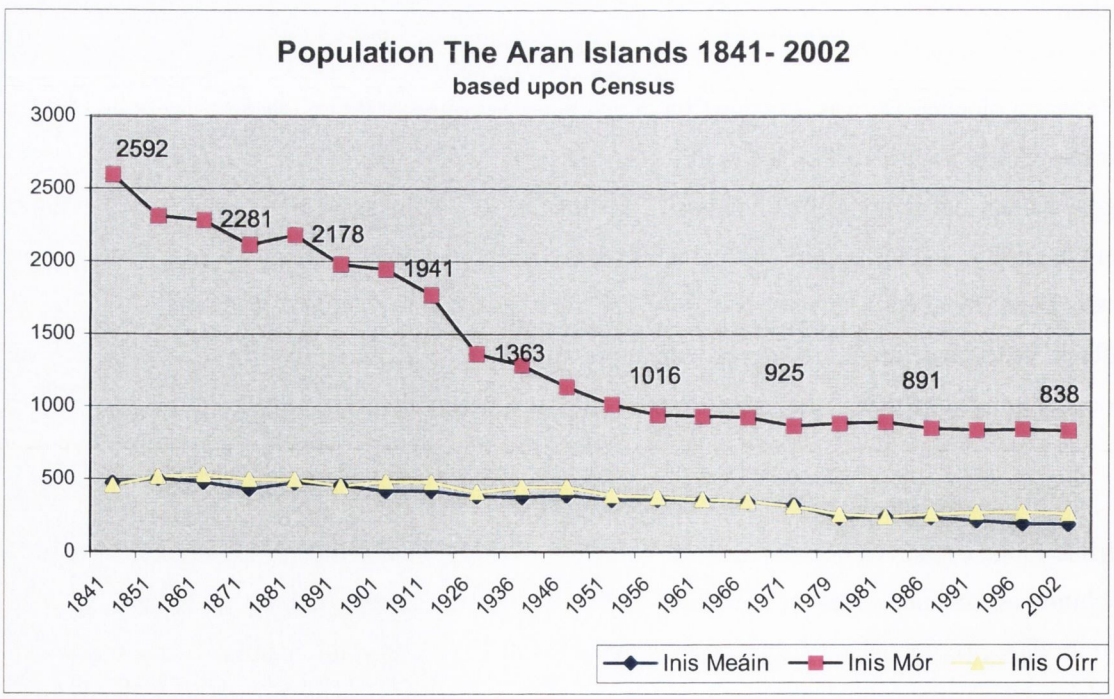
In doing so, the island's time is synchronized with the time on the mainland. One respondent moved from Paris to Inis Mór twenty years ago. He told me that at the time he was thinking that if one could spend a winter on the Aran Islands, you could live anywhere. I ask him why it was so

hard to live on the island? The first thing he mentions is not the weather, the food, housing or the transport, but connection:

'In the winter? Twenty years ago? It was very difficult. If you are coming from Paris to live here, twenty years ago... there is no e-mail, there is no Internet, communication is pretty nil, there is no fax machine... mail arrived once a week. You got only mail once a week, on Wednesday. There was a phone, but it was very expensive. Not everybody had a phone in their house..... even simple things as the Sunday newspaper... The Sunday newspaper arrived on Wednesday, because that was when the cargo boat came, you know.' (Respondent 4)

If homogeneity implies synchronisation of time through the establishment of connection as the outcome of autonomous activity, then this is an example of homogeneity. For now the Sunday papers no longer arrive on Wednesday. Through connection the cultural distinctiveness gradually disappears, or so it seems. As shown in figure 13.2 the population of Inis Mór declines at a much slower pace after 1970, to which the coming of electricity to the island in 1975 (something that is mentioned by all respondents as the biggest change on the island) might have contributed.

Figure 13.2 Population The Aran Islands, Co. Galway Based upon Census 1841-2005.



Sometimes the very act of connection implies that the need and desire for emigration diminish. Whereas I have earlier pointed out that in the early twentieth century migration-streams showed a pattern of globalization, too; the case of Aer Árann shows an example of a form of globalization leading to an opposite reaction: a decline of emigration. Processes of globalization then are not necessarily cumulative, but can at times be complimentary as well. It is important, however, that the establishment of the airline, as a rupture within the process of gradual connection of the island, has been carried out with local autonomy, most notably of ideas and of initiative. This local initiative, carried out with capital from the mainland, while assuring a continuous involvement of the islanders, had as an explicit aim achieving equality in services with the mainland.

If the implicit consequence of equality is homogeneity, then this is an example of a rather autonomous processes establishing homogeneity, facilitated through improvement of connection and by giving up a certain level of autarky. Since distinctiveness partially arose as the consequence of autarky and isolation, this process *mutatis mutandis* implies a loss of some cultural diversity. The ambivalent feelings towards this development are beautifully expressed in the next quote.

'Globalization... now, like you know, I ... it is (*with emphasis*) a problem that we becoming... like you can get the things here that you can get in New York... and stuff like that...so the island is nearly the same as anywhere else in the world... ' (Respondent 8)

The first thing the respondent mentions, when I ask him for the definition of globalization, is the 'problem' of homogeneity amongst cultures: 'the island is nearly the same as anywhere else in the world'. At the same time, though, it is good thing.

'... and I suppose it is a good thing, in a way, because you have to have the services to keep the young people... they are entitled to have the same thing as their colleagues in Dublin... and we have all that. Except the crime. And... we have a wee bit of drugs,,, but it would not be as bad as in big cities.. In general I think it is a good thing... You can't live in the dark ages... no... you can't ask the housewives to drop the washing machines... you can't ask us... you know.... These days are gone.' (Respondent 8)

The question arises, if what is essentially social and economic equality (in the case of the airline for example medical access and the transport of goods), necessarily will bring about

homogeneity in the cultural field. Does economic homogeneity, even when it is not the product of domination but of local autonomy, automatically coincide with cultural homogeneity? While unmistakably the features of cultural distinctiveness, as discussed in chapter 11, have gradually disappeared on Inis Mór, to what extent are the values that coincided with some of these traditions still present?

Some of the mechanisms of homogeneity reinvent older island traditions. The establishment of the hotel is a local initiative supported by capital from the mainland, to fuel the processes of globalization on the island. The owner explains how they market the island, as a destination for Japanese tourists.

'We certainly are getting a lot of Americans, but we are also getting a lot of Japanese.... And that market is growing a lot... they are very interested in something like Aran... the barren rocks... the flora and fauna as well...and the sense of space I think that they get here... my husband was just there on a marketing... There is great interest in Irish music and culture...and of course... they also ... they have a great respect for other countries. My husband said... that was very evident .... He marketed the hotel and the show and there were meetings set up with tour operators over there and of course that was very relevant...' (Respondent 5)

While the hotel, seems to merely fuel processes of globalization, at the same time it restores some of the older traditions on the islands, such as an island wedding. This became clear at the very end of the interview with one island woman.

I – Thank you for the interview... Hey! Is that a picture of your son and his wife?
R – *(tender)* Yes... he is married to an islander... but they got married in the Augustinian church in Galway... because they are both from big island families and there are no facilities on the island to get married... I married in 1970 in the Cathedral in Galway for the same reason... But my mother and father got married in the church in Kilronan and afterwards one would go to the house and drink maybe tea or so... but those were very different times... But now with the hotel it is possible again to marry on the island... *(cheerful)* In fact, a couple of island people married on the island, just three weeks ago. (Respondent 12)

A similar mechanism can be seen in the context of the establishment of a harbour in Kilronan, Inis Mór's main village. While the boats have gotten bigger and the fishermen sail further, the island cannot any longer offer the boats a place to harbour.

'The problem is that the pier of Kilronan is not big enough for the big boats, so the fishermen have to leave their boat in Rossaveal and take the ferry to the island. So sometimes they find it easier to build a house in Galway and drive at home by car, that is one of the main reasons why we have to get a bigger harbour.... That is on the way now, it is planned at the moment and will be realized soon hopefully... next week they will start the studies of the bottom of the sea, the environmental study... and building will begin next year.' (Respondent 11)

From a local perspective, an absence of homogeneity in the sense of equality of services, threatens the island's culture. Therefore, within the dynamic of an island whose main economic activities are fishing and tourism, the establishment of homogeneity is essential to the survival of the local community, even when that implies the spatial segregation of groups that shape the island's culture: fishermen and tourists.

'We have decided on purpose that in the new harbour all the facilities will be separated... at the moment it is a big issue that tourists fall over fishing nets and that they will sue the fishermen... so we try to prevent those claims by separating the fishing and the tourism... and there will be a marina-area for yachts etc. No big yachts.... We do not get any rich tourists here... And to be honest... nobody wants the rich tourists here, really... ' (Respondent 11)

However, at the same time, through innovation aspects of the local culture are restored. Just like the currachs, in the past, returned to the island, so too will the bigger boats, provided that the bigger harbour will be built. And this is an explicit goal of the islanders as the following quote shows.

'But we will get a lot of our own fishing boats back. Because as you have maybe noticed most of the boats in the Connemara area, are from Aran.' (Respondent 11)

While processes of globalization, initiated on a local level, can create cultural homogeneity and a loss of some of the distinctive characteristics described in the previous chapter, the question arises, can processes of autonomous globalization create a pattern of diversity, that is not (as with dominant globalization) bipolar, occurring as cultural polarization? And if so, how is a variety pattern in chapter 11 labeled as 'universal diversity' be fashioned?

13.6 The Celtic Spirit: how it spread its wings

Barth (1969) outlines an approach to the study of ethnicity, which focuses on the on-going negotiations of boundaries between groups of people. 'Categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information, but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are mantained *despite* changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories' (Barth, 1969:9). Group categories (ethnic labels) will most often endure even when individual members move across boundaries or share an identity with people in more than one group.

Cultural polarization arises when what Barth calls 'the categorical ethnic distinctions' not only continue in spite of mobility, but when they deepen as the consequence of connection. Depending on the level of domination coinciding with connection, the creation of an ethnic identity (that is perceived as authentic) is stronger. Barth stresses that 'group categories' most often endure when boundaries are crossed.

This theory counters the idea that groups are discontinuous cultural isolates or logical *a prioris* to which people naturally belong. In the context of globalization his argument can be extended. Not only is isolation not a premise for cultural distinctiveness (in a subjective sense) and mobility its dissolution, but cultural distinctiveness can be transferred from one group to another as the consequence of connection through mobility.

However, the first premise for this transference of cultural distinctiveness is that the igniting connection, is the outcome of autonomous activity. Secondly, a premise for the transference of cultural distinctiveness is that the object of cultural distinctiveness possesses universal values, which can be reclaimed since the object is not just locally or nationally, but universally accessible. This implies that the objects that gained their cultural distinctiveness objectively within a local context and subjectively within a larger than local (most often national) context, will have to be de-localized and de-nationalized and become part of the universal cultural domain.

This mechanism will be illustrated with the example of Celtic Spirit. Celtic Spirit is a small organization, headed by a Swiss artist who divides her time between living on Inis Mór and living in Switzerland. She is well respected on the island. The following quote is the reply of a fisherman to the question, how he foresees the future of Irish on Inis Mór.

'A lot of people that come to the island, to live on the island...they learn Irish, a lot of people now who came to live here... learned Irish, they have Irish courses. There is someone teaching

Irish during the winter. There is woman from Switzerland... and she has very good Irish... she can sing in Irish... she is bringing over people from other countries, I think.' (Respondent 1)

Why did this Swiss woman come to Inis Mór?

'I came to the island thirty years ago, through a friend, we used to go to Howth, but then we went to the island for two weeks. But I came back and I stayed longer and longer.... now I stay here half the year... and the other half of the year I am in Switzerland...' (Respondent 59)

This suggests that her partial move to Inis Mór can be interpreted as a form of autonomous globalization: the outcome of autonomous activity on the level of idea, of initiative, time and decision. If this is an example of (individual) autonomous globalization, what is the effect on the individual?

'The island is good for my painting.... and I got to know the people, the singing, the set dancing, the language and I loved it so much...' (Respondent 59)

It can be concluded both through her words ('the island is good for my painting') and through her actions (she has been coming back for a half a year since almost thirty years), that the individual agent gained from this micro-process of autonomous globalization, within a local context, where globalization is mostly the outcome of local autonomous activity.[13] She is driven by a love for the culture that she finds. Does this lead to 'incremental innovation' in the cultural field? In which individual action can it result?

'I loved the culture so much, that I wanted to share it ..... so first I brought the islanders to Switzerland to organize workshops:'

Islanders, telling stories or performing the Irish set-dancing on Inis Mór, are flying to Switzerland. This is the program for 2005 of Celtic Spirit[14]:

14 February 2005, 20.00 Storytelling with Niall de Burca in the Kleintheater in Luzern

15 February 2005, 20.15 Storytelling with Niall de Burca in the Berner Puppentheater

16 February 2005, 20.15 Storytelling with Niall de Burca in the Theater Stadelhofen Zürich. Niall is one of the best storytellers in Ireland. It's a great opportunity to hear him in Switzerland. He is also involved in my project on the Island (The Celtic Way)

4/5 June 2005 Set dancing Workshop with Pat Murphy and Tony Ryan

Beginners class with Tony Ryan, dancing teacher from Galway, follow up with Pat Ryan, dancing teacher from Westport and author of the famous set dancing book "Toss the feathers",

Storytelling and traditional Irish set dancing take place *less* frequently within the locality, as a consequence of an increase of connection and a decrease of autarky and isolation. Yet as the consequence of the same process of connection, Irish story telling and Irish set dancing take place *more* frequently in Switzerland. In other words, while the Irish culture in Ireland, or more precisely on the island, diminished, it expanded in Switzerland. The website announcing the program of Celtic Spirit, is 'www.irish-culture.ch'. Within the virtual domain attributed to residents of Switzerland, is a space created for Irish culture, a space that, as can be assumed, historically did not exist.

Barth (1969) refers to categorical distinction that continues to exist in spite of mobility. Would there have been a strong emigration of Irish people to Switzerland, then the existence of an 'Irish culture' within the boundaries of Switzerland, would have been the natural result of that process. However, this creation of Irish culture does not belong to an ethnic group that seeks to conserve its identity, even when boundaries are crossed. In this case, a non-Irish person, aiming to share her love for the culture, creates an 'Irish culture' abroad.

The dispersion of this culture is not as much aimed at Irish people in Switzerland, but at Swiss residents, like herself. This creation of Irish culture abroad is driven by a love for a culture that gained its *objective* cultural distinctiveness in the context of relative isolation, and its *subjective* meaning of cultural distinctiveness in the context of the creation of the nation-state. At the same time these objects of cultural distinctiveness possess *universal* qualities that make them accessible to people beyond the local or the national context. In turn, they become the object of cultural distinctiveness, accessible through their universal values, and attributed to an individual identity.

