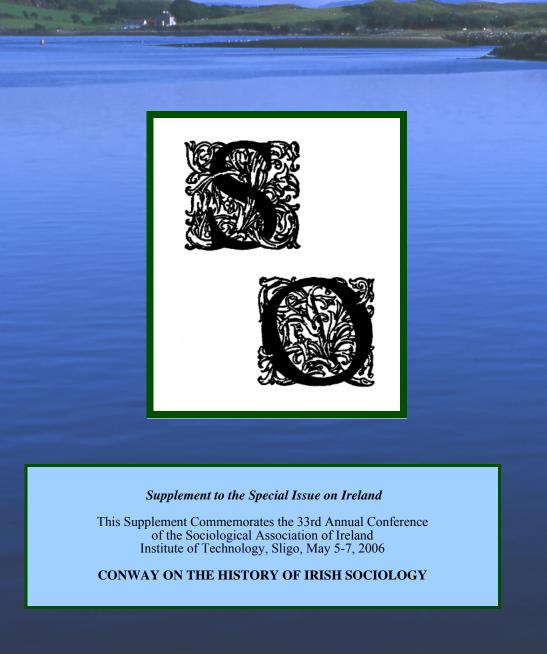
SOCIOLOGICAL ORIGINS A JOURNAL OF RESEARCH DOCUMENTATION AND CRITIQUE

Special Supplement to Volume 5, No. 1, Fall 2006

MICHAEL R. HILL, EDITOR



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THE HARRIET MARTINEAU SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

INTERNATIONAL WORKING SEMINAR IN IRELAND

Late May 2007

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Scholars from all cognate disciplines are encouraged to apply. Please make inquiry as soon as possible to insure a slot in the schedule to present and discuss your work. To encourage face-to-face interdisciplinary exchange, this invitation to participate is extended primarily to scholars who are actively exploring Harriet Martineau's literary, artistic, philosophical, and/or social scientific contributions.

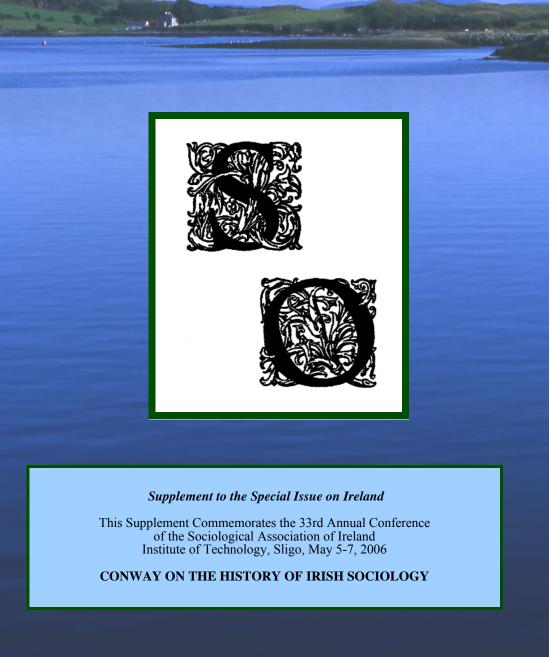
A CD for *Windows* PCs filled with PDF facsimile copies of Martineau's Irish studies (plus a detailed atlas of Ireland and many other useful and related documents and publications) will be promptly mailed (postage paid) upon receipt of \$15.00 in US funds. Please remit to Michael R. Hill, Editor, *Sociological Origins*, 2701 Sewell Street, Lincoln, Nebraska 68502 USA.

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SOCIOLOGICAL ORIGINS is published serially by the George Elliott Howard Institute for Advanced Sociological Research, 2701 Sewell Street, Lincoln, Nebraska 68502 USA.

Subscriptions: Individual subscription rates in the U.S.A. and Canada, one volume (two issues), \$25.00 (US). Subscribers in other countries, please write for current rates and delivery options. Institutional subscription rate for one volume (two issues): \$30.00. Single copies of any issue may be ordered by individuals or institutions at a rate of \$20.00 per issue requested.

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Front Cover: "Sligo, Ireland." Photography © 2001 by Erika Sidor.

Frontispiece: Digital restoration of the inaugural cover of *Christus Rex*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1947.

SOCIOLOGICAL ORIGINS

A Journal of Research Documentation and Critique

Special Supplement to Volume 5, No. 1, Fall 2006

The Editor's Horizon¹

Michael R. Hill

THIS SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT presents an extended discussion by Brian Conway on the origins and development of sociology in Ireland. As such, it forms an integral and central part of our forthcoming Special Issue on the Sociology of Ireland (Volume 5, No. 1, Fall 2006).

Advance copies of this Supplement have been specially prepared for distribution during the Annual Conference of the Sociological Association of Ireland, held in Sligo, 5-7 May 2006.

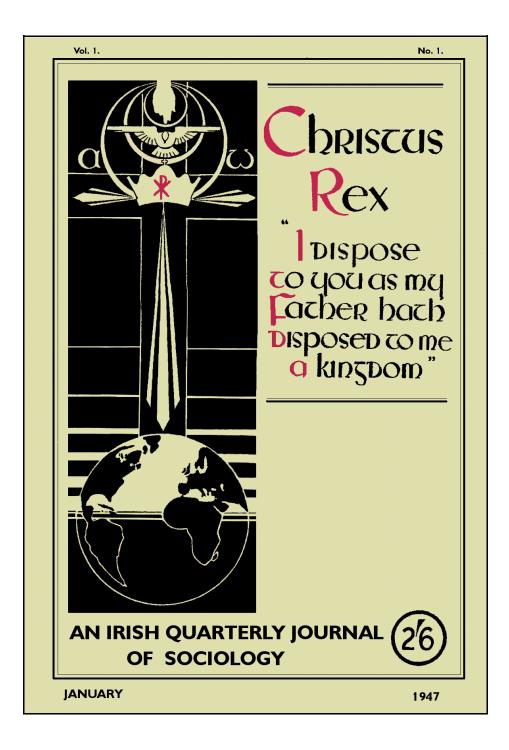
Sentiment for a Special Issue on the Sociology of Ireland was voiced when the Harriet Martineau Sociological Society (HMSS) announced intentions to convene an International Working Seminar in Ireland during late May 2007. This event will mark the decennial of the HMSS seminars, the first having been held in 1997 on Mackinac Island, Michigan. Subsequent seminars were convened in Ambleside, England (2002) and at Mammoth Cave National Park, Kentucky (2005). For information on the origins of HMSS and the inaugural seminar, please see Helena Znaniecka Lopata's brief introduction to *Harriet Martineau: Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2001: xiii-xvii). For information regarding recent HMSS activities and/or the planned HMSS International Working Seminar in Ireland, please follow the links on our free website: www.sociological-origins.com By regular post, please write to Michael R. Hill, 2701 Sewell Street, Lincoln, Nebraska, USA. We may also be contacted directly via email: editor@sociological-origins.com

At this writing, our forthcoming Special Issue on the Sociology of Ireland is scheduled to contain contributions by Mary Jo Deegan, Harriet Martineau, Karl Marx, and Anna Louise Strong, among others. In the interim, we salute our colleagues in the Sociological Association of Ireland and convey our very best wishes for a productive and convivial meeting in Sligo.

As always, dear readers, your participation, your readership, your criticism, and your paid subscriptions are warmly invited.

— April, 2006

¹ **SOCIOLOGICAL ORIGINS**, Volume 5, No. 1, Special Supplement, Fall 2006: 3. All rights reserved. Please visit our free website (<u>www.sociological-origins.com</u>) for additional information and other features.



Frontispiece: Christus Rex, digital restoration of the inaugural cover, 1947.

Foreigners, Faith and Fatherland: The Historical Origins, Development and Present Status of Irish Sociology²

Brian Conway

Introduction

THIS PAPER EXAMINES whether Irish sociology represents a distinct "national" sociology in terms of its empirical work and theoretical program.³ I begin by situating this paper within existing scholarship on the history of sociology in Ireland and then examine the social forces that have crucially shaped or misshaped the discipline in Ireland. I also address the imprint left by this history on the orientation of the discipline today.

As a result of the strong influence of three historical actors — the state, the Roman Catholic Church, and anthropologists — Hilary Tovey and Perry Share (2003: 28) argue that sociology in Ireland is "distinctive and not easily assimilated into just a regional variant of, for example, British or American sociologies." If this is the case, we may ask what is original, distinctive, peculiar or unique about Irish sociology and to what extent it holds a singular position among other national sociologies. Simply put, is there a "sociology of Ireland"? To open up this critical question it is necessary to examine the origins,

² **SOCIOLOGICAL ORIGINS**, Volume 5, No. 1, Special Supplement, Fall 2006: 5-35. All rights reserved. Please visit our free website (<u>www.sociological-origins.com</u>) for additional information and other features. This paper was presented in plenary session to the 33rd annual meeting of the Sociological Association of Ireland on May 5, 2006, in Sligo.

³ I am grateful to the following people for helpful advice, comments and suggestions in carrying out research for this paper: Prof. Seán Ó Riain, Prof. Michel Peillon, Dr. Seán L'Estrange, Dr. Eamonn Slater, Dr. Colin Coulter and Dr. Honor Fagan. I would like to thank Michel Peillon for kindly reading an earlier draft of the paper, for his very helpful comments and suggestions, and for graciously making available to me his personal archive of material relating to the SAI (Sociological Association of Ireland). I am especially grateful to Dr. Eamonn Slater for assistance with research and providing many helpful suggestions. Thanks to Dr. Andreas Hess for providing me with a copy of his important work (with Professor Tom Garvin) on the French intellectual, Gustave de Beaumont, and for reading and commenting upon an earlier draft, and to Prof. Seán Ó Riain for reading an IRCHSS (Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences) research proposal based on this article and for helpful comments and suggestions. Thanks to Gerard Conway, School of law, The Queen's University of Belfast, for assistance with writing the abstract in Irish. My thanks also go to the participants in the Department of Sociology Seminar Series, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, March 20, 2006, for their thoughtful reactions. The website of the ANOVASOFIE project (www.anovasofie.net) was particularly useful as a point of departure for this research paper, especially the project's chronological signposting of major developments in the field at a discursive and institutional level, or what I term here as textual and organizational. This project, by mapping out important dates in the discipline's historical development, saved me a good deal of exploratory research early on. I am grateful to Dr. Michael R. Hill and Prof. Mary Jo Deegan for encouraging me to contribute to this special issue of *Sociological Origins* and for their insights on Harriet Martineau and Jane Addams. Finally, I thank the three reviewers for their very helpful suggestions.

development and transformation of the discipline of sociology in Ireland and explore how different influences, religious and secular, shaped it at various times. I see this paper as extending and building upon the historical work of Clancy, Drudy, Lynch, and O'Dowd (1986, 1995) and more recently the contribution of Tovey and Share (2000, 2003), all of whom attempted to synthesize the history of the study of sociology on, about or relating to Ireland. But even in these important works, the key question of "what's so Irish about Irish sociology?" has tended to be overlooked or not even asked at all.

