National University of Maynooth
" The G.A.A. a Contested Terrain"
Author
Gerard Mc Loughlin.

NUI MAYNOOTH
Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements of the M.A. (Geographical Analysis),
Department of Geography, National University of
Ireland, Maynooth.

Supervisor: Dr Rob Kitchen, Senior Lecturer in Geography and Director of NIRSA

Head of Geography Department: Professor Jim Walsh

Submitted 03/06/2004

Signed

"Our family chain is broken,
Nothing seems the same,
But as God calls us one by one,
The links shall join again."

Dedicated to the memory of bereaved family members.

Abstract

The Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) as an organisation grew from an idealised political ideology prevailing in nationalist Irish politics. Coupled with the Home Rule movement in which the right of alien governments having any constitutional right to interfere and infringe on the borders of another where contested. The GAA espoused to similar ideals, it believed in the right to self-determination and governance of domestic athletics. The GAA organized itself around the premise that traditional Irish pastimes where being eroded, that there was a need for these pastimes to be encouraged and protected from morally corrupting alien influences. The GAA was distinctly organised around a cultural revolution in which its founding member, Micheal Cusack, sought to defend traditional Irish cultural landscape from Anglicisation. It was thought that the increasing interest in Cricket, Rugby, and Football etc was 'cleansing' the Irish cultural landscape of any significant meaning. The GAA acted against this perceived Anglican naturalisation and organised itself from rural to urban enclaves, which resulted in a national organisation that recognises only county borders; it is organised around a parochial regional level, to a county level administration that is accountable to a provincial administration, four provinces under the umbrella of a central administration based in Croke Park, Co. Dublin. The GAA is organised around a national ideology and has direct national policies set out in a Charter with legally binding rules and regulations that hope to ensure the success of the organisation but also the success of traditional Irish pastimes, Irish Culture.

Table of Contents

In protest Javanese-Indonesian national Suwardi Surjaningrat wrote in an article, subject to independence celebrations in the colonies by the Dutch, celebrating 100 years independence from the French. Placing himself within the ignorant vision of the Dutch.

<u>"IF I Where A Dutch man"</u>

"Does it not occur to us that these poor slaves are also longing for such a moment as this, when they like us will be able to celebrate their independence? Or do we perhaps feel that because of our soul-destroying policy we regard all human souls as dead? If that is so, than we are deluding ourselves, because no matter how primitive a community is, it is against any type of oppression. If I were a Dutchman, I would not organize an independence celebration in a country where the independence of a people has been stolen."(Anderson, 1991: 117)

Chapter One
Introduction

Chapter 1:Introduction.

Roman Games represented an event where the people of the city could come together in order to watch a savage spectacle where by criminals could fight one another in order to gain favor from the games organiser, usually a person of political status. They could regain respectability in a bloody battle commonly a fight to the death. The Roman Games were organised around the principle of the "munera", which was seen as an obligated honoring of the dead, in honor of the gods, and for this study importantly an honoring of past generations. For the people of the city it was seen as a gesture of goodwill from leaders, and for leaders it was a way to gain, or retain, popularity. The games had a more spiritual, supernatural meaning for the Gladiators, considered to have lost or blackened souls; They could liberate themselves from this condition in order too reach a standard of spiritual well being originally denied in there current existence.

" allegiance to frozen religious imagery was originally a shared acknowledgement or loss, an imagery compensation for a poverty of real and social activity that was still widely felt to be a universal fact of life" (Debord, 1994: pg20)

The Roman Games was a longing for what could be achieved, or what was achievable, a removal form present day suffering in respect of past suffering.

While claiming certain similarities exist between the Roman Games and the foundation of the GAA as an organisation there is also broad and distinct differences. The purpose of starting with a short understanding of the Roman Games, what they where and what they meant to the people of the city, it is also to gain an understanding of what the games meant to ancient civilizations and inevitably what games mean to societies in

modern cities and nation states. The organisation and administration of the games for societies have a deep and profound effect in the societies, which they seek to represent. Games as a spectacle can develop a meaning which transcend the actual physical activity and immediate surroundings. According to Roland Auguet the games became a "public opiate and gave the daily life of Rome its rhythm and luster" (Auguet, 1994: pg189) for Auguet the implication of the games far exceeded the boundaries of the coliseums. But as Debord notes this spectacle is a visible negation of life "and as a negation of that life has invented a visible form for itself" (Debord, 1994: pg14). The purpose of this study is to see how that visual form has been constructed, maintained and how this negation of life has impacted on the very life it seeks to represent. The aim of this study is to gain an understanding of how a modern organisation, using the GAA as a case study, can perpetuate divides in a society through policy formation in the pursuit of a *munera* that seeks to uplift from the poverty of "real social activity"(Debord, 1994: pg14) while dictating those who can be uplifted and those who cannot.

Micheal Cusack founded the GAA as an organisation around the premise "to encourage national sports and thus revive them ... denounce, all sports and pastimes that are not national" (Mac Lua, 1967. pg18*)*. Inevitably the GAA was about a cultural revival of traditional pastimes in response to what was perceived as an increased threat from foreign pastimes. The GAA is a national organisation and as such it seeks to represent an Irish ideology, which "is" and "was" distinctly Irish. As such the GAA seeks to differentiate itself from other sports and organisations. Its individual policies and rules set it apart from other organisations, but inevitably meant the GAA as an organisation was

2

regarded with suspicion from a colonial ruler. Famously the GAA introduced a set of rules what is known collectively as "The Ban", a set of rules which directly excluded those who where considered by the GAA as 'not' sharing the Irish spirit as represented by the GAA. Those who served, in some capacity, a colonial ruler, or a minority religion to the dominant religion in Ireland, Catholicism, where considered as not sharing the Irish spirit and as a result GAA ideologies. In becoming a site of resistance to other national pastimes and other cultural ideologies the GAA entered into a climate of politics, which was to reach various highs and lows culminating in the declaration of a twenty-six county Freestate. The right to self-determination was won and represented an intricate part of Irish history, and had a profound impact on the ideologies of the GAA. Six counties remained under British rule, these six counties contained two separate extreme cultural traditions one espousing to a Nationalist, favoring self-determination and Irish citizenship and the other Unionist, preferring the union to with Britain and British citizenship. The GAA while following a strong Irish Nationalist agenda directly excludes others who do not relate, it is such various exclusionary practices that this study will be investigation in order to assess the current impact on Irish society. As previously argued, what happens inside the coliseum transcends its meaning to social organisation and geographical location.

