NUI MAYNOOTH

Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

The Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in the Republic of Ireland: A Social Movement Perspective.

A thesis submitted by Niall Moran

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Head of Department: Dr. Jane Gray.

Supervisor: Prof. Seán Ó'Riain.

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Summary of Contents:

This thesis is an in-depth analysis of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in the Republic of Ireland between 1994 and 2004. It seeks to understand and analyse this development of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in Ireland from a social movement perspective. The movement itself contains three key phases of mobilisation: 1) Radical Anti-Racism; 2) The Multicultural Support Group and; 3) The Anti-Deportation Group. Each of these phases is described in detail in the narrative of the movement.

Using the concept *historicity* I argue that each phase of the movement constructs a specific relationship between itself, the asylum-seeker and the Irish state. The nature and significance of each of these relationships is analysed by focussing upon the role that formal ideology plays in the construction of these relationships. This analysis is then complemented by an examination of the process of collective identity construction. I argue that this is crucial to the process of change within the movement and that there are formal and informal levels of action in the movement. Collective identity plays a key role in how the informal level of action operates. I will show that this leads to the creation of alternative systems of meaning and action that facilitate change at a group level.

Lastly, I theoretically situate the final phase of mobilisation as being significantly different from the first two. I argue that this phase of the movement is indicative of a shift towards a "politics of the subject" on the behalf of the movement. I then illustrate how the movement at many points concerns itself with the larger process of *desubjectivation* in Irish society or how increasingly our subjective and objective worlds are growing further apart.

Acknowledgements:

List of Tables and Charts:

Acronyms:

ADC – Anti-Deportation Campaign.

ARC – Anti-Racism Campaign.

CADIC – Coalition Against the Deportation of Irish Children.

CBT – Collective Behaviour Theory.

II – Integrating Ireland.

IRSP – Irish Republican Socialist Party.

IS – Immigrant Solidarity.

LNAR – Limerick Network Against Racism.

MWAR – Mid-West Against Racism.

NCCRI – National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism.

NSM – New Social Movement.

POT – Political Opportunity Theory.

PPT – Political Process Theory.

RAR – Residents Against Racism.

RAT – Rational Actor Theory.

RIA – Reception and Integration Agency.

RMT – Resource Mobilisation Theory.

SF – Sinn Féin.

SP – Socialist Party.

SWP – Socialist Workers Party.

WSM – Worker's Solidarity Movement.

Introduction:

The 1990's, dubbed by many commentators the Celtic Tiger years, were a period of intense social change across all sections of Irish society. Of central concern to us here is the shift in the migratory patterns of the Republic of Ireland from a country of out-migration to one characterised by a sustained pattern of in-migration. This shift in migration patterns resulted in a changed demography. In 2002, there were 224,261 non-Irish nationals residing in the State. By 2006, there were 419,733 non-Irish nationals residing in the State (see www.cso.ie). In contrast, in 1990 net-migration was minus 22,900. Table 1.1 below outlines the nationalities of people resident in the State in 2006.

Table 1.1: - Republic of Ireland's Population classified by nationality 2006

Irish	Non-Irish	UK	Rest of E.U.	Rest of Europe	Africa	Asia	America	Other Nationalities-s	Not Stated	Total
3,706,683	419,733	112,548	112,548	24,425	35,326	46,952	21,124	16,131	45,597	4,172,013

http://www.cso.ie/statistics/popnclassbyreligionandnationality2006.htm

Table 1.2 below illustrates that between 1986 and 1991 net migration into Ireland was an estimated negative 27000 people per year. Between 1991 and 1996 net migration was an estimated plus 2000 people per year. Between 1996 and 2002 it was plus 2600 per year and finally, between 2002 and 2006 it was plus 48000 per year (CSO *Commentary* No Year). We can further see the overall increase in in-migration into the Republic of Ireland in Table 1.2 below.

Table 1.2: Components of the Annual Population Change, 1987-2007

Year ending April	Components of Population change						
	Births	Deaths	Natural increase	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net migration	Population change
	000						
1987	61.2	32.2	29.0	17.2	40.2	-23.0	5.9
1988	57.8	31.6	26.2	19.2	61.1	-41.9	-15.8
1989	53.6	31.0	22.6	26.7	70.6	-43.9	-21.2
1990	51.9	32.8	19.1	33.3	56.3	-22.9	-3.7
1991	53.1	31.1	22.0	33.3	35.3	-2.0	19.9
1992	52.8	31.4	21.4	40.7	33.4	7.4	28.8
1993	50.4	30.4	20.0	34.7	35.1	-0.4	19.6
1994	49.1	32.6	16.6	30.1	34.8	-4.7	11.8
1995	48.4	31.2	17.2	31.2	33.1	-1.9	15.4
1996	48.8	32.0	16.7	39.2	31.2	8.0	24.8
1997	50.7	31.7	19.0	44.5	25.3	19.2	38.2
1998	52.7	31.2	21.5	46.0	28.6	17.4	38.8
1999	53.7	32.4	21.2	48.9	31.5	17.3	38.5
2000	54.0	32.1	21.8	52.6	26.6	26.0	47.9
2001	55.1	30.2	24.8	59.0	26.2	32.8	57.7
2002	58.1	29.3	28.8	66.9	25.6	41.3	70.0
2003	60.8	28.9	31.9	60.0	29.3	30.7	62.6
2004	62.0	28.6	33.3	58.5	26.5	32.0	65.3
2005	61.4	27.9	33.5	84.6	29.4	55.1	88.6
2006	61.2	27.0	34.2	107.8	36.0	71.8	106.0
2007[1]	65.8	27.0	38.8	109.5	42.2	67.3	106.1

Source http://www.cso.ie/releasespublications/documents/population/current/popmig.pdf

The majority of in-migration post-1995 occurs without public or political objection. In many cases, it was actually conceived of as a marvellous turn-around in Irish fortunes. Returning Irish emigrants were celebrated and held aloft as hard evidence of the success of the Irish economy and how far Irish society had progressed. The Irish economic miracle was fast becoming a model that developing countries around the world were seeking to emulate. The simple fact that people would actually want to come and live in Ireland was considered a triumph of economic prosperity.

In a rare moment of reflexivity at this point, the Irish State actually went so far as to financially support Irish emigrants abroad through the Dion fund and actively

encouraged their return. One such example was the Aisling: Return to Ireland Project that operated out of London, England. Aisling (the Irish word for 'dream') provided support for Irish emigrants who wished to return to Ireland on holidays or, indeed, permanently to live. It appeared that emigration in Ireland went from being a necessity to being a choice. This was a source of considerable pride and emblematic of the turnaround in Irish economic fortunes. This research focuses on one of the notable exceptions from this celebration of Irishness and economic prosperity. It concerns the *asylum-seeker* - the man, woman or child whose entry into Ireland triggered repulsion for some. This repulsion was clearly seen in the reaction among segments of the Irish public and in the racialisation of the asylum seekers by sections of the Irish State and Media.

Breen et al. (1990) argue that until the late 1950s Ireland was in some respects traditionalist both economically and culturally. In 1958 the policy of protectionism was removed as part of the first programme for economic expansion. This resulted in the long-term adoption of a macroeconomic policy that was underpinned by a focus on the capacity of Foreign Direct Investment to create jobs. Culturally there was a similar trend of isolation and then opening up. As late as 1987, Inglis noted the *moral monopoly* the Catholic Church exercised over norms and values in Irish society. An examination of 20th century censorship in cinema, health publications and books portrays a country that is at least overtly under the control of the Catholic Church (Fitzpatrick Dean 2004). Yet by 1998, Inglis's research was re-entitled *Moral Monopoly: The Rise and Fall of the Catholic Church in Modern Ireland* (Inglis 1998). It appeared that the Catholic Church and religiosity was in decline. Similarly, we can see in the case of film censorship, that the severe restrictions implemented at the

formation of the State largely disappeared during the 1960s when a more liberal policy was implemented (Rockett 2004).

Elsewhere we can see examples of how Ireland might be considered to be a traditionalist society in certain respects. There was a strong reliance upon agriculture that was underdeveloped and resulted in 'abysmal' output (Ó Gráda 1990:170). We can also point towards the waves of mass emigration up until the early 1990s (Fitzgerald and Lambkin 2007); clientelist and corrupt politics (Carty 1981); an overt insistence upon Catholic norms and mores (illegality of divorce, contraception and abortion); the insistence upon retaining and supporting the Irish language at all costs; and the persistent cultural conflict between rural/traditional and urban/modern residents as evidence of traditionalism. Cultural representations like soap operas were dominated by rural representations like "The Riordan's," "Glenroe" and "Bracken". It was not until 1989 that an urban soap opera, Fair City, came along (See Sheehan 1993). Equally radio soap operas were dominated by rural representations – The Kennedy's of Castleross (1955-1975) and Harbour Hotel. Of course, it is overly simplistic to suggest that there were no modernising tendencies in Irish society at this time. Equally, Irish culture was dissected by modernist tendencies. Writers like James Joyce and Samuel Beckett are a testament to this. Stage productions and their capacity to escape rigorous censorship are also evidence of such modernising tendencies (Fitzpatrick Dean 2004). Still this "late" development compared to the UK and large tracts of western Europe, makes the phenomenon of the Celtic Tiger all the more remarkable.

The 1990s and the beginning of the Celtic Tiger can be considered to be a rupture of this process whereby Irish society increasingly embraced a form of modernity in the guise of a neo-liberal economic project. This radical change is often referred to as the

Celtic Tiger but in this research is conceived of as process of ever-increasing rationalisation that resulted in a more pronounced divorce between the world of the subject and the world of the object (Touraine 1995). In this moment the object assumes priority over the subject. Modernity becomes equated with a neo-liberal mode of economic development that is characterised by rapacious post-fordist consumption patterns. Lyons et al. (2007) show how consumption patterns in Ireland converged with those of richer countries like Australia over the Celtic Tiger period. This convergence not only concerned the quantity of consumption undertaken but also the type/taste of consumption being undertaken. Cleary (2007:11) goes so far as to suggest that Irish consumer society and its antecedent neo-liberal economy were no longer concerned with the Republican ideals of equality and fraternity. The very idea of a Republic was dismissed in favour of the trappings associated with rapid economic growth. The Celtic Tiger period saw Irish society overtaken by the dual forces of market-led development and post-fordist consumption patterns and a deepening of the process of rationalisation. This latter process – an antithesis to the project of modernity but nonetheless cloaked as one– prioritised '...the search for pleasure, for social status and for profit or power' (Touraine 1995:103). This dominant identity essentially broke with the past/tradition and prioritised a present that is primarily defined through a particularly Western view of life-projects that are based in the accumulation and articulation of material resources.

It is for these reasons that I will insist that a reaction like that of the Irish State's to asylum-seekers in Ireland can be conceptualised as an *anthropoemic strategy*. An anthropoemic strategy is invoked by societies that wish to repel or exclude a perceived enemy or threat (Bauman 1992). The asylum-seeker in Ireland was perceived as a threat to the order of modernity and was excluded or 'vomited' from

society (Bauman in Werbner and Modood 1997:87). The State policies of deportation, dispersal and direct provision that are discussed below, provide us with ample evidence of this. The increased arrival of asylum-seekers confronted the Irish State with their recent past (R. Lentin 2001) and most crucially, I will argue, exposed ugly flaws in its then modes of economic and cultural development. Moreover, there is an exceptionally strong case to be made that the Irish State actively racialised the asylum-seeker.

Indeed, the 1990s marked the beginning of a very public racialisation of the asylum-seeker in the Republic of Ireland. This process has been extremely well documented and will be examined in more detail below (See Breen 2008; Fanning 2002a and 2002b; Garner 2004; Garner and Moran 2008; Harmony 1990; A. Lentin 2004, 2006 and 2008; R. Lentin 2001, 2002, 2004 and 2008; Loyal 2003; Loyal and Allen 2008; McVeigh 1996; Tannam 1998; and Marshall 2000). The consensus in the majority of the research on race and racism in Ireland is that the asylum-seeker in Ireland was actively racialised by the Irish State and to a lesser extent sections of the Irish media. What is less well documented in the Irish context is that the arrival of the asylum-seeker to Ireland coincides with the development of what I will argue below is a Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. Often referred to as an anti-racism movement in the majority of research (See A. Lentin 2002 and 2004), I argue along with A. Lentin (2004:307) that it has been greatly under-researched/theorised compared to its opposing force of institutional racism in Ireland. My work here is an attempt to begin to rectify the lack of research in the area.

Given the scale of this research and the sample it incorporates, the research focuses almost exclusively on what I coin the "Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement". I will explain in detail below why I conceptualise the groups in my sample as being

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'Pro-Asylum Seeker'. For the time being, it is crucial to recognise that these groups are a part of a much broader trend in Irish civil society towards actions that can be considered to be 'pro-asylum seeker' in orientation. For example, my research does not encompass formal organisations like the Immigrant Council of Ireland or the Irish Refugee Centre. These are just two examples of formal charitable institutions that play a crucial role in the field. Extrapolating once more, the groups that I examine can also be considered as part of a larger trend towards pro-migrant actions in Irish civil society. For example, Free Legal Aid Ireland and the Irish Council for Civil Liberties are two examples of the consolidation of a concern for migrant rights into all areas of Irish civil society. The Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement therefore needs to be understood within this broader context. However, it is in and of itself a distinct social phenomenon that deserves specific attention and a specific theoretical approach.

My research focuses upon grassroots groups for a number of key reasons. Firstly, and as we will see in more detail below, there is a tendency within social movement research to ignore less visible groups and furthermore, conflate the actions of more visible groups with the movement as a whole. I argue below that this is essentially a problem that arises out of a contestation of how to define what a social movement is. Theoretically then, there is the pressing concern of what constitutes a social movement and conversely, what does not constitute a social movement. Along with Eyerman and Jamison (1991), Melucci (1991) and Touraine (2000 and 2004), I argue that it is most useful to employ a strict and rigid definition of what a social movement is. Touraine (2004:718) argues:

> *"It seems to me that the notion of social movement should not be*
> *applied to just any collective action, or conflict, or even political*

initiative. It is perfectly acceptable to apply, to all forms of collective

action and conflict, analyses arising from what is called resource

mobilization – especially because such collective actions can also be

analysed in terms of research on participation in the political system.

There is no difficulty in principle, however, with applying this category

of study to all types of collective action."

This research will argue throughout that to label any kind of collective action or

protest as a social movement is to conflate different types of social action. In

overstretching the concept of social movement, we perhaps lose sight of the inherent

complexities that are evident in different forms of collective action. For example, the

role of an opponent is substantially different in a grassroots anti-racism group versus a

formal charitable institution. In the former, an opponent is crucial in the how the

group operates both internally and externally. The opponent is actively named and

appropriated a means of mobilisation as well being crucial to the formation of the

group's identity. In the latter, while an opponent often might exist they are not a

central feature of their activities. Often, in fact, such institutionalised groups in the

Irish case rely upon the state and/or European Union (E.U.) for funding. We will see

below that my respondents question if a group can truly challenge the state when they

are recipients of state funding. The approach to social movement analysis I propose

means that a social movement cannot exist without an opponent.

Touraine goes on to argue that our usage of the concept social movement should be

tempered by the proviso that we reserve the concept of "…social movement for a

collective action that challenges a mode of generalized social domination" (Touraine

2004). I contend that to conflate the concept of social movement with multiple types

of collective action causes us to lose sight of this key issue of contestation. In this

research, the relationship between the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement and its opponent the Irish state, is considered crucial. This relationship is a defining feature that allows us to understand the groups I examine as a social movement. Furthermore, I argue that it is only when we focus on this relationship that we can fully understand what the movement seeks to challenge or change.

This is a central feature of my theoretical approach that will be developed in much more detail below, where I will clearly show that the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement identified the Irish state as its key opponent. The movement did this for a number of key reasons. Firstly, during the Radical Anti-Racism and Anti-Deportation Phase, the groups involved argued that the Irish state was complicit in the racialisation of the asylum-seeker. Deportations were readily understood as acts of racism. There could be no other reason as to why the Irish state would want to deport these individuals, according to these two phases of mobilisation. Even in the second phase of mobilisation, that of the Multicultural Support Group, I observed a significant trend towards blaming the Irish state for the situation asylum-seekers faced in Ireland. Secondly, the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement is a fundamental challenge to the State's mode of development or as I will argue below, appropriation of Historicity. Therefore, I claim that it is impossible to fully understand the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement without fully understanding its relationship to the Irish State, its' key opponent. This is a significant departure from other approaches to understanding collective behaviour that will be discussed in detail in my literature review. It is also worthwhile noting that at this time in Ireland there was little in the way of a formalized far right opposition movement to asylum-seekers. One could argue that this lack of an organized and identifiable far-right solidified the movement's opposition to the Irish state.

I contend, along with Melucci (1985 and 1989), that the study of social movements is best reserved for actions that occur outside of the channels of institutionalized politics. I therefore sought in this research to uncover hidden or submerged resistance to the Irish state's racialisation of the asylum-seeker. This is not to say that there were no other forms of action in the field that concerned asylum-seekers or in ways challenged the actions of the Irish state. This was clearly the case. It is more so a process of conceptual distinction. The term social movement should be strictly used and therefore I focused on largely informal groups, which were challenging the general direction of change in Irish society by contesting the State's approach to the asylum process in Ireland. Again, and in keeping with my definition of what a social movement is, I will argue below the movement was as a result a challenge to the instrumentalisation of Irish society.

In Chapter 1, I will firstly explain and evaluate Alain Touraine's concept of Historicity and Alberto Melucci's Collective Identity. I will argue that Collective Identity adds a much-needed processual element to Touraine's Identity, Opposition and Totality framework for understanding social movements. I will argue that while both Touraine and Melucci are often considered to be New Social Movement (NSM) theorists, the theorisation of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement that I propose is not strictly a NSM approach. In outlining Historicity and Collective Identity I will simultaneously put forward a critique of the dominant paradigms within social movement research, namely Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT), Collective Behaviour Theory (CBT), Political Opportunity Theory (POT) and Frame Alignment. The nub of this critique will concern the dominant idea within these theories that the social movement participant is either inherently rational or irrational. This will lead us to the second aim of Chapter 1. I will put forward an alternative image of the social

movement participant, that of Touraine's Subject. Moreover, I will argue that this

Subject, whom for Touraine represents the struggle against the increasing divorce

between the objective and subjective worlds, is a very useful tool for conceiving of

the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in a novel fashion. Lastly, this chapter

will concern itself with the key writings on race and anti-racism in Ireland and anti-

racism in Europe and Australia. These works provide a crucial reference and point of

comparison for the research at hand. I will show that the discussion on race and anti-

racism in Ireland is overwhelmingly focused on the idea of a 'racist state'. Indeed, this

focus is repeated in the key theorisations of anti-racism in Ireland. I will argue that the

more cultural approach to understanding anti-racism being advocated here makes a

significant contribution to the overall understanding of anti-racism in Ireland.

Chapter 2 explores my methodological approach. In this chapter, I present the key

questions that I wanted this research to answer. I also describe how I came to the

conclusion that despite my reliance upon Touraine and Melucci for my theoretical

framework, their research methods for investigating social movements were

unsuitable for my purposes. Nonetheless, I go on to present the case for the overall

qualitative approach that this research takes. In this section I introduce the ideas of

personal and epistemological reflexivity and outline how these and a dialogic

perspective shaped my research. This theme is continued later on when I discuss the

practicalities and relevance of choosing to present my data in a narrative form. My

difficulties in choosing appropriate methods are then explored and accounted for

before I outline the methods chosen – semi-formal interviews, participant observation

and documentary analysis. Each of these methods is assessed in a practical sense and I

describe my own experiences of using them. I then address the issue of sampling

within the context of the research and describe how I constructed my primary and

secondary samples. I outline the specific groups that my primary and secondary samples are composed of and then categorise them based upon specific criteria. At this point, I also discuss the ethical issues that were a part of this research. Next I turn to the issue of presenting my findings in a narrative from. I discuss the key virtues of this approach and argue that it allows me to further incorporate a dialogic approach into this research. Finally, I end my methods section with a significant discussion on the issue of generalisability in qualitative research. I describe how the concepts of moderatum generalisation and analytical generalisation were employed so as to enable the findings and theoretical framework of this research to be applied in other settings. I then go on to describe what these settings look like.

In Chapter 3, I present a narrative of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. This narrative begins with a brief introduction to the migratory and demographic changes that occurred in Ireland from the early 1990s onwards. I will also briefly examine the legislative and policy context concerning migration at the time. I pay special attention to the laws and policies that most directly impacted upon asylum-seekers. The story of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement begins with a short historical introduction into the field of Irish anti-racisms. I will show how the movement is preceded by a series of actions and events that we can describe as concomitant to the overall aims of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. The significance of the Irish Traveller Movement and the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement amongst others is dealt with here. I then deal with each phase of the movement in succession. The first phase of Radical Anti-Racism (1997 onward) will be introduced and I provide an account of the development and activities of the Anti-Racism Campaign (ARC), Immigrant Solidarity (IS), Mid-West Against Racism (MWAR) and Residents Against Racism (RAR). This sections ends with an account of the

demise of ARC, IS and MWAR. The next phase of mobilisation – the Multicultural Support Group (1999/2000 onwards) – is described through the examples of Donegal Town Asylum Seekers Support Group (DTASSG), Nasc (the Irish for 'link') and New Horizon. I then outline the final phase of mobilisation that this research examines, that of the Anti-Deportation Group (2002 onwards). The examples of the Coalition Against the Deportation of Irish Children (CADIC) and the Anti-Deportation Campaign (ADC) are used to illustrate this phase of mobilisation. I then provide an account of Harmony – an anti-racist group that began life in 1984, over a decade before the groups that compose the majority of this research. This narrative section concludes on a point of conceptualisation when I explain why I term the movement as "Pro-Asylum" and not as Anti-Racist or Pro-Migrant or Pro-Immigration.

In Chapter 4, I will analyse the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement using Touraine's concept of Historicity. I will show how Radical Anti-Racism and its opponent the Irish State struggle over the means through which the asylum-seeker can be integrated into Irish society. This struggle is seen to largely take place at a formal ideological level and it will be argued that both the State and Radical Anti-Racism appropriate the asylum seeker for the purposes of ideological work. The asylum-seeker in this case became a *sublime object of ideology* (Zizek 1997). I argue that this is a key moment that reinforces Touraine's idea that social movements are conflicts that are played out between opponents that actually share much in common.

Next, I examine the Multicultural Support Group and argue that in a much more explicit fashion it too can be seen to share values with the Irish State. I will outline how the Irish State practices a form of liberal multiculturalism (Pieterese 2001) and that this same type of multiculturalism is evident in Multicultural Support Groups. The results of this multicultural practice are twofold and will be examined in detail.

Firstly, the members of New Horizon and DTASSG experience what I term 'unfulfilled reciprocity'. The relationships that they construct with asylum-seekers in the context of the formal group are often times the cause of frustration and disillusionment. Secondly, the asylum-seekers themselves experience what I call 'disintegration'. Instead of becoming active members of these groups, asylum-seekers are not seen to participate to any great extent. Lastly, I will examine the case of the Anti-Deportation Group and argue that in key respects it differs from the preceding two phases. Foremost amongst these differences are the lack of a political foundation to the groups and the absence of an integrationist project. They are integrationist only to the extent that they wish to remove a key barrier to integration, namely the threat and practice of deportation.

Chapter 5 will examine the process of change that I observed in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement between 1994 and 2004. I will argue that the process of collective identity construction is crucial in explaining the process of change in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement – the movement from Radical Anti-Racism to the Multicultural Support Group to the Anti-Deportation Group. I will show how collective identity formation occurred outside of the formal ideological structures that were so evident in Radical Anti-Racism. The formation of a collective identity, especially among reformist members that were not aligned to a political group, allowed them to reframe the movement and suggest other avenues of action. In the case of IS this directly led to the creation of Nasc, a Multicultural Support Group. This leads me to argue that change typically happened at an informal level in Radical Anti-Racism and that it was crucial in its overall demise. Within the context of the Multicultural Support Group I argue that the process of collective identity construction occurred in a similar manner. Multiculturalism was adopted as a formal

ideology and in many ways can be seen to act as a utopian ideology. This did not permit actions that were critical of the State to take place within the context of the group. The process of collective identity construction allowed reformist-minded members to take part in actions that were not permitted under the formal guise of multiculturalism. Most notable among these actions was helping prepare asylum-seekers for their case hearings. This process reinserts the idea of an opponent into the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement and allows us to include this phase as an important part of the overall movement.

Chapter 6 presents the argument that the case of the Anti-Deportation Group phase marked a distinct repoliticisation of the movement. Both ADC and CADIC can be seen to construct their identities in opposition to the two phases that preceded them. I argue that this phase of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement can be succinctly understood through the lens of Touraine's Subject as Social Movement. Indeed, I propose that the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement can be seen to be representative of Touraine's Subject in each of its phases. Each phase concerned itself with the instrumentalisation of the asylum-seeker and sought solutions to this problem, be they anti-racist, multicultural or anti-deportation. Each phase was centrally concerned with constructing a framework through which the asylum-seeker can successfully construct their own life-projects free from processes of instrumentalisation. It is this central idea that gives these groups a sense of an overall identity as a social movement. Finally, the analysis returns to the case of Harmony. Harmony in the mid to late 1980s successfully created a microcosm in which people could be, in which the Subject could flourish, although this did not transfer to the wider society. The Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement I conclude took up the mantle of Harmony's work and faced very similar challenges to Harmony.

The Conclusion assesses the main findings of this research and their significance to the wider Sociological literature is evaluated. I will argue that the research makes a valuable contribution to the fields of social movement research and anti-racism. The fact that I empirically uncover a social movement that existed across the Republic of Ireland is significant in and of itself. My analysis of the movement's historicity and the process of collective identity construction affords us an excellent insight into this movement. The processes of conflict that were a key aspect to the internal workings of groups within the movement provide us with a key means of understanding how the movement developed and changed over a period of ten years. In examining the movement from the perspective of historicity, I argue that the movement and its opposition were more closely linked than first appearances might suggest. Moreover, in searching for a central identity to the movement I uncovered the key process of subjectivation that allows us to conceptualise the movement as a struggle against the growing instrumentalisation of the subjective world in Ireland.

Adopting a social movement approach to the study of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in Ireland affords us a unique analytical vantage point. At the core of my analysis is the dual desire to describe the movement and to account or explain the movement and its field of action. The former will provide the reader with a detailed historical account of how the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement developed between 1994 and 2004. In building upon this and in attempting to explain the movement I adopt an approach that in crucial respects differs from the dominant perspectives in Ireland or Europe to date. In the literature that focuses on explaining the existence of racism and anti-racism in Ireland, the groups that I examine are often conceived of as being 'anti-racist'. I will argue that the movement I uncover is best conceived of as being a Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement instead of

specifically Anti-Racist or Pro-Migrant or Pro-Immigration. This reconceptualisation is something that organically occurred as my analysis of the fieldwork progressed. The groups that I examined orientated themselves around asylum-seekers and not other forms of migrants. There was little evidence to show that the overall movement and its participants actively engaged with or believed in ideologies of race, anti-racism, multiculturalism, interculturalism, ethnicity, and hybridity, etc. Instead, such terms existed in the background and while they were crucial in the formative stages of each group, they tended to become uncontested terrains as the groups progressed. I will now move on to discuss the key literature in the field of social movements and racism and anti-racism in Ireland and elsewhere.

Chapter One: Literature Review:

1.1 Introduction

It is somewhat obligatory when dealing with the topic of social movement theory to briefly sketch its chronological development since its inception. When deciding how to present the main trends in social movement theory, the existing literature presents us with varying models and excellent synopses (See Buechler 2000; Crossley 2002; Diani 1992; Eyerman and Jamison, 1991; Scott 1990; and Tilly 2004). In this section I will very briefly deal with over 200 years of social movement theorising. Then, rather than cover old ground and rehash this history and its key phases in detail, I will incorporate a critique of key paradigmatic approaches like RMT and POT into a discussion of the works of Alain Touraine and to a lesser extent Alberto Melucci. In critiquing these paradigms I will also highlight the strengths of Touraine and Melucci and argue why their ideas are most appropriate to helping me answer my key research questions. I will also not cover the old ground of the split between US and European research on social movements that is better outlined elsewhere than I can do here (See Amenta and Young 1999; Buechler 2000; Carroll and Ratner 1996; Della Porta and Diani 1999 and 2006; Dodd 1999 and Whittier 1997).

I will then explain and examine Touraine's idea of historicity. I will argue that this concept allows us to better understand the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement precisely because it understands a movement in terms of a field of action that emphasises contestation or struggle. I will show that other approaches to social movement analysis tend to ignore or downplay a field of action and the idea of an opponent. Historicity allows me to begin to answer my first key research question of what the movement actually means in the context of Irish society.

In this section I will also outline and explain Melucci's idea of collective identity. I will argue that the idea of collective identity allows me to build upon Touraine's work and more accurately describe and analyse how identity is actually constructed in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. Collective identity enables me to focus on the level of identity construction in individual groups and how that identity is constructed at formal and informal levels. Simultaneously, it adds a much-needed component to Touraine's model of historicity that helps me to explain how change occurs within a movement. As we saw above, the issue of change is a key concern of my analysis of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement.

I will then present an examination of the specific means through which Alain Touraine currently understands contemporary movements, that of the Subject as Social Movement. This examination raises a key issue, namely how researchers want to understand the motivations and actions of the participants of social movements. In much of the competing literature on social movements like RMT, CBT and PPT the movement participant has historically been treated either as straightforwardly irrational or rigorously rational. I will show how Touraine's approach allows us to broaden and complicate the image of the individual actor in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. It also at the same time allows me to broach my final question, is there a unifying aspect to the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement? For Touraine, the unifying aspect to social movements in the 21st century, indeed what makes a social movement, is its recourse to the image of the Subject and its expression of a will to individuation. I will critically examine this claim and its antecedent concept of subjectivation suggesting that both processes are extremely useful to understanding the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement.

Next, I will pay specific attention to how race and anti-racism have been understood in the Irish context and how anti-racism movements specifically in the European and to lesser extent Australian contexts have been analysed. This will provide me with an excellent backdrop to which I can compare and contrast the findings of the research at hand.

The final section of the literature review will illustrate how the paradigms of CBT, RMT and NSM are largely inadequate when attempting to answer the questions that this research raises. This section serves to specifically highlight how the key theoretical weakness of these paradigms would manifest themselves in the context of the questions I ask of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. I do not entirely dismiss these approaches and when appropriate suggest that future research could benefit from incorporating certain aspects of these paradigms. Indeed, more recent research like Cullen's (2009), shows that approaches like PPT can provide interesting results in the case of Pro-Migrant NGOs. Still, I will argue, as outlined in the introduction, that the concept of social movement employed here, is better suited to the analysis of grassroots movements. This is not to say that it could not be extended to the study of more formal and institutionalised organisations and I will explain how this might happen when I examine the issue of generalisability and its relationship to my theoretical framework in Chapter 3.

1.2 Key Directions in Social Movement Theorising:

Buechler (2000) contends that there are five key paradigmatic approaches to the study of social movements. The first, CBT, assumes a functionalist approach to how society works. Tracing this paradigm back to LeBon (1960) in the 1800s we can see that social movements and their participants are theorised as irrational responses to

societal strains. The earliest writings tend towards understanding mass demonstrations, riots and gatherings, social movements, panics and crazes as *contagious* affairs that attracted the *irrational* in society. The idea of the crowd was reified and attributed the capacity to make even the most rational individual lose control and slip into irrational behaviour. This theory of collective behaviour has persisted in social movement research and is seen most notably in the mid to late twentieth century in the work of Park (1967), Smelser (1971), and Blumer (1957) and Turner and Killian (1987).

The next major paradigm within social movement research is RMT. RMT posits a rational social movement participant. McCarthy and Zald (1977) were integral to the creation of the RMT approach to understanding collective behaviour. They define a social movement as "…a set of opinions and beliefs in a population, which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society" (McCarthy and Zald 1977:1217-18). This definition is far more concise/restricted than CBT's definition. However, I will argue below that it is still far too broad. RMT has a tendency to focus on how social movements work from an organisational perspective and much of its research confines itself to answering this complicated and interesting question. In the Irish context RMT has not received a lot of attention. Connolly (1996) uses RMT and elements of POT to analyse the Irish Women's Movement. Later, Connolly (2002) incorporates RMT with NSM in her wide-ranging analysis of the Irish Women's Movement. Elsewhere (See Connolly and Hourigan 2006), RMT receives only so much attention as to dismiss it. We are far more likely to encounter some form of NSM analysis in the Irish case.

As a paradigmatic giant RMT has found its dominance significantly challenged by the next paradigmatic shift, that of POT, or Political Process Theory (PPT). Proponents of

these approaches have tended use PPT and POT interchangeably (Meyer 2004). Meyer (2004:125) suggests that PPT and POT focus on the "…interaction of a social movement within its context". The context tends to be political where social movements rely upon opportunities in the political sphere that are conducive for mobilisation. There is a strict causal relationship between political opportunity and social movement activity. A classic example in the Irish case might perhaps be the relationship between Pro-Life and Pro-Choice movement activity and government-sanctioned referenda. The structural embeddedness of social movements in a political field of action is an advance on the RMT approach. RMT typically understands the movement as an isolated yet rational unit dependent upon the accumulation of external resources. In a similar fashion, the movement in PPT and POT is still dependent on external causal factors all be they political opportunities.

The next key paradigmatic shift, Frame Analysis, is closely linked to both PPT/POT and RMT. As Benford and Snow (2000:611) remark, "…framing processes have become to be regarded, alongside resource mobilisation and political opportunity processes, as a central dynamic in understanding the character and course of social movements". For example Faulsen and Glumm's (1995) analysis of the reform of private psychiatric hospitals in Texas incorporates, RMT, POT and Frame Analysis. In Frame Analysis "…movement actors are viewed as signifying agents actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders or observers" (Benford and Snow 2000:611). Social movements are the carriers of a logic of signification that is tangential to the construction of a social reality. All social movements produce what are termed 'collective action frames'. These collective action frames can differ from group to group and in cases challenge other existing frames in circulation. Thus, Benford and Snow (2000:614) conceive of

framing as "…an active, processual phenomenon that implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction…" A social movement in this sense contests a version of reality by creating its own version.

The 'dramaturgy' of social movements is thus played out at the symbolic level of ideas and meanings. Framing tends to focus on these meanings or frames as given and rarely concerns itself with the actual process of frame construction. Tangentially, this leads to the reification of the object/frame itself and it stands as a living/breathing thing outside of its relationship to the human agency that constructed it. Benford (1997:418) notes, this leads to "… a tendency to *anthropomorphosize*…and [a] *neglect of human agency*…" The neglect of human agency is also emphasised when Framing theorists are criticised for downplaying or ignoring the role of affective action and the role of emotions (Jasper 1998). Returning to the underlying issue of a Rational Actor Model, Jasper (1998) notes how the use of emotion is conflated to the use of irrationality. Because irrationality does not exist in the rational actor model, emotions are a nonfactor for much of the work that utilises Framing.

The final paradigm that concerns us here is NSM. NSM theory developed out of the central idea that advanced Western societies have reached a point in their development that can be said to post-industrial (Bell 1999 and Touraine 1971 and 1988) or post-material (Inglehart 1981). Social movements no longer interest themselves with issues concerning the distribution and redistribution of wealth and resources but instead focus on the realms of culture and identity. As Melucci notes, the rise of NSMs coincides with the "...black and civil rights campaigns, student and youth movements, feminism and the peace and ecology movements" (1989:1). Such movements, according to Melucci, stand in stark contrast to the workers movement where the focus was primarily on "… the production and distribution of material

goods and resources" (1989:3). NSM research has a tendency to focus on urban movements to the detriment of rural collective behaviour (Tovey 2006). It also tends towards studying movements that are in many cases manifestations of the politics of the Left (Connolly and Hourigan 2006:9). Both of these issues are extremely relevant to the research at hand. I examine both the rural and urban aspects of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. Moreover, I closely analyse the role that the Left had to play in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement but also highlight the extent to which this movement is not simply a movement of the Left.

NSMs are presented as standing in stark comparison to earlier social movements that are sometimes conceptualised as Old Social Movements (OSMs). Typically, the labour movement of the 19th and early 20th century is cited as a prime example of an OSM. This dichotomy created a swell of long-historical research that has long since shown this division to be largely false (Barker and Dale 1998; D'Anieri, Ernst and Kier 1990:445; and Olofsson 1998). For example, Smyth (2006:120) convincingly concludes that while the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland shares many of the key characteristics of NSMs, it was also "…a continuation of a type of protest that dominated the political arena in nineteenth-century Ireland [like]… the mass movement for Catholic Emancipation in the 1820s". Equally, Hannagan (1998) notes that researchers of transnational movements tend to overemphasise current more recent developments in communication technologies compared to past technological developments. This again raises the issue of novelty and the idea of the myopia of the present (Hannigan 1991). Sociology and NSM theorists in this context are accused of being overly occupied with the present as a unit of analysis. Calhoun (1993) concludes that NSM theorists simply rediscovered "New Social Movements" in the late 1960s.

I have briefly traced the key paradigmatic shifts that can be found in social movement research. I will expand on what I consider to be their main weaknesses below. The work of Touraine and Melucci that I will now primarily concentrate upon is typically held up as a prime example of NSM theorising. Indeed, Melucci is accredited with introducing the term in the 1980s (Gilbert 1998). Yet, it is simply caricature to dismiss either Touraine or Melucci a NSM theorist. Their extensive works and especially Touraine's, belie this label. Even compared to one another they are strikingly different. Melucci tends toward a postmodern and social psychological understanding of social movements while Touraine's project remains firmly entrenched in the project of modernity. Nonetheless, I will propose a theoretical model that incorporates key aspects of their work and argue that this is a fruitful manner in which to analyse the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in Ireland.

1.3 Touraine and Historicity:

The sociology of Alain Touraine can be described as an actor-orientated sociology. Its emphasis upon the role of social movements and hence conflict within society moves us away from consensus based models of interpretation (Knobl 1999:404). There is a strong trend within social movement analysis that argues that societal conflict is a manifestation of a systemic dysfunction. Of particular note here are functionalist and structural functionalist models that posit consensus as a desirable societal outcome. In social movement theory this manifests itself strongly in both RMT and CBT approaches. Collective action and social movements are in many cases seen as the undesirable outcome of strains that occur at a structural level. For example, Kornblum (2008) argues that LeBon's work in the 1800s on crowd behaviour followed Durkheim's model of anomie. Social actors, acting in a vacuum of norms, become involved in crowds that are characterised by "…impulsiveness, irritability, incapacity

to reason, the absence of judgement and the critical spirit…" (LeBon 1960:17).

Moving forward to the mid-twentieth century we the see central figures of CBT –

Park, Smelser, Blumer, and Turner and Killian – all assume the breakdown thesis

perspective that Durkheim's anomie presupposes (Useem 1998:215). In the context of

this research to assume that the situation of asylum-seekers and the mobilisation of

the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement is simply the system experiencing

disequilibrium is to miss the point altogether. To assume that the participants in this

research are impulsive or incapable of reason is at odds with the findings of this

research.

For Touraine, the very idea of a social movement is far more significant than that

which we find in other such paradigms. For Touraine a social movement is a

purposeful proponent of social change that potentially contains the seeds for a whole

new type of society. In *The Self-Production of Society*, Touraine makes the rather

grand statement that,

> "*A social movement is the midwife of a new society freed from the*
>
> *contradictions of the society that preceded it… A popular movement is*
>
> *thus not analyzed as the agent of a future society but as the champion of a*
>
> *counter model of society, placed in the same field of historicity as the*
>
> *dominant model*" (Touraine 1977:331).

In stark contrast, Parent Teacher Association's according to RMT theorists like

McAdam and McCarthy and Zald, can be understood as social movements.

Elsewhere, new religious groups are the focus of RMT and are claimed to be social

movements (Bromley and Shupe Jnr. 1980). Piven and Cloward (1991) and Jenkins

(1983) argue that this results from the conflation of the process of collective action

with the concept of social movement. This is unsurprising given McCarthy and Zald's broad definition of what a social movement is: '...a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents a preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society' (1977:1216). The emphasis upon 'changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society' means that almost any collective grievance can be considered to be a social movement in the RMT model. I seek to understand social movements in this research as being far more significant for a given society than we typically find in RMT, CBT and POT. I thus conceive of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement as a challenge to Irish society. It is much more than simply the result of a political opportunity or the sum of its resources and it is certainly worthy of the focus that I place upon it in this research.

In order to highlight the extent to which social movements are embedded in their field of action, Touraine (1977) puts forward the idea that social movements operate within the context of an Identity, an Opposition and a Totality. Straightforwardly, Identity refers to the identity that the movement has of itself. I will examine this in more detail below in terms of collective identity. Opposition refers to that which the movement is in conflict with and Totality refers to the fact that a movement is cognisant of the overall stakes of the conflict. These elements operate alongside one another in a relational sense.

The idea of Totality is closely related to the concept of Historicity. The stakes of any movement for Touraine can be found in an analysis of how a movement understands Historicity. Historicity can be defined as "…the set of cultural, cognitive, economic, and ethical models by means of which a collectivity sets up relations with its environment..." (Touraine 1998:40). The constituent aspects of a movement's Identity

are composed of these four relational models. Crucially, by focussing on the level of historicity I explicitly place the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement within the context of a field of action that also contains an opponent, the Irish State. It is not possible to begin to fully understand why the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement is what it is at any point without taking this relationship of contestation into account. Both Touraine (1981; 1995; and 2000) and Melucci (1996:355-6) contend that any social movement is defined by a conflictual interaction with an opposition in which the meaning of shared values and beliefs are contested. Chapter Five will clearly show how closely related the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement and its opposition the Irish State are.

Touraine argues that Sociology, as a discipline, should primarily be concerned with the study of social relations. Sociology's main research method must "…make possible the direct observation and analysis of these relations' (Touraine 1970:139). These social relations for Touraine, much like Melucci, are to be found below the surface of everyday life in relationships that are subject to domination and order by those in control of the society's historicity. A movement represents an attempt by individuals acting outside of and below the political sphere to wrest control of historicity from its opponent. This is radically different from PPT. In PPT, for example, this relationship of a movement and its opposition is reduced to a relationship between those who have political currency and those who do not. According to Jenkins et al, "The underlying assumption [of POT] is that protest is "simply politics by other means" (Gamson 1990:139)…" (2003:278). In fact, movements only occur in as much as the political opportunity to act is made available to the movement (Goodwin and Jasper 1999). This research will clearly show that it is not possible to reduce the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement to purely

political terms. For example, I will outline the historical precedents for such a movement in Irish society.

Touraine sets up a dichotomy of the control of historicity by a ruling class and protest by an excluded section of society that aims at the (re)capturing of historicity. This struggle takes place not in a functionally determined society, but rather in a society "…working upon itself and building up its practices on the basis of its own historicity and its class conflicts" (Touraine 1981:142). A social movement in Touraine's sense is a total questioning of a society or "…the orientations of the systems of historical action" (Touraine 1977:331). In setting the bar so high for what can and cannot be a social movement Touraine in his early work actually creates the problem that social movements are empirically difficult to observe because the reaching of social movement status is so complex. In fact, this leaves Touraine (1981) having to create a research method that he coins Sociological Intervention. Its purpose is to facilitate a process of movement self-analysis over a series of stages or *flexions* in a social movement. By the end of a Sociological Intervention the movement should be able clearly outline the nature of its relationship with Historicity and its opposition. In the last flexion of *conversion* the movement, according to Touraine,

> *… is no merely longer reliving the general problems of a real historical struggle; it is now moving towards an analysis of the social movement…it no longer analyses the past; it explores the possibility of a social movement, and, more concretely, the possibility of overcoming a crisis or of attaining a higher level of action and mobilisation* (1981:169).

The Solidarity movement in Poland in the 1980s and the Anti-Nuclear

Movement in France in the 1980s both became sites where Touraine (1983a and

1983b) sought to identify his total social movement.

Touraine clearly sets the parameters for what can and cannot be a social movement

very high. This obviously creates a problem within the context of the research at hand.

It was not feasible to conduct a Sociological Intervention on the Grassroots Pro-

Asylum Seeker Movement and I will discuss why this was the case in the

Methodology section. It is also questionable that the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker

Movement could ever possibly reach this elevated and exalted status of the historical

actor that Touraine sought in the 1970s and 1980s. Yet, as we will be shown below,

the concept of Historicity as an analytical tool still holds much potential within the

context of social movement research. Moreover, Touraine's work has moved on

considerably since the 1970s and 1980s and one no longer finds the bar set so high.

Indeed, one might argue that his work moved on precisely because he set the bar so

high. What I will claim below is that the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement is

an example of Touraine's Subject as Social Movement and as such, is representative

of the defining societal conflict that he today observes : "The central conflict in our

society is being waged, according to my analysis, by a subject struggling against the

triumph of the market and technologies, on the one hand, and communitarian

authoritarian powers, on the other." (2000b:89)

1.4 Collective Identity:

Before we discuss and expand upon this aspect of Touraine's more recent work, we

need to expand upon the idea of movement identity discussed above by examining the

concept of collective identity. Touraine's concept of identity in his IOT model is a

slippery one, precisely because he spends little time elucidating how a movement's identity is constructed. Melucci (1996:67) argues, "In the case of Touraine, identity is simply taken as given, as a sort of an essence of the movement…" Touraine focuses more so on identity as a product rather than identity as a process (Flesher Fominaya 2010). Similarly in Frame Analysis, there is a focus on the frame as a static object rather than on the process that led to that frame being produced (Benford 1997:416). Collective Identity offers us a much more definable means of understanding and uncovering the processes involved in the collective construction of a "we" that complements and also considerably adds to Touraine's idea of Identity above. As Cerulo (1997:386) points out, collective identity is closely related to the ongoing attempt within Sociology to create a conceptual framework that can explain – at the very simplest level – the existence and function of social action within a group setting. Cerulo cites the examples of Durkheim's 'collective conscience' and Marx's 'class consciousness' among others as examples of influences on the idea of collective identity. Indeed, it is obvious in our discussion of Touraine above that Marx's class-consciousness plays a formative role in his IOT framework.

Melucci (1985 and 1989) provides us with the most comprehensive inquiry into the nature and function of collective identity within collective action. Before we examine this idea in detail it is first useful to understand what Melucci understands a social movement to be. Melucci's definition of a social movement is much more useful and practical compared to Touraine's definition above in the context of this research:

> *A movement is the mobilisation of a collective actor (i) defined by specific*
> *solidarity, (ii) engage in a conflict with an adversary for the*
> *appropriation and control of resources valued by both of them, (iii) and*

whose action entails a breach of the limits of compatibility of the system

within which the action itself takes place (Melucci 1996:29-30).

This definition is strikingly similar to Touraine's IOT rubric for social

movement action, although it lessens the stakes of a social movement from the

level of achieving the status of a historical actor to the idea of a *breach*.

However, like in the case of Touraine, the idea of an opponent remains crucial

to Melucci's overall idea of a social movement and collective identity.

Melucci suggests that, "Collective identity is an interactive and shared definition

produced by several interacting individuals who are concerned with the orientations

of their action as well as the field of opportunities and constraints within which their

action takes place" (1989:34). There is no collective identity without constraints or

more simply put, an opponent. The role of a struggle is crucially important. Again,

this is similar to Touraine's IOT framework above but we are not compelled to seek a

historical element to the social action that we observe as we are with Touraine. As

Lefebvre notes, in what could be considered predictive of some of the central

claims/tenets of NSM theory (See Melucci 1989:40-45),

> "*Contestation is first a refusal to be integrated, with full awareness of*
>
> *what integration entails with respect to humiliation and disassociation.*
>
> *Contestation is an all-inclusive, total rejection of experienced or*
>
> *anticipated forms of alienation… It is a deliberate refusal to be co-*
>
> *opted… Contestation is by definition radical. It does not arise out of a*
>
> *partial 'subject' or out of fragmentation. It derives its radical character*
>
> *from the fact that it originates in the depths, beneath the roots of organic,*
>
> *institutional social life- below the "base". Contestation thus brings to*

light its hidden origins; and it surges up from these depths to the political

summits, which it also illuminates by rejecting them" (1969:67).

We must emphasise this point that a collective identity is in part constructed and continually manipulated by its creators through a relationship with an opponent. In RMT, for example, we simply do not see a similar emphasise upon opposition (Peckham 1998). In our case here, this would mean ignoring a large aspect of how the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement constructs its identity.

Again like Touraine's IOT framework, for Melucci the idea of an opponent does not merely suggest an antagonistic binary relationship, but instead a relationship of contestation that is based in disputed definitions of the stakes at hand. Thus, for example, a collective identity of any given social movement exists in tandem and in opposition to its adversary and hence Touraine's crucial notion and one which Melucci alludes to, of a "shared field of action". In the case of this research, over the course of ten years, I emphasise that the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement and Irish State existed in a shared field of action. Melucci further expands upon this idea suggesting that,

> "…*the inclusion of the social field as part of the movement construction*
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> *and it means that beyond the formal definitions (speech, documents,*
>
> *opinions of participants), there is always an active negotiation, an*
>
> *interactive work among individuals, groups or parts of the movement.*
>
> *This shifts attention from the top to the bottom of collective action and it*
>
> *does not only consider the most visible forms of action or the leaders'*
>
> *discourse. It looks to the more invisible or hidden forms and tries to listen*
>
> *to the most silent voices…*"

This definition necessitates that we firstly focus on the actual process of construction of collective identity and secondly, focuses on the producers of collective identity at all levels, be they leaders or by logic, so-called followers. In approaches to social movement analysis there is a tendency to concentrate the level analysis on elite SMOs to the detriment of smaller, less well-known groups. Touraine is as guilty as any other researcher in this respect. His critics see this exclusion of smaller SMOs from Touraine's analysis of collective action as a weakness. Moreover, Hannigan (1985:446) notes, "The most serious gap in Touraine's action theory… is the failure to recognise the role of social movement organisations and of organisational structure in determining the fate of the social movement". As Bell (2001:187) points out, Touraine in the 1990s goes so far as to suggest that a social movement "… was no longer to be found in organisations". Hence, his propensity to refer to generalised notions like the Women's Movement or the Environmental Movement or larger better-known groups like *Sans Papiers* in France.

Similarly, there is a tendency in RMT, PPT and Framing to solely analyse SMOs to the detriment of the overall movement (See Benford 1993; Berbrier 1998; Cornfield and Fletcher 1988; Hflemar 1996; Zavestoskie et al 2004; McCaffrey and Keys 2000; McCauley 2008; Miceli 2005; Mooney and Hunt 1996; and Swart 1995). This research seeks to establish a more balanced approach by concentrating both on well-known SMOs and less well-known SMOs. The latter in cases might be considered unimportant but this research will show that they are crucial sites of action. I also focus on the broader Tourainian idea that there is an overall movement. By seeking a more rounded approach the research here can be likened to other work on social movements that incorporates aspects of different paradigms or seeks a sense of best practice. Indeed, many authors now consider this to be a prerequisite of social

movement research (See for example; Bernstein 1997; Esterberg 1994; Faulsen and Glumm 1995; Klandermans 1984; Steinberg 1998 and Vasi 2006).