In tracing the history of the discipline, I advance a five-phase periodization across five time periods: (1) Irish Sociology prior to 1930, (2) Institutionalization 1930-1958, (3) Growth 1959-1979, (4) Crisis 1980-1990, and (5) Expansion and Public Engagement 1990-2005. This periodization⁴ of the development of Irish sociology is based on the following criteria: the creation of sociology departments, the foundation of research institutes such as the ESRI (Economic and Social Research Institute), the launch of periodicals, the publication of landmark texts, and the creation of new sources of funding. I examine its history at a textual level,⁵ that is to say, in terms of sociological journals, conference papers, research reports, monographs, and books written over time. I also examine its history from an organizational standpoint. This second level of analysis focuses on the associations, organizations, job positions, sociology departments, research institutes and centers, funding bodies, and publishing houses that helped to formalize, professionalize, and institutionalize the discipline in Ireland. Admittedly, the boundaries between the textual and institutional are quite porous (Baehr and O'Brien 1994) but the distinction is nonetheless useful for organizing the history of the discipline and highlighting its salient dimensions.

Taken together, these two levels of analysis portray the public or formal side of the history of sociology in Ireland over the course of the last one hundred and fifty years. This historical-sociological analysis draws on a variety of data sources including department reports, biographical accounts, newspaper articles, a wide range of sociological journal articles and books as well as the archives of the Sociological Association of Ireland (SAI), hereafter referred to as the "SAI archive."⁶

At the outset, two important preliminary points should be made. First, most of the people to whom the discipline's intellectual lineage can be traced did not hold sociology doctorates nor did they necessarily see themselves, or were they seen by others, as sociologists but nonetheless played an important role in its origins and development. Indeed, as I hope to show, some of the most influential people in Irish sociology were neither Irish nor were they sociologists. Second, I adopt an inclusive definition of "Irishness." By "Irish sociology"⁷ I mean a few things: (1) what sociologists who live in Ireland write and say

⁴ See Eviatar Zerubavel (1998) On the perils and possibilities of periodization.

⁵ The distinction between textual and organizational developments comes from the work of Peter Baehr and Mike O'Brien (1994) who distinguish between institutional and discursive dimensions of the discipline.

⁶ This archive consisted of copies of the SAI *Bulletin*, notices of seminars, minutes of annual meetings, calls for papers, conference programs, conference paper abstracts, and registers of members. *See also* Sociological Association of Ireland online at <u>http://www.ucd.ie/sai/</u> Retrieved March 16, 2006. The SAI's annual conference is the high point of the association's calendar and provides an important opportunity for sociologists, north and south, to network, socialize and present their research.

⁷ A useful distinction can be made between "sociology of Ireland" and "sociology in Ireland." The present paper focuses on the former. I owe this distinction to Dr. Andreas Hess.

about it; (2) the discourse of sociologists who are Irish; (3) the discourse and sociological output on or about Ireland of non-Irish sociologists and, (4) the discourse and sociological research of Irish sociologists living outside of Ireland.

This paper is not an exhaustive account of Irish sociology. A full-scale and comprehensive historiography of the discipline has yet to be written. What I do hope is that this paper makes a modest contribution to our meager knowledge of the historical lineage, evolution and contours of the discipline in Ireland. Spatially, this paper analyzes sociology in Ireland, north and south, and specifically the changes and continuities in its outlooks, content and methodology. Because I am writing this paper from the vantage point of an Irish sociologist employed in a university in the Republic of Ireland, sociology in southern Irish society is a particular focus of the paper though I have tried to include the North within the compass of my research as much as possible.

Two important texts provide a point of reference for this paper. In 2002 a symposium on the state of sociology in Ireland was presented in the *Irish Journal of Sociology*. Contrary to Tovey and Share, John Goldthorpe (2002) argued that it is not meaningful to speak of a "national sociology" because sociological theories and methods are constant across different societies. Sociologies, in his view, are national only in the weak sense that what sociologists study in any particular nation is shaped by the distinctive conditions found there.

Joe Lee's (1989: 585) monumental work, *Ireland 1912-1985*, devoted considerable attention to the state of the social sciences in Ireland and contended, in line with Goldthorpe and contrary to Tovey and Share, that by the 1960s "little hint of a distinctive Irish approach towards social science emerged" compared to the more propitious fortunes of social science generally, and sociology in particular, both in terms of textual and institutional production, in other small western European countries of comparable wealth and population size such as Finland, Austria and Holland. For Lee, Irish social scientists have been much better at theoretical and empirical imitation than innovation — to the extent that it is difficult to speak of social science with a Hibernian inflection.

To understand why Irish sociology had a delayed impact on Irish intellectual thought and why it occupied such a marginal position relative to history, economics and literature (*see* Lee 1989 and Duddy 2002; *see also* Kearney 1985), and whether there is in fact a distinctive Irish sociology, one has to consider its disciplinary history and development. One would expect a "national" sociology to be pro-nationalist, to be compliant with the state building project, and to be close to home in terms of its discourse, content and form. If there is such a thing as Irish sociology, we must also attempt to explain how this emerged in the face of significant and powerful transnational forces, drawing on and contributing to existing political culture, post-colonial, globalization, and modernization theories. Although I claim this paper breaks new ground in this first strand of research, these two strands together clearly deserve book-length treatment. Such an in-depth study would provide not only an opportunity to fully unearth the history of Irish sociology but would also examine the role of Irish culture and politics and wider international forces in shaping this disciplinary history.

This survey of the history of Irish sociology necessarily "includes some people out." In a relatively short paper as this, it is impossible to mention, let alone do justice, to every sociologist who contributed to the discipline. With these constraints in mind, I now examine the history of Irish sociology beginning around the mid-1800s. The debate raging about the beginnings of sociology in Ireland, about the "first" sociologist, the "first" textbook, the "first" professor, and so on, masks the point, often implicit, that whatever date of origin or starting point is chosen, anything and everything that came before it is treated as "noise" that can be forgotten (Zerubavel 1998). The chief criterion invoked here to specify the beginning of sociology is the writing of sociological texts on or about Ireland.

1830-1930: Irish Sociology Prior to 1930

The precise beginning point of sociology in Ireland is contested. Two major lines of argument have been advanced. Tovey and Share (2003) trace the origins of Irish sociology to the formation of the Dublin Statistical Society in 1847, at the height of a massive cultural trauma, the Great Famine. This strain of sociology, embodied in the society, was, according to Liam Ryan, "associated with a mish mash of political economy, social reform, Fabianism, social work and administration."⁸ Other scholars argue that the beginnings of the discipline go further back in time to the writings of foreign observers, such as Harriet Martineau and Gustave de Beaumont, in the 1830s. Regardless of which of these stories is accepted, the key point is that Irish sociology was likely born sometime during the nineteenth century.⁹

Martineau, Beaumont and Tocqueville

Three important early sociologists, all foreigners, visited Ireland between 1831 and 1852 and wrote about their observations: Harriet Martineau, Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont. The intellectual parallels between the English (Martineau) and French (Tocqueville and Beaumont) scholars are remarkable. Ireland was an important setting in the development of their sociological writings and observations.

Harriet Martineau (1802-1876), a prolific writer and major intellectual, is increasingly recognized as a central founder of sociology (*see* Hill 1989, 1991; Hill and Hoecker-Drysdale 2001; Hoecker-Drysdale 1992). Relatively few Irish sociologists, however, know about or have read her sociological writings on Ireland. Martineau, a middle-class, English-born sociologist and writer, lived in Dublin for several months during 1831 planning the logic and structure of her didactic series, *Illustrations of Political Economy* (1832-34). *Ireland: A Tale* became the ninth volume in the 25-volume *Illustrations* and in it — as in all the other volumes, save one — Martineau employed fiction to explicate the intricacies of social theory, then called "political economy." Martineau (1832: iii) prefaced her Irish number with these words:

... I cannot but hold the part of true loyalty to be to expose abuses fearlessly and temperately, and to stimulate the government to the reparation of past errors and the improvement of its principles of policy. Such should be my loyalty if I had access to the councils of the state; and such it is now that I can speak only as a wellwisher to Ireland, and an indignant witness of her wrongs.

⁸ SAI Bulletin, January 1984: 12.

⁹ Further complicating this picture, the subtitle of Maurice Leahy's (1944) *The Flower of Her Kindred: A Biographical Study of Nano Nagle of Ireland, Foundress, Pioneer of Popular Education and Noted Leader in Sociology in the Eighteenth Century* implies that Nagle (1718-1784), founder of the Irish Presentation Sisters, was perhaps the earliest sociological pioneer in Ireland.

In later reprinting *Ireland*, Robert Lee Wolff (1979: xiii) deemed the work a "remarkable novel."

In approximately the same period, 1831-1832, Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) and Gustave de Beaumont (1802-1866), two collegial, aristocratic friends and former schoolmates, spent nine months touring the United States, resulting in a report on the American penal system (Beaumont and Tocqueville 1833), and later — with greater intellectual consequence — in Tocqueville's (1835-40) well-known treatise on *Democracy in America*. Subsequently, Tocqueville and Beaumont traveled for two months in Ireland during 1835. Tocqueville (1958, 1990) made notes on his observations but left them largely undistilled.

Martineau took her turn going to America in 1834, stayed nearly two years, and produced two extraordinary sociological accounts: *Society in America* (1837) and *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838). Unlike Tocqueville and Beaumont, Martineau first articulated and then employed a detailed empirical logic and observational methodology during her U.S. journey. This work resulted in Martineau's (1838) *How to Observe Morals and Manners*, the first systematic treatise in sociological methodology (Hill 1989). Provocatively, Hill (2001) marshals substantial evidence arguing for the clear methodological superiority of Martineau's American observations over those of Tocqueville and Beaumont.

Beaumont ventured again to Ireland in 1837 and his observations, unlike those of Tocqueville, resulted in a full-fledged social commentary about pre-Famine Ireland, published as a two-volume study entitled *L'Irelande sociale, politique et religious* (1839). A supplementary preface on "The Present State of Ireland (1862-1863)," graced the 1863 edition and has only recently been translated by Tom Garvin (Beaumont 1863). Years later, John Mackinnon Robertson (1897: xvii) mentioned Beaumont's "admirable" study and credited it as "perhaps the most thorough and considerate study ever made by an alien of the troubles of a troublous land" For Beaumont, Ireland was a "little country which gives rise to debate on the greatest questions of politics, morals and humanity" (Allum 1982: 643). Tom Garvin and Andreas Hess (2006: 3) argue that Beaumont's study, though largely forgotten today, "was one of the first sociological bestsellers in France and became an important source for Irish and other historians working on nineteenth century Ireland." Though Beaumont was sympathetic to "Anglo-Saxon constitutionalism," he

Though Beaumont was sympathetic to "Anglo-Saxon constitutionalism," he understood the situation of the Irish people very well. He detailed the inequitable landownership system and correctly predicted collective mobilization for land reform. For Beaumont, the aristocracy was the source of Ireland's ills. He was struck by the poverty of the peasantry and even went so far as to claim that their condition was as bad as if not worse than that of slaves in America. He saw aristocracy as incompatible with democracy and argued for the abolition of this inequitable system but without a revolution. Despite the fact that his impressive scholarly work went under-appreciated, Beaumont is certainly an early pioneer of Irish sociology.

Martineau returned to Ireland in 1852, this time to observe and write about the country and Irish society after the Famine. Her *Letters from Ireland* (1852) comprise a selected set of twenty-seven leaders written expressly for an English newspaper, the London *Daily News*. Additional observations are found in *Endowed Schools of Ireland* (1859) and in other leaders for the *Daily News* not yet republished (for the complete list of Martineau's leaders, *see* Martineau 1994: 315-430).¹⁰ Martineau traveled throughout Ireland, made

¹⁰ See also Michael R. Hill's bibliography of Martineau's writings on Ireland available online at <u>http://www.sociological-origins.com/HMSSIrishCD.html</u> Retrieved November 9, 2005.

empirical observations, read profusely, and consulted with experts, including visits to the Dublin Statistical Society. Not all readers of Martineau's *Letters* (as well as many of her other works) find the going easy. Writing with decidedly critical intent about the *Letters*, Glenn Hooper (2001: 12) observes:

Pleasure is not necessarily the sense that predominates when reading the text, however, and not just because the narrator occasionally challenges the reader's patience, but because there is displayed an attitude towards Ireland that sees the country less in terms of its human complexity, than as a laboratory which requires only sociological analysis, and frequently cold and unfeeling sociological analysis at that.