1.1: Citizenship and the National Identity:

The rise in democracy in the early 19th century, citizenship and national identity was coupled with defining the 'self' and the 'other'. Nation state building is defined by geographical territories and through colonialism these ideologies where expanded to take

3

in the geography of other civilizations (Booth Walling 2001:pg 52). The formation of a majority results in the formation of a minority, which must conform to the 'majority' will, if not various states have adopted patriarchal processes in order to 'cleanse' the minority population. This varies in degrees of extremity and implementation, induced assimilation, induced immigration, and induced emigrations are examples of such state coercion. In such situations the indigenous population is coerced through various policies that seek to improve the moral well being, i.e. make civilised, of the collective whole i.e. The Empire. 'White Australia' was a scheme where by the commonwealth paid passage to 'citizens' to increase numbers in the white population in Australia also Black Baby Programmes sought to make civilised, through "gentle genocide"(van Krieken 1999: pg304), a perceived barbarous population.

In extreme cases policies of ethnic cleansing and genocide occurred, ethnic cleansing defined by the United Nations as the "planned deliberate removal from a specific territory, persons of a particular ethnic group, by force or intimidation in order to render that area ethnically homogenous"(Booth Walling 2001:pg 48). Such policies of genocide was initiated by Allied Associated Powers and Germany in accordance with the doctrine of national self determination, which states that people can be transferred by 'legitimate' means creating a better fit between national boundaries and people living within the territories. This could be seen as diminishing the threat of people making there own claim to national self-determination of a territory. Along with Germany, Winston Churchill and Franklin D Roosevelt in 1944 also endorsed the displacement of civilians in order to create long-term security in Eastern Europe; these countries operate within the

4

grey areas of international law and the doctrine of self-determination. (Booth Walling 2001:pg 52)

>"A clean sweep will be made. I am not alarmed by the prospect of the disentanglement of populations, nor even by these large transferences, which are more possible in modern conditions then they ever where before."(Booth Walling 2001:pg 53) House of commons 5th December 1944 by Winston Churchill

The rise in citizenship, nation building and national identity has over various periods resulted in ethnic cleansing and genocide to varying degrees and intensity. This has not occurred in a linear fashion with some states being more 'progressive' than others, on the other hand some states have been seen to regress in programmes of expulsion of minority populations. The implications for the GAA as an organisation was that it was being formed on the back of these periods, at a time when national Irish past times and Irish identity was perceived to be under threat. The fact that Irelands geographical location in regards to the source of colonial power increased the perceived threat, the Anglicisation of Irish society, further, and consequently enhanced the cause of national self-determination. The GAA acted as a mechanism to Irish Cultural revival and operated in the politics of sovereignty and nation state building of a majority oppressing a minority. In taking a strong stance on forming a strong Irish ideology has to varying degrees led to the success of the organisation but what does this mean as the GAA moves into a modern era an age when multiculturalism, gender, and arguably the notions of Irish and Irishness becomes blurred, redefined and how does impact on GAA policy, rules in shaping the terrain of the organisation and thus Irish society.

1.2: Governance:

The role of governance in the organisational structure of the GAA and its affiliated organisations allows us to evaluate how that organisation forms, and enforces policies in order to reflect its ideologies and maintain order in the organisation. Regulation, Regime, and Actor Network Theories have been argued by spatial geographies in order to analysis the process shaping social interaction in organisations and all their fundamental parts (Hubbard et.al., 2002). Such theories allow a spatial analysis of a terrain in such a way as to understand the significant social meaning that is derived from those interactions. As a society evolves tensions can arise in the governance of organisation and how they perceive their role in a particular society, governance theories allow spatial geographers to analysis new social implications for the actors involved. How boundaries can come into a state of flux, how space, place and time can become reinterpreted, and transcend on a parochial, regional and national level. The purpose of this study is to look at the *sociogovernance* geometries of power that are reflected from policies enacted by the GAA and how they shape and reflect on Irish society. As the GAA is surrounded by an environment that is more cosmopolitan, how does the GAA change, or not, its policies to reflect these changes in modern Irish society, more importantly how does the GAA seek to survive as an organisation as the fundamental principals on which it was founded are tested for validity. We aim to look at the changes in an organisation, which ultimately represents fundamental changes in society and the national topology of that organisation.

1.3 The Study Area:

The study area will primarily focus around Croke Park the central administration of the GAA. Croke Park is situated on the north side of Dublin and was purchased by the GAA on the 22nd of December 1913, then called Jones road, for £3,500. These grounds have gone under considerable development since 1913 and are currently under its most recent and expansive development ever undertaken. Croke Park is considered as the bastion of the GAA and an indicator to its success, but fundamentally it houses the records and archives that document the activities of the organisation. This study will look at how through various polices in the charter of the GAA, and how it has played a fundamental part in nation state building in time when a major cultural revival of national past times was taken place. Fundamentally it will look at the consequences.

Chapter Two
Concepts\ Literature Review

Chapter 2:Literature review.

The purpose of the literature review is to make an analysis of the literature available on the subject being investigated; this will develop an understanding of the work and what has previously been done and how this piece of research fits into the subjects involved.

2.1 Nationalism:

"History is that most dangerous product of the chemistry of the intellect has concocted…it produces dreams and drunkenness. It fills people with false memories, exaggerates their actions, exacerbates old grievances, and encourages either a delirium of grandeur or a delusion of persecution. It makes whole nations bitter, arrogant, insufferable, and vainglorious." (Lowenthal 1985: 365) However it is this said history that helped in the formation of national identity and as such nationalism. In the periods leading up to the 18th and 19th century the production and reproduction of cultural significance ranging from indigenous history, music, dance, literature, sport, language movements have been bound together in order to define and redefine territories which lead to a rise in national and political self-determination. Indigenous populations who have gone through programmes of genocide, oppression, and coerced assimilation into a dominant culture began to discover a source of resistance to an alien power. Nationalist movements, defined as reclaiming and redefining the concepts of a collective memory at a micro local level and macro national level, in such a way to reconstitute culture and cultural icons to form a common understanding of what it is to be a citizen in newly emerging nation states across Europe, and former European colonies. (Commbes, 1994)

The GAA organized on a parochial level capitalized on the local level and the national level in a major period of Irish cultural revival at a time when Irish nationalism was contested, and won. The GAA played a pivotal role, but was only a fundamental part in a framework of nationalism and what it is to be Irish.