Returning to Melucci's definition of collective identity above, it thirdly narrows our analysis of a social movement to the 'social field' or in Touraine's terminology above the 'field of action' that it operates in. This field of action contains two key aspects. On the one hand, it refers to the space of interaction between a movement and institutions/organisations. On the other, it refers to a mode of societal development or the current typology of development of a given society. Touraine (1977:322) contends that, '…the object of sociological analysis can never be the movement itself: it must be the field of historical action in which the social movement is one of the actors.' Again emphasising the relational aspect of Touraine's concept of a social movement we can highlight Polletta and Jasper's assertion that collective identity in and of itself is a relational category: "…collective identity…[is]… an individual's cognitive, moral and emotional connection with a broader community, practice or institution. It is a perception of a shared status or relation, which may be imagined rather than experienced directly…" (2001:285) Broadening this notion of relational interaction Polletta and Jasper conclude,

> *It [collective identity] is fluid and relational, emerging out of interactions*
> *with a number of different audiences (bystanders, allies, opponents, news*
> *media, state authorities), rather than fixed. It channels words and actions,*
> *enabling some claims and deeds but deligitimating others. It provides*
> *categories by which individuals divide up and make sense of the world*
> *(2001:298).*

In key respects, this is where collective identity builds upon a key weakness of Touraine's earlier idea of Identity. In the model of IOT there is the implication that identity within a movement exists in terms of a hierarchy. The closer to the top of this hierarchy a movement is, the more successful the movement will be. The success or otherwise of a movement is then solely linked to its capacity to identity build. I also suggest that at some point identity becomes fixed and immutable. The result of this is that Touraine's conflict model becomes teleological – a point of change is realised and there is no capacity for change beyond that. The research here shows that it is much more fruitful to understand identity construction as a fluid and ongoing process. The concept of collective identity according to Melucci is non-static. It is inherently processual and temporal in nature:

> *Considered as a process, collective identity involves at least three fundamental dimensions which are in reality closely interwoven: first, cognitive frameworks concerning the goals, means and environment of action; second, activating relationships among the actors, who communicate, negotiate, and make decisions; and third, making emotional investments, which enable individuals to recognise themselves in each other* (Melucci 1989:35).

These three dimensions of action are crucial in the process of how a group or a movement constructs a collective identity. Key to these three aspects is the underlying idea that a collective identity is created through a process of interaction among movement members. The research is then compelled to focus at the level of the individual. In the PPT approach, for example, there is a strong focus on correlating movement activity with political opportunities. A social movement or its SMOs do not necessarily even have to be consulted in this type of research. Research can take

the form of secondary analysis. For example, a researcher can simply correlate reports of protest in newspapers with the antecedent political climate. PPT in many cases places a strong focus on the tracing of movement activity over time, with the political situation/political opportunity correlated as a causal factor in mobilisations (See Bernstein 2003; Bob 2002; Jenkins et al 2003; Koopmans and Duyvendak 1995; Skrenenty 1998; Snow et al 1995; Suh 2001; and Van Dyke 2003). The movement participants themselves are lost in this approach because the movement is reduced to its political context. Moreover, the movement participant is again conceived of as a rational actor. Tarrow (1994:189) has expanded upon PPT in his *contentious politics* approach and argues that movements operate between a political realm, a cultural realm and a societal realm. Nevertheless, this approach is considered to share a "family resemblance" to PPT (Dubet and Thaler 2004:564), especially given its unwillingness to construct an image of a social actor beyond the constraints of the rational actor model. As Melucci notes, quantitative approaches to social movement research are particularly prone to this issue, "Quantitative studies focus on the outcomes of action, not on how action is itself produced…It therefore fails to examine the network of relationships which constitutes the submerged reality of the movements before, during, after events" (1989:44-5).

Social movements therefore tend to be reified and their collective identity taken as something that is pre-given. Melucci (1995) argues that the existence of a social movement is in fact something that must be established or empirically shown to exist. It is simply not enough to claim that a group is part of a movement because it is acting in the same area and the same field of action. Touraine's and Melucci's approaches to collective action do not simply take a social movement to be a given. Attention must be focussed on not only the external dynamics of a movement but also its internal

mode of action (Offe 1985). We must examine the construction of a collective identity from the perspective of the individual social actor and I suggest, his/her interaction with the more widely promoted generalised collective identity of an individual group and furthermore, the movement as a "unified" whole. This is why I consider that this research goes a significant way to empirically proving the existence of a Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement.

It is important to distinguish between a process of collective identity and the product of collective identity. The product of collective identity is "…something people outside [and inside] the movement recognize and respond to…" (Flesher Fominaya 2010:397). The process of collective identity refers more specifically to the actual construction of collective identity within groups and between individuals. It refers to movement actors (Felsher Fominaya 2010:397). The process of collective identity must be considered first and foremost as being heterogeneous in nature and secondly, a site of contestation. The same should be said for the product of collective identity, it is not static and is open to change and contestation. In this research movement participants contest the process of identity building. This will be very evident when I examine the processes of collective identity construction in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. As has been shown by Rupp and Taylor (1999), Gamson (1992) and J. Gamson (1995) amongst others, there is a strong tendency within the process of collective identity construction for internal disruption and disunity. This will be seen to be a key factor when we seek to explain the cycles of mobilisation evident in the Irish Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement.

1.5 The Subject as Social Movement:

The image of the individual involved in the creation of a collective identity is intrinsic to our understanding of the process of its construction. Pfaff (1996:97) notes that collective action cannot be explained "…without reference to subjective understandings of events and the role of collective identities." In RMT, for example, Crossley (2002:77) notes, "There can be little doubt that the main pioneers of RM were all greatly impressed by Olson's collective action problem and the RAT [Rational Actor Theory] which underlay it". Rational Actor Theory (RAT) presupposes a specific image of a social actor that acts according to a means-end or instrumentally rational framework. Social actions are calculable and self-interest looms over and above the interests of the group. If participating in a group means that an individual's self-interest can be furthered, then people will do so. Dubet and Thaler (2004:559) argue that in the RMT model "individuals knowingly act through an ingrained and embedded egotism which rationally drives them to engage – or at times not – in forms of collective action geared towards producing collective goods". This perspective is heavily implied when McCarthy and Zald indicate: "Explaining collective behaviour requires detailed attention to the selection of incentive, cost-reducing mechanisms or structures, and career benefits that lead to collective behaviour" (1977:1216). In PPT the social actor is reduced to a political actor and acts as such, in a cultural and social vacuum. This also results in politics itself becoming noncultural (Polletta 1999:65). In Framing, researchers typically use documentary analysis as their main research method and as a result bypass the movement participant altogether (Welsh and Chesters 2001).

The subjective element to collective identity compels us, as Melucci notes, to understand that,

> "*Beyond the concrete or symbolic objects at stake in a conflict, what*
> *people fight for is always the possibility of recognising themselves and*
> *being recognised as subjects of their own actions. Social actors enter a*
> *conflict to affirm the identity that their opponent has denied them, to*
> *reappropriate something that belongs to them because they are able to*
> *recognise it as their own*" (1995:59).

In a similar fashion to Touraine's concept of Historicity , the social actor of Melucci's collective action seeks to 'reappropriate' or take control of an aspect or aspects of their lives that they perceive as being unjustly appropriated. Typically, these acts of reappropriation do not concern the material realm and are much more likely to be symbolic in nature, hence the shift from OSMs to NSMs. This distinction between old and new movements became a huge bone of contention that received much attention in the wider social movement literature. It resulted in a pronounced distinction being made between US and European social movement theory (see Carroll and Ratner 1996; Della Porta and Diani 1999 and 2006; and Whittier 1997) and a wealth of critical work that sought to contradict the key claims that the likes of Melucci and Offe made about NSMs (See Barker and Dale 1998; Calhoun 1993; D'Anieri, Ernst and Kier 1990; Hannagan 1998; Hannigan 1991; Olofsson 1998; Smyth 2006; and Waters 1998). Increasingly, it has become less and less useful to make distinctions between European and US approaches or indeed to even label specific individuals as NSM theorists. For example, Touraine (1995) who has consistently been labelled a NSM theorist, points out that identity was a key issue in the Labour Movement where people sought to reaffirm their subjectivities and autonomy against the instrumentalisation of the workplace evident in Fordism and Scientific Management. Moreover, there is a wealth of research that draws from both so-called traditions and

across the paradigms like CBT, PPT, RMT and Framing (See Bernstein 1997; Broad and Jenness 1997; Carty 2006; Connolly 2002 and 2005; Diani 1997; Esterberg 1994; Faulsen and Glumm 1995; Johnston and Klandermans 1995; Klandermans 1984; Leonard 2008; Ryan 2006; Steinberg 1998; Vasi 2006 and Yearly 1995).

As the general scholarship concerned itself with such issues, Touraine's project of the Subject has received much less attention, at least in the literature available in English (For exceptions see; De Vaney et al. 2000; Liebel 2003; Reindal 1999; and Tucker 2005). It is an approach that has not been used, to the best of my knowledge, in the Irish context and certainly not to help us understand the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. In Touraine's earlier work we addressed above, conflict in society is marked by reference to class interests and societal elites. In his more recent work, beginning with *Return of the Actor*, we find a consistent turn on Touraine's behalf to the solitary figure/social actor of the Subject. His idea of the Subject and Subject as Social Movement is most succinctly outlined in his *Critique of Modernity*. It is here that Touraine's most central claim, that modernity is marked by a *tense* relationship between the Subject and Reason, is fully expounded (See Parts II and III Touraine 1995). In a rejection of the post-structuralist thought most prominent in Derrida's claim of "le fin de l'homme", Touraine's perspective on the image of the social actor in contemporary social movements and the implicit analysis it makes of contemporary societies is gaining credence among social movement scholars. The grand polemics of Identity, Opposition and Totality no longer play a crucial role in what is a theory of social movements that stresses the importance of the role of individual agency in conflicts. Touraine describes this individual as the Subject. Instead of ascribing the movement participant rational or irrational behaviours as in CBT and RMT or indeed reducing agency to politics, Touraine attempts to create an image of a social actor that

is deeply involved in resisting the tendencies within contemporary societies toward instrumentalisation and communitarianism. Thus, Touraine's theory serves a dual purpose in this research. Firstly, it allows us to understand movement participants in a much more nuanced and substantial manner. It is a strong and purposeful rejection of the rational actor model implicit in RMT and PPT. Secondly, it places this research in a context that allows for the wider theorisation of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. It allows us to perceive the movement and its deep embeddedness in a field of action that is defined by an increasing divorce between the objective and subjective worlds.

The will to express agency is for Touraine, encapsulated in the process of Subjectivation, "...an individual's will to act and to be recognised as an actor" (1995:207). The goal of the process of subjectivation is individuation. According to Touraine (2000:58-9), "Individuation begins when individuals are once more defined by what they do, by what they value and by the social relations in which they are involved. Individuation frees the individual from the market and community alike…"

Touraine claims that individuation is under increasing threat from the ongoing process of rationalisation. Processes of rationalisation, according to Touraine, seek to reduce the Subject to the status of object. The reduction of the individual social actor to object is readily evident in the process of racialisation of the Other in Ireland. Government legislation that attempts to reduce the individual actor to a homogenous unit and stifle their individual life-projects and anti-immigration discourses stemming from the media are ample evidence of this. It is such practices that the groups that I examined sought to stem and eradicate altogether. Instrumentalisation is a crucial factor in the racialisation of the asylum-seeker in Ireland and an important issue

within the construction of the collective identity of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in Ireland.

Within Touraine's work, *Can We Live Together: Equality and Difference* we find what is perhaps the culmination of his theory of social movements. His sociology of action has always attempted to "...dissolve the idea of a unified society and to stress the freedom and possibilities of human action" (Knobl 1999:45). Hence, his great emphasis upon individual and collective agency and its capacity to recognise and act against powerful structures within society. Most importantly from the perspective being presented here, Touraine emphasises the creative and imaginative capabilities of individual social actors. His theory of a Subject as a Social Movement begins from this perspective of the individual. Subjectivity for Touraine is marked by "... man's capacity to be the author of his actions" (2002:89). While recognising that an individual's capacity to act with autonomy is determined by forces other than individual will, such as geography, class, race etc. Touraine does not believe that individuals "...living in extreme adverse situations have no autonomy" (2002:90). There can be no power structure so total that resistance is not found. He cites the case of the resistance of Jews in the ghettos and camps of WWII as an example where originally it was believed that instead of offering resistance there was only 'silence' among the Jewish population (2000a:907).

In my specific case here, Touraine's work is a very timely reminder that no system of control or production is so total that individuals will no longer seek to be Subjects, to practice Subjectivation. It is also a timely reminder that despite the excesses of the Celtic Tiger many people in Ireland were part of a Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement that explicitly rejected neo-liberalism or the

> "*Universal deregulation, the unquestionable and unqualified priority*
>
> *awarded to the irrationality and moral blindness of market competition,*
>
> *the unbounded freedom granted to capital and finance at the expense of*
>
> *all other freedoms...and a disavowal of all but economic reason*"
>
> (Bauman 1997:51).

Touraine identifies the central conflict of contemporary societies as being "…waged…by a subject struggling against the triumph of the market and technologies, on the one hand and communitarian authoritarian powers on the other" (2000:89). This is a significant advance from *Critique of Modernity* as Touraine now clearly identifies the rationalising forces that the process of subjectivation encounters in its struggle to assert the primacy of the Subject in late-modernity. This raises the crucial problem, "...can we live together, or will we allow ourselves to become trapped in differences, or reduced to the status of passive consumers of a mass culture produced by a globalised economy?" (2000:98).

Touraine is equally critical of the movement to neo-communitarianism and the manner in which identities have become paramount to all else including engaging with and promoting difference. He is also concerned with the increasing propensity of individuals to confine and identify themselves within a mass consumer culture with its neo-liberal overtones. The Subject for Touraine lies in the reconciliation of two key spheres. It is a personal and in cases a collective attempt – in the social movement sense – to reconcile culture and the economy – to save the Subject from instrumentalisation. The Subject finds him or herself in a field of action pervaded by compulsive instrumentality as exemplified by neo-liberalism and a neo-communitarianism that is becoming ever more enclosed as the social roles laid down by role-creating institutions become fragmented (2000:12).

Touraine's Subject is borne of struggle. The Subject is both a "… demand for individual freedom…" (Touraine, 1998:147) and "…a space for public freedom" (Touraine 2000:159) that operates either at an individual and group level in the face of a system of instrumentalisation and the prioritisation of cultural identities. Both of these processes are prominent in the racialisation of the asylum-seeker and the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement itself. This entails actor-system interaction and/or conflict and highlights the individuals' ability to create or produce the society within which they act. Hence, the need for Touraine to place social movements as agents of social change or in many cases, images of alternative modes of organisation at the very heart of his sociology of action. The Subject as Social Movement is a means through which the interests of the ruling classes are prevented from being solely aligned with rationalisation. It constitutes the rejection of this paradigm and the search for an alternative (Touraine 2000:95-8).

Much of the discourse that surrounds this 'alternative' is grounded in what Touraine terms *non-social* principles. Thus, social movements frame their actions and protest in terms of human rights, justice, dignity and individual freedom. This is a very important point when we come to assess the claims that the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement made and the values that they espoused. The Subject while standing against rationalisation also stands as a moral and ethical claim. As Cerulo notes, albeit in reference to Charles Taylor's discussion on agency and self, "…collective action is enacted in a moral space. A collective pursues the freedom to be because that which frames the collective's identity defines their existence as right and good" (1997:393-4).

Touraine's work is of crucial importance to this research and it should be noted that his project is not without its critics. Before we move on to discuss the literature on

racism and anti-racism in Ireland and its relevance to this research I wish to examine some of the key criticisms that are levelled at Touraine.

1.6 Touraine's Sociology – A Critical Assessment:

Touraine is considered a prominent contributor to NSM theory. Indeed, his name has become synonymous with the paradigm. It is difficult to find a resource on NSMs, be it critical, supportive or both, that does not deal with Touraine. I believe that to simply conflate and dismiss his work with NSMs is both rash and shortsighted. A fairly cursory reading of Touraine's work suggests that by the 1980s NSM theory no longer plays a significant role in his thinking (Bell 2001:187-8). Instead of rehashing the arguments against NSM theory presented above, I wish to examine in more detail some of the wider theoretical issues that Touraine's work raises. The fact that Touraine's sociology has not interested a mass audience like Habermas's, Foucault's, Baudrillard's or Gidden's work, means that critiques (as well as applications) of his wide-ranging work are quite rare (at least in the English language). We should also remain cognisant that many of the critiques that will be discussed here are made in the context of Touraine's work as an oeuvre.

Touraine's approach to studying social movements is defined by a considerable lack of emphasis upon SMOs. Critics see the exclusion of SMOs as a key weakness to his social movement theory. This research places SMOs at its centre. Pécaut (1996:168) makes an excellent point when noting, "…democratic life also exists at the institutional level and not just the level of the Subject". Indeed, it is foolhardy to not acknowledge the role that the race relations industry in Ireland has had to play in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. As we will see in the Multicultural Support Group phase of mobilisation, it is closely tied to institutional actions.

Individuals in this research are clearly enmeshed in institutional relations. Moreover, Touraine (1995; 2007) speaks at length about the important role that religion has to play in the world of the Subject, yet he paradoxically ignores its obvious institutional origins. Lloyd (2007:344) specifically addresses this weakness when she argues that a Tourainian framework cannot "…conceptualise an anti-racism which might operate simultaneously on several different levels, at grass-roots, in the associations of civil society and with allies in government".

In Touraine's defence, it is useful to temper this criticism by referring to two key issues. First, there is a strong tendency among his critics to actually ignore the idea that an overall movement can exist such is their focus on individual SMOs. We saw this clearly above in our discussion of RMT and POT. At the same time, I would point out that these approaches can also be seen to focus on the elite aspects of social movements. For example, the environmental movement is represented by Greenpeace or the Sierra Club. Grassroots mobilisations are simply not well represented. Secondly, and more importantly, there is an issue of definition or defining what a social movement is and by logic what a social movement is not. Touraine's various definitions of a social movement over time tended to ignore collective actions at the level of the SMO. In the context of creating a sociology of social movements Touraine has employed strict conceptual definitions that limit the range of his research. Institutional actions are not part of his conceptualisation of social movements. He makes this quite clear (Touraine 2004:718). Similarly, Touraine is accused of not paying enough attention to the structural components and consequences of action (Maheu 1996:93).

The absence of an institutional aspect to Touraine's analysis is mirrored in the more generalised claim that his theory of action and his theory of post-industrial society are

conflicting models. While his theory of action is fluid, the concept of a post-industrial society or programmed society is inherently teleological. Maheu (1996:93) argues that there "… is an analytical rupture between his theory of social action and his theory of post-industrial society". The ramifications of this divide are quite serious as Scott notes,

> *…it [post-industrial society] assumes a logic of historical development from simple to complex forms in which the organising principles which define society react to internal social tensions, and perhaps also an external environment (e.g. nature) through adaptation towards great heterogeneity. This shift from manufacture to knowledge-based production can be as the highest existing form yet of this adaptive process* (1996:84).

The logic of post-industrial society becomes its own driving force and it explains the change from a manufacturing based society to a knowledge-based society. There is an implied focus on purpose and not on cause. In Touraine's social action theory explanations of change are context specific (Scott 1996:77). It is in his social action theory that this research is most focussed but it is still important to recognise this division in Touraine's work.

In a similar vein Scott goes on to claim that Touraine's social movement analysis can be considered functionalist because the post-industrial model is actually identified as a motivating force behind social action. This is why Kivisto (1984:361) notes that despite rejecting the RMT model of analysing social movements Touraine conceives of social movements as, "… rational responses to institutionally embedded discontents and their chances for success are determined by the ideological resources

that they are able to muster, which in turn depends to a significant degree upon the political strategies pursued" (Jenkins 1983:528).

As we saw earlier, Touraine has moved on greatly since his work on post-industrial society. His later work, if anything, is much less likely to even refer to the idea of a unified and coherent society. In fact, Touraine (1998) would argue the opposite – there is no longer any such thing as a unified society in the traditional sense of the word. In the context of the analytical framework presented here the problems of teleology, functionalism, structuralism etc. are not applicable. The focus lies more so with Touraine's social action theory and the identification of the will to subjectivation in movement activities and desubjectivation in the actions of its opposition. Nevertheless, there are criticisms that can be levelled against this aspect of Touraine's work.

The notion of the Subject, at least in Touraine's work, is as Alexander (2001:103) points out "rather flimsy." Touraine is hard-pressed to provide concrete empirical evidence to support his claim. He invokes the figure of the Unknown Rebel who faces down the tank in Tiananmen Square on June 4th, 1989 as evidence of the Subject and the will to subjectivation (Touraine 2000). This is part of a wider issue in Touraine's work that concerns clarity. Kivisto notes that Gamson and Lemert see Touraine's work as being almost purposefully obscure due to the lack of citations, the predominance of neologisms and the propensity to publish too much too quickly (Kivisto 1984:356). In the context of the work at hand here, I overcome the issue of empirical flimsiness by employing a thorough empirical application of the concepts. As for the lack of understanding created by obscurity I would agree but argue that such a problem can again also be overcome through empirical application.

Using Touraine means that my analysis is pitched at the level of a *normative totality* (Maheu 1996:98-9) This cultural aspect to his work, according to Cohen, results in Touraine introducing "…many of the dimensions of collective action that are stressed by collective behaviourists" (1996:184). Touraine's conception of a social movement implies that "… only an orientation to the normative order can stimulate social change" (Alexander 1996:216). In focussing on the normative aspect of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement I show very clearly that the movement is orientated towards establishing normative codes. However, I see this aspect of the movement in a negative and prescriptive light and argue that it brings about social change (in the asylum-seeker) that is more so concerned with a status quo. Moreover, Touraine (2007) explicitly rejects the idea that normative integration at a social and institutional level is as important in contemporary societies as it once was. The normative orientations that he focuses on today are more like to be found in the social relations that occur between individuals at the cultural level.

Touraine's work is, in some key respects, a vestige of the Marxist tradition. This is clearly seen in his employment of dualisms. It concerns us here, especially with respect to the concept of Historicity. Kivisto argues that this model of conflict is implicitly based in the nineteenth century Marxist approach of two classes that are dialectically opposed to one another: "Analytically, he [Touraine] is insistent on depicting class relations in terms of terms of a fundamentally dichotomous class structure involving a dominant or ruling class and a dominated popular class" (1984:360). Yet, Touraine notes that the field of action within which historicity is contested is shared by ruler and ruled. This results in contestation over the meaning of shared values. Values in this sense are not 'fundamentally dichotomous'. There is common ground or a shared field of action. The results of this research show this to

be quite clearly the case. The Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement is not diametrically opposed to the Irish State, no matter what it might claim. Our focus on the State as an opposition but also as an actor in the same field of action as the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement, allows us to overcome Touraine's focus on the synchronic axis of the social movement field (Martell and Stammers 1996:136). The synchronic axis encompasses a notion of a civil society that is separate from the State. According to Cohen, this results in losing:

> *…sight of the fact that the modern state is always capable of intervening in the field of social movements, decisively modifying or even abolishing conditions that make social movements and their struggle possible… It would be a great mistake to embrace only the liberal project of defending society against the state, for this would leave the relations of domination and inequality within civil society intact* (1996:186).

It is crucial, therefore, to examine both the synchronic and diachronic axes. In doing so, we focus on how there is exchange between the movement at the level of civil society and its opponent at the level of the State. This allows us to analyse the State's co-option of the movement in the Multicultural Support Group phase.

Touraine's work stands as being unique in social movement literature. It firstly provides us the concept of Historicity. This affords us a model of understanding social movement actions in the context of a field of action in which the movement contests a form of social domination. No other social movement theory is as well equipped as Touraine's to do this. I have noted that by employing the idea of collective identity alongside Historicity I overcome a key weakness, that of Touraine's lack of explanation as to how identity is constructed. I will illustrate below that the concepts

of historicity and collective identity provide us with powerful insights into the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement and in a more general fashion, Irish society. In employing a largely Tourainian framework I cannot easily escape the question of whether or not the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement was actually a historical actor or if it fundamentally challenged the central conflict of the divorce between the objective and subjective worlds. We have seen that Touraine now sees this historical actor and key conflict in contemporary societies in the guise of the Subject. Through subjectivation this Subject seeks individuation or the capacity to reconcile their instrumental and subjective worlds. I will argue that this is an important part of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement and a novel way to understand it. The groups that I examine in this research have been conceptualised as anti-racist or multicultural. They have never been focussed upon as possibly being a movement. This is an important point to make because for the most part, the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in the wider literature has been understood as an anti-racism movement. The final part of the review will focus on this literature.

1.7 Racism and Anti-Racism:

Pre-1994 the most significant contribution to the field of racism in Irish academia was MacGreil's (1977) *Prejudice and Tolerance in Ireland*. This attitudinal survey of prejudice and tolerance in Irish people towards minorities was groundbreaking for the chief reason that it exposed both latent and active racism among individuals in Irish society. During this period, however, it was far more common for racism and prejudice and their link to sectarianism and inequality to be analysed with respect to Northern Irish society (see Campbell 1979; C.A.J 1992; and McCormack 1990). There are some notable exceptions such as Harmony (1990), various Traveller Support Movement publications (See DTEDG 1987; 1992; and 1993) and Feeley and

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O'Riordan's (1984) examination of historical Irish anti-Semitism. In terms of migration itself much of the academic work focussed either on internal migration (See Geary and Hughes eds. 1970; Hughes and Walsh 1980; and Verrière 1970) or the consequences of outward migration on Ireland, the destination countries and the migrant themselves as a target for racism (See Adams 1980; Akenson 1989; Breathnach and Jackson 1991; Corcoran 1991; Curtis 1968, 1971 and 1984; Drudy, 1985; and Geary and Ó Gráda 1987). There is notably a recurrent theme of the oppression of Irish people and Irishness mostly in the British context and this ultimately gives rise to the concept of anti-Irish racism (See Douglas 2002; Hickman and Walter 1997; Lloyd, 1995; Mac an Ghaill 2000). As McVeigh (1998:17) notes, anti-Irish racism is now a recognized phenomenon according to the Commission for Racial Equality in Britain. In this context Irishness is usually equated with Otherness and a target for discrimination.

The field of race relations in the Irish context was somewhat limited and insular up until 1994. Post 1994 there was an explosion in research and we will deal with these primarily contemporary texts in this section. R. Lentin (2002:8) points out that the Irish race relations field sprang up veritably overnight in the early 1990s. The chief consequence of this is that the field is to a large extent dominated by five key figures and as I will show their insights into the phenomena of racism and anti-racism in Ireland overlap significantly. Theoretical insights into racism and anti-racism continue to remain one-dimensional with an overwhelming focus on structural explanations for Irish racisms. More simply put, the State and to a lesser extent the media, were the cause of racism. We will see that there is remarkably little research on anti-racism or groups working in that field. As Tannam (2002:193) notes, "There has been very little empirical research or theorisation of anti-racism within the Irish context."

On a historical and contextual note it is important to note how Rolston and Shannon (2002) and Rolston (2004) attempt to dispel the somewhat widely held view that racism in contemporary Ireland is a solely a product of 1) The recent reversal of migration patterns; and 2) the homogenous nature of the Irish State and the island of Ireland prior to the formation of the State in 1922. They cite the Viking slave trade of North Africans in 9th Century Dublin and the participation of Irish soldiers and administrators in Britain's colonial activities as evidence of Ireland's racist past (2002:22-6). Comerford (in Marshall 2000:17) concurs with this point when suggesting that Irish people "… have cumulatively devoted far more blood and sweat to empire building than to empire breaking." Garner (2004) provides a plethora of evidence against the preconceived notion that Ireland was mono-ethic country at any time throughout its history. This argument, according to Garner, is based in the construction of Irish nationalisms at both home and abroad in emigrant destinations. These sought to create a collective identity or an image of Irishness that operated like many nationalisms through a dialectic of 'them' and 'us'.

Rolston and Shannon (2002:56-62) also cogently argue that Irish history while being sullied with such facts also contains significant instances of anti-racism. In particular, they cite historical support for the abolition of the slave trade. Daniel O'Connell, for example, was a fervent and passionate supporter of the abolition movement. While fundraising for the Catholic Emancipation in America in 1845, O'Connell rejected any donations that were the profits of slave-owners. I will argue below that the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement can be considered to be indicative of the tendency within Irish civil society towards issues of social justice.

The idea of competing historical racisms and anti-racisms plays a crucial role in the theorizing of racism and anti-racism in Ireland. Irish society is taken at one and the

same time to be racist, anti-racist and an object of racialisation. The most notable contributions to this particular aspect of the field come from R. Lentin and McVeigh. Both rely to a large extent on historical explanations for the existence of racism in contemporary Irish society. Lentin and McVeigh (2002:8) define racism in a typical manner as being "...any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on 'race', colour, descent, as well as national or ethnic origin, which inferiortises or excludes a collectivity using mechanisms of power". They attempt to theoretically 'situate' and thus interpret both Irish racism and anti-racism in a historical sense. They suggest that Irish racism is influenced and empowered by the Irish Diaspora and their involvement in racialised encounters abroad, Ireland's whiteness and Ireland's Europeanness. In contrast, they also suggest that Ireland is disempowered through its colonial history, its history of emigration and economic dependency and also, the fact that anti-Irish racism has been and continues to be experienced by Irish people throughout the world. Lentin and McVeigh note: "In this sense Ireland is quintessentially 'between two worlds'- both perpetrator and survivor of racism, both thoroughly racist and determinedly anti-racist" (2002:8).

Elsewhere R. Lentin (2002:228; 2001:1.7; 2002a:241; and 2003:18) complements this historical approach by strongly asserting that the Irish State acts as an instrument of racialisation through its restrictive migration policies and "…its top-down ethnicisation of Irish society…" (2002:228). Similarly, A. Lentin characterises it as "…a top-down imposition of standards, values and behaviour" (2000:97). According to R. Lentin (2004)

> "*I take racism to mean 'a political system aiming to regulate bodies',*
> *rather than merely the consequence of individual prejudice Racism*
> *always involves the state and its institutions, never only individuals. My*

contention is that Ireland has been evolving from a 'racial state', in which
'race' and 'nation' are defined in terms of each other - evident in the
ethnically narrow framing of Bunreacht na hÉireann - to a racist state,
where governmental 'biopolitics' and technologies of regulating
immigration and asylum dictate the construction of Irishness. Calling
immigrants and asylum seekers progressively 'bogus', 'illegal', and
'economic' discredits them, and via the media, feeds into common sense
racism, which manifests in everyday incidents of racial harassment and
institutional racial discrimination."

(http://www.variant.randomstate.org/20texts/raciststate.html)

It is clear from this quote that the link between the State and racism in the construction of racism in Ireland is paramount for R. Lentin. This conclusion concurs with McVeigh's assertion of the Irish State's "…institutionally racist policies on refugees, immigrants and Travellers" (2002:212). Similarly it can be compared to Garner's (2004) assertion of the existence of "new racisms" in Ireland. Distinct from biological racisms or "old racisms", these "new racisms" operate at the level of national resources and the resulting contestation over their distribution. They most notably, according to Garner (2004:173-81), find salience in the areas of health-care, employment, sex, and welfare in general. Again, the Irish state is responsible for these 'new racisms'.

The exact extent of racism among Irish people remains relatively unknown to the degree that we cannot quantifiably or qualitatively state that it has x or y consequence or x or y foundation. While there is quantitative evidence beginning in the 1970's with McGreil for the existence of racism among the general public, the exact meaning and nature of the complexity of racisms in Irish society has not been fully grasped and

in much of this literature is theorised in the absence of empirical evidence. There has been little if any concentrated research on racisms in Irish society, other than in the spheres of the State and the media. There are no examples of research on racist groups like the Celtic Wolves, National Socialists R Us and Immigration Control Platform.

The role of the media has received much scrutiny in the literature on racism in Ireland (See Cullen 1999; Fanning 2002:22-24; Guerin 2002:91-101; Haughey 2001:127-136; NUJ 1998; Pollak 1999 Ramos 2002; and White 2002:102-115). Again, as in the theorisations of racism we have examined above, there is a unity of opinion in these works that the aforementioned relationship between a racialising State and the media extenuates the racialisation of migrants in Irish society. Although, no specific research has been undertaken in the Irish case, Statham's (2003:174) research in Britain shows that "…British governments dominate and shape public discourse on asylum" and that this is politically charged and not a "...response to mobilised public pressure." Theorisations on the nature of racisms in Irish society are largely State centric. Indeed, we will see below that the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement is also largely focused on the Irish State. Nonetheless, research typically ignores the Irish public or does not look for explanations outside of the State for the existence of racism. When the research does incorporate the public according to Munck (2008:167), it does so in damning fashion by suggesting, as R. Lentin does, that the results of the 2004 Citizenship Referendum proved that Ireland is a racist state. We see will next that the theorisations of anti-racism in the Irish case typically undertakes a very similar analysis. In all cases, anti-racism is defined in relationship to the Irish State and is rarely seen as something that might be an everyday cultural practice. In this way, such research fails to take into account the fact that activists in this research encounter racism on an everyday basis.

There is no significant literature in Ireland or elsewhere in the English speaking world that applies Touraine's concept of Historicity and his subject as social movement to instances of mobilisation, be they specifically anti-racist, pro-migrant, pro-refugee or pro-asylum seeker. There is emerging research, especially from Australia that focuses specifically on anti-deportation campaigns and pro-asylum-seeker initiatives. The majority of this literature does not conceptualise the social movements they analyse as anti-racist. This is distinct from the Irish case and indeed the UK. Since the 1970s campaigns against deportations of asylum-seekers and migrants in the UK have been based in issues of race and racism (Cohen 2003). As Lloyd points out "The British [anti-racism] debate had been largely organised around the assumption that anti-racist activity is about opposition to colour-based racism" (2007:342). Indeed, Statham and Mynott (2002) have pointed out the movement in Britain is increasingly fractured:

> *…the Anti-Racist Alliance and Anti-Nazi League organised rival demonstrations on the same day in London. On other occasions, protestors from rival groups were seen jostling for position within the same march, as splits along lines of ethnicity and colour, on one side, and along lines of political affiliation with mainstream politics and far-left, on the other, caused the movement literally to implode.*

In the Australian case, the literature firstly tends to locate the movement as a reaction to a neo-liberal and neo-conservative polity (Tazreiter 2010 and Maddison and Martin 2010). Secondly, the movements are considered as an expression of fundamental human rights. For example, Moss (2004:76) argues that the asylum-seeker right's movement in Australia is based in competing images of nationalist identities and global solidarities. She argues,

The two organisations that I discussed, ChilOut and A Just Australia,

have developed an identity that stems from and enforces a particular

Australian-ness, but is contextualised in an increasingly globalised world.

It is nationalistic in its invocation of Australian cultural values as a

motivation for action and draws on the global humanity of conventions

Australia is party to, which challenges the country and its reflexivity, but

also fosters development of national identity (2004:78).

Elsewhere Gosden (2006a and 2006b) sees the Australian movements in a Meluccian sense, as a "struggle at the level of the logic of the system" that mixes together local nationalisms and global humanity.

In the European context anti-racism is much more likely to be used as the means of classifying collective action. Lloyd's (1998a; 1998b; 2002; and 2003) examination of French anti-racism from a social movement perspective and Bonnett's (1993) *Radicalism, Anti-Racism and Representation* are a case in point. Lloyd (1998a; 1998b; and 2003) provides us with a systematic historical analysis of the French anti-racism movement from a social movement perspective. In avoiding what she terms as 'binary oppositions', namely the reduction of anti-racism's identity to its opposition, she instead opts to restrict her analysis of the French anti-racism movement to a dialectical and hegemonic perspective (Lloyd 1998: 246). She suggests that this rejection of understanding anti-racism as a product of racism allows one to create a more fluid and dynamic image of an anti-racism that interacts with formal institutions. A. Lentin (2008) makes a similar point and claims that the reduction of anti-racism to the antithesis of racism is partly responsible for the lack of research on anti-racism. Waters (1998b:499) adopts a similar perspective when analysing French anti-racism

as a form of new citizenship whereby disenfranchised minorities and the majority

"…perform the duties and practices of citizenship."

Lloyd (1998a) argues that a purely dialectical perspective of a racism and anti-racism that are in tension with one another, only allows one to see how competing discourses are simply antagonistic. We can argue that much of the theorisation of racism in the Irish context above, falls afoul of this point. Lloyd's research concerns a much more complex image of movement and opposition concluding that they "…coexist in hegemonic discourses operating within complex and often contradictory social relations" (Lloyd 1998a:246). Thus, along with Cohen (1995) she rejects a purely collective identity or resource mobilisation approach to the analysis of anti-racism. Lloyd's work stands to understand anti-racism as, "The interplay between the different levels of antiracist discourse and mobilisation – at the grass roots in antiracist associations, at the political level – creates the dynamics through which antiracism changes itself and influences society" (Lloyd 1998:29). She correctly concludes that analyses of anti-racism cannot be taken out of their historical context or purely "…reduced to oppositional forms" (Lloyd 1998:29).

Lloyd's (2003) more recent work on mobilisations in France involving asylum-seekers is far more comparable to my context. She argues that the *older* French antiracism is being challenged by newer mobilisations that are firstly appearing outside the political centre of Paris and secondly, are much more fluid and open to change than the more so institutionalised French antiracism (2003:338-9). These groups have been relatively successful in garnering wider support in French society but still represent a key challenge for French antiracism. This is especially the case given the fact that French antiracism can be seen to arise from hegemonic national discourses of equality and fraternity. Gibb (2005) suggests that in cases it resembles a

Republican Anti-Racism. The French are not alone in thinking themselves as intrinsically anti-racist as Guimareaes (1995) points out with respect to Brazil. We see a similar tendency in Ireland (McVeigh 1996) and as Bonnet notes, "Opposition to racial oppression has long been formulated as a national boast. Indeed, there are few countries where a tradition of racial tolerance is not employed in this manner" (2000:70).

Asylum-seeker movements in Britain and indeed British antiracism too in general have fared less well compared to their French counterparts. Kushner (2003:257) argues, "…a sustained and unrestrained campaign against asylum-seekers has achieved respectability throughout British society, culture and politics". This is similar to the situation we find in Ireland. Heringer (1995:198) argues that in Denmark the reverse is happening. The issue of asylum-seekers and deportation is allowing for a broad church of interests to come out against the deportation process. Of course, in France, Belgium and Britain there is an organised and popularised far-right movement that we do not find in the Irish context. For example, anti-racism in the Belgian context finds itself seriously challenged by a far-right that 'offers precise challenges to the question of how society should look and which values need to be defended" (Detant 2005:207).

There is a significant lack of research on anti-racism and migrant groups in general in Ireland from a social movement perspective. Cullen (2009) goes some way to addressing this dearth in her analysis of Pro-Migrant NGOs from a POT context. She argues that these groups find themselves hampered by,

> *…a lack of receptiveness to their proposals from policy makers who remain committed to a restrictive immigration model; the predominance*

of a racialised public and political discourse around immigration; and

their relationships with state bodies, seen by many migrant led NGOs as

instigators of racism. (Cullen 2009:124)

This has shaped their repertoire of action to include alliance building with like-minded NGOs and sympathetic State actors. Pro-Migrant NGOs have also incorporated the strategy of countering anti-migrant discourses with "…depictions of migrants as valuable and sometimes vulnerable individuals" (Cullen 2009:124). There is only one significant piece of empirical research within the Irish context that incorporates the grassroots reaction to the racialisation of the asylum-seeker from a social movement perspective. A. Lentin's (1999 and 2004) research focuses on groups that are primarily anti-racist in orientation. As a result her empirical work is restricted to this one aspect of the movement. In this sense the overall picture of the movement that A. Lentin provides us with is somewhat skewed towards anti-racism. Although she does acknowledge the existence of other forms of groups there is no sustained analysis of what these groups mean in the context of anti-racism in Ireland. Moreover, A. Lentin (1999 and 2006) dismisses the usefulness of much of contemporary European collective action theory by conflating it with NSM theory. As we saw above, albeit under different circumstances, this is somewhat shortsighted. She argues that NSM theory given its origins in universalisms is incapable of explaining the particularised form of 'identity politics' that she observes in European anti-racisms. In her more recent work that has taken a marked turn towards political sociology. A. Lentin (2004:307) argues that anti-racist discourses are heterogeneous and that they exist along a 'proximity-distance continuum'. The closer the SMO to the dominant public-political cultural discourses on race and anti-racism the less radical they are or the more institutionalised and less capable of addressing racism they are. The further

away the group from this public-political discourse the more radical they are and more likely they are to create change. This radicalness is key for Lentin as radical anti-racists typically attack the State as the main cause of racism. My research certainly finds a similar pattern of organisation; groups that are close to the State and groups far removed from the State. But I argue for a greater amount of attention to be paid to the internal modes of action in the groups themselves. In doing so, I show that heterogeneity exists within the groups themselves. Members can differ substantially as to their own proximity to the State and this can in cases, give rise to new forms of action. At the same time, by more closely examining the ideologies of groups that are supposedly far removed from the State it can be argued that Radical Anti-Racism in Ireland had much more in common with the Irish State than first impressions might suggest. By focussing the analysis outside of the polity and political issues a more nuanced and complicated picture of anti-racist and other groups in Ireland can be produced.

Elsewhere in the literature on anti-racism in Ireland we see an emphasis on the organisational issues facing Irish anti-racism. Tannam (2002:208) and McVeigh (2002:223) both the key issues that Irish anti-racisms face. Most importantly they raise the issues of co-option of the movement by the Irish State and the fact that people who are not affected by racism heretofore have dominated the Irish anti-racist agenda. These are both issues that this research raises and are relevant to the wider literature on social movements. In the case of institutionalisation, according to Mariante (1985:8), in some cases, like the Movement for Irish Catholic Freedom in nineteenth century Ireland, a movement's ideals and values can be dissolved into an oppressive regime of social control. Obviously, this is a concern for anti-racism and is seen in this research most obviously in the Multicultural Support Group Phase. There

is evidence for this occurring elsewhere in Irish social movements. Mullally forcibly argues that Irish environmentalism in the early twenty-first century,

> *… has become entangled in the cultural politics of success in Celtic Tiger Ireland. For the time being, 'jobs versus the environment' has been subsumed in questions of risk, responsibility and public good, as the currency of critical debate and neo-liberalism and sustainable development compete as opposite (though by no means equal) sides of the same globalising dynamic* (2006:164).

In the case Mullally describes, the values of the movement have become realigned with the values of a neo-liberal model of economic development. Ultimately, the primacy that neo-liberalism, here perhaps best conceived as a social movement from above as Cox and Nilsen (2006) suggest, affords to capital is in direct conflict with values that the environmental movement espouses. The argument then follows that the movement's emancipatory and critical content – its capacity for social change – is diminished or indeed, completely negated when institutionalisation takes place.

1.8 The Movement Through Different Lenses:

This section will illustrate how the paradigms of CBT, RMT and NSM are largely inadequate when attempting to answer the questions that this research raises. We have already noted above the specific drawbacks of such approaches and this section will highlight how these drawbacks would manifest themselves in the context of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement.

1.8.1 RMT and the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement:

As a theoretical lens RMT necessitates that we approach the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement from a specific vantage point. I will argue that such an approach is incapable of fully answering the key questions that my research findings raise. I will also suggest that the adoption of an RMT approach in the first instance would have meant that my key problems would never have arisen. I would for all intents and purposes have constructed an image of a very different type of movement. This picture would be necessarily structured by questions like, *how* the movement gathers resources? *How* SMOs mobilise people? And, *how* are the individual members are rationally motivated? The Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement seen in such a light is a movement without grievances, a movement without context (field of action) and a movement more so defined by the instrumentality of its participants than its relationship to an opponent. Indeed, I argue that the movement opposes instrumentality or the precedence it is given by the adoption of a neo-liberal mode of development.

With respect to my first key question of what the movement means, RMT offers little in the way of a logical or plausible explanation. It shifts the analysis away from the process of collective identity building and the role of ideology in constructing a movement's aims and values. Equally, RMT downplays the role of an opponent in the creation of a movement identity and indeed, the role an opponent might play in the cooption of a movement as in the case of the Multicultural Support Group. A further consequence of this is that RMT is unable to explain the three phases of Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement mobilisation that this research identifies. As seen above, each phase was characterised by a particular set of aims and grievances. The

fact that such aims and grievances stem from the process of collective identity construction is ignored by a RMT approach. In the context of this research, the aims and values of the movement are of paramount importance when I attempt to situate the movement in the context of its field of action.

RMT compels us to understand the individual motivation of participants to accrue benefits (material or nonmaterial) as being the primary reason for their actions (Buechler 1993). In our case such benefits do not, for the most part, extend further than the emotional reward connected with the 'occasional victory'. Most participants suggested that the movement was actually emotionally sapping and this accounts for high rates of activist burnout. Many of the respondents expressed frustration at the slow pace of progress within the movement. The majority of the participants that this research concerns actually would accrue no direct personal benefits from the success of the movement. As is pointed out in the methodology section, the success of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement would perhaps result in the loss of privilege both materially and immaterially. We can perhaps argue along with McCarthy and Zald that the participant accrues other types of benefits. In this case, the research shows some limited evidence that participation in the movement is helpful in reaching career goals. The fact that some participants move from the movement into the race relations industry provides evidence for this point. Yet again, however, it posits a selfish social actor and an overly premeditated and methodical activist. In the case of Grainne from ARC she moved to a major NGO in the field yet this never appears in her early motivations to join the movement. In fact, the race relations industry was not even a factor at that point and for her to have predicted its emergence would be a remarkable feat of futurism. The findings of this research do not justify the application of the rational actor model that is implicit in RMT.

In the case of this research many of the SMOs in the Irish race relations industry could be argued to be representative of an institutionalised and co-opted version of the movement. Focusing on this aspect of the movement is short-sighted. Edelman echoes this point:

> *In underscoring the importance of mobilization processes and well-endowed organizations (and competition among the latter), the RM paradigm tended to disregard situations in which social movements, usually of the very poor, emerged with few resources or where overt organization—in contexts of extreme inequality, severe repression, and hopeless odds—endangered participants, producing "shadowy" (Piven & Cloward 1977), "submerged" (Melucci 1989), or "hidden" forms of resistance (Scott 1990) that might or might not lead to collective action (Burdick 1998)* (2001:290).

RMT no doubt has its strengths but in the context of this research its weaknesses are all too evident. It is fair to say that future research on the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement would benefit from a RMT approach. This is especially the case if we were to concentrate on the larger, institutionalised SMOs in the field. Specifically, a comparative piece on the grassroots SMOs and these institutionalised SMOs would likely have an important role to play in furthering our understanding of the area.

1.8.2 CBT and the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement:

CBT presents us with a particular set of problematics when attempting to understand the Pro-Asylum Movement through its lens. Chief among these are a social actor that is irrational, a model of collective action that suggests a series of value-added steps

must be achieved before collective action can occur and as argued above, a definition of collective action that is far too broad to suit our purposes here.

Historically CBT has understood movement participants as irrational. If the movement participant is irrational, then the movement itself is a representation of irrational behaviours and inclinations. It is an aberration that needs to be systemically dealt with. This obviously differs greatly from the RMT model above. The propensity to equate collective action and its participants with irrationality is still apparent today (See Law and McNeish (2007) and the case of mobile phone mast protests). The notion of Not In My Backyard (NIMBY) is also a more contemporary means through which collective action can be labelled irrational and dismissed (Hermanssonn 2007). In the context of this research we would have to completely reconceptualise the figure of the social actor if we adopted the model of the irrational actor. We would also be compelled to ignore the movement's aims and values. Moreover, considering that in cases CBT understands social movements to be examples of deviance we would have to dismiss their legitimacy (Buechler 2004:50). This would undermine the meaning and purpose of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement and reduces the participants to passive dupes. The increasing shift towards analysing the usages of technology in movements paints a very different picture. Instead of the passive dupe we find a technologically savvy and rational actor that is capable of appropriating consumer goods. (See Rheingold 2002; Tilly 2003; Loader 2008).

The strong element of passivity in CBT is further evident in the value added model of behaviour that it proposes. It is of course possible to read/interpret the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement through this model. Yet again, however, we find great difficulty in answering our key questions. There is no capacity to understand the

movement as a critique of a mode of development; instead the movement from a structural functionalist perspective represents a dysfunction from consensus. Society is supposed to self-rectify in such instances. In a rational manner this anthropomorphic society and the interdependent structures that it is composed of will attend to the strain to the extent that consensus re-emerges. The value-added model provides us with an overly reified concept of society. Power is restricted to a nefarious controlling apparatus that ultimately produces and reproduces consensus.

Directly applying the value-added model to the case of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement we come up with the following for the Radical Anti-Racism phase:

    i)   General Structural Conduciveness: Democratic society.

    ii)   Generalised Belief System: Racism is wrong.

    iii)   Structural Strain: Increase in Asylum applications.

    iv)   Precipitating Factors: Deportations of asylum seekers. Direct Provision and Dispersal. Removal of the right to work from asylum-seekers.

    v)   Mobilisation of Participants: Radical Anti-Racism emerges.

    vi)   Mechanisms of Social Control: State and Media racialisation of Asylum-Seekers (i.e. scapegoating) and the adoption of a multicultural and subsequent intercultural perspective.

Each particular phase of the movement can then be understood in this manner. This has a number of unintended consequences. Firstly, it separates what is clearly a cohesive movement. This act of separation makes it far more difficult to understand the movement in its totality. For example, we perhaps might be more inclined to

ignore the formative role that members of Radical Anti-Racism have in some Multicultural Support Groups (e.g. NASC). Or, that each preceding phases could be considered to be a precipitating factor in the successive phase. Moreover, we lose our capacity to identify the complex patterns of action that the movement exhibits over the course of its lifespan. The research findings clearly illustrate that both movement and opponent take part in similar strategies of social control in their ideological work (e.g. objectification of asylum-seeker). The value-added model compels us to simply ignore this ideological work and focus only on the mechanisms of social control that seek to stymie the movement.

Lastly, the value-added model presents us with a model of behaviour that can be understood through Archer's concept of 'downwards conflation'. Archer notes, "Downwards conflation means that the properties of the 'people' can be 'upwardly reduced' to properties of the system, which alone has causal powers" (2000:5). This model of social action can be seen very clearly in the CBT paradigm. The origins and resolution of social movements and the individual actions therein are solely structural.

1.8.3 NSM and the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement:

The analysis of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement offered here is obviously steeped in theorists who are closely associated with the NSM paradigm. This is not to say, however, that the analysis offered can be strictly called a NSM analysis. In order to elucidate this point I propose to briefly present what I wish to call a 'conventional' NSM approach. It is conventional in the sense that it is typically the form offered by the critics of the NSM paradigm. This 'conventional' NSM approach is then conflated as the sum total of a particular theorist's work and indeed the sum total of a paradigm. Thus if you use a particular concept developed by a so-called

NSM theorist, your work is immediately considered to be a NSM approach. By association you are guilty of the conventional criticisms made against the NSM paradigm. In fleshing out this particular argument I will compare the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement to this conventional NSM theory.