But, such criticism is nonetheless a compliment — for a sociologist. If we mistakenly read Martineau primarily as a novelist, journalist or a travel writer, we miss her major sociological import. We can undoubtedly find superior poetry from other pens, but *as sociology* — and that is our focus here — Martineau remains a substantial force to be reckoned with empirically and theoretically. Martineau, Tocqueville, and Beaumont: all three were pioneers during the founding era of disciplinary sociology, and all three clearly contributed to the early sociological literature on Ireland. All three applied a sociological lens to Ireland's then impoverished situation. It remains for future analyses, however, to compare and contrast the relative merits of the specifically Irish insights penned by this foreign trio.

Robertson, D. de Hauranne, C. de la Giraudière, Marx, and Comte

Other foreign scholars include John Mackinnon Robertson (1897: v), an Englishman who wrote an impressive 349-page book entitled *The Saxon and the Celt: A Study in Sociology*. The work debunks the notion that Irish problems could be explained by "peculiarities of character in the Irish race." Robertson (1897: xviii) argued for the effect of what he called "moral and intellectual conditions and experiences" on national character and in so doing disowned notions of racial fixity. Additional French intellectuals who turned their attention to Ireland included Prosper Duvergier de Hauranne's (1827) *Lettres sur l'Irlande* and Chavanne de la Giraudière and Jean-Louis-Alphonse Huillard-Breholles' (1848) *L'Ireland*. Both works bring "home to the intelligence of Europe the immense failure and wrong of English rule in Ireland" (Robertson 1897: 179).

More than a decade after Martineau wrote her *Letters* from Ireland, Karl Marx addressed the "Irish question," refracted through his larger body of writings on capitalism, in which he argued that Ireland's impoverished, dependency status could be explained, though not in a simple way, by its colonial relationship with England. Ireland was conceived as the "garden of England" and Marx advocated an end to the union as a means of reconstituting the agricultural base of Ireland and breaking its dependency on its neighbor.¹¹

¹¹ See Ellen Hazelkorn's (1980) interesting survey of Marx and Engel's writings on the "Irish question." Thanks to Eamonn Slater for drawing my attention to this work. See also Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (1972) Ireland and the Irish Question, a comprehensive single-volume collection of Marx and Engel's disparate writings on Ireland including notes, letters, and unfinished manuscripts. Hazelkorn (1983: 87) contends that the Irish question only occupied the attention of Marx and Engels in the relatively short period from 1867 to 1870 and that neither "completed a full-scale study of Irish nationalism or the land question."

For Marx, Ireland was a special case, an exception to the rule articulated in his classic work on capitalist accumulation, whose failure economically hinged on England's success. Only political independence for Ireland would lead to economic independence because the former was crucially tied to the land question (Hazelkorn 1983). Interestingly and curiously, Marx was the only one of the classical, founding sociological theorists (Connell 1997) — Marx, Weber and Durkheim — to write and have something to say about Ireland, and this fact may well help to explain the purchase he had on Irish sociological discourse in the 1970s and 1980s and why Weber and Durkheim's presence in Irish sociological thought was less marked.

The Dublin Statistical Society

The Dublin Statistical Society, organized in 1847, was the first attempt to institutionalize and legitimize the "science of society" view in Ireland (Abrams 1968: 55). This organization saw itself as having an important ameliorative role in society, bringing the methods of statistics to bear in solving the acute social problems of the day (Daly 1997), which, at the time of the Famine, included depopulation, economic decline and emigration. The pioneering Irish sociologists of the nineteenth century, associates of the Society, were dedicated disciples of Auguste Comte and sought to apply his conception of sociology to understanding Ireland's exceptionalism or anomalous positioning in Europe — a peasant-landlord based society that was declining economically in an era dominated by *laissez-faire*, free market ideology.

Early papers prepared by the society, such as Henry Dix Hutton's paper in 1862 entitled, "The Land Question viewed as a Sociological Problem," applied sociological thinking to Ireland's means of production (Slater 1988). Another noteworthy member of the Dublin Statistical Society was Fermanagh born, Dr. John Kells Ingram. For Ingram, addressing the pressing social problems of the day, not grand theory, was the *modus operandi* of the society. Though a political economist, a memoir about his life and work noted his acute awareness of the importance of a sociologically informed political economic analysis. Indeed, it was in recognition of this that "social inquiry" was added to the title of the society around the 1860s.

Jane Addams and the Sociology of Peace

Jane Addams, an American sociologist, made important contributions toward an Irish sociology of peace starting in the 1920s.¹² "Addams' involvement with Ireland occurred through appointment to an American commission of leading (Protestant) citizens to investigate alleged atrocities, a 'pogrom,' on the part of the British government in 1920" (McDonald 1998: 267). Addams (1910, 1922) was arguably the world's most famous sociologist in 1920. She had founded a vital, international sociology with an emphasis on women and nonviolence. Her path-breaking efforts for peace were recognized with the award of a Nobel Prize for Peace in 1931 (Deegan 1988). Her sophisticated theory and practice of pacifism were instrumental in her work on the American Commission on Conditions in Ireland in 1920. She and a small panel of experts interviewed dozens of witnesses, including community leaders, in Washington, D.C., over the course of several

¹² I owe this point and the substantive content of this section of the paper on Jane Addams to Mary Jo Deegan.

weeks. Although British and Irish from Northern Ireland were invited to testify before the panel, none accepted the opportunity to present their versions of events and life in Ireland.

In 1921, the Commission published an *Interim Report* (Addams *et al.* 1921) and the following year Albert Coyle (1922) compiled the Commission's massive *Evidence on Conditions in Ireland*. The Commissioners found extensive evidence of misuse of power by the British and recommended the Irish Republic be given wider recognition and independence from British interference.

The Irish people responded warmly to this systematic analysis — by an outside panel of experts — of Anglo-Irish relations. This work, moreover, brought the attention of a global audience to bear on many of the pressing problems faced by the fledgling Irish state. Addams later played an important role in the Irish peace movement through her work with Quakers in Ireland and the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Addams was one of the first sociologists to bring a gendered, nonviolent strategy to a systematic analysis of everyday life in Ireland and led a neutral panel of American experts to condemn state violence carried out against people across the land.

Setting the Stage for Irish Sociology

The precise origin of Irish sociology is disputed. But what is clear from historical studies (see Daly 1997; Slater 1988; Garvin and Hess 2006, for examples) is that from the beginning it took shape outside the university setting. In these times, there was no such thing as a university Department of Sociology. In addition, if we accept the first line of argument by Tovey and Share, the discipline demonstrated a marked empirical or positivistic tilt from its early days that is evident, it could be argued, up the present day. This disciplinary orientation must be understood in relation to the wider social structure and the contours of nineteenth-century social and political thought. At this time, thinkers such as Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer, advocates of Enlightenment inspired "sociological positivism" (Swingewood 1991: 41), dominated intellectual thought (Abrams 1968). Auguste Comte (1798-1857), who coined the term sociology and is regarded as the founder of the field, made a strong case for conceiving society in functionalist, positivistic, and ultimately "scientific" terms (Swingewood 1991; Slater 1988). For him, the social world was a knowable, measurable phenomenon "out there," subject to observation and measurement, rather than a fluid world of interpretations and meaning-making. Reference to Comte again inserts the sociological work of Harriet Martineau. As the translator of Comte's Cours into English, Martineau materially aided the wider discussion of Comte's ideas throughout the English-speaking world.¹³ In any event, well before the official establishment of sociology as an academic discipline in Ireland, sociological ground was being furrowed in Ireland.¹⁴

1930-1958: Institutionalization

The seed then of sociology in Ireland was planted outside the university. But it took root within the university and grew and developed in both. The early days of Irish sociology as a university discipline, prior to World War II, were profoundly influenced by what

¹³ On the complex relationship of Harriet Martineau to Auguste Comte's positivism, *see* especially Susan Hoecker-Drysdale (2001).

¹⁴ Lynn McDonald (1994: 85-152), at the University of Guelph, identifies several of the general themes discussed above with sources in the Enlightenment.

happened at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, the site of the national seminary for the formation of Catholic priests. Indeed, the Roman Catholic Church was at the forefront of the development of Irish sociology. The church exerted her power over the discipline not just through the control of appointments and promotions but also through its control of textbooks and what was included within the compass of the Irish sociological imagination. It was here in the 1937 that the first professorship of "Catholic Action" rather than sociology, was established (Clancy, Drudy, Lynch and O'Dowd 1986), a reference to the Catholic Action societies which were gaining ground in continental Europe at this time (*see* Whyte 1971).¹⁵ University College Cork (UCC) established a lecturing position in sociology in 1937 also (Lee 1989). As at Maynooth, early sociologists at UCC were Catholic priests. Prior to this, there was no sociology department in the country.

Father McKevitt, later Canon McKevitt, who took up the high-status professorship at Maynooth endowed by the Knights of St. Columbanus,¹⁶ is usually credited as the first modern Irish sociologist. Although the Knights of Columbanus endowed the chair in 1930 an occupant for it was not found until seven years later. McKeviitt, who undertook graduate work at the Catholic University of Leuven, wrote the first textbook in Irish "Catholic Sociology," as it was then known, entitled *The Plan of Society*. Father Michael Cronin wrote his *Primer of the Principles of Social Science* in 1927, seventeen years before Father McKevitt published his textbook. Cronin's slim didactic work, in a neat question-andanswer style format, was written for secondary school students in elite colleges such as Clongowes and Blackrock and addressed itself to topics such as marriage, the family, private property, wealth creation and distribution (Cronin 1927), all issues taken up in the Catholic Church's social encyclicals. For some sociologists writing many years later, this Catholic sociology was "little more than the discussion of Catholic social principles in the south" (Tomlinson, Varley, and McCullagh 1988: 11-12).

In the foreword to his book published in 1944, Father McKevitt wrote: "this work which forms the basis of the course in Catholic sociology in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, is offered to a wider public in the hope that it may prove useful to the increasing number of students of social science" (McKevitt 1944: iii). In comparison with textbooks today, McKevitt's book drew heavily on political economy and the church's social teachings. Father McKevitt was a priest of the Archdiocese of Armagh. Ordained at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, in 1925, he resigned from this post in 1953 and became parish priest of Termonfeckin, Co. Louth. He died in 1977 (*see* Corish 1995: 467). He served as editor of the journal and vice-chair of the Christus Rex Society in the early 1950s. As recalled by Denis Meehan in *Maynooth Again Remembered*, Father McKevitt was "clearly a figure to be reckoned with" (Meehan 1982: 131) and had an "aggressive, abrasive personality" (Meehan 1982:134). A regular contributor to *Christus Rex*, he signed his book reviews with the initials: P.McK.

Along with Cornelius Lucey, McKevitt encouraged the founding of sociology discussion groups or "study-circles" among seminarians at Maynooth, which later became the Christus Rex Society in September 1941, the first sociological organization in Ireland. The newly formed organization survived the difficult war years and was granted approval from the Irish hierarchy in October 1945. It dedicated itself to applying the church's social teaching, articulated in papal encyclicals such as *Rerum Novarum* (Pope Leo XIII) and

¹⁵ On social Catholicism in an Irish context, see L'Estrange (2005).