13.7 Mascarpone and vanilla hearts

Celtic Spirit does not just organize workshops abroad, but also themed holidays to the island, including traditional basket making. However, the basket maker is not an islander.

'I came to the island 32 years ago. It was on Good Friday. All the pubs in Dublin were closed, because of Good Friday. I was young and dying for a drink. A mate told me: I have heard that you can get whiskey over there, on the Aran Islands. So we went over for the weekend. My mate went back. But I never did. (Respondent 2)

And when he is not on the island, he is abroad to teach traditional basket making.

'I make most of my living abroad. I am going away to Milwaukee for a week, for a demonstration of basket making, and after that to Toronto...To Finland...Yes...even the island itself is really cosmopolitan now... Do you want some tea?' (Respondent 2)

The tradition of basket making is recreated on the island by non-islanders and then exported abroad, where it gradually becomes part of the universal domain: accessible to those who have access to the website of the basket maker. Just as in the case with the Celtic Spirit, diminishing isolation and autarky undermined the traditional basket making on the island, while at the same time these processes facilitate the delocalization and de-nationalization to become part of a domain that has a universal reach. The local tradition is recreated and then spread globally through intermediation of foreign initiative. As one of the respondents remarked about the Swiss woman:

'She is doing what the islanders should be doing'. (Respondent 13)

Why are the islanders not doing what she is doing? The islanders might be less interested in reviving the traditions of the previous generations, and more in discovering the possibilities that globalization has brought to the island. One day, the black French cook, who came twenty years ago to the island and who owns a youth hostel and a restaurant, organized cooking lessons for island women in the kitchen of his restaurant. Joel, whose culinary capacities are hailed by reviews in *The Irish Times,* teaches the island women how to prepare the following recipes:

Mascarpone and Vanilla Hearts

Mini Foccacia Bread With Sour Topping

Chocolate Mocha Tart

Couscous Salad

Butter Beans with Marinated Tomato

Black-eyed Beans with Spinach and Balsamic Vinegar

The recipes reflect a truly international kitchen. As such these recipes seem very distinct from the diet of potatoes, seaweed, carrots and parsnips that has been discussed in chapter 11. A transformation of food patterns goes hand in hand with the loss of the distinctiveness of the traditional island diet to a more widely known European diet. On the other hand, it suggests an enrichment of the islands diet. The cooking lessons turn out to be a great success: about fifteen women, mostly mothers of school going children, participate. While an Italian might now know how to make a traditional Aran basket, an islander woman has learned to bake a Mini-Foccacia. This is the result of deliberate and autonomous choices of the local community.

'People on the island, islanders now, are really looking for quality rather then quantity when it comes to tourism.' (Respondent 3)

Or as the owner of the hotel words it:

'I think we need to preserve what is here… and that is really up to us, how actually to do it… I think if you are really exploiting what you have, but preserve it also. Just target the kind of person who appreciates your culture…' (Respondent 5)

The premise of the creation of this unique existence does not only require local autonomy ('it is really up to us, how to actually do it'), but as well the involvement of similar minds, similar souls ('who appreciates your culture'), who do not necessarily have to been born on the island, but can be born everywhere.

13.8 E una visione... traveling stars

Two guests of the hostel are sitting right in front of an enlarged and framed newspaper article with the heading:

'Islands of Refuge for Saints and Legendary Warlords.'

He is one of the travelling carpenters, member of the German carpenter guild that worked on the island during the time of the research, and originally from former East Germany - as the others point out quickly. The owner of the youth hostel offered the guild free food and accommodation in the bunk beds of the hostel, while they painted the house. The members of the guild work long hours, ten to twelve hours a day is not an exception. Now it is Sunday and they are relaxing in the lounge.

Picture 13.3 Travelling carpenter and travelling lawyer on Inis Mór, 2004.

© Martha C.E. Van Der Bly

He shows her his diary. One of the traditions of the guild is that the members have to write down where and for whom they worked, approved by a stamp from the local authorities. She is an American lawyer, living in West Hollywood. One evening crime and the different laws in several

countries are discussed. Last year she witnessed five murders in her neighbourhood, one right across the street. But you get used to it, she said. It does not bother her any longer. She is travelling in Ireland on her own, taking some time off.

The island was once a refuge for saints and legendary warlords. Travelling monks came from all across Europe over the sea to the island to find on Inis Mór a place for reconciliation with a transitory existence, with a fleeting reality and with human imperfection. The knowledge they acquired during their travels was used to build up the island. In doing so they redefined the island, as the island redefined them. They belong to the past. But have they ever gone, really? Outside the hostel on a rock, a Japanese painter sits on a rock and paints the landscape.

Picture 13.4 Japanese painter in Inis Mór, 2004.

© Martha C.E. Van Der Bly

He has time to talk about globalization.

I – My research is about globalization. What do you think of globalization?

R – You mean globalization is understanding many countries and many people? No?

I – It is whatever you think it is….

R – Ah. Globalization is the best way to make a peaceful world. We know every country. Every language. Every people from every part of the world… we know, and we talk about that. We understand. That makes our friendship. Friendship makes no war. No sadness came with globalization….. (*long silence.... sound of birds.*) But industrial globalization is half good, half bad. (*laughter*). So globalization in material and mechanic… I can't say in English, its very difficult. I know globalization in English. But in my own brain I think in Japanese. So its hard for me to translate.

I – What is the Japanese word for globalization?

R – We say: Whole Of Earth. (Respondent 3)

He shows me his painting inside the CD-Rom *Visions of Iblard* and tells:

'I just painted this landscape ten years ago. This house seems like an Irish house, I think. But I have never seen an Irish style house. So I came here. And this is my imagination… my imaginated place. Just like I were here before.' (Respondent 3)

Nearbye, a young painter from Tirol in Austria paints on the floor of her small room. She has worked on a farm and in a knitting factory in the West of Ireland and in pub in Dingle. She was kicked out, she says because she did not speak English. Now she works in a kitchen on Inis Mór. She believes in fairies and she paints mermaids. Why did she come to Ireland?

'From when I was young, I was always thinking of Ireland, always Ireland…..Tirol? Tirol does not really exist any longer…' (Respondent 53)

Picture 13.5a Austrian painter on Inis Mór.

© *Martha C.E. Van Der Bly*

Picture 135b My mermaid.

© *Nelli Herzog*

In a nearby B & B the guests return from their walks. Some might leave tomorrow and maybe write something in the guestbook. I analyzed the guestbook on country of origin and the remarks (see Appendix). Most of the people come from big cities either in Europe (Helsinki, Milan, Dublin) or in Northern-America (Pittsburgh, Ontario). One respondent from Milan told me that one day he went down to the beach and he saw a father and his son bringing sand from the beach to the garden. He said:

'I thought… … I live in Milano.. so strange for me to see this way of life…5 million people.. pollution… nobody says hi… so stressed… when I see this kind of family… who play on the beautiful ocean in front of them… so quiet. It is totally different from the way I live…and then I thought...I felt at peace with myself when I saw that… *E una visione*... I thought: there are so many different ways of life…' (Respondent 60)

Beside the date and the place of origin these guest books are designed so that the guest will leave a note to the hosts, general containing a compliment to the hosts, naturally biased by only emphasizing the pleasant part of the stay. What do people appreciate when they stay in a B & B

on a cold and windy island somewhere off the coast of Ireland? I wrote down all the comments that people have made in those two years. It might indicate as to why people from such diverse countries come tot Inis Mór, and why some of them return.[15] Very few people took the trouble to write down a more specific comment. I wrote all of them down.

They can be grouped into twelve main categories: relaxation, quiet, peace, warm-hearted, belonging, views, silence, sleep, beauty, fresh air, community and breakfast. In Table 13.1 they are contradistinguished with the opposite qualities.

Table 13.1 Guest book Remarks B & B Inis Mór and their opposites.

Qualities	*Opposites*
Relaxation	Stress
Quiet	Busy
Peace	War
Warm-hearted	Cold-hearted
Belonging	Alienation
Views	Limited outlook
Silence	Noise
Sleep	Insomnia
Beauty	Ugliness
Fresh air	Air pollution
Community	Disintegration
Breakfast	No breakfast

Whether it is in the words of Adelaide from Portugal when she lyrically writes: 'Beautiful silent moon. Silent cats and silent roads and silent ocean', or in Alison's whole-hearted sigh: 'Exceedingly peaceful', of Rob from The Netherlands genuine 'Best sleep!', these values seems to express a deep longing for something that is lacking in people's daily lives, a longing that seem to go beyond the natural longing for a holiday after a period of work.

The previous chapter discussed cultural distinctiveness attributed on an *objective* level related to locality and to isolation and on a *subjective* level, related to the national level and to connection. A third level was distinguished, referring to an intrinsic *universal* values that these objects of distinctiveness possesses. While some of the objectified objects of cultural distinctiveness have disappeared, the universal values attributed to the quality of distinctiveness still exist. These values, when they are rediscovered in modern times, can generate radical

innovations within the cultural field. Or as Turner argues: 'By converting the past into a Utopian homeland, nostalgia may lay the foundations for a radical critique of the modern as a departure from authenticity (Turner, 1987:154).

13.9 Conclusion: rainbow land

Inis Mór has been selected as a case study because it is an area that is subject to a specific subset of globalization: movement of people, in this case, tourism. However, early in the research it emerged that the processes of economic globalization on Inis Mór are largely locally driven and lack any significant Foreign Direct Investment. While the islanders seem to make a distinction between islanders and non-islanders that is almost as strong as between Irish and non-Irish, the island seems to be determined to protect the local autonomy in respect of processes of globalization.

Processes of dominant economic globalization, even if driven by mainland investors rather than foreign investors, raise a similar reaction in the cultural field as in Leixlip. A redefinition of the local identity occurs through the incorporation of national symbols. While Irish as a language gradually disappears as a language for daily use, it seem to flourish as a language to distinguish islanders from tourists, especially from the day-trippers who, unlike previous forms of more long-term tourism, are largely detached from the island culture. While not absent, the mechanism of cultural polarization seems only latently present on Inis Mór.

Two more obvious and significant processes in the cultural field on Inis Mór can be distinguished. On one hand, processes of autonomous globalization bring about homogeneity in the economic field, on the level of services, coinciding with an increasing homogeneity in the cultural field. The establishment of an airline, an example of local autonomy on the level of idea and initiative, has brought more equality in services with the mainland. By that same token, it also leads gradually to more homogeneity with the mainland in the cultural field: food patterns, clothing et cetera.

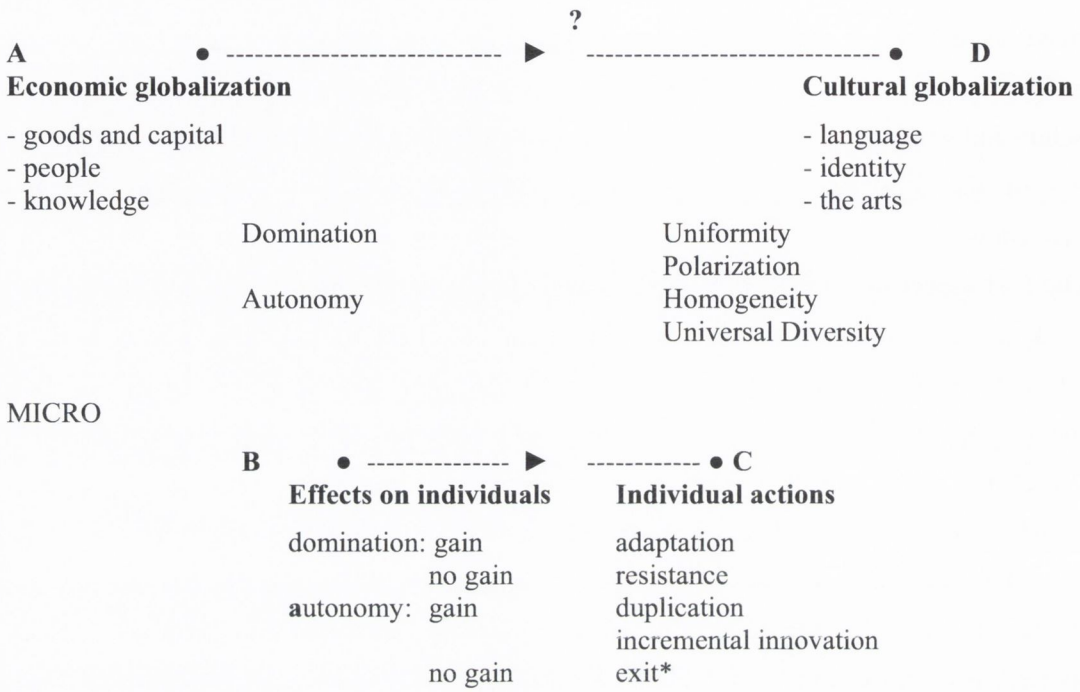
The island, once renowned for its cultural distinctiveness, has lost some of its cultural distinctiveness to homogeneity with the mainland. Just like the mainland lost some of its distinctiveness to the homogeneity with the continent. Just like the continent lost some of its distinctiveness to homogeneity with other continents, which lost their distinctiveness to homogeneity within the world.

At the same time, more complex mechanisms, pointing towards an outcome of diversity, emerge in the cultural field. This variety can be understood when the former cultural distinctiveness is analyzed on three levels: a) the objectified cultural distinctiveness that can be attributed to an object, b) the subjectified meaning to an objectified object of cultural distinctiveness, and c) an universal quality that can be attributed to the object of cultural distinction and which is universally accessible provided that it neither exclusively belongs to the domain of the local nor emerges within a national context as a subjective attributed distinctiveness.

The first aspect of cultural differences belongs to the local community (e.g. the fishermen who make traditional baskets on Inis Mór). The second level of difference is accessible to those who do not directly belong to the local community (e.g. the Irish who have as part of their national heritage the making of distinctive traditional baskets among certain sub groups). On the third level, the object of cultural difference is universally accessible, for example the Finnish person who lives in Helsinki, but has been taught to make traditional baskets as they used to be made on the island, by somebody who is not originally from the island. The premise for this quality to fully unfold is the de-localization and de-nationalization of the objectified objects. Otherwise, a resurgence of the local tradition will lead to cultural polarization and not to universal diversity.

This might lead to a situation where the objective of cultural distinctiveness gradually disappears locally, while becoming part of the global domain, as it contains a universal value: beauty for example. While the Aran Sweater is gradually detached from its local cradle, it is not lost as such, but is a continuous saga in the global domain. Unlike some of the examples of distinctiveness such as the *pampooties,* it is still an active part of culture worldwide and has become what McQuillan (1993:47) calls 'a common currency, and a prime example of a good design.' Sometimes the objective and the subjective level of distinctiveness are lost, and indeed the object in itself. However, in that case the distinctiveness of the value that could be attributed to the object still exists and, if acknowledged, can lead to radical innovation in the cultural field. These findings can be summarized in the following figure.

Figure 13.1 Theoretical Model Step H.