Pichardo offers a standardised approach to summarising NSM theory: "The central claims of the NSM paradigm are, first, that NSMs are a product of the shift to a postindustrial economy and, second, that NSMs… have moved away from the instrumental issues of industrialism to the life issues of postmaterialism" (1997:412). To this we can add the following key points that according to Melucci (1989) distinguish NSMs from previous social movements:

- Membership from across class and regional boundaries.
- Grassroots, hidden and informal organisational forms.
- Suspicious of formal institutions e.g. institutionalised OSM's like Trade Unions.
- Develop outside of and below of such formal institutions and thus question their legitimacy.
- Non-negotiable claims.

Dealing with Pichardo's tenets firstly, it can be clearly see that my analysis makes no claim for a postindustrial society. In fact, I recognise this as a weakness of Touraine's social theory. Next, the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Movement can be clearly seen to concern itself at different stages with both material and nonmaterial issues. In fact, the Multicultural Support Group dealt extensively with the issue of the material well-being of the asylum-seeker. Radical Anti-Racism consistently argued for the reinstatement of the right to work for the asylum-seeker. The very fact that Direct

Provision became contentious is rooted in the fact that it concerns material deprivation. Alongside such material issues we see very clearly that nonmaterial issues exist. The movement concerned itself with both universal and individual rights.

Within Melucci's observations, which to reiterate are indicative of the key tenets of the NSM paradigm that critics employ; we can again identify convergence and divergence. There is little doubt that the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement cuts across regional boundaries in Ireland. The process of Dispersal made this a significant feature of the movement. The social class of participants meant is was predominantly middle-class and this contradicts Melucci's point. We will see that this in fact created problems in Radical Anti-Racism given the social class alignment of WSM, SP and SWP ideologies.

There is little doubt that the movement relied strongly upon grassroots support and the informal/hidden modes of organisation and action are relatively informal in nature. Suspicions of the downside to interacting with formal institutions does exist most solidly in the idea of what institutionalisation entails – cooption – but the movement in each phase interacts with labour institutions like the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and the Services, Industrial, Profession and Technical Union. The incorporation of formal institutions into LNAR and II is further evidence to the contrary to this aspect of Melucci's claim; as is the whole Multicultural Support Group phase, given that their development in many cases is tied up with the State controlled RIA. Such institutions provide useful resources to the movement. Again there is divergence from Melucci's claims.

Convergence is obvious in the Radical Anti-Racism and Anti-Deportation Group phase when it comes to the non-negotiability of claims. It is straightforwardly, "No

Racism-No Deportations." There was simply no room for negotiation. However, in the Multicultural Support Group phases negotiability is commonplace as the claims typically surround material goods that are garnered partially through funding negotiations with the Reception and Integration Agency (RIA).

The case of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement provides ample evidence both for and against the conventional NSM approach. This research does not claim that it is a NSM per se. Instead, it uses concepts associated with that particular paradigm to better understand and explain the movement. Most notably, we employ the concepts of Historicity, Collective Identity and the idea of the Subject. By focussing Historicity and the Subject we are opening ourselves up to the claim that a movement exists that challenges the very orientation of the current mode of development in society. The Grassroots Pro-Asylum-Movement can be read in this way. From the broad perspective of the cultural change that it seeks, if completely successful it would be a game changer, so to speak. Does this mean that it will change the very way in which Irish society operates? Probably not. The movement does not immediately concern itself with other manifest forms of rationalisation and desubjectivation in Irish society. Further research would be required to see if there are other examples of groups or movements with similar values and aims. .

1.9 *Conclusion***:**

I have proposed in this chapter that Touraine's concept of Historicity is a useful tool with which to engage the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. In assessing Touraine's IOT framework for understanding social movements I argued that incorporating Melucci's Collective Identity could fruitfully expand upon the key aspect of Identity. It adds a much need processual element to Touraine's framework. I

noted that Touraine's early work compels the researcher to only apply the definition of social movement to those movements that act at the level of historicity. However, Touraine's more recent work on the idea of the social actor as a Subject has reconciled this tension in his work. The Subject allows us to overcome the idea that there is a level of meaning and action that a movement must reach before we can consider it to be a social movement. Moreover, it allows us to move beyond the picture of the social movement participant as variably rational or irrational, as we saw in the case of other social movement paradigms. By retaining Touraine's concept of Historicity and using his idea of the Subject we also place the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in its cultural context. This extends our understanding of the movement beyond the political realm as in the case of PPT and shows us that a movement exists above and beyond the resources it can accumulate. This cultural focus is further warranted when below in the narrative of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement I present strong historical evidence that disputes the case that the movement is simply a reaction to the structural strain of changing migratory patterns or the political opportunities that arise because of this change. I have also shown that other means of researching social movements like CBT and RMT are incapable of answering the questions that this research raised, Indeed, such questions would not have arisen in the first instance if it were not for my starting point of Touraine and Melucci.

I argued in this chapter that the key theorisation by A. Lentin of Irish anti-racism as existing along a continuum of proximity-to-distance to the dominant public political culture also misses out on the key cultural elements of the movement. A. Lentin's research also fails to grasp the heterogeneity that exists in each particular phase of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. Lloyd's work on anti-racism and social

movements in France is much closer to the perspective that I employ here. The key exception is Lloyd's usage of discourses and the fact that in the Irish case, ideologies play a much greater role in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement as I observed it. I also outlined the key perspectives on race in Ireland and suggested that besides the long-historical work, their unifying principle is a focus on State racism. Of course, the fact that the State (as a body of politicians) is racist does not immediately imply that the State (as a body of citizens) is racist. Racism is an everyday phenomenon in Ireland and research on racism and anti-racism in Ireland needs to take this more adequately into account. I will now move on to discuss the key methodological issues that arose over the course of this research.

Chapter 2: Social Research Methods.

2.1 Introduction:

This chapter outlines the key issues that arose in the process of choosing and implementing a methodological approach that would best facilitate the sociological investigation of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. The methods employed are largely qualitative in nature. They emphasise the importance of a reflexive and dialogic approach to research and I will develop these ideas throughout. The chapter will firstly outline the key research questions that arose over the course of my fieldwork. The questions play an important role in the development of my methodological approach. Next, I will explain why I did not implement the specific research methodologies that Touraine and Melucci espouse. My research focuses to a great extent on their respective theoretical contributions to social movement studies, so it is incumbent upon me to explain why I did not incorporate their methodological perspectives. I will then move on to explain why I adopted a qualitative approach to the research and how this overall benefits the research. A key concern that will be developed in this section will be the roles that reflexivity and dialogic thinking played in my collection and analysis of data. Moving on from the generalities of the qualitative research approach I will go on to explain and describe in detail the social research methods that I employed, namely semi-formal interviews, documentary analysis and participant observation. I will explore both the advantages and disadvantages associated with these methods and my actual experience of using them in the field. I will argue that their incorporation lends a strong element of triangulation to my research and this will be an important factor to consider when I later on discuss generalisability. My next section will describe the process of sampling and the

primary and secondary samples that this research is based in. I will also describe how I categorised these groups into the three different phases of mobilisation of the movement – Radical Anti-Racism, Multicultural Support Group and the Anti-Deportation Group. In this section, I also deal with the main ethical consideration employed in the field and in the presentation of results.

The chapter then goes on to explore the significance of presenting my findings in the form of a narrative. I speak at length about the narrative form itself, its advantages and disadvantages and then describe how it fits in and enhances the reflexive and dialogic approach to this research. With all of these issues in mind, I finally turn my attention to the crucial issue of generalisability in qualitative research. I argue that given the correct approach it is indeed possible to generalise from the findings of qualitative research. Specifically, I will argue for the incorporation of Polit and Beck's (2010) ideas of *analytic* and *moderatum* generalisability. In advocating for this approach, I will argue that given my strict definition of what a social movement is, the findings of this research are specifically generalisable to grassroots groups. However, I will point out that they also might be a valuable comparative tool when research is conducted on the formal institutions acting in the field that were outside of the remit of this research.

2.2 The Key Questions:

The following three key research questions/statements were formulated and tweaked over the course of the research:

To establish and describe the existence of a Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in the Republic of Ireland between 1994 and 2004. To do this I examined the movement through the ideas of collective identity and historicity. In coming to terms

with the movement as an entirety and an empirical unit a number of key questions or puzzles emerged. These puzzles become the crucial medium through which my concerns with collective identity and historicity become central. The first issue that arose was attempting to account for the diversity of approaches to the issue of asylum-seekers that I found within the movement. It was with genuine surprise that I uncovered such diversity within the movement. As a result, explaining how and why the movement constructs meaning and solutions around the asylum issue became hugely interesting to me. In analysing the movement's historicity and focussing on movement ideology I was able to uncover the complex nature of the relationship that the movement sets up with its field of action.

Secondly, the research uncovered that the movement exhibits three discernable phases of mobilisation. Each phase of mobilisation represented a key shift in addressing the issues surrounding asylum-seekers in Ireland. Figuring out how the movement created and then accommodated such change became my second key puzzle. By highlighting collective identity I identified a key process through which social movements evolve and change. It is genuinely puzzling that individuals with divergent values and aims can be accommodated in the same individual group let alone movement. Collective identity greatly helped explain this feature of the movement for me.

Lastly, we approach the issue of trying to conceive of the movement as a holistic unit or trying to identify a central trend, theme or thread within the movement. When I was researching the movement I expected to find unity or a unified sense of purpose. Instead, as we will see, I uncovered a range of approaches and perspectives on the issue of asylum-seekers in Ireland. In subtle and manifest ways, the movement concerned itself with creating the conditions through which an encounter between people takes place. For example, Radical Anti-Racism understood this encounter as

being determined by processes of State racialisation and challenges these dynamics. The movement can be further understood as being a movement of subjectivation and a movement against desubjectivation. In each phase an image of the Subject arises. In each phase, acts of subjectivation took place. In each phase, the movement struggled against an opposition that can be said to operating along the lines of desubjectivation. Yet paradoxically, I also indentified strong themes of desubjectivation in the movement itself and we see a movement, as is uncovered in our first puzzle, that is often at odds with itself. It is a movement that was defined in many cases by acting on the behalf of asylum-seekers. It sometimes struggled to incorporate the voices of asylum-seekers. This research encountered a similar problem but in adopting a dialogic approach I would argue that it serves to enhance the capacity for the dialogue surrounding asylum-seekers in Ireland to be polyvocal in nature. The research stresses the idea of multiple voices in dialogue with one another and this will be discussed in more detail below.

2.3 In an Ideal World: Sociological Intervention:

In attempting to understand the movement and answer these questions I was initially attracted to the methodological works of Touraine and Melucci. In *The Voice and the Eye* Alain Touraine outlines a specific research method called Sociological Intervention. Sociological Intervention according to Dubet and Wieviorka,

> *…can be considered as a means of putting into practice a complex, analytical theory of social action. According to this theory, orders (or levels) of meaning and of social relations are organized and ranked in a hierarchy within, for instance, any social struggle… Touraine has formulated this as the IOT system* (1996:56).

This method is aimed at uncovering the highest level of meaning and action in a given social movement. Touraine is concerned with identifying social movements that contain an appreciable self-understanding of their Identity, Opposition and Totality. In other words, the movement is aware of what it is, who its opponent is and what the stakes of the conflict are. Sociological Intervention assists movements in realising this higher level of self-understanding or "…unitary ideological essence…" as North (1998:568) coins it. Towards the end of a long process of self-analysis that involves the movement being confronted at various points by its opponents and its own image in the guise of video recordings of the meetings, Touraine suggests,

> "*The group is no merely longer reliving the general the general problems of a real historical struggle; it is now moving towards an analysis of the social movement…it no longer analyses the past; it explores the possibility of a social movement, and, more concretely, the possibility of overcoming a crisis or of attaining a higher level of action and mobilisation*" (1981:169).

The method of Sociological Intervention was for this very reason attractive to me. It offered a possible means through which my research would be useful for the movement. I read deeply into the method and began to sketch out what a Sociological Intervention might look like in my case. At this point, I decided that using a website as a forum for the focus groups might be more feasible and I had a friend make the website for me. I presented my plans to a Departmental Seminar and was roundly shot down – I was told – "You're not Alain Touraine". As a consequence, my research became much more conventional, much more in line with what other people around me were doing. I briefly examined Melucci's method that is outlined in his *Nomads of the Present*. In its

scale and scope it is very similar to Sociological Intervention. However, it rejects Touraine's idea that there is a single movement and more adequately accounts for the impact that the researcher has on his/her field (Melucci 2003:246-8). Still, this approach was well out capabilities as a single researcher who was conducting their first piece of serious research.

Retrospectively, my critics were correct but still this change in direction most certainly shaped the collection of my data and my relationship to the people I met. Adopting a more traditional approach to the collection of data meant that in cases, groups and individuals were unwilling to work with me because of my status as a non-activist academic researcher. Certainly, my contacts with Anti-Fascist Action (AFA) were met with a point blank refusal. As such, the anti-fascism aspect of the overall movement, besides a small amount of documentary evidence, is missing. It was also much more difficult to connect with the aligned members of Radical Anti-Racism. It could also be the case that these individuals were simply too busy to participate or missed emails. Equally, it was pointed out to me that individuals in the Far Left in Ireland perhaps have more to lose than others in the case of data going astray. Whatever the reason, the lack of aligned respondents means that key organisational aspects of this phase like protest repertoires and resource mobilisation are not covered in this research. Yet on the other hand, I had very good access to the non-aligned members in Radical Anti-Racism. This allowed me to pursue the idea of change across the movement because non-aligned members were crucial in this process. In the Multicultural Support Group Phase and the Anti-Deportation Group phase, my position of 'researcher as expert' posed no major issues for me in terms of access.

In key respects work that was emerging in the Irish context at this time that prioritises the role of activists and problematics the role of the researcher as expert could have helped me overcome this issue (See Cox 2007; 2010a and 2010b; Cox and Fominaya 2009; and Cox and Nilsen 2006). My recourse to the method of 'researcher as expert' shaped the collection of my data and my relationship to the movement itself. I will now discuss in detail the methodological approach that I actually took after realising that Touraine's and Melucci's methods were out of my reach.

2.4 The Real World: A Qualitative Research Process:

In this section I will outline and assess the typology of my research method. It was decided that the research aims outlined above would be best served through the adoption and systematic implementation of a qualitative research approach. More specifically, this involved the employment of three key qualitative strategies in a triangulation format. These were participant observation, documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews. This particular research strategy was chosen so as to afford the members of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement "…the freedom to formulate their own answers" (Foddy 1993:17) to my own particular research questions. As Bogdan et al (1975:4) point out, "…qualitative methods refer to research procedures which produce descriptive data: people's own written or spoken words and observable behaviour". Qualitative methods in this case here provide an invaluable resource to the researcher as the nature of collective identity and its construction and development is among those "…subject variables that cannot be measured directly" (Foddy 1993:1). Simultaneously and as Bogdan et al also note, "Through qualitative methods we learn about people we would not otherwise know. We hear them speak about themselves, though we do not accept their perspective as

truth, develop an empathy which allows us to see the world from their points of view"
(1975:9). This perspective of opening up to the respondents is further complemented
by the reflexive and dialogic approaches that I discuss in detail below.

An aim of this research is to present a representation of the construction and
development of collective identity and I suggest and as my analysis will show, this is
a process that is best served by highlighting the subjective elements of identity
construction. This is a process that occurs over a period of time and indeed within a
context of accelerated social change in Ireland. A qualitative framework allows for
"…a study design that changes over time – a 'flowing design, which is neither
planned nor accidental" (Tomanovic 2003:270).

In stating this, we should note that this research does not aim to present an objective
truth but instead a "…composite picture…" (Bogdan et al:11) of a number of
individual social realities. In much the same way as the concept of collective identity
presumes multiplicities of social actors and actions, so too does this research strategy.
When Touraine (1981) speaks of a 'voice' in his action-research inspired – *The Voice
and the Eye* – I too sought to uncover a 'voice'. Indeed, the systematic
implementation of a multifaceted research strategy enabled me to illuminate a series
of 'voices' that provide a representation of the Irish Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker
Movement. In this sense, the research is polyvocal and I expand upon this notion
when I speak about the choice of narrative as a means of presenting my research
findings below. Crucially, the the unit of analysis of this research is the "…individual
actors and their experiences" (Coffey and Atkinson 1996:113).

This issue of a 'representation' is an important factor that underlies both the collection
of data and its subsequent analysis. While it is true that qualitative research does not

pertain to claims of universal validity, this does not negate the fact that it provides an extremely rich form of data that allows the researcher to undertake what Coffey and Atkinson suggest is a "…reconstruction of social phenomena" (1996:108). This implies that the role of the researcher within qualitative research is neither passive nor entirely objective. On the contrary, the qualitative researcher as Bogdan et al. point out, "…acts like a sieve which selectively collects and analyses nonrepresentative data" (1975:12)" The crucial interplay and resulting dynamic between the collection of data (research) and its reconstruction as sociological thought (analysis), according to Coffey and Atkinson requires that,

> *We do not simply 'collect' data; we fashion them out of our transactions*
> *with other men and women. Likewise, we do not merely report what we*
> *find; we create accounts of social life, and in doing so we construct*
> *versions of the social worlds and the social actors that we observe*
> (1996:108).

The specificities of the methods that constitute qualitative analysis are complex, broad ranging and the focus of much discussion in the literature on qualitative methodologies. In our case here, I have chosen three distinct methods; 1) the semi-structured interview; 2) documentary analysis; and 3) participant observation. This three-fold approach corresponds to Denzin's idea of triangulation whereby the researcher employs a "…combination of methodologies… to examine his problem from as many different methodologies as possible" (1970:264). In terms of my own research, the usage of documentary analysis is in keeping with Denzin's insistence that an unobtrusive method must be employed so as to complement more "…obtrusive and traditional methods like surveys and questionnaires" (1970:264). In

this case here, interviews and participant observation can be considered as being obtrusive in nature.

The employment of these three methods of investigation complement, I suggest, the fact that research needs to arise from the premise that the social world does not exist as a de facto entity, rather it is something that must be shown to exist through research (Surridge 2002:47). This corresponds with Melucci's assertion above that we must first empirically prove that a movement exists. It must also be acknowledged that no research endeavour is completely capable of fully 'knowing' or explaining the social world. Perlesz and Lindsay (2003:26-8) note that this idea contradicts the supposedly fixed social reality that Denzin's triangulation seeks to capture and on this basis suggests that triangulation be employed so as to overcome the problem of dissonant data. This idea also draws our attention to the wider fact that the "…university does represent an ethereal realm of 'truth' production" (David 2002:12) and this assertion of multiple truths underlies the work presented here. In any research endeavour it is then wise to heed Medd's words on the 'complexity of the social world',

> In Luhmann's terms, we live in an 'ecology of ignorance' (1998).
> However, it is not just that ignorance is a problem, it also makes things
> possible. For how could we make any claims to know the social world if
> we had to account for everything? ...to account for everything possible?
> Ignorance becomes necessary for knowing the social world (2002:80).

In my account and analysis of the Irish Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement I claim nothing more than a specific representation of a particular social phenomenon based in an exacting although by no means all-seeing research strategy. In this way, the 'ignorance' Medd speaks of above, is necessary to curb any suggestion of a claim

to universal validity and is very relevant to the discussion on generalisability below. I will now expand upon the actual methods that I employed and my experiences using them.

2.5 The Methods and Practice:

The semi-structured interview affords the individual researcher a means of engaging with her research subjects in a sustained, intimate and detailed manner. This relationship is not simply unidirectional but instead is best conceived of as an ideal-type whereby a fair and non-threatening two-way dialogue can occur between the researcher and subject. The result of such a dialogue is that the researcher obtains a range of detailed insights into specific areas of their research question(s). However, the semi-structured interview also raises a number of issues as to the quality of the data that they obtain. For example, Foddy (1993) notes that respondents more often than not present the researcher with contradictory evidence. He suggests that, "Respondent's attitudes, beliefs, opinions, habits, interests often seem to be extraordinarily unstable" (Foddy 1993:4). If we add to this a particular concern of this research, namely past actions/events and the attempt at their accurate recall and remembrance by respondents, we can see that the data obtained through semi-structured interviewing is not always reliable. Foddy (1993:91) further notes that this problem is not just concerned with long-term memory but also with the recall of events through short-term memory. This again raises the issue of dissonant data.

Such problems and their impact upon the quality of the data can be lessened by establishing a more meaningful and long-lasting relationship with the respondent from that of the more common once-off meeting and interview. In this research all respondents were initially contacted via email or telephone. This first contact was

defined by a general introduction to the research at hand and a request for some general information about the particular group in question. After a number of written or verbal exchanges an informal face-to-face meeting was arranged. In the initial stages of the research such meetings were invaluable as they provided me with an informal introduction to the respondent and the group. This 'introduction' then became the basis or foundation upon which further communications, meetings and eventually interviews were conducted. To give one example concerning Grainne from ARC; I first met her early on in the research in an informal setting where we discussed not only ARC but also my research itself. She was as much interested in teasing out the then informal or ill-considered aims of the research I was undertaking as I was in her involvement in ARC. Over the course of four years and the development of my research I had a number of encounters with Grainne at protests, seminars and conferences. On this foundation, a final interview was conducted towards the end of my fieldwork. While I had gathered much information in the form of hand-written notes, pamphlets and flyers that Grainne had passed on to me in the initial contacts, the semi-structured interview gave me the opportunity to focus my questioning and his responses on the key areas of the research questions. Any ambiguities that arose could be cleared up through recourse to the prior information gathered in our various encounters and meetings.

As the nature of this research concerns sensitive subject matters such as political processes, moral standpoints and not least the issues of racism and anti-racism, it was crucial that the interviews were conducted in a non-threatening manner. As Foddy notes, such sensitivities generate a threat or "…fear that the interviewer will impose either economic or political sanctions on the respondent" (1993:125). He suggests that the interviewer/researcher must lessen the likelihood of such a perception by

employing four key strategies; 1) increase the respondents level of trust; 2) stress confidentiality; 3) establish interviewer's lack of gullibility and; 4) emphasise the social significance of the respondent's answers (1993:125). I believe that the slow and deliberate nature of the research process undertaken herein allowed for the creation of such a non-threatening environment. At the same time, by virtue of their structure it was impossible to guarantee my respondents anonymity. This may or may not have had an impact on the data obtained during interviews. For example, a respondent will be much less likely to speak of criminal behaviour if they realise that their words are being recorded and may in the future potentially cause them harm.

As the interviews were semi-structured the interview questions were more so based around specific themes than actual questions. Each interview followed a specific pre-defined format so as to garner the key information needed to address the research puzzles. The average interview length was between one and two hours. The interview format employed contained a large element of flexibility so as to facilitate and promote the respondent to 'wander' into areas, which at that time may not be specifically relevant to the research topic, but may upon further reflection prove to be minor or major issues that were previously not a factor in the research. In this way, the classic conception of a semi-structured interview as a 'conversation' or 'dialogue' was achieved in practice. The flexible yet sustained nature of my contact with the respondents meant that this 'conversation' occurred over a period of time longer than the one or two-hour interview and therefore, issues of further interest or confusion could be easily followed up.. Nonetheless, the actual interviews were of huge significance. Russell and Kelly (2002) understand this form of interview process as a crucial site of negotiation between researcher and participant. They state:

"*The concept of negotiation within the interview suggests that the process does not merely recount past events; rather, it constructs new stories out of the flow of information and interpretation of both participants… the dialogic interplay enacted as part of the interview process serves to join and integrate the two independent voices into a seamless co-creation of a newly formed reality…Without searching for pre-existing truths, it considers the ways in which meaning is established through interactive dialog and recognizes the collaborative nature of the interview process.*" (Russell and Kelly 2002:14)

The interviews that I conducted were crucially important in the construction of the narrative of the movement. Given the fact the narrative is based in twenty-two interviews I would argue the 'newly formed reality' Russell and Kelly mention above is in my case polyvocal in nature. It contains multiple voices. In all but five of the twenty-two interviews conducted throughout this research, a digital Dictaphone was used to record the content of the interview. The use of a digital Dictaphone means that the audio files were transferred to a Personal Computer and played via a standard media player. This greatly aided in transcription. At the same time, the files can be much more easily backed-up compared to traditional tapes. This was crucial in two interviews I conducted because the recordings needed to be manipulated through software to reduce background noises and static. These two factors are well worth considering when choosing between the digital and traditional methods of recording.

Traditionally, there are a number of concerns that researchers register when semi-structured interviews are used to collect data. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (2008:219) argue that personal interviews are typically costly, prone to bias and cannot guarantee respondents anonymity. Cost is certainly an issue in the case of this

research. To interview people outside of Dublin, I needed to travel and find accommodation. As noted above, no respondents cancelled their meetings. If this had of occurred it would have been financially difficult to reschedule.

Bias as an issue in the qualitative interview is much more difficult to pin down compared to cost issues. Bias was certainly an issue in this research considering that in many cases I presented myself as a sympathetic researcher. Presenting myself as a biased researcher is simply an occupational hazard. Sociology is predominantly a biased discipline, at least in the manner that I understand it. When party preferences of Sociologists in America were examined they were predominantly left-leaning (Cardiff and Klein 2005:238). LeCompte (1987) provides an excellent analysis of the biases that simply emanate from the fact that research takes place within the context of a university and the context of a researcher's life-history and life-project. The people that you associate with as colleagues and friends, the opportunities the research provides you, your geography and the supervisor or mentor you have are among possible sources of bias (LeCompte 1987).

Throughout my research I recognised my subjectivity but as much as is possible I tried to recognise and prevent bias from entering the process of gathering data. In the case of the interviewing process I made sure not to offer evaluative statements of the respondents answers. I was also aware of the non-verbal cues that I could present to the respondent that could act as evaluative statements (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 2008). The issue of bias was also relevant to my participant observation and documentary analysis. In the case of participant observation I attempted to keep detailed field notes and used these to establish a non-biased picture of the movement. Interestingly, content analysis or documentary analysis is typically used to establish bias in representations. No matter what precautions the qualitative researcher takes

bias is still a huge issue. In this research I have attempted to stymie its influence by being aware throughout of its potential to change my findings.

Participant observation is the second component of the three-pronged research strategy that I implemented in order to answer my research questions. The opportunity to conduct participant observation arose during the same process of contacting and engaging with respondents described above. Participant observation is here understood as "…research characterised by a period of intense social interaction between the researcher and the subjects, in the milieu of the latter" (Bogdan et al.1975:5). In terms of my own research this entailed the attendance of group meetings and protest events. In terms of participation and especially with concern to group meetings my role as a researcher was made known to all attendees. In this way and given the basis of my interaction with group members it can be characterised as a form of phenomenological participant observation (Bryun 1966).

It was not possible to attend meetings with the groups that had disbanded. Over a period of two years I went to ten meetings. These were with RAR, Donegal Town Asylum Seeker Support Group (DTASSSG) and New Horizon. The majority of the meetings I attended were RAR meetings simply because they are located in Dublin. These meetings took place in the basement room of a bar in Dublin city centre. I spent time in Athlone Town and Donegal Town and was given the opportunity to sit in on group meetings. At these meetings I achieved an insight into the groups that was invaluable. For example, attending meetings gave me a better idea of: 1) Group membership numbers; 2) Member demographics; 3) Everyday group concerns like fundraising; 4) Division of labour or who does what; 5) Influential members; and 6) Member dynamics.

I found attending meetings to be quite difficult for a number of reasons. Primarily, I was overly cognisant of my role and status as a researcher and felt myself to be wholly lacking in useful information. I also found the role of participant observer was quite a difficult one to maintain in the context of a fixed space like a meeting room. It was much easier to participate and observe in the context of a demonstration where there is fluid movement and comings and goings. In a fixed space, like in the basement of a bar or sitting around a table, you stand out. Of course, my own sense of confidence and capacity to interact with people needs to be taken into account here. The role that the data I gathered via participant observation was more difficult to assess in the light of the dialogic approach adopted. For the most part, I restricted the data gathered through this method to that which was directly observable. Examples of this include the numbers of attendees at meetings, the location of events and meetings, the designated roles that people occupied at meetings and so on. I needed to be especially careful not to misinterpret people's actions within this context because it would necessarily impact upon my goal of creating a narrative that stressed a dialogic and polyvocal approach.

I also attended protests. Of key importance here were the direct action events organised by RAR, CADIC and ADC. I attended twenty protests in a research capacity. I found this form of participant observer much more appealing, possibly because of the potential for anonymity that a protest allows. At demonstrations I either marched or stood off to the side if there was something specific that I wanted to observe. For example, it was much easier to observe signs from outside of the march than it was in the march. Conversely, it was difficult to appreciate the passion and intensity of a protest from afar. The large numbers of individuals and their disparate backgrounds meant that my role of researcher was less well known. In this sense,

attendance at protests verged on the non-participatory at certain points. Attendance at protests allowed me to observe 1) Protest Signs; 2) Asylum-Seeker Participation; 3) Political Affiliations; 4) Speeches; 5) Crowd Reactions to Speeches; and 6) Public Reaction. I also restricted my data collection here to that which was directly observable.

It should also be noted that throughout the research the technique of 'simple observation' (Denzin 1970:267) was also employed. This entailed the unobtrusive gathering of data, such as flyers and posters throughout the course of an everyday routine. For example, posters and flyers concerning anti-racism events were regularly posted throughout Dublin City Centre. This method was also used to observe, gather and document racist graffiti, posters and flyers. Watchful and mindful colleagues and friends contributed greatly to the gathering of this specific source of data.

This leads us on to the final method employed, namely documentary analysis. In keeping with Denzin's (1970:264-5) and Webb's (1996) observation, it can be stated that this is an unobtrusive method of qualitative research. Documentary analysis contributed two key facets to the data collection. In the first instance, it provided a contextual background to the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in Ireland and given the fact that this form of data is more likely to be the product of a more considered and lengthy thought process compared to the spoken word, it provided a different type of insight into the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in Ireland. Building such a context was crucial in terms of the interview process. As Carter (2004:353) notes, "…the interview as a social artefact is influenced by not only the identity of those who participate, but also the social, temporal and historical context in which it takes place". The systematic gathering and analysis of documentary evidence

associated with the movement allowed me to achieve a much greater level of contextualisation.

In the second instance, and as we will see in the analyses of the various groups, documentary analysis provided a crucially important 'official' or 'formal' perspective. This 'formal' perspective was extremely useful in helping me construct a narrative of the development of the movement and its ideas over a defined period of time. This formal perspective could then be compared and contrasted to the data gathered in the interviews. The dynamic between these two sources of data plays a crucial role in my analysis section.

The range of sources gathered throughout this research are; 1) Pamphlets, Flyers, and Stickers; 2) Posters; 3) Group Publications; 4) Website Content; 5) "Blogs"; and 6) Irish Government Policy Publications. These documents were judged to be the best source of information available to the researcher as they emanated from the movement itself and its opposition. In order to analyse the content of the documents they were categorised according to their chronological position within the overall movement and then coded under loosely defined and generalised headings. These headings are as follows; 1) Ideology; 2) Protest; 3) Opposition; 4) Collective Identity; 5) Multiculturalism; 6) Anti-Racism; and 7) Racism. In the process of analysis the intricate relationships of these general headings to one another and their complex analytical meaning were exposed in a more detailed and rigorous fashion. For example, the relationship between Opposition and Ideology is far stronger in the construction of the collective identity of Radical Anti-Racism than it is in the Multicultural Support Group. During the process of extraction of key themes from the documentary evidence the texts themselves were taken in their totality. I thereby avoided the pitfalls Markoff et al (1975:5-6) associate with researchers that

concentrate only on those aspects of the text that immediately appear interesting or relevant and in the process miss the opportunity of uncovering less obvious or indeed hidden features. I focussed on both the manifest and latent content of the material (Babbie 2010).

Due to the fact many of the groups that were a part of this research were organised in a relatively informal manner, there were a number of relevant concerns with the data extracted from the documents that they produced. Firstly, a key methodological concern was raised with whether or not the documents were representative of the groups. The documents tended to be written by those members who were most invested in the movement/group. They tended to reflect the interests and beliefs of the individuals who were most involved. When constructing the narrative of the groups a key issue arose, namely how in many cases the formal documents that a group produced and what these mean are sometimes at odds with how individual members construct their own meaning of the group. The case of Radical Anti-Racism is an excellent example of this. The groups that I examined were informal organisations but it was certainly worthwhile to conceive of the documents they produced as being *formal* representations of the groups. This means that the picture I built of the movement through documentary evidence is just one aspect of the movement. This research has found that the image of the movement created through documentary research is more of a reflection of its key members rather than its overall membership base.

Secondly, many of the documents produced have no discernable author and this raised the issue of whom to attribute authorship to. This fact impacts upon the above concern of what type of picture I built through the usage of documentary sources of evidence. Authorship is typically only ever indirectly observable in this research; we are told by

respondents that *x* person or *y* person is responsible. Thirdly, the informal nature of the groups, meant that I did not always get the opportunity to access all of the documents that a group produces. Access to documents was affected by the willingness and/or capacity for a group to archive documents. As a consequence access to documents varied across groups. In ADC I had complete access to documents because they were all stored in an online group. With MWAR, my only access to group documents was their Internet website. Luckily, when sites go offline they are archived at www.waybackmachine.org. Of course, you need to know the URL in the first place.

2.6 Locating the Research(er) in Research:

One of the key advantages of qualitative research is the capacity of the researcher to practice Reflexive Sociology. Quantitative sociologists practice reflexivity but it far more commonly associated with qualitative sociologists. Gouldner (in Seale et al 2004:381) states that,

> *A Reflexive Sociology, then, is not characterised by 'what' it studies. It is distinguished neither by the persons and the problems studied nor even by the techniques and instruments used in studying them. It is characterised, rather, by the 'relationship' it establishes between being a sociologist and being a person, between the role and the man performing it. Reflexive Sociology embodies a critique of the conventional conception of segregated scholarly roles and has a vision of an alternative. It aims at transforming the sociologist's relation to his work…*

These words are orientated towards the issue of locating the researcher as an individual or indeed subject in his/her own research. In a manifest way, they break

down the lofty barriers raised by positivism and the pursuit of the strictly objective in the Social Sciences. Hence reflexivity being more commonly found in qualitative research. In a reflexive sociology the dynamic between a researcher and his/her own research is open to question, analysis and criticism in the light of both their research and their own self.

With respect to this research and my own position within it, practicing reflexivity raised the issues of my own relationship to the areas of race, ethnicity, and anti-racism. As a member of the majority culture in Ireland I initially approached the fields of migration, multiculturalism and anti-racism with some trepidation and indeed fear. Egharevba (2001:229-230) raises this exact point when suggesting that interacting in a research context with minority ethnic groups leads to "…self doubt and questions of rights". Fawcett and Hearn (2004:201) even go so far as to pose the question; "…can men research women, white people, people of colour or vice-versa?" They further suggest and this goes to the core of the issue of a reflexive sociology that, "…[researching] without the researcher having immediate points of identification or direct experience of associated divisions and oppressions…" (2004:202) is an extremely problematic issue.

The difficulty that arises in this instance is defined by the inherent complexity in defining and negotiating Otherness (Fawcett and Hearn 2004:204) While this research focuses on a minority issue the number of minority participants is just five out of twenty-two. This can in part be accounted for by the fact that so-called 'well-meaning whites' are at the heart of many of the groups. This is also a reflection of the barriers to asylum-seeker participation/mobilisation like a lack of social capital, fear of retribution and language barriers. However, perhaps this criticism is equally applicable to myself. While attempts were made to engage minority-led groups they

were unsuccessful and this as pointed out above is a significant weakness in the research. The relative lack of minority-led groups in the field contributed to this but in the majority of the cases of contacts that I made received no response. In one case, I was unable to travel to meet with a group. My whiteness and my Irishness are an issue here. In the cases where I engaged with minorities my very position of a researcher and representative of the majority culture could according to the perspectives above render such engagements as largely meaningless or at the very least, misjudged and misguided. I would argue that there is a strong case for undertaking such research. The reason why I constructed a narrative around the results of my research was to highlight the capacity for a dialogic approach that could overcome these issues. Of course, issues of power, representation and status should still be taken into consideration. Practicing 'personal reflexivity' (Willig 2001:10) allowed me to generate a good awareness of how I myself was shaping the research. Similarly, being 'epistemologically reflexive' (Willig 2001:10) necessitated that I employ a narrative form of analysis that would prioritise a dialogic approach. Jordan and Singh (2011:408) argue that,

> "*Traditional social science writings are dominated by a single voice –*
> *that of the omniscient and omnipotent author or narrator. There is a*
> *hierarchy of discourses: all other voices – those of the 'informants' or*
> *'subjects' – are subordinated to that of the Author. The Expert 'quotes'*
> *other voices; they do not converse with, challenge or subvert the voice*
> *of Authority.*"

The arguments that I present are not intended to be dogmatic – my voice and the concerns it raises are not meant to drown out those voices of the social actors who day in and day out and are the subject of the processes of social inequality and racisms

that I speak of. Nor does it serve to drown out the voices of the many activists that took part in this research. My voice serves to complement theirs and to add the overall debate on asylum-seekers in Ireland today. bell hooks when speaking of how researchers present marginalised groups argued that,

> *"Often this speech about the 'other' annihilates, erases: 'no need to hear your voice when I can talk about you better than you can speak about yourself. No need to hear your voice. Only tell me about your pain. I want to know your story. And then I will tell it back to you in a new way. Tell it back in such a way that it has become mine, my own. Re-writing you, I write myself anew. I am still author, authority. I am still the colonizer, the speak subject, and you are now at the centre of my talk. Stop. (1990:151-152)"* (in Scheyvens et al 2003:167).

This entails that research is undertaken, like colonisation, for personal benefit. The epistemologically reflexive component to this research necessitated that I question and challenge my role as expert and moreover, in many cases the research participants were far more knowledgeable and experienced than me. There is no doubt that this research personally benefits me. However, the research is not simply and purely 'self-serving' (Scheyvens et al 2003:1670. I established meaningful relationships and friendships with some of the research participants. I took part in protests and helped where I could at group meetings. The research process taught me how important it is to practice everyday anti-racism, which I would argue is a form of activism.

In keeping with the dialogic approach that this research took I offered each respondent access to my findings and the opportunity to further discuss and perhaps shape these findings and my interpretation of them. I made a point of not offering my

initial observations to respondents. I did not think that they counted as 'findings' per se because they were in a rough state. The fact that these findings were largely based in the respondents own understandings of what was happening meant that their initial usefulness at that early stage would be questionable. In fact, it would be questionable if my respondents would actually have been interested in my findings (their thoughts) at this stage. I thought it prudent to wait until the whole process of theoretical analysis was completed before offering the work to my respondents. This decision was also made in the light of issues of confidentiality. I wanted to ensure that the draft I presented to respondents was polished and that confidentiality would be ensured. At this point, the research will be offered to each respondent.

In a somewhat ironic twist, during the process of writing up this research I too, albeit by choice, found my "illegal" presence in a "sovereign territory" the subject of a long and drawn-out bureaucratic investigation by various US government departments. This was a crucial experience for me from the perspective of 'personal reflexivity' and perhaps goes a long way to explaining the format that my analysis took. I was unable to legally work for a period of nine months. My past and present and future were perceived as something that I needed to constantly prove were compatible with the supposed 'goals' of an idealised American society. I was presumed a criminal. My health and my body were seen as objects that again must be declared as being compatible with a minimum standard. If I were HIV positive I would have been deported. My defining characteristics like facial features, height, weight and fingerprints are forever on file with US State agencies and will be regularly reassessed. My location had to be declared and failure to do so warranted deportation. Moreover, I was forbidden to leave the US.

This experience allowed me to understand very well why an asylum-seeker might choose not to participate in a given group and I will examine this issue below. I have a sense of the frustration that they must experience and a sense of the powerlessness they possibly feel. I did not end up joining anti-racism groups during this time. I kept my head down and my nose clean. I would not have risked being identified at a protest and this somehow becoming a factor in my case. In a very real way, this experience allowed me to see that in the case of majority-led actions on the behalf of minorities we need to remain cognisant of the fact that if the majority did nothing, the minority would become even more exposed to possible abuse and exploitation. I was helped by an NGO – the Irish Immigration Centre in Boston. They were largely well meaning second, third and fourth generation Irish-Americans that provided free legal services and document preparation to migrants. In as much as the groups I focussed on are considered by some to be 'well-meaning Whites against racism' they are taking a stand. If this stand involves subjugating the minority then it would be entirely problematic. This was not the case, however, in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement.

In writing up my analysis with this in mind, it is perhaps no surprise to the reader that processes of rationalisation and objectification loom large for this is how I tried to rationalise or come to terms with my own experiences of migration. My overwhelming desire was that I could just be left to get on with things. The process, however, strips you of your ontological consistency and you begin to question your very essence. This is only returned or possible to rebuild upon the completion of a long drawn out, very Kafkaesque bureaucratic process. A stamp in a passport confirmed that I could resume life.

As Gouldner above alludes to, my role as a sociologist is inextricably orientated towards my own life-project. This raises the issue that this research should be read in light of my experiences and my background. Taking this into consideration, it is hoped that the reader will be able to discern that in as much as we struggle with notions of objectivity, there is room for us to come to intersubjective understandings of our social reality. The dialogic focus that this research took plays an important role in this process of reaching intersubjective understandings. It is hoped that that its inclusion can mitigate the issues of marginalisation and authority discussed above.

2.7 Generalisability and Qualitative Social Research:

In coming to such intersubjective understandings the issue of generalisability is crucial. Generalisability is very relevant to both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Generalisation and generalisability refer to "…an act of reasoning that involves drawing broad conclusions from particular instances- that is, making an inference about the unobserved based on the observed" (Polit and Beck 2010:1451). It is often taken for granted that a quantitative approach to data collection guarantees generalisability. In qualitative research it is not so straightforward. A section that discussed generalisability would perhaps be considered either superfluous or rudimentary were this a quantitative piece of research.

Before I examine the controversy surrounding qualitative research and generalisability and assess the ramifications for this research, it is well worth bearing in mind that,

> *Among quantitative researchers, there appears to be unequivocal*
>
> *agreement that the goal of quantitative research typically is to generalise*
>
> *findings and inferences from a representative statistical sample to the*

population from which the sample was drawn…Yet this generalisability is often compromised by the facts that one, random sampling techniques are not used by most studies in the behavioural and social sciences. Second, the majority of quantitative studies involve sampling sizes that are too small (i.e., low statistical power) to detect statistically significant relationships or differences that really exist" (Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2010:882).

If quantitative research today struggles to meet the scientific criteria for generalisability because of a lack of random sampling and small sample sizes then qualitative research will struggle even more so. This is especially the case given that sample sizes in qualitative research are typically much, much smaller than those in quantitative research and that random sampling is most often not used in qualitative research.

For some external validity as it is conceptualised in quantitative research is thus unachievable in qualitative research (Schofield 1989:206). Polit and Beck note that typically "Qualitative researchers seldom worry explicitly about the issue of generalisability" (2010:1452). Equally, Payne and Williams (2005:299) found that the journal *Sociology* in 2003 published over a dozen articles that ignored generalisability outright.

A further issue that problematises generalisation in qualitative research is the perspective that in both qualitative and quantitative research it is pointless because "It is virtually impossible to imagine any human behaviour that is not heavily mediated by the context in which it occurs. One can easily conclude that generalisations that are intended to be context free will have little useful to say about human behaviour"

(Guba and Lincoln in Schofield 1989:206). This approach highlights the idiographic and subjective nature of all constructed knowledge and becomes a starting point for a series of approaches that offer the qualitative researcher varying forms of generalisability and varying strategies as how to get there. Guba and Lincoln suggest replacing the concept of generalisability with that of 'fittingness' (Schofield 1989:206) and Denzin and Lincoln suggest using 'transferability' (Larsson 2009:27) as an alternative to generalisability. For such approaches the key issue is to provide a *thick description* of a social process that allows the reader, if they so wish, to transfer the data to another context. The issue of generalisability, transferability or fittingness is no longer the responsibility or concern of the researcher (Talburt 2009). It is the responsibility of the reader. No matter what the concept, external validity or "…the range and limitations for application of the study's findings, beyond the context in which the study was done" (Malterud 2001:484) is the key issue here. According to Talburt (2004:91) alternatives to generalisability strive to achieve the complete separation of the qualitative researcher from the positivistic tradition of scientific inquiry. Troublingly for Talburt (2004), if such a demarcation exists this leads qualitative research away from any kind of basis for verification or validity.

In order to reinsert generalisability back in to qualitative research there has been a movement towards conceptualizing what might be called a qualitatively appropriate generalisability. These approaches recognize that qualitative research cannot replicate the generalisability produced in quantitative research but that it can and should include measures in its methods that promote something akin to quantitative generalisability. For example, Payne and Williams discuss the relevance of a second class of generalisability that they call *moderatum generalization* (2005:297). They

argue that such generalizations are similar to the generalizations made in people's everyday lives. They

> *…are moderate in two senses. First, the scope of what is claimed is moderate. Thus, they are not attempts to produce sweeping sociological statements that hold good over long periods of time, or across a range of cultures. Second, they are moderately held, in the sense of a political or aesthetic view that is open to change* (Payne and Williams 2005:297).

Instead of ignoring the issue of generalisability, Payne and Williams contend that qualitative research can facilitate moderate generalizations in five key ways.

Firstly, they suggest that we take the scope of generalisability into account. Do we seek to generalize at the level of a society/a culture, in other words extensively, or do we seek to generalize to "…certain limited types of sites or categories of person" (Payne and Williams 2005:306). Practicing moderation it is feasible for us to generalize that Multicultural Support Groups in Ireland may share some of DTASSG and New Horizon's features.

We can further moderate ours claims if we, as Payne and Williams (2005:306) suggest, incorporate the factor of time. Our findings are time specific and as such our capacity to generalize must be time specific. We can rephrase the assertion of generalization above to 'It is feasible for us to generalize that during the period of 1994-2004 Multicultural Support Groups in Ireland may share some of DTASSG and New Horizon's features'.

Thirdly, and perhaps troublingly, Payne and Williams (2005:306) ask the researcher to take into account "…how accurately the research has characterized the study

topic". Accuracy is closely related to the practice of data collection and its subsequent analysis. I discuss below how by incorporating certain strategies we can increase accuracy and increase generalisability. Still, accuracy in this context is problematic and in order to overcome this, Payne and Williams (2005:306) suggest we, fourthly, moderate generalisability to *basic patterns*. By doing so "…findings are seen as contingent on the social processes in which they are embedded, and therefore the question for generalization is the limits of this contingency" (Payne and Williams 2005:306). With this in mind, we can further rephrase our generalization above by noting "It is feasible for us to generalize that during the period of 1994-2004 Multicultural Support Groups in rural Ireland towns that are locations for Dispersal and Direct Provision may share some features that we observed in DTASSG and New Horizon".

Lastly, Payne and Williams (2005:306-307) suggest that we categorise the "…ontological status of the phenomena in question". The phenomena in question in this case are multi fold. We first locate our research at the level of group relationships, which Payne and Williams (2005:307) suggest are among the lower order of things to be generalised due to their variance. Payne and Williams suggest that at the very least generalisation is possible at the level of group relationships by employing *testable statements*. We also locate our research at the level of social structure (the Irish State) and this is more apt to generalization given its greater capacity for continuity across time.

I would add that this practice of *moderatum generalisation* can be complemented by *analytic generalisation*. According to Polit and Beck (2010:1453),

In an idealised model of analytic generalisation, qualitative researchers develop conceptualisations of processes of human experiences through in-depth scrutiny and higher-order abstraction. In the course of their analysis, qualitative researchers distinguish between information that is relevant to all (or many) study participants, in contrast to aspects of the experience that are unique to particular participants.

In my analytical sections, there is a marked process of inductive reasoning, where I move from the patterns of particulars gleamed from the data and form generalisations based upon this. I would argue that by incorporating the following strategies into my data collection and data analysis, there is a strong case to be made for analytic generalisation. Firstly, I used triangulation as a method of data collection so as to integrate levels of qualitative data. Unfortunately, there was not the opportunity to incorporate quantitative data as Polit and Beck (2010:1455) suggest because it simply did not exist in a secondary form and it was out of the remit of the research to create it. Where possible I have also incorporated previous research, albeit largely qualitative research. Secondly, the willingness to think conceptually and reflexively (Polit and Beck 2010:1455) is a key feature of this research. The process of moving from an Anti-Racism Movement – as the movement was first conceived – to a Pro-Migrant Movement – as it was secondly conceived – to a Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement as it is lastly conceived is strong evidence of this. This was only made possible by adhering to the third strategy to enhance generalisability, that of *immersion*.

Polit and Beck (2010:1456) claim, "Immersion in and strong reflection about one's data can promote effective generalisation". Immersion is crucial to the process of inductive reasoning and analytic generalisation. As you move through your research

this becomes very evident. For example, there is little doubt that the analysis conducted below is not the analysis that I wanted to conduct. The more immersed I became in the data, the more unlikely my original hypotheses about the movement became. For example, when first encountering Radical Anti-Racism via the Internet, I noted the groups were avowedly non-political. "How nicely this fits with NSM theory", I thought. I could not have been more wrong.

By creating a *thick description* of the movement, I added a fourth means through which analytic generalisability becomes possible (Polit and Beck 2010:1456). As Geertz (1973:6) points out it is not enough to see the *wink*, the researcher needs to see the meaning behind the *wink*. The key means through which I achieved this was through triangulation and then the creation of a narrative of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. This complicates the issue of generalisability because the process of narrative construction shapes the findings of the research and thus the potential for external validity.

In specific terms, I would argue that given my approach to generalisability my findings are best applied to the narrowly defined Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement that I observed over the course of my fieldwork. I have already discussed what I consider to be the specificities of my approach to social movements and limited my sample to groups that best fitted this definition. If I were to generalise from my findings and speak to the whole range of actions that occur in the realm of asylum-seekers in Ireland or elsewhere for that matter, then I would be contradicting the purpose of strict definition of social movements. This is why the examples of claims to generalisability that I make above in the context of the discussion of moderatum generalisation above are so specific. There is also the option that I can leave the process of generalisability, as in the case of Guba and Lincoln's approach of

'fittingness', to the reader himself or herself. One interesting and very focussed way in which this could occur would be to compare the findings of this research to a similar piece of research on the formal institutionalised groups that act in the arena of issues surrounding asylum-seekers. This would extend the generalisability of my findings to the more formal and institutionalised groups that were not a part of this research.

In terms of the generalisability of my theoretical approach, I would argue that it could be very useful to theoretically situate the more the formal and institutionalised groups within my framework. I have claimed above that the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement can be most succinctly understood through a framework that relies heavily upon Touraine and Melucci. In advocating this approach I restricted the scale of my sample to largely grassroots organisations and focussed upon their relationship with an opponent, the Irish state. I argued that the concept of social movement be restricted to this specific type of collective action. I also argued that this collective action was not simply a product of a rational motivated actor. This is all not to say there were not other forms of collective action in Irish society at the time that impacted upon asylum-seekers or even the movement itself. The chief distinction I made was that I did not conceptualise these largely more formal institutions as social movements. Such groups are typically the targets of PPT and RMT approaches and as we have seen in the case of Cullen's and A. Lentin's works, such analyses produce very interesting results. However, this work also reflects the underlying problems of such approaches, like the emphasis upon conceptualising these groups as solely political actors. I think it would be appropriate to conduct such analyses upon my sample. Moreover, they could uncover interesting facts that my approach perhaps overlooked. Similarly, I

propose that my theoretical approach could be used to understand the more formal actors that my sample excludes.