¹⁶ The Knights of Saint Columbanus, known as "the Knights," was a secret lay Catholic social organization founded in 1922 to combat discrimination against Catholics (Whyte 1971).

Quadragesimo Anno (Pope Pius XI), to Irish society. The activities of the society encompassed the organization of diocesan and local groups and a Congress of Social Study (always held under the patronage of the local bishop), holding an annual general meeting and publishing a quarterly periodical. It was a closed society, its membership open only to dues-paying diocesan priests but its journal was aimed at and its Summer Schools were open to all religious, secular and regular, as well as laity. *Christus Rex*, a quarterly periodical, became the official journal of the Christus Rex Society with two priests — Father Peter McKevitt and Father Cornelius Lucey — as its editors. Its first issue was published in 1947. When Cornelius Lucey was appointed Coadjutor to the Bishop of Cork in 1950, Father McKevitt assumed sole responsibility for the journal's editing, though Bishop Lucey continued his involvement with the journal through writing articles for it.

Two other priests who played an important role in *Christus Rex*, Cathal Daly and Jeremiah Newman, like Cornelius Lucey, went on to have accomplished episcopal careers. In 1953, Jeremiah Newman replaced McKevitt in the chair of sociology. Newman later became President of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, and Bishop of Limerick. Cathal Daly also played a prominent role in the society, writing an impressive account of its origins and programme in *Christus Rex* and serving as its chair for twenty-five years (1941-1966). Later Cardinal, he wrote in his memoirs that the society could rightly claim to have "had a role in the renewal of the Church in Ireland in the lead-up to the Second Vatican Council and in the diffusion of the Church's teaching in the 1960s" (Daly 1998: 96).

In 1956, the Christus Rex society began organizing social science courses for nuns teaching in primary and secondary schools. These became known as "nuns courses." The theme of the first course, which took place in Cork, was "Sociology and the Home" (*Christus Rex* 1964: 71). Because of its success, the course was extended to Galway and Monaghan.

Christus Rex received official approval from the Catholic hierarchy in 1946. From this time on the front leaves of the journal were affixed with the imprimateur of the Catholic bishops declaring it "free of doctrinal or moral error." Official approval from the bishops opened the door for the expansion of the society from a membership of 136 in 1941 to 1,900 by 1967. Not all contributors to the journal were clerical but many were priests, brothers and, occasionally, nuns, with a strong social work or applied sociology ethic. Advertisements for books for "students of Catholic sociology," almost always written by clergy, were a common feature of the journal in the late 1940s and 1950s. Book reviews were of sociology textbooks as well as books on the priesthood, theology, and compilations of papal writings. Topics such as vocations, the family, education, emigration, media, peace and reconciliation, work, industrial relations, the welfare state, planning, and rural society dominated the pages of the journal in the 1950s and 60s. Bishops' pastorals and public statements also took up these issues. Apostolic letters and Vatican decrees were also the subject of frequent comment between the covers of the periodical (see Christus Rex, Vol. xix, No.1; Christus Rex, Vol. xxv, No.3). Advertisments for church lighting, altar candles and wine, church property insurance, clerical vestments and even for hotels, well-known among clergy, such as Wynn's Hotel in Lower Abbey Street, Dublin, interspersed the pages of the journal. In 1970, the term "sociology" was added to the journal's name for the first time. The Department which housed the journal itself underwent a number of changes beginning as the Department of Social Studies *circa* 1970 and in 1985 its name was changed to the Department of Sociology, an effort to establish a distinct disciplinary identity (Sociology Department, NUI Maynooth 1999). Anthropology, which had been subsumed within the broad ambit of the Department of Social Studies, became an independent department. By the early 1970s, the Christus Rex Society had come to the end of its short but fruitful life as a sociological organization. Cahal Daly wrote, with some regret, that it "was never formally dissolved but simply lapsed into inactivity" (Daly 1998: 102).

In October 1971, Christus Rex was re-christened as Social Studies with Father Liam Ryan, then professor of sociology at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, as its editor-in-chief with responsibility for the production and marketing of the new journal dedicated to "the development of sociology and social work in Ireland." The decision to change the name of the journal was taken at the Annual General Meeting of the society in April 1971. By this time the audience for sociological research in Ireland had clearly widened beyond the walls of seminaries and presbyteries to encompass secular third level institutions, politicians and other disciplines. Sociology sought to become more "public" by bringing its influence to bear not just on the Church but on the State and civil society as well. Commenting on *Christus Rex*, the new editor of *Social Studies*, first published in January 1972, praised its capacity to bring together "articles of scientific sociological merit with practical proposals for planning and reorganization within the general framework of a Christian interpretation of society." A shift in the content of the journal marked the change in editorship. Under Fr. Ryan's editorship, a new special issue series of the journal on substantive topics such as Northern Ireland, the European Economic Community; and planning, poverty, and "religious sociology" was initiated. Young people, the relationship between capitalism and socialism, social change, the penal system, housing, and juvenile crime, were the major topics addressed in Social Studies. Defining the scope of the newly named journal, the editor wrote that it would "seek to gather and present reliable information to assist the public in forming intelligent and accurate judgements" and to "apply sociological theory to various areas of Irish life." Importantly, the journal adopted an explicitly interdisciplinary approach. Although the name of the journal changed, continuity with St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, was retained. In 1989, after more than 15 years as the flagship journal for sociology in Ireland, Social Studies ceased publication.

In November 1991 the SAI launched a new journal entitled the *Irish Journal of Sociology*. With a circulation of around 500, the journal had a somewhat delayed start. Coeditor of the periodical, Tony Fahey, noted in 1993 that "the SAI would not have launched the *IJS* if it did not believe that Irish sociology had something to say and needed a forum in which to say it. If this belief is valid – and I think it is – then there seems to be some shyness among Irish sociologists in coming forward to say their piece" (SAI *Bulletin*, February 1993: 2). The periodical's launch got front-page treatment in the SAI *Bulletin* and included photographs of the launch and a brief history of the journal by Fahey. Fahey wrote that the origins of *IJS* went back to the SAI's Annual General Meeting (AGM) in 1989 — but it was not until after the AGM a year later that Fahey and Michel Peillon took the initiative to push ahead with the idea — and by the end of 1990 calls for papers for the first volume were sent out (SAI *Bulletin*, February 1992: 1). A year later it appeared in print, the editors benefitting, no doubt, from the editorial experience accumulated over the years in producing *Social Studies* at Maynooth. Interestingly, it is an English language journal though contributions in Irish are also welcomed.

With the launch of the *Irish Journal of Sociology* in 1991, however, the link with Maynooth was broken within three years, as the journal's entire editorial apparatus migrated first to University College Galway's Department of Political Science and Sociology (1994-1996), then to Queen's University Belfast (1997-2001) and then to University College Dublin's Department of Sociology (2002-2006). The editors at QUB initiated a new feature entitled "The Working Sociologist," which attempted to give a sense of the everyday reality of being a sociologist and encompassed topics such as training, external assignments, public service, and social activism. This feature was dropped from the journal a year later.

Liam O'Dowd argues that a Catholic current exerted a strong influence on the discipline from the 1920s on, designed to head off the ideological challenge to the church's teaching from unfettered capitalism, socialism, and worst of all, communism. From the 1930s until the end of the nineteenth century, professors in sociology at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth — Peter McKevitt, Jeremiah Newman, and Liam Ryan — were all Catholic priests. This influence exerted itself both in and outside of the university. In the 1940s, for instance, the church, in cooperation with local Vocational Educational Committees, and organized adult education training courses for trade unionists at regional hubs including Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, with a compulsory module in sociology. The lecturers in sociology were secular priests specifically nominated by their bishop and lectures focused on topics such as private property, the family, the state, democracy, capitalism, and communism: topics enthusiastically taken up in the church's social teachings (Parfrey 1949: 35).

In the 1950s, the Dublin Institute of Catholic Sociology (DICS) performed a similar function in the capital, teaching well-attended courses to trade unionists and non-trade unionists alike on the church's social teachings. Founded in 1950 by the then Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. John Charles McQuaid, the DICS operated first from Gardiner Street, on the north side of the city, and then moved to Eccles Street with a student body of over a thousand (*Studies*, LIV: 313). The DICS supplied priest lecturers for courses in adult education organized by the Catholic Archdiocese of Dublin in cooperation with local Vocational Education Committees in the mid 1950s on subjects ranging from sociology to political theory (Breen 1958). "Study-leaders," students of the DICS, accompanied the lecturers on their circuits around the country and their role was to lead discussion among the participants after the lectures (Breen 1958). The DICS also organized courses for priests in the 1960s in the use of the media, under the aegis of the hierarchy's Catholic Television Interim Committee (*Christus Rex*, Vol. xix, No. 1). In 1966, the Dublin Institute of Catholic Sociology became the Dublin Institute of Adult Education (Whyte 1971), which in later years became a venue for meetings of the SAI (SAI *Bulletin*, November 1988: 16).

But, in addition to this strong Catholic influence, there was an empirical current in sociology and Irish social science generally (Tovey and Share 2003; Kane 1996). This neat division corresponds to Jeremiah Newman's (1972) differentiation, in one of the first "modern" textbooks written by an Irish sociologist, between normative and empirical sociology. Newman (1972: vii) wrote, in the preface to his text, that it comprised "the written version of courses of lectures in Sociology which I delivered over a number of years at Maynooth, University College Dublin, and the Institute of Public Administration." The earliest Irish expression of this empirical current, and the ontological and epistemological assumptions that undergirded it, was the Dublin Statistical Society in the 1840s. But much of the empirical element of Irish sociology, it could be argued, was written within an anthropological paradigm, usually by anthropologists outside Ireland.

Conrad Arensberg and Solon Kimball's (1968) classic study of Irish family life in County Clare in the 1930s, *Family and Community in Ireland*, is a good example of this. Arensberg and Kimball, two anthropologists from Harvard University, came to the western seaboard to live in what was considered the most Irish part of Ireland, and wrote a research study that became the benchmark against which subsequent social change in Ireland was measured until the 1970s. Adopting a functionalist understanding of rural life as an "integrated system of mutually interrelated and functionally interdependent parts" (Arensberg and Kimball 1968: xxx), their interpretative ethnographic study gave the family a central organizing role in Irish social and economic affairs (Arensberg and Kimball 1968: xxxiii) and helped to construct the rural Irish, in anthropological theorizing, as a primitive, romantic and exotic Other, a repository of all that was not "modern" (Peace 1989; Cleary and Connolly 2005). In Arensberg and Kimball's vivid portrait of Irish rural life, the ambitions and needs of the individual are subordinated to those of the family. This study was first published in the 1940, was reprinted in a second edition in 1968 and came out yet again in a third edition in 2002. It is a standard required-reading textbook in undergraduate sociology and anthropology courses in Irish universities today.

Though structural functionalism fell from grace as a conceptual framework by the 1960s, Arensberg and Kimball's work was assured its place in the canon of Irish sociology and anthropology (Byrne, Edmondson and Varley 2001). Despite the classic nature of this study, the anthropological influence on Irish sociology was not always considered fruitful, theoretically or empirically. Commenting in the *Irish Journal of Sociology* in 1991, Desmond Bell, a sociologist at the University of Ulster, Coleraine, argued that "we have often looked to outsiders to provide a sociological account of Irish society. As a result we have figured as an item on other scholars' theoretical agenda rather than developing our own" (Bell 1991: 89). And *Family and Community in Ireland*, though influential, was not without its critics. These criticisms have been well rehearsed elsewhere but one major criticism of their writings was that the authors were captive to the modern-traditional dichotomy and failed to see that this distinction breaks down in a study of the Irish countryside (Byrne, Edmondson and Varley 2001; Peace 1989).