*not in model

Concluding remarks: the horizon

In the previous chapter an image has been shown, where the Aran Sweater rises like a ghost above a landscape of stonewalls, while the men with the currach are unable to see anything, apart from their feet, apart from the stones on the ground, blinded by the boat they are carrying above their heads. Yet there is another way to perceive the island. On Inis Mór in the absence of mountains, the bareness of the grey rocks, the emptiness of the landscape, the attention is drawn to the sky. The lack of trees, the lack of virtually everything that blocks the view, creates a generous space to overlook the sea and to see the horizon. And when looking beyond the high waves of the Atlantic, always threatening the islanders, feeding most of them, killing some, then the island is not longer the source for an unknown past, a fragile recreation of a vanished history where tired Western urban visitors find, as one of my respondents remarked 'people who still live like we used to live'.

Rather, it is an extraordinary ordinary place, where people, in spite of the isolated character of their geographic boundaries, are fashioning an existence that is not super-human but human, in the sense that its aims for innovation and feasibility, without loosing its roots. Above this extraordinary ordinary island, where people live and work, where they drive mini-vans, cycle to an ancient fort, where they build dining halls, serve food, fix airplanes, build hotels, guide tourists, teach children, several times during a day a sign appears telling a story of hope.

A young travelling Danish carpenter, while working to build a dining hall for a restaurant and a wooden deck behind the house of an islander, told me:

'I have never seen so many rainbows in my entire life. I always call this island 'Rainbow Land'. (Respondent 19)

An unusual amount of rainbows appears everyday above Inis Mór.

Picture 13.6 The Seven Churches on Inis Mór.

Picture by Elisabeth Zollinger

This dissertation has begun with a black and white preoccupation of the relationship between the landscape of the masses and the fading fingerprints of the individual. Let it be ended with a multicoloured mirage, of an arch spanning the entire width of the earth, glowing with a cool and opaque luminosity, embracing the frail human form. It might be an imagination, or a dream. Most likely it is a pragmatic question… How?

NOTES

[1] In a mechanism that was first developed by Barth (1969) and is elaborated for Ireland by Tovey *et. al.* (1989).

[2] In Mauritius for example, 90% of foreign exchange earned from tourism is repatriated to companies based elsewhere (see Crick, 1988:45).

[3] At the same time there seems little evidence that there is a strong manifestation of the third dimension of (contemporary) economic globalization: the presence of Internet (see Appendix).

[4] There is one small fish-factory that is said to have some German investors.

[5] The other main industry of the island, the fishing industry, is of course subject to processes of economic globalization as well especially there is a stark influence of EU-regulation. However, that aspect of the island is not part of this research.

[6] Don Lavery, In: *Sunday Independent*, 2 January 2005.

[7] Up to two hundred men were garrisoned there and in 1657 it became a prison for priests and religious who were outlawed by the Penal Laws. (Ó Maoildhia, 1998:14)

[8] For a successful example see for example Blarney Castle. 'Blarney Castle is famous for its stone, which is traditionally believed to have the power to bestow eloquence on all those who kiss it. The stone itself is set in the wall below the battlements and to kiss it, one has to lean backwards (holding on to an iron railing) from the parapet walk.' See: http://www.blarneycastle.ie, November 2005.

[9] 'In June 1931 the *National Geographic* magazine wrote 'many of the younger men have taken to caps or tam o'shanters as well as to the blue jersey of the fisherman. These jerseys would have been common around the British and Scottish coasts at the time and increasingly machine made. Certainly no nineteenth century observer described richly cables and ornate sweaters, distinctive decoration which that could hardly have fail to notice' (in: McQuillan, 1993: 12).

[10] 'The finest selection of traditional Irish knitwear' 'Retailers of: Irish Handknit Aran Sweaters. Jewellery, both silver and gild including the famous Claddagh Ring. Irish handcrafted Crystal'. Source: brochure: Carraig Donn & The Aran Woolen Mills.

[11] Other sources say the letter was written to the *Connacht Tribune* (ww.aerarann.com). I have not found the letter in the National Library in the archives of the *Connacht Tribune.* In a interview by phone, Lawford, who as Chief Pilot of Shannon Flying Services in the sixties was closely involved in the establishment of an airline strip on Inis Mór in 1969/ 1970, stated that the letter was sent to *The Irish Times.* As the exact date is unknown, the letter has not yet been traced.

[12] Information from www.aerarann.com, August 2005.

[13] On an individual level globalization might seem autonomous (for example the employee who decides to move to Ireland to work for an American multinational), however if this occurs in the context of processes of domineering globalization, an outcome of incremental innovation, might be less likely. Still it might occur and this needs to be further explored.

[14] www.irish-culture.ch, March 2005.

[15] I did not count any general and non-specific remarks such as 'lovely' and 'thank you', by far the majority of the comments.

CHAPTER 14 THE UNIVERSAL SURNAME: CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

A human being is a part of the whole called by us universe,
a part limited in time and space.
He experiences himself, his thoughts and feelings as something separated from the rest, a kind of optical delusion of his consciousness.
This delusion is a kind of prison for us, restricting us to our personal desires and to affection for a few persons nearest to us.
Our task must be to free ourselves from this prison by widening our circle of compassion to embrace all living creatures and the whole of nature in its beauty.

(Albert Einstein)[1]

14.1 Overview

This thesis was concerned with undertaking a theoretical-empirical inquiry into the relationship between globalization and sameness. Based upon theoretical and empirical research the dissertation developed a theoretical model of globalization and sameness. This was conducted through an analysis of the intertwining processes of economic and cultural globalization on the local level. This exercise was based upon theoretical research on the one hand and small-scale exploratory empirical research on the other. Chapter 1 set the context by describing where the motivation for the research originated. This was a simple observation, made in the context of everyday life, that globalization leads to sameness. The aims and structure of the thesis were also outlined in this Chapter.

The focus of Part 1, Chapters 2 - 5, was to lay out a theoretical framework for systematically thinking about the impact of processes of economic globalization on local cultural practices. Chapter 2 discussed the concept of 'sameness' in the context in which the simple observation emerged: within a worldwide expanding multinational financial organization.

Chapter 3 discussed the concept of 'globalization' based upon a critical review of the sociological literature on the subject. This theoretical review was undertaken to identify shortcomings in the current debate on sociology and with the intention of determining the definition of globalization suitable for the empirical research.

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[1] Quoted in *Mathematical Circles Adieu*, in: H. W. Eves (2003).

Chapter 4 discussed the theoretical model that was the basis for the empirical research and for a further development of the eventual model on globalization and sameness. This chapter included the definition of globalization that formed the framework within which the empirical research was carried out. This chapter specified the selected parameters for economic and cultural globalization used in this research and explicitly included the micro-level in the analysis. Thus, the simple observation of chapter 1 was developed into a basic theoretical model and the framework for the empirical research that aimed to further develop the theoretical model. Chapter 5 described the methodology developed to empirically research this model, so that this objective could be addressed.

The second purpose of the thesis, addressed in Part II, Chapters 6 -13 was to empirically investigate the relationship between processes of economic globalization in the form of movements of goods and money, people and knowledge, and of cultural globalization in the form of identity, language and the arts on a local level. Chapter 6 introduced the national context in which the research was carried out, namely the nation-state with the most globalized economy at the time of the research: the Republic of Ireland. This chapter as well introduced the first case-study of the town with the highest per capita Foreign Direct Investment in Ireland, namely Leixlip in Co. Kildare.

Chapter 7 discussed how and why Ireland and Leixlip have become so strongly subject to processes of economic globalization. Chapters 8 and 9 presented the Leixlip case-study. Chapter 8 focused on the descriptive question of the relationship between economic and cultural globalization in Leixlip through an analysis of quantitative data, visual data and of the documentary realities on the collective level. Chapter 9 explored the causal question of the relationship between economic and cultural globalization in Leixlip, based upon document-analysis and in-depth interviews, concentrated on the micro-level.

Chapters 10, 11 and 13 discussed the Inis Mór case study. Chapter 10 introduced Inis Mór through an analysis of historical processes of economic and cultural globalization on the island, circa 1900, and explored the concept of difference on the one hand and globalization on the other. In contrast with the dominant globalization of Chapter 9, Chapter 10 introduced the concept of autonomous globalization. Chapter 11 reflected on the origins of cultural difference on Inis Mór based upon quantitative analysis of the census data, visual data, literature on the subject and in-depth interviews with islanders.

Chapter 12 theoretically elaborated this concept and developed a typology of different forms of sameness and difference as the outcome of dominant or autonomous globalization. Chapter 13

discussed contemporary Inis Mór and the effects of economic globalization in the cultural field. It included the results of a triangulation of qualitative research methods including participant observation and conversation analysis. It discussed a typology of four manifestations of sameness and difference on the island and discussed the causal mechanisms that relate them to forms of autonomous and dominant globalization.

The present Chapter 14 is the conclusions and discussion. Section 14.2 summarizes the main findings of this research. Section 14.3 gives an empirical illustration of the model. Section 14.4 theoretically summarizes the model and section 14.5 suggests areas of future research. Section 14.6 discusses the findings and offers some personal reflection. Section 14.7 explains the title of the thesis.

14.2 Main findings: a multi-step theory of globalization and sameness

The purpose of this dissertation was two-fold. Firstly, I intended to make a theoretical contribution to the sociological debate on globalization through a systematic inquiry into the relationship between globalization and sameness. The second purpose was to make an empirical contribution by researching the relationship between economic and cultural globalization in the local field within small specific geographic areas subject to strong processes of economic globalization.

The result of this research was the development of a new multi-step theory on globalization and sameness. The theory of this dissertation was developed through the hypothetical-deductive method. The motivation for the thesis originated in a simple observation, that globalization leads to sameness, made during the four years that I worked for a multinational.

With this motivation in mind this dissertation discussed a significant societal problem of contemporary society. Many people fear that globalization will lead to a uniform culture and that in the process they will lose their own identities, language and culture to a new culture that they did not choose, cannot control and that somehow seems to be imposed. The simple observation that was the basis for this dissertation can be summarized as follows.

Figure 14.1 Theoretical Model Step A. Globalization and Sameness.

Globalization • ---------- ? ► ---------- • Sameness

This simple observation, made in the context of everyday life, has been grounded in sociological theory on globalization through a critical literature review. From this review it emerged that different conceptualizations of globalization are used in the debate on globalization. In order to reformulate the question presented in Theoretical Model Step A, it needed to be clear which concept of globalization would be used.

The dissertation theoretically developed the *Dialectic Globalization Framework* to position the different definitions of globalization used in the globalization debate. Distinctions were made between definitions of globalization as multi-dimensional and one-dimensional, between those that define globalization as a condition and as a process and between those that address contemporary reality and as a form of futurology. In order to choose a definition suitable for this research, a popular globalization definition was critically analyzed and its shortcomings were discussed. Based upon the literature review and the empirical research this dissertation developed the following definition of globalization:

'Globalization refers to (1) the action of forming into a world society, the process of becoming a world society or to (2) inclusion or absorption into a world society. Every action or process of connection carried out by any individual or group transcending the boundary of a society in its restricted sense (be it a tribe, a village, a sub-group, a nation, a region et cetera) with the intended or unintended consequence of a connection to a larger society is an action or a process of globalization.'

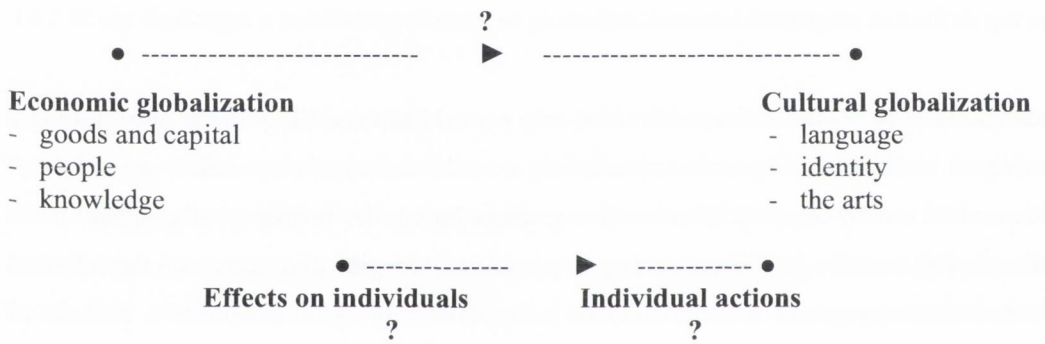
This definition implies that different processes of globalization are distinguishable and that globalization is essentially multi-dimensional. It was aimed to empirically research the simple observation in contemporary reality rather than as a form of futurology. It was decided to focus on the relationship between economic globalization and cultural globalization. This is reflected in step B of the theoretical model.

In relation to identifying the variables indicating economic globalization, the research investigated economic literature on the subject. Economic globalization was identified to consist of the movements of a) goods and capital, b) people and c) knowledge. Such movement was identified as the independent variable of the research. Other processes of globalization and sameness such as political globalization and, for example, standard-setting as a form of globalization that produces sameness in the absence of mobility of goods and services across borders, were not included in this research.

The research identified variables of cultural globalization likely to be influenced by economic globalization based on a case study of a financial multinational. This was the context from which the simple observation emerged. The relevant financial multinational made a distinction between 'overlay' and 'country-specifics'. A strong inclination towards an expansion of the 'overlay' (sameness) at the expense of the 'country-specifics' (difference) occurred in the cultural field. This seemed especially to influence identity, language and work culture (in this research operationalized as 'the arts'). This finding is summarized in Step C.

The next step, step D, was, following Coleman (1990), to include the micro-level into the basic theoretical model. Summarizing steps A-D, the basic theoretical model that was the foundation for the empirical research was as follows:

Figure 14.3 Theoretical Model Step A-D: Basic Theoretical Model.



This model can be summarized with a descriptive and a causal question:

a) Does economic globalization (e.g. goods and capital, people, knowledge) lead to sameness in the cultural field (e.g. language, identity, arts)?

b) If (not) so, can that be explained through the effects that economic globalization has on individual actors, which lead to actions on the micro-level that bring forth either cultural sameness or difference on the macro-level?

The empirical research design laid out the empirical framework to discuss this model. Economic globalization was identified as the independent variable and cultural globalization as the dependent variable. The research area was selected through theoretical sampling, based on the independent variable. I selected a nation-state strongly influenced by processes of economic globalization, and within that nation-state I selected three local areas subject to strong processes of economic globalization.

The nation-state with the most globalized economy in the world at the time of the research, the Republic of Ireland, was selected as the research area. Within the Republic of Ireland three

case studies were selected that exhibited a strong presence of the three different forms of economic globalization. The three case studies were Leixlip, Co. Kildare (the town with the highest per capita of FDI in Ireland), Inis Mór, Co. Galway (an island with a very strong presence of tourism) and Ennis, Co. Clare (the town chosen as Ireland's Information Age Town). In a very early stage an interesting contrast between processes of economic globalization in Leixlip and on Inis Mór occurred. At that stage it was decided to drop the Ennis case study. Instead, the contrast between economic globalization in Leixlip and Inis Mór was further explored.