A process of 'othering' and 'self' defined and redefined what it 'was' and 'is' to be Irish. Such processes are fundamental in the formation of identity the recognition of "I", self and "other" is a result of a built up interpretation, through representations of self-identity. Through forming a self-identity a person is able to define the other i.e. "I am" therefore "I am not". Ascribing "I" can also be done in plural terms "us", groups, populations forming identities which are acceptable to those concerned, British, French and Irish etc. have cultural signifiers which allow them to be distinguished and interpretated in a unique way (Hall: 1997). Ireland being closely connected to other parts of the world and world events was in an ideal position to capitalise on events occurring in newly forming nation states. The French Revolution, which saw France becoming a democratic republic, the War of Independence formed what is now known as the United States and had profound effects on the desires of domestic politicians, in Ireland the Rebellion of 1798 seeking independence from Britain another such rising the Robert Emmet Rising in 1803 occurred, which ultimately led to a Rising in 1916 (During World War 1). The right to national self-determination culminated in the handing over of administrative power of twenty-six of the thirty-two counties of Ireland. Britain retained legitimacy over the six counties in Northern Ireland, under the Government of Ireland Act 1920. Such a history had a profound effect on the landscape of Ireland but also how

culture was produced and disseminated. From this period Irish literature became the most celebrated use of the English language over the world, Zita Nunes Notes that "making out of literature the appropriate instrument for forging national identity" (Nunes: 1994. citing Rama: 1982). The GAA also organised itself around a principle of national Irish identity. Pre 1916 and post 1916 became one of the most defining periods of the 'Irish Nation'. This cultural revival has had profound effects on how Irishness is perceived nationally and internationally, but it is the profound effects on Irish national identity in the 21st Century" that much of what lies undisclosed in the graveyard of the past had best remain buried there" (Lowenthal, 1985: 27). Anderson notes that much of history has been rewritten in such a way as to remember what has occurred in the past, yet it represents previous sides of opposition in such a way as not to aggravate old grievances

> "A vast pedagogical industry works ceaselessly to oblige young Americans to remember/ forgot the hostilities of 1862-65 as a great 'civil' war between two 'brothers' rather than between as they briefly were- two sovereign nation states."(Anderson, 1991: 201)

However arguable it is due to the geographic proximity between the paternal structures of colonialism, i.e. between Ireland and Britain, has resulted in the construction of a hyper-identity of Irishness, male is masculine, feminine is to be protected and the purity or nationhood lies in the strength of that national identity.

Nationalism grew as a cultural system form two of the most dominant cultural systems operating internationally inside boundaries of countries. Religious Community and Dynastic Realm defined the cultural typology and political landscapes of nations (Anderson, 1991). The formation of new nation states resulted in an intertwining of old

cultural systems such as those previously mentioned and new ones predominantly characterised by nationalism. For Ireland it was moving away from the dynastic realm of Britain but Irish politics in the early days of the state were organised around the principles of the Catholic Church. Coinciding with this national formation was a cultural revival system and as Anderson argues,

> "vernacularizing, lexicographers, grammarians, philologists and literature. This energetic activity of these professional intellectuals were central to the shaping of nineteenth- century European nationalism" (Anderson 1991: 71).

These included in the Irish case, Sean O' Casey, W.B. Yeats, James Joyce, and a host of others, but more importantly for this study the GAA undertook a programme of cultural reproduction of a sense of Irishness which arguably never existed before. The organisation of this cultural reproduction against a backdrop of national self-determination led to the adoption of a governance policy that includes those who aspire to the goals of the GAA and excludes those who do not. In the formation of new nation states, with new identities, those who have been instrumental in the formation of these identities have limited, or protected, definitions of Irish nationalism.

2:2 Colonialism and Post-colonialism:

Ireland is one of the original colonies of Britain, it was colonized in the first wave of expansion from Europe, Ireland is unique in that it was (is) most resistant to this colonialism and is one of the first to win independence from Britain, and remain outside of the realm of the Common Wealth valuing full independence in economic, political and self-determination. Ireland could also serve as a model to post-colonial theory although

there are contradictions in how colonialism and post-colonialism fits the Irish case, since part of the Northern province of Ireland still remains under colonial rule. Colonial rule can be defined as,

> " direct territorial appropriation of another geopolitical entity, combined with forthright exploitation of its resources and labour, and systematic interference in the capacity of the appropriated culture to organise dispensation of power."(Mc Clintock, 2003: 257)

Colonialism for indigenous populations can be described as conquest, confiscation of land, religious persecution, famine, mass immigration, loss of culture, subjugation, forced assimilation, internalised self-rejection, political co-option, social conformism, cultural mimicry and creative transcendence (Carroll, 2003). Most importantly it is the time of religious pilgrims, The Enlightenment, on which most of the world was mapped geographically but also what was mapped as civilised and uncivilised. Under the principles of legitimacy indigenous populations underwent the process of self-spectacularisation, orientalism, the native being defined as 'other' in direct opposition top 'self'. The other defined as barbarous, black, of sin, uncivilised and in need of redemption, the self is civilized and under the principals of legitimacy through the process of 'The enlightenment' the colonialiser viewed their role as civilizing the visibility of difference. "Another feature of first-hand accounts is the way in which a degenerative topography is mapped"(Coombes, 2003: 97). In what was a racial ordering of the civilised and uncivilised with the most primitive being on the bottom and the coloniser on the top. Colonisers sought to undermine a population's integrity and dehumanise them by creating them as subjects to be shaped and molded. Under programmes of assimilation indigenous populations where forced to adopt the cultural

12

norms of behaviour such as dress, language, religion, administration and most importantly legal systems, in what was a 'rationalization' of a perceived primitive, law of the land was replaced be a judiciary. However as Zita Nunes argues that under anthropophagist model there is no assimilation without excretion, " The law of assimilation is that there must always be a remainder, a residue" (Nunes, 2003: 125). It is this very residue that was to cause problems for the coloniser and their aspirations for the colonised; Whelan notes this as the "Third Memory" (Whelan, 2003) what was remembered as the past, the very primitivism became recelebrated as ancient. Old cultural products became reproduced, invoked into memory, to imagine new ways to create the future. Such cultural systems became indicative of the spirit of nationalism.