By the end of the 1940s, sociology had become formalized as a university discipline. Scholars such as Jeremiah Newman, while not strong positivists themselves, sought to empiricize Catholic sociology and the Limerick Rural Survey was an important example of the intersection between Catholic sociology and empiricism. But apart St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, sociology was not well established in the university sector as a whole and remained somewhat marginal as a discipline until the 1970s when other sociology departments were established and sociological research institutes began to develop. It could be argued that hegemomic "Catholic sociology" was "more central to intellectual debate between 1930 and 1960 than its more academically and empirically based successor today" (Kelly, O'Dowd and Wickham 1982: ix) which began to take shape in the next phase. But the phase beginning at the end of the 1950s was one in which not very much happened in Irish sociology, starved as it was of funding for social scientific research.

1959-1979: Growth

This phase saw increasing intervention by the Irish state in the project of creating a modern Ireland. This modernizing impulse sought to bring Ireland into the wider world and move away from a social and economic model emphasizing Ireland's stand-alone, insular qualities. The establishment in Dublin in 1959 of the Economic Research Institute (ERI), the first sociological research institute in Ireland,¹⁷ aided by a Ford Foundation grant, was hitched to this modernization drive (Tovey and Share 2000; Jackson 1987). The ERI was re-christened as the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) in 1966 and continued in a strong empirical tradition and became the major hub for policy oriented, and often quite technical, research in Ireland from the 1960s on (Jackson 1987). It was at the forefront of what Goldthorpe, O'Dowd, and O'Connor (2002: 97) refer to as "the sociology of the research centres" but its ability to critically engage with state policy, according to O'Connor (2005), was tempered by its dependence on state funding. Richard Breen,

¹⁷ The Tavistock Institute of Human Relations conducted an important though unheralded sociological study in the 1960s of morale among Dublin bus workers (*see* Murray 2005), an early example of British input into Irish sociology. The Tavistock Institute was founded in London in 1946.

Damian Hannan, David Rottman and Christopher Whelan (1990) were some of the key researchers at the ESRI that examined the causes and consequences of social stratification in the Irish experience using "the state" and "class" as their central theoretical concepts. For them, the state was the kingmaker of the Irish class structure as paymaster of public sector workers and social welfare recipients.

Though this was a period of growth, a less than benign outlook of the discipline was evident among sociologists. Writing in *Social Studies* in the early 1970s, an English sociologist, Bill McSweeney, noted the impressive research output of the ESRI but lamented the "positivistic bias" of Irish sociological research. He critiqued the discipline's reluctance to engage in "ongoing criticism of the social and political order" (*Social Studies* 1972: 664). Critical engagement with Irish society, in this view, was not a strong point of sociology in Ireland. Irish sociologists were inclined to agree.

Three years later, writing in *Social Studies*, Tony Fahey criticized the discipline's lack of traction in public discourse. He argued that sociologists were quite happy to leave the handling and defining of social problems to politicians, clergy, and interest groups, resulting in an impoverished Irish sociological imagination. Fahey suggested that sociologists ought to be marginal from the institutional system of universities in which they are embedded if they are to bring a sociological perspective to what is taken as "common-sense" and move beyond "the current unimaginative and rather sterile information-gathering which is indulged in by sociologists" (Fahey 1975: 98). Fahey and other sociologists saw a need for what Michael Burawoy (2005) termed "critical sociology" — but with an Irish inflection.

Another criticism was the discipline's view of state intervention. University College Dublin economist, Patrick Lynch (1965: 32), argued that the Fine Gael politician, Garrett Fizgerald, was "right in criticising the timidity and negative approach in the past of conventional wisdom of much of Irish sociology towards government intervention." He went on to state that "Catholic sociologists" ought to take a more benign view of state economic planning.

It was during this period that many of the organizational developments in Irish sociology occurred. Departments of sociology were established in University College Cork, University College Galway, and Trinity College Dublin often hosted by or within social policy, social work or applied social studies departments, a feature that helps explain the policy orientation of Irish sociological research within the university sector. The "sociology of the university departments," as Goldthorpe, O'Dowd and O'Connor (2002) term it, was beginning to be felt at this time.

Jeremiah Newman articulated the difference between normative and empirical sociology in the early 1970s. Sociologists such as Tony Fahey took the view that the discipline was top-heavy on the latter. In his own sociological work Newman sought to integrate the two because for him, "a complete science of society" had to be "inclusive of facts and values" (Newman 1972: 24). He was even more forceful than this in a book review written in *Christus Rex* in 1956 in which he contended that "we shall never have a satisfactory Catholic Sociology until facts are related to principles in every domain of social life" (*Christus Rex*, 1956, Vol. x, No. 2, p. 305). His famous research report, the Limerick Rural Survey (1964), written nearly ten years before his own sociology textbook and twenty years after Arensberg and Kimball's ground-breaking research, was a case in point. This report was published by Muintir na Tíre, a community development organization, based on Catholic corporatist principles, dedicated to improving the social and economic well-being of the Irish countryside. It was the first survey study of Irish rural life (Newman 1959) and reflected in the church's concern to develop evidence-based approaches to contemporary

social issues rather than relying solely on moral and ethical principles, ensconced in papal encyclicals, as a guide for social and political action (Whyte 1971).

Not afraid to use, and import if necessary, expertise from outside the country to understand his own society, Newman sought the counsel of American sociologists from the University of Chicago and the University of St. Louis as well as European sociologists from the University of Wageningen, Holland, in preparing the survey component of the study. Patrick McNabb carried out the survey with technical help from Newman's American and European colleagues. Funding came from the American Counterpart Fund. Commenting on the Limerick survey in *Rural Ireland*, Jeremiah Newman (1959: 70) wrote that "it will have accomplished its purpose if it succeeds in showing, in a limited field, what scientific survey work can do in the way of indicating ways and means of more effective rural betterment." The Limerick survey reflected a fervent interest in rural sociology that was formalized with the inclusion of rural sociology within the ambit of the Agricultural Institute. Newman pioneered the development of rural sociology in Ireland and the high water mark of this effort came in 1967 when St. Patrick College, Maynooth, hosted the annual meeting of the European Society for Rural Sociology (Department Report 1999). As a trained sociologist, he had a keen interest in developing the empirical current in Irish sociology and did much himself, through the Limerick Rural Survey, to advance this project. In a review of Joseph H. Fickter's book, *Sociology* (University of Chicago Press 1958) in *Christus Rex*, Newman wrote that "there is a great need for a more empirical sociology in Ireland," and went on to contend that "there is much more to the study of society than Social Ethics and without adequate factual knowledge the application of ethical principles is impossible" (Christus *Rex* 1959: 220-221). In June 1969, Newman was succeeded in the chair of sociology by another priest, Father Liam Ryan.

Besides St. Patrick College, Maynooth, University College Dublin also played an influential role in the development of Irish sociology. University College Dublin social science department, which hosted sociology, was established in 1964, and its early professor posts were held by Catholic secular priests. Father James Kavanagh, former chairman of the DICS and later auxiliary Bishop of Dublin, and Father Conor Ward, both held the position of professor of sociology. Because it did not have a postgraduate program, aspiring sociologists tended to study in America or the United Kingdom. When they returned in the 1970s and 1980s, many took positions in newly established sociology departments, in professional departments such as education, or within the research commissions of the Catholic Church. It seems reasonable to assume that these American and British trained, Irish-born sociologists brought American and British ideas and methodologies with them and influenced how they taught and conducted research in or about Ireland.

The 1970s saw the beginning of a long and protracted period of political violence and conflict in Northern Ireland that seemed to defy resolution up until the 1990s. While "the Troubles" did not entirely escape the attention of sociologists in southern Irish society, surprisingly it was not until 1999 that the first single-volume sociological textbook on Northern Ireland was published (Coulter 1999). In general, it could be argued that the way Northern Irish society is experienced, understood and structured has not featured very strongly in sociological discourse or output in southern Ireland. Indeed, it could be said that Irish sociology seems to implicitly accept the geographical, political and cultural partitioning of the island of Ireland into a northern six-county statelet under British administration and an independent twenty-six county republic to the south.

The most important development at an organizational level during this phase was the establishment of the Sociological Association of Ireland (SAI), a good deal later than sociological associations in most other European nations (*see* Torrance 1976). The *Christus Rex Society*, mentioned earlier, had been an ancestor organization of the newly formed SAI,

though each had very different audiences and there was no direct link between them. Cyril Whyte, Conor Word, and Joy Rudd were among the key founding members of — and organizing forces behind — the association. On May 5, 1973, they organized a meeting in Earlsfort Terrace, Dublin, then home to University College Dublin, of about twenty sociologists, from north and south, with a view to institutionalizing the discipline. An ad-hoc committee was elected and a constitution drafted. The organizational structure of SAI consisted of a standing committee including an elected president, chairperson, vicechairperson, treasurer, secretary, and a six-person committee. The first standing committee consisted of Hamish Dickie-Clarke (New University of Ulster, Jordanstown) as chairman, E.E. Davis (Economic and Social Research Institute) as vice-chairperson, Eoin Murphy (Dublin Institute of Adult Education) as secretary, Patrick Clancy (University College Dublin) as treasurer and Cyril Whyte, John Jackson, Micheál Mac Gréil, Hilary Tovey, Donal Igoe and Patrick O'Dwyer making up the six-person committee (Minutes of 1975 Annual General Meeting, Royal Dublin Society, Ballsbridge, Dublin, April 5, 1975, SAI archive). Full membership was confined, rather loosely, to those with either "university qualification in sociology or related social sciences at the postgraduate (master's or higher) level or its equivalent" or those with "extensive teaching, research or consultancy in sociology or related social sciences" (SAI Proposed Amendments to Constitution, SAI archive). Building up the membership of the association, promoting the image of sociology in Ireland, and improving the service to members were all key foci of the early founders. Some debate raged about the preferred name of the organization. Initially, the Irish Sociological Association was put forward but since this shared an abbreviation with the then International Sociological Association, SAI was chosen instead.

The first annual meeting, the high point of the association's activities, took place at the Royal Dublin Society in April 1975. Twenty-four members attended. External relations dominated the meeting with the question of developing a newsletter and the organizing of regional meetings of the association on the agenda. The minutes record that the SAI committee was "well aware of the relative inactivity of the Association during much of the year" (Minutes of 1975 SAI Annual Meeting, SAI archive). The SAI began publishing its own newsletter, entitled the *Bulletin* in the early 1980s as an outlet for salient articles, book reviews, job advertisements, conference proceedings, and organizational reports. The *Bulletin* began as a small booklet or pamphlet but by 1983, aided by improved computer technology, grew to a full-size newsletter though it was some way off from a serious, highbrow magazine (SAI *Bulletin*, April 1987: 1). Three years later, the *Bulletin* began to run into difficulty because of some critical comments on its somewhat amateurish form, and questions about its audience and frequency became increasingly salient though were as yet unresolved (SAI *Bulletin*, March 1986: 7).