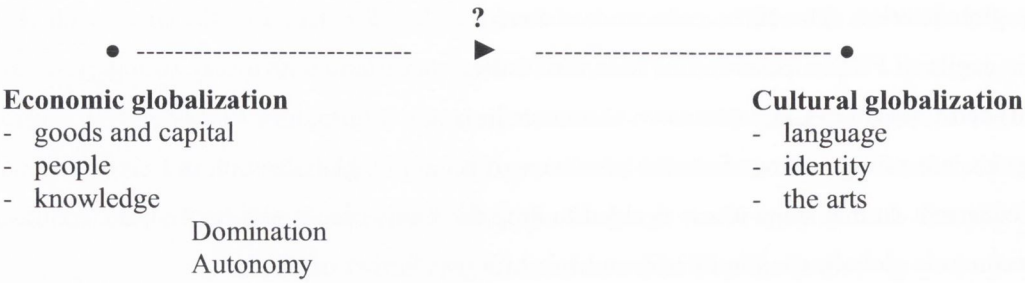
Leixlip is a suburb of Dublin and the area with the largest per capita Foreign Direct Investment in Ireland due to the presence of the largest factory of Intel Corporation outside the United States and a large Hewlett-Packard factory. Within this context the empirical research began with the exploration of an almost stereotypical form of globalization: the presence of American Foreign Direct Investment.

The research first investigated how processes of economic globalization came to Leixlip. One remarkable finding that emerged was that factors on the global, European and national level played a strong role in the decision-making process of Intel to move to Leixlip. Yet the local community itself seemed to have had very little involvement. The profound transformation economic globalization caused in this little town was largely driven by external, non-local factors. Based on this empirical finding, the research developed a theoretical concept of globalization characterized by domination, or 'dominant globalization'.

The other case study, Inis Mór, an island off Ireland's West Coast, showed a very different pattern of globalization. The processes of economic globalization in the form of tourism coming to Inis Mór are mostly locally driven. There is very little Foreign Direct Investment on the island. The most important tourist accommodations, (the hotel, guesthouses, restaurant, et cetera), are locally owned. The means of transport are either regionally owned, like the ferry, or locally initiated and now nationally owned, like the airline. At the same time, the islanders actively undertake actions to bring economic globalization in the form of tourism to the island, by, among other things, visiting fairs in Japan and holding workshops in the United States and Finland that teach local traditions.

The two first findings in Leixlip and on Inis Mór suggested that a distinction could be made between processes of economic globalization characterized by domination and processes of globalization that are characterized more by autonomy. This is reflected in Theoretical Model Step E.

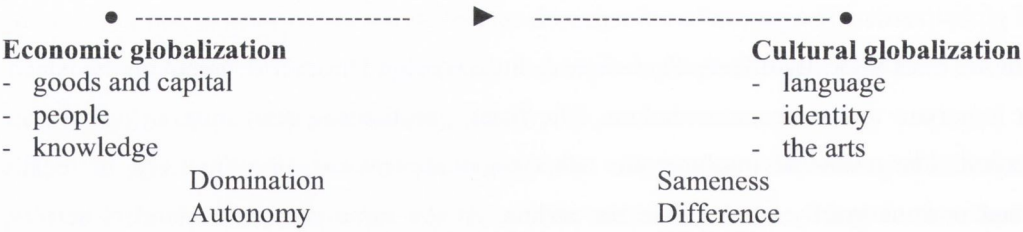
Figure 14.4 Theoretical Model Step E: Dominant and Autonomous Globalization.



When this contrast emerged during the course of the fieldwork, I decided to drop the Ennis, Co. Clare case study. Substituted instead was the decision to further explore the relationship between dominating and autonomous processes of globalization versus sameness and difference in the cultural field.

The research then addressed the descriptive question: does globalization lead to sameness in the cultural field? The first finding of the empirical research in Leixlip did not support that thesis. To the contrary, within the field of identity and language a resurgence of the national culture seemed to emerge locally. This empirical finding suggested that the theoretical model could be refined with two outcomes in the cultural field: besides sameness, difference.

Figure 14.5 Theoretical Model Step F: Sameness and Difference.

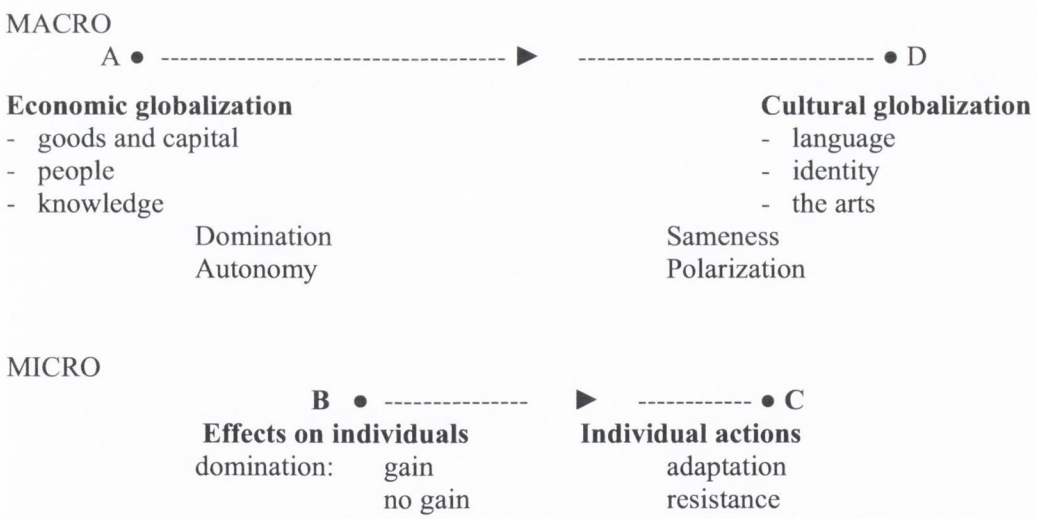


However, what was the nature of the observed difference? The second finding of the empirical research in Leixlip was that the observed difference seemed bipolar. The research found a culture of the global economic player on one hand and of the local community on the other hand. I then made a theoretical distinction between what I have called a concept of an 'expansive identity', represented by the global company, which awakened an 'explanatory identity' amongst the local identity. I developed this concept within the context of what I had previously identified as dominant globalization.

These findings lead to the formulation of the causal question. Why did economic globalization on the local level of Leixlip not lead to sameness but rather to polarization? The research concluded that economic globalization did not so much lead to cultural polarization in Leixlip because it coincided with domination in the economic field, but rather because it was dominating in the field of norms and values. While the global corporation claims to convey universal values, these values are in fact very specific for one culture, (the American culture), and for one segment of society, (business).

Robbed of its own dignity and cultural pride, a new set of processes in the local cultural field slowly emerged, involving a reorientation and reinvention of the local and national culture. Thus the seeds of cultural polarization were sown. On a micro-level, the research found that those who did not directly gain from the presence of processes of economic globalization turned towards a strategy of 'resistance', developing an explanatory culture. It was assumed that those who gain would be more likely to 'adapt' to the expansive culture. These findings and first indications of an answer to the causal question are summarized in figure 14.6.

Figure 14.6 Theoretical Model Step G: Dominant Globalization and Polarization, Strategies on the Micro-level.



Having distinguished two strategies on the micro-level within the context of dominant globalization, the research addressed the next question. Which strategies on the micro-level occur within the context of autonomous globalization? And to which manifestations of cultural

globalization on the macro-level do they lead? This has been studied within the context of the Inis Mór case. The research found two main strategies on the micro-level.

The first strategy I called *duplication*. This was shown in the desire on Inis Mór for equality with the main land. This lead to improvement of connections (ferry, an airline) and services (electricity), initiated by the islanders. These changes caused the loss of certain cultural distinctiveness attributed to the island culture. Therefore, strategies driven by the need for equality and characterized by an action of duplication can bring forth sameness on the macro-level. However, that sameness is not the result of domination. Does the desire for equality inevitably lead to the loss of distinction?

A second strategy was observed on the island. Within the context of autonomous globalization, the research found that on Inis Mór non-islanders, but now living on the island, re-invent local island traditions and disseminate them abroad. At the same time, the research found that islanders are inclined to attract foreign influences to the island rather than on focusing on their own traditions. This mechanism on the micro-level does not bring forth sameness on the macro-level but instead produces diversity. This diversity, this form of difference on the macro-level, I argued, is closely related to universality, driven by what is unique about each of us, but carried out within a framework of that which we share. Local distinct features are globally accessible and applicable.

I called the actions forthcoming from this strategy *incremental innovation*, since uniqueness generates originality, and originality innovation. Incremental innovation is threatened by domination that either aims to impose standards or that elicits difference in the form of polarization, when the sub-ordinate resists the standards imposed by the dominator.

The research further argued that the effect of processes of globalization that can be characterized as 'autonomous' benefit the individual, else the strategy would be abandoned since there is no domination that prevents the individual from 'exit'. Since on the micro-level individuals gain from autonomous processes of globalization, there is no need for resistance because there is nothing to resist, nor for adaptation because there is no dominant culture to which to adapt.

These findings are summarized in Figure 14.7, Step G'.

Figure 14.7 Theoretical Model Step G': Autonomous Globalization and Sameness and Difference, Strategies on the Micro-level.

MACRO

A • ---------- ► ---------- • D

Economic globalization
- goods and capital
- people
- knowledge

Domination
Autonomy

Cultural globalization
- language
- identity
- the arts

Sameness
Difference

MICRO

B • ---------- ► ---------- • C

Effects on individuals		**Individual actions**
domination:	gain	adaptation
	no gain	resistance
autonomy:	gain	duplication
		incremental innovation
	no gain	exit*

*not in model

These findings raised two theoretical questions. Could different forms of cultural sameness and difference be distinguished? Could they be related to domination or autonomy attributed to processes of economic globalization? In relation to further developing a concept of different forms of sameness and difference the research then turned to the sociological and philosophical literature on the subject which has been used to develop the empirical findings.

Through a further elaboration of Kant's [1784] concept of 'unsocial sociability' and relating that to Simmel's concept of 'sociability' [1907], the dissertation identified two types of sameness. I defined *homogeneity* as 'sameness as the product of autonomy and the absence of domination', and *uniformity* as 'sameness as the product of domination and the absence of autonomy'. Similarly, I identified two typologies of difference. First, 'difference as the product of domination', called *polarization*, and second, 'difference as the outcome of autonomy', which I have called '*universal diversity*'. These four manifestations of cultural globalization emerged from the empirical research and were elaborated based upon the above-mentioned theoretical literature. This is summarized in Table 14.1.

Table 14.1 Four Manifestations of Cultural Globalization on Two Dimensions.

	Sameness	**Difference**
Domination	Uniformity	Polarization
Autonomy	Homogeneity	Universal Diversity

This was specified as a typology of outcomes on the macro-level, made comprehensible through an analysis of strategies on the micro-level. Thus I have hoped to demythologize globalization through highlighting the micro-to-macro transition.

Yes, economic globalization might cause sameness, but that sameness is not always the result of domination on the macro-level and adaptation to that dominant culture on the micro-level. This sameness can as well be the result of autonomous processes of globalization driven by a strategy of duplication and a desire for equality.

No, economic globalization does not always cause sameness, but can cause difference as well and not always as a form of resistance against what is felt is the dominant culture. Another scenario of difference within a world society is indeed possible. Autonomous processes of globalization and micro-strategies of incremental innovation drive this cultural diversity. This diversity reflects the shared humanity, i.e. what was once a source of distinction on a group-level, (national, regional, local), becomes accessible as a source of distinction on the individual level.

The main theoretical and empirical findings of this research are summarized in figure 14.8.

Figure 14.8 Theoretical Model Step H: Multi-step Model of Globalization and Sameness.

MACRO:

Globalization **Sameness**

A • ---------- ► ---------- • **D**

Economic globalization
- goods and capital
- people
- knowledge

Cultural globalization
- language
- identity
- the arts

Domination — Uniformity, Polarization

Autonomy — Homogeneity, Universal diversity

MICRO:

B • ---------- ► ---------- • **C**

Effects on individuals		**Individual actions**
Domination:	gain	adaptation
	no gain	resistance
Autonomy:	gain	duplication
		Incremental innovation
	no gain	exit *

* not in model

14.3 Illustration of the model with the Inis Mór case study

The model can be illustrated with the Inis Mór case study as follows.

On Inis Mór, on the macro-level, a correlation was found between processes of economic globalization, (A), that seem to be largely autonomous, (established and fuelled by local agents with very little involvement of national or foreign money), and cultural globalization, (B), that shows little of the polarization as observed in Leixlip. Instead, the research found a sameness that seems to be driven by the islanders out of a desire for equality with the main land (homogeneity), and a difference that is sometimes initiated more by the non-islanders then by the islanders themselves and that refers to a certain footlessness of cultural practices (universal diversity).

How can this be explained? The processes of autonomous globalization, whether focused more locally, (the building of accommodation rented out to the national tourist board), or more

globally, (islanders visiting tourist fairs in Japan), are ultimately undertaken to benefit the local community.

On an individual level, (B), we therefore see that the local community generally benefits from the processes of economic globalization in a variety of forms, including jobs, money, status, prospect, security and physical well-being among others. If the process does not benefit the local community, it is assumed that the strategy is abandoned, (exit). For example, if the visit to the Japanese tourist fair is not successful in terms of an increase in Japanese tourists coming to the island, the strategy will be abandoned and another strategy will be chosen. Since individuals gain from autonomous processes of economic globalization, there is no need for resistance because there is nothing to resist, nor for adaptation because there is no dominant culture to which to adapt. Will this eventually lead to more diversity within the processes of cultural globalization?

Not necessarily, because it was found that one of the actions driven by autonomous processes of economic globalization is duplication. For example, islanders have initiated a connection with the mainland through an airline, which has been realized with money from the mainland. This connection has stimulated not just an economic equality with the mainland, but also a similarity with cultural practices such as food and music.

On the individual level, the islanders have started to duplicate the actions of the mainland as a consequence of increased connections. Had these connections been imposed, a scenario of resistance is possible that may include islanders refusing to buy the 'mainland products' and preferring to buy local products, leading to a reinvention of local culture scenario. However, within the context of autonomous globalization the research did not observe such tendencies.

These actions of duplication on the individual level result in a macro-effect of homogeneity within processes of cultural globalization on the macro-level, (D). This has lead to a loss of cultural distinction that could once have been attributed to the island culture. However, at the same time, this research observed a latent tendency towards differentiation and variety within the island culture that follows a very different logic than the logic of polarization.

This observation was triggered by the remarks of one of the respondents about the activities of a Swiss woman who promotes the island culture both on Inis Mór and in her native Switzerland. The respondent remarked that 'she is doing what the islanders should be doing.' This observation raises two questions: Why are the islanders not doing what she is doing, in promoting the island culture, and why is this foreign woman promoting the island culture?