This would necessitate the potential research attempting to firstly identify or define the potential role of an opponent for these groups. Secondly, it would also require the research to extend beyond the formal representations that these groups create and to uncover their hidden or submerged spaces of action and meaning. In other words, I would argue that it could be useful to approach these groups from a perspective that sought to uncover their informal modes of action. Taking a standard PPT or RMT approach would perhaps mean that this would not happen to the extent that it could. Certainly, the focus that occurs here on attempting to explain the larger question of why the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement occurs would not happen. Equally then, it would be useful to ask this question of the more formal and institutionalised groups acting in the field in Ireland. Perhaps, as I conclude below with respect to Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement, the issues of the Subject and instrumentalisation would loom large.

2.8 Constructing a Narrative of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement:

In order to most effectively present the complex development of the Irish Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement over a period of ten or so years I choose to present its development in the form of a narrative. As noted above, this method of presenting my results is one of the key means through which I can insert a dialogic element to my research. I understand narratives to be "discourses with a clear sequential order that connect events in a meaningful way for a definite audience and thus offers insights about the world and/or people's experiences of it" (Hinchman and Hinchman in Gregory 2010:632). The narrative presented here is conceived of as containing a level

of analysis that precedes the *formal analysis*. It is best understood as a 'second-order narrative'. These are "…accounts we may construct as researchers to make sense of the social world, and of other people's experiences" (Elliot 2005:13). In this way, the narrative and my analysis chapters are inextricably linked.

The narrative stands alone as a 'temporal and logical' (Coffey and Atkinson 1996:55) insight into the groups, people and events that have defined the nature of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in Ireland. The narrative is told largely from the perspective of the participants in this research and the documents that they produced in their everyday practices as activists. It stands as a testament to these individuals. To the greatest extent possible I attempted to convey their own story through their own words when I reconstructed the social and cultural world of their movement. As Coffey and Atkinson (1996:113) rightly suggest, "The unit of the narrative, is for the most part… individual actors and experiences". This raises the important distinction made between the researcher's voice and the voice of the research participants. The narrative is an interpretation of the participant's voices and if misinterpretation takes place it is the fault of the researcher. Riessman in (Larsson and Sjoblom 2010:274) argue "…we cannot give voice, but we do hear voices that we record and interpret". There is certainly a subtle interplay or negotiation between the story being shaped by the experiences of the research participants and the story being shaped by the researcher's experience of the time in question and at all points prior and during the narratives construction. Russell and Kelly (2002) argue that this form of negotiation and dialog begins before a researcher even meets his/her participants. Prior to contact with participants"…the researcher begins to imagine and later investigate the desired qualities and experiences of potential participant…" (Russell and Kelly 2002). When contact is established the fictional dialog between researcher

and participant becomes a reality where a process of dialogic consensus building occurs. The net result of this process "…ultimately defines a story's meaning." (Russell and Kelly 2002). The story or the narrative itself can be considered to be polyphonic whereby, "…independent but interconnected voices can be seen as synonymous with the music formed by an orchestra where many different instruments perform their part in a given musical piece" (Brown 2005:202) A key issue that arose in this research was ensuring that there was equality among the participant's voices, especially given the diverse range of their values, attitudes and beliefs and I will elaborate upon this when I describe the research sample below.

We must pay heed to the factor of representation and its reconstruction as interpretation. While the method of triangulation that I employed lessens to some extent the possibility for errors or misreading we must be aware that,

> "*Stories re-present the outcomes of a series of reconstructions (Riessman, 1993). The initial reconstruction is by the participant as she/he recalls an experience and then describes that experience for the researcher. The researcher then reconstructs that experience as she/he transcribes, analyses and interprets the experience. A further level of reconstruction occurs as the reader reads and reacts to the experience*" (McCormack 2004:220).

Thus, there are a series of levels of reconstruction that concern not only multiple levels of interpretation but also the key element of knowledge construction. The final level of reconstruction that lies with the reader of the text is something that is implicit within the text from its inception to its completion. As Coffey and Atkinson (1996:118) state, "The analytic work of writing implies the establishment of a

relationship between author and reader… when we do write – and hence inscribe certain preferred interpretations in our books, dissertations and papers – we do so with an implied audience of readers". The role that an audience plays in how and what one writes is therefore of crucial importance and necessitates the incorporation of another level of dialogical thinking in the sense that "…dialogue… [is]… the active process that takes place in the imagination of the writer whose idea for the story is drawn from multi-voiced contexts and then shared through an implied address toward a civic audience" (Nielsen 2009:25)

Burman (2002) argues that the relationship between the individual student researcher and the academy as an audience should be a prominent concern. This is especially the case when we examine the potential audience of a dissertation. The audience can be, according to Coffey and Atkinson (1996:118), either implicit (unknown or ill-considered) or explicit (recognised from the outset). In the case of the latter, this results in the author to some extent writing for an audience and therefore "…couching the interpretation accordingly" (Coffey and Atkinson 1996:118). The audience to the writer can mean exposure and judgement. The writer is no longer back stage but instead occupies the stage, on their own and front in centre. In the case of this dissertation the audience is of course varied but implicit in the process from the very beginning.

Your supervisor is typically a person that you deeply respect but also perhaps fear because of their power to state "Maybe this PhD thing is not a good idea for you afterall." What you write is therefore always couched in the fear of "Does this make me sound smart?" As an insecure PhD student your supervisor is the first point of call when writing precisely because it is (s)he who decides that the work can be considered worthy enough to move on to viva voce. With this in mind you also write

for a second supervisor, the Chair of your department and finally an internal and external examiner. Because of the intensity of the relationship between writer and supervisor these secondary concerns are largely unimportant to the writing process until close to the end. At this time, confidence is naturally increasing and another audience comes into play. This is the wider academic community. Specifically, you wonder about the key theorists you are writing about and using. What if they read what I wrote about them? What if I got it wrong? I already know specific academics that do not agree with my approach. Such feelings are mild, especially considering the subjective and ideological nature of much theoretical work.

The above discussion, however, is extremely relevant to the final aspect of what I consider to be part of an audience, namely my research participants. This is especially the case because the narrative that I produced is critically analysed. The narrative stands as the participant's story, a representation of their lives that I then try to understand from a critical perspective. What if I am wrong? This is my biggest concern – the participants are my most important audience. The analysis was conducted in the hope that it will add to the dialog on the issues surrounding asylum-seekers in Ireland. This, again, is one of the ways in which I would argue that this research is not "…merely self-serving" (Scheyvens et al 2003:167).

Returning to the key point concerning the construction and reconstruction of knowledge through a narrative process we should assert the point that, "Knowledge constructed through this process is recognised as being situated, transient, partial and provisional; characterised by multiple voices, perspectives, truths and meanings. It values transformation at a personal level, individual subjectivity and the researcher's voice" (McCormack 2004:220).

This is further complicated by the implications that revolve around how one constructs the actual narrative itself. Implicit in the construction of the narrative is the process of emplotment. According to Somers,

The significance of emplotment for narrative understanding is often the most misunderstood aspect of narrativity. Without attention to emplotment, narrative's explanatory dimension can easily be overlooked and be misperceived as a nontheoretical representation of events. Yet it is emplotment that permits us to distinguish between narrative, on the one hand, and chronicle or annals (White 1987), on the other. In fact, it is emplotment of narrative that allows us to construct a significant network or configuration of relationships (1992:602).

In constructing the narrative contained herein I followed the idea of *emplotment* as suggested by Ricoeur. According to Ricoeur, this entails an "…operation that draws a configuration out of a simple succession" (1983:65). By focussing on emplotment I understand the narrative that I constructed as containing a first level of analysis as mentioned above. The narrative as we have noted is characterised by its chronological format. However, this chronology while presenting the historical events is also characterised by my search for the historicity and collective identity of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. Collective identity and historicity are major parts of the plot – they act as structuring agents. Emplotment therefore requires a social element as Somers suggests above. The search for an identity is a key feature of emplotment, which does not according to Ricoeur occur solely at the level of actions. It is also concerns the development of characters. While I focus on a second order analysis, characters are central to the narrative and how it is constructed. The categorisation of participants into aligned and non-aligned or reformer and conformer

mirrors the idea of conflict that informs my research. The fact that this conflict is then played out on a larger societal scale adds to the process of emplotment.

The narrative not only contains such characters but it also contains those characters mise en scène. Crucial to the process of emplotment is the scene that the characters find themselves in. Interestingly, this scene is not necessarily fully explained in the narrative itself. It is also evident in the literature review, introduction, analyses chapters and conclusion. Research participants set the scene, but it was also crucially informed by my capacity to theoretically situate his or her work. The scene that is created is characterised by an encounter between good and evil (Pro-Asylum-Seeker Movement and the State), and by the presence of people in distress (Asylum-Seeker). It is the battle between the subjective versus the objective.

The narrative presented here is a '…storying of stories…' as McCormack (2004:220) describes it. It is both an '…analysis of narrative…' or the identification of themes across the narrative and a '…narrative analysis…' whereby "…descriptions of actions and events as 'data'… are used to generate stories through a process of emplotment" (McCormack 2004:220). The end result is that I present a story that will "…enable us to think creatively about the sorts of data we collect and how to interpret them" (Coffey and Atkinson 1996:55). Crucially, in constructing this story and undertaking the research in general, I was centrally concerned with

> *"... seeking a moral equality—in contrast to role inequality— [that]*
>
> *invites both the researcher and the participant to grow, learn, and*
>
> *change through the research process. In this way, the elements of*
>
> *choice and possibility will appear in place of previous constraint and*

inevitability (L. Hawes, 1994), and a space will be created that allows

each voice to be heard" (Russell and Kelly 2002:16)

2.9 Origins and Description of the Sample:

The theoretical population of this research was approximately 150 groups and organisations that were concerned with issues surrounding asylum-seekers. Because the definition of social movement I employed is focussed upon grassroots organisations, I largely ignored institutionalised organisations. My main source for this theoretical population was Integrating Ireland (II), an umbrella organization for groups and organisations operating in the fields of Anti-Racism, Multiculturalism and Migration in the Republic of Ireland. At the time of this research II (Now known as The Integration Centre) had in the region of 150 members. Internet searches and word of mouth sources increased the theoretical population to 180 groups and organisations.

I classified these groups firstly based upon their relationship to 1) Community Development Projects; 2) Religious Organisations; 3) Voluntary Groups and 4) Grassroots Organisations. In keeping with my grassroots focus, I choose these categories because the groups represented therein relied solely upon unpaid activists. Community Development groups are those groups that can be said to have a close relationship to a Community Development Project in the town or city that the group works out of. An excellent example in my research is New Horizon in Athlone, Co. Westmeath. I further classified the groups by their relationship to religious institutions. Religious institutions have had an important role to play in mobilising parishioners in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. The Refugee Project represents this aspect of the movement. Next, I classified some of the groups as being

specifically voluntary. Although, there was a relationship through membership to a Community Development Project, this did not extensively shape the groups' aims and values as it does in the case of New Horizon. DTASSG is an excellent example of a voluntary group. Lastly, I classified some groups as being solely grassroots as they were representative of a process group formation that was not linked directly to a State impetus. For example, DTASSG originated at the State's behest when the RIA visited Donegal Town. New Horizon had similar origins, whereas ARC, IS and CADIC, for example, originated from below State apparatuses.

Secondly, the groups were further classified based upon location. I wish to argue that the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement because of the State policy of Dispersal became a movement that permeates all areas of Ireland. To simply capture the more obvious actors in urban areas, as A. Lentin does, would have been to misunderstand the scale and scope of the movement. Next, I categorised the groups based upon their relationship to the State. Groups are either opposed to the State or operate chiefly within the guidelines of the State's multicultural policies. I term this latter relationship as 'cosy' as does A. Lentin (2005) and it is strong evidence of a process of institutionalisation. Lastly, the groups were classified according to their main aims. These main aims are Multicultural, Anti-Racist or Anti-Deportation.

The study population ended up being approximately 80 groups. Each group was contacted either by email or letter and at the very least a request for specific information was made. The majority of contacts were made in the initial stages of research when I conducted a burst of emails and letters. I received contact back from 34 of the 80 or so groups that I contacted. Interestingly, I had much better success with the groups that I found via the Internet or word of mouth than I did with groups from the II list. The low nature of the overall response rate can be mostly explained

by the fact that many of the contact details I obtained were out of date. Emails bounced back and letters were returned in many cases. At the same time, because of the temporal nature of such groups it is conceivable that a considerable proportion were already out of operation. A good example of this is MWAR – they ceased to exist and seemed to disappear. Despite my best efforts I could not locate any ex-members. Alternatively, although IS had ceased to exist when my fieldwork began, an ex-member I made contact with was willing to participate in the research. As we will see, Patricia then put me in contact with Frankie. When interviews took place and participant observation occurred I informed individuals that their identities would be kept confidential. Obviously, in the cases where large numbers of people were in attendance I could not provide this assurance on an individual basis. In such case, I did not use these experiences to gather data on individuals. Similarly, I informed respondents that I could not ensure anonymity given the face-to-face nature of our interactions. In this research I have retained the names and locations of the groups that I researched but have changed the names and in some instances, the sex and occupation of individual respondents. All such changes were made without impacting upon the sociological meaning of the information. It should be also noted that all groups and individuals therein were informed of their right to not take part in the research. There were many instances where individuals and groups politely declined to participate in the research. Throughout I have made every effort to avoid causing harm to participants and operated along the ethical guidelines provided by the Sociological Association of Ireland (See

http://www.sociology.ie/docstore/dls/pages_list/3_sai_ethical_guidelines.pdf)

My Primary Sample is outlined in Table 2.1 below:

Table 2.1: Primary Research Sample

Group by Year of Origin	Location	Origins	Relationship to State	Main Aims	Protest	Active/Non-Active
Harmony (1986-1996)	Dublin	Grassroots	Cosy/Critical	Anti-Racist	Yes	No
ARC (1997-2002)	Dublin	Grassroots	Anti-State	Radical Anti-Racism	Yes	No
RAR (1998-present)	Dublin	Grassroots	Anti-State	Radical Anti-Racism	Yes	Yes
IS (1998-2000)	Cork	Grassroots	Anti-State	Radical Anti-Racism	Yes	No
Refugee Project (1999-present)	Kildare	Religious	Critical	Multicultural	No	Yes
Nasc (2000-present)	Cork	Grassroots/Voluntary	Cosy	Multicultural	No	Yes
New Horizon (2000-present)	Athlone	Voluntary/Community Development	Cosy	Multicultural	No	Yes
DTASSG (2000-present)	Donegal Town	Voluntary/Community Development	Cosy	Multicultural	No	Yes
LNAR (2000-2006)	Limerick	Voluntary	Cosy/Critical	Network	No	Yes
ADC (2001-2005)	Dublin	Grassroots	Critical	Anti-Deportation	Yes	Yes
CADIC (2003-2004)	Dublin	Grassroots Coalition	Critical	Anti-Deportation	Yes	Yes

Detailed documentary research was conducted on the groups outlined in Table 2.2 through either email and/or telephone or via their website. Websites, for example, the only means I had of incorporating MWAR in the research. No interviews were conducted and no participant observation was undertaken with the groups below. The same ethical considerations that I applied to my primary sample are relevant here also. Table 2.2 outlines my secondary sample.

Table 2.2: Secondary Research Sample:

Group by year of origin	Location	Origins	Relationship to State	Main Aims	Protest	Active/Non-Active
Anti-Fascist Action (1992-present)	Dublin	Grassroots	Critical	End Fascism	Yes	Yes
Sport Against Racism in Ireland (1997-present)	Dublin	Charity	Cosy	Multicultural	No	Yes
MWAR (1998-2000)	Limerick	Grassroots	Anti-State	Radical Anti-Racism	Yes	No
Galway Refugee Support Group (1998-present)	Galway	Community Development/Voluntary	Cosy	Multicultural	No	Yes
SPIRASSI (1999-present)	Dublin	Religious	Cosy	Multicultural	No	Yes
Kilkenny Asylum-Seeker Initiative (2000-present)	Kilkenny	Voluntary/Community Development	Cosy	Multicultural	No	Yes
Global Longford (2000-present	Longford	Community Development/Voluntary	Cosy	Multicultural	No	Yes
LIR (2000-present)	Dublin	Community Development/Voluntary	Cosy	Multicultural Anti-Racism	No	Yes
Clifden Refugee Support Group (2000-present	Connemara	Voluntary	Cosy	Multicultural	No	Yes
Carlow Asylum Seeker Support Group (2000-present	Carlow Town	Community Development/Voluntary	Cosy	Multicultural	No	Yes
Integrating Ireland (2000-present)	All-Ireland	Voluntary Network	Cosy/Conflict	All	No	Yes

Dun Laoghaire Refugee Support Group (2001-present	Dublin	Voluntary	Cosy	Multicultural	No	Yes

There are a number of key ways in which this sample was limited and thus may impact upon my analysis and findings. Firstly, the sample is restricted to groups that can be said to be 'majority-led'. White Irish people were typically leading these groups. I did not get access to migrant-led groups. This results in the focus of the analysis being on the mobilisation of the majority population on the behalf of asylum-seekers. At the time of the initial sample, migrant led groups were in a distinct minority. Nevertheless, it is a weakness of the sample that must be taken into consideration. If further research were to be undertaken this weakness would need to be addressed. Asylum Seekers and migrants are represented in the sample and their voices compose an important part of this research.

Secondly, the sample is overly skewed towards groups that can be considered to be grassroots. Because the focus of this research is based in a particular understanding of what social movements are, I do not incorporate groups that can be considered to play an important role in the wider field. These would include but are not limited to groups like the Irish Immigration Council, the Irish Refugee Council, Comhlamh, and the Migrant's Rights Centre Ireland. This is relevant to the research given the fact that such organisations are active in the field of asylum-seekers in various guises. It is well worth restating then that this research is focussed on a specific section of the reaction in civil society to the issues facing asylum-seekers in Ireland. It does not claim to

speak about all sections of civil society. It specifically concerns grassroots groups, which the organisations previously mentioned are clearly not examples of.

2.9 Conclusion:

In this chapter I have outlined and explained the key aspects of my methodological approach. I have shown that a qualitative approach provides key advantages that allowed me to approach the investigation of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in a holistic fashion. The research design's low-cost, flexibility and capacity to deal with complex research questions were invaluable. The implementation of the method of triangulation greatly enhanced my capacity to engage with the movement across a four-year period of time and across the three key phases of mobilisation. It also provided me with richer sources of data that were incorporated into my narrative of the movement.

I also argued that despite initial misgivings concerning my capacity to conduct this research as a white Irish male, the practice of personal and epistemological reflexivity and the incorporation of a dialogic aspect to my narrative construction and analysis attended to the inherent problems of privilege and power. I have stressed the importance of the polyvocal aspect to the narrative construction and data collection. Moreover, I have argued that this research stands as an addition to the wider dialogue on asylum-seekers in Ireland. It is not authoritative in substance and was deeply shaped by the people who participated in it. I have mentioned above and will describe in much more detail below, how there was sometimes a tendency on occasions for the asylum-seeker to be objectified within the movement itself. A similar criticism can be made of this research and indeed this was a key aspect of the personal and epistemologically reflexive approach that I took. I purposefully employed a narrative

format so as to convey the results. The key benefit of constructing this narrative is the fact that it enhances the dialogic approach that this research is based in. The polyvocal nature of the narrative that I produced is testament to this.

I also described and further situated the sample that this research is based in. In describing my sample, I argued that grassroots groups took three main forms – Radical Anti-Racist, Multicultural Support Groups and finally, Anti-Deportation Groups. By further situating the movement in its field of action I justified the non-inclusion of important, yet I would argue, institutionalised actors that are outside of the remit of the definition of social movements that I employ. Finally, I also discussed the important role that generalisability has to play in qualitative research. This is an often-neglected element of the qualitative research process. I argued that we could in fact generalise from my findings by consciously practicing analytic and moderatum generalisation. I also tentatively suggested that it would be interesting to use my theoretical framework to analyse the more formal and institutionalised groups that this research did not examine. I will now present the narrative of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement before moving on to the key analytical aspects of my work.

Chapter 3: A Narrative of the Irish Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement.
3.1 Introduction

The following narrative traces the development of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker

Movement between 1994 and 2004. I argue that there are three main phases of

mobilisation evident in this period. Chart 3.1 depicts these phases and their attendant

key characteristics:

Chart 3.1 The Three Phases of Mobilisation

Radical Anti-Racism (1997-2002)	Multicultural Support Group (1998-2004)	Anti-Deportation Groups (2001-2004)
• Protest. • Anti-State. • Grassroots. • Anti-Racist.	• No Protest • Cosy relationship to State • Voluntary and/or Community Development. • Multiculutral and Charitable.	• Protest • Challenges State. • Grassroots • Anti-Racist

I will be focusing for the most part on the groups that are part of the primary sample

identified in the methods section above. Chart 3.2 illustrates the main groups and their

relationship to each phase of mobilisation identified above.

Chart 3.2 Key Groups I and Attendant Phases

Radical Anti-Racism	Multicultural Support Group	Anti-Deportation Group
Anti-Racism Campaign (ARC). Immigrant Solidarity (IS). Residents Against Racism (RAR). Mid-West Against Racism (MWAR).	Donegal Town Asylum Seeker Support Group (DTASSG). New Horizons Athlone. Nasc.	Campaign Against the Deportation of Irish Children (CADIC). Anti-Deportation Campaign (ADC).
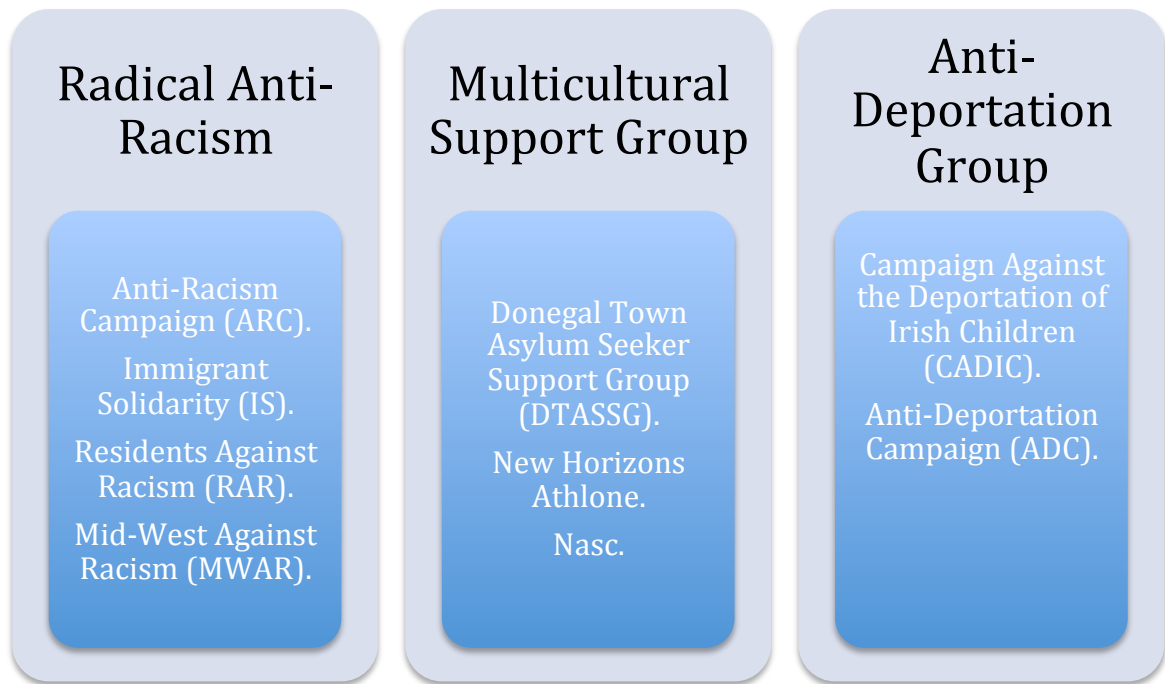
I will also focus on three other groups that are representative of the other categories in my sample. Chart 3.3 illustrates this.

Chart 3.3 Key Groups II.

Network	Religious Group	Anti-Racist
Limerick Network Against Racism (LNAR)	Refugee Project	Harmony
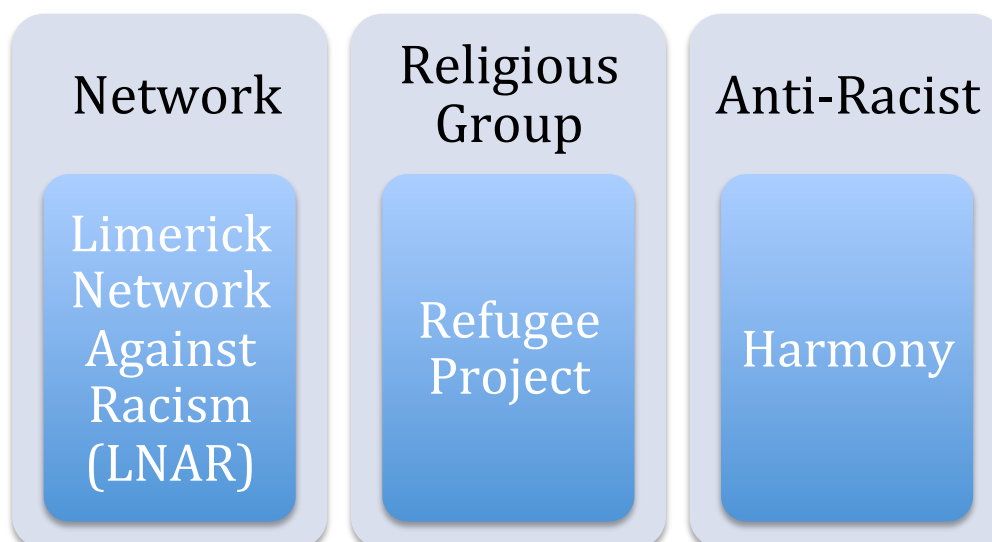
3.2 The Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in Context:

It took a sustained reversal in Irish migration trends to stimulate the study of racism and anti-racism in Irish sociology. From 1996 onwards, Ireland's previously endemic state of out-migration was replaced by a long-term trend of in-migration. This in-migration was composed of five main categories of individual. These were; 1) E.U. nationals via their right to move across EU borders and work; 2) Non-EU nationals via work-permit and work authorisation schemes; 3) Returned Irish emigrants; 4) Asylum-seekers via their right to claim asylum under the 1951 Geneva Convention for Refugees and; 5) Programme Refugees who have been granted refugee status under the latter convention prior to entering Ireland.

Between 1995 and 2000, 123,100 emigrants returned to Ireland. During the same period, approximately 95,000 'legitimate economic migrants' entered Ireland (www.cso.ie). Such figures provide a sharp contrast to the fact that traditionally Ireland had been largely a country of out-migration. For example, from 1981-1986 net-emigration was 75,300 (www.cso.ie). By 2006 the non-Irish national population in Ireland stood at 419,733

(www.beyond2020.cso.ie/Census/TableViewer/tableView.aspx?ReportId=77138)

However, one aspect of this shift in migration trends was perceived as both contentious and problematic, namely the arrival of a relatively small number of asylum-seekers. In Table 3.1 below we can see that in 1992 there were 33 asylum applications and by 2002 this figure had risen to 11,693. Overall, from 1995 to July 2005 there were 66,213 applications made for asylum in Ireland (www.orac.ie). Over the ten-year period this averages out at just over 6600 applications per year.

Table 3.1: Asylum Applications in the Republic of Ireland, 1993-2007

Year	Number of Applications for Asylum	Change on Previous Year (%)
1993	91	133.3
1994	362	297.8
1995	424	17.1
1996	1179	178.1
1997	3883	1992
1998	4626	19.1
1999	7724	67
2000	10938	41.6
2001	10325	-5.6
2002	11634	12.7
2003	7900	-32.1
2004	4766	-39.7
2005	4323	-9.3
2006	4314	-0.2
2007	3985	-7.6

Number of Applicants per year form 1992-2007. from Office of the Refugee Applications

Commissioner Annual Report – 2009.

Between 1999 and 2003, there was a steady increase in the number of work permits

being issued to non-nationals. The majority of these permits are issued to what Loyal

observed as "white populations" from Eastern Europe (Loyal 2003:80). Table 3.2

illustrates this trend.

Table 3.2 Work Permits Issued 1999-2007

Year	New Permits	Renewals	Group Permits	Total Issued
1999	4328	1653	269	6250
2000	15434	2271	301	18006
2001	29594	6485	357	36436
2002	23326	16562	433	40321
2003	21965	25039	547	47551
2004	10020	23246	801	34067
2005	7354	18970	812	27136
2006	7298	16600	956	24854
2007	10134	13457	13	23604

http://www.deti.ie/labour/workpermits/statistics.htm#byyear

Loyal's perspective is further evidenced by the fact that the 2006 census shows that of

the 419,733 non Irish-national population, 275,775 are EU nationals.

(www.beyond2020.cso.ie/Census/TableViewer/tableView.aspx?ReportId=77138)(See

Table 1.1) Such numbers stand in stark contrast to the asylum application recognition

rates that we observe over this period. Collins (2002:28) notes that Ireland's

recognition rates stood at half of the EU average in 1999. (See Table 3.3)

Table 3.3: Asylum Applications Recognition Rates in the First Instance 1999-2007.

Year	Recognition Rates in the First Instance (%)
1999	14
2000	8
2001	-
2002	14
2003	6
2004	6.2
2005	10
2006	13.5
2007	10

Source: Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform

In the background of this story there are a number of key legislative acts that were passed and Chart 3.4 below plots their timeline.

Chart 3.4: Key Legislative Timeline

The
1935
Aliens
Act

Dublin
Convent
ion
1997

Direct
Provisio
n and
Dispers
al 1999

Irish
Nationa
lity and
Citizens
hip
Acts,
1956-2
001

The
Irish
Nationa
lity and
Citizens
hip Act
2004

Refugee
Act
1996

Immigr
ation
Act
1999

Illegal
Immigr
ants
Traffick
ing Act,
2000

Immigr
ation
Act
2003

Immigr
ation
Act
2004
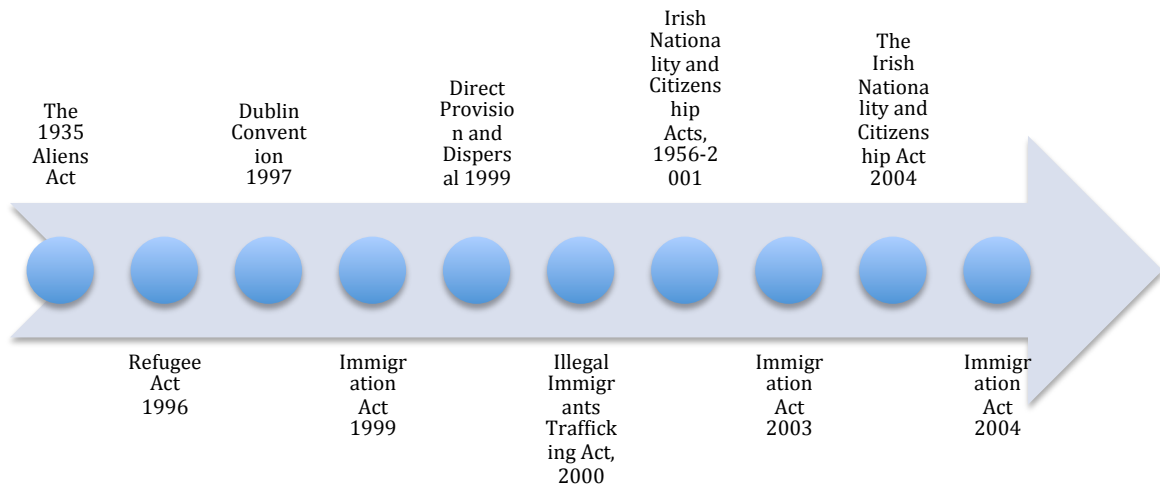
It is clear that it is not until the rate of individuals claiming asylum increases that

immigration legislation became a concern for the Irish state. Evidently, over a seven-

year period the Irish state scrambled to regulate migration into Ireland. Much of this

legislation specifically sought to control and regulate the process of claiming asylum

in Ireland. There are a number of key moments here that warrant further explanation.

Firstly, the Dublin Convention in 1997 sought to eradicate 'Asylum Shopping',

whereby an asylum-seeker picks/chooses his/her country to claim asylum on the basis

that it has superior social welfare compared to another country. Under the Dublin

Convention, the asylum-seeker must claim asylum in the first EU country he or she

lands in. Given the origins of asylum-seekers that were typically claiming asylum in

Ireland, the Dublin Convention would exclude these people from claiming asylum in

Ireland. For example, in 2005, the top six stated countries of origin were Nigeria,

Romania, Somalia, Sudan, Iran and Jordan (59.8% of all applications in total). There

are no direct flights from Lagos to Dublin. It was therefore impossible for a Nigerian

to claim asylum in Ireland. There are no direct flights to Ireland from any of these

countries. This was precisely why the Dublin Convention was so attractive to the Irish government.

The Immigration Act of 1999, which builds upon the Refugee Act of 1996, afforded the Minister of Justice, Equality and Law Reform the right to issue a deportation order to unsuccessful asylum-seekers living in Ireland. Simultaneously, Garda were given the right detain such asylum-seekers if there was a perceived risk of flight. In November 1999, the Irish government announced it was to begin to implement the dual policies of Direct Provision and Dispersal. Direct Provision means that the Irish state directly provides the asylum seeker with accommodation and all of his/her meals. Typically, this takes place in third-party settings like hostels and holiday camps and then in purpose built sites like Lissywollen. The most famous or infamous direct provision centre was Mosney, a holiday camp that was once popular with Irish families. This research focused on two such sites, a hostel in Donegal Town and the Lissywollen reception centre in Athlone Town that contains 100 mobile homes, enough space to house 375 asylum-seekers. Direct Provision also provided an adult asylum-seeker with a €19.10 per week. Asylum-seekers under the age of eighteen received €9.60 per week. There was no way for asylum-seekers to supplement this payment.

The policy of Dispersal acted alongside Direct Provision. It resulted in asylum-seekers being dispersed to various parts of the country to reception centres. Underlying this policy was the fear that a concentration of asylum-seekers in urban areas might lead to ghettoisation. As of August 2004, there were 5879 asylum-seekers in Direct Provision. 2115 of these individuals were between the ages of 26-35 and aged 0-18's accounted for 2411 of the total. Of this total of 2411, 1158 of these children were Irish citizens. Since April 10th 2000, 32287 people had been through the

system. 25 of 26 counties of the Republic Of Ireland had asylum-seekers living in Direct Provision Facilities. The exception in this case was County Cavan. There were 73 Reception and Accommodation Centres across Ireland at this time. These ranged from a hostel that can accommodate 19 people to a 'holiday camp' that could accommodate up to 800 people. (Reception and Integration Agency Monthly Statistics Report August 2004). Table 3.4 provides details on how long on average in 2004 asylum-seekers had been in Direct Provision:

Table 3.4: Average Duration of Stay in Direct Provision 2004

0-3 Months	3-6 Months	6-9 Months	9-12 Months	12-18 Months	18-24 Months	> 24 Months
730	710	638	848	1832	971	625

Reception and Integration Agency Monthly Statistics Report August 2004

The right to work was removed from all asylum-seekers who claimed asylum after July 26th, 1999. As in the case of the Dublin Convention, all of these policies sought to make claiming asylum in Ireland as unattractive as possible. The Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act 2004 was the culmination of the State's attempts to remove the right to immediate citizenship to children by virtue of their being born in Ireland. This act meant that Irish born children were no longer immediately entitled to Irish citizenship if the child did not have at least one Irish parent or a parent who was entitled to become Irish.

This research identified three key phases in what I conceive of as the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in Ireland between 1984 and 2004. The first development from 1997 onward concerned the creation of what I understand to be Radical Anti-Racist groups. The second development from 2000 onward concerned what I understand as being the Multicultural Support Group phase (2000 Onwards). I then

identify the development of what I consider to be a third phase of movement mobilisation, the Anti-Deportation Group (2004 onward). Finally, I will argue that much of this action has a historical precedent in a group called Harmony (1984 to 1999).

In fact, Irish anti-racisms have a long and varied history. Their most concentrated form in recent times can be seen in the struggle of Travellers to achieve equal status in Irish society. In 1983 the Dublin Travellers Education and Development Group began and is still active today in the guise of Pavee Point. It played a crucial role in categorising the discrimination experienced by Travellers as racism. The Irish Traveller Movement began in 1990 and as an umbrella organisation contains over seventy members. Helleiner (2003:5) points out that since at least the 1980s, Travellers have organised and attempted to assert their rights and challenge their racialisation. Moreover, such groups have been integral in the wider anti-racist coalition that Ireland saw develop in the 1990s. According to Helleiner (2003:5-6), they provided both leadership and organisational skills. My findings from Limerick Network Against Racism (LNAR) also show this to be the case. From being the object of assimilatory State policies in the 1960s and 1970s the Traveller Movement successfully created what McVeigh considers to be "…the first formal anti-racism in Ireland" (2002:215). As McLaughlin notes "This is arguably the single most important development in Irish Traveller culture in this century" (1999:148).

Such consolidated actions existed alongside other organised examples of what can be loosely termed anti-racism or at least indicated a predilection for actions that are concomitant with anti-racism. Antifascism is a case in point. The Left in Ireland have had a long-standing commitment to antifascism. This was evident in their stringent opposition to a quasi-fascist organisation, the Blueshirts, in 1930s Ireland

(Ó'Drisceoil 2001:82). It was also apparent in the Irish antifascists who travelled to Spain to fight in the Spanish Civil War (Stradling 1999). Although direct antifascist motivations might be hard to discern, we should not forget the estimated 43,000 Irish that enlisted in the British army during World War II (Kenny 2004). Antifascism is still a feature of anti-racism in Ireland today but it is not nearly as influential as it is elsewhere like in the UK or mainland Europe. In the Irish context, AFA was founded in 1992 as a sister organisation to AFA in Britain. AFA Ireland continues to operate today and revolves around "…the twin approach of ideologically and physically confronting the fascists…" (Anti-Fascist Action, No Quarter, 3).

In 1962 the Irish section of Amnesty International was created and in 1963 an Irish human-rights activist, Sean McBride was elected chairman of its International Executive Committee. In 1976 the Irish Council for Civil Liberties was founded by among others, Mary Robinson and Kadar Asmal. Robinson would go on to become the President of Ireland and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. Asmal was a lawyer and as we will see below, a fervent anti-apartheid activist (O'Brien 2006). The Northern Irish Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s and the Peace Train Movement that began in 1989 are another two examples of actions that might be said to predispose Irish activists and the general population to anti-racism. There has also been a strong sense of solidarity between Ireland and nations/peoples who are involved in colonial struggles and/or victims of human rights abuses. The Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement (now the Ireland South Africa Association) was founded in 1963 by Kadar Asmal and is a considerable precursor to the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. Over 30 years it successfully mobilised support across a range of the population, notably organising a boycott and protest of the South African 1969-1970 rugby tour. It is also organised a picket outside a Dublin

supermarket every Saturday for three and a half years in support of workers who were suspended for refusing to sell South African produce.

Comhlámh was founded in 1975 by returned Irish development workers who were keen highlight global justice issues and express solidarity with international development projects. II, an umbrella group for the organisations that this research focuses on, actually began life as a Comhlámh activist group. The East Timor Solidarity Campaign founded in 1992, the Ireland Algeria Support group found in 1992 and the Cuba Support Group founded in 1993 are three more recent examples of global solidarity groups in Ireland. Ideas of global solidarity and social justice have been more recently linked to the popularity of Liberation Theology among Irish Catholic priests from the 1960s onwards (McDevitt 2007).

An accurate periodisation of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement needs to take this history into account. It is important to understand that the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement did not appear in a vacuum. It is clear to see that it has historical and cultural precedents. This brief historical background should also serve to re-highlight some of the theoretical difficulties we associated POT and CBT in our literature review. The Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement is much more than a reaction to a political opportunity or the result of a structural strain. It is a movement that is embedded in the culture and history of Irish society. This should temper any novelty or newness that we might associate with our first identifiable phase of mobilisation around asylum-seekers, that of Radical Anti-Racism.

3.3 The Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement Begins: Radical Anti-Racism:

By 1997 Irish society had experienced a significant increase in the numbers of people claiming asylum. It is important here to distinguish between asylum-seekers and

Programme Refugees. An asylum-seekers is "…someone who says he or she is a refugee, but whose claim has not yet been definitively evaluated" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)). If the individual's claim for asylum is successful they become a Convention Refugee. A Convention Refugee is someone who has been evaluated as such by a national asylum system under the terms and guidelines of Geneva Convention and the Irish Refugee Act 1996. Convention Refugees enjoy similar rights to those enjoyed by Irish citizens. If an application for asylum is unsuccessful the asylum-seeker is subject to deportation. In the context of this research, groups that focus upon asylum-seekers are the main focus.

Asylum-Seekers and Convention Refugees are distinct from Programme Refugees. Programme Refugees are people who have been invited to come to Ireland on foot of a humanitarian crisis. Typically, this involves the UNHCR making a humanitarian request of the Irish State to accept a number of Programme Refugees. These individuals have already been assessed as refugees and the Irish State is expected to welcome them and put in place a plan for their successful integration into Irish society. Ireland has accepted Programme Refugees from Chile, Vietnam, Kosovo, Iran, and Bosnia since the 1950s (Fanning 2002:96-7). The willingness of the Irish State to enter in to such agreements with the UNHCR and the subsequent treatment of Programme Refugees has been called into question (See Maguire 2004 for an analysis of the long-term integration of Programme Refugees from Vietnam).

The increase in asylum applications did not sit well with the State or sections of the popular media. As I have argued, along with many other commentators, this marks the beginning of the racialisation of the asylum-seeker in Irish society. I am stressing in this research, that in part, this racialisation is symptomatic of the stage of development Irish society finds itself in at this time. It is most markedly seen in the

role of instrumental rationality in State policy that concerns the asylum process and asylum seekers themselves.

The reaction of the State and media only tells a partial story. The process of racialisation did not go unchecked. It received significant opposition in the form of Radical Anti-Racism groups. Along with Bonnett (1993:107-110), I understand anti-racism to be radical at two distinct levels. Firstly, anti-racism is radical if it seeks to eradicate racism through revolution. Bonnett cites Fanon's examination of French rule in Algeria as a case in point. Secondly, anti-racism can be radical at the level of critique. According to Bonnett, "Radical anti-racist critique is designed to expose the racist nature of existing social practices" (1993:109). All four groups in my sample fall into this second category of radical critique. However, RAR, as we will see below, does not fall into the first category of anti-racism with a revolutionary agenda.

3.3.1 ARC, IS, MWAR and RAR:

ARC was created when members of the Worker's Solidarity Movement (WSM) and the Socialist Party (SP) convened a meeting in the Garden of Delight in Dublin in October of 1997. As many as sixty to eighty people attended this first meeting. Importantly, from the very beginning the sometimes difficult relationship between the WSM as Anarchists and SP as Trotskyites was somewhat melted through the assertion that,

> *The Anti Racism Campaign (ARC) is an open and democratic alliance of*
> *people who came together to combat the anti-refugee and anti-immigrant*
> *hysteria initiated and encouraged by many politicians and sections of the*
> *media. We are non party political* (ARC: Who We Are and What We
> Stand For).

Its anti-racism platform was directed, not at 'small groups of anti-racist thugs' but rather the Irish State and sections of the popular media. The State and popular media were identified by ARC as actively supporting/inducing a process of racialisation of asylum seekers, refugees and migrants in general. ARC from its inception, identified this local process as part of a transnational trend within the E.U. to create what is known as Fortress Europe. They argued that European Union policy was aimed at preventing asylum claims rather than facilitating them. For ARC, this wider ramification meant that one of its aims was to 'build links with similar groups throughout the E.U. working against Fortress Europe.' The functions/aims and beliefs ARC set for itself were the following:

i)   Equal rights for refugees and immigrants in Ireland, i.e. access to all the rights and entitlements open to Irish citizens.

ii)   Opposition to all border controls, (i.e. open borders policy).

iii)   Challenge State and Media racism and furthermore the Fortress Europe policy as both of these are impediments to i) and ii) above

iv)   Empower people 'to help themselves'. ARC specifically modelled itself not to be a charity.

v)   Combat racist myths. This was primarily designed to educate the public.

ARC was extremely active over the course of its lifetime. The following is a snapshot of their regular activities:

i)   Weekly group meetings at the Vietnamese Centre in Hardwick Street, Dublin 1. There was a core attendance of 15-20 individuals present at these meetings.

ii)   Weekly 'information stall' in College Green, Dublin. This stall was on occasions replaced by door-to-door leafleting. Through these two avenues

ARC over its lifetime distributed approximately forty different leaflets. It also produced six newsletters. It is estimated that 120,000 copies of leaflets and newsletters were distributed over this period.

iii)   Ongoing petition against deportations of asylum seekers. By the time ARC had finished some 6,000 signatures had been obtained.

iv)   Regular protest events including pickets, demonstrations, sit-ins and attendance at related conferences.

v)   Mediawatch. Where an article or program was deemed to be racist, ARC demanded a 'right to reply'. If this was refused pickets were placed on the offices of the media group concerned. At the same time ARC began liaising with the media (national newspapers, Radio One, TV3 and RTE One and Network Two) so as to publicise various events and issues.

IS began life in January 1998, just three months after ARC was established. IS was based in Cork City, Co. Cork in the south of Ireland. The circumstances surrounding its creation were, like with ARC, directly related to the issue of asylum-seekers. Its creation was a reaction '...to the rise in racist discourse at the time' against asylum-seekers (Letter to the Editor, An Phoblact, Thursday, 20th January, 2000). Frankie, a non-Irish national who was involved with IS remarked,

> *IS was not created, it was, in my opinion, was a reaction to the*
> *Government's decision to deport asylum seekers who were "failed" by the*
> *system in place. The first gathering of IS took place to protest against a*
> *Law Society meeting where the chairwoman/spokeswoman of the*
> *Immigration Control Platform was given "platform" to express her views*
> *against immigration. Thus technically one might say an organisation was*
> *needed to respond to the growing anti-immigration sentiment at the time.*

The initial membership came from a similar background to ARC and like ARC, IS quickly moved to present itself as non-political or representing a 'broad church of interests.'

IS stood for:

i)   An amnesty for all asylum seekers.

When this principle was decided upon there were about 2000 asylum-seekers in Ireland. For IS an amnesty for these two thousand people was realistic. The people that had come to Ireland to seek asylum had, according to IS, come to an 'imperfect system'. The State could not readily be blamed for the system's preestablished inadequacies. However, when it did not seek to redress the situation, then they were liable for criticism. Asylum-seekers themselves could not be expected to apply within such an imperfect system and therefore should be granted an amnesty.

ii)   An end to restrictive legislation on immigration.

Even at this early stage when legislation was minimal, IS thought that the existing legislation (The Aliens Act 1938) was too restrictive. This of course fitted in with the 'no borders' position. This principle would also have included an anti-deportation measure. IS had set-up a number of 'safe-houses' for prospective deportees and a telephone tree in order to mobilise around any given deportation. No such incidences ever occurred in the lifetime of IS. The closest that IS come to the area of deportations was a number of actions it took after the act of deportation had taken place. These actions were similar to ARC's in this regard. IS picketed Shannon Airport and Aer Lingus's office in Cork City centre to highlight their complicity in the deportation process.

iii)   A multicultural Ireland.

At this time the notion of multiculturalism was not a well thought out idea within IS. The main understanding IS had of this term was through Traveller groups like the Travellers Visibility Group.

iv)   An End to Fortress Europe.

This was primarily a political statement. It was meant to highlight that what happened at EU level had serious ramifications for Ireland. Thus, if at EU level the trend was towards closed borders, then at the national level in Ireland this would be the same. The classic example of this was the implementation of the Dublin Convention, which IS thought to be symptomatic of a wider EU anti-immigration agenda. A particular story that went around IS was that John O'Donoghue commenting in a debate in Trinity College Dublin on the Dublin Convention said, 'Well if they [asylum seekers] want to come directly here, they can always swim'.

v)   Opposition to all forms of racism:

IS understood racism as being primarily a problem perpetuated at institutional level. Where it occurred at an individual level, this would be more often than not, be explained by a trickling-down effect from the level of the State to Citizen.

vi)   Opposition to immigration controls.

This came from a core group belief that 'no human being is illegal' and was part of the 'no borders' policy of IS. The argument of the long history of Irish emigration was used to back this principle up. In essence, this principle was an 'open-door' policy like that employed by ARC above.

vii)   The right to fair work for all immigrants.

This principle was decided upon prior to the State's decision in July 1999 to allow some asylum-seekers the right to work. The principle was based upon the group

recognising that people are valued within any society by the work that they undertake. There was then a class argument informing this principle. As Patricia, an IS member states, "Cutting people off from that [work] is you know demeaning but also was going to probably, you know, raise the hackles of people who were working class communities… who saw it from a welfare perspective like housing... that whole wider debate…" Such a scenario for Patricia and IS was confirmed when in late-1998 a working class area of Cork City a large banner with the slogan 'If only our children were refugees' was draped from a block of flats. The right to work principle also took into account the growing migrant workforce in Ireland. IS sought to protect this group from exploitation and also to recognise that racism was not exclusively a problem to be associated with refugees and asylum seekers, even though these received the most attention.

These seven principles were both locally and globally focused. As can be seen from (vi), IS like ARC came from a 'no borders' perspective which was very much part of a wider, transnational or global view. At the same time, IS decided it must work at a local level and hence (v) that set out IS's determination to be anti-racist. The influence of WSM within IS meant that the 'no borders' perspective was a key principle. However, it was a conscious decision of all those members who attended the first meeting, that IS should not be seen as a platform for SF, AP or WSM or whichever political group became involved. Patricia points to this when she stated:

> *It was purposefully designed that it wouldn't be associated.. like people were there in their individual capacity as far as I recall, as opposed to say somebody, WSM having their representative along. And I think the reason that was taken was that it recognised that the people, the fifty people who were at that meeting represented a broad church of interest.*

At the same time, MWAR was created in Co. Limerick in March of 1998 in very similar circumstances. It was touted as "…a democratic alliance of people committed to the fight against racism and deportations in Ireland." (http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Congress/1451/index.html#About MWAR). Nonetheless, MWAR's origins can be traced to SP and WSM as well as non-aligned individuals. Compared to ARC and IS, it was not as 'radical'; their adoption of the provision of English classes to asylum-seekers is clear evidence of this. MWAR's key aims were:

i)   The integration of all people in Ireland.

ii)   To inform and educate so as to prevent racism and xenophobia.

iii)   The right of all asylum-seekers to live and work as citizens in Ireland.

iv)   An end to the distinction between asylum-seeker and economic migrant.

v)   Open access to education for refugees and travellers.