The initial success of the organization was indicated by membership growth (*see* Table 1) in the early days (SAI *Bulletin*, January 1984: 18). Most members were male (seventy-five percent), with women comprising only twenty-five per cent of the association (SAI *Bulletin*, January 1984: 19). Men tended to dominate leadership positions within the SAI, to present more papers at its annual meetings, and to constitute the bulk of contributors to the SAI's *Bulletin*. Women, on the other hand, were more likely to devote their attention to organizing the SAI's special interest groups and research seminars (SAI *Bulletin*, January 1984: 19). Internally, the question of membership occupied the minds of SAI members during the late 1970s when the issue of whether those with bachelor degrees in sociology could become card-carrying members was debated (SAI minutes of 1977 AGM, SAI archive). The association's revenue came from membership dues as well as from the sale of its publications.

	Table	1. Gro	wth an	d Dech	ne of SA	AI (Ful	l) Mem	bership	*
1976	1978	1980	1981	1983	1985	1992	1996	1998	2004
96	140	189	192	164	142	150	226	206	125

In a reflective article looking back at the SAI since its foundation in 1973, Liam Ryan, then professor of sociology at St. Patrick's College Maynooth, wrote that "throughout the late 1970s and 1980s the quantity and quality of papers at the Annual Meetings began to improve" (SAI *Bulletin*, January 1984: 16). Addressing the SAI's major failures, Ryan cited the paucity of North-South comparative research, the inadequate public relations of the SAI both with the media and other cognate disciplines, and the inequitable structure of university employment with a core of permanent staff alongside a growing number of contingent workers on contract employment (SAI *Bulletin*, January 1984: 16). Above all, the relevance and distinctive contribution of sociology absorbed the energies of sociologists at this time.

1980-1990: Crisis

The 1980s were years of crisis and dismay in sociology in Ireland. This sense of crisis occurred against a background of economic failure in Ireland itself. This period saw unemployment rates of close to twenty per cent and high levels of outward migration, one in ten in the population emigrating. It is not surprising then, against this very poor economic background, that most of the new developments in Irish sociology in this stage were at a textual rather than an organizational level. A chief concern of this phase was the status of the discipline, its development priorities (SAI *Bulletin*, January 1987: 1 & 4), its public image, and relevance to Irish society (SAI Bulletin, April 1983: 3). The SAI's Bulletin in April 1983 reported Ciaran McCullagh's claim that "there is, I think, a certain sense of demoralization among sociologists in Ireland at the moment. And if there isn't, perhaps there should be. The circumstances of sociology would seem to justify it" (SAI Bulletin, April 1983: 4). The lack of funding for research across the social sciences and not least in sociology (O'Dowd 1988) and the scarcity of jobs contributed a great deal to this sense of disillusionment and discontent. The SAI Bulletin seemed to tacitly support this crisis outlook by running a series of interviews with prominent sociologists such as Michel Peillon inviting them to "talk informally about their work and the nature of the crisis in Irish sociology" (SAI Bulletin, January 1987: 6).

During this phase a number of important books were published that helped to define the distinctive and independent contribution of sociology to social, political, and economic analyses. Michel Peillon's *Contemporary Irish Society* and the edited volume, *Ireland: A Sociological Profile*, both analyzed Irish society from an explicitly sociological perspective. Peillon's work, which attempted to be a "sociology of the middle-range," examined statesociety relationships and the role of interest groups, social classes and the Catholic Church in mediating this, though it was the church dimension of his work that seemed to receive the most attention. In the 1980s, three noteworthy books, part of a "Studies in Irish Society" sequence initiated and sponsored by the SAI, discussed the specific contribution of sociology to public debate. The first book in this sequence, *Power, Conflict and Inequality*, admitted that "although Irish sociology has expanded considerably in recent years it has generated relatively little sustained or systematic public discussion on fundamental and controversial issues in what is a deeply-divided society," in contrast to the hegemonic position of history and literature as gatekeepers of public understandings of Irish culture. The particular is related to the general by examining "some of the specifics of power in Irish society, while recognising that, in many respects, this society is not unique and can usefully be understood within an international framework" (O'Dowd, Kelly and Wickham 1982: ix).

The second book in the series, *Culture and Ideology in Ireland*, was published in 1984. At its launch, Mary Kelly, one of the editors, stated that the chapters in the book showed a:

small island marked by a series of juxtapositions. They document images of peasant life existing alongside increasing industrialization, and while the information age invades the office, the romanticization of the West of Ireland continues. They detail how old rhetorics have come to be poured into new bottles: the politics of the EEC are translated into the idiom of the parish pump, and idealized notions of "community" come to be used as a means of social and class control. (SAI *Bulletin*, November 1984: 19).

The book urges sociologists to pay more attention to the fluid and hybrid juxtapositions that structure ideological discourse in Ireland, north and south, disavowing the notion of a single fixed Irish identity fashioned by the Irish nationalist project.

Gender in Irish Society, an edited collection of papers by sociologists, historians, and social policy analysts, and the third book in the series, examined a previously underanalyzed dimension of the Irish experience, that is, the social construction of gender and its inequalities (Curtin, Jackson and O'Connor 1987). Written to enable "gender to take its full place in the body of Irish sociological theory" (Curtin, Jackson and O'Connor 1987: xviii) and employing multiple theoretical frameworks and empirical methods, the book maps out the various ways in which gender permeates everyday life from the factory floor of Derry shirt factories to psychiatric hospitals in southern Irish society, under-investigated places in Irish sociological research. Some of the papers were presented originally at the annual SAI meeting in 1984. A volume on the sociology of crime, entitled *Whose Law and Order?*, and published in 1988, completed the Studies in Irish Society series.

During this period rural sociology was analyzed perhaps more than any other subfield, continuing a long tradition of rural research about Ireland. Most of the research on rural sociology in the 1980s explicitly or implicitly critiqued Arensberg and Kimball's earlier work and showed that this study, despite its shortcomings, continued to be a point of departure for future research. Rural sociology was the subject of a review article in 1992 in the *Irish Journal of Sociology* (Tovey 1992). Damian Hannan, Patrick Commins, Chris Curtin and Tony Varley were all prolific in writing about rural society and economy in this phase. A critical intervention during this stage was Curtin and Wilson's (1990) edited collection *Ireland From Below*, comprising a number of ethnographic case studies from different parts of Ireland, north and south. These case studies went beyond prior research, which tended to represent Irish rural society as timeless and unchanging, by examining the extent to which rural communities were impacted by wider social change and the role of community actors in these transformations. In this view, social change was conceived as something that emerges from communities, from the ground up, rather than something externally induced. Organizationally, rural sociology was well catered for at this time, being a special topic of research within the Agricultural Institute (Tovey 1992).

This phase also saw a growth of research in the sociology of education, usually with a strong policy orientation (Drudy 1991). Major concerns of sociological writing on education at this time were the social organization of schools and equality of educational opportunity particularly access to third level education. A small cadre of sociologists including Patrick Clancy, Damian Hannan, Kathleen Lynch, Micheál MacGréil, and Sheelagh Drudy, were the main contributors to this literature. A number of important ESRI reports on education in Ireland also influenced debate in the area (*see* Drudy 1991). Indeed, what is remarkable about this phase in Irish sociology is the steady stream of publications, particularly in rural sociology and the sociology of education, against a backdrop of scarce research funding from the state or other bodies.

I have argued that this phase from 1980 stretching through to 1990 was a crisis in Irish sociology. In November 1982, a seminar on the topic of the "Relevance of Sociology" was held at Trinity College Dublin (SAI *Bulletin*, April 1983: 8). The April 1983 *Bulletin* of SAI contained an article on the "Relevance of Sociology to Irish Society" (SAI *Bulletin*, April 1983: 3) in response to recent media criticism of the discipline and its flagging public image. The sense of crisis in the discipline¹⁸ was not helped by critical media coverage of the discipline. David Harris wrote an article in the *Irish Independent* newspaper that pointed to the low regard for sociology is a lot of old nonsense. Even sociologists admit this after a few drinks" (SAI *Bulletin*, March 1986: 1). This article provoked an understandably defensive response in the mouthpiece of the SAI, the *Bulletin*, which claimed this comment that sociology is a soft touch reflected a hidden "undercurrent of prejudices, jokes and caricatures circulating in the universities and colleges" (SAI *Bulletin*, March 1986: 1).

At an organizational level, and despite impressive achievements at the textual level, Irish sociologists were deeply concerned about the professionalization of the discipline, the employment opportunity structure, the working conditions of sociologists in a tight labor market, and the discipline's capacity to contribute to public discourse. The chairperson's report in 1982 made for gloomy reading indeed: "membership figures, numbers of *Bulletin* issues and average page numbers per issue, numbers of papers offered to the Annual Conference, attendance at the Conference, SAI-sponsored meetings other than the Conference, numbers of Executive Committee members, and attendance at them all have all fallen since this time twelve months ago" (SAI *Bulletin*, March 1982: 10). The SAI *Bulletin* in 1987 referred to the "disquieting labor market and funding trends" (SAI *Bulletin*, April 1987: 8) and went on to express concern about the bifurcated nature of the discipline, divided between "those based in institutions," on the one hand, and "those who are forced to spend long periods in unemployment" on the other (SAI *Bulletin*, April 1987: 8).

To rectify this situation, the SAI considered the possibility of establishing an Institute of Sociologists that would help to put the discipline on a stronger professional footing (SAI *Bulletin*, April 1989: 2; June 1989: 1). A Sub-Committee on Employment, established in June 1987, was established to position the discipline to respond to new labor market conditions (SAI *Bulletin*, November 1988: 1). Also considered by the SAI was the possibility of promoting the idea of introducing sociology to the national secondary school curriculum and to this end it established a sub-committee in 1981 (SAI *Bulletin*, March 1982: 15). This committee considered different ways of incorporating sociology into

¹⁸ Mike Tomlinson claimed that "sociology, sociologists and sociological research are simply not considered worthy of a place on the media agenda" (SAI *Bulletin*, April 1984: 12).

secondary school teaching but drew attention to a number of difficulties of this project including the lack of teachers trained in sociology (SAI *Bulletin*, March 1982: 18). Sociology's relevance to public discourse was a concern of sociologists in this phase also. The SAI's *Bulletin* in July 1987 contained an article considering the possibility of issuing public statements but was non-committal about whether (or how) this could be done (SAI *Bulletin*, July 1987: 3).

A critical intervention in this phase was an authoritative statement on the social sciences published in 1988 by the Royal Irish Academy (O'Dowd 1988). Based on the proceedings of a conference on this topic, the central issue that concerned it was the scarcity of research funding across the social sciences and to overcome this, the idea of establishing an Irish Social Science Research Council was promoted to support postgraduate and faculty research productivity and to develop a stronger research culture within Irish universities. From the point of view of sociology, Damian Hannan and Liam O'Dowd were the two main contributors to the debate although each framed the problem in different ways. For Hannan, sociology was its own worst enemy because of its failure to keep apace with methodological developments, the paucity of qualitative research output, and the variation in the quality of personnel in different universities. O'Dowd, from the vantage of the north, identified the lack of interdisciplinary, intervarsity and cross-border linkages as key impediments to disciplinary growth and development. Both agreed, however, that a research funding body was necessary to move the discipline forward. But it was not until the next phase that Irish sociology got a research council along the lines of councils long existing in other Western European countries, a council that helped to establish sociology's credentials and pedigree as a discipline with a distinctive, serious and credible contribution to make.

1990-2005: Expansion and Public Engagement

This phase from the mid 1990s to the present, for the most part, was a story of expansion and public engagement. But the late 1980s and early 1990s saw heightened concern about the low regard for sociology and its weakness organizationally compared to sociological associations in other European countries. Liam O'Dowd wrote an article "Sociology in the 1990s: Reflections on a Research Agenda" in the SAI's *Bulletin* in which he drew attention to the difficulty of the SAI in paying its dues to the International Sociology's engagement with an international academic network. He went on to highlight the scarce research funds in southern Irish society compared to the north. A disciplinary outsider, he observed, "might wonder at the poverty-stricken and incoherent state of sociology" in Ireland despite its great popularity as a university degree subject (SAI *Bulletin*, May 1991: 1; *see also* SAI *Bulletin*, November 1988: 1).