This dissertation found that an answer to the first question is that the islanders might gain enough from the autonomously undertaken processes of globalization that it is not necessary to

turn to the island culture as a means of symbolic resistance. The answer to the second question is at the same time more complicated and very simple.

The answer could be that she promotes the island culture for the sake of 'difference as an end in itself'. Within the context of autonomous globalization the individual actor can turn to a strategy of difference; her actions make her distinctive, on the island being Swiss and in Switzerland she represents Irish culture. This adds to her individuality that 'suits him *(her) alone* and that *being different has a positive meaning and value for his (her) life*' (Simmel, [1907]. This strategy, which the research has called 'incremental innovation' on the micro-level, results in a cultural field characterized by 'universal diversity' on the macro-level. Autonomous globalization in this case brings forth difference, rather than sameness.

14.4. Summary of the theoretical model on globalization and sameness

The aim of this chapter was to present the research findings of the empirical and theoretical research in one theoretical model that aimed to describe the relationship between globalization and sameness in a coherent way. This multi-step model, graphically presented in figure 14.8, consists of the following theoretical steps.

1. Globalization is defined as follows: 'Globalization refers to (1) the action of forming into a world society, the process of becoming a world society or to (2) inclusion or absorption into a world society. Every action or process of connection carried out by any individual or group transcending the boundary of a society in its restricted sense (be it a tribe, a village, a sub-group, a nation, a region et cetera) with the intended or unintended consequence of a connection to a larger society is an action or a process of globalization.'
2. This research addresses the relationship between economic and cultural globalization. Processes of economic globalization consist of three main categories, namely the movement throughout the world of, a) goods and capital, b) people, and c) knowledge **(A).** Processes of cultural globalization are operationalized for this research in three main categories: a) language, b) identity, and c) the arts **(D)**.
3. A distinction can be made between processes of economic globalization characterized either by domination or by autonomy.

4. The economic processes and the essential nature of either domination or autonomy generate different individual effects. Economic globalization generates either individual gain, (in terms of socio-economic status, physical well-being, sense of community etc), or no gain. **(B)**
5. These different individual effects of economic globalization lead to different individual actions within the field of cultural globalization. In the case of individual gain, the individual behaviour will show a pattern of adaptation in the case of globalization produced by domination. In the case of autonomous economic globalization a strategy of what is called duplication, (referring to shared humanity), or incremental innovation, (referring to individual uniqueness), is chosen. In the case of no gain, dominant economic globalization will provoke strategies of resistance in the cultural field, or lead to an exit strategy under autonomous globalization. **(C)**
6. Depending on the individual actions, the processes of cultural globalization on the macro-level will be characterized either by uniformity, homogenization, polarization or universal diversity. **(D)**
7. These assumptions describe and explain some correlation and causal mechanisms in the relationship between globalization and sameness in the cultural field.

Further empirical research is required to both test and refine the model.

14.5 Concluding comments and future research

The research undertaken in this thesis adds to existing literature in a number of ways. In terms of the sociological theory on globalization, the work described in Part I is the first time that a systematic, theoretical, sociological inquiry into the relationship between globalization and sameness has been conducted. The developed model included several theoretical innovations.

Firstly, the theory is developed through the introduction of a new definition of globalization. This definition is based upon a systematic analysis of Albrow's (1990) definition of globalization, and by exploring its limitations. This then lead to a reformulation and elaboration of the definition by stressing that an act of globalization is essentially an act of connection by transcending a boundary to an expanding society evolving into a world society and by explicitly adding individual agency to the concept.

Secondly, the theory developed in this thesis makes an innovative distinction between processes of dominant versus autonomous globalization. This is the first time such a dichotomy has been made in sociological studies on globalization.

Thirdly, this theory suggests relating dominant and autonomous globalization to different outcomes of sameness in the cultural field. This dissertation has developed a novel typology of sameness and difference within the globalization debate by distinguishing uniformity from homogeneity and polarization from universal diversity. The thesis argued that these are significantly different outcomes. Uniformity is sameness as a product of power and control by one individual or group over another (dominant globalization). Homogeneity and universal diversity are products of individual or group autonomy and are characterized by increased communication and interconnection, (autonomous globalization), through which people can simultaneously recognize and develop what we share as human beings, and what is unique about each of us.

Fourthly, through the development of this typology, this research is the first sociological study on globalization that makes a systematic distinction between the concepts of uniformity, homogeneity and universality, three forms of sameness usually mentioned in one breath in the globalization debate.

Fifthly, the second part of the thesis, Part II, Chapters 6-13 has made an empirical contribution to the literature through a systematic analysis of the relationship between economic and cultural globalization on the local level. This is the first time, as far as I am aware of, that an inquiry into cultural globalization has been conducted within two cases subject to strong presence of economic globalization in the nation-state with the most globalized economy in the world at the time of the research.

Sixthly, the thesis has contributed to the literature by utilizing seemingly rarely used research techniques in empirical studies on globalization such as the analysis of visual data in the form of signboards, as a means of expressing collective identities on the local level. Likewise, the use of historical biographies to gain insight into historic processes of globalization was also utilized. It also has used guestbook entries as a source of data on globalization and tourism, which appears to be new. In general, the empirical research has aimed to make the relationship between economic and cultural globalization on the local level literally visible, and this seems not to be the focus of most studies written from a socio-economic point of view.

This dissertation aimed to unravel certain mechanisms of globalization and sameness that will, it is hoped, be elaborated in further research. New research is needed to explore whether the

patterns found in these results are attributable to characteristics unique to the two sites, or whether similar mechanisms occur in very different settings. In relation to the empirical research design chosen to investigate the theoretical question of whether globalization leads to sameness, a number of restrictions should be mentioned.

Firstly, the central relationship between globalization and sameness is not, as is commonly suggested, discussed with reference to mass media and mass culture. As uniformity occurs strongly in that field, any observations of variety in this dissertation do not include the tendency towards sameness in the field of mass media and consumption. However, a fixation on those fields blinds us to diversity emerging elsewhere. This research has specifically chosen to research culture that can become manifest in the local field as an outcome of local activity.

Secondly, the research design has not addressed two other prominent aspects of globalization, namely religion and migration. Using 'migration' solely as an indicator for economic globalization would not, I argued, do justice to the complexities of the subject. On the other hand, choosing 'religion' in the cultural field did not directly emerge from the case study in the bank in the first place. Secondly, it was felt that within the empirical context of the Republic of Ireland, (until recently a relatively homogeneous Christian society), the choice of religion as a dependent variable would not be as fruitful as the choice of language or identity. Thirdly, and most importantly, it was argued that religion and globalization are very complex concepts that might be too vast for discussion solely within the context of globalization and sameness.

This research has also narrowed the theoretical research question on the relationship between globalization and sameness to the relationship between economic and cultural globalization. This implies that other factors that are driving sameness are not included in the empirical research, such as standard-setting as a form of globalization which may produce uniformity in the absence of mobility of goods and services across borders.

In terms of future work, an interesting addition to the theoretical work undertaken in Part I would be to further formulate and define the suggested concepts and reformulate verifiable hypotheses based upon the general theory.

For example, a verifiable hypothesis could be that 'dominant globalization leads to polarization in the cultural field'. The further theoretical elaboration of that hypothesis would need to define 'dominant globalization' more precisely. This thesis argues that domination leading to polarization mainly refers to globalization that is dominating in the fields of norms and values coinciding with economic practices, and not as much in terms of the economic practices as such.

A theoretical distinction could further explore this line of thinking by making a distinction between globalization that is mostly economically dominant, (and not so much in the field of norms and values), and economic globalization that is dominant in the field of norms and values. Does globalization, dominant in the field of norms and values, lead to polarization and globalization, primarily dominant in the field of economy, to uniformity? This would further elaborate the observed difference in this research between Intel Corporation and Hewlett-Packard.

A further theoretical elaboration of the concepts of dominant and autonomous globalization could provide more insight into the mechanisms of polarization, especially into the circumstances under which the propensity for the reorientation of national identities occurs. This addresses different movements that refer to the expansion to larger societies, including, for example, Europeanization.

Does an orientation to national identities within the several European nation-states occur more strongly when the national society has less autonomy over the process and when it has less to gain from the enlargement? Are, in these situations, national identities developed as a symbolic weapon against what is felt as a loss of power in the cultural and economic field? Could in a different context, a form of dominant globalization and the spread of national values that are presented as universal lead equally to resurgence, re-invention and possibly even radicalization of the religious identity?

An interesting extension of the work undertaken in Part II would be to empirically investigate through international comparative research whether mechanisms found on the small-scale local level of Leixlip are found on the national level as well. This could include an analysis of the mastery of and the attitude towards national languages and the expression of national identity on the macro-level, gathered through a quantitative survey of a representative sample of national populations.

These cultural indicators could be linked to economic indicators measuring the economic globalization of each country, and qualitative research could be conducted into the origins of the economic globalization and to what extent autonomy can be attributed to the national level. While this is a large undertaking, and data deficiencies may prevent a meaningful analysis, it will provide important insights into the development of national identities and their integration into a world society.

Another extension of the work undertaken in Part I is to further define autonomous globalization. In doing so, the theoretical concepts of both homogeneity and universal diversity, as well as duplication and incremental innovation, can further be theoretically developed. It would be interesting to see to what extent the concepts of homogeneity and, for example,

'equality', are related. From the elaboration of these definitions, hypotheses might be formulated that could be empirically researched as an extension of the work undertaken in Part II.

Autonomous globalization or, globalization allowing for a large amount of local autonomy, as illustrated with the successful example of Aer Arann, might be highly effective in the development of underdeveloped countries, generating homogeneity on the macro-level through strategies of duplication, (rather than resistance), on the micro-level. Insights into these mechanisms could be empirically researched through, for example, a qualitative study of development initiatives in Africa.

These initiatives could consist of a local idea or an explicit need aiming to bring forth equality with developed countries and integration into the global economy, funded by foreign money but controlled locally and with explicit emphasis on local autonomy. The results from this research may inform the work undertaken in Part II and further elaborate the different levels and the different categories through which local autonomy can be executed.

Furthermore, the concept of universal diversity on the macro-level and the mechanism of incremental innovation on the micro-level could be further theoretically developed, to refine the work undertaken in Part I. This could imply a further theoretical development of Kant's 'unsocial sociability', which as a trait of human beings on the micro-level could lead to a situation of universal diversity on the collective level.

The idea of 'universal diversity' is a concept that aims to integrate both man's uniqueness and his circle of shared humanity that through globalization is quickly expanding. This concept particularly needs to be elaborated both theoretically and empirically. It is an exciting concept, since it relates globalization to a form of difference that refers to universality. It can help us to understand how a world society does not necessarily consist of one culture and a limitation of choice, but rather to an enlargement of choice. Since it is seen as the product of autonomy, this requires a further theoretical investigation into the concept of autonomy and how autonomy is related to innovation within the context of globalization.

From an empirical point of view, the work undertaken in Part II, especially in chapter 13, could inform an empirical research design aiming to investigate strategies of incremental innovation leading to more diversity as a consequence of globalization. To verify the hypothesis 'autonomous processes of globalization do (not) lead to incremental innovation', an area or a sector in which processes of autonomous globalization occur could be selected, and research could be conducted to describe how these processes can lead, (or not lead), to incremental innovation.

An example could be to study a sector of the arts such as modern dance. Does an increase in autonomous cross-border contacts drive strategies of incremental innovation on a micro-level that lead to a situation of universal diversity on the collective level within the dance sector? Under which circumstances does autonomous globalization lead to duplication and when can we distinguish innovation? Case studies of groups driven by autonomous globalization can identify some factors that influence the outcomes in the cultural field.

Studies of the factors that influence individual actors to innovate and to create diversity rather than sameness under the influence of processes of globalization do not seem to have been previously undertaken. Thus, this potential future work may provide some beneficial extensions to the current globalization debate on sameness and difference.

This dissertation has discussed how uniformity, homogeneity and universal diversity, driven by both dominant and autonomous globalization, all refer to forms of sameness, and *ex ultimo* to an expanding frame of reference, a universal framework, of shared references, knowledge and values. The question then arises how such an expanding universal framework could be measured? Worthwhile additional research could be undertaken aiming to measure the progress of a shared framework of reference.

A quantification of growing global consciousness could, for example, be the number of global events, (9/11, the tsunami), or the percentage of the world population that simultaneously experience identical events. It should be aimed at developing these instruments in such a way that research can be repeated every decade to investigate whether global consciousness generally grows.

Measuring an expanding framework of shared references and knowledge could be imagined in the following way. Imagine an average Chinese woman and an average Italian man meeting a century ago. How much shared knowledge did they have? How many shared points of references, words, images, music, objects or gadgets did they have? How many times did they have moments of 'discovery'?

Imagine a contemporary average Chinese woman and a contemporary average Italian man: do they have more or less in common nowadays? The domain of what they have in common can be identified as the framework of shared references. It is my hope that sociology will succeed in developing the instruments to identify this framework of shared references; to measure these 'moments of discovery' versus the 'moments of recognition' and ultimately to investigate if over the decades to come the 'country-specifics' are becoming less while the 'overlay' increases. That last question brings us back to the beginning of the research, the case study of the Bank. For only when we begin to know, we realize we know nothing at all.

14.6 Discussion

This dissertation has set off with a simple observation reflecting a widespread fear in society, namely that globalization leads to cultural sameness. In this imagery, boldly spoken, globalization transforms the world into a world of clones. Globalization is perceived as an impersonal force about which ordinary people and, in some versions, even national governments can do nothing, as in Hertz's *The Silent Take Over* (Hertz, 2001). In Sklair's (2001) perception, agency within globalization is limited to the elite; the 'transnational capitalist class' implements globalization in the countries into which they expand, often following Ritzer's (2000) rational principles. It is against this imagery of globalization that the anti-globalization movement, spearheaded by Naomi Klein's *No Logo* (2000), agitated. No Space. No Choice. No Jobs.

Can a different concept of globalization be formulated? Can a concept of globalization be imagined that offers, paraphrasing Naomi Klein, 'Space. Choice. Jobs'? To what extent has this dissertation offered an alternative imagery of globalization? Initially, from the case study of the Bank, an image of a transnational capitalist class emerged, rationally designing and implementing the overlay and country-specifics in the countries into which they expanded.

However, from my further theoretical and empirical research on the communities of Leixlip and Inis Mór a very different and much more complex imagery of globalization arose. The initial concept of globalization turned out to be only one of four different forms. This form of globalization, I called, 'dominant globalization' leading to 'uniformity' in the cultural field. Indeed, in that perception globalization seemed dominated by a few who impose sameness on the rest, who simply adapt. The result according to some: 'No Space. No Choice. No Jobs'.