"However the passage from lover to parent, from patriarchy to paternalism, from child to adult, from dependency to autonomy and, indeed, from transgression to legitimacy can be neither smooth nor complete anymore than they were in enlightened social theory" (Daring, 1994: 67-68)

In sites of resistance cultural representations where produced and reproduced to best represent the aspirations of that nation. Mary Louis Pratt (1994) argues the term Transculturation in which it

" describes processes where by members of subordinated or marginalized groups select and invent materials transmitted by a dominant or metropolitan culture" Pratt, 1994. 30).

Disagreeing with this statement whereby in creating the 'self' one does so on the basis of its differences i.e. religion, language, heritage and ethnicity to 'other', the underlying issue of cultural revival is to create a culture that is distinctly different to the

13

colonialist interpretations and their interpretations of 'self'. Nationalists base their interpretation of a perceived cultural system as a return to a pure homogeneous origin transgressing from sites of oppression that threaten the integrity of that interpretation and purity of origin (Nunes, 1994). The construction of a national narrative around the "principles of selection are partisan; data and representations are frequently at variance, and coherence and integration have, alas often perished on bitterly contested ground" (Brett, 1996: pg8). These become more enhanced when political structures are at odds for self-definition, identity and space. Brett describes this preoccupation with the past as a "confrontation with a moment in time, a re-entry into a vanished circumstance" (Brett, 1996, pg14). In the creation of an identity everything Irish is included and anything else is excluded. Nationalism celebrated the new Irish identity; it arose out of a perceived threat of the policies of Anglicisation, which came to dominate the politics of colonialism. A minority turned the residue in the laws of assimilation into a cultural revival one that people could believe and wanted to believe in "communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity / genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson, 1991: 6).

In an anti-colonial fervor governance structures offered the possibility of imagining communities in new ways, cultural revival technicians created what was cultural products, which in turn transcended into cultural systems of Irishness and resistance. Governance played a vital role in the marketability of national identity, making identity consumable to a majority plays an integral part in formation of nationalitarian phenomenon that swept across Europe in the early 18 and 19th century.

14

The GAA for its part created such an institution to realise this objective. It constructed a sense of space and place where people could be mobilised into a celebration of this difference. Nationalism defined national boundaries, national populations, political administration structures, and the national self-determination with a shared sense of what was achievable. However, such arguments have eugenic under and overtones, in the celebration of the self and defining the self as superior to other, other is then directly excluded on the basis of their insubordination, maintaining the health of nations was of paramount interest also in the 18th and 19th century, and especially in the Irish case, due to preceding famines, war and physiognomic arguments in relation the physical strength of nations transcended into their moral and racial purity. The challenge in a post-colonial Ireland was to create a symbolic significance in national past times, the GAA helped in maintaining a strong, healthy national organisation that would contradict the decadent topography of colonial interpretations.

2.3 Post-colonial Ireland:

"Thus the model of official nationalism assumes its relevance above all of the moment when revolutionaries successfully take control of the state, and are for the first time in a position to use power of the state in pursuit of their vision, the relevance is all the greater insofar as even the most determinedly radical revolutionaries always to some degree inherit the state from a fallen regime" (Anderson, 1991:159)

Post-colonial Ireland resulted in the creation of a minority who aspired to English supremacy and valued the Union with Britain. Although not as denigrated as those who claim Irish ascendancy protestant communities where also victims of a colonial Ireland.

Although they still enjoy a privileged position in Northern Irish society in that there were no policies of extermination carried out on them. The very fact that part of Northern Ireland remains under colonial rule has led to the term post-colonial being contested, internal-colonialism has been applied in it represents where " dominant part of a country treats a group or a region as if it where a foreign country" (Carroll, King, 1994: 8). The ultimate consequence of such topography is that a majority espoused to an Irish national ideal and those who viewed themselves with English/Scottish ascendancy. This is not necessarily confined to a north south divide, but the majority of those who are indigenous settlers of a colonial past are predominantly located in the plantations of the north. In post-colonial Ireland what was once a catholic minority became a catholic hegemony. Examples of this can be found in many of Irelands organisations including the state and became represented in the GAA, in the Charter of the GAA which is written by, and who is also patron, Reverend Dr. T.W. Croke Archbishop of Cashel and Emly (Mac Lua, 1967:123). As time has preceded symbols of the GAA i.e. the Sports, are named after those who the GAA recognised as having represented Ireland as a nation and Irishness as a culture. It is no mistake that its principal stadium in Dublin are named after Archbishop Croke, Croke Park, and what could be called as Irelands second capital city Belfast, Northern Ireland, the principal GAA stadium is Named After Sir Roger Casement, Casement Park. Antagonism and contradictions lay in the fact that Sir Roger casement was an 'English subject' a Protestant who was actively engaged in the Irish struggle for independence, and was recruiting arms form German forces During World War 1. The issue being addressed here is that "actors who are helpless to do anything but produce the structures of their own subordination" (Perry, 1994: 178) and placing that subordination

16

onto those who do not participate in a Irish Cultural System, it comes to represents on of the most regressive consequences of colonial rule dominating the island of Irelands topography to date.

This unrelenting interpretation of Irish identity has come to represent the creation of an identity resistant to previously coerced interpretations is significant in that as nationalism celebrated difference, the difference which was rejected as an impediment to English civilisation. This interpretation of English civilisation has become vilified in Irish literature where death was seen as the liberation from slavery, etc.