RAR was established in Dublin in 1998. The two individuals that precipitated its formation were ex-members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). This set RAR apart from the other constituents of Radical Anti-Racism and while it is possible to characterise the group as left-wing, its connections to left-wing parties were tenuous. According to Carrie from ARC, this meant that the group verged on the charitable and indeed, would not have been seen as being on the same 'level' as ARC, IS and MWAR. This is an interesting and relevant point considering that as we will see, RAR was the only group to actually survive the arrival of multiculturalism into the field. RAR can be characterised as being radical in nature, especially given its radical critique of the Irish State. Its' key aims were to:

i)   End deportations.

ii)   Let asylum seekers work.

iii)   Take the asylum system away from politicians.

RAR were very active in protest and direct action but they also had an expanded repertoire of action according to Roger. For example, two of the key members operated 24-hour hotlines where incidents of State racism could be reported. Also, they were actively involved in assisting asylum-seekers in their deportation cases or with cases of mistreatment by the Gardai. For example, they constructed a list of reputable and reliable solicitors that asylum-seekers could seek legal advice from. Roger recounted one such incident where a Nigerian asylum-seeker was forcibly removed from a city-centre cinema for eating fast food. He recounts that the Béan Garda called the asylum-seeker a 'nigger' and accused him of acting like an animal. The asylum-seeker called the hotline and was offered assistance by RAR.

ARC, IS, RAR and MWAR shared fundamental similarities. Their members were primarily under forty years of age, white and middle class. Within this homogeneity there was a diversity of political opinions, ideologies and beliefs. This heterogeneity of beliefs and values meant that the group members could be described as either *aligned* or *non-aligned*. The aligned members came from the smaller left-wing parties in Ireland like WSM, SP, SWP and more notably SF, or had a background in such groups as in the case of RAR. The research clearly shows that these aligned members were fundamental to the creation of Radical Anti-Racism in Ireland and at the same time, as we see below, they also played a crucial role in its' development.

ARC, IS, RAR and MWAR presented themselves as being avowedly 'non-political'. However, in the case of ARC, IS and MWAR, their core values and beliefs were a direct consequence of the political positions of the aligned members. As a result both

the aims and organisation of the groups ran along very similar lines. RAR as noted, is an exception. In RAR, there was no direct link to political groups in terms of membership and this allowed for a broader scope of actions and beliefs. In ARC, for example, the two most influential members were aligned and non-aligned respectively. This eventually resulted in the non-aligned member Grainne pushing for an expansion in ARC's remits. The aligned member – Gary – resisted this push and eventually the group dissolved, as we will see below. A similar pattern of demise occurred in IS.

ARC, MWAR and IS at a formal level challenged what they perceived to be State racism. For these groups, racism was a direct consequence of a capitalist economy and the resultant social class divisions. The only solution to the problem of racism was the dismantlement of the State and the prevailing capitalist mode of production. RAR on the other hand, did not propose the link between capitalism and racism and instead focussed almost exclusively on manifestations State racism, in other words, the asylum system.

Radical Anti-Racism in all of its manifestations identified the State's treatment of the asylum-seeker as being racist. They challenged and contested the State through protests, public information stalls, petitions, legal appeals and leafleting. The rapid extent to which Radical Anti-Racism developed is evinced by the fact that on April 25th 1998 these groups helped organise a major protest under the banner of 'No Racism No Deportations' in Dublin (2000 attend) Cork (150 attend) and in Limerick (100 attend). The same day anti-racist leafleting occurred in Eyre Square, Galway and an anti-racist exhibition took place in Roscrea Public Library, Co. Tipperary. Through the WSM's international contacts the following international events were also organised: Pickets placed on Irish Embassies/Consulates in London with

National Coalition of Anti-Deportation Campaigns, Anti-Fascist Action and Youth Against Racism in Europe), and also in Paris, Bonn, Brussels, Stockholm, San Francisco through international Anarchist groups. The central train station in Belfast was also picketed.

A broad church of organisations supported Radical Anti-Racism at this time. It is relatively safe to state that Radical Anti-Racism at this point was the most well organised and well-supported challenge against State racism in Ireland. Support for the day of action came from a broad collation of trade union organisations and numerous like-minded/concerned groups including Galway One World Centre, Irish Traveller Movement, Amnesty International, Irish Refugee Council, Inner City Organisations Network and the Irish Mexico Group. There was also support from Irish soap actors Barbara Bergin (Fair City) and Laura Brennan (Glenroe). April 25th 1998 represented the biggest single day of action in the history of Irish anti-racism.

Considering that each of the groups contained a core membership of a 'leaderless' and loosely organised 20-25 people and that the groups were autonomous and self-funded. The above day of action was a remarkable feat. At this time ARC, IS, MWAR and RAR were the only avenues available to people at the time that were interested in grassroots anti-racism. Members readily acknowledged that this niche status accounted for a lot of their early successes.

3.3.2 The Demise of Radical Anti-Racism:

The space that Radical Anti-Racism occupied in 1997 was wide, wide open. No other groups were doing what they are doing in any shape or form. They had a virtual monopoly on grassroots anti-racism. This largely explains why they were so attractive to the non-aligned member. These largely non-political or mainstream political

members had nowhere else to go. They joined groups that were essentially premade when it came to values, beliefs and organisational structures. The groups presented themselves as 'non-political' but this was obviously not the case. This led to a dual problem. Each group contained members of WSM, SP and SWP attempting to work together. There were obvious and important ideological differences between each of these groups that were essentially unsolvable. For example, the SWP believed in an organised State, the WSM did not. Very early on in IS's existence the WSM members left over a dispute with the membership book only to return again much later on. During ARC's demise, five key SP members left and the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) entered into the fray and the ensuing conflict precipitated the decline of ARC. From the very outset the fractured and limited extent of the Left in Ireland meant that such groups were built upon very shaky foundations.

These shaky foundations were perhaps borne of necessity. Firstly, if each party – SWP, SP, WSM and IRSP – set up their own anti-racist group there would be a massive splintering of potential members. We need to remember here that the Irish Left is historically weak when compared to its European counterparts. Membership numbers in ARC, IS and MWAR never reached above 25. If each of the four parties were to create its own anti-racist group, a membership of average six people would be unsustainable. Filtering in to this, we also have the factor that individually each of these parties was relatively small to begin with. From a resource perspective it made sense for these parties to come together. They all started on the left and at least had this in common. It made sense to come together on issues of common interest and agreement. Of course, a shared sense of opposition, in this case the Irish State is hugely important in bringing people together. There was also the perspective that in coming together these groups could increase their own party memberships. By

presenting Radical Anti-Racism as a broad church of interests, individual parties could promote their own perspectives. For example, the no-borders stance is a WSM party line. When it is presented in the context of an anti-racist strategy, it could possibly make the WSM more attractive to someone who is non-aligned. This is what is commonly referred to as a front. Yet, each party had very differing attitudes to the function of a front and will approach recruitment within fronts from different perspectives.

We then encounter a second problem in the organisational make-up of Radical Anti-Racism, namely where did the non-aligned members stand in all of this? The initial excitement and success of early meetings and direct actions made it possible for the non-aligned members to go along with the tactics and strategies that had been predetermined for them. Yet, as the spectacular became the mundane and as initial mobilisations waned and tactics became blunt or their results difficult to see, the non-aligned member began to experience a sense of purposelessness. The non-aligned members perceived a huge hole in the strategies and tactics of Radical Anti-Racism. It did not have a tangible impact upon the asylum-seeker in his/her everyday life. Non-aligned members began to press for changes within the aims of the groups. These changes centred on providing services to asylum-seekers. However, service provision was diametrically opposed to the fundamental beliefs and values of IS, MWAR and ARC. Non-aligned members were compelled to look outside of IS and ARC. In IS's case, they created their own groups that could offer services to asylum-seekers. In other cases, like Grainne, they moved into a role with a NGO in the field.

By late 2001, many core members questioned their role in Radical Anti-Racism. The space that they had previously almost exclusively occupied was now being filled by NGOs, State bodies, and as we will examine below, Church organisations and

Multicultural Support Groups. All of these groups were a huge drain on memberships as they attracted primarily non-aligned members. Non-aligned members in IS and ARC, became increasingly frustrated with the inability of the groups to meet the growing needs of asylum-seekers. In IS, for example, Patricia spoke of how non-aligned members wished to offer English classes to asylum-seekers. This was unacceptable to aligned members. Radical Anti-Racism was not about service provision. Grainne in ARC tells a similar story. In ARC's case, non-aligned members grew tired of protest and direct actions and were actively seeking a change in ARC's direction. As in IS, this was unacceptable. Aligned members like Carrie argued that this would simply mean that they were adopting the role already taken by groups like Amnesty and the Irish Refugee Council. In other words, what made Radical Anti-Racism work was the fact that it was unlike anything else in the field. Carrie and Grainne from ARC both argued that that the field of action had become institutionalised. In my observations of the Refugee Project such institutionalisation was evident. One of its key functions was to liaise at local church level and assess and meet needs of asylum-seekers. Elsewhere, the movement of the State and EU into civil society through community development projects and other means of funding created groups that were not considered to be independent of the State. Radical Anti-Racism prided itself on not taking funding from the State. To shift gears into service provision would have meant accepting funding and losing autonomy.

When explaining ARC's demise, Grainne and Carrie also pointed to members complaining of burnout because of the lack of human resources available to them. The only material resources available were garnered through fundraising, which in and of itself was time consuming. In other cases, life-stages (marriages and births), work commitments (changes of location), emigration and general attrition caused members

to leave. Yet other members, especially those that were aligned, left to participate in other movements, like home healthcare and anti-capitalism.

The rigidity of the ideological structure through which IS and ARC constructed their repertoire of actions made the groups increasingly unattractive for both aligned and non-aligned members. Non-aligned members wanted to employ alternative strategies of action but could not do this. Aligned members were increasingly isolated and their ideas/strategies increasingly redundant. Their reliance upon non-aligned members was exposed and once the split became significant enough IS and ARC could no longer function as they once did. By 2002 only RAR was acting in the field. Their continued existence was put down to the extraordinary actions and commitments on the behalf of their two founding members

3.4 The Emergence and Rise of the Multicultural Support Group:

Small Multicultural Support Groups first begin to emerge in 1998. Galway Refugee Support Group is one such example of an early support group. The main mobilisation around multiculturalism did not occur until 2000. Chart 3.5 indicates the increased activity in the field at this time.

Chart 3.5 The Emergence of Multicultural Support Group:

1998	2000	2001
• Galway Refugee Support Group	• Kilkenny AsylumSeeker Support Group • Global Longford • LIR • Clifden Refugee Support Group • Carlow Asylum-Seeker Support Group • New Horizon • NASC • DTASSG	• Dun Laoghaire Refugee Support Group.

By Multicultural Support Group I mean a group that sought to employ multicultural strategies to help integrate and provide services to asylum-seekers. I understand the multicultural aspect of these groups as mirroring the same multicultural policies that the Irish state was simultaneously proposing. I refer to this as *liberal multiculturalism*, which according to Pieterse (2001) involves the recognition of differences while upholding the idea that liberal democracy ensures people are treated equally. Recognition of difference in the liberal multicultural paradigm typically tended towards the celebration and exotification of the Other's food, dance, art etc. as cultural artefacts. Along with Pieterse, I argued that this is a fundamentally flawed paradigm given the fact that inequalities exist across all liberal democratic societies.

As we have seen, Dispersal meant that asylum-seekers are placed in accommodation facilities throughout Ireland. Direct Provision meant that the majority of these asylum-seekers have to live on meagre funds in designated sites. These two policies opened up two areas of perceived needs to the Multicultural Support Group. The first of these was the need to integrate the asylum-seeker in to the local community and the

second was to provide material resources and services to the asylum-seeker. The Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement now entered its second phase of mobilisation, the Multicultural Support Group, which is more concerned with the provision of services to asylum-seekers rather than the wider political issues of racism, asylum and migration.

The movement of members of IS to the service orientated Nasc (the Irish for 'link') is an excellent illustration of the general shift away from protest to service provision or from Radical Anti-Racism to the Multicultural Support Group. There were a number of key benefits to being a non-radical group. These included funding from State and Church bodies and also a wider legitimacy in the community. In the case of Nasc and the other groups examined here there was not a complete aversion to direct action but instead the idea that this needs to be part of a wider repertoire of action. As Patricia from IS and then Nasc argued,

> *It suits us [Nasc] to have a cosy relationship with State authorities and so on. Immigrant Solidarity would not work with State authorities. But we were saying 'look use our rooms you know, we believe in what this system is and you guys keep fighting that fight, I really think its important. I still think there would have been room for Immigrant Solidarity but within six months of NASC opening I think Immigrant Solidarity was a part of history.*

DTASSG and New Horizon are excellent examples of Multicultural Support Groups that arise as a consequence of the policy Dispersal. What is remarkable about these groups is that they were actually promoted and supported by the State. The experience

of Jesse from DTASSG is indicative of many members of Multicultural Support

Groups that I encountered. She recounted,

> *…I had read some article about some fella up in Falcarragh, that's North*
>
> *Donegal, working with asylum seekers and all that he had to do and I said*
>
> *'That's a bit miserable isn't it?' Then there was a public meeting [re.*
>
> *Asylum seekers being located in Donegal Town] announced in May 2000*
>
> *[by] the Department of Justice and I went down to it. And it was a woman*
>
> *who gave the outline of what was happening, what they were trying to*
>
> *do… Then if you wanted to put your name down when you were going out*
>
> *if you wanted to help in anyway, and I did. Then there was a local meeting*
>
> *called late in the month of May and I went to the meeting…*

This phase marks the general depoliticisation of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker

Movement. It is the moment when social integration via

multiculturalism/interculturalism largely replaced Radical Anti-Racist strategies. It is

the moment when the State occupied and to a great extent took over the space that

Radical Anti-Racism fought so hard to create. The asylum-seeker was now an object

of charity in the sense they needed help to buy clothes, to get places etc. Their culture

instead of being directly lived/experienced was reduced to the level of spectacle and

consumed by a majority culture through images and representations. The shift towards

the Multicultural Support Group sees a marked decline in protest and direct action,

with newer groups seeing such actions as not part of their remit. The fact that the

Multicultural Support Group was also tied to the Irish State through the funding that

they received from the RIA meant that even their capacity to be critical of state policy

was largely blunted.

At first glance this signals the disappearance of an emerging Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. After all, there can be no movement, in the sense that I understand social movements here, when an opponent no longer exists. The Irish State had successfully occupied the field and reimagined the problem as one that had a straightforward solution, namely multiculturalism. We will see below that this is largely true, but that the Multicultural Support Group struggled with its inability to act critically and indeed, members, as in the case of Radical Anti-Racism, took things into their own hands. We also observed this in the case of LNAR. As a network of diverse groups operating in the field, it had difficultly in managing these opposing tendencies of multiculturalism and Radical Anti-Racism or support and protest.

Some of the characteristics of these Multicultural Support Groups are similar to those found in the Radical Anti-Racist Group. The members were typically under forty years of age, white and middle-class. Their political backgrounds were diverse but rarely radical in nature. The participation of asylum-seekers was typically the exception to the rule. When compared to Radical Anti-Racism there was a complete lack of politics informing the aims and strategies of the groups. A partnership/community development perspective largely drove the groups.

The research found that the key aims for the Multicultural Support Group were to integrate the asylum-seeker into the local area and to provide the asylum-seeker with various services. Ideally, the services had an 'integrative' aspect to them. Services included but were not limited to English classes, football games, gym memberships, local multicultural evenings, participation in St. Patrick's Day parades, providing transport, providing clothes and library memberships. I will argue below that this multicultural model is incapable of creating the type of social integration that these

groups sought. At this point, it can already be seen to be highly unsuccessful because like above, asylum-seekers had only a very marginal role in the Multicultural Support Group. As Aoife from DTASSG states,

> *They [asylum-seekers] don't come up to meetings, they don't. You'd get two or three of them out of seventy-four or whatever. So in my opinion they don't want anything else. But I don't know it's, it's really hard to describe like what I am trying to say. Like they just, they don't make the effort to come to the meetings. But then if something is being done for the ones who do come to the meetings, they all jump up. Like at the last one they all wanted ehm these trainers for indoor soccer and the ones that were there were told 'Yeah you can have them'. Then the rest asked for them and I am like 'You didn't come to the meeting to say that you wanted them...*

Joseph, an asylum-seeker in DTASSG, suggested a possible reason for this lack of participation:

> *The asylum seeker support group is more a school of integration. If I know that I not stay in this country why must I pay attention to the integration school? Most of the asylum seeker group have no power. They cant change two years in direct provision that somebody did, all these kinds of things, even the money.. In the asylum-seeker support group, most people are working by '.???' so they didn't like to be a revolution group…the asylum seeker support group tries to help…*

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Such an explanation does not fit the multicultural model but rather harks back to the approach that we saw with Radical Anti-Racism. The multicultural model dictates that there cannot be an opponent. The fact that State bodies, like the RIA, supported these groups precluded any kind of action that might challenge the dominant state approach to asylum-seekers and integration. There was a reluctance to recognise or even the debate the existence of wider structural conditions that might have threatened the very essence of the multicultural model. As Jesse of DTASSG noted of politics,

> *Beating that drum you won't hear the other things, you know the more*
> *personal, smaller things that we can deal with ourselves... Alright we*
> *want them to change the law but while they're changing the law we need*
> *to do this kind of thing and not keep beating the drum and going on and*
> *on about it…*

Yet, in a similar fashion to Radical Anti-Racism the Multicultural Support Group contained divergent ideas on what the aims and strategies of the group should be. The research found that at the individual level members undertook actions that were outside of the remit of the cited aims of the particular groups. Peggy, Fiona and Jennifer in DTASSG and New Horizon shared that they were involved in preparing asylum-seekers for their interviews. Fiona suggested that, "…information provision and our interview preparation probably contributes more than to any asylum-seeker than massive protests outside the Dail..."

Peggy reached the point with DTASSG where she no longer wished to be involved with "…the outings and parties kind of approach to it [integration]" and instead focused on interview preparation and information provision. The Multicultural Support Group, or small sections of it at least, found an opponent, something to work

against, and something to define themselves against. As was the case with Radical Anti-Racism, this opponent was the State. Furthermore, I also found evidence that members of Multicultural Support Groups struggled against the reactions of their own communities. Laura is an excellent example of this. Through her relationships with asylum-seekers and non-whites in general, she was exposed to various instances of racism. She used these experiences as a motivation and justification for her work with DTASSG.

The actions of these members of DTASSG and New Horizon were centred upon two main grounds. Firstly, they employed a critical form of action as distinct from an institutionalised form – they jettisoned the premises of and modes of action associated with multiculturalism. They sought to effect change upon a process they associated with instrumental rationality and employ a broader conception of culture than that associated with multiculturalism above. Secondly, they sought to establish relationships with individuals that were characterised by a real sense of reciprocity. These relationships existed outside of the fact that a given individual was categorised as an 'asylum-seeker.'

3.5 The Anti-Deportation Group:

The last phase of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement that this research identified concerned two groups that were chiefly involved with the prevention of deportations – ADC and CADIC. These two groups represented a rejection of Multiculturalism and in some key respects, a return to Radical Anti-Racism. Yet, they also rejected key tenets of Radical Anti-Racism. ADC began in 2000 when a UCD student and her family were threatened with deportation. One of first members of the

group, despite her political background, argued quite strongly that from the beginning ADC was not a political organisation. Charlie states,

> *Primarily where our new members came from were just rank-and-file students at grassroots level... We had students coming along to meetings that never had been involved in any other campaign. They would have never have been involved in the Union or in any other societies, social or sporting. They just came along and saw this as an issue. The background to the students is varied like, you'd have people who would, and they'd have friends who have deportation orders levelled against them. You'd have people who just felt that this was a bad idea. You'd have a lot of people from, foreign students, people who are over on Erasmus come and getting very involved for a year...*

ADC actively attempted to prevent the politicisation of their group. Obviously, it was involved in political matters, but it was not a political group in and of itself. Its members did not have political aspirations. CADIC had very similar origins. In July 2003 the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform signalled their intent to enforce through deportation the Supreme Court finding that non-national parents of Irish children did not have any right to remain in Ireland. CADIC decided very early on to be a single-issue lobby group and fight this policy change. It did not, as in the case of ARC or RAR, assume a specifically anti-racist platform.

Both CADIC and ADC were avowedly non-political. ADC did not take up the "No Racism/No Deportations" line of Radical Anti-Racism. Instead, they adopted the phrase 'No human is illegal', a direct reference to the Jewish Holocaust and a little known anti-nazi resistance group called White Rose. Their appeals were largely

humanitarian in nature, as were CADIC's. This can be clearly seen in a letter that

CADIC sent to Minister of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, Michael

McDowell:"...[we] ask you to grant the families of Irish citizen children, whether

former asylum seekers or not, leave to remain, thus ending their limbo and

uncertainty, and treating them fairly and with dignity, rather than criminalizing them."

This does not mean that racism was not recognised by each group as being hugely

problematic in Irish society. Nor is it to say that they did not see State and

institutional racism as being a real problem in Irish society. The key difference in this

phase of mobilisation was that racism was not directly solvable by recourse to the

dissolution of the State or by the creation of a so-called multicultural society.

In the specific case of the asylum-seeker who was threatened with deportation by the

Irish State, both ADC and CADIC argued that it was morally right to allow this

individual to remain in Ireland to continue their life. More often than not, the

argument for ADC took recourse to the very real contributions these individuals are

making to Irish society. It was very much a humanitarian perspective. For example,

ADCs candlelight vigil in UCD's campus (19/11/03) was themed as 'Shining a Light

into the Darkness: For More Humanitarian Immigration Laws.'

This humanitarian aspect sees fruition when successful campaigns allow individuals

to continue their lives in Ireland. This is precisely what we saw happen in the 'hidden

actions' of DTASSG and New Horizon above. In the case of ADC, Charlie remarked,

> *If I spend six months a year campaigning about one case and then the*
>
> *case gets appealed or the deportation order is removed that's a huge*
>
> *victory. You know that's someone's life we are talking about... You've*

made a big difference to them so its worthwhile… It beats going out and

debating!

The Anti-Deportation Group stood somewhere in between Radical Anti-Racism and the Multicultural Support. It is unfair to suggest that it was *progressive* or that it improved upon the previous two phases of mobilisation. Instead, it should be seen as occupying a space within the overall field of action that anti-racism and multiculturalism largely failed to fill. Out of the original four Radical Anti-Racist groups that we examined only RAR is still operating. Given our knowledge of the Multicultural Support Group and Anti-Deportation Group, it is perhaps no surprise that RAR is still going strong. This, however, is not quite the end of the story. To end we go back in time, to when the issue of asylum-seekers was of little or no concern to the Irish State.

3.6 The Case of Harmony:

In 1986 a young child in Dublin asked her Mother, "Is black not nice?" This question ended up as part of a small article in the Evening Herald newspaper. This article led to the creation of the first non-traveller/non-apartheid anti-racism group in Ireland. Harmony began in September 1986. Its membership came from a mix of backgrounds – White Irish, Black Irish, South American and African. As Louise a former member retrospectively noted, "I think that from the very beginning the committee was eh, representative of the partnerships people had in life, marriages and cultural relationships. It was probably one of these best practice things in terms of people who are affected by racism being involved..." As we saw in the case of the other groups in this research, 'best practice' is a very difficult thing to achieve.

Harmony was established as a support group for individuals who were experiencing racism in Ireland. What is most interesting about Harmony in its early days was the fact that the group did not make sense of itself as being anti-racist, multicultural or integrative. Louise notes,

> *I don't think we were talking about state racism. Certainly for myself I hardly knew what the word racism meant. I was aware that my child was experiencing some form of discrimination but not that kind of analysis... you could see the isolation that your child was experiencing...I didn't think about cultural heritage... Charles would have been quite in to the racism bit but at that stage I wasn't.*

A social scientific perspective came with time, but in the beginning the members created a space where according to Louise,

> *A number of people over the years thought that it was a place where they could just be.. I know a number of people who were Irish born but maybe had African Grandparents, some from foster homes and some from orphanages ... and they just felt for the first time in their lives they didn't have to be explaining themselves... they could just be.*

In its beginnings Harmony shaped itself as a safe space where people could interact without the threat of racism and it was very successful in achieving this. Yet, this insular nature was to be very quickly upset by the idea that the group should also concern itself with outside matters. In other words, it needed to confront/challenge racism.

As in the case of the Multicultural Support Group and Radical Anti-Racism, the division between political and non-political members created problems. In the case of Harmony, ten years before the emergence of Radical Anti-Racism, we also see a marked distinction between those who are political and those who are non-political. By the early 1990s there was a strong push by some members to politicise Harmony and for a period of five years Harmony assumed a public-political role while still attempting to be a private space where people could simply 'be.' It campaigned against racism and discrimination while pushing for anti-discrimination laws to be implemented.

By 1995 Harmony underwent a decline in much the same way as ARC, IS and MWAR did. The more political Harmony became, with this politicisation reaching its peak late-1995, the more Harmony began to lose its capacity to provide support for members. By December its fate was sealed. A combination of burnout, a lack of funding (it was self-funded throughout but a larger political role required more money), institutionalisation (e.g. the then up and coming European Year Against Racism 1997) and divisive politicisation meant that Harmony could no longer continue. What Harmony teaches us is that the issues I identified in Radical Anti-Racism and the Multicultural Support Group are very similar issues that were faced by the first specifically anti-racist group in Ireland. The relationship between politics and everyday life appears to be extremely divisive in the case of such groups acting in Irish civil society.

3.7 Why the "Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement"?

There was clearly an anti-racist agenda in Radical Anti-Racism. Anti-racism, on the other hand was not significant issue for the Multicultural Support Group phase. The

same can be said for Anti-Deportation Groups. However, do these latter two phases take part in activities that could be loosely described as 'anti-racist'? The answer is clearly yes. In adopting a social movement approach to understanding these groups I am more so concerned here about how these groups define themselves. The Multicultural Support Groups and the Anti-Deportation Groups define themselves in key respects in opposition to Radical Anti-Racism. They also still consider Radical Anti-Racism to be part of the same field of action that they occupy. This is explicitly seen in the case of LNAR. Ciaran points out,

> *"There would certainly be a recognition among people that there are different models. But I mean at the same time I think people understand that there is a need for the different types of models, be it the proactive type of work, challenging things and like that and also in terms of more community based stuff and like that, where you are working on individual relationships which appear at an individual level..."*

Clearly, Ciaran is speaking about the multicultural approach versus the Radical Anti-Racism approach. LNAR as a network of groups that were against racism, struggled with reconciling these two approaches. The groups that took part in this research recognised each other and indeed recognised each other's legitimacy. They chiefly differed over their political stances and their idea of which solution would best solve the problems that asylum-seekers faced. The groups as part of a social movement were in a manifest fashion struggling between one another to find and offer the best solution. They were all aware that they shared the same space. For example, all the participants in this research were aware of the no-borders position advocated by ARC, IS and MWAR. Charlie from ADC, for example, had a positive view of no-borders

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when he remarked, "Now I'd have a lot of sympathy towards it but I see it as an ideal, not a reality and something I'll always try to go towards but I don't think in this current state, we just can't wake up tomorrow and go 'no-borders'". John, from the Refugee Project, again was very aware of the perspective of no-borders and offered her own perspective, which happened to be in disagreement with the no-borders policy,

> *"We would never say 'no deportations'. But we would say 'Deportations*
> *after a fair asylum process within a reasonable time' and we would say,*
> *'the longer that people are here, the more rights they acquire'. But we*
> *will say, it doesn't make sense to have an asylum process if you don't*
> *have deportations because then you would just let everybody in…"*

The key point here is that each phase was cognisant of its own identity and the identity of the other phases and groups within phases. For example, Carrie a member of ARC, perceived RAR as being 'social workery'. In my conceptualisation RAR can be considered to be critical Radical Anti-Racism as distinct from the revolutionary Radical Anti-Racism that ARC espoused. Nonetheless, Carrie recognised RAR as operating in the same field and dealing with the same issues. The key difference between ARC and RAR for Carrie was the way in which they proposed to deal with these same issues.

The central defining feature for all of these groups was the asylum-seeker. For example, IS had an explicit remit to deal with all forms of racism. Yet Frankie remarked,

> *It was badly needed at the time, it was the only "immigrant" organisation*
> *in Cork. I wanted to be involved in "politics of immigration" so to speak, I*

was and still am against deportations, IS' primary concern was to stop

deportations at the time. It went from there.

All of the groups in this sample were dealing with the issues being faced by asylum-seekers, be they state racism, the learning of English, an impending deportation order, or access to telephone cards to call home and so on. The groups largely constructed their identity around the asylum-seeker. The key-unifying feature of all of these disparate groups is their desire to improve the lives of asylum-seekers in Ireland. Based upon this fact, their own self-definitions and their overall awareness of each other, the term Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement best captures the overall identity of this movement. We will see further evidence of this in the analysis chapters, especially with respect to the key aims of these groups.

3.8 Conclusion:

The Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement raises a number of key questions from the perspective of social movement analysis. In discerning three key phases of mobilisation the following quandary emerges; what are the differences and what are the similarities between each phase of mobilisation? Through employing Touraine's concept of Historicity we will get a much better idea of what each phase of the movement concerned itself with. In order to better understand the differences and similarities I will analyse the ideology that each phase of the movement produced. We will extend the initial narrative by suggesting that two key layers of action exist in the movement's first two phases – a formal and informal layer. The formal layer can be best understood as resulting from the formal ideology that each phase produced. It tends to most obviously manifest itself in the literature that groups produced. We will attempt to theoretically situate this formal ideology in the context of the relationship

that Radical Anti-Racism and the Multicultural Support Group set up with the Irish State. As we have seen, each of these two phases created very different types of relationships with the State. I will argue, however, that perhaps the consequences of these relationships are similar, especially when we understand the movement as concerning an encounter with the asylum-seeker. Thus, I examine the consequences of these ideologies for the asylum-seeker. In both cases, the groups inadvertently aligned themselves with State policy. How and why this happens, is a fundamental question of this section. Returning to the analysis of historicity that I began above, I will then examine the similarities between the movement and its opponent the Irish State.

Where one expects to find developed conceptualisations of race, ethnicity, anti-racism, multiculturalism and interculturalism, one actually finds relatively weakly defined conceptualisations. Where one expects to find a movement that acts against its opponent, I instead uncover a movement that is more closely linked to the State than we first might expect. My analysis uncovers a movement that the asylum-seeker is not fully active in until CADIC. I argue that at a formal level Radical Anti-Racism makes the asylum-seeker the sublime object of their ideology. In the case of the Multicultural Support Group, I argue that the result of their ideology is disintegration and unfulfilled reciprocity.

I will then claim that an informal layer of action exists in these first two phases. In order to capture the meaning of the informal layer I will analyse the first two phases from the perspective of their collective identity. I will argue the process of collective identity formation is crucial to the processes of change that I identified within the movement. The foundation for this analysis is chiefly the interviews and observations that I conducted. This informal layer of action will be used to help explain the shift

from Radical Anti-Racism to Multiculturalism and help us better understand the process of change within the overall movement. It will also begin to allow us to understand the incidences of 'non-multicultural' actions that I uncovered in the Multicultural Support Group.

These 'non-multicultural' actions and intimations from respondents across the groups led me to my final quandary. There was resistance within Radical Anti-Racism and Multicultural Support Groups to their very projects. Individual members consistently challenged the group perspective and attempted to create new meanings and directions of action. This fact taken alongside with the development of the Anti-Deportation Group and CADIC and the steady depoliticisation of the movement led me to question the central meaning of the movement. If it is not anti-racist or multicultural and if we cannot reduce the complexity of the actions involved to the fact that people simply do not agree with deportation, well then what is it that the movement is becoming? What was it before? Can we reduce the movement to a single meaning? These questions, I will argue, are best answered by understanding the movement as centrally concerning the Subject and the process of desubjectivation in Irish society between 1994 and 2004.

Chapter Five: The Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement, Historicity and Ideology.

5.1 Introduction:

This chapter employs the concept of historicity in order to discern the key features of the three phases of mobilisation of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement I presented in the narrative chapter. Historicity compels us to understand the movement and each of its phases relationally, specifically in terms of how they encounter an Opposition and the asylum-seeker. It is in these relationships that we can identify the key facets of each specific phase of the movement. I will analyse in detail the cultural model of historicity while briefly noting the economic, cognitive and ethical models. The analysis uncovers a movement that is far more complex than cursory examination might suggest. By examining how in each phase the movement and its opposition at a formal level set up relations between themselves and the asylum-seeker I uncover a movement that is inherently diverse. I will argue in the next chapter that this diversity actually allows the movement to maintain a strong sense of overall unity. Therefore, in accommodating diversity, the movement enhances it capacity for change.

In Radical Anti-Racism I will show that at a formal ideological level, there is an ideological appropriation of the asylum-seeker. I will furthermore explain how the Irish State performs a similar action. I argue that in both instances the asylum-seeker undergoes *ideological anamorphosis* and becomes the *sublime object of ideology* (Žižek 1997). A similar process is evident in the multicultural project that the Multicultural Support Group involves itself in. Its formal practice of what I considered to be liberal multiculturalism has as its end result the alienation of asylum-

seekers from the group and the creation of disenchantment among the group members themselves. This process of disenchantment is conceptualised as *unfulfilled reciprocity*. Unfulfilled reciprocity refers to the feeling within multicultural support groups that asylum-seekers used the groups strategically and gave nothing back in return. Instead, of allowing for the integration of the asylum-seeker, the multicultural project creates what I term *disintegration*. Disintegration refers to processes that actually prevent the integration of the asylum-seeker into their communities.

5.2 Touraine's Concept of Historicity and the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement:

For Touraine, a social movement must be considered to be relational. They set up relations between themselves and the society that they are operating in. This is seen quite clearly in his Identity, Opposition and Totality theory discussed earlier. A movement cannot exist in isolation. Key to this concern with the relational aspect of social movements is the idea of contestation. Social movements are to be understood as challenging a particular aspect or set of aspects of the field of action in which they find themselves. In order to better grasp the nature of this environment and the substance of a movement's contestation, Touraine suggests that we examine a movement through the rubric of *Historicity*. Historicity is simultaneously considered to be a set of resources that an opposition controls and a set of relationships that a movement seeks to establish within its field of action. We defined it as "...the set of cultural, cognitive, economic, and ethical models by means of which a collectivity sets up relations with its environment…" (Touraine 1998:40).

In my model of historicity, the Irish State is in control of the key economic, cultural, ethical and cognitive models. These models can be considered to be integral as to how

a given society operates. For example, if the economic model is capitalist then one presumes private property laws are a given. Again, if you control aspects of the economy, say labour laws, then you are in control of who can and who cannot work. This is seen very clearly in the State deciding to remove of the right to work from Asylum Seekers who claimed asylum after July 26th, 1999. These models are fluid and dynamic, especially in the sense that they are under constant pressure from people and groups – social movements in this case – that challenge their legitimacy. The Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement and in particular Radical Anti-Racism and the Anti-Deportation Group, consider the removal of the right to work to be wrong and challenge its legitimacy from ethical and economic standpoints. Logically then, they are challenging an aspect of the prevailing dominant economic model in Irish society. This is clearly seen in Table 5.1 below where I illustrate the struggle over historicity in Irish society from the perspective of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement.

Each phase of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement was involved in a specific relationship with the asylum-seeker and the Irish State. The nature of these relationships are measured across four variables; culture, economy, ethics and cognitive. So, for example, how does the Irish State understand the asylum-seeker from the perspective of the Irish economy? Or, how does Radical Anti-Racism understand the asylum-seeker's position in the Irish economy. This is hugely relevant given the fact that the asylum-seeker was not always a significant contributor to the movement. There were a number of considerable difficulties that impeded the inclusion of asylum-seekers into the movement. Tracy from New Horizon, consistently mentioned how no matter what lengths she went to, asylum-seekers would not involve themselves. On my second visit to New Horizon I interviewed

Tracy the recent Christmas Party came up and this provided a good illustration of the role of the asylum-seeker in the movement.

She described how the staff at the Lissywollen accommodation centre had arranged a Christmas party on-site for the asylum-seeker's children. As part of the occasion the staff handed out presents they had bought for the children. This led to an unexpected reaction. One asylum-seeker stood on top of a table with a doll in her hand and began to shout 'Look what they gave us'. She angrily proceeded to rip the head off the doll and at this stage 'chaos' swept the room. Other asylum-seekers joined in and yet others attempted to remove their children from the room. In the ruckus, the staff took shelter in a locked office and 'Santa Claus' took shelter in his grotto.

After hearing this Tracy felt that there was no other option but to cancel the New Horizon Christmas party. A chief concern was that the proposed location for the party – a local school hall – could be in danger of being wrecked should trouble break out. We will also see below how this incident is clearly linked to the idea of unfulfilled reciprocity; members feel like they give far more than they get back in return. Of course, there are much wider issues at play here. Tillie (2004) in the context of Dutch immigrants raises the issue that many immigrants simply lack the necessary social capital that is required to participate in political groups or indeed non-political groups in the case of New Horizon. Frankie's experience of IS is indicative of this. He notes, "When we did manage to have meetings which immigrants attended, it was like this public lecture where a bunch of aspiring lefty academics told us what to do and how to do - with best and most genuine of the intentions- with a highly academic language". Obviously, a certain type of social capital is required to participate in such a format.

Oldman (2004) makes a similar argument in the Swedish case, noting that NGOs in Sweden are closely linked to the State and this actively deters minority mobilisation. The strong ties of the Multicultural Support Group to the Irish State might help explain their difficultly in mobilising asylum-seekers. More to the point, perhaps the doll in the above incident more so represents the Irish State than it did New Horizon or any of its members. The strong and overt political element to Radical Anti-Racism might deter an asylum-seeker worried about their involvement impinging upon their claim for asylum. Certainly, this was an issue for me when my case for resident status was in process. Even now, as a resident of a country you do not necessarily feel as protected as a citizen might. Basok (2008:266) makes a strong claim for constructing a form of "grassroots citizenship" that challenges the "…state-imposed notions of citizenship". Yet, the fact still looms large that asylum-seekers do not have the same protections as citizens. Sohller et al (2009:48) argue that overall,

> *…the downgrading of status rights and integration conditions for an*
> *increasing proportion of asylum seekers and refugees as a consequence of*
> *restrictive asylum policies has had a negative impact on their resources*
> *and capacities for participation in social, economic and political life.*

In the Irish case, the twin policies of Dispersal and Direct Provision are obvious inhibitors of mobilization. Returning to Harmony, its first Christmas Party was a fun affair, which according to Louise "…had two Santa Clause's, a male and female and maybe Black and White but that wasn't because of any great analysis it was just because it was thought it would be a good idea at the time..." The difficulties that the

Multicultural Support Group here experiences are not found in Harmony but nor are issues of citizenship and residency status.

Issues with representation in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement do not end at asylum-seekers and refugees. In fact, diversity, even in terms of social class is extremely limited. Carrie noted,

> *I would have much preferred to have a member of the working-class*
> *active in ARC than a member of the middle-class…My background is*
> *kinda working-class and I'm like the fucking Pope in a Stetson here… And*
> *they (the Left) are always going on about a working-class revolution and*
> *if you introduced them to ten working class people, they'd shit themselves*
> *you know?*

In this chapter I will largely concentrate upon the cultural model in historicity. This cultural model provides a key insight into how each phase of the movement relates to the asylum-seeker at the key level of their integration or otherwise into Irish society. It also allows me to begin to conceptualise the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement as a movement that concerns itself with the integration of the asylum-seeker into Irish society. I will return to the economic and ethical models in the next two chapters when I further examine the role of the State as an agent of rationalisation. In focusing on the cultural model here, I will construct an analysis of a movement across each of its three stages. In each phase I will outline the distinctive nature of the cultural relationship between the stage of the movement, the asylum-seeker and the Irish State.

This builds a picture of a disparate and disjointed movement. Most notably, I discern that there exists more than one level of action within Radical Anti-Racism and the

Multicultural Support Group – an informal level and a formal level. In this chapter, I am concentrating upon the formal level of actions of these groups. In my second and third analysis chapters I will argue that the movement can be fruitfully analysed at the level of informal actions. I claim that these formal and informal levels of actions are often at odds with each other. The formal level of action can be best understood as that which the group overtly expresses in its literature, protests, and public communications. The informal level of action is best understood as actions that deviate from the formal prescriptive actions/values/aims/beliefs outlined in literature, in public meetings, at protests and in public communications.

In the following pages I describe and discuss the key features outlined in the Culture section of Table 5.1. By the end of this process a picture of a conflicted movement will emerge that necessitates us having to explain how the movement actually maintains cohesiveness in the first place and how the process of change occurs in the movement.

Table 5.1 Historicity and the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement

Aspect of Historicity	The Irish State and the Asylum-Seeker	Radical Anti-Racism and the Asylum-Seeker	Multicultural Support Group and the Asylum-Seeker	Anti-Deportation Groups and the Asylum Seeker
Culture	Formal Ideology of Desubjectivation through application of Zweckrational. Increasing the distance between objective and subjective worlds. (Touraine) Asylum Seeker as a Sublime Object of Ideology.	Subjectivation or reconciling of objective and subjective worlds. Desubjectivation through Asylum Seeker as a Sublime Object of Ideology.	Subjectivation through anti-deportation assistance. Desubjectivation through "Normative Multicultural Integration"/"Liberal Multiculturalism"	Subjectivation at the formal and informal levels of collective identity. E.g. stopping deportations; role of asylum-seeker.

Economy	End not Means – Separation of culture and economy. Zweckrational and Bauman's neo-liberal model. E.g. removal of right to work from asylum-seekers. Identity through conspicuous and positional consumption. Pursuit of wealth, status, power…	As a means not end – reintegrate economy with culture, remove element of Zweckrational. E.g. allowing asylum-seekers to work.	A non-issue and not part of any campaigns, protests etc. More concerned with the provision of services.	As a means not end – reintegrate economy with culture, remove element of Zweckrational. E.g. allowing asylum-seekers to work.
Ethics	Firstly, determined by dialectic between de jure and de facto law (Habermas), e.g. liberal citizenship code with respect to Multiculturalism. Secondly, concerned with the prioritisation of capital over people	Universalistic and Humanistic. Prescriptive and Ethnocentric. Ethical individualism at the level of informal collective identity.	Universalistic and Humanistic. Prescriptive and Ethnocentric. Exists at formal collective identity level. Ethical individualism at the level of informal collective identity.	Developing… Interactionary/Communicative Action – Ideal Speech community? Levinas? Ethical individualism at the level of formal and informal collective identity.
Cognitive	Disavowal of history-ahistorical approach stressing homogeneity of nation-state formation and development-exclusionary.	Postcolonial and interrogative conception of history - inclusion.	Understanding the Irish nation as 'good'.	Postcolonial and interrogative conception of history - inclusion.

In terms of the cultural model outlined above, it is quite clear that each phase of the movement sets up distinct relationships with the figure of the asylum-seeker and the State as an opponent. We will deal with each of these in turn and suggest that there were fundamental differences between each phase. I also identify differences within the groups themselves at the level of individual phases. In order to flesh out such differences I will examine the formal ideological content of Radical Anti-Racism, the Multicultural Support Group and the State.

5.3 Radical Anti-Racism and Formal Ideology:

From the perspective of a cultural model one can argue that Radical Anti-Racism presents us with two competing perspectives. Straightforwardly, Radical Anti-Racism challenged the government to treat the asylum seeker as it treats its citizens with respect to the right to work and the right to move across borders. At a more complicated level, it also asked people to understand that racism will not end until the State is dissolved and capitalism was replaced by an alternative model. Hence, the notion of radicalness; there is more at stake than racism, the whole prevailing mode of societal development is being questioned. At a formal level, this radicalness is not always evident. Consider ARC's main aims:

i) Equal rights for refugees and immigrants in Ireland, i.e. access to all the rights and entitlements open to Irish citizens.

ii) Opposition to all border controls [i.e. open borders policy].

iii) Challenge State and Media racism and furthermore the Fortress Europe policy as both of these are impediments to i) and ii) above

iv) Empower people 'to help themselves'. ARC specifically models itself so as not to be a charity.

v) Combat racist myths. This is primarily designed so as to educate the public." (ARC pamphlet)

At first appearances they are not overtly associated with a given political perspective. A more detailed examination of the literature produced by ARC members uncovers a strong link to WSM, an anarchist group that promotes revolutionary change in Irish society and elsewhere. Grainne, a non-aligned member reinforces this point noting, "… there was that pure or, what could you say, that starting position of 'no borders' eh that didn't really ever expand into all sorts of other nuances…"

In Radical Anti-Racism it is reasonable to divide membership along the lines of aligned and non-aligned members. Aligned or non-aligned that is, to a political group. The most influential political groups were WSM, SWP, SP and SF. ARC, MWAR, and IS all operate along these lines. There was a formal ideology created by the original aligned members and then newer members were expected to toe this line. MWAR, ARC, and IS claimed, however, that they were non-political. Brian, a non-aligned member in IS, noted how the strong influence of WSM within IS resulted in the 'no-borders' perspective becoming a key principle. However, it was a conscious decision of all those members who attended the first meeting, that IS should not be seen as a platform for SF, SP or WSM. Brian points to this when he states:

> *It was purposefully designed that it wouldn't be associated... like people were there in their individual capacity as far as I recall, as opposed to say somebody, WSM having their representative along. And I think the reason that was taken was that it recognised that the people, the fifty people who were at that [second] meeting represented a broad church of interest.*

Still, the main aims and values that IS espoused at a formal level can be traced back to the original meeting of WSM members, SF members and SP members that created IS.

What I would like to begin to do now is to explore how, with specific reference to the WSM and its involvement in ARC, MWAR and IS, the ideological underpinnings of a Radical Anti-Racism strategy may be said to share particular features with its' ideological adversary, the State. The formal strategy of Radical Anti-Racism as invoked by WSM and ultimately ARC, MWAR and IS is, reliant upon what Žižek refers to as 'ideological anamorphosis' (1997:75-77). Ideological anamorphosis is a "…procedure which enables us to discern the structural inconsistency of an

ideological edifice" (Žižek 1997:74). It will allow us to see how Radical Anti-Racism

and the State's actions as evinced in their ideological endeavours are ultimately

unfeasible or unworkable. While Touraine's idea that a movement and opposition

share key values is important, it does not allow me to move beyond their

identification. Ideological anamorphosis allows me to probe the inconsistencies and

contradictions that exist in ideologies. In straightforward analyses of movements that

rely upon RMT, PPT or CBT there is not the theoretical capacity to do this. A deeper

understanding of the movement and its relationship to its opposition is simply

considered unimportant. Often times, movement theory itself assumes greater

importance and relevance than the specific movement under examination.

WSM has had a long history of becoming involved in various struggles and protests

in Irish society. They have been involved in the anti-capitalist movement, various

gender issues like divorce and abortion, and anti-apartheid. The same can be said for

SP and SWP. For such political parties social problems can be directly linked to the

capitalist mode of production. Anti-racism allowed these political groups to further

their claim that inequality, far from being a latent and unavoidable process for which

the people experiencing it must be in part or wholly responsible, is in fact something

which is consciously produced by the Irish State and the capitalist system. This was

seen in Radical Anti-Racism's focus on the implementation of Direct Provision and

Dispersal and how this directly marginalised the asylum-seeker. In March of 1999

Grainne from ARC was crucial in creating the short-lived umbrella group National

Federation of Campaigns Against Racism (NFCAR). In April 1999, NFCAR

organised a right to work campaign for asylum-seekers. This exposed the State's role

in making asylum-seekers dependent upon welfare.

In equating racism with the State a new avenue of criticism and attack was opened up to radical left-wing groups. This was linked with the desire of these groups to grow stronger and reach a larger audience. There was certainly a feeling among those in the research that were not associated with Radical Anti-Racism that '... [they] jump on absolutely every bandwagon if it be pro-abortion or anti-deportation or anti-anti-racism or anti-war and the aim seems to me to get more members...' This statement from CADIC's Tony, suggests that the issues of racism and anti-racism were attractive to a section of the population for whom traditional issues like homelessness, pro-choice or pro-divorce did not act as a mobilising force. Of course, people involved in Radical Anti-Racism would dispute this. Grainne, a non-aligned member of ARC states: "…but for groups like that, that kind of grassroots anti-racism probably never would have happened, certainly not in the way that it did". The non-aligned members in IS and ARC typically believed that they were not being duped or tricked into becoming WSM or SP members. Indeed, I would argue that the work of the far left in Ireland was crucially important, and indeed formative, in creating an anti-racist agenda in civil society.