Yet this is just one aspect of the relationship between globalization and sameness. I have showed other imageries based upon the agency of all individuals, not just the elite. Firstly, diversity can be created through successful resistance in the cultural field against dominant globalization. Yes, globalization can involve Choice. Secondly, this implies that we have a choice for sameness, too. Within the context of autonomous globalization sameness can be a rational choice that enlarges individuality and echoes the need for equality. Sameness can be necessary to create progress and personal freedom. Yes, globalization can involve Space. Thirdly, besides a choice for sameness, in the context of autonomous globalization, there is a choice and opportunity for diversity as well, equally favoring individuality. This choice for diversity brings forth innovation and innovation creates jobs. Yes, globalization can create Jobs. And not just in multi-nationals.

But this imagery of globalization urges to reject dominant globalization and reclaim autonomous globalization as a legitimate opportunity for progress. These scenarios share the same feature. Agency within the process of globalization is not limited to an elite, but globalization, the extent to which we transcend or not transcend boundaries in reaching out to larger societies, is an agency that can be attributed to all humans. Even within the context of dominant globalization, individual agency in the form of resistance is an option. However, the premise needed to create a framework of reference that is not imposed, (as it is within the concept of uniformity), is that great emphasis be placed on autonomous forms of globalization.

Therefore, this thesis has developed an alternative to the concept of globalization that sees us in linear progress marching forwards to a world of clones. Besides this linear concept of globalization I have developed a concept that I suggest calling provisionally '*circular globalization*'.

I have called 'circular globalization' circular for two reasons. Firstly, it refers to the development of the process. The process of globalization, I argue, is not a linear process, but a dynamic and circular process: circular in that it shows 'circularities' and loops. These circularities, loops and feedbacks reflect reorientations on national identities and local identities at various instances. As I have showed with the case of Leixlip, globalization in some cases creates the very barriers that must be overcome if progress is to occur. Following Barth (1969), I have argued that these circularities reflect those kind of connections that create rather than neutralize cultural distinctiveness.

However, not every connection, regardless of its intrinsic quality, creates cultural distinctiveness. This research has distinguished different types of connections, leading to different gradations of cultural distinctiveness. Yes, connection might cause a reorientation on the own identity, as illustrated with the case study of Leixlip. On the other hand, forms of connection into which both actors enter freely, as in the concept of Simmel's sociability, or within the context of autonomous globalization, do not necessarily create cultural distinctiveness, but can neutralize distinctiveness through mutual understanding and communication and thus bring forth homogeneity.

The exciting finding of this thesis is that a connection that is entered into freely can cause diversity as well. This occurs when one of the parties chooses freely to attribute the cultural distinctiveness of the other party, discovered through free connection, to its own culture, thus establishing diversity with a reference to universality.

This brings me to the most important reason why I call 'circular globalization' 'circular'. Circular refers essentially to shared humanity and to a universal framework of shared references,

knowledge and values. That universal framework of shared references might have existed in the earliest beginnings, in the days when mankind was said to be born in Africa and before humanity dramatically expanded and spread out over the world. Between the beginning and the now the distinctiveness was generated that so often effectively has covered shared humanity.

In that sense, circular globalization refers to a circle that mankind seems to follow; from universality to diversity and now possibly, slowly, a movement back to universality. From the small-connected region around Omo Kibish in Ethiopia, where the oldest fossil rests of modern humans were found, to the small-connected region of the globe created by present processes of globalization, circular globalization represents the circle from connection to disconnection to, again, connection. From sameness, to difference, to, again: sameness and equality.

Along this circle, many aspects of cultural distinctiveness, sometimes created by prior processes of globalization, have been unmasked as incorrectly covering shared humanity. It is not that long ago that apartheid was abolished in South Africa and the black race formally recognized as being equal to other races and part of shared humanity, thus unmasking the myth that, in this case, cultural distinctiveness was in fact a lesser form of being human.

Recently, even aspects of biological distinctiveness that have occurred during the long process of circular globalization are argued to unjustly cover shared humanity. Biologists debate the biological validation of the concept of race, based upon DNA-research. Templeton argues that while there is plenty of genetic variation in humans, most of the variation is individual variation. While between-population variation exists, it is either too small, (which is a quantitative variation), or it is not the right type of qualitative variation. It does not mark historical sub-lineages of humanity (Templeton, 2002).

Setting the controversial debate on the dawn of humanity aside, I here postpone constructing a sociological concept of circular globalization, the gradual development of a universal framework of reference and of shared experiences that is *de facto* a return to what once might have been. Circular globalization, while reflecting loops and circularities of reinventions of national and local identities and dynamic mechanisms which constantly reassert societal, referential and objective cultural references, is essentially characterized by a persistent development towards unity: Durkheim's collective horizon.

If I may end this thesis on a personal note, I would like to share the following. My own research has taught me that a development towards the shared, towards a universal framework of reference, is a positive development. I may have been quite in favour of strong national and local identities when I began this research four years ago. However, both the theoretical and empirical

findings of my research and my own experiences of being an immigrant in a foreign country and living in one of the poorest neighbourhoods of Dublin, The Liberties, for over two years and amidst many other immigrants, have fundamentally changed my point of view.

The research has taught me that national and local identities are constructed. My personal experiences have taught me that they are often raised as barriers against others out of fear. Since courage rather than fear should guide us, I think we need to become aware of the constructed character of our national and local identities and focus on what shares us, rather than on what divides us. While sameness can cover diversity, diversity can cover sameness as well.

I may have begun this research fearing that the expanding frame of references would makes us all clones. However, the concept of 'universal diversity' taught me how an expanding collective international life and an expanding collective framework do not necessarily lead to a loss of cultural distinctiveness or to sameness. A world society is not necessarily characterized by more sameness, but might even be characterized by increased distinctiveness, but on the individual level, and not on the level of locality or nation-state. This perception of a sociological development then would be remarkably similar to some biological interpretations as mentioned above, where DNA-variation mostly occurs on the individual level and not on the level of sub-divisions of humanity.

Yet universal diversity can, I argue, only occur within the context of autonomous globalization that presupposes a certain level of openness and freedom. I therefore have chosen a quote from Albert Einstein, the greatest thinker of the previous century, as a motto for the Conclusions. The restriction of 'our personal desires and to affection for a few persons nearest to us', as Einstein states, is essentially the creation of a personal prison and not a path to freedom, especially within the context of a rapidly globalizing world. 'Our task must be to free ourselves from this prison by widening our circle of compassion to embrace all living creatures and the whole of nature in its beauty', writes Einstein (in: Eves, 2003).

While on an individual level this can be a spiritual task, I think that sociology as a discipline can make a significant contribution by unraveling the global or the shared within national and local identities. National sociologies have contributed to the creation of national societies by highlighting what was specific for those societies. Similarly, a global sociology can make a contribution to the emerging world society by unraveling what is essentially global in seemingly national and local identities. I hope that in that way a global sociology can make a significant contribution to mutual understanding, to which I hope to have contributed a little, with this dissertation.

14.7 The Universal Surname

This dissertation has identified three cultural outcomes referring to the expansion of collective life: uniformity, homogeneity and universal diversity. All of these refer to the expansion of a shared cultural life. Is it coincidental that three out of four outcomes in the cultural field of processes of economic globalization refer to the shared rather than to the separated?

When recalling Kant's 'unsocial sociability' the equality of these two qualities of men can be disputed. Not coincidentally the unsocial is a prefix to the social and not the other way around. Sociability might always prevail over unsociability, and therefore the common is inclined to increase while the distinctive recedes. Just like the sea needs to recede from the beach temporarily to roll back with the full splendour of its waves, so too does man need to disassociate himself, yet only to return to associate with others.

Since man is made a social being, the social prevails over the unsocial and the unsocial merely serves to feed the social. This results in an historic consequent advancing expansion of collective life, even if fragmented and full of circularities. As Durkheim argues:

'There is no people and no state which is not a part of another society, more or less unlimited, which embraces all the peoples and all the States with which the first come in contact, either directly or indirectly; there is no national life which is not dominated by a collective life of an international nature. In proportion as we advance in history, these international groups acquire a greater importance and extent' (Durkheim, [1915] 1971:426).

This collective horizon, consisting of uniformity, homogeneity and universal diversity, reflects an increase in common experiences. The expanding movements towards world society, the dynamic connections to a larger and always larger society, ultimately will change the perspective from which human experience is viewed.

In the essay *The Categories of Human Experience*, Simmel distinguishes four categories of human experience, the fundamental categories in terms of which human experience may be viewed: 1) society, 2) objective culture, 3) individual personality, and 4) humanity (Simmel, [1908] 1971: 38). The expansive movements that I have described in this thesis ultimately refer to a situation in which society and objective culture are no longer distinctive categories, or what Robertson (2003:3) has called 'the narrow spectacles of religion, civilization, nation or race'.

When society and objective culture as categories of human experience merge with the fourth category, 'humanity', then just two categories of human experience are left, individual

personality and humanity. This situation, which is merely a consequence of the fact that man's 'unsocial sociability' is not symmetrical but that sociability prevails over unsociability, can be illustrated with the metaphorical concept of *the universal surname*.

An increasing domain of the shared, of the common, results in a universal framework of shared references, knowledge, values, shared with all of humanity as a metaphorical universal surname that can be attributed to every individual, besides his or her first name that refers to every individual's uniqueness.

The human experience then consists of two main categories. The individual uniqueness, reflecting the individual personality, remains intact: the first name. Yet society, objective culture and humanity gradually merge into a universal and common experience of all humanity, the basis for mutual understanding: the Universal Surname.

Picture 14.1 The collective horizon - my Czech-Austrian grandmother dressed in a traditional Austrian dress, a Dirndl, on a traditional Dutch bicycle in the flat landscape of the reclaimed lands. At the horizon: the universal sky. Photograph taken in 1938.

Picture by W.J. Duyker

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APPENDIX A LIST OF RESPONDENTS LEIXLIP

Respondent 1

Principle Teacher (f). Irish School. Middle aged.

Respondent 2

Trader (f). Mother. Female. Nigerian. Late twenties. 3 years in Ireland.

Respondent 3

Spokesperson Intel (f). Does not live in Leixlip. Married.

Respondent 4

Civil servant (f). Married. From Dublin.

Respondent 5

Civil servant (m). Middle-aged. From the Midlands.

Respondent 6

Historian (m). Middle-aged. Works in Dublin. Moved in the seventies to Leixlip.

Respondent 7

Manager (m). Born in Leixlip. Middle-aged. Works in Dublin.

Respondent 8

Town Clerk (f). Spokesperson Town Council Married, three children. From Dublin. Moved to Leixlip in the seventies.

Respondent 9

Spokesperson HP (f). Does not live in Leixlip.

Respondent 10

Historian (m). Middle aged. Married and two children.

Respondent 11

Retired civil servant (m). Born in Leixlip. Elderly. Not married.

Respondent 12

Housewife (f). Married, three children.

Respondent 13

Member Town Commission 1989 (m).

Respondent 14

Church choir volunteer (f). Speaks Irish.

Respondent 15

Member sub-committee of Town Commission for Design of Town Crest (m). Former manager. Retired.

Respondent 16

Student (f). Born in Leixlip. Studies in Dublin. Member G.A.A.

Respondent 17

Historian (m). Retired.

Respondent 18

Former vice-president Intel Ireland (m). Irish. Lived in Leixlip for a while.

Respondent 19

Spokesperson Industrial Development Authority (m).

Respondent 20

Mother (f). Former member school board.

Respondent 21

House wife (f). Middle-aged. Former member CAP.

Respondent 22

Priest (m). Middle-aged. Moved three years ago to Leixlip.

Respondent 23

Older lady in the church. From Leixlip.

Respondent 24

Church attendee, in her forties.

Respondent 25

Surgeon (m). From Nigeria. One year in Ireland. Will be attending the World Youth Day in Cologne to see the Pope. In his late twenties.

APPENDIX B LIST OF RESPONDENTS INIS MÓR

Respondent 1

Retired fisherman (m). From Inis Mór. Married to a woman from Inis Méainn.

Respondent 2

Basket maker (m). From Dun Laoghaire. Moved in 1974 to the island. Married to a woman from Inis Mór.

Respondent 3

Painter (m). From Japan. Second visit to Inis Mór. Mid-term stay (two weeks).

Respondent 4

Chef (m). From French Guyana. Black. Owns a youth hostel. Moved in 1984 to Inis Mór.

Respondent 5

Chef (f). From Co. Mayo. Owns a restaurant and the hotel. Married to a man from Inis Mór. Moved in 1980 to the island.

Respondent 6

Shop assistant (f). From Estonia. Moved one year ago to the island. 27 years old. Has a child in Estonia.

Respondent 7

Priest (m). From Colorado, USA. Second visit to the island. Midterm-stay (one week).

Respondent 8

Airport Manager (m). From Inis Mór. Married to a woman from New York, USA. Son of Aer Arann founder.

Respondent 9

Shop owner, knitter (f). From Inis Mór. Divorced.

Respondent 10

Carpenter (m). From Switzerland. Member of the Rolandschacht. Three months on the island.

Respondent 11

Teacher (m). From Inis Mór. Married to a woman from Dublin. Three children.

Respondent 12

Knitter (f). From Inis Mór. Married to a fisherman from Inis Mór.

Respondent 13

Sailor (m). From the UK. Married to a woman from Dublin. Two children.

Respondent 14

Painter, Tour Operator (f). From Switzerland. Moved in 1974 to the island. Lives during the summer on Inis Mór and during the winter in Switzerland.

Respondent 15

Musician (m). From Dublin. Moved one and a half years ago to the island.

Respondent 16

Nanny (f). From South-Africa. Has spent last six years the summer on the island.

Respondent 17

Painter (f). From the UK. Moved three years ago to the island.

Respondent 18

Technician (m). From Galway. Moved ten years ago to the island.

Respondent 19

Carpenter (m). From Germany. 20 years old. Arrived three months ago on the island.

Respondent 20

Student International relations (f). From Denmark. 29 years old. Visits the island for a weekend.

Respondent 21

Physiotherapist (f). From Denmark. Lives in Wexford, Ireland. Visits the island for a weekend.

Respondent 22

Recruiter (m). From Holland. Lives in Dublin. Girlfriend is from Belgium, both live in Dublin. Visits the island for a weekend.

Respondent 23

Secretary (f). From Italy. Just married to an Italian man. On honeymoon in Ireland. Visits the island for a weekend.

Respondent 24

Tourist (f). From the USA.

Respondent 25

Student Arts and Italian languages (f). From California, USA. Lives in Florence. Visits the island for one week with her friend from the USA, who travels around Europe for 6 months.

Respondent 26

Tourist (f). From Chicago, USA. Elderly. Kelly-supporter. Travels with her friend, (f), from Maine, USA.

Respondent 27

Tour operator. (f). From Germany. Just for one day on the island.

Respondent 28

Computer scientist (m). From Germany. Studies and lives in Dublin. Works for a German computer factory. On the island for the Bank holiday weekend.