"In fine, 'twas he which made of bondmen free,

And put to sword for my unstable truth

My spoused wife, the garland of my youth.

With many more dear and special friends,

Whose breathless corpses were given to flames of fire."
(Carroll, 1994: 69-70)
Rory Og O'More praises the execution of his wife and friends

In a hypnosis of the past post-colonial Ireland became more inward looking with a fear of moving forward, a period of protectionism followed independence, also high import taxes on goods imported from Britain resulted in the stagnation of the Irish economy (Walsh&Breathnach, 1994). Ireland was haunted by the past, a past cultural system and it was finding it difficult to turn the mechanisms of a new cultural system,

" Who constitutes the charm of our country, apart of course from its scant population, and this without help of the meanest contraceptive, is that all is derelict with the sole exception of history's ancient fasces" (Whelan, 1994: 95).

As noted by Samuel Beckett who alike many other cultural technicians felt that the canvas of Irish cultural traditions was empty. That cultural revival was more inspired by the mythological topography that existed in the minds of some elite politicians. However as the United Irish Men note this was the plight of a dispossed people robbed of a sense of place, space, and time "a beleaguered native culture" (Gibbons, 1994: 88). working from a third memory and inspiration of what could be, and imagination enough to place a picture of what could be onto a cleansed canvas.

The governance structures within the GAA had a blank canvas, but they became victims of their own subordination. What was a catholic minority became represented within the GAA as a catholic hegemony placing those outside the nationalist agenda. The GAA could come to represent an organisation in which they could have incorporated a progressive reasoning in the formation of a national identity, a policy recognising past conflicts but embracing a tolerant future.

> "While keeping the trace of event, while reconciling past and future we can relinquish the hatred: memory can than aid restorative rather than restrictive justice, balanced between the space of experience and horizon of expectance"(Whelan, 1994: 93)

2.3 Singapore a Case Study:

A lot of similarities can be drawn form Ireland and Singapore, both were former colonies of the British Empire, both gained independence, both found themselves with the task of creating a common identity with which to realise a nationalist agenda. As Ireland was a newly emerging nation in Europe, Singapore was a newly emerging nation in Asia. However in Singapore it came to recognise racial difference and tried to facilitate

social cohesion through policies rather than reinforce social differentiation created from a colonial past. From the outset Singapore governance organised policy in such a way as to deconstruct the structures of their own subordination, a regressive consequence of colonial rule, and introduced a progressive ameliorating nationalitarian phenomenon (Mc Neill: 2003). The structure in which the Singaporean government felt this could be best realised was through the political development of sport and physical education as a way to maintain and produce a nations health.

Singapore gained independence in 1959 (Mc Neill et al., 2003: 38) and not unlike many other forming nation states it pursued a path in removing the denigrated topography imposed on it through colonial rule. A way to improve the physiognomy (a belief that the physical characteristics of a nation are handed from one generation to the next) of the nation and how it was viewed by international standards is through sports and physical education. The Singaporean government introduced various policies that would awaken the cultural consciousness of the Singaporean people in a collective response to improve the quality of life for its citizens. The Singaporean government viewed sport as the best way to achieve a common consensus in the process of nation building. In 1973 the Singapore Sports Council was established "enlisting sport as a politico-economic tool by promoting nation building through productivity" (Mc Neill et al., 2003:35). In 1984 the College of Physical Education was established to "produce specialist teachers in physical education" (Mc Neill et al., 2003:35). Such organisations are responsible for running initiatives to foresee eugenic arguments of a paternalistic Singaporean state in order to create "a singular harmonious Singapore identity" (Mc Neill et al, 2003:38). In 1976 a Big Walk organised through the Singapore Sports Council and Singapore Armature

Athletics Association mobilised mass participation in such events. SPEX2000 launched in December 1993 by the Ministry of Community Development in conjunction with the Singapore sports council

> "sought to firmly embed sport in the bedrock of Singapore society in an attempt to stimulate national pride and unity whilst also adding a new dimension to Singapore's development" (M[c] Neill et al., 2003:43).

Arguments for such policies was to create social cohesion and also to break apart structures of differentiation, Singapore is a multicultural and multi-ethnic demographic topography, "topography concerns itself with spatiality, and in particular with the attributes of the spatial which secure continuity for objects as they are displaced through space... it comes in various forms" (Law & Hassard, 1999:6) and is not fixed. Sport and physical education programmes adopted early in education systems and through mainstream society was seen as the best way to educate and "develop an appreciation of racial and religious tolerance" (M[c] Neill et al., 2003:36). Such progressive policies sought to include the population within territorial boundaries of a newly forming nation state. The Singaporean government realised that they could improve the nations bloodstock, its international standing, the nations health while also creating a common bond where personal achievement and success where valued and offered a source of inspiration to future Singaporeans in a newly developing nation.

> "My idea of an all rounded Singaporean is one who is well educated, cultivated, sporty, caring and gracious. Such a Singaporean reads widely, enjoys music and the arts, sings or plays at one musical instrument, is active in sports and cares for his fellow citizens. Most of us are not such a complete person... but everyone can be competent in at least one sport." (M[c] Neill et al., 2003:45)
> Statement form Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong

It is hard to ignore the paternalistic nature of such objectives, policies to promote nation building productivity through sports councils offered Singaporean government the structures to mobilise a national identity. It might also be noted here that the recent economic success of Singapore an 'Asian Tiger' and a newly independent state is one of the most advanced countries under going a modernization programme in high technology every under taken in the world, an "foundation of a new social order"(Kitchen, 1998: 63).

While the Singaporean government incorporated into its cultural system the value of sport, it did so in such a way as to incorporate its multicultural demographic. Its policies envisaged the value in recognising ethnic and religious difference but also in such a way as to harness this internalized difference into an inspiration of national self-determination, common identity and success.