Highlighting the meager influence of Irish sociology and how much of the discursive field it had ceded to economics in *Christus Rex* as far back as 1961, Dublin economist Joseph Foyle pointed to three factors that help explain the lowly status of sociology in Ireland compared to more "successful" hegemonic disciplines such as economics: the paucity of training in sociology in disciplines beyond social work, an over acceptance of Catholic moral principles at the expense of sociological investigation of these principles, and, the lack of recognition of the value of an Irish sociological imagination (*Christus Rex*, Vol. xv, No. 1, January 1961: 23-27), all factors that masked sociology's promise and potential contribution to public discourse on critical issues of the day. But by 2001 some Irish sociologists were cheerfully arguing that they were an integral part of the academic pantheon and successful in establishing the independence of sociology from other established cognate disciplines: "today, sociology has won a recognition, if often a grudging

one, of its right to a place within most of the intellectual institutions of the society" (Tovey 200: 77).

How can this changed outlook be explained? This period of growth and development in Irish sociology was marked by new sources of funding, new lines of sociological inquiry, new value premises, new methodological approaches, and new methods of engaging with the wider society. The availability of new sources of research funding from bodies such the Irish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences (ICRHSS), the Royal Irish Academy, RTÉ,¹⁹ the Combat Poverty Agency as well as transnational institutions such as the European Union was a crucially important development during this phase. Irish higher education, long starved of funding in comparison to major public and private research universities in the United States, expanded. With greater government and corporate funding, many sociology departments increased the intake of their doctoral programs. But increasing funding for postgraduate study also meant greater competition among newly qualified sociologists for research and teaching positions in and outside of the university sector. The increasing popularity of sociology as a degree subject at the undergraduate level, despite its absence from the national secondary school curriculum, also led to greater funding and grant support. The establishment of new research centers and institutes also heralded a new emphasis on interdisciplinary research between sociology and other social science fields such as economics, political science, history, and social policy. Increasingly, sociologists are invited to contribute articles to interdisciplinary reviews and edited collections. For instance, a recent edited companion book on modern Irish culture contained research papers from sociologists as well as historians and literary scholars (Cleary and Connolly 2005).

During this phase sociology departments in Ireland established research centers and institutes dedicated to research in the family, race and ethnicity, employment, and gender, as universities across Ireland received more investment from private and public sources. The establishment of the Irish Social Science Data Archive, based at University College Dublin, has made it much easier for researchers to gain access to official statistics and large-scale social survey datasets. Additionally, sociology departments began to make concerted efforts to establish their "corporate image" in the eyes of potential research funding bodies and prospective students. They did this by delineating their core research strengths and areas of concern. We see the emergence of "UCD Sociology," "Maynooth Sociology," "Sociology at Limerick" and so on as a reflection of this. This "branding" of different departments may well be a metaphor for hegemonic, neo-liberal global capitalism in contemporary Ireland and its infusion in the university sector.

Clearly, during this phase the research and teaching concerns of sociologists related to transformative changes in Irish society. Indeed, there was a focused effort to research those issues that were considered essential to the concerns and priorities of the nation such as quality of life issues (encompassing topics such as suburbanization, civic participation, the environment), migration, and high technology. As Ireland became a more ethnically diverse society in the 1990s, race and ethnicity increasingly became the object of the Irish sociological imagination (*see* Lentin 2001; Lentin and McVeigh 2002). While class has received considerable attention from Irish sociologists (*see* Hout 1989; Breen, Hannan, Rottman and Whelan 1990), the social divisions produced by gender, and race and ethnicity in particular, have been less studied. Other new issues, that previously went under-analyzed, such as Irish identity, sexuality, gay and lesbian issues, the environment, and crime, featured for the first time in the pages of the *Irish Journal of Sociology* during this phase.

¹⁹ RTÉ (Radio Telifís Éireann) is the national radio and television station.

In 1992, the first comparative sociological study of Ireland was published, a work that grew out of informal contacts between sociologists at University College Dublin and the University of Warsaw, Poland. In this study, *Ireland and Poland: Comparative Perspectives*, Ireland is understood as a "post-colonial society operating in a world capitalist system" (Clancy et al. 1992: xvi). Its intended readership was "students of sociology, politics and a wide range of social sciences, whether at the university or in adult education, as well as for a broad and interested public in both Poland and Ireland" (Clancy et al. 1992: vii) and illuminated important parallels, divergences and similarities between the two national experiences. However, the book — published as a result of the conference — was somewhat weak on the comparative dimension.

A key feature of this period was opening the discipline to a wider audience beyond academics. Although public engagement was not peculiar to this phase, it was pursued with more vigor than before (SAI *Bulletin*, April 1987: 1). Berkeley sociologist, Michael Burawoy (2005) makes a strong case for what he calls "public sociology," meaning sociology in conversation with various publics. This project of creating a public sociology in Ireland was advanced by three developments. First, in the 1980s, Patrick Clancy's studies of patterns of inequality in higher education and Micheál MacGréil's work on attitudes toward outgroups both sought to inform and shape equality and social policy debates in Ireland (Clancy 1982, 1988, 2001; MacGréil 1977, 1996).

The question of the relevance of sociology to Irish society was a concern of this phase, reviving earlier concerns about this expressed in the 1980s. Indeed, concerns about sociology's relevance have always seemed to occupy the minds of Irish sociologists. The theme of the plenary address at the annual meeting of the SAI in 1993, its 20th anniversary, was "What Relevance Sociology in Ireland? Voices from Politics and Academia" (SAI Bulletin, May 1993: 1). In the 1990s, SAI published a series of reflections on how Irish sociology should develop into the future (SAI Bulletin, May 1991: 3). Liam O'Dowd pointed out the partitionist nature of the discipline by arguing that "one of the extraordinary features of university sociology in Ireland is the lack of contact and mutual ignorance which exists between university departments" (SAI Bulletin, May 1991: 1). He claimed that Irish sociologists were too "state-bound" in their work and did not pay sufficient attention to north-south linkages. With the exception of Liam O'Dowd, very few sociologists of Ireland have taken on this partitionist outlook and very few sociologists living in one part of the island write about or study the other part. Even sociologists in southern Irish society who do engage with the north tend to be of a northern background. It could be argued in fact that partition structures the sociological imagination north and south of the border with very little "traffic," in terms of sociological discourse and output, between the two parts of the island. While is there some comparative north-south social science research (Heath, Breen and Whelan 1999), sociologists working within sociology departments in the North appear to be more active in the British Sociological Association than they are in the SAI, despite the intended all-Ireland focus of the SAI's early founders, and collaborative research projects between sociologists in both parts of the island, though increasingly common nowadays, were rare and sporadic in the past.

The publication in the 1990s of a series of short sociological essays on issues such as sport, waste, tribunals of inquiry, heritage, shopping malls, and pubs, published by the Institute of Public Administration and edited by sociologists at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, sought to create more "lay sociologists" and to document the unfolding of social change. Whether this series succeeded in achieving its intended purpose of popularizing sociology (Peillon and Slater 1998; Slater and Peillon 2000; Corcoran and Peillon 2002: ix) and taking it beyond the university is an open question. The 1990s also saw the growth of action research particularly in the sociology of education. This approach to research, emphasizing the active role of human subjects in the research process, was pioneered in Ireland by UCD's Equality Studies Centre, and sought to reconfigure the relationship and power relations between the researcher and the researched and to challenge hegemonic ways of doing sociology (O'Connor 2005).

From the late 1990s, it became more common for sociologists to write opinion columns in national newspapers on such topics as the role and function of universities in a rapidly changing economy and society and social and political issues of the day such as crime and Travellers (Ó Riain 2004; *see also* Mulcahy 2005). Sociologists periodically contributed to documentaries and current affairs programmes on national television and radio, though sociologists probably have less name recognition among the general public than some economists, historians, or political scientists. But public engagement was not new in sociology in Ireland. Early Irish sociology was public in nature, concerned with ameliorating the traumatic effects of the Famine. It could be argued therefore that the heightened emphasis on public engagement in sociology in the 1990s represented a return to the early roots of the discipline in social action.

Mapping Irish sociology onto important international debates about globalization, European integration, post-colonialism, post-modernism, and development, was a central concern of this period also. In 1999, for instance, Ronaldo Munck (1999: 98) wrote a debate paper in the *Irish Journal of Sociology* in which he argued that Ireland is a "post-colonial, post-modern and European peripheral." Notably, the disciplinary boundaries between sociology and cultural studies, literary studies, social studies, media studies, and Irish studies are blurred often or dissolved within these debates (Bell 1991).

An important intervention at a textual level in this phase was Hilary Tovey and Perry Share's (2003) *A Sociology of Ireland*, the first "one stop shop" textbook that mapped the specifically Irish experience in relation to the major sub-fields of the discipline including education, gender, crime, religion, media, collective behavior, culture, and demography. It has become a standard textbook in introductory courses in Irish sociology at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels.

In this phase we see the growing influence of critical sociology and Marxian sociology. For example, Colin Coulter and Steve Coleman's (2003) edited volume of essays on "Celtic Tiger" Ireland expressly adopts a critical Marxist perspective in examining the dark underbelly of Ireland economy and society and makes a strong case against the banner "what the West is the rest must become" formulation put forward by modernization theorists. As the authors put it, "the book represents an endeavor to see whether it is possible to have a fruitful dialogue between Marxism and postmodernism" (Coulter and Coleman 2003: 28). But Marxian sociology already had a particularly strong influence in Irish sociology in the 1970s and 1980s stretching into the 1990s (O'Hearn 1989; Shirlow 1995; Peillon 1982; Crowley and Mac Laughlin 1997), especially in the Department of Sociology at Trinity College Dublin.

At an organizational level, the SAI became more aware of the importance of having its own archival repository "when the history of our association will be written" (SAI *Bulletin*, June/July 1994: 5). To this end the SAI invited members to collect photographs, conference papers, copies of the *Bulletin* and other ephemera and bring them to the attention of the *Bulletin* editor. An office of the SAI, staffed by a full-time secretary, was opened in June 1991 on Burlington Road, Dublin (SAI *Bulletin*, July 1991:2).

Irish Sociology: Faith, Fatherland, and Foreigners

The question posed at the outset of this paper was whether Irish sociology could be said to be singular in form and content. So is Irish sociology, as Tovey and Share (2003: 4)

want to argue, empirically and theoretically distinct from other sociologies, and that, in the final analysis, "all sociologies are 'national' sociologies"? If this is the case then, is there such a thing as a specifically Irish sociological tradition? I have argued that the history of Irish sociology represents a distinctive and curious synthesis of the influences, sometimes competing, of faith, fatherland, and foreigners, that is, (1) the Catholic Church's social teaching (2) the modernizing impulse of the Irish state, and, (3) the anthropological paradigm, mainly influenced by Americans, and through individuals such as Peter McKevitt and Conrad Arensberg. Clearly the relationship between these decisive influences was shaped by political, economic and cultural changes in Irish society over the last 150 years. But the uneven path that sociology took in Ireland, from a small and mainly priest dominated discipline to a secular one, was also shaped by changes and developments in European and indeed world history. To argue that Irish sociology is not derivative of either American or British sociology is not to claim that there are no points of convergence between them but rather to put forward the view that sociology in Ireland is sufficiently different in its origins and outlook to be studied in its own right as a distinct enterprise.