Respondent 29

Student in English (m). From Spain. Lives in Galway. For one day on the island. Spanish girlfriend.

Respondent 30

Bicycle repair (m). From Dublin. Lived for the summer on Inis Mór.

Respondent 31

Kitchen-assistant (m). From the UK. Mother is Irish, from Co. Mayo. Has cousins on Inis Mor. Lives on and off the island for the last two years.

Respondent 32

Bicycle assistant (m). From London, UK. Moved one and half year ago to Inis Mór.

Respondent 33

Restaurant owner (f). From Inis Mór. Married to a man from Inis Mór.

Respondent 34

Shop owner (m). From UK. Has lived for the last 40 years during the summer on the island and in the winter in Galway or in England.

Respondent 35

B & B owner (f). From Rossaveal, Co. Mayo. Married to an islander.

Respondent 36

Painter. Gym-instructor (f). From Dublin. Moved ten years ago to the island. Married to a man from the UK. Two children.

Respondent 37

Shop assistant (f), from Co. Mayo. Moved twenty years ago to the island. Married to an islander. Three children.

Respondent 38

Painter (m). From Inis Mór.

Respondent 39

Builder (m). From Inis Mór.

Respondent 40

Retired sailor man (m). From Inis Mór.

Respondent 41

Fisherman (m). From Inis Mór.

Respondent 42

Shop assistant (f). From Inis Mór.

Respondent 43

Shop assistant (f).

Respondent 44

Van-driver (m). From Inis Mór.

Respondent 45

Hostel-assistant (m). From New Zealand. Moved three years ago to the island.

Respondent 46

Painter (f). From Inis Sheer. Visits friends on the island.

Respondent 47

Hostel-assistant (m). From New Zealand. Moved six months ago to the island.

Respondent 48

Real-estate agent (f). Lives and works in Galway. Interviewed in Galway.

Respondent 49

Shop assistant (f). Lives and works in Galway. Interviewed in Galway.

Respondent 50

Porter of a hotel (m). From Portugal. Lives and works in Galway. Moved to Ireland ten years ago.

Respondent 51

Knitter (f). From Inis Mór.

Respondent 52

Retired maker of headstones (m). From Inis Mór.

Respondent 53

Painter (f). From Tirol in Austria. 21 years old. Lived and worked for three weeks on the island.

Respondent 54

Tourist Office Employee (f). From Inis Mór.

Respondent 55

Tourist (f). Lover of classical music. Dutch. Day-tripper.

Respondent 56

Art-student (m). Weekend on Inis Mór. From Dublin.

Respondent 57

American tourist (f). Middle aged.

Respondent 58

Knitter (f). From Inis Mór. Has own craft shop.

Respondent 59

Artist from Switzerland (f). Founder Celtic Spirit.

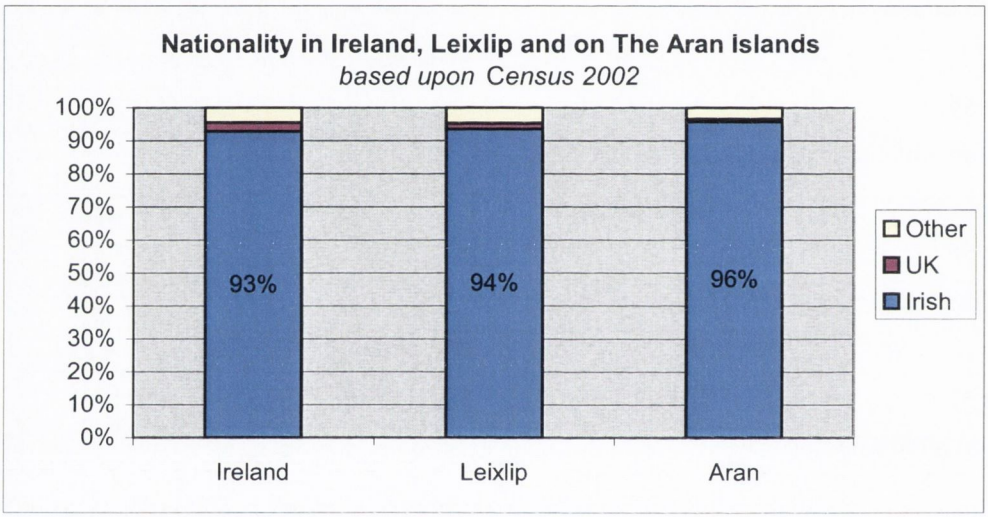
Respondent 60

Photographer (m). From Milano, Italy. Three days on the island.

APPENDIX C IMMIGRATION IN IRELAND, LEIXLIP AND THE ARAN ISLANDS

As figure I shows, the influence of migration is relatively small in Ireland. The Census-data show the island is still very much all-Irish, with relatively little foreign influx. On the Aran Islands[1] the percentages of immigration are still very small. According to the Census 2002 data 6 % of the Aran population is born outside Ireland and just 4 % has a foreign nationality. These numbers includes the tourists present on the island on the night of the census.[2]

Figure I. Nationality in Ireland, Leixlip and on The Aran Islands as % of total population, based upon Census 2002 (CSO, 2002).



[1] Separate data for every island is not available, only cumulative for all the three islands.
[2] Sunday 28th April 2002.

APPENDIX D INTERNET ACCESS IN IRELAND, LEIXLIP AND THE ARAN ISLANDS

Figure II. Internet Access in Ireland, Leixlip and on The Aran Islands as % of total population, based upon Census 2002 (CSO, 2002).

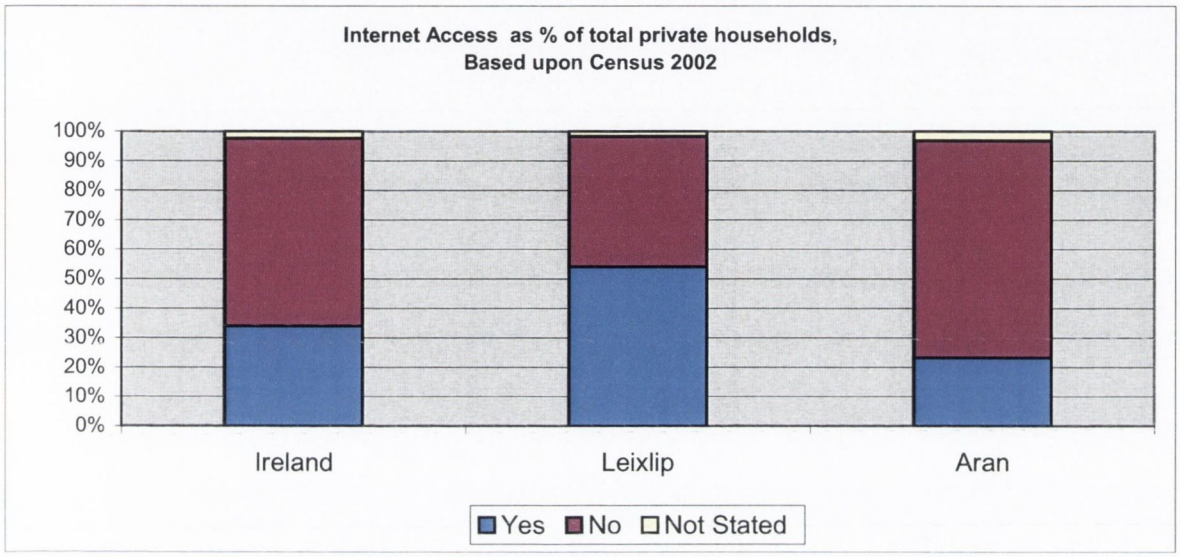
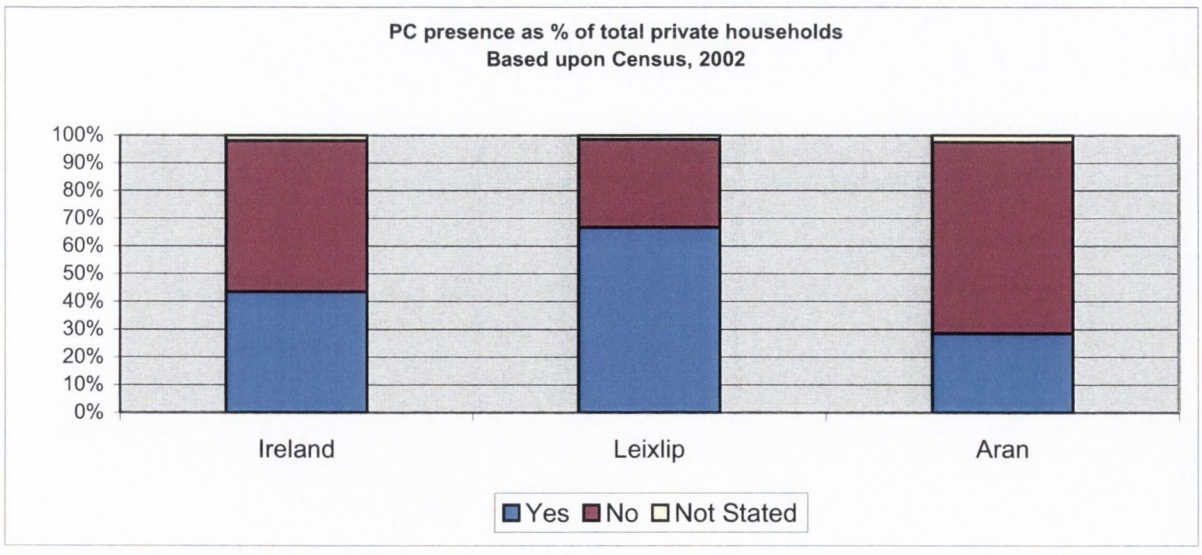
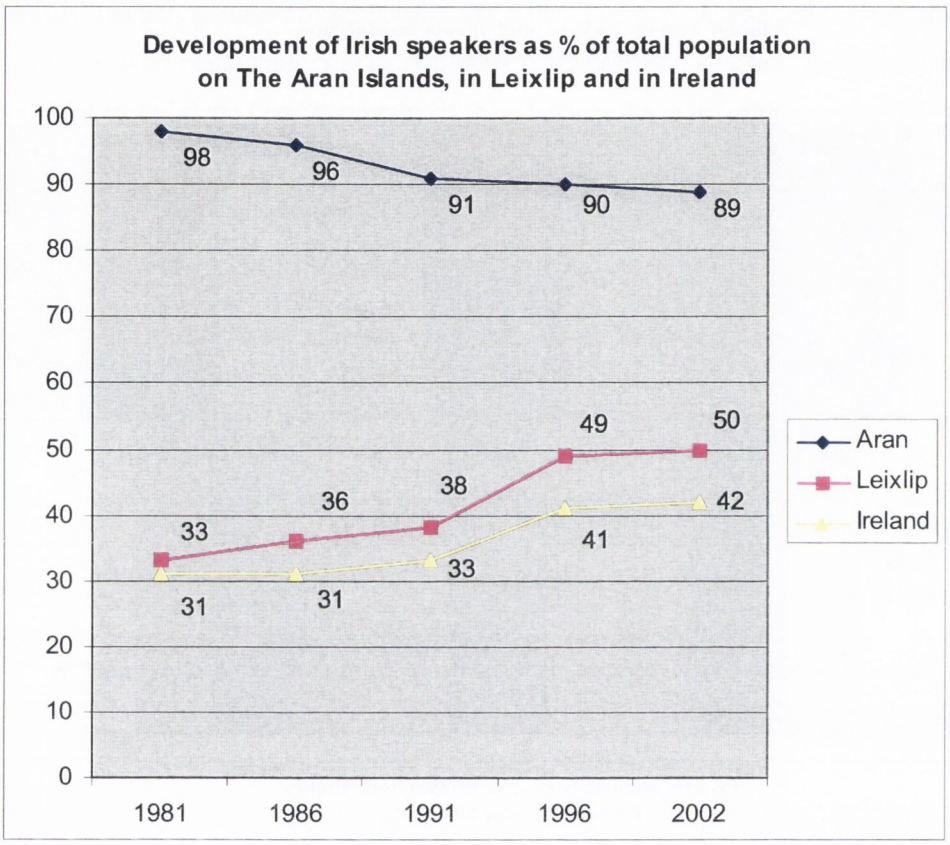


Figure III. PC-presence in Ireland, Leixlip and on The Aran Islands as % of total population, based upon Census 2002 (CSO, 2002).



APPENDIX E SPEAKING IRISH IN IRELAND, LEIXLIP AND THE ARAN ISLANDS

Figure IV. Speaking Irish in Ireland, Leixlip and on The Aran Islands as % of total population, based upon Census 2002 (CSO, 2002)



APPENDIX F ANALYSIS OF THE GUESTBOOK OF A B & B ON INIS MOR

General description of the B & B

The B & B is midrange price. The owners are from the island.

This is the information on the website:

Facilities and Amenities

In Room Facilities

No Smoking In Bedrooms

Marketing Groups

Town And Country Homes

Nearby Leisure

Gym Nearby, Horse Riding Nearby, Hill Walking Nearby, Traditional Music Nearby, Angling Nearby, Sandy Beach Nearby, Rock Climbing Nearby, Bicycle Hire Nearby, Entertainment Nearby

Premises Facilities

Gay Friendly, Ground Floor Bedroom(s), Garden For Guest Use, Central Heating, No Smoking On Premises, Irish Spoken, Private Car Parking, Payphone

Premises Location

Seaside Location

The guest book

The guest book is located on the table in the breakfast area annex living room. The bills are generally paid to the owners, while they are working in the kitchen. The guest book is not located in the hallway, in a very visible place. This might have caused many guests to not leave a note in the guest book. On the other hand, the guest book is located very visibly on the table in the breakfast room, so those who are interested cannot miss it.

The first entry in the guest book is dated 26 September 2002. The last entry was 14 October 2004, the day of my stay. For the analysis I have only included the entries until 27 of September 2004. Thus the entries are divided in two years:

- 2002-2003 ranging from 26 September 2002 until 26 September 2003.
- 2003-2004 ranging from 27 September 2003 until 27 September 2004

The population: groups and individuals

Sometimes people write something in a guest book on behalf of a whole group. Sometimes different members of a group all write their own guest book entry. It is therefore difficult to make any statements about the amount of people who stayed in a B & B based upon the number of guest book entries. The following diagram represents the number of guest book entries, which is not necessarily identical with the number of guests. The guest book was specifically designed for this purpose, and had a special designated area for every entry.

Tradition of leaving notes

The second limitation that makes it hard to say if the guest book entries represent the general B & B population is that some people, even some cultures, might be more used to leaving a note in a guest book than others. I do not have any information about that, so I cannot say to what extent the large representation of Americans is due to a tradition of leaving a note in a guest book.

Type of B & B

The third limitation on the level of representation is based upon the character of the B & B. This is a rather upmarket B & B, which may attract richer travellers from richer countries, such as the USA and Japan. Travellers from poorer countries might choose to stay in a cheaper B & B or in one of the youth hostels.