2.5: Theoretical Governance

Theoretical arguments on differing forms of governance allow geographers to analysis the structures that govern societal structures. Themes in relation to governance structures help to deconstruct the complex overlapping and intertwining parts of cultural systems in such a way as to understand how meaning is derived, interpretated and disseminated among societies. Social production and reproduction of accepted norms of behavior can define societies and how that society would like to be viewed. In the construction of a common identity a hegemony can be formed, the consequences of such hegemonic culture is that social exclusion occurs for those who are not part of normative ecology, i.e. those who are included into a perception, interpretation, of space and those

who are not (Marvin & Graham, 2001). This has resulted in what Marvin and Graham termed a crisis in paradigm as minority cultures and discourses offer a site of resistance to a dominantly held ideology. Coalition, Regime, Regulation and Actor Network Theories help the political geographer to deconstruct the cultural systems that operate to create society. Governance theories allow geographers to examine change and the possibility of change occurring in society. As societies move from traditional to modern to post-modern etc. change has not always been smooth and sometime been marked as the site of various cultural revolutions. It is these cultural revolutions, which determine the complexities, contradictions and structures of society.

Coalition theory argues that within an organisation the creation of institutional capacity is achieved in order to gain the ability to govern that organisation, it argues that previously held centralized powers have become decentralized in a redistribution of power (Hubbard et al. 2002). Coalition theory tries to understand how governance is redistributed on a spatial scale within an organisation. The Irish planning system is an example of how Coalition Theory can be used in order to understand the governance structures in place. Redistribution decision making from centralised management to a dual public / private and then to a tripartite public / private / community has resulted in entrepreneurial policies and practices to re-image the urban framework. It was hoped that this would improve the attractiveness of the city on a national and international scale. Introduced from a previously central government, that relinquished power, was a more flexible political, administrative and participatory forms of governance. (Bartley& Treadwell Shine, 2001).

Regime Theory argues, "political power is not inherently available to any specific individual or agency but has to be created by the members of a regime coming together to blend resources, skills and purposes into a long term coalition, or regime, to produce the capacity required to achieve agreed aims"(Hubbard et al. 2002: 184). A good example of such governance is the healthy nation initiatives organised through various governmental organisations in such a way as to organise the effective mobilization of a population to achieve acquired aims i.e. a healthy nation, a sense of national identity and an improved international standing (Mc Neill: 2003), European Health policies is an example of a grand theory in the governance of healthy nation states. All of the actors involved do not have a monopoly on power but its success is realized through the participation and the inspiration that is disseminated among the community.

Regulation Theory adapts a closer and more collaborative relationship with business and "the sharing of responsibilities for welfare with the private and civil sectors" (Hubbard et al. 2002:187) looking at how governments respond to the changing nature of globalization in such a way as to protect economic, political and social interests of a increasingly porous territorial boundaries. Such governance structures can either respond rapidly to the changing nature of international economics, diasporas by introducing entrepreneurial practices or it can regulate heavily private and public practices.

Actor Network Theory (ANT) recognises human and non-human factors involved in the performance of social actors. In the production or a performance in ANT the ability

23

to coerce the social actor into a desired response, ANT also recognises "non-human elements as actants" (Hubbard et al. 2002: 193). Examples of which would include rulebooks in sports, laws in the judiciary and the physical layout of the city in determining the activities that occur in the city, innate objects having a profound effect on the behavior of people.

Pre feminism it was argued that social and physical production of people lives was done from a hegemonic view of white men. Sites of resistance occurred with the advent of feminism, which argued that there was just not one way to look at cultural systems but two. Culture was organised around a gender split and that female gender was largely excluded from any major power structures shaping society. However in post structuralist society it has been argued that there is not just one way to shape a cultural system but many, each in its parts playing an intricate part in the complexities of how culture is produced. Cultural systems are made up of white, black, oriental, heterosexual, transsexual, homosexual, bisexual, male, female and intersexed etc. "No one theory or perspective can provide all of the answers – the days of the grand meta-narrative or grand theory are over"(Ussher, 1997: 149).

In such an era the flexibility of organization structure, or not as the case maybe, has implications on how culture is produced. As theorists now recognise that there is more than one way to look at the dynamics at play in society, what does this mean for those organizations that pursue more traditional definitions and what does it mean for those cultural systems it seeks to represent. As national boundaries become porous,

should organizational structures not organise themselves in such a way to protect the characteristics that are unique to that organization. Due to the increased internationalism and globalization of media and games, what are the implications of the activities of organisations that cater solely to a domestic market? As national boundaries become eroded and multiculturalism of societies occurs, what does this mean for an organisation organised around the premise of "denounce(ing), all past times that are not national"(M^{ac} Lua, 1967:18)

The purpose of this study is to identify the best governance theory to analysis the complexities both internally and externally arising from changes in Irish society and the impacts on the governance structure of an organisation that is based on distinctly Irish identity, the GAA, and what this means for Irish society as it moves into the 21st century.

Chapter Three
Methodology

Chapter three: Methodology.

The methodology is outlining the research methods used to collect appropriate information needed to resolve the research problem. Methodology includes the kinds of research methods, sources of data, and methods of analysis.

3.1: Methodology

This research project is done using qualitative research techniques (Neuman, 2000). Data was collected in order to understand the governance structures of the GAA, the role of such a cultural systems in shaping Irish national identity, and how it has come to be represented as a contested terrain. In using qualitative research this project hopes to convey a depiction of the organizational structures of the GAA, in order to gain insight into the lager dynamics of operating in Irish society. Using the bricolage technique in qualitative research, which uses diverse materials, and applies disparate approaches from a broad spectrum of theoretical approaches and assembles bits and pieces of data to give a good quality research piece. Data is collected in the form of texts, newspaper articles, promotional material, and archival information obtained form the records office in Croke Park.

3.2: The sources of data.

Data was collected from a wide range of sources, the main body of text Brendan M^ac Lua " The Steadfast Rule", Marcus De Burca " The GAA a History", Benedict Anderson "Imagined Communities", and various other readings acquired from previous studies and handouts that were available in seminars, and reserves obtained from the

library. Information was acquired from the Internet principally for electronic journals on current debates being published on the research problem.

3.3: Methods of data analysis.

Method for data analysis through qualitative research is Analytic Comparison where by " he/she develops ideas about regularities on patterned relations from pre-existing theories or induction"(Neuman, 2000:427)

Chapter Four
Theoretical Framework

Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework.