Of the stages considered in this paper, we take the view that the "Catholic sociology" period, spanning the early 1920s to the 1970s, goes a long way towards accounting for the unique features of Irish sociology as it exists today. Firstly, for the most part, the period of "Catholic sociology" represented a turn against the 19th century sociologists such as de Beaumont and Marx. Indeed, "Catholic sociology" came out of, not pre-existing sociological work, but out of papal encyclicals. Second, the period of "Catholic sociology" crucially shaped the concerns of Irish sociologists well beyond the 1970s sociologists working out of the Catholic sociology tradition, as we saw earlier, paid great attention to the sociology of the family, education and religion, as did secular sociologists from the 1970s on. But these secular sociologists employed in newly created research institutes and university departments sought to empiricize Catholic sociology, something which priests such as Jeremiah Newman anticipated and sought to promote. So while we see a clear rupture between the 19th century sociology and the period of Catholic sociology, it could be argued that there was a good deal more carry over from the Catholic tradition into the post-1970s period characterized by increasing state involvement in shaping the contours of the discipline. Thirdly, the long period of Catholic sociology may also help account for the comparatively late establishment of a professional association for the discipline. As long as sociology was firmly embedded within the structures of the Catholic Church, there was less need for such an organization to establish the discipline's identity. Once the discipline became more rational and secular and came out from under the Church's influence, establishing a bureaucratic organization to represent its interests was an imperative. Fourth, the Catholic Church's emphasis on siding with the poor and needy helped to give the discipline in Ireland a social action orientation that it might never have had otherwise. This goes some way towards explaining the policy or applied emphasis of secular sociology, especially that emanating from the Economic and Social Research Institute, from the 1970s on.

Roughly speaking, the history of Irish sociology can be carved into four distinct phases from an early post-Famine phase to a mature phase of expansion and public engagement from the mid 1990s on. To some extent these important phases overlap rather than neatly following one another. I argue that a defining feature of Irish sociological inquiry is the unhealthy relationship between the theoretical and the empirical and an overemphasis on macro sociology at the expense of micro sociology. Sociological inquiry at the small-group level, employing theoretical perspectives such as symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and ethnomethodology is virtually non-existent in Irish sociology. Interpretative approaches, to be sure, are reflected in Irish sociological discourse but much less so in its output. In this sense, one could argue that Irish sociology has privileged structural analyses over interrogations of the role of individual agency in constituting society.

From the 1950s, Irish sociologists relied heavily on Parsonian structuralfunctionalism as their conceptual framework for understanding society, but Parsonian sociology was dead by the 1970s. In the 1970s through to the 1990s, Marxist, left-wing sociology was the dominant theoretical orientation with phenomenological approaches here and there. Only in recent times have Eliasian and Polanyian approaches been incorporated into the canon (Mennell 1989; Ó Riain 2004). Thus, at a theoretical level, Irish sociology is largely derivative rather than innovative, happily importing theoretical frameworks developed in other societies and thus eschewing the development of a native intellectual tradition.

Methodologically, Irish sociological research has relied heavily on quantitative methods and not very much on descriptive qualitative approaches such as ethnography, participant observation, and archival research. Foucaudian and Eliasian sociology imbues the work of sociologists such as Inglis (1987, 1998, 2003) and Mennell (1989) and is particularly strong in UCD's department of sociology. The theoretical insights of Pierre Bourdieu inform some of the essays in Mary Corcoran and Michel Peillon's (2002) edited volume *Ireland Unbound*, as well as Tom Inglis's (2003) recent study mapping the relationship between long-term processes of social change and the case of the Kerry babies.

Ireland, unlike its nearest neighbors, has produced no major sociological theorist, although social thinkers such as Harriet Martineau, Gustave de Beaumont, and Alexis de Touqueville, as we saw, did turn their attention to Ireland. Indeed, perhaps as a consequence of this, Irish sociology seems to overly rely on theorizations by British sociologists such as Anthony Giddens (and his amorphous concepts such as "structuration" and "reflexive modernity") or at least to apply them to the Irish situation. No major Irish school of sociology emerged equivalent to the "Chicago school" of urban sociology in America, the Frankfurt school in German sociology (see Kaesler 2002), or the "Manchester school" of cultural studies in England. Few sociological studies of Ireland have had much impact on international debates in sociology, although Arensberg and Kimball's famous work did influence debates about society and community, a classical concern of the discipline. To what extent can this be explained by Ireland's peripheral location on the fringe of Europe, an "island off an island off Europe" as Seamus Deane put it (Deane 1982: 513)? Ireland's geographical positioning would lead one to expect it to be a site of intellectual creativity and originality (McLaughlin 2005). Yet the marginality of Irish sociology relative to hegemonic sociology centered in the United States suggests that it is core societies not peripheral ones that are the major centers of intellectual innovation. Even within Irish Studies, sociology has a marginal position relative to history and literature, though this is somewhat understandable given Ireland's rich literary tradition and deeply contested past.

Ireland is a small state on the periphery of Europe. The Sociological Association of Ireland (SAI) has only 125 card-carrying members across the island, the majority employed within the country's handful of universities. Given the smallness of Ireland and the small body of sociologists working in it, it is perhaps not surprising that the Sociological Association of Ireland has only one flagship journal. Despite the small-scale nature of the discipline and the lack of a critical mass of sociologists (SAI *Bulletin*, October 1989: 4), much important and thought provoking research is carried out by Irish sociologists on disparate subjects ranging from motorways and front gardens to the global economy and high-tech, "soft" industry. Indeed, Irish sociological research is impressive in its depth and breadth of coverage in proportion to the size of its sociological community. Compared to other national disciplinary associations, the SAI does not have as many special interest

groups or an academic press of its own. However, from its early origins with less than 25 members, it has grown into a well organized disciplinary association whose activities and resources have grown considerably over the course of the last thirty years.²⁰

Empirically, the sociology of religion is perhaps the most developed sub-field with both quantitative and qualitative studies mapping the shifting and contested influence of the Catholic Church, though in more recent times it has lagged behind (*see*, for example, the work of Inglis 1987, 1998; Nic Ghiolla Phádraig 1976; and Dillon 1993). The sociology of the family is also very well researched in the Irish case (*see* Hannon and Katsiaouni 1977; Family Studies Unit 1984; Colgan McCarthy 1995; and Fahey 1995). On education, see Lynch and Drudy (1993) and Drudy (1991). Given the influence the Catholic Church exerted on the development of the discipline, as we saw earlier, and given that the Church exercised its moral control through the education system and the family and that it valorized a rural, agrarian way of life, it is not surprising that these three sub-fields — family, education and rural sociology — have been so much studied by Irish sociologists in and outside of the university. Indeed, the kind of topics taken up by Irish sociologists in the second and third phases of its disciplinary history and the consequent marginalization of topics such as gender, race and ethnicity, reveal something about the discipline's early affinities with the Catholic Church.

Both education and rural sociology was the subject of review articles in the Irish Journal of Sociology in the late 1980s and early 1990s while research on the family was reviewed in a volume of papers on Irish family studies in 1995 (Colgan McCarthy 1995). Topics on which Irish sociologists have written insightfully include: the sociology of communications and the media (Kelly and O'Connor 1997; Dillon 1993; Devereux 1998), gender (Byrne and Leonard 1997; O'Connor 1998), rural sociology (Newman 1964; Davis 1999), crime (Tomlinson, Varley and McCullagh 1988; McCullagh 1996; O'Mahony 1997), urban sociology (Fahey 1999; Curtin, Donnan and Wilson 1993; Corcoran 2002), political sociology (Peillon 1982; Curtin and Wilson 1990; Goldthorpe and Whelan 1992; O Riain 2004; Hourigan 2004), and social stratification (Hout 1989; Breen, Hannan, Rottman and Whelan 1990). Yet absences and lacunae remain in the Irish sociological imagination that may well suggest sociology's compliance, rather than critical engagement, with the state building project. Other topics such as popular music, the environment, mental health, sport, young people, collective memory, and comparative historical sociology, have got less attention from Irish sociologists than one might expect. The extent of regional variation in what is taken as "the Irish experience" is also poorly researched and understood by sociologists with sociological analyses of what is happening in Dublin or other major urban centers often taken as an index of what is happening, socially and culturally, everywhere else on the island.

Finally, moving this project of mapping the history of Irish sociology forward would involve going beyond identifying the distinctive features of Irish sociology and how these evolved over time, as I have tried to do here, by examining how these features can be explained in terms of state activity, economy, geography, history, culture and politics. The extent to which the particular organization of the state in Ireland, the nature of its political culture, geographical positioning, and the influence of transnational forces and processes have shaped the discipline are all questions that have not adequately been addressed and clearly invite further inquiry. We need to know more about how the fortunes of other social science disciplines in Ireland — economics, history, politics, psychology — compared to

²⁰ For example, in September 1994, the SAI organized its first postgraduate summer school in Glencolmcille, Co. Donegal (SAI *Bulletin*, June/July 1994: 2).

those of sociology and whether allegedly more "successful" cognate disciplines, such as economics, tend to be less distinctively Irish (Jackson 1987). We need to study the history of sociology within a comparative²¹ framework by examining the commonalities and differences between Irish sociology and other national sociologies. Another blind spot in our collective disciplinary history has to do with how sociology evolved in different university departments across the island and how and why certain methodological and theoretical traditions came to prominence in some but not in others. Tied to this is the question of how different research²² actors — namely university departments and research institutes — related to one another. In addition, more much research is needed to map out the extent of accumulation across the time periods delineated here. Was there much traffic from one period to another and if so, what was carried over and what was dropped, quietly or otherwise, across time? Clearly, then, the full story of Irish sociology has yet to be told. The present paper has attempted to shed light on the history of Irish sociology — its key actors, works, outlooks and ideas — in the hope that with this comfort blanket, sociologists in contemporary Ireland will have a better understanding of why we do whatever it is we do in this way rather than another.

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²¹ I owe this point to Prof. Seán Ó Riain.

²² Consider, for instance, the early empirical emphasis (and clerical influence) in University College Dublin and the later influence of Norbert Elias. Or at University College Cork the demise of Marxism in the early 1970s and the subsequent prominence in the 1990s of a grand European intellectual tradition. Uniquely in Ireland, the Department of Sociology at the National University of Ireland, Galway, has a strong tradition of research on community and rural society. A history of Irish sociology in different universities — Trinity College Dublin, University College Dublin, University College Cork, National University of Ireland, Galway, National University of Ireland, Cork, University of Limerick, Queen's University Belfast — and Institutes of Technology (IT) such as Sligo IT and Waterford IT — deserves another article.

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Abstract — as Gaeilge

"Foreigners, Faith and Fatherland: The Historical Origins, CONWAY, Brian. Development and Present Status of Irish Sociology." Sociological Origins 5 (Fall, Special Supplement): 5-35.

'Sí an cheist atá á phlé sa pháipéar seo ná an bhfuil pearsanta nó aitheantas áirithe naisiúnta ag an tsocéolaíocht Éireannach, maidir leis a gnéithe eimpíreacha agus teoiriciúla. Tosnaítear an páipéar le dearcadh ar an obair scoláire atá ar fáil anois maidir le stair na socéolaíochta Éireannaí, agus ina dhiaidh sin scrudaíonn an páipéar na forsaí soisialta a raibh tionchar acu ar fhorbairt an ábhair in Éirinn.

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> ISSN 1557-9727 Established 1998

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