5.3.1 The State, Radical Anti-Racism and the Asylum-Seeker and Ideological Work:

The existence of a formal ideological backbone to Radical Anti-Racism meant that in terms of its relationship with the State it conducts ideological work. In as much as there was an ideological content to Radical Anti-Racism, there was an ideological content to the actions of the State. I argue that the asylum-seeker through his/her involvement in a process largely implemented by the State and Radical Anti-Racism, became their "…sublime object of ideology…" (Žižek 1997:76). In becoming a sublime object of ideology the asylum-seeker underwent a process of objectification and desubjectivation whereby his/her life-project was stripped of its "...positive

ontological consistency" (Žižek 1997:76). The 'deontologicalised' asylum-seeker was then employed as a means through which the pre-existing conflict between the State and Radical Anti-Racism was replayed, albeit under different conditions. Stripped of his/her subjectivity, the presence of the asylum-seeker became the reason for the non-satisfaction of societal needs and desires that were previously promised by the liberal State[1]. On the one hand, the State argued that the unjustifiable/illegal presence of asylum-seekers prevented Irish citizens accessing scarce societal resources. Radical Anti-Racism, on the other, argued that the inability of the State to provide these resources in the first instance explains why the State had failed its own citizens. In both arguments the figure of the asylum-seeker is involved in a process of positivization. This resulted in the asylum-seeker taking two forms. Firstly, the asylum-seeker took the form of a scapegoat for the failure of the Irish State to provide services to its citizens. For example, the then Minister for Justice and other government ministers added to the tide of distrust against asylum seekers and ultimately their racialisation. John from the Refugee Project, a religious and non-political group, recognised this process:

> *But I think that certainly that potential for racism has been greatly*
> *developed, confirmed, exploited by the whole attitude from the word 'go'.*
> *And there's a realty sad proof of the fact that 'first impressions are*
> *lasting'. The early ways of speaking at official level about 'bogus' and*
> *'illegal' and so on, which came from the mouths of Minister's and senior*
> *civil servants and which we wouldn't hear now from them in that overt*
> *way but that doesn't say that the attitude is any better. But that made a*
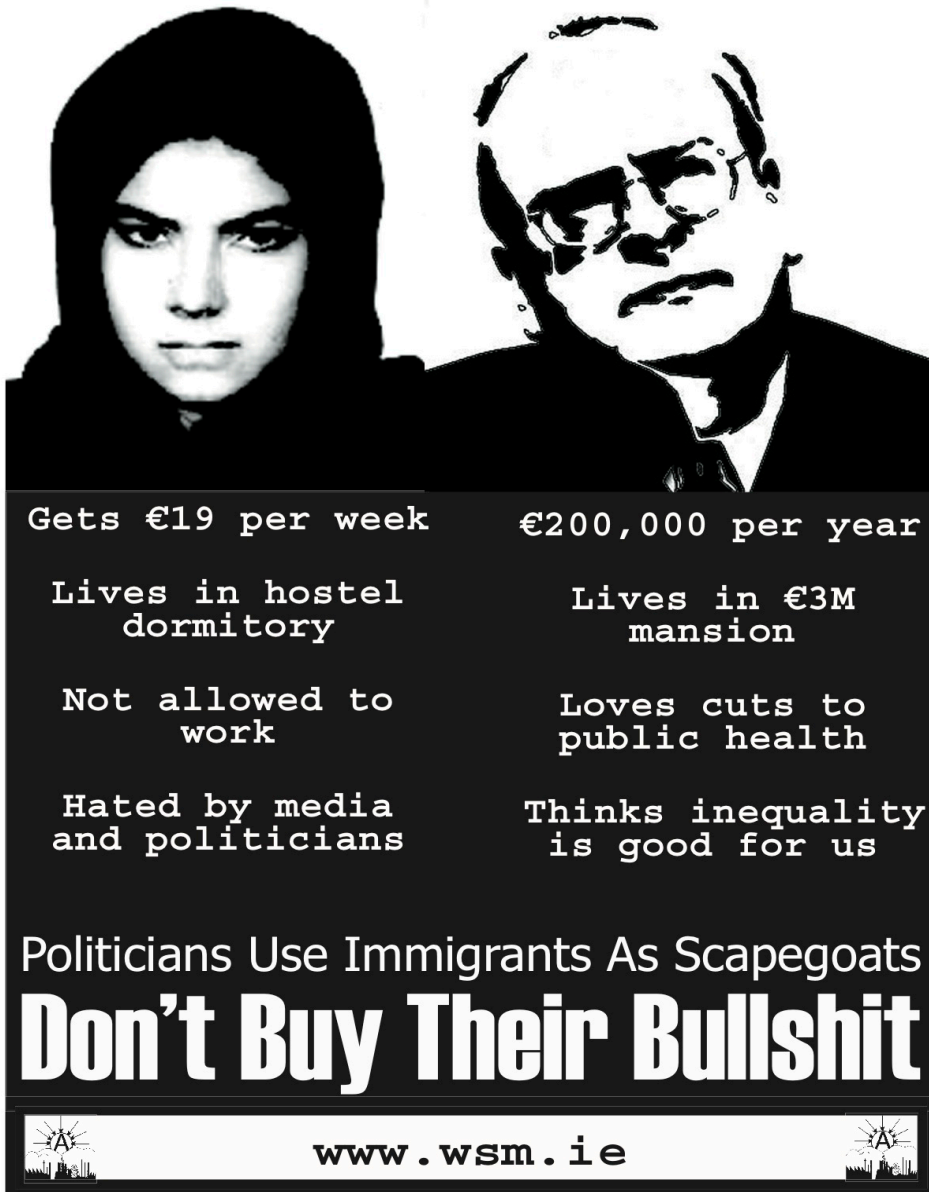
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[1] A prime example here is apportioning of blame for the lack of adequate maternity facilities in Dublin to asylum-seekers by the current Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform, Michael McDowell. Perhaps, such actions go some way towards explaining why in 2004 the Irish public overwhelmingly voted to restrict automatic citizenship for babies born in Ireland.

lasting impression on the people like those in Ireland who weren't sure on

which foot to stand in relation to this issue…

For example, in 1998, the Minister for Justice, John O'Donoghue, stated that 90% of all asylum-seekers entering Ireland were 'bogus' and that their (mis)treatment and eventual deportation was both legitimate and warranted under Irish law. Implicit in this statement was the idea that 90% of asylum-seekers were in a sense breaking Irish law and hence, their criminalisation was justified. This rhetoric reached greater heights when in April 21st, 2004 Michael McDowell the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform, argued that "…he knew anecdotally of 'women from eastern Europe and elsewhere in the world who have come here on holiday visas, given birth, collected the birth certificate and the passport for the child and returned home" (Brennock 2004).

Secondly, the asylum-seeker took the form of a means through which Radical Anti-Racism can criticise the Irish State. The following poster illustrates this perfectly in the context of how the State gives the asylum-seeker the form of a scapegoat:

When examining anti-racism endeavours by the Irish State like Know Racism, there

was an overwhelming tendency to confer legitimacy upon migrants who were

working in Ireland, or Irish people who had worked hard and are successful. This

actively excluded asylum-seekers and by implication suggested that they have nothing

to offer Irish society. This can be seen in the following example of one Know Racism

advertisement.

The person in this advertisement is Jason Sherlock who played Gaelic football for the county of Dublin. People from Dublin are commonly referred to as Dubs. His ethnicity (Irish father and Korean mother) and the fact that he won the All-Ireland Gaelic Football competition playing for Dublin is playfully used to highlight that minorities exist in Irish society. The key premise, however, is achievement. In the other two advertisements produced by Know Racism at this time, the focus is also on achievement and giving back to society, albeit economic achievement and how this also contributes to community (Moran 2003).

Any possible labour power an asylum-seeker could bring to the labour market was rendered void by denying them the right to work. Instead, as non-economic entities they were increasingly perceived as an alien drain on 'scarce' societal resources. If we refract these positions though the lens of State anti-racism and intercultural policies as

the solution to racism, we find an inherently contradictory position - exactly the kind of position that the concept of ideological anamorphosis is designed to uncover.

Equally, Radical Anti-Racism can be considered to appropriate the asylum-seeker. He/she- or a conception thereof- became a conduit for the ideologically inspired critique of what they perceived to be a dominant ideology. The asylum-seeker also became Radical Anti-Racism's sublime object of ideology. The anonymous female asylum-seeker in the poster above is clear evidence of this. His/her presence in the Irish State, regardless of motives, is used to further specific political aims. Of course, such aims will differ across political groups and I would suggest that had my sample of participants contained more aligned members a more nuanced picture would have emerged. The issue of asylum-seeker participation placed these groups in a 'damned if you do' and 'damned if don't' position. The participants, both aligned and non-aligned, recognised that action was needed. They were also equally cognisant that the lack of asylum-seeker involvement was problematic. The difficulties surrounding mobilising minorities have been well established. It is not fair to say that Radical Anti-Racism did not try or that it purposefully appropriated the asylum-seeker. It was more so perhaps a victim of circumstances. In the case of IS there were actually less than fifty asylum-seekers in Cork at the time of its inception. Given the previous discussion on the barriers, in terms of political participation that are placed in front of asylum-seekers, it was unsurprising that only two members over the course of IS's existence were asylum-seekers. Frankie, an immigrant who was part of IS, in fact made it a point to remain part of the group simply "cause I was determined to be a part of an immigrant organisation which ought to be run by immigrants". However, it is obvious that Frankie was a welcome part of IS. Patricia, who was similarly non-aligned remarked that,

You know I was one of the people who came in from the outside and found

'yes this is good…' There were extremely good people in it. People were

welcoming to you as a new person. You know that's vitally important in

any organisation like that because people can be intimidated by those

people who know more like…

In the case of ARC, the majority of members were Irish and none were asylum-seekers. However, there was an African, Swedish and German member and a number of English members. Looking back on ARC, Carrie an aligned member identified this as being a major contradiction. She noted,

"I thought that there were way too few people from ethnic backgrounds.

How can you, you know, claim to be wanting to be multicultural or

whatever, when you've got fuck all people from an ethnic background?

They're all from Dublin, some are middle class, some are working class".

Yet, Grainne, a non-aligned member, could ultimately justify the lack of asylum-seekers. She argued quite reasonably,

"In one sense I used to have some difficultly because you'd have people

attacking us over ehm.. you know 'How come you haven't got..?' You

know, 'Where are all the Africans and you're all Irish people?' and

therefore you had no right and it did sort of wobble your position for a

time but eventually it got to the point of saying, 'Well look we're not, we

don't purport to speak on behalf of immigrants'. At one level, yeah, but

I'm not pretending that I'm here representing immigrants. At one level

you were but I wasn't claiming to do that. What you were really claiming

was that you were representing Irish people who were dissatisfied with

the policies that were being implemented in their name... On that basis I

can do it. I'm perfectly legitimate to do it. I don't have to have the

imprimatur of a whole load of people. Stuff is being done in my name that

I don't like and that's about the size of it for anyway".

The approach of Radical Anti-Racism to the issue of racism itself was also heavily

driven by ideology. When IS challenged the proposed Immigration Act in 1999 they

sent the following letting to the Irish Examiner, a national newspaper:

"Borders and immigration controls are not naturally occurring

phenomena. They are social and economic constructs that are designed to

limit an individual's right to access full citizenship rights in a particular

country. Immigrants are welcome when countries require additional

labour or particular skills to generate economic wealth. Borders are

created when countries claim they can no longer make use of non-native

talents. Immigrants are then stereotyped as menaces who are threatening

the prosperity and security of European society. Meanwhile nationalist

and racist arguments are invoked to justify the U-turn in policy"

(03/05/1999).

Although not explicitly 'no-borders', this letter is clearly an example of how

ideologically driven the particular arguments of Radical Anti-Racism were. When we

examine the literature produced by ARC and IS we can identify the argument that

racism was being used by State institutions to divide and conquer the working class

by pitting them against the migrant Other. Thus, any class-consciousness the former

may have or could possibly have was lost as the myths propagated by the State and

Media force them to literally turn against 'themselves.' Solidarity was destroyed and

the existing system of inequality was reproduced. The following picture of a child

holding an ARC poster illustrates this point:

Source: http://struggle.ws/arc.html

In a very similar example, an ARC press release entitled "Put the blame where it

belongs" states,

> *The decision of the government to purchase the Devereux Hotel in*
>
> *Rosslare for the purpose of establishing a refugee reception centre has*
>
> *met with fierce opposition. The people of the area are quite right to be*
>
> *angry with the government. A popular local hotel is to close, depriving the*
>
> *community of a much-needed resource and putting a number of people out*

of work. However, the anger of the local community at the actions of the

government must not be allowed to become a cover for attacking a

vulnerable group of people - asylum seekers, who have had no say in the

making of the decision. The number of asylum seekers coming to Ireland

is still tiny by international standards. These are people who are coming

to our shores seeking our help, having fled oppression and extreme

poverty elsewhere (ARC Press Release: 18 April 2000,

http://struggle.ws/arc/pr/devereux_april00.html).

Again, we see that Radical Anti-Racism perceived the State to be operating along the lines of divide and conquer. At a much broader level, ARC also outlined its support of the 1999 protests against the WTO in Seattle, suggesting the global inequality is to blame for much migration in the first place.

The State and Radical Anti-Racism can be thus seen to operate along similar lines. Žižek suggests that the 'sublime object of ideology', which is in our case here is the asylum-seeker, is not the actual cause of social disintegration and social conflict. Instead, the asylum-seeker qua *object* is transformed into the fetishised embodiment of a "…social antagonism which is primordial…" (Žižek 1997:76). This social antagonism was the ongoing conflict between the capitalist mode of production and proponents of communist, socialist and anarchist modes of production.

5.3.2 Structuring an Encounter through Ideology:

The encounter between the asylum-seeker, the Irish State and Radical Anti-Racism was structured through ideologies that predated the issue of asylum as a political concern in Ireland. Guy Debord asserts that the *materialisation of ideology* has led to everyday life becoming characterised by "...the systematic organization of a

breakdown in the faculty of encounter, and the replacement of that faculty by a social hallucination: a false consciousness of encounter, or an 'illusion of encounter.'" (1995:152)

If we conceptualise this notion of 'encounter' in Levinasian terms as the Same (Radical Anti-Racism and the State) being confronted by the Other (Asylum-Seeker), we can again see how the asylum-seeker as Other is appropriated by the Same. In this case, both the State and Radical Anti-Racism may be understood as Same with their radical antithesis being undermined the Other's alterity. This is nowhere more obvious that at the level of ideological appropriation. The asylum-seeker through his/her non-involvement in State and Radical Anti-Racism ideology can be understood in many respects as this materialisation of ideology. The asylum-seeker becomes ideology – they figuratively embody it. In becoming the positivisation of ideology he/she is imbued with characteristics, motives, hopes, aspirations and desires not of their own making. Instead, the source of these multifaceted attributes is completely outside of their volition. We have clearly seen that the State and Radical Anti-Racism used the asylum-seeker to conduct their ideological work.

The 'illusion of encounter', which I understand here to take place within the domain of everyday social relations, that Debord points to in this *materialisation of ideology* may be equally ascribed to both Radical Anti-Racism and the State in its asylum policies and anti-racism policies. The State rejected this encounter with the Other through its asylum policies and rationalised its racialisation of asylum-seekers through its anti-racism and multicultural initiatives that ultimately reinforced a neo-liberal ideology; to be a part of Irish society you must contribute to Irish society in a calculable manner, e.g. through employment and through sporting achievements. In 'welcoming' the Other and challenging the State's position, Radical Anti-Racism here

conceptualised also as the Same, opens-up itself or its so-called 'egotistic spontaneity' to the Other's gaze/interrogation. For Levinas, such a moment may represent the creation of "…the ethics that accomplishes the critical essence of knowledge" (2008:34).

This is precisely why we will argue below that throughout the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement there was a tendency towards Subjectivation. Touraine argues that, "An individual who is defined solely as an individual responds to the appeal of the market, or of belonging to a community; subjectivation on the other hand, is a will to individuation, and it begins with the rearticulation of instrumentality and identity" (2000:58). The Irish State sought to remove the capacity for subjectivation from the asylum-seeker – it attempted to remove their capacity to be actors. Radical Anti-Racism, to a point, can be conceived of as a movement of subjectivation. It was, afterall, adamantly opposed to the State's instrumentalisation of the asylum-seeker.

The situation of asylum-seekers afforded left-wing groups an opportunity to attack the structural edifices of the state, yet at the same time, it reaffirmed the impossibility of the task that they sought to undertake, namely that of total social and political change. When we seek to explain the decline of Radical Anti-Racism in the next chapter, it is well worth our while to keep this fact in mind. As Carrie – an aligned member of ARC pointed out,

> *Why would you want to go to a meeting with seven people week in week*
> *out and do the same leaflet distribution every Saturday? You didn't want*
> *to like. Its been done if you like. You wanna see something growing, you*
> *wanna see something living, developing like and it wasn't...*

The only way in which this form of Radical Anti-Racism could possibly grow is through the removal of the State in the case of WSM or its radical reorganisation in terms of SWP and SP.

Radical Anti-Racism and its opposition shared fundamental features and as we have seen these can be identified at the level of *ideology as sublime object*. Both Touraine (1981; 1995 and 2000) and Melucci (1996:355-6) contend that any social movement is defined by a conflictual interaction with an opposition in which the meaning of shared values and beliefs are contested. In key respects, we can see that at a formal ideological level, Radical Anti-Racism and the State at a cultural level shared a very similar relationship to the figure of the Asylum-Seeker. This goes beyond a simple contestation of values as Touraine and Melucci would argue because we actually observe the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement and its Opposition undertake similar ideological work, although quite obviously their ends are miles apart.

5.4 The Case of Multicultural Support Group and Ideology:

In the context of the Multicultural Support Group, there was a similar tendency towards sharing key values with the State. This is perhaps less surprising than the case of Radical Anti-Racism, especially given the strong ties between Multicultural Support Groups and the State. At a formal level the Multicultural Support Group did not perceive of the State as an opponent. In fact, at a formal level it had no adversary whatsoever. Yet these groups are considered to be part of the wider movement and share much in common with Radical Anti-Racism. For example, Multicultural Support Groups are members of II and LNAR and came into contact with Radical Anti-Racism through these networks. As the findings clearly show (see the case of IS), their membership also contained individuals that were previously involved in

Radical Anti-Racism. Kevin from LNAR conveyed the network's diversity and complexity when he notes,

> *For the group* [LNAR] *then one of the issues that was coming up was that people are working from different levels and different models and so on. So I suppose one of the group things to do was to present you know what are the different models that are there. Ehm, not necessarily with the idea of everybody signing up to the same model but there was a kind of recognition that the work that the member organisations did was disparate…*

Members of Multicultural Support Groups clearly saw that they occupied the same field of action as Radical Anti-Racism with the chief difference being their strategies and beliefs. They strove to provide a somewhat alternative role to asylum-seekers, attempting to meet day-to-day needs while promoting integration within the wider community through multicultural events.

As in the case of Radical Anti-Racism, the involvement of asylum-seekers was difficult for Multicultural Support Groups. Peggy from DTASSG notes,

> *In a way it was difficult you know asking people* [asylum-seekers] *along to meetings and encouraging them. You that you were going to build up people's expectations and that you wouldn't be able to deliver on them at all. You know because a lot of the time you start asking people 'what do you want to do' and this and ninety percent of the time you have to turn around and say 'we're not able to do anything about that' or 'we can't solve that problem' or 'we can't organise that course for you' or whatever. That can be quite dispiriting and from that point of view there*

was almost an argument for not to involve asylum seekers themselves to a

huge extent... Again its difficult isn't it? Because it goes against the grain

of what you really want to be about… Perhaps because it makes you feel a

bit like paternalistic in that you that 'well we're going to sit here in our

little group and organise everything for people'.

We saw earlier that Joseph, an asylum-seeker and member of DTASSG was highly cognisant of the lack of *power* that Peggy alludes to above. Indeed, this was a reoccurring issue for reformist members.

The Multicultural Support Group in this respect was deeply conflicted. It was an alternative to Radical Anti-Racism and did not involve itself in political matters. As Fiona from New Horizon remarks, "We're not terribly political in that sense. I'm probably the most political of the group and I keep it quiet right. But no ehm no, its not an overt political organisation, not in the same way as say Residents Against Racism". The Multicultural Support Group presented itself as a different type of solution to the problems that asylum-seekers in Ireland faced. Yet, from the perspective of Joseph and other members, as we will see below, multiculturalism was not always the answer and in some cases was part of the problem.

As was the case with Radical Anti-Racism there were two levels of action in the Multicultural Support Group. There was a formal level at which the majority of actions were undertaken and an informal level at which we will identify a shift towards anti-deportation action. I will concentrate on the former here and the latter will be expanded upon and examined in the second and third analyses chapters. At a formal level the asylum-seeker was largely absent and the multicultural policies that were employed had direct origins in State agencies. This resulted in a somewhat cosy

relationship being established between the Multicultural Support Group and the State. At this formal level, there was no pretence; the State was not considered to be an opponent. It was an ally in the pursuit of a multicultural agenda that sought social cohesion through normative integration. The result of this relationship was two-fold. Firstly, the Multicultural Support Group supported, unwittingly perhaps, a form of assimilationist multiculturalism. Secondly, the Multicultural Support Group became, in my opinion, self-defeating; in providing services that were of little real use in the long-term aims of asylum-seekers they never truly met their needs. This led to a sense of what I term *unfulfilled reciprocity* on the behalf of the members and to the asylum-seeker experiencing *disintegration*.

5.4.1 The Irish State and Multiculturalism:

In order to understand the type of multiculturalism that was practiced in the Multicultural Support Group it is necessary to more closely examine the State's approach. We saw previously how the State in a highly contradictory fashion employed multicultural policies on the one hand and racist policies on the other. The policies of Direct Provision and Dispersal and the Dublin Convention were clearly aimed at avoiding an encounter with the asylum-seeker or at the very least, designed to restrict the likelihood it would ever occur. At a general level, multicultural and anti-racism policies are designed to facilitate and enhance an encounter between the Same and Other. The State's approach to multiculturalism in Ireland may be understood most fruitfully as falling into the *liberal and corporate* category of multicultural policy initiatives as outlined by Pieterse and also Bonnett's idea of *multicultural anti-racism* (Bonnett 2000:90-96; Pieterese 2001). For Pieterse, corporate multiculturalism is an integral aspect of any liberal multicultural policy. Liberal multiculturalism generally assumes "...common citizenship and a commitment to individual rights."

That is more specifically – "…liberalism plus recognition of differences." (Pieterse 2001:395). At the backbone of any such conception of multiculturalism is the idea that the State can guarantee these individual rights. This assumption is made however, without actually questioning or problematising the concept of 'liberalism' and the liberal state itself. This reduces multiculturalism to a policy that mirrors the inherent limitedness of the Irish state. An aspect of this limitedness is captured in what is understood as the "...dialectic of *de jure* and *de facto* equality" (Habermas 2002:208). Equality enshrined in law does not necessarily transfer into equality in an individual's social life. The case of the continued segregation of women in the labour market adequately proves this point. With specific reference to racism and in particular, institutional racism, The McPhearson Report (2000) in the U.K. highlighted just to what extent legislation and practice can be at odds. In the Irish case, it is perhaps no surprise that the Equality Authority in 2005 reported that 40% of all its case files concerned racism in the workplace (see

http://www.equality.ie/index.asp?locID=135&docID=391). McGinnity and Russell argue "Despite legislation outlawing discrimination across the EU, inequalities between groups appear to be an enduring feature of Irish and European societies." (2011:1) Barrett and McCarthy (2006), for example, found that immigrants in Ireland earn 18% less than Irish natives, even when education and previous work experience were taken into account. Barrett and McCarthy (2007) further show how migrant women experience a *double disadvantage* in the labour market because of their sex. This is clearly a *double* reinforcement of our argument that legislation and reality are often at odds. Duffy (2007) shows that that the gap between Irish native and migrant homeownership in 2004 was 36.4 percentage points, a rise of 19.6 percentage points since 1995. Given the high property prices at this time and the lower earnings that

immigrants make, it was perhaps no surprise that immigrants were less likely to own their own home.

We can also argue that State-led multiculturalism in Ireland was akin to the *Multicultural Anti-Racism* that Bonnett (2000) describes. Bonnett (2000:91) suggests that the emphasis upon multiculturalism enables culture to become "…a euphemism for 'race' or 'ethnicity'". Furthermore, by suggesting that valuing a culture can combat racism, it allows structural and institutional explanations and solutions to racism to be devalued and ultimately fall by the wayside. This is why issues of race and racism were largely absent from the Multicultural Support Group. Of course, this was a convenient and worthwhile strategy for the State as it allowed them to incorporate multiculturalism into their pursuit of a neo-liberal economic programme. This occurred in the creation of Know-Racism and National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI). Alleyne (2002:622) correctly points out with respect to similar British multicultural policies what ultimately transpires is a 'fat-free multiculturalism.' In other words, they will simply not work because they do not target racism. The evidence in this research shows that at a community level Multicultural Support Groups did not effectively integrate asylum-seekers into the local community. In fact, resistance at the community level existed to the process of Dispersal in the first instance. Before asylum-seekers were dispersed to Athlone Councillor Egbert Moran was quoted in the Westmeath Independent as saying,

> *Athlone has accepted it's fair share of social housing," said Cllr. Egbert*
> *Moran. He added that Athlone currently has three times the amount of*
> *social housing allocations that Mullingar has. Stating that his "heart goes*
> *out" to asylum seekers, Cllr. Moran maintained that "charity begins at*

home," and that "I'm all for the Irishman." The Councillor continued to

say that he realised that asylum seekers can't be "put up in the sky," but he

asked the question "why Athlone, why not Mullingar? Saturday, April 1st

2000, 'Council Confirm Athlone May Get Refugee Centre'.

Such sentiments led a group of female Travellers to occupy two of the mobile homes

on the new site on June 24th, 2000. They barricaded themselves into the mobile homes

and did not leave until a number of Gardai arrived and took check of the situation.

The Travellers were essentially protesting the sub-standard condition of the services

(inadequate sewage and water facilities) and caravans (archaic and in disrepair) on

their site compared to the newer Asylum-Seeker accommodation site (See Westmeath

Independent, Saturday, June 21st, 2000, "Travellers Occupy Refugees' Caravans" and

The Irish Times June 23rd, 2000, "Travellers Occupy Mobile Homes for Asylum-

Seekers." This protest soon dissipated and shortly thereafter, the Lissywollen

Accommodation Site opened for business.

Asylum-seekers also did not effectively integrate into the groups themselves. Sara

from DTASSG, for example, noted that member of the group referred to asylum

seekers attending meeting as 'them.' The members of the Multicultural Support

Group themselves found nonparticipation very difficult to understand and experienced

what I term as *unfulfilled reciprocity*.

5.4.2 Multiculturalism and the Multicultural Support Group:

So, how did the State's policies surrounding multiculturalism and anti-racism

manifest themselves in the Multicultural Support Group and what is the significance

of this for their relationship to the asylum-seeker? There is no doubt that the actions

undertaken by DTASSG and New Horizon revolved around a charitable and service

perspective. These were contextualised and legitimised through the employment of the strategy of multiculturalism as a means of social integration. We are dealing with a specific process of exclusion of a category of individuals, namely asylum-seekers and the attempted negation of this exclusion through service provision and social integration. As we noted above, the implementation of a multicultural policy in such circumstances was largely futile, especially given the fact that the underlying issues of racial and social discrimination are left untouched. This happened in both New Horizon and DTASSG.

Multiculturalism was an entirely implicit agenda in DTASSG and was rarely discussed or debated at a group level. However as Peggy notes, that while it was implicit, there was a definite agenda of the social integration of asylum-seekers in to the local community and multiculturalism played key role in this process. The complexities of this process were hugely underdeveloped in DTASSG. Both Sue and Peggy recognised this in the almost complete lack of discussion of key terms and concepts in meetings. Peggy stated with respect to the role of multiculturalism as social integration in DTASSG that, "… in some ways that's what they were about because they wanted to integrate them but I mean in a way a lot of the time that discussion never really took place within the group".

Instead of a well developed conception of multiculturalism, or indeed even the beginnings of such a process or what it entails for an individual to integrate into a given society, the group expressed its' understanding of these issues through multicultural-based actions. This was partly the result of a very loose organisational structure where little was put down in writing or even for that matter discussed. This was in spite of the fact that there were regular group meetings.

While in Radical Anti-Racism, participants had a firm and relatively well-developed collective identity against which they made sense or otherwise of their actions, this is not readily apparent in DTASSG. An identity certainly did exist for some members of the group like Peggy and Sue, but it was sorely lacking in any kind of cognitive substance for most members. The persistence of the group over time and the range of their actions suggests as Melucci (1995:43 & 47) contends, that the identity of the group was sustained through the groups action system as a composite of self-reflective actors. Yet, the evidence shows a group of individuals that are actually not entirely self-reflective in this sense. In fact, Peggy from DTASSG makes an interesting point when she stated,

> *Yeah I mean we never did get anything written down and I think that that was a lot of the problem really. People just made assumptions about the shared values, be it rightly or wrongly. I suppose the fact that people are there, you can make certain assumptions but you know whether they are hundred-percent correct is another issue.*

The lack of reflexivity is something that Sara in DTASSG wanted to tackle head on by bringing a facilitator to the group. The facilitator she hoped would involve the whole group in a process of self-reflection and self-interrogation. Peggy again directly confronts this point when she observed that,

> *…the big picture was never discussed in terms of relating that to what our group was doing. One thing I always wanted to discuss but we never got around to it was 'what was our whole approach to the asylum question?' Do we support people regardless or do we have any position on whether*

people are economic migrants or do we try and judge the validity of

should people be here or do we try and do everything for everybody?

In a very real way, what sustained DTASSG and New Horizon was the fact that the groups were averse to self-reflection and critical thought. When members made assumptions and these assumptions were unquestioned by themselves or other members, the group remained intact. Challenging these assumptions would have weakened cohesion. These weak assumptions were based in the liberal multiculturalism that the Irish State promotes. We see this clearly given the multicultural nature of the activities that the groups undertake. In key respects, the State's policy of multiculturalism almost acts as a formal ideology.

When the assumptions of multiculturalism were challenged they tended to take the form of hidden actions and/or independent actions. For example, Peggy in DTASSG remarked, "You know I used to lobby. You know write to the Minister and people in the Health Boards and all sorts of things. But that was just because I chose to do it. It was never accepted that that was what the whole group was about…" Her lobbying activities were not welcome in the group because they bordered on the political. A key aspect to the identity of the Multicultural Support Group was that it is not political. The wider significance of Peggy's actions will be discussed in the third analysis chapter.

Within New Horizon's literature we find a well-developed 'shared' or at the very least formally accepted understanding of what it means to be 'intercultural[2]' and 'anti-racist'. These are based on The National Community Development Programme's

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[2] I employ the terms 'intercultural' and 'multicultural' interchangeably. There exists little difference in the strategies of these two policies and none whatsoever in their outcomes.

Anti-Racist Code of Practice Framework. This formal level of identity construction occurred primarily because of New Horizon's strong link to the local community development programme via Louisa who worked with Harmony Community Development Programme. New Horizon produced a formalised code of practice, which outlined objectives with respect to 1) Anti-Racist Code of Practice; 2) Capacity Building/Training; 3) Volunteerism; 4) Information/Referral Service; 5) Social Integration/Interculturalism; 6) Government Policy and 7) Target Group Participation. (New Horizon, End of Year Report, 2000)

Unlike DTASSG, within New Horizon there was an explicit linkage made between 'interculturalism' and social integration. However, as was the case with DTASSG and even though in New Horizon the link was explicit, it was not supported by a meaningful engagement by the group at the level of discussion or debate. As in the case of Radical Anti-Racism, there was a strong sense of the underlying formal ideology as being given, fixed and not open for debate. For example, Fiona, like Peggy from DTASSG, helped asylum-seekers prepare for their interviews but did so outside of the context of the groups as did does not fit into the group's formal identity. The link between 'interculturalism' and integration was most evident in their written aim of to "Promote social integration and create within the community a greater awareness of interculturalism." An example of this was their information booklet for refugees and asylum-seekers that contained no less than eleven languages on its cover – a symbol no doubt of New Horizon's desire to welcome asylum-seekers and refugees to a "...new strange world…" Inside of this booklet we find advice for asylum-seekers (under the heading of "Some Irish Customs") that they can incorporate in to their everyday lives in Ireland. These 'customs' range from, "It is customary to say 'please' and 'thank you'" and "Remember your conduct reflects the

whole refugee community" to "You are expected to queue (line up) and wait your turn in shops… It is completely unacceptable to harass people in shops or elsewhere." These customs, which incidentally are provided in English only, are punctuated by a picture of an orderly queue of business people forming at a bus-stop and a woman carefully choosing a piece of fruit to place in her supermarket basket. Such advice on Irish 'customs' was meant to aid integration and avoid unnecessary conflict between asylum-seekers and 'locals' in Athlone Town.

New Horizon employed interculturalism as a core principle and mode of action of their social integration projects. Multiculturalism was utilised so as to create an interest, desire and importantly value in asylum-seekers and their respective cultures. This interest and value was attached to asylum-seekers so as to enable and promote their integration. It implied the existence of a public body that needed to be convinced as to the possible value or worth of asylum-seekers. Because the asylum-seeker had no monetary value or economic value – as we see above he/she is actually decommodified – multiculturalism was always going to struggle in a society that increasingly attached primacy to the economic aspect of agency. This was implicit in the issue of what the asylum-seeker actually had to offer the group.

Significantly, asylum-seeker membership and attendance was quite low, yet both Liz and Tracy expressed concern at the reasons for asylum-seekers actually attending. They both wondered if the real reason that some asylum-seekers made contact with the group was to simply gain references for their asylum applications. This point was made with direct reference to one particular asylum-seeker who had previously been active within the group. This man was successful in gaining refugee status, but had since played no part within the group. Fiona understood this point, stating that once

refugee status was obtained it represented the start of a new life and all the work that goes with it.

Another asylum-seeker member who was treasurer of the group, rarely turned up according to Liz. He was in fact at a meeting I attended, but spoke only occasionally. There appeared to be difficulty in asylum-seekers participating in the group and the group (Liz and Tracy) appeared more concerned at understanding why so few asylum seekers participated, instead of asking why the majority did not participate in the first place. Fiona remarked that many asylum-seekers were initially very attracted to the group and participated, but as time passed their interest waned. This reinforces my idea that at a certain point the Multicultural Support Group is limited in what it can offer an asylum-seeker.

5.4.3 The Implementation of Multiculturalism: Unfulfilled Reciprocity and Disintegration:

The employment of multiculturalism as a form of social integration was obvious within the endeavours New Horizon and DTASSG. Operating in tandem to this was the aim of offering activities to asylum-seekers that helped alleviated the boredom and lack of fulfilment with associated Direct Provision life. For example, the soccer team created by DTASSG encompassed all these three areas. It firstly afforded asylum-seekers the opportunity to disrupt the tedium of the hostel. Secondly, it was integrative, in the sense that the team played 'local' teams and the expectation was that friendships would be created between locals and asylum-seekers. And finally, it was also entirely a multicultural endeavour, given the fact that the team's name was 'One Race.'

New Horizon's incorporation of an 'intercultural float' in the St. Patrick's Day parade operated along these same lines, albeit with one major difference. In this case, 'difference' was incorporated into something that was quintessentially Irish and in doing so, Irishness as an identity underwent a process of transfiguration. Of course, it may also be argued that the inclusion of Irish-hyphenates and others across the world in St. Patrick's Day parades operates along the same lines. In this act of celebration or exaltation the appearance of Irishness was transformed by the inclusion of asylum-seeker and the representations of their cultures. It was carried out in a positive way in the sense that the attributes of asylum-seekers and their cultures both added to and further revealed the positive aspects of Irish culture. Paradoxically, asylum-seekers participated in a celebration of Irishness that according to the nationwide organisers was meant to, "Provide the opportunity and motivation for people of Irish descent (*and those who sometimes wish they were Irish*) to attend and join in the imaginative and expressive celebrations"

(http://www.stpatricksday.ie/cms/stpatricksday_history.html, my emphasis).

After all, the organisers state, "St. Patrick's Day is the day when everyone wants to be Irish". The inclusion of asylum-seekers in Ireland's most celebrated national holiday offered them a day in which to be 'Irish' and a single day within which a reciprocal relationship with Irishness was open to them. Such a scenario taken in isolation can be understood as a snapshot of multicultural policy working par excellence. The celebration of Irishness on St. Patrick's Day, which draws on the past and present in order to exalt and glorify Irishness, reinforces my assertion that the liberal state is incapable of achieving its' ideals as noted by Pieterese. Wieviorka notes of France, albeit under different circumstances,

...the discourse of the Republic operates as a myth and as an ideology at the same time. It promises to reconcile in an abstract, magical and unreal manner what can no longer be reconciled in reality, developing an artificial image not only of the present but also of the past (1998:899).

St. Patrick's Day is a 'magical and unreal' day and the image it creates in Athlone Town of asylum-seekers both enjoying and adding to Irishness smacks of the *carnivalesque* where social reality for a short period of time is turned on its head. Multiculturalism as a key aspect of collective identity leads a failure in the integration projects of the multicultural support group. To paraphrase Melucci (1995:44) when he speaks of the "formation of a 'we'" within collective action, the range of actions multiculturalism permits and the meanings it attaches to these actions are too limited (i.e. institutionalised actions and interpretations). They therefore did not permit the Multicultural Support Group as a collective "we" to construct a field of action based in critical action. This latter scenario, however, became a possibility at the level of sub-groups as mentioned above and I examine this aspect of the Multicultural Support Group in detail below.

Within this dynamic of multiculturalism *unfulfilled reciprocity* occurred at two levels. Firstly, it was evident in the general public/community perceptions towards asylum-seekers and the multicultural project. This represents the reaction of the public or community to the external mode of action of the Multicultural Support Group. In pursuing a multicultural agenda, the support group made a number of claims to validity, like an abhorrence of racism, an appreciation of difference and attempts to communicate such values with a wider public. In this sense they were, as Eyerman and Jamison state, 'knowledge-constituting' bodies (1991:69). When such values

were opposed or brought into repute, as we see below, it brings to the fore the emotional meaning invested in collective identity (Melucci 1995:45).

In the second instance, I suggest that members of Multicultural Support Groups experienced unfulfilled reciprocity (in a negative sense) in their everyday interactions with asylum-seekers. While the first example is more closely related to notions of citizenship and belonging in the sense that it deals directly with conceptions of Irishness and the nation, I suggest below that the existence of unfulfilled reciprocity within the Multicultural Support Group itself mirrors the failure of multiculturalism as an external mode of action. While multiculturalism may be said to operate 'successfully' at the level of a spectacle, or when employed as a means of communicating with a public in once-off event like a St. Patrick's Day Parade, it failed firstly in its long-term objective of social integration and secondly, as an internal mode of action within the Multicultural Support Group itself.

With respect to the first level of unfulfilled reciprocity the view of the majority of the participants in this research was expressed when Sorcha characterised the public sentiment towards asylum-seekers as being 'indifferent', especially because "…the publicity is so bad, it's appalling now… I mean the gutter press… That thing about 'they have cars' and 'free holidays'… and people see that and they think that's what happening." It is clear that there was a perception in DTASSG that the public perceived asylum-seekers as abusing a system that should be operating to ensure the welfare of Irish citizens. If we examine the contents of the Public Consultation on Immigration (2002) conducted by the DJELR we find that such anti-asylum-seeker rhetoric is strongly represented (see Moran 2003). Such examples of anti-asylum-seeker sentiment sometimes found a more public audience - a laminated A4 size notice posted on a telephone pole on the Southside of Dublin City in mid-2005 states,

among other things, "We are sick of bogus refugees being given our taxes to buy designer clothes and gold jewellery, while our old and young are waiting for operations. We demand strict imigration [sic] control with health and criminal screening. Act or lose power." [3]

Other examples of anecdotal evidence were not difficult to spot in Dublin and elsewhere around the country. For instance, this time scrawled in marker on a "No bikes here" sign in Connolly Train Station in Dublin states: "Bikes will be stolen and sold to the chinks." While these examples were more than likely representative of solitary individual actions there were examples, like National Socialists R Us (NSRUS), of organised attempts at the dissemination of racist propaganda be it in leaflet, letter, sticker or graffiti form. When I contacted NSRUS as part of my fieldwork they forwarded me their newsletter and a quantity of "Say No To A Black Ireland' stickers, obviously designed for posting in public areas.

Members of Multicultural Support Groups found themselves personally on the receiving end of negative remarks with racist connotations. Laura from DTASSG mentioned how her friends often suggested that due to the long hours she puts in at the hostel she ended up speaking like a Black person. They literally pointed out to her that "You're speaking like a black person." People in the town presumed that there was a sexual objective to her frequent visits to the hostel. Of course, this rhetoric feeds into the figure of the African male being a sexual predator. According to Simon, it was also the case that prominent members of RAR often received death-threats in phone calls, text messages, and letters.

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[3] My thanks to Dr. Colin Coulter who removed two such notices and a further two stickers and passed them on to add to the simple observation aspect of my documentary research.

The perception that the 'public' was unreceptive to the multicultural ideal was also evident within New Horizon. As Fiona stated,

> *Added another one to my list of Asylum Seeker myths. 'A friend of mine who works in the post office tells me that [e]very Friday asylum seekers send vast sums by Western Union to Nigeria. Where do they get the money?' How do they know that they are asylum seekers rather than migrant workers? How do we know it's not the wages of a group of people? Just what is wrong about sending home money to your family?*

The Multicultural Support Group and Radical Anti-Racism obviously opposed such examples of racism. They actively practiced "…individual investments in the experimentation and practice of new cultural models, forms of relationship and alternative perceptions and meanings of the world" as Melucci points out, albeit in reference to movements in Italy in the 1980s (1989:60).

The second instance of 'unfulfilled reciprocity' occurred within the context of the groups themselves. It is apparent from the findings that the integration of asylum-seekers into the local communities of Athlone and Donegal Town was only partially successful. This was especially case with Donegal Town. Furthermore, the integration of asylum-seekers into the groups themselves was again only partially successful. This latter aspect of the failure of multiculturalism was all the more surprising given the fact that the groups sought to befriend and include asylum-seekers. New Horizon, for example, stated that they "Encourage the pro-active involvement of asylum-seekers/refugees within the organisation and the ongoing development of peer led networks and supports with a view to achieving self-directed objectives" (New Horizon 2001).

I would suggest that while this may have occurred at an individual level, at a group level there was difficulty in meeting the needs of asylum-seekers, or as more accurately described above their own 'self-directed objectives'. Crucially, the expectation of reciprocity between asylum-seekers and group members failed to materialise. This resulted in the failure to 'integrate' asylum seekers into the groups and thus their 'self-directed objectives' did not materialise. This process raised the issue of 'disintegration' with asylum-seekers becoming further alienated from the Multicultural Support Group.

In New Horizon, both Louisa and Tracy questioned the reasons as to why asylum-seekers became involved in the group in the first instance. They both suggested that asylum-seekers partook in the group to gain character references. These references would improve the quality of their asylum applications. According to Louisa and Tracy, the pattern of attendance and involvement of asylum-seekers waned significantly once such a reference was obtained. The dearth of participation by asylum-seekers provoked frustration across both New Horizon and DTASSG. Yet, there were only very limited efforts to ascertain the possible reasons for this lack of involvement. Fiona was perhaps most aware of the barriers to participation that were placed in front of asylum-seekers. She remarked that New Horizon could do more but that,

> *...the whole idea of getting asylum seekers to participate in something like*
> *in decision-making was quite difficult and especially like… There's*
> *different reasons for that. One reason is that some of the people wouldn't*
> *be used to working with you know Russians or Africans or whatever. And*
> *they would feel it was very something like 'We'll do things for them' sort*

of thing. The notion that you are trying to establish a group in which you're encouraging people to participate you know that probably wasn't totally recognised. And then the other thing that made it difficult for asylum seekers, you often had a turnover of people… you weren't working with a fixed group of people... But also if you were organising a party or something it would often, a lot of it would depend on local knowledge. You know, 'I'll go and see so-and-so about this or that'. So I mean a lot of it was the sort of stuff that was quite difficult to get asylum seekers involved in anyway.

These are essentially the same issues that Radical Anti-Racism faced when they attempted to incorporate asylum-seekers.

There are further examples of how members felt as if their efforts go unrecognised. Tracy described the participation in the Women's Sowing Group and the Christmas Party as 'disheartening'. In both cases, the reception of the events arranged by New Horizon was not what Tracy expected. In fact, as the Christmas Party shows, there was a blank refusal on the behalf of a section of the asylum-seekers to participate as expected. Their participation in a form of protest was an act of resistance against the group borne of frustration and exclusion. New Horizon was not meeting their needs and furthermore, it was incapable of achieving a model of group participation that would allow for the identification and pursuit of 'self-directed objectives'. As a result, neither asylum-seeker nor group member was partaking in reciprocal relations. Neither party recognised the other's actions as being legitimate.

For both Tracy and Louisa the expectations associated with interculturalism as a means of social integration were subtly different. For Tracy, interculturalism was a

form of assimilation. This is evident in the normative role she ascribes to interculturalism. This suggests that the end result of New Horizon's actions for Tracy is the homogenisation of ethic groups. Of course, this is also partially seen in the Welcome Pack, where it is 'customary' to behave in a certain manner and is also evident in Tracy's views on the 'integration' of Travellers. For Louisa, while interculturalism does 'support' and 'value' group traditions, it is also entailed a behavioural imperative, which again subscribes to the dominant model of normativity. In this sense, both of their perspectives subsume difference. Difference becomes equated with culture and in turn, the definition that culture takes is essentialised as 'Irish'. The equivalent elements of "Irishness" in the asylum-seeker's culture that were celebrated like dance, music, dress etc. are embraced and transfigured, while supposedly less seemly elements such as 'queue skipping' or not saying 'please' and 'thank you' were actively discouraged.

In a striking similarity to New Horizon, Guedado remarked of DTASSG that, "The asylum-seeker support group is more a school of integration." Within DTASSG there was a common-held belief that this project of integration was largely failing. The attempts to incorporate asylum-seekers into the local community were largely unsuccessful as was the integration of asylum-seekers into the group itself. As is the case with New Horizon, Irish members of the group queried the motivations and participation of asylum-seekers.

This occurred when DTASSG offered asylum-seekers attending a meeting the chance to get new sneakers. When asylum-seekers who had not attended the meeting asked for sneakers, members of DTASSG thought it to be problematic. For Laura, the issue of 'trainers' was explicitly linked to participating in the group. Thus, the reason for some people not receiving the trainers was "You didn't come to the meeting to say

that you wanted them…" The same problem occurs with respect to participation by asylum-seekers in the local gym and the football team. Again the problem of unfulfilled reciprocity occurs. While on the one hand, asylum-seekers did not participate fully, on the other hand, there was in fact local resistance to the integration of asylum-seekers.

Peggy cited the 'paternalistic' nature of the group as a barrier to asylum-seeker participation . She also noted the fact that most asylum-seekers were essentially transient given the nature of the process they were involved in. She actually pointed out how it was even difficult for a support group member to come into contact with the asylum-seekers from the hostel and that the process of visiting the hostel raised issues of clientalism and paternalism. She remembered her first visit to the hostel as,

> *…a bit awkward… because you know I thought 'On what basis am I going there?' You know I wasn't going there in a professional… you know a health board worker or anything. So it's kind of a bit off-putting in some ways. But if you don't do that there's no normal way you can actually come in contact and meet them.*

The transient nature of asylum-seekers was also cited by participants in Radical Anti-Racism as a reason for their non-participation. Peggy also suggested that DTASSG could not meet the expectations of asylum-seekers and that inviting asylum-seekers along to meetings meant that "…you were going to build up peoples expectations and that you wouldn't be able to deliver on them all". In addition to these factors, Laura suggested that some members of DTASSG, especially people from the local business community, "…give cash but that's it, that's all they do, they don't participate at all…" This problem was then compounded by the fact that some of the local members

of DTASSG who attended meetings had never even in fact been to the hostel. Laura wryly remarked, "…I've sat there through meetings going 'What are they doing here?'… those people are coming and doing nothing".

The project of integration, based as it is in multicultural premises, failed even within DTASSG itself. At the community level this failure was repeated, albeit at a more serious level. Endeavours to promote local integration were met with, according to DTASSG, suspicion by locals. As Laura recounted,

> *I actually was looking into a pool competition and getting the men*
> *involved but I don't know how its going to go down with the public.*
> *Because I know that a lot of people, especially in places where drink is*
> *involved, are going to be racist. I've witnessed… I dated a coloured guy*
> *myself and I walked into a pub where I grew up and the looks I got where*
> *just… I mean the looks were unbelievable. So I know what the public are*
> *going to be like.*

Sorcha further echoed this point when commenting on her inability to find a suitable location for a Christmas party for the asylum-seekers. She recalls with some disdain, "The barman said 'The customers wouldn't like it here.'" Sue also noted that even within other voluntary agencies in the locality there was a reluctance to allow asylum-seekers become involved in their activities. In fact, according to Sue, they cited 'insurance problems' as the reason for not allowing asylum-seekers become involved in voluntary activities. We repeatedly see that the group not only faced internal barriers to integration but also significant external ones.

In the cases of New Horizon and DTASSG where does this leave us with respect to the multicultural project? The previous analysis is necessarily narrow in focus. For

example, it did not include the views of local individuals and relies instead on how group members interpreted their actions. However, despite such limitations it is possible to draw the following conclusions. Firstly, the multicultural project as employed by such groups failed to a large extent both as an internal and external mode of action. The premise that asylum-seekers can be integrated into the local community in which they are placed through implementing a multicultural project is flawed. As we can see 'integration' was limited both internally and externally and this was a cause of frustration for both asylum-seekers and those individuals that sought to help them. This frustration I argued, stemmed from 'unfulfilled reciprocity' on the behalf of both parties. The outcomes of 'multiculturalism' and 'interculturalism' are largely ineffective. They may well contain promises of equality, integration, and cohesion, but these promises are achieved largely only in the abstract and at the level of the spectacle. Their linkage to systemic integration, especially with respect to asylum-seekers is tenuous, and it appears that the State's objective is the removal of asylum-seekers from the system, and not their incorporation.

Secondly, I would more broadly argue that social integration relies upon the notion that there is a cohesive and integrated society that exists in the first place. All too often, we take the experience of those with the most power and most resources as an experience into which so-called marginalised people can be integrated into. In our case here, it is almost as if integration will signal the end of problems for the asylum-seeker. What happens when you are integrated into a society where other marginalised groups, say like the unemployed, the homeless, the poor etc. exist? Surely these individuals are also seeking their own type of integration? The question that arises is; exactly what does integration into Irish society mean for the asylum-seeker and furthermore, is any person – other than the elite – ever fully integrated? In

the case of other marginalised groups in Irish society, we tend to see the idea of social inclusion being applied as a solution to their marginality. It essentially performs the same task of multiculturalism and as such ignores the structural impediments to full social inclusion, like social class, sexism and racism.

We can see, especially with respect to Donegal Town, that integration is problematic and that even where a willingness occurs, as within DTASSG, there were numerous problems to be overcome, not least the fact that the aims of multiculturalism do not coincide with the needs of asylum-seekers. A 'school of integration' will be of interest only to individuals who perceive a future in Ireland. The asylum-process as it stood, did not allow for such a perception. I suggest that multiculturalism became a process of exclusion not inclusion, and disintegration, not integration. The fact remains that sections of Irish society are not 'integrated' in the first instance and not unlike asylum-seekers, these sections of society occupy liminal spaces carved out on the edges of Irish society where social policy is clearly at odds with social reality.

5.5 The Anti-Deportation Group: A Case Apart?

CADIC and ADC represent an anomaly in terms of my findings. I did not uncover an informal and formal level of action. There appeared to be a remarkable consistency between the findings based in documentary evidence and the findings based in interviews and participant observation. This leads me to conclude that there is unanimity as to the group's purposes and values. I did not find the divergence of actions that I observed in Radical Anti-Racism and the Multicultural Support Group. Tony from CADIC remarked,

> *This is one of the first campaigns I have been involved with which I think*
> *is focussed, where everybody does their part. It's not a question of one*

person does everything and the others kind of sign their name. Everybody

does what they can. The people are focussed on something which is

doable, hopefully. And that everybody really works together and people

air their opinions and whatever but we kind of work towards an aim. It's

not just a general kind of you know 'feel good' thing you know?

There was a definite set aim for CADIC and this was very clear to both members and supporters. There was clearly an aversion to ideological work and Tony remarked of CADIC's meetings: "We don't make speeches, we sit together and try to think 'What can we do?' We try to have short meetings, 'what's the next step?' and this is really how the meetings go".

ADC operated along the same lines – they sought to stop active deportations and end the practice of deportations. In as much as was possible, they attempted to make their work apolitical. Charlie from ADC talks about this when he argued,

I mean I'm in a political party [Labour Youth] and it would have been

very easy for me to launch a campaign under a political party's banner.

But I didn't want to because parties do it all the time and its expected of

them. You know you do campaigns to win votes or you know? We didn't

want people to just look at a leaflet and go 'Oh it's such and such a party'

and just throw it away. We wanted to educate you know for them to say

'I've never heard of this group, what are they talking about?' We are not

promoting a political agenda, well apart from the immigration [act] issue.

We're promoting an understanding of the immigration issue and the

situation at the moment. And we're putting forward an idea of well how

we can make it better...