The theoretical framework consists of the theory best suited to the research problem and which places the subject into a wider context of work already done in the field.

4.1: Actor Network Theory.

Actor Network Theory (ANT) is a spatial theory that allows geographers to look at the intertwining and overlapping complexities of networks. It argues the heterogeneity of networks i.e. heterogeneity " how social and material processes (subjects, objects, and relations) become seamlessly entwined within sets of association" (Murdoch, 1998: 359). ANT recognises the participation and non-participation of actors in the formation of networks it also looks at reciprocity and effort placed by various actors. Most importantly while recognising human elements in the formation of a network it also recognises non-human, actants, which have a fundamental role in shaping, maintaining and governing networks. Examples of non-human actants include the normative ecology of a group or an organisation, laws rules and polices govern societies and the infrastructures in which the society/organisation operates. ANT allows spatial geographers the ability to analysis the various consequences of social organisation onto cultural topologies " topology concerns itself with spatiality which secure continuity of objects as they are displaced through space" (Law & Hassard, 1999:6).

ANT looks at the construction of social organisation and how it is performed or not. In the creation of alternative realities social organisation can construct a site of resistance to a dominant organisation. Social organisation can reorganize "normative

data" (Law & Hassard, 1999) i.e. normative data in identity is the data used to construct the 'self' and inadvertently constructing the 'other' which defines the normative ecology of that social organisation. What is important for ANT is the performance of these alternative realities and the resulting impacts on cultural topology. The exclusion and silencing of normative data is due to the purifying tendencies of the modern world in which the residue of the past, the third memory previously mentioned (Whelan, 2003) becomes instrumental in the espirit of nationalism and national identity as an alternative reality and new social organisation. (Law & Hassrad, 1999). Also instrumental in this is the notion of hybrids, as hybrids proliferate they create alternative realities to the original hybrid, the purity of the original hybrid becomes contested as the new hybrid becomes more pure, accepted and assimilated into social organisation and cultural hierarchies. Such practices are examples of governance and organisation of a normative ecology in the distribution of visibilities of culture, the "hybrid collectif or actor network... flows of communication between its elements" (Law & Hassard, 1999:100).

"Actor Network is, has been, a semiotic machine for waging war on essential differences, it has insisted on the performative character of relations and objects constituted in those relation" (Law & Hassard, 1999:7).

For this reason it allows spatial geographers to analysis the formation of the GAA, as an organisation, as a site of resistance to a dominant cultural hybrid with the formation of an alternative reality and cultural identity to be performed by actors and actants within their capacity to perform.

The concept of heterogeneity in ANT allows theorists to look at the sum of all parts making the complexities of networks. As Murdoch notes the process of gathering things together in common frames of reference and calculation "results in very distant points finding themselves connected to one another while others, that were once neighbors, come to be disconnected." (Murdoch, 1998:360). Organized into a pattern form of behaviour, heterogeneous engineering/ cultural technocrats are constructing and disseminating resources that conceptualise organizations or networks. "Agents, devices, texts, relatively standardized sets of organisational relations, social technologies, boundary protocols, organisational forms" (Law & Hassard, 1992) such activities are the heterogeneous recourses involved in cultural production. However, in the Irish case disbandment of the former hybridity was not realised and became a minority in the geographic boundaries of the island of Ireland, but a majority in governance structures of the former hybridity i.e. within the boundaries of Northern Ireland. This represents non-conformity in the performative elements of the network, i.e. nationalism, representing a division in the construction of an identity and a break in social contract. This for ANT becomes represented as connections and disconnections in the complex geometries of topology (Murdoch, 1998). "Spatiality marginality, resistance and transgression" (Murdoch, 1998: 369) and what Marvin And Graham (2001) argue as local connectedness and disconnectedness but also local-by-pass in which those who have not acted on their capacity to perform in heterogeneous unity of spatial coherence, but also by-passed in a complex interaction of interrelationships in a non-performance, spatial enclaves.

The term translation is used to conceptualise "the processes of negotiation, representation and displacement which established relations between actors entities and places"(Murdoch, 1998:362). It is the renegotiation of the performance and a new conceptualisation of a spatial topography. Spatial relations are always in a constant state of change. Were subject and object and their interrelations are constantly being renegotiation of the terms of their incorporation to represent the aspirations of a centrally governed periphery. Such interaction is an example of the bargaining power of the network from subject to subject administered through objects. An area of interchange but it affirms the mutual dependency that exists between the sum of all parts in a network /organisation (Law& Hassard, 1999). The resultant effects on spatial topology is due to the porous nature of spatial boundaries, the inter penetration of hybrids, and the relations that can contract and extend from their original interpretation. Networks through their organisation can by-pass interrelations of non-performers into standarised forms of behaviour can be represented by the geographical boundaries, spaces of prescription fixed by coordinates (Murdoch, 1998), or become represented by more fluid notions. Murdoch argues spaces of negotiation as "spaces of fluidity, flux and variation as unstable actors or coalition of actors come together to negotiate their membership" (Murdoch, 1998:370) consolidating relations which are held together by their inter-workings, renegotiations, interpretations and disseminations in the performance network ideologies and the creation of boundaries. Networks link people together who have no direct empathy with each other and form one week to another may have no contact with each other. But through nationalitarian outlooks and other sub-narratives, various affiliations to specialist networks, people recognise a mutual dependency, which can lead the economic, social

31

and political ramifications as the cultural production further enhances the objectives of the network.

4.2: ANT and GAA.

Such characteristics re represented in the governance structures of the GAA, the GAA was founded on the premise celebrating the national pastimes and things recognised as being distinctly Irish. During a period in Irish politics where a majority in the population thought the future of Irish politics lay in direct rule and self-determination. The GAA further enhanced this goal and was instrumental in bringing together people who felt a common bond in celebrating Irishness. As an organisation and cultural technician operating in a time of high Irish culture were the national spirit was being created, interpretated and disseminated, by the heterogeneous actors in nationalism, among those who valued and agreed a new hybrid in realising an Irish identity. The GAA is a centrally administered organisation, which disseminates its aspirations to the periphery. Operating under strict codes of conduct its organisation structures proliferate from central, provincial, county to a parochial levels. A rulebook sets out the charter of the GAA and clearly outlines policy that determines the activities of all clubs under its jurisdictions.