Double nationality

There were a number of double nationality entries, either from individuals or from couples. An example of an individual double nationality is:

Marloes Louw who wrote: 'originally South Africa, now Dublin', or Claudia Birch 'Leipzig originally, now Dublin'. In these cases I have counted the country of origin, thus in this case South Africa and Germany. One might argue that from a tourist point of view, a travel from Dublin to Inis Mór is considerably less 'globalized' then a travel from South Africa to Inis Mór. On the other hand, as this research is concerned with globalization and with matters of uniformity

and diversity, I argue that mentioning the country of birth, (if known), is relevant for the research; it provides more insight into the diversity of the tourist population.

There are examples of dual double nationalities. This is the case when an entry is made by a couple, or a group (>2) of friends who have different nationalities. For example in May 2003 this B & B was visited by Alan Kavanagh from Swords, Dublin and Mika Aku from Osaki, Tokyo. Or in the same months Victoria Karo from Budapest in Hungary and David O'Leary from Dublin visited the B & B, and a month later Siobhan Gaecon from Dublin and Joachim Makela from Finland.

In these cases, (which were very few), I have made an exception, and split the entry in two, thus counting one entry from Dublin, and the other one from either Japan, Finland or Hungary. The argument for this approach is again that the research aims to reveal traces of globalization on a micro-level, and therefore if the country of birth is mentioned it will be taken into account.

These kinds of international relationships and friendships reveal another side of globalization. Unfortunately the data in the guest book do not provide enough information about where these couples are living.

USA

Remarkably, many American entries only mention the state from which the traveller comes: Colorado, New York, or even just the city of Boston, without mentioning their country.

Taking these limitations in mind, the guest book entries can be divided as follows in nations of origin.

Analysis country of origin entries in guest book

2002-2003

The total number of guest book entries in 2002-2003 was 405, for the same period in 2003-2004, 320. In 2002-2003 a third of the guest book entries is from Americans (32%), a little bit less than a third is from the Republic of Ireland (9% from Dublin, 20% is from elsewhere in Ireland) and the other third comes from a wide range of countries such as Italy (5%), Canada (4%), Australia (3%), Germany (3%), Japan (2%) and the UK (2%).

There are entries in this year from other European countries such as Switzerland (8), Norway (7), France (7), Sweden (7), the Netherlands (5), Spain (6), Belgium (4), Finland (3) and Denmark

(1); there are a very limited number of entries from Eastern Europe: Hungary (2), Poland (2), Slovenia (1) and the Czech Republic (1).

There are entries from other continents as well. Irish emigrant countries such as New Zealand (7) and South-Africa (1) are represented, and further from Africa including Morocco (1) and Mauritius (1), and from the Middle-East including Israel (1) and Syria (1), and Asia including Malaysia (1) and the Philippines (4).

The total number of European entries (220) in this year is 54%, USA and Canada (145) is 35% and the rest (44 or 11%) is from elsewhere in the world. Of note is the total absence of Chinese tourists, given that the Chinese are Ireland's largest immigrant group at the moment.

2003-2004

The total number of entries in the guest book over the period 27 September 2003 until 27 September 2004 is much lower then the previous year, 320 entries, a decline of almost thirty percent. Again, this does not necessarily reflect a decline of the number of guests staying in the B & B.

The absolute amount of entries from Americans has decreased from 130 to 117, but the percentage of American entries has increased from 30% to 37%, while the absolute and relative numbers of Irish entries has decreased (Dublin 8%, elsewhere in Ireland 16%). Nonetheless, the relative distribution of the guest book entries remains relatively stable with first mostly Americans represented, followed by people from elsewhere in Ireland and from Dublin, and the final third from Italy (5%), Canada (4%), Australia (3%), Japan (3%) and the UK (3%). In this year the guest book has a relatively higher amount of French entries (4%).

There are entries from other European countries (in descending number of absolute entries): Norway (5), Spain (4), Switzerland (3), The Netherlands (3), Belgium (2), Austria (2), Finland (2), Portugal (1) and Sweden (1). In spite of the enlargement of the European Union there are fewer entries from Eastern Europe and consists of Latvia (1) and Serbia (1). There is one entry each from the Middle East, arguably Turkey (1), Africa, Morocco (1), Asia, Malaysia (1) and Singapore (1). Nova Scotia (1). But this year there are quite a few entries from tourists from South-America including Brazil (1), Mexico (2), Uruguay (1) and Chile (1).

The total number of European entries this year is thus 153 or 49%, the USA and Canada (131) is 41%, and the rest is 36 or 11%. The proportion of non-Western countries is therefore the same, but there is an increase in the North American entries, and a decrease in European entries. As this increase is relative and not absolute, this effect can't be explained by a stabilising of the market

after 9/11. In fact the absolute numbers of American entries in the immediate period after 9/11 were higher, than in 2003/2004.

Guest book remarks

Beside the date and the place of origin these guest books are designed so that the guest will leave a note to the hosts, generally complimenting the service. The notes in these guest books are therefore naturally biased and only the pleasant part of the stay is emphasized. But what do people appreciate when staying in a B & B on a cold and windy island somewhere off the coast of Ireland? I have written down all the comments that people have made in those two years. I did not count any general and non-specific remarks, such as 'lovely' and 'thank you', which represented by far the majority of the comments. Very few people took the trouble to write down a more specific comment. I wrote all of them down. They can be divided into several categories. Mentioned are the first names and the country of origin as well. In case people made comments that address different topics, their names are mentioned under both topics.

Relaxation

'Relaxing!'	Tom. USA
'Relaxing'	Jack, Dublin. Ireland
'A very relaxing stay.'	Michael, Pittsburgh, USA

Quiet

'Quiet and wonderful'	Rob, The Netherlands
'So quiet'	Paolo, Rimini. Italia.
'A quiet place!'	Kelly, USA
'Quiet and peaceful'	Jim and Marie, Canada

Peace

'Exceeding peaceful'.	Alison, UK
'Peace and Tranquillity'	Margaret, Limerick. Ireland

Warm-hearted

'Warm people!'	Erin, Philippines
'A golden stay in a yellow house'	Jerome, France
'Locals are awesome. Thanks.'	Steve, New Zealand
'Locals with a heart of gold'	Pauly, Portugal

Belonging

'It is like coming home-thank you'.	Tim, USA
'Home away from home'	Steve, New Zealand

Views

'Beautiful, amazing views'	Sarah, USA
'The views are amazing'	George, Atlanta, USA

Silence

'Beautiful silent moon, silent cats	
and silent roads and silent ocean'	Adelaide, Portugal

Sleep

'Best night of sleep!'	Rob, The Netherlands
'What a great sleep'	Caren, Annapolis. Maryland, USA
'Great sleep'	Esther, France
'Sleep well, cradled by the	
fresh breeze from the Atlantic.	Kutas. Markku, Helsinki. Finland.
'Good sleep! Thanks!'	Diane, Ontario, Canada.
'Excellent sleep'	Karen, Brisbane, Australia

Beauty

'I was impressed.	
Very beautiful & big scale'	Kazuya, Japan
'Inis Mor is beautiful'	Camillo, Milano. Italy.

APPENDIX G VISIBLE AND AUDIBLE MANIFESTATIONS OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE ON INIS MOR

The church in Kil Ronan

Empty. Everything is in Irish: the altar, the text on the wall, the text in the glass-stained windows etc.

Scenes of use of the Irish language on the street on the morning of 13 of July 2004

10.30u. Man enters the Tourist Office and leaves some suitcases behind the counter. He speaks Irish to the girl, in her twenties, behind the counter. She responds in Irish. He leaves.

10.35u. Two older men, in their fifties or sixties lean over an old white wall with a view over the harbour. In front of Ti Joe Mac's. They chat with each other in Irish

10.40u. A woman in her thirties steps out of a car in front of The Spar. She speaks Irish to her son. Another woman of the same age walks on the other side of the street. The first woman calls: Oina! Oina! And they chat in Irish.

10.45u A woman, late thirties leans against the wall at the side of the road, opposite the post-office. She talks to a man who sits on a scooter, his age is hard to tell. He wears a helmet. The woman has light ash-blond hair. They speak in Irish.

10.50u Man steps inside the house opposite the post-office. It has a green door. He talks Irish to a man with a bag around his hips. The postman? Later I notice that his house has a sign: 'Traditional Irish Music Shop'.

11.15u Advertisement outside the Post-office / Snamara Island Shop

1. Pier House Restaurant. Staff Required. Dining Room Staff. Chefs. Kitchen. Porters. Ring mobile… (**English**)
2. 'Cursa Diploma Ghaelige' (**Irish**)
3. 'Ostan Oileain Arainn Foluntaais Foirne / Notice. Staff Vacancies. The Ostan Arainn wishes to invite applications for a number of positions at the new hotel (**Bilingual**)
4. 'Snamph Furraige Oileaire Arann' (**Irish**)
5. 'Aran Island Open Water Swim. 1 Mile Ocean Swim. Sat August 7.' Literary translation in Irish of the same announcement. (**Bilingual**)
6. 'The Jeanie Johnston. The replica Famine Ship. Will arrive in Galway Docks on the 8th of July and will be open to the public.' (**English**)

7. Corimcheoil Agus Raifil I Hall Ronain do. Chuman Peile Nanog De Sathainn, 17u Jul. @ 8.30 Ceal Isteach
    1. E 4.00 Daoine Fasta
    2. E 2.00 Daisti (**Irish**)
8. Accommodation to let. Chalet available to let fro summer or maybe longer, suitable for 2 persons. Rent reasonable (**English**)
9. Crannchur Scoil Naisiuna Chill. Ronain Data 12/1/04. Jackpot e 2,700 (**Irish**)
10. Babysitter available at anytime please call… (**English**)
11. Beidh duine o oifig an comharihumann iam Ionad Oideachas & Teicneolaiochta Arann. Dearduoin 24u Meitheamh. Tiase ar intinn again an Oifigeo I bheith oscailte gach deardaom as seo amach Beidh deis agdaoine bualadh isteach chagainn in Eognachta chomch maith leis an Oifig Igcill Ronain. (**Irish**)
12. Cottage to rent short or long, lease available. (**English**)
13. Mature woman looking for 2-3- days work. Ring…. (**English**)

Out of 13 advertisements:

6 English: 50%

5 Irish: 40%

2 Bilingual 10%

11.20u Signs inside the Post-Office

- Everything is in English. All the brochures are in English. These include:
  - A Guide To Dormant Savings & Investments
  - Swiftpost. Speed Guaranteed for Less.
  - Prize Bonds. There's no end to the possible winnings.
  - Childcare. Childcare plus. Or Childcare Savings. Two direct Credit Savings Options for Child Benefit Clients.
  - New Instalment Savings Scheme
  - Savings Interest Rates. Effective from 21 July, 2003
  - Saving Bonds, Effective from 1 January 2002
  - Deposit Account. Flexible Savings for Every Occasion
  - Money Laundering

- Poster on the Jeanie Johnston in English. Same as the one outside.

- Sign: No Smoking. In English.

- There is a free paper available in Irish, called Gaol.

- There is a form for European and Local Elections available in Irish.

The Graveyard near Killiney, 15-7-2004
17.38u

Boston

Most headstones are in English. Many connections with the USA, especially with Boston.
Some deaths of young men in Boston. Turned out to be suicides.

Old stones

There are very old stones as well. Such as:

'Pray for the soul of Patrick Flaherty who died Jan 10 1884, aged 67 years'.

Or:

'Pray for the soul of Thomas Flaherty who 2nd of April 1891. Aged 57 years.'

Old Irish Headstones

Headstones in Gaelic:

Clann in Ghoil

Beartla	1880-1974
Nora	1878-1967
Michael	1904-1939
Sean	1909-1923
Anna	1922-1940

Padraig Nuonain

Husband and wife lived to extremely old age (resp. 94 and 89), their children all died young (resp. 35,14,18)

Another one:

Seamus O Maollaain
Cil Ronain
3-3-1919 Age 71
Maire
15-2-1943 Age 78
Mairtin
1924 Age 30
Siobhan
1939 Age 39

Again, husband and wife lived to very old age. The children that are buried with them died relatively young, they were probably not married. Maybe they had other children who were married and who were not buried with them. Their son could have drowned at sea.
Another one. Relatively high ages.

'Pray for the Soul of Michael Conneelly died feb 28 1916 aged 68 years also His wife Bridget died Oct 28 aged 65 years. Erected by their Son Michael Died July 1936 aged, 71 years, His uncle Sean died December 1949 aged 79 years'.

Headstone of the parents of the Man of Aran:

''In loving memory of
Colmon Gregory King died 6 March 1952.
His wife Bridget died 3 Jan 1966
Their son Bartley died 10 July 1925'

Headstone of the Man of Aran:

'Colman (Tiger) King

'Man of Aran'
Died 6 oct 1976'

Many headstones of young man who died in their twenties or thirties. Drowned?

'Lord Have Mercy on the soul of Michael Kelly
Died 31st March 1923
Aged 31 years, erected by his father.'

In a corner the new headstones can be found. Most of them are in Irish.
There is a headstone written in Irish for someone who died in 1991', somebody who died in 1994, somebody who died in 1993, in 1994, and somebody who died in 1982.
There is a headstone with two names on it, they died in 1996 and 2000, both names are in Irish. Another headstone is in Irish, for people who died in 1977, 1980 and 1983. There is a headstone of a Flaherty who died in 1993. It's in English. The Flaherty-graves seem to be always in English.

Average age
In the years 1920 to 1960, there seem to be many headstones with people who died around 60 years of age: 57, 61, 62 etc. Some of them 70. The recent headstones remember more frequently people who died aged 81, 85, 86 etc. The average age might have increased quickly.

More recent graves right of the gate. Here are many recent graves as well, roughly 60% is in English, 30% in Irish. The age is much higher, a lot are late 70's, or in their eighties. One couple is 96 and 91. The graves in the back are from before '50/'60 and are much younger: 57, 61, 67, and 44. Ninety percent of these graves are in English. A lot of tragedies: children who died very young, a lot of men who died aged 27, 31. The newer part gives the impression of lives that were more stabile. The part in the back gives the impression of lives that struggle and were confronted with a lot of tragedies.

Outside of the graveyard: Memorial for Drowned Seamen
There are 16 placards over a period between 1906 and 1992. From this 16 placards, four (25%) are in English. The sailor men drowned in places like: Cobth, Galway Docks, Cornwall, Cork etc.

On the other side of the memorial there are 19 placards, and only 2 in English. The period is between 1927 and 1999. They drowned in places like Cloughner Head or were 'lost at sea'. There are a few O'Flaherty's. Here spelled in Irish.

The airport

Sign says: 'Aerstraice Inis Mhoir'. When you climb up the path from the little grass field that is the airport to the main road, you pas a big white sign which says: 'An Ghaeltacht' as if you enter a foreign country, without having to pass Customers.