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The group, as we will see, was more concerned with abstract universal values than it was with specific political ideologies. This was not to say that politics did not influence this group or that this group was not political. What I uncovered at the cultural level of historicity, in many respects, can be explained as the product of a process of learning across the movement stages. In as much as Radical Anti-Racism taught the Multicultural Support Group to be a non-political entity – at least at the formal level of action – the Anti-Deportation Group phase learned from Radical Anti-Racism and the Multicultural Support Group. All of the individuals that I interviewed in this research were very cognisant of the other actors in the field of action. This was greatly enhanced by the majority of the groups participating in II, a network for like-minded groups. For example, Jesse in DTASSG and Fiona in New Horizon remarked that they were aware of Radical Anti-Racism from his time at II meetings. Charlie from ADC spoke about being previously active in RAR, and Tony from CADIC was aware of both Radical Anti-Racism and the Multicultural Support Group.

Although very different at the level of organisation, with CADIC primarily being a lobbying group and ADC more orientated towards direct action, both groups were representative of a significant shift in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. Both ADC and CADIC refuted the role of politics and ideology in their groups. In this sense, they were non-political and akin to the Multicultural Support Group. However, while rejecting a political identity per se, they did not reject the existence of a field of politics, as the Multicultural Support Group did at the formal level. Crucially, and unlike the Multicultural Support Group, they actively rejected the legitimacy of the State's hold over and interpretation of the universal rights that they espoused. In this sense, and as we saw in Radical Anti-Racism, they challenged the State's appropriation of this particular aspect of historicity and aligned themselves with

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members of the then opposition parties of Labour and the Greens who were sympathetic to their claims. Their contestation lay primarily in their accusation that the State contradicted its advocacy of universal and inalienable rights in its actions towards asylum-seekers. Actions like Dispersal, Direct Provision and deportations were manifestations of racism that contradicted the rights of individuals, be they citizens of the State or otherwise.

Unlike Radical Anti-Racism, the solution to this problem laid in the reform and repeal of laws and in essence, in the realm of critical action and not the complete upheaval of the system of governance and mode of production. ADC and CADIC derived their identity in part through a trialectic of opposition against the State, the Irish public and the movement that preceded this phase of mobilisation. Racism for ADC and CADIC was not a capitalist invention or a tool of capitalist domination. Unlike the Multicultural Support Group they saw its manifestation in State actions and therefore did not align themselves in any capacity to the State. They perceived racism as being a structural and institutional issue. In fact, they closely mirrored the dominant perspective in Irish academia on the issue of racism at the time. This was unsurprising given the fact that ADC was a student run organisation and CADIC was deeply influenced by key members of what you might call the Irish intelligentsia. They were both open to a dialogue with the State and unlike the case of Radical Anti-Racism they brought their non-negotiable terms to the table. But like Radical Anti-Racism they actively rejected the notion of partnership that is so integral to the Multicultural Support Group. Importantly, and especially with ADC, there was a sense of a public that needed to be educated. Charlie from ADC went so far as to note that the existence of the State is dependent upon its citizenry and as such, the responsibility for the plight of asylum-seekers rested with the wider public also. For him, the public's

inaction justified and reproduced the draconian set of policies towards asylum-seekers.

In the Anti-Deportation Group there was not the overwhelming recourse to the weak doctrinaires of social integration and multiculturalism that was apparent in the Multicultural Support Group. In fact, they did not occur at all in ADC and CADIC. Their approach to the issue of immigration if reduced to a sentence may be said to revolve most closely around the idea of subjectivation in the encounter between Same and Other and hence they employed a wider understanding of the roles of culture in Irish society. This necessitated these groups returning to a common theme among the research participants, that of creating a space within which people can live. Returning to Harmony, we saw that there was no explicit integration agenda in Harmony. This resulted in the absence of the phenomenon of unfulfilled reciprocity and disintegration found most notably in the Multicultural Support Group. We find this again in ADC and CADIC. I argue that the key reason as to why this did not occur was because of the lack of a multicultural/anti-racist agenda in both of these groups. They were directly focused upon preventing deportations. There was no integration agenda. They were focussed on providing individuals the opportunity to continue their life projects. An ADC leaflet stated,

> *Much of Irish history is a tale of suffering and emigration. Many left looking for a better life and found it in Glasgow, Boston, Liverpool, Sydney. Now we have the chance to help others. We have a chance to repay the kindness others have shown us. Let the asylum seekers stay. Let them work and make a better life for themselves. Stop deportations. No human being is illegal.*

There was an overt message of letting people simply get on with their lives in the face of what is considered to be a system that criminalised the asylum-seeker. Still, there was an idea of 'help'/'charity' but this ended at allowing asylum-seekers "make a better life for themselves." The key word here is *themselves*. It was not about what asylum seekers have to add to Irish culture and it was not about their ideological value. Yet, for both ADC and CADIC we return to the same issue of a lack of participation by asylum-seekers. No matter how much we can see the movement learn from its constituent parts, this still remained a huge issue.

If we shift our focus away from CADIC and ADC for a moment and briefly examine some of the more recent examples of pro-asylum seeker action, we can see that CADIC and ADC are indeed representative of a significant shift in movement identity. For example, the case of Olunkunle Eluhanla, a nineteen-year-old Nigerian asylum-seeker who was deported prior to sitting his Leaving Certificate examination. In March 2005 over 500 of his schoolmates and friends took part in a protest at the Dail against his deportation. One schoolmate remarked that 'Everyone loved him' and that he was '…taken from his community' (http://dynamic.rte.ie/av/2033832.smil). Thus the notions of social integration and multiculturalism in their strictest definition are implicit – that is, these individuals and in cases their families, although originating from a different culture have successfully established positive reciprocal relations in Ireland. In other words, their residency conforms to that of a citizen notwithstanding the absence of attendant rights or their alien status. Thus while the concepts of multiculturalism and social integration do not form an integral part of such actions, their existence is obvious in their claims. This pattern is obvious in many of the newer forms of action occurring across Ireland.

RAR's campaign to prevent the deportation of the Onasanwo family, whose daughter Christina's threatened deportation is also part of an ADC campaign, is further evidence of this shift. In a leaflet RAR state that "The family have received great support from staff and fellow pupils at their schools…" and that they "…are only trying to live a decent and peaceful life in their new home". ADC employed a similar argument in their leaflet that concerned the case of Florinda Sylai and her two young daughters, Eni and Eda. Again and again in such instances, the embeddedness of the individuals in their local communities is a key factor.

In these examples of newer forms of action there are in cases a genuine grassroots rejection of State interference in an already established process of integration. This of course contradicts the previous discussion as to how the State excludes asylum-seekers from the 'two-way process of integration'. It thus highlights the fact that social integration was not the preserve of the State and readily occurred outside of the barriers to integration that were placed in front of asylum-seekers, such as denying citizenship and its attendant rights, Direct Provision, Dispersal and finally the denial of the basic right to work. This clearly contradicts our previous analysis of disintegration within and outside of the Multicultural Support Group. It further raises the issue that such initiatives and actions are attempts at creating perhaps an artificial state or manufactured form of social integration.

There was the clear insistence in ADC and CADIC that they were non-political groups but at the same they identified aspects of the Irish State as their chief opponent. ADC was at pains to prevent political affiliation becoming an aspect of the group. As Charlie stated,

…we had seen other fronts and umbrella groups go pear-shaped because one political party tried to score heavy points off the other… [we] recognised and respected that we would have a policy that no political party could ever affiliate itself to the ADC and vice-versa, that the ADC would never be seen as a front for a political party.

The direct involvement of political parties within Radical Anti-Racism played a facilitatory role in their decline and led to a pattern of multicultural action. Tony from CADIC pointed out that there was a general perception within the movement that such political parties will "…jump on absolutely every bandwagon…and the aim seems to me to get more members". While both ADC and CADIC shared significant common ground with such political groups they also defined themselves in opposition to revolutionary Radical Anti-Racism. In this way, the movement's past assumed the role of opponent along with the State and as such, plays an important role in the collective identity of ADC and CADIC. This was also clear in their dismissal of multiculturalism, social integration and partnership as strategic aims. At the same time, ADC and CADIC shared clear lines of similarity with Radical Anti-Racism, none more so than their trenchant desire to prevent deportations. However, the prevention of deportations on the behalf of ADC and CADIC was not part of a wider political agenda.

I propose that the aims of ADC and CADIC had more in common with a politics of the subject. In such a politics there is an emphasise upon creating the conditions through which an asylum-seeker can continue their life in Ireland, whatever that life may entail. It does not concern their value or worth in an ideological and/or cultural sense. Dubet while noting the functionalist characteristics of social movements argued,

…just as social movements proceed out of crisis, so they work to resolve it – 'magically' in part, through collective beliefs, but above all pragmatically, through the game of institutionalizing conflict, ensuring actors' reintegration into the system thanks to recognition of rights and the further development of a welfare state whose role has been to impose forms of protection and solidarity on an economic system carried away by its own strength (2004:696).

The key moment in the development of the Anti-Deportation Group and the persistence in RAR as a Radical Anti-Racist group was the adoption of pragmatic aims and goals. According to Tony from CADIC,

This is one of the first campaigns I have been involved with which I think is focussed, where everybody does their part. It's not a question of one person does everything and the others kind of sign their name. Everybody does what they can. The people are focussed on something which is doable, hopefully. And that everybody really works together and people air their opinions and whatever but we kind of work towards an aim. Its not just a general kind of you know 'feel good' thing you know?

In the Anti-Deportation Group phase there was a situated and concentrated effort to individualise the asylum-seeker. As Charlie from ADC put it, "We adopted the tactic where we individualise cases. We try to make people identify, you know say that, 'This is not an asylum-seeker, this is Bob – Bob has some trouble in his life.'" This individualisation of the typically objectified asylum-seeker is crucial. It placed at the very centre of this phase of mobilisation a desire for individuation and this will be further analysed in my final analysis chapter. Guedado, an asylum-seeker who was

active in DTASSG, fled his country and ended up in Ireland without his family. He pointedly stated to me,

> *"I cant live with this all my life without my identity and I don't know... A man is an asylum-seeker and he can't move out the country, he can't work... I am a father and my children ask 'When will we see you father?' and you have no answer to give..."*

5.6 Conclusion:

In analysing the cultural aspect of Historicity in the context of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement, I uncovered remarkable variation between the groups that represented each stage of mobilisation. In Radical Anti-Racism, we noted a strong ideological background, one that ultimately resulted in it appropriating the figure of the Asylum-Seeker for the purposes of ideological work. We saw this same process in the machinations of its chief Opposition, the Irish State. Unwittingly then, Radical Anti-Racism shared an unlikely ground with its opponent in terms of how it sought to interact with the asylum-seeker.

The Multicultural Support Group at a formal level had no identifiable opponent. Its existence was largely the result of State policy. The results of multicultural actions were disintegration and unfulfilled reciprocity. At a formal level, the Multicultural Support Group was the antithesis of Radical Anti-Racism. Still, it emerged from Radical Anti-Racism and continued to exist alongside it in movement networks like II and LNAR. At the same time, we saw that not all members of the Multicultural Support Group were happy with the range of actions that multiculturalism permitted. This aspect will be examined in much more detail in the next analyses chapters.

The Anti-Deportation Group stands at odds with the first two stages. I understand this as being largely the result of a process of learning and development on the behalf of the movement. It was created in opposition to both the State and the movement that precedes it. Yet, Radical Anti-Racism and the Multicultural Support Group existed alongside the Anti-Deportation Group. So, how can we explain the fact that a fractured movement, a movement of opposites continued to exist and reproduce itself? How did it move from Radical to Multicultural, Multicultural to Anti-Deportation? How did each of these phases of mobilisation continue to occupy the same space in Irish society? These are the questions that my next analysis chapter seeks to answer.

Chapter Six: Collective Identity and Change in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement:

6.1 Introduction:

How can we begin to explain how the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement, which for all intents and purposes began as a project of the far-left in Ireland, shifts and changes to the extent that it does and still exists as a social movement? How is such diversity produced and accommodated by the overall movement? In my narrative and first analysis chapter a picture of a movement deeply at odds with itself emerged. Yet, it was still a remarkably integrated unit nonetheless. Remember, it has shifted through the stages of radicalisation, multiculturalism and anti-deportation. All of these phases concerned the same issue, that of the asylum-seeker in Irish society and simultaneously occupied the same space. This chapter seeks to explain the emergence and in cases decline of the three distinct phases of mobilisation we identified – the Radical Anti-Racist Group, the Multicultural Support Group and the Anti-Deportation Group.

To answer this question I will examine the role that the production of collective identity played in the process of change in the movement. I noted above that two levels of action exist in the first two phases of the movement – a formal and informal level. In now concentrating upon the informal level of action in Radical Anti-Racism and the Multicultural Support Group, I propose that change within the movement has typically occurred underneath/outside of formal group channels. This firstly occurred in Radical Anti-Racism when non-aligned members rejected the rigidity of a formal ideology, developed a new sense of collective identity and carried this through to the creation of the Multicultural Support Group. Secondly, we then see that the process of

collective identity construction is flexible enough so as to allow members from Multicultural Support Groups to undertake actions that deviated from the formal aims established in group literature and group discourse. Thirdly, when analysing the Anti-Deportation Group it can be seen that this phase of mobilisation in part constructs its collective identity in opposition to Radical Anti-Racism and the Multicultural Support Group. Yet, each phase appears to consider each other phase to be legitimate. Collective identity promotes sufficient diversity so as to allow the coexistence of differing perspectives to the issues surrounding asylum-seekers in Ireland. It is also important to note that the process of learning here is not meant to be understood as necessarily being progressive.

I will firstly examine how in Radical Anti-Racism a formative ideology under pressure from non-aligned members partially gave way to a more fluid and dynamic collective identity. Not only did the process of collective identity construction allow Radical Anti-Racism to develop over time, it was also crucial in facilitating the emergence and development of the Multicultural Support Group and the Anti-Deportation Group. Next, I will argue that the Multicultural Support Group, while attempting to suppress a political component to its identity, still afforded individual members the space within which to act 'outside' of the formal group identity. The Multicultural Support Group rejected the political aspect that so dominated the Radical Anti-Racism phase. Yet, some members of Multicultural Support Groups undertook political actions despite there being opposition to this at the formal group level. Moreover, I will also show that there was a deep tension within these groups that was most obviously seen in the split between reformists and conformists.

6.2 Radical Anti-Racism, Formal Ideology and Collective Identity Construction:

The role of formal ideology in the construction of collective identity is crucial. Here I will examine what Radical Anti-Racism means at its formal ideological level. Implied here is the need for us to analytically distinguish between formal ideology and collective identity. Formal ideology contains an immutable quality. It either is or it is not. Or, you are either a radical anti-racist as defined by Radical Anti-Racism or you are not. At this 'strict' formal ideological level, categorisations, interpretations, means, aims and values etc. are rigidly defined and adhered to. We will see later that as formal ideology is questioned and challenged, ARC and IS enter into a decline. The formal ideological content of Radical Anti-Racism stemmed from a number of left-wing political parties. This made for a complicated and nuanced picture. For example, WSM wished to remove the State, whereas SP, SWP, SF and IRSP wished to recreate the state in their image. In this key respect, WSM was diametrically opposed to these other groups. Obviously, the Irish state was an opponent for each group, but we still should bear in mind that their individual differences were substantial.

I will use the relationship between WSM and Radical Anti-Racism to illustrate the link between formal ideology and Radical Anti-Racism. We will go on to see that this formal ideology was crucial in constructing the key aims of Radical Anti-Racism but that it was also very flexible in the sense that members selectively interpreted it. It was restrictive per se until individuals wanted to broaden the aims of Radical Anti-Racism. WSM understood racism to be inextricably connected to the production and reproduction of capitalism and the State. Racism as a tool of the dominant class 'divided and conquered' the working class *qua* quiescent revolutionary force through the process of scapegoating. The benefits of this process can be clearly in the reproduction of both the capitalist mode of production and the State's position of

dominance. This understanding of racism filtered through to IS, ARC and MWAR. Its clearest manifestations were in the 'no borders' and 'no racism/no deportations' policies that each group proposed.

IS's formation provides us with an excellent example of the important role that formal ideology plays in the construction of Radical Anti-Racism. As we have seen the initial impetus for the creation of IS came from WSM, SP and SF activists. This germinal involvement rubberstamped a radical character to IS's primary aims and objectives. Although IS consistently presented itself as a 'non-party political group', or as 'a group of individuals and not affiliated to any political party,' it was political. IS's aims were most closely related in terms of character and aspiration to WSM's position on asylum-seekers, racism and migration in general. Therefore, IS's seven key positions of no-deportations under any circumstances; an end to restrictive legislation on immigration; an end to Fortress Europe; creating a multicultural Ireland, highlighting and challenging State collusion in the production of racism; the dissembling of borders; and the right to fair work for all immigrants mirrored WSM's position extremely closely.

In IS's first newsletter, 'No Dogs, No Irish, No Refugees', we are given a clear example of how the group understood and interpreted racism against asylum-seekers. Referring to the Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Asylum, Immigration and Related Matters:

> *How, in this day and age, and particularly given our history of*
> *emigration, can so many politicians be so callous towards asylum-seekers*
> *and refugees? A while back they had no problem in selling passports to*

the highest bidder, now the most vulnerable must be bludgeoned with new

racist laws.

We can see here how IS related the phenomenon of racism to the State and its' complicity in the development of a capitalist mode of production. IS compared the State's willingness to 'sell' or commodify citizenship to various individuals in return for capital investment in the Irish economy, to its maltreatment of asylum-seekers and refugees. The crux of the argument here is that capital, or specifically one's relationship to it, determines your relationship of the State. At the same time, the history of Irish emigration was invoked as a justification for a radical change in the State's approach to contemporary in-migration to Ireland. This argument highlighted the contradictory nature of draconian State legislation as compared to when for example, the Irish State lobbied the US government for an amnesty for thousands of illegal Irish emigrants in the US during the 1980's. Such lobbying efforts persist to this day.

Elsewhere, IS further explored the inimical nature of the relationship between capital and migration when attempting to justify its no-borders position and critique Ireland's position in the global economic order. In a letter to the An Phoblacht newspaper they stated,

> *We believe that the primary purpose of border controls is to protect the*
>
> *wealth of rich countries from the poor beyond. Indeed, the Western world*
>
> *takes only a small part of the world's migrants. Since most of the West's*
>
> *wealth is based on the exploitation of the poorer countries, it is obscene*
>
> *that the victims of these economic practices are denied access to countries*
>
> *like Ireland. It is now time that Ireland acknowledges the part it plays in*

the global economy instead of assuming that it is only the ex-colonial

countries that continue to exploit the underdeveloped regions of the world

(Thursday January 20th, 2000).

Again, the stance of IS contained in this statement is similar to that adopted by WSM. Border controls are conceptualised as an instrument employed by the State at the behest of capital. Simultaneously, Ireland's history of colonisation is contrasted with its contemporary exploitation of developing countries and their citizens through its' participation in global capitalism. In essence, IS (as does WSM) employed Ireland's history of colonisation as a critique of current State policy and furthermore, as a justification for seeking a change in its' approach to asylum-seekers.

Critically, it suggested that the exploited (Ireland as oppressed) had now become the exploiter (Ireland as oppressor). This can be seen more clearly, again in IS's first newsletter, in an article entitled 'Two Wrongs Don't Make a White'. In questioning the validity of, and problematising the content of racist graffiti, especially that of graffiti employing Nazi symbolism, the author states,

> *Ireland was a colony before the term was coined. "Okay, so we've got*
>
> *baronies, fiefdoms, counties and realms. But what the bloody hell do we*
>
> *call this Yrelande?" We are the world champions of being taken over and*
>
> *the Nobel laureates in getting our butts kicked. So maybe the next time the*
>
> *Irish Nazi Association are about to distribute leaflets arguing that "blacks*
>
> *are the scum of the British Empire", someone should take them aside and*
>
> *point out in that, in fact, we are the scum of the British Empire- we spent*
>
> *longer under the cosh than all the blacks and Asians we now blame for*
>
> *our unemployment, confusion or lack of self-esteem, or whatever. Or*

> *maybe that person could point out that neither of us are "scum": that we*
>
> *were both victims of white greed and self-aggrandisement; that perhaps*
>
> *we should empathise with our fellow colonised instead of victimising them*
>
> *again; that two wrongs don't make a happy white.*

IS interpreted Ireland as experiencing a reversal of its position and role in transnational politics and the global economy. It had shifted from being the exploited to the exploiter, from being in a position of powerlessness to one of relative power and influence for its size. In problematising this transition IS actively attempted to invoke solidarity between Irish people (as potential racists in the present) and asylum-seekers (as Irish people in the past). It achieved this through suggesting the possibility that Irish people have more in common with asylum-seekers than they do with contemporary global capitalism. In a move comparable to when R. Lentin (1999:223) describes the asylum-seeker as the 'return of the [Irish] national repressed', IS invoked the past, and on this basis critiques the present in order to create an alternative future.

Clearly, we can see the formative role that WSM has in the creation of Radical Anti-Racism. A similar process of influence occurred in ARC and in MWAR. In the documentary research completed on MWAR it is clear that it was heavily informed by leftist politics. When speaking to members of IS and ARC it became clear from the outset that this formal level of action and meaning is quite alien to the average non-aligned member. As Grainne from ARC points out with respect to the issue of racism: "I knew nothing about it, bar that this is not right, that was about my level and I hadn't a history of political activism of any description." Groups like ARC and IS were striking because of this mix between political actors and individuals who are typically interested in a specific cause like anti-racism. This is not to say that non-

aligned members were not political, they were simply not members of political parties. In the case of Grainne, he never aligned himself to the formal ideology, but information from other respondents suggests that he nonetheless became a crucial resource to ARC. The existence of this formal ideology facilitated the categorisation of members in terms of their political beliefs – a member was either a radical or a reformist. Patricia from IS notes,

> *There was a sense of who's in it who are reformers... a reform versus*
>
> *radical debate and they were the terms used. I imagine I would have been*
>
> *and I would have been labelled a reformer rather than a radical... People*
>
> *who were much more politically knowledgeable about radical movements,*
>
> *direct action and so on were I think at some times... I think at one time,*
>
> *one particular individual was too keen to label people off... But certainly*
>
> *by inclination I would be more kind of reform you know, what's the*
>
> *immediate need? What can we do to meet it? There were people who were*
>
> *there who would have much more elaborate political belief which was*
>
> *about radical restructuring of society.*

Instead ARC, was a radically orientated group. Its starting position of no-borders was one of the key non-negotiable aspects to its values. Such key values delimited the range of actions that ARC and IS could undertake. Yet this did not mean that participants must interpret such actions as essentially radical. When non-aligned members intimated their understanding of the 'no-borders' position, we see how ideology contains a degree of flexibility or a capacity to be particularised as Manheim notes. We see this in the case of Carrie, an aligned member in ARC when she argued:

> *Its hard to say even now what ARC was really fighting against, where its*
>
> *focus was. I always look upon these things as very very individualistic.. I*

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always felt that when I was with ARC it was always like educational to

people; 'Listen the person may be black, they may have very bad English

but listen Jesus Christ it's a person like. You know, this could be you if

you were transferred to Kenya or South Africa or whatever...

In more concrete terms, this process refers to a 'total conception' of ideology (Mannheim 1979:50-1), and at the same time, a 'particular conception' that operated at the level of the individual in the reproduction of Radical Anti-Racism's collective identity. However, it should be noted, that while the former according to Mannheim infers an absolute questioning of an opponents' *Weltanschauung*, the latter exists within a "…common criteria of validity…" and is a phenomenon associated with a "…psychology of interests…" or at an individual interpretative level (Mannheim 1979:50-3). I wish to conceptualise the latter as an 'informal ideology' and suggest that Radical Anti-Racism "...clashes, not with an adversary [as a total ideology], but with the adversary's identification with social development" (Touraine 1977:313). In this sense Radical Anti-Racism may be said to operate within what Touraine defines as a Totality (1977:313-15) and what Mannheim suggests is a "…common theoretical frame of reference" (1979:51) when referring to the operation of a 'particular conception' of ideology between two opposing social groups. Grainne illustrates this point perfectly:

I was never adamantly 'no-borders' I used to always say well look.. Well I

don't think that it was even that well thought out by the people that were

promoting it and I'd say 'Well Ireland unilaterally?', you know our doors

are open and come all ye on in: I don't that would ever be feasible or

accepted by anybody. But I think people would listen to you if you were

saying a coherent argument say 'Well look rather than battening down the

hatches, as it were, could we not be arguing in a European context? Lets

look at the old question of migration and why do we need to be

controlling it, then what's causing it' and just focussing on it in a different

way.. You know we'd like to have a world where people are free to move

and now what can we do to make it that way?

Patricia in IS had a similarly ambivalent feeling towards the formal ideology of IS. She in fact believed in the position of 'no borders' but found it unacceptable that IS cannot offer English classes to asylum-seekers. There is certainly no doubt that this formal ideological perspective prevents Radical Anti-Racism from developing beyond its initial remit. For non-aligned members like Grainne from ARC, this became problematic:

"ARC probably wasn't great at debating beyond a certain level. You

know because there was that pure or, what could you say, that starting

position of 'no-borders'… eh that didn't really ever expand in to all sorts

of other nuances. Multiculturalism didn't really enter in to it or either did

assimilation or integration."

In the case of IS, it became the key reason for the dissolution of the group and the movement towards Nasc. As the numbers of reform-minded individuals increased, the actions that people suggested started to shift away from the radical side of the spectrum of action. For example, some members suggested providing English classes for asylum-seekers. However, the more radical element within the groups did not see this as a function of IS. It was claimed that such activities are more in keeping with those tasks that a service provider would undertake. A drawn-out debate ensued as to whether IS was a service body or a political body and indeed, whether it could

actually combine both of these roles. It in fact reached the point where there were actual position papers written on this issue.

Whereas initially, excitement, expectation, and a sense of achievement surrounded the actions undertaken by Radical Anti-Racism, it gradually moved towards a general sense of frustration and meaningless. Grainne suggested with the case of ARC that it just gradually 'fizzled out'. The repetition of the same set of actions became increasingly frustrating for members, especially when the outcomes of these actions were increasingly difficult to perceive. The repetitive nature of the actions performed by ARC were central to Carrie's disillusionment. The same disillusionment was apparent in Grainne when she stated: "We had been doing occupations week in and week out. There probably was a time for that and maybe it was never fully realised that well the time for that had maybe drifted on a little bit".

The underlying formal ideologies of ARC and IS prevented any type of alternative actions being taken. Taken together with the rise of the race relations industry in civil society and the shift towards multicultural policies by the State, Radical Anti-Racism found itself occupying a more and more liminal space. The temporal nature of collective identity and the seemingly fixed nature of formal ideology are apparent here. The changing form and content of collective identity threw up possible new avenues of action and direction for Radical Anti-Racism. However, again and again, these possibilities were blocked by formal ideology. For example, during a period of latency in ARC, Grainne toyed with the idea of creating a group/campaign to highlight the issues surrounding 'invisible migrants', those people who disappear from the immigration or asylum system or never enter it in the first place. Such a move would have required a degree of formalisation and this was unachievable under ARC's structure, rigid as it was from the initial and ongoing input by WSM, SP and

IRSP. There is certainly evidence to show that as membership declines in ARC, the IRSP moves in and members that are aligned with SP leave. Similarly, IS's story is defined by WSM members actually leaving for a period of time when there is an argument over the membership book. If we ask ourselves why ARC and IS are unable to change, perhaps there is simply more at stake than ARC or IS themselves? Perhaps, such changes would also reflect back upon the political parties that are involved in ARC and IS? The already fractured nature of the Irish Left might help explain why a rigid ideological stance is so strictly adhered to. For example, SP would not adhere to 'no-borders' policy, nor would SF. There was also an idea of turning ARC into a 'Think-Tank'. ARC's unique identity would be lost in the process of transformation to an orthodox organisation. The autonomy implicit in the organisation of ARC would be lost, as would their unique voice. In the transition from IS to NASC this actually occurred with Patricia suggesting that NASC was incapable of making the 'outlandishly political' statements that he associated with IS. She also stressed that NASC's incapacity to be critical of the State proved the point that there was a need for Radical Anti-Racism in Ireland.

6.3 The Role of Collective Identity in the Demise of ARC and IS:

In employing the concept of collective identity we can move away from the stasis implicit within the analysis of formal ideology above. The shift from formal ideology to a 'particularising ideology' or the construction of a collective identity suggests that interpretations of formal ideologies differ among individuals even in the case of strong solidarity (Platt and Williams 2002:337; Melucci 1994:44). The notion of a 'particularising ideology' may be said to equate to a collective identity, in the sense that we understand collective identity along with Conway (2003) as not distinct from ideology, but rather as a subset of ideology. The distinction between collective

identity and ideology is not as well developed in the literature as it might be. In fact, it is quite easy to see how they may be conflated with one another. Polletta and Jasper (2001:287) suggest for instance, that collective identity differs from ideology because it functions as a means through which members of a group can express positive feelings for one another. Melucci (1995) sees this as an aspect to the emotional side to collective identity. For our purposes here, formal ideology and collective identity can be separately analysed chiefly because the latter is the product of an 'interactive and shared' process (Melucci 1995:44) in Radical Anti-Racism. Formal ideology, on the other hand, predates many of the member's participation in Radical Anti-Racism. This is not to say that it is not also the product of a shared and interactive process. The key difference is that within Radical Anti-Racism formal ideology acts as one of the starting points from which collective identity is constructed. The findings would suggest that collective identity could perhaps provide proponents of a formal ideology the space within which to test and probe their formal ideologies or at least practice them. It introduces people to their ideas and allows people to see these ideas in practice.

A collective identity according to Melucci (1994:44) is constructed through cognitive processes aimed at producing '…definitions concerning the ends, means and field of action". It defines the legitimacy, the scope/scale and strategy of collective action. It is an action process that occurs at the cognitive level of an individual actor and it crucially, "…does not necessarily imply unified and coherent frameworks (as cognitivists tend to think), but it is constructed through interaction and comprises different and sometimes contradictory definitions" (Melucci 1994:44-5). Key to the dynamic of identity formation according to Melucci is, i) a self-reflective actor; ii)

causality and belonging and; iii) a relationship with the past, present and future (1994:46-7).

Carrie, a WSM member and ARC member provides us with an invaluable insight into how the construction of a collective identity reshaped and reformed the original formal ideological starting point. For Carrie, ARC was not a vehicle through which the State can be removed from power and the system of capitalist economic relations overturned. She pointedly remarked, "Its hard to say even now what ARC was really fighting against, where its focus was". For Carrie, the printed media produced by ARC did not adequately convey the reality of the meaning and aims of ARC. For her, participation within the group was a very 'individualistic' process. Carrie "…never looked upon ARC as being anything but educational" and while politics is an aspect of this, education took precedence. Moreover, Carrie firmly believed that racism would not simply disappear when the State disappears. She argued that the State was not the sole source of racism and noted that racism has existed and can exist in stateless societies. It was no surprise that given this understanding Carrie gravitated towards ARC's activities that required interfacing with the general public.

ARC for Carrie was something far more steeped in cultural ideals than in revolutionary politics and material redistribution. For her ARC represented, "The idea that no matter what your cultural background you can still find some sort of inclusive space in Ireland". When speaking of the higher aims evident in the desire for systemic change she stated candidly that, "Yes I want to see the system replaced but if its not replaceable, make it better… If you cant replace the system lets make it more liveable". Making Irish society more 'liveable' for Carrie, meant educating people about racism so as to create a space where cultures could coexist peacefully. In some respects this represents an 'educational' form of anti-racism, albeit being undertaken

in a non-institutionalised fashion. Carrie suggested that in ARC the following sentiment prevailed: "Lets be honest most of the people here were anti-state and we weren't deluded by some kind of fact like 'if we work really hard we can remove racism and the state…'"

In a very real way, the active construction of meaning and action within the process of collective identity means that certain realities took precedence over the utopian aspects of formal ideology. Interestingly, Charlie from ADC, which I will examine below, saw this clearly. With specific regard to the concept of 'no-borders' Charlie explained,

> *Now I'd have a lot of sympathy towards it but I see it as an ideal, not a reality and something I'll always try to go towards but I don't think in this current state, we just can't wake up tomorrow and go 'no-borders'. What we can do is relax the immigration laws as far as possible and then if we are in this beautiful utopia we can abolish the borders then… It's like my own personal politics, my own personal beliefs, I'm very idealistic. I think it was Oscar Wilde who said 'Any map of the world without Utopia on it was useless' because Utopia was the one place in the world where everybody wanted to go to. You'll never get there but you'll always try to go there and that's a good thing. I follow that ideal a lot, you know saying that, 'We'll always try and get the perfect society but it doesn't matter if we don't get there because the closer we get the better...*

Turner notes that '…utopian visions of reality seek to bring about a radical transformation of society as a whole.' (1995:719). Crucially, Turner goes on to state that, "Utopian aspirations are associated with the quest for ecstasy, that is the desire to

transcend, and if necessary to transgress existing conventional roles. The utopian desire is stand outside ourselves" (1995:720-21).

A society with open borders was a utopian aspiration. A society where all members get along with one another – as in an idealised multicultural society – was a utopian aspiration. When Melucci speaks of the of the formative role of ideology he suggests that ideology allows for "...the negation of the gap between expectations and reality. The birth of a movement is marked by 'moments of madness' (Zolberg 1972), when all things seem possible, and collective enthusiasms looks forward to action, confident of a positive outcome. Ideology overcomes the inadequacy of practice…" (1996:350). The process of collective identity construction in our case here can be considered to work against this negation of ideology and reality that Melucci speaks of above. On the one hand, this utopian aspect to Radical Anti-Racism allowed for significant mobilisation and it attracted many non-aligned members. Yet paradoxically, it was also a factor in weakening Radical Anti-Racism.

There was also a disparity between formal ideology and collective identity in Grainne's involvement with ARC. For example, and again on the issue of 'no-borders', a crucial facet of WSM's and subsequently ARC's formal ideology she stated,

> *I was never adamantly 'no-borders'... Well I don't think that it was even that well thought out by the people that were promoting it and I'd say 'well Ireland unilaterally?' You know? 'Our doors are open and come all ye on in', I don't think that would ever be feasible or accepted by anybody.*

It is evident from this statement, that like Carrie above, Grainne was able to negotiate a standpoint from a supposedly fixed ideological starting position, in this case that of 'no-borders'. For Patricia, a non-aligned member in IS, while she believed in 'no-borders', he stated that this was possible "…without having to be an Anarchist." This shifting or blurring of ideological boundaries is again evident when Grainne explained why the State might act in a racist manner: "It's a difficult question. Eh… one thing is eh you've sovereignty. I mean it's the last… it's the, to my mind, the last bastion of control that governments have in a globalised world; its 'who can and who cannot come into our sovereign territory".

This explanation obviously deviates greatly from that found in WSM and ARC literature. It veers significantly away from an explanation based in the State as chief protector of capitalist interests and attempts to understand racism as an aspect of the nation-state in an increasingly globalised world, where centralised institutions of power are decreasing in significance. Like Carrie, Grainne did not perceive ARC as solely an agent in the fight against capitalism and the State. For Grainne, ARC's identification of the State as its opposition occurred because there were "…no other obvious targets..." like an organised far-right party. Thus, while the State *qua* opposition was crucial in the process of collective identity construction for ARC, its actual relevance to members is perhaps overstated in the documents produced by ARC.

In a strong sense, Radical Anti-Racism and as we will see, the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in general, also concerned itself with issues that are commonly associated with the NSM perspective. There is certainly an emphasis upon the non-political and the everyday, no matter how political the origins of the movement might be. As Carrie puts it, ARC was also about, "…a tolerant Ireland. The idea that no

matter what your cultural background you can still find some kind of inclusive space in Ireland…and I do believe that individuals be they acting collectively or whatever can have that freedom to express themselves".

There exists a strong degree of unity within the collective identity of ARC and IS. The sustained patterns of action undertaken by these groups over a three to four year period are a testament to this fact. The unity exists, not in definitions or understandings of racism *as* cultural or biological, multiculturalism *as* social integration, but instead in the identification of the State as an opponent. The construction of an opponent also plays as crucial role in the construction of a collective identity. This is apparent in the works of Melucci, Touraine, Eyerman and Jamison, and Offe among others discussed above and indeed in the data and analysis that I have presented. The State as an opponent is a defining feature of unity for individual members. It not only ensures a strong sense of collective identity, but it also delimits the field of action for IS and ARC members. Importantly, and as stated above by Grainne from ARC, the State as opposition is in some respects borne of necessity. Patricia from IS echoes this point when suggesting that IS's orientation to State racism, even after the departure of WSM members, occurs "…because there was nothing else happening at the time".

ARC meetings were goal orientated, 'not think-tanks' as Carrie puts it. There was never debate over key concepts. IS did engage in a level of debate over key terms. This level of debate is attributed to the number of academics in IS and furthermore to '…the fact that there wasn't much happening.' Frankie remarked that IS had "Long, very long debates. But there was remarkable level of agreement on most issues until the establishment of a proper Immigrant Centre [Nasc] started to look hopeful".

Again, however, such debate and analysis occurred only at the level of policy and did not represent a contestation over the meaning of key concepts, or even over the nature of anti-racism itself until an alternative, Nasc in this case, came along. This helps explain the reluctance of this research to conclude that the groups that I examine constituted an Anti-Racism Movement per se in Ireland. We also saw in the Multicultural Support Group that there was little in the way of engaging with what multiculturalism and integration means.

This identification of the State with racism, while unified in movement documents, was as we have seen, challenged by individual participants as they sought to create a collective identity that allowed their actions to take on wider, secondary meanings, like educational in the case of Carrie or a vindication of a notion of 'Irishness' based in fairness, compassion and humanity as in the case of Grainne. At the same time, it was a crucial factor in allowing IS and especially ARCS to become so prolific. Not only did it allow for individual groups to flourish, it also allows for the creation of National Federation of Campaigns Against Racism in October 1998, an all-Ireland network between IS, ARC, MWAR, RAR and others. There was a strong collaborative effort between these groups. This is more than obvious in the case of protest, which on many occasions was coordinated between groups. Such coordination and cooperation occurred at the very least at the level of support and more often than not, at the level of participation.

In framing the State as an opponent at a formal ideological level Radical Anti-Racism clearly delimited its field of action. It established strict boundaries that could not be crossed in the context of the group. For all of the flexibility we find in Radical Anti-Racism there was also rigidity. Radical Anti-Racism was restricted to the carrying out of actions that are firstly, levelled against the State and secondly, autonomous from

that institution. As suggested by Melucci above, collective identity ensures for a continuity of actions over time, movement unity and an actor's capacity for self-recognition in movement actions. It is also a process that suggests susceptibility to change. Melucci states that collective identity "…entails an ability to perceive duration, an ability that enables actors to establish a relationship between past, present and future…" (1996:46) the capacity to recognise the future is a key element in the shift from Radical Anti-Racism.

In the case of ARC and IS this change in collective identity occurred at an individual level without recognition at the formal level of group organisation. Indeed, in both IS and ARC there was a formal rejection of any actions that moved the groups away from their radical agenda. Frankie noted that IS "…did not break up dramatically or anything. I remember one of last meetings in a coffee shop concluded quite hopeful that something better was going to come out of NASC." In ARC, Grainne notes that any suggestion of a change of remit was blocked by what he termed 'ideological purity.' We see this happening with the reluctance within IS to provide English classes asylum-seekers. Indeed, when Nasc emerges from IS, IS refuses Nasc's offer of a meeting space. There was also an idea of turning ARC into a 'Think-Tank' but again this was impossible as Grainne comments:

> *There was that thought of actually making it into a think-thank and eh*
> *applying for funds, doing these things. But that would essentially be like,*
> *turning into a kind of like eh, well an element, a cog within the race*
> *relations industry if you want. So we didn't want that…*

Yet, in IS, this was exactly what happened in the case of the creation of Nasc. While ARC's and IS's collective identity as expressed through their anti-state stance, allows

for a period of rapid movement expansion and the practice of a defined set of actions over time, its rigidity and inability at the level of formal group organisation to change in tandem with a changing social field threw Radical Anti-Racism into turmoil. Out of this process of collective identity construction emerged Nasc, an example of a Multicultural Support Group.

6.4 The Multicultural Support Group, Ideology and Collective Identity:

The Multicultural Support Group presented itself as avowedly non-political. Ideology was far from the lips of its members. Yet, in the background of DTASSG and New Horizon a clear framework, a clear system of belief existed. This I argued was the form of the liberal multiculturalism discussed above. As was the case with Radical Anti-Racism, I will show here that this ideology permitted certain actions as well as labelling other actions as not multicultural or not in keeping with the group's value system. As in Radical Anti-Racism, there were formal and informal levels of action. The flexible nature of collective identity permitted these informal levels of action to occur. This is something that we did not observe in Radical Anti-Racism. In order to undertake actions that deviated from the formal ideologies of IS and ARC members had to leave those groups. This does not happen in the Multicultural Support Group.

In a similar manner to Radical Anti-Racism, the Multicultural Support Group existed at the level of formal ideology. This ideology, however, was somewhat vague or weakly defined. There were no clearly shared definitions of what it meant to be multicultural, just a set of aims that promoted a nefarious idea of multiculturalism. It would appear that multiculturalism became synonymous with a charitable and service-led solution to the problems that asylum-seekers in Ireland face. This led to a similar dichotomy of group members that we observed in Radical Anti-Racism. This

time, instead of aligned and non-members or radical versus reformer, we observe conformists and reformers. The conformists rejected political avenues and wished to adhere to RIA guidelines. In many respects they believed in the utopian ideal that underlies liberal multiculturalism. In other words, there were no structural reasons as to why people might be racist.

We can argue that as in the case of Radical Anti-Racism, there was an element of utopian ideology at work. Multiculturalism became hugely attractive from this perspective. It presents us with an idealised version of the world – if people simply get to know each other a little better things will be just fine. The reformers, it is important to note, found their capacity for action restricted by an underlying formal ideology that delimited a specific range of actions. Reformists rejected the idea that the problems of asylum-seekers can be solved without action directed against the State. However, such a perspective was untenable at a formal level within the Multicultural Support Group. In some respects again what we find is very similar to what we saw above in the case of Radical Anti-Racism. Obviously, the meaning of action differs greatly, but how they are structured is remarkably similar. In the case of the Multicultural Support Group, the formal ideology they espoused can be linked directly to the Irish State. While, Radical Anti-Racism challenged the State, the Multicultural Support Group at a formal level actually reinforced and implemented State policy.

The Multicultural Support Group adopted a set of specific aims that were informed by a multicultural agenda. We can understand this as a process that delimited their range of actions. We saw a similar process occur in Radical Anti-Racism. In this case, the process of constructing this formal ideology was also removed from the majority of members. Typically the conceptual definitions came from outside agencies associated

with the State or indeed, State agencies like RIA. Radical Anti-Racism differed because their concepts and their definitions arose out of pre-existing ideologies that were oppositional in character.

There is no doubt that the actions undertaken by DTASSG and New Horizon revolved around a charitable and service perspective. These are contextualised and legitimised through the employment of the strategy of multiculturalism as a means of social integration. There was, as we have seen, a formal link between New Horizon and a local community development project. This brought a stronger and more prominent sense of 'we' to New Horizon, but again it did not lead to any sustained questioning of what that 'we' actually meant. While many of the aims and values of New Horizon were written in formal documents, this appeared to make little difference in terms of the outcomes of multiculturalism. In both groups, the result of multicultural action was unfulfilled reciprocity and disintegration.

We have seen quite clearly in the narrative that multiculturalism in DTASSG is not something that was discussed or debated at a group level. It appeared to have existed in the background as a guide that legitimated the activities that the group undertook. Laura pointed to the fact that many people that attended meetings were there purely for show. Both Sue and Peggy expressed this same opinion. Sorcha pointed to the loose organisational structure: "We didn't have any formal structure and that was a big thing…" The result of this, as Peggy stated, was that "…because of the make-up of the group a lot of the people wouldn't have been interested in knowing 'What are our values?'" This would seem to run contrary to Melucci's assertion that, "Individuals acting collectively 'construct' their action by means of 'organised' investments: they define in cognitive terms the field of possibilities and limits they

perceive while at the same time activating their relationship so as to give sense to their 'being together' and to the goals they pursue." (1995:43)

This process of defining what this 'we' is, was certainly much clearer in New Horizon. The documents that outline their positions, the end of year reports and brochures are clear evidence of a process of collective identity building. However, how active all members were in his process must be questioned. As Fiona remarks: "I'd say now, what, we'd operate quite on a consensus basis… I don't think we've ever gone to a vote…" I would argue that despite this formal side to New Horizon its sense of collective identity is very similar to that of DTASSG's. It was taken for granted that everybody was working off the same page as Peggy in DTASSG notes. In New Horizon this does not appear to lead to frustration between group members like we find in DTASSG.

The 'make-up' of DTASSG, as Peggy put it, was also characterised by a dichotomy between skilled and unskilled members with the latter being in the majority. Skilled members like Peggy and Sue defined their involvement in the group through their relationship to the community development sector. However, unskilled volunteers like Aoife and Sorcha came from a variety of backgrounds that may be said not to promote a reflexive engagement with the group's identity, strategy and aims. There was a very similar dichotomy in the case of New Horizon. As is the case with Radical Anti-Racism, this leads to a division that in this particular case cuts across the lines of reformist/conformist. Reformist members' employed a lexicon that was a product of their employment, religious, and educational backgrounds and furthermore, general life experiences such as relationships, emigration, missionary work and travel. Conformist members in both groups had a tendency to emphasise the charitable aspect

of their endeavours. This leads to the tension that we find in both groups between conformists and reformists and results in the distinct modes of participation in the process of identity building that Melucci (1996:35) outlines above. This same process occurred in Radical Anti-Racism. We should also note that it was far more pronounced in DTASSG than it was in New Horizon.

These differing modes of participation were integral to the undertaking of actions that deviated from those based in multiculturalism. There is an implicit tension within a social movement "…between the institutionalization of conflicts and the rupture represented by critical action" (Touraine 1977:451). In this case here, the tension that exists was found within the dynamic between multicultural (non-reformist/conformist and institutionalised) actions and reform-centred (non-institutionalised) actions. Multicultural actions represented the State's institutionalised response to the issues surrounding asylum-seekers in Ireland. We can see that actions based in multiculturalism actually led to unfulfilled reciprocity and disintegration. Conformist members typically promoted these actions as the solution to the issues that asylum-seekers faced. The actions were typically charitable in nature and at times specifically set out to celebrate the diversity of the asylum-seeker. They also actively reinforced the underlying agenda of the Irish State, that being the removal of as many asylum-seekers as possible from the State. The reform-centred actions of members like Peggy and Fiona represented a *rupture* from State policy. Actively coaching asylum-seekers for their interviews provided them with a key resource that undoubtedly increased the likelihood of their success.

A clear example of the aversion to critical action happened when Sue spoke of her ongoing desire to introduce an interlocutor to the group in order to aid a 'reflexive' process of group development. The majority of the group's members never took up

this proposition. This adds to Peggy's assertion that some members perceived the group as merely a 'social gathering'. Sue's frustration at the lack of group reflexivity or self-reflection as to its' aims, values and strategies was also held by Peggy and to a lesser extent Laura. While Peggy suggested that the diversity of the group allowed for a good range of perspectives on the issues surrounding asylum-seekers, she concluded that, "…it hinders you because you don't really know what you are about and what you should be focussing on. So I think that you can end up doing a little bit of everything and not really doing one thing well." In a somewhat similar fashion to Radical Anti-Racism, members of the Multicultural Support Group found themselves unable to undertake actions that they perceived to be important. However in this case, instead of this contributing to the dissolution of the groups, it manifested itself in hidden actions that were undertaken outside of the context of multiculturalism.

Collective identity construction in this case permitted members to undertake a range of actions that were outside of the ideology of multiculturalism. It created a space for alternative actions. As Melucci (1995) notes,

> *One way to overcome the apparent contradiction between the static and dynamic dimensions implied by collective identity is to think of it in terms of action. Collective identity enables social actors to act as unified and delimited subjects and to be in control of their own actions, but conversely they can act as collective bodies because they have achieved to some extent the constructive process of collective identity* (P. 46).

6.5 Conclusion:

I have clearly illustrated the restrictive roles that a liberal multicultural ideology and a far-left ideology bring to the Multicultural Support Group and Radical Anti-Racism

respectively. I have argued that these perspectives act along the lines of a formal ideology. As formal ideologies they were crucial in constructing and delimiting a range of actions and a field of action for the movement. In both cases, we noted that the construction of a formal ideology is not something that the majority of the individuals in the groups are responsible for. Rather, these ideologies, ways of seeing and doing, are preestablished. In the case of Radical Anti-Racism, they can be found in the literature of WSM, SP, SWP, SF, and IRSP. The Multicultural Support Group was closely aligned to RIA and various other State Agencies e.g. NCCRI. We have seen that it is difficult for these perspectives to be successfully challenged as part of the ongoing construction of a collective identity despite opposition to both ideologies in each case. This does not automatically mean that the resistance to these ideologies is unsuccessful. In the case of Radical Anti-Racism, we see this resistance bear fruit in the creation of Nasc. Nasc arises precisely because the process of collective identity construction in IS allows for competing modes of action to emerge.

It is possible to argue that Radical Anti-Racism facilitates the emergence of the Multicultural Support Group. The limitations experienced by members of Radical Anti-Racism made the Multicultural Support Group attractive. Paradoxically, the move towards the Multicultural Support Group created another set of problems for non-aligned members like Frankie and Patricia. The scope of actions that were permissible within the context of a collective identity based in liberal multiculturalism precluded critical actions like, questioning state policies or politicising the asylum process at a formal level within the groups. The reformer is constrained by the scope of action delimited by the Multicultural Support Group. Yet the formation of a collective identity entailed the possibility for alternative actions to be considered and undertaken. Such alternatives move us again towards the figure of the Subject. When

we examine the main thrust of such alternative actions below we will see that they gravitate towards a generalised feeling that asylum-seekers should be afforded a space within which they can pursue their own life projects. Whether this involves integration or the absence of the State is not the point. There is no explicit anti-racist or multicultural agenda.

Peggy, Sue and Fiona, reformists from DTASSG and New Horizon respectively, share key traits with their counterparts Brian and Grainne, nonaligned/reformist members from IS and ARC respectively. In as much as Radical Anti-Racism's underlying ideology delimited the range of actions members could undertake, we see the same process occurring in the Multicultural Support Group. While the shift to the Multicultural Support Group enlarged the scope of work that individuals can do with asylum-seekers, it simultaneously closed off actions that are considered to be political or critical of the political system Peggy pointed out:

> *I don't think the bigger picture in that sense would have been discussed*
> *very much. Again you know, well it was John O'Donoghue who was*
> *Minister for Justice at stage, if he'd brought particular legislation in that*
> *might have been talked about or someone might have brought a*
> *newspaper clipping in or whatever. But it was never kind of, the big*
> *picture was never discussed in terms of relating that to what our group*
> *was doing. One thing I always wanted to discuss but we never got around*
> *to it was 'what was our whole approach to the asylum question?' Do we*
> *support people regardless or do we have any position on whether people*
> *are economic migrants or do we try and judge the validity of should*
> *people be here or do we try and do everything for everybody?*

By restricting dialogue or solely seeing the issue of asylum-seekers through the lens of multiculturalism the idea of an opposition disappeared, as did conflict. In the strict conceptual sense and at a formal level of action it is even questionable if we can include the Multicultural Support Group in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement, as it has no clearly identifiable opponent. I consider an opponent to be integral to the how and the why of a social movement. In this sense, social movements are agents of change, change that in some way must be pursued against the wishes of another group. As we have seen, an opposition allows for the construction of identity, in the sense of an identity constructed against the image of another group: a 'them' and an 'us' scenario. It allows for cohesion and the framing of aims and values.

At the very least we can perhaps identify within some of the participants of the Multicultural Support Group a sense of opposition to the existence and consequences of everyday racism and perhaps this is what they individually seek to change through multiculturalism. Aoife in DTASSG is an excellent example of this. She recounts:

> *Three years ago when I came home I remember I brought a few of the*
> *guys to the Abbey Hotel for a coffee, it wasn't even for a drink, it was for*
> *just a coffee. And the looks we got with it we left, we paid for our coffee*
> *and we left. But like now I walk down town now, like the guy I date, the*
> *coloured guy I date, I walk down town with him, I don't give a shit…Now*
> *I feel they have the freedom, now I feel they have the freedom they can*
> *walk down town…But the freedom is there but if a guy comes in to town*
> *and he is coloured and he's not an asylum seeker he's automatically*
> *classed as an asylum seeker. This is where it's gone to now. It's gone*

from one thing to 'Oh my god where are yis coming from?' Because I had

three coloured friends come to town who are not asylum seekers who

wanted accommodation and I brought them for accommodation and the

woman went 'Black, are ye from the hostel?' So I went 'What? How does

that mean he's an asylum seeker because he's black?' So fuck it like..!

But again this type of thinking was not developed at a collective level within DTASSG. Aoife herself displayed an overall reluctance to engage with political matters, but nonetheless she still questioned the participation of many of the members of DTASSG. The Multicultural Support Group was largely a consensual agent that undertook actions that reinforced State policy. There was little in the way of a formal critical element to the groups. Fiona from New Horizon argued that due to the close relationship between such groups and the state the space for critical action was severely reduced. She stated, "You have a Minister who signed a cheque for you on Monday, can you really go and take-over his office on Tuesday?" Patricia and Frankie who were members of IS before moving to Nasc shared a similar feeling. In a more indirect fashion both Grainne and Carrie from ARC questioned the capacity of the 'social workery' approach to create meaningful change. Frankie summed it up as: "IS was a political group, NASC was trying to be an organisation of "action", services etc. But it was loosing the sight of the political aspect of the issue. Hence, there were minus and plus in both".

The informal actions of Peggy, Sue, Aoife and Fiona reinsert the figure of the State as an opposition. They willingly engaged with the asylum-seeker beyond a charitable scope and actively assisted them in their preparation for the initial interview and if this was unsuccessful with the deportation appeal. This marks the reinsertion of an

opponent into the movement in this phase of mobilisation. This occurred at the level of informal action within the Multicultural Support Group. I wish to argue that at this point in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement, the actions of the movement can begin to be better understood through Touraine's concept of the Subject and specifically, the Subject as Social Movement. As we move towards the Anti-Deportation Group we find the movement developing a different relationship towards the asylum-seeker.

Chapter Seven: The Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement and the Subject as Social Movement.

7.1 Introduction:

This chapter will argue that the Anti-Deportation Group phase of mobilisation can be considered as indicative of a significant shift in the movement towards a politics of the Subject. I will argue that the idea of the Subject is a useful tool in understanding Radical Anti-Racism, the Multicultural Support Group and the Anti-Deportation Group as a coherent whole. Indeed, in also returning to the case of Harmony, I will present the case that the idea of the Subject was central to the movement and that perhaps its most effective actions can be considered to be orientated around the idea of the Subject. I will conclude that the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement can be understood as a Subject as Social Movement. The movement can then be said to revolve around the conflict that arose in Irish society between the objectifying forces of neo-liberalism and the desire for subjectivation that was apparent in each phase of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement.

Bring Them Back!

March for the return of

(near Golden Island)

To

St. Peter's Square

Iyabo Nwanzi   Elizabeth Odunsi

Having fled the danger and turmoil of Nigeria, Elizabeth and Iyabo settled in Athlone

in the summer of 2001. Both women have become an important part of the town's life.

They sought to build a safer, better future for themselves and their children by

studying English, Mathematics, and Computer Applications in a Vocational Training

Opportunities Scheme. They looked forward to the day that they would be allowed to

work and support themselves in their adopted country.

Now, more than ever, this country needs people of moral integrity, a sense of justice

and a respect for those around them. Elizabeth and Iwabo are such people. They have

embraced the life and culture of Athlone. They have become good friends and

neighbours. Their children have spent the last four years at school with our children;

they are classmates, school friends and teammates; they have grown up together.

To see the families of Elizabetha and Iyabo torn apart and separated from their

friends, to see their dream of a future free of abuse and fear crushed and to see their

children hiding in fear is beyond comprehension. Our immigration and asylum system

has failed them, our state has failed them and anyone who remains silent on their

plight is failing them.

The Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform, Mr. Michael McDowell has said

that if the children of Elizabeth and Iyabo are presented to him he will return them to

Nigeria. To give these mothers a choice between bringing their children into danger or being separated from them indefinitely is inhumane.

We ask you to add your voice to ours in calling for the return of Elizabeth and Iwabo. Help us to speak for those who are not being heard. Help us to reunite these Athlone mothers with their children. Elizabeth and Iyabo and their two youngest children must come back to Ireland. They must come home to Athlone, now!

The above poster advertising a protest subtly characterises the position that the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement found itself in in 2005. This protest took place in Athlone, where we previously examined the case of New Horizon. This type of protest against deportations became more commonplace after the State's interpretation of the Supreme Court's ruling in January 2003 on the Lobe and Osayande case. This ruling asserted that the parents of Irish born children were unable to apply for residency and therefore open to the threat of deportation. The ruling was further compounded by the overwhelming ratification of the June 11th, 2004 Citizenship Referendum that resulted in citizenship being restricted to those children born of at least one Irish citizen. We saw above that the Irish State concerned itself with issues of integration and used campaigns like Know Racism to assert this. This shift in the movement challenged that assertion and the idea that the State should be a controlling influence in matters of integration.

7.2 The Cases of ADC and CADIC:

We have seen in the above narrative that ADC and CADIC represented a shift away from multicultural strategies and also Radical Anti-Racism in a revolutionary guise. This shift in action and identity is representative of two interfacing features of any social movement, namely the process of collective identity construction and the field

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of action that it occupies. The former we may consider as "…a field containing a system of vectors in tension" (Melucci 1995:50), which is defined by both its capacity for internal change and its desire for change in the wider field of action. In terms of change, or as Melucci describes it 'construction', we must further point towards the processes of deconstruction and reconstruction in the construction of collective identity. This was readily identifiable in the examples of ADC and CADIC outlined above and it was also apparent in the movement from Radical Anti-Racism to the Multicultural Support Group. The latter shift was more so representative of a rejection of the movement's past in terms of its' framework of action and the values and beliefs it adhered to. I propose that in the cases of ADC and CADIC we witness an amalgamation of various aspects of Radical Anti-Racism and the Multicultural Support Group and moreover, the recognition of the integral role that the process of subjectivation has to play in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in Ireland. While CADIC and ADC were what one may describe as proactive in their adoption of the aims and strategies of Radical Anti-Racism, they were essentially passive with respect to the role that the Multicultural Support Group had in shaping their aims and strategies.

ADC's and CADIC's work centred upon preventing deportations of asylum-seekers. They worked from the distinct premise that individuals under threat of deportation have created lives for themselves in Ireland. Moreover, these lives impacted positively upon Irish society. A threat of deportation is thus characterised as not only impacting upon the asylum-seeker but crucially also the fabric of the wider community in which they live. This was central to their sense of collective identity. We saw this in the examples of case specific anti-deportation protests in the above narrative. In terms of the wider movement and the relevance or significance of this

newer phase of action we can begin to further comprehend it along with Touraine as confirming the fact that, "A social movement is not alive unless it is a process of integrating elements or forms of collective action, and not the strategy and tactics deduced from a doctrine or political force" (1997:331).

In this sense the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement when pictured as a unified whole was representative of a multilayered and multidimensional system of action. It was capable of reproducing itself in a reflexive manner and while shifting towards new forms of action, did not do so through the complete destruction of past modes of actions. Instead, these past modes of actions were incorporated and/or reconstructed within newer modes of action. Crucially, and as I mentioned above, such a system of action existed within a state of contestation, both internally and externally in terms of its opponent. CADIC, ADC and the examples of localised grassroots action cited above defined themselves largely through their opposition to State policy. This system of reproduction of course, was open to change as this was evinced by the fact that movement identity and thus practices differ across time.

I touched upon this fact previously, ADC and CADIC shared significant common ground with such political groups but they also defined themselves in opposition to Radical Anti-Racism. In this way, the movement's past also assumed the role of opposition along with the State and as such, played an important role in the collective identity of ADC and CADIC. This fact was also clear in their dismissal of multiculturalism, forced social integration and partnership as strategic aims. Simultaneously, ADC and CADIC shared clear lines of similarity with Radical Anti-Racism, none more so than their trenchant desire to prevent deportations. However, the prevention of deportations on the behalf of ADC and CADIC was not part of a

wider political agenda. This is very similar to the case of RAR, which predated these groups by at least seven years.

I propose that the aims of ADC and CADIC had more in common with a politics of the subject than the radical politics of left-wing groups or even indeed, the weak multiculturalism of the Multicultural Support Group. We can see in the first instance above that there was a situated and concentrated effort within this last phase of mobilisation to individualise the asylum-seeker. As Charlie from ADC above put it, "We adopted the tactic where we individualise cases. We try to make people identify, you know say that, 'This is not an asylum-seeker, this is Bob – Bob has some trouble in his life.'" ADC, RAR and other more local grassroots groups increasingly took recourse to this strategy that had as its goal individuation. According to Touraine, "Individuation is not simply the possibility to freely express uncontrolled impulses and desires, but on the contrary to consider as a central goal the capacity to construct one's own personal, coherent and meaningful experience: what we might call a project or a life story" (1998b:154).

Subjectivation is the process through which the individual and/or collective Subject attempts to seek individuation. This is why we can conceive of aspects of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement to be akin to Touraine's Subject as Social Movement. In fact, all throughout this movement I would claim that subjectivation was apparent and an important feature. Touraine argues,

> *This leads us to believe that the personal Subject can positively assert*
> *itself only through mutual recognition with another personal Subject*
> *through communication between groups or individuals who recognise*
> *each other as Subjects, once again in the sense of Charles Taylor. At a*

more collective level, this idea creates a strong link between the idea of

the personal Subject and that of a democracy defined as a subject-centred

politics. This idea is clearly close to Habermas's analysis while remaining

somewhat distinct. It aims at constructing a cultural area structured

around communication between Subjects and organised and protected by

democratic institutions which constitute what I have termed the politics of

the Subject. Such a cultural area stands between the world of networks

and flows and that of the identities created by neocommunitarian powers

and resists pressures which come from both sides (1998b:153-4).

The idea of the Subject thus raises a set of key issues that we can also begin to identify in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. Firstly, and crucially, it is a process of communication and interaction between like-minded Subjects. We have seen the difficultly that the movement in all phases had with this feature. This difficultly was prominent in the relative lack of asylum-seeker participation in the movement. It was also apparent in the lack of communication that we saw among members of the Multicultural Support Group. Yet, it did happen between subgroups in the Multicultural Support Group and there is strong evidence that it was a key aim of Radical Anti-Racism. It is also something that the movement in its Anti-Deportation Group phase was more so centred on or concerned with. The first formal meeting of CADIC is evidence of this desire that asylum-seekers take an active role in the movement. Tony described it as so:

We hired a hall for about one hundred and fifty people and about four

hundred turned up. People travelled from all over the country and we had

to hold it in two meetings.. It was absolutely dreadful, it was like outside

the Refugee Application Centre.. [me: it was an amazing response

though?] It was amazing. Within like you know a few emails, calls, I mean

it wasn't really very difficult. People, the need, the confusion and the

anger and the despair and the fear were horrific.. We gave whatever

information we could like sharing information. We had hoped we would

be able to hold clinics but it was just not possible... there was no room for

babies and it was not accessible for push-chairs…

There was a very clear sense that at this moment in the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement, there are three groups, ADC, CADIC and RAR that were actually relevant to the chief concern of asylum-seekers. This is not to say that the "mundane" as Jennifer puts it above with respect to the needs that the Multicultural Support Group was not important, but it is to say that ignoring the elephant in the room (deportation) did simply not makes sense.

Touraine above highlighted the importance of a *subject-centred politics*. The politics of the Subject in this case concerns the conditions through which individuation can occur. Necessarily, this requires a reconciliation between the objective and subjective worlds. The asylum-seeker for ADC and CADIC raised the issue that, "…modernity can be defined by the increasing divorce between the objective world created by reason in accordance with the laws of nature, and the world of subjectivity, which is primarily the world of individualism or, to be more accurate, of the call for personal freedom" (Touraine 1995:4)

CADIC and ADC, I suggest, operated at the edge of this world of objectivity and clearly recognised a process of desubjectivation within the actions of the State towards asylum-seekers and migrants in general. These groups demanded of their

State the reconciliation of the spheres of objectivity and subjectivity. The conflict as understood and played out by Tony and Charlie was a personal one. They themselves strove to compose their own life-projects amidst the conflict between the objective and subjective worlds, or between the world of the economy and the State and that of the Subject. For Charlie this conflict manifested itself in inequalities and injustices. He recounted the following the story that partly explains his interest in ADC but also crucially concerns the tension and disparities between subjective and objective worlds and realities:

> *You know I know a lot of people who go 'Ah, what difference is it going to make?' and I go 'You can make a difference.' You know the students at Berkeley? Basically a few students occupied a lab for I think it was three months and the company, I think it was Smith Kline and Beechem... They'd discovered a drug to help combat AIDS but weren't making it available to the Third World at cost-price- they were charging them a fortune so nobody could afford it. Eighty-two students over a period of three months managed to change that...*

The idea that people would die because of the objective issue of a profit margin was reprehensible for Charlie. The fact that this process of desubjectivation – denying people a basic right to continue their lives with dignity – could be challenged and resolved was hugely attractive for Charlie. Similarly, this recognition of desubjectivation was evident in Radical Anti-Racism. Their insistence upon reinstating the asylum-seeker's right to work was evidence of this. Indeed, the issues of the removal of borders and the end of Direct Provision and Dispersal are all

indications that Radical Anti-Racism challenged systems of instrumentalisation and desubjectivation.

What we can add to Touraine's assertion of the politics of the subject is the powerful yet subtle way it can appear in a given social movement. There is no better example that the hidden actions that occurred within the Multicultural Support Group. What might firstly be dismissed as agents of desubjectivation in the sense that they reproduced the State's multicultural policies can actually be reread as a Subject as Social Movement.

The recognition of social domination within the individual experiences of the asylum-seeker and its influence upon their own life-projects is lent further credence by the situation of the asylum-seeker (Dubet 2004:709). In the situation of the asylum-seeker Tony, Charlie, Sue, Laura, Carrie, Ciaran and Grainne recognised themselves and this allowed for the crucial moment where two subjects meet and confirm their "…will to become an actor… the will to attribute a global significance to [their] experience" (Touraine 1998:136). In some respects this is not dissimilar from Weber's notion of a *communal social relationship* whereby the "…orientation of social action… is based on a subjective feeling of the parties, whether affectual or traditional, that they belong together" (1994:16). What is required is a mutual recognition that the very process of subjectivation is under threat by external forces. In our case here, the successful life-projects of asylum-seekers are under the constant threat of disruption and ultimately destruction through the spectre and eventual enactment of a deportation order. The process of subjectivation is obvious when we consider Charlie from ADC. In the first instance, we can identify both affective motivations, namely his relationship with Christina, and motivations inspired by tradition, namely the history of emigration from Ireland and the inspiration he found in the White Rose group. As he stated

himself with respect to Irish emigration "We have a chance to repay the kindness that others have shown us". There was a clear recognition that asylum-seekers were being actively denied basic rights by the actions of the State that both ADC and CADIC describe as being inherently racist. These basic rights were recognised by both ADC and CADIC as being fundamental to a Subject's existence. If we return to Touraine and his insistence that such a conflict must be understood in the context of an ever increasing instrumentality at the level of the market and the state, then we can perhaps better characterise the actions of ADC and CADIC. In crucial aspects Touraine is again here heavily influenced by Weber and in particular Weber's framework of the *iron cage of freedom* and its underlying claims as to the nature and development of the modernity project.

In a very clear fashion both ADC and CADIC recognised and challenged the instrumental approach of the State towards migration, which we can understand in these instances as a directed towards a process of desubjectivation. CADIC employed the very strategic measure of challenging this 'cage of instrumentality' that it compared to a 'machine', by chiefly seeking recourse to legal challenges. In doing so CADIC contested the instrumentality of the bureaucratic state apparatus through recourse to the State's own institutions of law. CADIC's challenge to the State's appropriation and usage of instrumental reason was a key feature. Returning to the aspects of historicity examined earlier, we see quite clearly in the economic aspect of historicity how the State tends towards rationalisation.

Yet, we saw a similar tendency in Radical Anti-Racism, both revolutionary and critical, and in the sub-groups of critical actions that appear in the Multicultural Support Group. In the case of revolutionary Radical Anti-Racism (ARC, IS and MWAR), the motivations for attacking these edifices of instrumentality were different

but nonetheless, the target was the same as in critical Radical Anti-Racism (RAR) and in the sub-groups observed in the Multicultural Support Group. What brings these groups together is their common opponent, that of the State.

Such actions are a result of ADC's and CADIC's usage of a particular perception of the individual in contemporary Ireland. This intellection of the individual is based in non-social terms. It is framed within non-social discourses such as justice, freedom, equality and dignity. Such rights are non-social in the sense that,

> *These rights are, in a sense, a priori: independent of any power that would be the original share of each human being in the blind distribution of nature's energy and society's influence, but also independent of the merits the human individual may have acquired by his or her efforts and even virtues* (Levinas 1993:116).

For example, ADC's main slogan is "No Human Being is Illegal." a direct reference to the Holocaust and the ongoing criminalisation of the movement of individuals across borders. This statement echoes Bauman's (1989) assertion that the Holocaust was in part made possible by "…suppress[ing] human emotions and other manifestations of human individuality, and submit[ting] human conduct to the uncontested rule of instrumental reason". Similarly, CADIC sought "…the fair, transparent, human rights compliant…" treatment of Irish children and their families. The background to this particular claim was to re-quote Tony, the "…need, the confusion and the anger and the despair and the fear…" that asylum-seekers experience in Ireland in their everyday lives. These claims and assertions and the other examples we encountered above, are quite distinct from the more tangible appellations of consumerism we saw earlier in the policy of multiculturalism. This

rhetoric of equality, freedom and justice may be found in a multicultural project that is driven by, to paraphrase Habermas (1990:2), a particularised and institutionalised form of purposive-rational economic and administrative action.

7.3 The Subject as Social Movement and the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement:

While the aims of ADC and CADIC were built upon universal values like respect and dignity, it is perhaps more appropriate to suggest that the vindication of the Subject within their actions is suggestive of Touraine's assertion that "The only universal value is the right to individuation and difference" (1998:136). The actions of both ADC and CADIC and furthermore the newer actions we touched upon above, were directed towards the recognition that each individual in Ireland has a fundamental right to a meaningful and purposeful life-project. Crucially, this perspective was also found in the subgroups we identified in the Multicultural Support Group and also in Radical Anti-Racism. It was also a central tenet of Harmony. The rejection of the discourses of multiculturalism and social integration found in these actions are an affirmation that these processes are in fact already occurring – asylum-seekers have moved outside of their label to become neighbours, friends, classmates, valued members of the community etc., in spite of the obstacles placed in front of them. This fact in of itself may also point towards a wider process of subjectivation at the community level in Ireland, something that until a deportation order is served, as in the above cases of Elizabeth and Iyabo in Athlone and Christina Onasanwo and her family in Dublin, would go relatively unnoticed. ARC, for example, found itself involved in such actions. Grainne recounted the following story:

They were basically a couple of housewives that started that and they eh..

totally other extreme of tea, sandwiches and blankets type level of

involvement moving towards some level of politicisation around issues of

deportation and that.. I mean the same woman I remember when they

came down, they asked for our help that's how we got involved because

the forty-seven Roma were facing immediate deportation. This same

woman said to me she'd lie, if the police came to take them away, she'd

lie down in front of the police car… She was not a woman who in a

million years would have thought about lying down in front of a police

car…

We saw this movement towards subjectivation in the actions of Peggy, Sue and Fiona

in the Multicultural Support Group. The formal underlying ideology of

multiculturalism prevented actions that were considered to be political or invoke an

opposition. The actions of these members in assisting asylum-seekers with their

interviews are indicative of the idea of a will to subjectivation. In New Horizon and

DTASSG there are examples of actions that seek to undermine or challenge structural

barriers to 'integration' into Irish society. These actions revolved around assisting

individual asylum-seekers with their applications for refugee status. In doing this, the

nature of the Multicultural Support Group changed in two key respects. Firstly, it

assumed an opponent, the State. The state was identified as an objectifying apparatus.

Secondly, in undertaking such actions and in creating an opposition, the nature of the

relationship between the Multicultural Support Group and the asylum-seeker changed

notably. I perceive this change in relations as akin to Touraine's notion of the Subject

and it is marked by the adoption of critical action as distinct to institutionalised action

on the behalf of the Multicultural Support Group member. Fiona's work in helping

people prepare for deportations cases was a prime example of this. The fact that this work established the foundations for successful cases meant that asylum-seekers were given a chance to continue their life-projects in Ireland. Fiona recalled one particular case when papers needed to be translated into English for a court hearting:

"About six months ago... no a year ago, more than a year ago in fact, I was wandering around the site and M. the site manager got me and she says 'Hey Fiona can you do anything at all for this woman and her family?'. They were what eh Chinese Muslims from Xing-Jang province in Western China and they didn't speak any language anybody else on the site spoke at all…So I thought 'What the hell do I do now?'. So I went round and I have a Chinese work-mate, so I wandered and went 'Hey L. can you do something for me?' and he went 'What is it.. ? Okay!' [laughing] none too enthusiastic.. And he came and he did the translation for us and he's fallen in love [laughing] in the sense with this particular family and he goes to meet them in Dublin, they got their refugee status, So he goes to meet them in Dublin and he stays with them and that's the sort of thing that can happen... And he's not a formal member of the support group but if I ever need any Chinese translating he'll be beating down the door to do it!!"

The notion of an opponent for Peggy, Sue, Aoife or Fiona was, like we saw with Radical Anti-Racism and the Anti-Deportation Group, centred on the State's role in the asylum process. In this case, the notion of an opposition is more complex as the members shared an established working relationship with the State itself through monetary funding. This relationship with institutional bodies was also supra-national in the case of New Horizon who were awarded €49,660.00 by the European Refugee

Fund in 2004 under the 'Integration' category of funding. Fiona was aware of this issues surrounding this and remarked,

> *There is the danger, and it's always a permanent danger that volunteer groups get co-opted in to government policies. The National Anti-Racism Campaign has definitely been subsumed into the government role. They won't fight; the Red Cross for instance, is a total washout… You need that space, you need to be away from it… you need to write your shadow-report, submit and walk away [me: and not be dependent?]… and not be dependent. This is one of the things that worries me at the moment that we are too dependent on government funding.*

Reformist members in the Multicultural Support Group were not radical in the sense that they sought to replace the present model of governance. However, their actions were nonetheless characterised by a distinct critical or emancipatory dimension that seeks to establish a reciprocal relationship with the asylum-seeker. Touraine (2002:392) states,

> *The vacuum of the Subject cannot be filled by itself. This can only be accomplished by the reciprocal recognition by two or several Subjects, which can be called love relations. This rapidly leads to the recognition of everybody's right to be a Subject, an orientation that is central to democratic thinking.*

I suggest that a collective identity based in multiculturalism stifles this process of recognition. Within the actions of reformist members, however, we saw attempts being made to begin this process of inter-subjectivation.

Jennifer, for example, began her participation in the group by employing drama-therapy that incorporated asylum-seekers (papier-mâché masks) of hero-figures in their lives. According to Jennifer, this process raised issues surrounding "…ethnicity, power, essence and admiration…" and resembles McDonald's (2004:575) assertion that contemporary social movements "…underline singularity and experiences of oneself as another". Drama-therapy can be defined as an "…approach [that] can provide the context for participants to tell their stories, set goals and solve problems, express feelings, or achieve catharsis." (http://www.nadt.org/faqs.html). This goes far beyond the needs based assessment of asylum-seekers examined above. It also places in question, as both Jennifer and Peggy consistently did, the validity or appropriateness of the 'support group' in the first place. Jennifer and Peggy believed that such an approach had more in common with a charitable and therefore paternalistic approach or a '…covert thing of us [local members] and them [asylum-seekers]".

Jennifer's actions revolved around critical perspectives that sought to include asylum-seekers in the group in an egalitarian fashion. For example, she also spoke strongly of her desire for the group to participate as a collective in the Glencree Centre for Reconciliation's "Let's Involve Victim's Experiences" programme. While on the one hand, this would allow asylum-seekers to communicate their past experiences and desires for the future, on the other, it would also assist members and asylum-seekers alike in things such as "reflective listening skills" and "getting interpersonal conflicts resolved".

A key factor in the movement from social action based in multiculturalism to social action based in a politics of the subject is I contend, in the type of social relations that the latter fosters. For example, while Laura remained somewhat removed from

political issues, her engagement with asylum-seekers is marked by her comment that "I'm happy when they're happy and vice-versa". Crucially, this extended beyond the provision of services and into meaningful friendships. As she stated, "I feel like they're [asylum-seekers] family". The actions that Laura undertook are not based in multiculturalism – instead, they are everyday activities such as playing pool or simply conducting friendships. They were not undertaken so as to enforce integration. Laura's actions stood in stark contrast to the members of DTASSG who do not regularly visit the hostel or have even been to the hostel.

We can recognise the idea of the Subject in the preceding actions. We see one level of this resistance in the way certain members of DTASSG are critical of the group's modes of organization and action. At another level, this critical action extends to an engaging with State apparatuses. Unlike the case of Radical Anti-Racism, this action did not revolve around manifestations of direct action, but instead took a subtler yet still direct form. This was captured by Fiona when she remarked, "I think our information provision and our interview preparation probably contributes more than to any asylum-seeker than massive protests outside the Dail..."

Fiona recounted that for the most part, her work asylum-seekers on their interviews took place outside of the regular activities of New Horizon. A crucial aspect of this process was the early establishment of relations between Fiona and the prospective applicant. Her purpose was to guide and assist the asylum-seeker through the complicated and stressful application process. It is remarkably similar to Touraine's suggestion that on the one hand, the Subject in late modernity struggles against an all-encompassing rationality (asylum-process based as it is in the logic of the market and nationalism) and on the other, seeks to establish relationships which foster and enhance the process of subjectivation (asylum-seekers being allowed to create a

meaningful life-project in Ireland). It is within this mode of action that Fiona achieved

a real sense of accomplishment or more simply achieved a sense of having made a

difference, no matter how small. This is more than apparent in her assertion that,

> *In my own little way it's a way of making a mark on society [me: like a*
>
> *change?] ... Basically there are a couple of dozen families all around the*
>
> *world and round about Ireland that will cry when they hear that I am*
>
> *dead. That's good enough for me. There are eh... My photograph is*
>
> *framed on a few walls...*

I contend that it is specifically these suggestions of 'reciprocity' and 'change' that

Fiona in her remarkably affective statement above alludes to, that help us move

towards identifying the nature of the Subject in collective action in contemporary

Ireland. As noted above, these factors are also complemented by the adoption of a

critical form of action, and in particular, this critical action was directed at processes

of de-subjectivation, or as Fiona coins it, "making people miserable".

The whole process of claiming asylum was a point of ridicule and criticism for Fiona

and her disapproval extended to individuals like lawyers who benefited from

exploiting asylum-seekers. For example, she state

> "*Don't talk to me about lawyers! As a follow up to the M deportation case*
>
> *on 2003-08-11. M has now been advised by her lawyer G to take a case*
>
> *for judicial review of the process to the high court. What are the grounds*
>
> *for the review? That she was not given the chance to make a personal*
>
> *appearance at the Refugee Appeals tribunal that reviewed her case. The*
>
> *pre-appeal paperwork allows you to decide if you want an oral hearing or*
>
> *a document-only review of the case. Who advised her not to exercise her*

option for an oral hearing? Lawyer G of course! Who is going to take

1500 Euro from her and her children before she is finally deported?

Lawyer G of course!"

While the case of 'M' represents what Fiona terms as one of her 'frequent defeats", her involvement in assisting asylum-seekers to remain in Ireland provided her with a real motivation for continuing with the group. She described a successful day as follows:

> *A good day... when I actually achieved something. There are not too many*
>
> *of them. Talked [to] a couple from the former SU through the asylum*
>
> *process. They had been hearing the usual sets of stories and were very*
>
> *worried about not being able to tell their story properly. We sat and*
>
> *talked for the best part of two hours and they seemed much happier at the*
>
> *end. We will do the usual role-play and feedback session one evening next*
>
> *week. A text message shows up from some Zimbabyan [sic] friends, their*
>
> *green books have been issued at last. Now they can get jobs and start the*
>
> *next step of their lives. A very good day indeed.*

Peggy and Jennifer from DTASSG described a similar degree of achievement when they assisted asylum-seekers in their claims for asylum. As Peggy stated,

> *There was one guy who was here, a young fella from Sierra Leone and I*
>
> *put together quite a bit of information on his application and his solicitor*
>
> *wrote and he said that he thought that the successful application was due*
>
> *in part to the stuff that I had got together for him. So that sort of thing was*
>
> *quite satisfying.*

We can summarise then that the actions of these members of DTASSG and New Horizon are centred upon two main grounds. Firstly, they employed a critical form of action as distinct from an institutionalised form – they jettisoned the premises of and modes of action associated with multiculturalism. The multicultural agenda, I argued, is a directly imposed upon the groups by State agencies like the RIA. Actions associated with this agenda were considered institutionalised. In doing this, they sought to affect change upon a process they associate with instrumental rationality and employed a broader conception of culture than that associated with multiculturalism above. Secondly, they sought to establish relationships with individuals that were characterised by a real sense of reciprocity. These relationships existed outside of the fact that a given individual was categorised as an 'asylum-seeker.' One can capture the essence of this when Touraine states, "The Subject constructs itself by forcing an instrumentalized, commodified and technological society to accept organizational principles and limits that conform to its desire for freedom and its will to create forms of social life conducive to its self-affirmation and its recognition of the Other as Subject" (2000:81).

While it can be stated that there was definitely a move towards a politics of the Subject evident within the Multicultural Support Group, it was fraught with tensions and conflict. It is useful here then to understand the 'construction' of a politics of the Subject through the concept of collective identity. How the Subject actually comes about is under-theorised by Touraine. Touraine (2000:41) alludes to the fact that the Subject is not a pre-existing empirically unified phenomenon but does not speak of the process of identity construction in any great detail. I suggest as Melucci does with the concept of collective identity, that the Subject may be said to exist within a process of collective identity construction. This begins to give us an idea as to how a

Subject as a Social Movement may occur or how collective action among Subjects arises. This process is shaped by those same forces and conditions that we find in any other collective identity process. The point here is that the birth of the Subject is much more than a macro process as envisaged by Touraine. It also happens at the micro and meso/group levels. Analysing historicity gives an empirical sense of the field of action within which the Subject exists but it does not adequately explain its origins or its trajectories. We need to return to Melucci and his concept of collective identity to better understand the Subject and Subjectivation. Melucci argues that,

Individuals or subgroups contribute to the formation of a 'we' (more or less stable and integrated according to the type of action) by rendering common and laboriously three orders of orientation: those relating to the ends of the actions (the sense that the action for the actor); those relating to the means (the possibilities and the limits of the action); and finally those relating to relationships with the environment (the field within which the action takes place)… This 'social construction' of the 'collective' through negotiation and renegotiation is continually at work when a form of collective action occurs (1995:43-44).

We can perhaps better account for the fragmented nature of Subject-orientated action within the Multicultural Support Group if we understand it as occurring between subgroups of individuals. This also allows us to account for the differing ends (Subjectivation vs. Institutionalisation), means (Critical Action vs. Multicultural Action) and relationship with the social field (Opposition vs. Altruism). However, it is interesting to note that this construction of an alternative identity existed alongside a multicultural collective identity for the most part. Within the wider movement there was a conflict or tension between what I have termed critical action or a politics of the

subject and institutional action or the politics of multiculturalism. On this point of distinguishing the most fruitful direction of action, Peggy states, "You know it's a real conundrum and I don't know what the answer to it is to be honest". As can be seen in the transition from Radical Anti-Racism to the Multicultural Support Group and then to the Anti-Deportation Group, it was a point of contention for the whole movement. The politics of the subject distinguishes itself from the liberal and corporate multiculturalism that we find in the Multicultural Support Group and indeed Radical Anti-Racism in a number of key ways. In the politics of the subject, culture exists in an intrinsically non-social guise. In the multicultural project that we identified above, culture is reduced to norms and values.

7.4 Conclusion:

The recourse to culture that we find in Touraine's Subject concerns the more fundamental issue of an individual's capacity for individuation given specific structural considerations. It rejects the notion of embourgeoisement that was so engrained in corporate and liberal multiculturalism as we saw quite clearly in the case of transfiguration or the fact that business owners donate money but never place themselves in the same physical space as an asylum-seeker. The Subject is also implicitly political. Liberal and corporate multiculturalism as political strategies seek to negate the political aspect to relationships between people. We must reemphasise the point that while the Subject exists in actions directed towards its emancipation, its very essence is "…best defined as a search for the collective pre-conditions for personal freedom, or in other words the ability to reconcile instrumental rationality and personal and cultural identity within a personal experience" (Touraine 2000:68). In the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement political action was a necessity for this form of subjectivation. This is perhaps what made it so difficult for the

movement. Political action was a contentious issue throughout the movement. We saw that political action was necessary and fundamental to the success of the movement. It could not exist in a political vacuum. Yet, politics have been ultimately a divisive issue for the movement. We saw this in Harmony. The group successfully created a microcosm of equality, yet it recognised that in order to make conditions a reality in the wider society it needed also to be a political group. However, adding a political dimension to their range of actions led to its demise. Radical Anti-Racism faced a similar if opposite problem. For some of its participants, it was almost too political. The Multicultural Support Group's complete rejection of politics resulted in members undertaking political work outside of the groups.

I have further argued in this chapter that the Anti-Deportation Group phase can be seen to be a reconciliation of these issues and furthermore, that it is akin to Touraine's idea of a Subject as Social Movement. Moreover, I have pointed out that in each phase of the movement, the Subject as Social Movement can be seen to be relevant. We clearly saw this with the Multicultural Support Group and the informal actions that its members undertake. It was obviously much more explicit in Radical Anti-Racism given their political orientations. Touraine's sociology of social movements compels us to search for a unity and coherency across a social movement. In spite of the fact that there were very differing phases of action across the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement, I still argued that each phase considered itself as part of a movement. A key unifying thread to this movement is the Subject. The insistence upon focusing on preventing deportations across all three phases is strong evidence of this. Moreover, it is seen in the persistence of each phase in engaging with and attempting to construct an encounter with asylum-seekers or as Carrie from ARC puts it, "…a tolerant Ireland. The idea that no matter what your cultural background you

can still find some kind of inclusive space in Ireland… and I do believe that

individuals be they acting collectively or whatever can have that freedom to express

themselves."

Conclusion:

This thesis has presented a representation and analysis of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement in the Republic of Ireland between 1994 and 2004. I have argued that the movement can be seen to operate across three distinct phases of mobilization – Radical Anti-Racism, the Multicultural Support Group and the Anti-Deportation Group. I presented this idea in a narrative form. Each phase presented us with a complex and distinctive set of features. Up until this point, research in the area in Ireland lacked this specificity. Only A. Lentin's research comes close to this kind of detailed exposition, however, it stopped short at identifying the internal processes of conflict that occur within each phase. It also failed to grasp the complexity of the political background to each of these phases. For example, in Radical Anti-Racism there were competing political ideologies and even in the supposedly non-political Multicultural Support Group we found political tensions between members. Moreover, this research has argued that the movement is best characterized as a Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. This is not to say that anti-racism in Ireland did not exist, it certainly did and was part of this movement. I claim that overall the groups created their collective identity around the figure of the asylum-seeker. The discourses of anti-racism and multiculturalism within the groups that I examined existed but were for the most part, weakly defined. The majority of members appeared largely uninterested in developing these ideas. At the same time, the majority of the actions that the groups undertook focused on the asylum-seeker. On the basis of the narrative and the further employment of my research data, I argued that in each phase of mobilization, the groups involved therein, established a specific relationship to the asylum-seeker and to the Irish State. I used Touraine's concept of historicity and his underlying framework of Identity, Totality and Opposition to

unwrap this complicated relationship. In Radical Anti-Racism I showed how at a formal level Radical Anti-Racism and the Irish State appropriated the asylum-seeker as a sublime object of ideology. The relationship between Radical Anti-Racism and its opponent had up until this point never been analysed in any significant way. The fact that Radical Anti-Racism and the Irish State can be seen to struggle over the key cultural models in Irish society paints a picture of a movement and opposition that have more in common with one another than we might have first expected. I argued that both movement and opponent in this phase struggled to come to terms with an encounter with the asylum-seeker while replaying their already existing ideological battle.

In the Multicultural Support Group phase I showed how the groups adopted the State strategy of liberal multiculturalism in an attempt to again frame an encounter with the asylum-seeker. The Multicultural Support Group was literally enacting government policy. This resulted in unfulfilled reciprocity and disintegration. This phase of the movement was in one sense an indictment of the State's multicultural policy but in another sense it showed the strong desire among 'well-meaning white people' to do something about the situation asylum-seekers are placed in. No matter how critical one might be of a multicultural agenda, people like Laura, Peggy and Jennifer were to the best of their capacities trying to do something. Moreover, we saw that this phase of the movement was not simply confined to multiculturalism and struggled with the meaning of their actions. It was not simply accepting a state-led agenda.

From the perspective of the movement's historicity, I lastly argued that the Anti-Deportation Group phase represented actions that were largely devoid of a political or integrationist agenda. This was not to say that there were free of ideology but instead that they represented a significant departure in terms of the preceding two phases of

mobilization. Their focus on preventing deportations and their unwillingness to become part of the polity represented a departure for the movement. There was a lack of an integrationist agenda and no wider anti-racist agenda.

Using the concept of collective identity I then moved on to explain how action within the groups can be seen to operate at formal and informal levels. In the case of Radical Anti-Racism I identified a split between radical and reformist members. Radical members used the formal ideologies of the groups to construct their actions systems. Reformist members at an informal level constructed alternative action models that questioned and problematised the formal ideologies of these groups. As we saw in the case of IS and ARC, these alternative action models were largely based in multicultural thinking. This in part led to the demise of revolutionary Radical Anti-Racism. In the context of the overall research on Radical Anti-Racism in Ireland, this research provides us with a much more nuanced and complicated picture than had previously been the case.

In the case of the Multicultural Support Group, the process of collective identity construction operated in a very similar fashion to what I observed in Radical Anti-Racism. In the Multicultural Support Group there was a distinct split between members that were conformist and members that were reformist. Conformists saw the multicultural project as very real solution to the issues that asylum seekers faced. Reformists were largely unhappy with the unreflexive nature of the project and its incapacity to attend to the most pressing need asylum-seekers had, that of successfully navigating their asylum interview. Most notably, we argued that reformist members in the Multicultural Support Group reinserted the idea of an opponent into this phase of mobilization. Multiculturalism as a means of integrating minorities into a majority society has been roundly criticized both in Ireland and elsewhere. The findings of this

research suggest that the multicultural project in Ireland is not what it first appears. In fact, it contained a significant element of critical action. We clearly saw this in the actions of Multicultural Support Group members that assisted asylum-seekers in preparing for their interviews. By focussing on the process of collective identity construction I uncovered this important aspect.

I then argued that the Anti-Deportation Group phase could be further understood by using Touraine's idea of the Subject. The movement at this point directly concerned itself with subjectivation by specifically attempting to end deportations. By extension, I then examined the preceding two phases through this lens and argued that a central feature of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement was the process of subjectivation. It can be clearly seen that the movement directed a large proportion of its energies against what I termed the instrumentalising features of the Irish State like Direct Provision, Dispersal and the removal of the right to work from asylum-seekers. This process of instrumentalisation is a fundamental aspect of the Irish State's project of racialisation. In the Multicultural Support Group phase, subjectivation was apparent in the informal actions of the individuals that helped prepare asylum-seekers for their interviews. Subjectivation was also apparent in the everyday actions that people undertook in establishing relationships with asylum-seekers. In the Radical Anti-Racism phase, subjectivation was observed in the struggle to get asylum-seekers the right to work and to end Direct Provision and Dispersal. The Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement was fundamentally concerned with creating an environment in which the asylum-seeker could successfully continue their life-projects. What prevented this from happening was the Irish State's racialisation of the asylum-seeker that was most obviously apparent in their desire to reduce the asylum-seeker to the status of an object.

The theoretical approach that this research took has been vindicated. Touraine's concept of Historicity, although outdated in some respects, is still a powerful exploratory and explanatory concept. This is even more so the case when we incorporate Melucci's collective identity. The concept Historicity has a great potential to help us understand movements from a macro perspective and to situate them in the field of action within which they operate. A collective identity component compels us to look at the movement at a micro level in terms of its SMOs and the social relations that constitute those SMOs. This added a much needed processual element to the research, in much the same way as Zizek's ideological anamorphosis did.

In doing exactly this, I uncovered hidden aspects to the movement that greatly complicated my conceptualisation of it. Collective identity was crucial in helping me understand how the movement changed and how individual members negotiated formal ideologies and created alternative systems of meaning and action. When I reflected back upon this finding and then the overall findings of the research the idea of Touraine's Subject loomed large. Although, nefarious and difficult to pinpoint, I think that this research is ample proof that subjectivation and the desire for individuation composed an important aspect of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. If anything, I think that this is an approach to understanding contemporary collective action that deserves much, much greater attention, at least in the English speaking academic community.

The theoretical approach is also a strong assertion that a researcher can use so-called NSM theorists like Touraine and Melucci and not fall foul of the typical criticisms that are levelled at the NSM paradigm. I clearly showed that the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement is as much a vindication of the NSM paradigm as it is a manifest critique of this approach. The movement was largely composed of middle-

class people, yet it was heavily influenced by the politics of the far-left in Ireland. Aspects of the movement were suspicious of the State and will not cooperate with it, while other aspects were seen to clearly work with the State.

Finally, I argued throughout that the theoretical approach adopted here was particularly well suited to the analysis of my research sample. From the outset I employed a strict definition of what a social movement is and this greatly shaped the construction of my sample. This meant that more formal and institutionalised groups were omitted from the sample. I argued that this was a theoretical necessity given the definition of social movement that was utilised. However, this meant that I conducted my analysis of these groups almost exclusively in terms of their relationship to an opponent and their relationship to more formalised and institutionalised groups was not examined. This could certainly be the focus of further research in the future and Cullen's (2009) work to an extent addresses this issue of the interaction of groups across civil society. In stating this, it is still crucial to recoginse that the grassroots movement examined here was hugely significant in and of itself at this time. Using Integrating Ireland's membership list I found that that the majority of groups acting in the area were grassroots in orientation. This is still largely the case today with the chief difference being that migrant-led organisations are now flourishing. In both cases – migrant-led groups and formal institutionalised groups – it would be very interesting from a theoretical perspective to see if my findings from the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement would be relevant. For example, is subjectivation a key theme or are such groups defined by tensions between political and non-political action?

The active fieldwork component of this research finished in early 2004. On June 11th 2004 just under 80% of the Irish electorate came out in support of the Irish

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Citizenship Referendum. Prior to this referendum which would go on to be included in the Nationality and Citizenship Bill 2004, all children born in Ireland were immediately entitled to citizenship, no matter what the nationalities of his/her parents. The successful passage of the Referendum meant that,

> *Notwithstanding any other provision of this Constitution, a person born in the island of Ireland, which includes it islands and its seas, who does not have, at the time of his or her birth, at least one parent who is an Irish citizen or entitled to be an Irish citizen is not entitled to Irish citizenship or nationality, unless otherwise provided for by law.* (Irish Nationality and Citizenship Bill 2004)

The amendment seems somewhat of a natural progression seeing that the same government in 2003 successfully petitioned the Supreme Court for the right to deport the parents of Irish children. Strong lobbying and protests by many SMOs in the field, did not work. Brandi (2007) argues that the State actively constructed a racialised discourse around asylum-seekers and especially, pregnant female asylum-seeker that were invariably accused of "citizenship shopping". R. Lentin (2008:284) maintains that the passing of the Referendum "…created a racialised two-tier system of where *jus sanguinis*, or ancestry, hence *race*, becomes the basis and prime criterion for being an Irish citizen".

The overwhelming passing of the Referendum raises the issue as to the effectiveness and future of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. If we conflate the results of the referendum with attitudes towards asylum-seekers at a macro level, the movement would appear to have failed. Indeed, the argument could be made that the Irish public is inherently anti-asylum seeker. Moreover, the passage of the Citizenship Referendum has been used as evidence to conclude that Ireland is a racist state (King

Ó'Riain 2008 and R. Lentin 2008). Yet, there is still a considerable dearth of research on racism and racisms and their everyday practice in everyday Ireland. As we have seen, the majority of the research focuses on the State and displays a predilection for theorisation and not measurement. This is certainly an area that needs immediate attention in the Irish context. This information would be invaluable to the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement and pro-migrant groups in general in Ireland. Indeed, if the Referendum results tell us anything about the nature of racism in Irish society, it tells us that we have yet to fully understand how it works. A more in-depth understanding of racisms at all levels in Irish society is urgently required. This research should also take into account the role of the Irish State in the racialisation of asylum-seekers. I would strongly suggest that actors within the movement itself be closely involved in this research process. In an ideal world, my research here would be complemented by a thorough empirical investigation of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement's opponent, the Irish State. Such work would again be invaluable to the movement.

This research is perhaps even more urgent given the massive downturn that the Irish economy has experienced. A collapsed housing market coupled with a collapsed banking system has devastated the Irish economy. A chief concern here for the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement must be that given the public's unwillingness to support asylum-seekers in the 'good-times', what will the public climate look like in the 'bad-times'? As Munck (2008) argues, simply labelling the Irish public as racist will not be an effective strategy and alternative approaches are perhaps required. Equally, labelling the State as racist, even though this might be the case, can be said to have had little impact upon the Irish public.

This reinforces my point that Irish racisms need to be measured more accurately and in much more detail. Perhaps, a good starting question might be: What is it about the State's message that resonates with the Irish public? This is even more pertinent given the general ineffectiveness of right-wing candidates and groups in political elections up until this point in time. In my opinion, this must be recognized as indirect indicator of support for the aims and goals of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. Therefore, we might ask in this context, what is it about the message of these politicians that the public finds so distasteful? I would suggest that this type of exercise is absolutely necessary, especially given the current level of concern over the integration of migrants in general into Irish society (See Boucher 2008; Feldman 2008; Gilligan 2006; and Grey 2006).

The movement is also facing a significant reduction in State funding for anti-racism and multicultural projects. The UN Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (2011) pointedly stated that racism needed to be put back on the political agenda in Ireland. One might have expected the current Fine Gael/Labour coalition to be more sympathetic to the issue, but this certainly has not been the case to date. The lack of funding is making the work of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement even more difficult. Yet, it also highlights the case for groups creating an autonomous space for themselves. The research findings clearly show that the movement during all phases finds it difficult to reconcile its political and non-political nature. There is also here the case to be made that perhaps the withdrawal of funding to bodies like Know Racism and NCCRI represents a de-institutionalisation of the field or the State rescinding control of integration. This again gives the movement an opportunity to reassert itself as an important and influential actor in the field.

The political element to the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement has changed notably since my fieldwork ended. ADC and CADIC are no more and only RAR persists from what I have considered here to be political groups. ADC was a casualty of life-stages as its main actors left college and CADIC was always a single-issue lobbying group. RAR remains the last remnant among Radical Anti-Racism. AFA is still active in its own specific capacity as an anti-fascist group. As far as this research can gather there are no other Radical Anti-Racism groups in Ireland at this time. The political parties that were associated with Radical Anti-Racism are still involved in the field in varying capacities and this should be seen as evidence that the far-left groups did not use anti-racism purely as a front. There was certainly a deeper and more meaningful connection between the parties and the issue. Among my primary and secondary sample of Multicultural Support Groups all were still active into 2011. The issues with funding mentioned above are likely in the near future be seen to have a negative impact on this aspect of the movement.

Most significantly, migrant led groups appear to be thriving and this is perhaps an indication of strong integration into Irish society. A recent mapping project by the Trinity Immigration Initiative uncovered over 400 formal and informal migrant organizations acting in Ireland. A significant number of these groups are orientated around migrant women. This is certainly a development that requires further investigation. In terms of the research here, the anti-racist and multicultural projects within these groups need to be assessed and measured before we make the assertion that anti-racism and multiculturalism in Ireland is no longer the preserve of "well-meaning, white, settled Christian Irish people" as R. Lentin (2009) puts it. These groups certainly represent a challenge and an opportunity to the groups that this research examined. As migrants define their own struggles in Irish society, majority-

led groups need to be a position that enables them to support migrant-led groups. As Feldman (2007) notes, minority-led groups are already facing additional obstacles compared to their majority-led counterparts.

The most significant development from the perspective of this research is that asylum-seekers themselves are now self-mobilizing in greater numbers and acting outside of the remit of majority-led groups. The 2006 case of 41 Afghani asylum-seekers going on hunger and thirst strike in St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin and the case of the Mosney Direct Provision centre are examples of such actions. The majority of these protests are against the conditions that they continue to endure under the draconian policies of Direct Provision and Dispersal. Given the greater propensity for action of the behalf of asylum-seekers, Multicultural Support Groups are now in a much better position to include asylum-seekers. This will necessitate, however, the Multicultural Support Group coming to terms with its conformist tendencies. Perhaps, at this point in time, the greatest possibility for action exists at this level of the movement. Multicultural Support Groups dominate what remains of the Grassroots Pro-Asylum Seeker Movement. With asylum-seekers now in a better position to speak and act for themselves it opens up a whole new field of opportunity for the Multicultural Support Group. But the Multicultural Support Group needs to open itself up to the political issues that surround asylum. Perhaps, asylums-seekers in their more active and vocal guise can contribute to the politicisation of these groups and the repoliticisation of the movement overall. As Guedado remarked of DTASSG's capacity for action,

> *"The government will present us as spoiling the economy and with this*
>
> *policy of direct provision, you know they put us in a hostel, they try to rule*
>
> *out good contact with the professionals [lawyers?], living a very long*

time we can't work, we can't meet people.. It's a policy, restrictive

policy.. We [group] are not thinking about the globalisation. So we must

together fight against the poverty, not fight against poor but fight against

poverty, fight against exclusion, not fight against excluded people, but

exclusion…"

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