When policies are felt not to represent the aspirations of the GAA in its current cultural context they are debated renegotiated and through a democratic process agreement is meet and a new understanding of a policy is disseminated through the organisational structures. The GAA operates, although remaining detached from politics,

within the cultural context of Irish society, changes in how Irish society views itself can be represented in change in GAA policy. This might not always be the case and resistance can be meet by the more traditional structures in the organisation. ANT allows spatial geographers to look at the constraints in a networks transition from 'traditional' to a 'modern' cultural context, and the consequences of policy and policy change has on the performances of its networks and the aspirations of how that network realises itself. ANT allows spatial geographers to analysis non-performers who also make up the network, who belong by banishment (Law& Hassard, 1999), who can at times challenge the values of the organisation and stand as a point of change.

Chapter Five
The Study

Chapter Five: The GAA a Contested Terrain.

The purpose of this study is to look at the *sociogovernance* geometries of power that are reflected from policies enacted by the GAA and how they shape and reflect on Irish society. The study area primarily focuses on around Croke Park the central administration of the GAA. The governance structures administer the ideals of the organisation to periphery-affiliated members. Looking at changes in organisational policy, and how existing policy is enforced, can ultimately represent fundamental changes in Irish society and the national topology of that organisation, leading to the GAA becoming represented with a terrain that is constantly being renegotiated, contested and reaffirmed into its cultural context.

5.1:The GAA a National Network.

"The Gaelic Athletic Association today is an organisation which reaches into every corner of the land and has roots in every Irish parish. Throughout the Country, legions of voluntary workers willingly make sacrifices to promote its ideals and carry its daily burdens." (Official Guide-Part 1, 2003:3)

Taken form the official guidebook of the GAA, it outlines the rules and policy of the organisation. Immediately the GAA declares that it reaches into 'every corner of the land' but also marking a distinction in that every corner of the land that has an Irish parish. The proliferation of the GAA as a network is that it extends centrally to all places that consider themselves as Irish. Also contained in the above passage is the religious aspect to the GAA, that the quest for the aspirations of the GAA was a pilgrimage with 'legions of voluntary workers' in the performance of an ideology, a 'sacrifice' 'for the daily burdens of the organisation'. This form of social organisation established a new

narrative to the previous colonial and religious hegemony, contained within this narrative is the religion of nationalism and national identity.

"Since she has no control over all its national territory, Irelands claim to nationhood is impaired" (Official Guide-Part 1, 2003:3)

The GAA recognises that there is a division in the political and governance structures in the territorial boundaries in the island of Ireland. This contests Irelands post-colonialism, as part of the country remains under colonial rule. A cultural division lies in that those valuing other national identities are actors engaged in a non-performance of things that are distinctly Irish and represent a division in the construction of identity. Such spatial incoherencies in the performance of a normative ecology and are represented as geographical divisions and sites of resistance. The GAA as an organisation celebrates a mutual dependency of all its elements in the pursuit of the networks aspirations, fixed coordinates can define it but it can also be fluid and lacking any shape. Being defined by those who value the belief that " games take on a new significance when it is realised that they have been a part, and are still a part, of the nations desire to live her own life, to govern her own affairs"(Official Guide-Part 1, 2003:3). Those who are part of a performance and as previously argued performances can be contested, in a state of flux, redefined in how they represented in spaces of fluidity.

Rule 6: Units.
"The Association is a democratic organisation comprised of the following units:
  (a) Clubs
  (b) County Committees
  (c) Provincial Councils
  (d) Central Councils
  (e) Annual Congress" (Official Guide-Part 1, 2003:5)

From the periphery to the central administration the GAA recognises itself as a democratic organisation carrying the will of the sum of all its parts represented through debate and the ballot, this is then proliferated through central administration.

Rule 20 Allegiance

" Clubs and counties shall insist that the first allegiance of their members is to the Association and its games, and may impose disciplinary measures for breaches of this rule." (Official Guide-Part 1, 2003:13)

In the event of any tension arising between members and other affiliated associations, membership to the GAA must prevail. Membership can be suspended or revoked on noncompliance to any GAA directives. There is an appeals procedure with "players or members continuing to be a legal member of the Association and merely suspended from club activities" (Official Guide-Part 1, 2003:122).

Rule 50 Nominations

" A candidate for any of the positions outlined in Rule 48 shall be nominated by a club, such nominations shall be submitted on the nomination paper, which shall be sent to each club at least six weeks prior to the county convention and shall be completed and returned to the club secretary at least one month prior to the convention" (Official Guide-Part 1, 2003:122)

36

Positions in Rule 48 range from Chairperson to Treasurer to Youth Officers there is a maximum tenure of stay in any position for five years, Rule 48(g) (Official Guide-Part 1, 2003:122). Specialised nomination paper should be used and any administrative duties carried out should use Irish made and produced paper, Rule 4 c. Failure to do so can result in the implementation of Rule 11.

Rule 11

"Correspondence and documents not complying shall be ruled out of order" (Official Guide-Part 1, 2003:6).

Rule 78

"A Committee consisting of the President, the past Presidents, and the Director General shall prior to congress examine motions submitted and decide whether these are in order.

The committee can discuss what motions are put forward for discussion at Congress and are subsequently passed and become a byelaw of the organisation. As a democratic organisation each motion proposed must receive a two third majority of those entitled to vote,

Rule 80

If a motion does not receive that two third majority it is subsequently defeated. The consequence of such a defeat is…

Rule 52 (h)

"A motion declared not to have received one third of the votes at Congress may not be tabled on a Congress Agenda for the subsequent three years, unless the management committee allows it in exceptional circumstances" (Official Guide-Part 1, 2003:53).

The purpose of perusing a fraction of some of the objectives of the organisation legislated for, is to give an indication of how the GAA is governed and how intensely bureaucratically it is maintained. The GAA is highly administrative and this administration is proliferated and replicated in the structures of clubs and committees, this then transcends to subcommittees. Such a rulebook is an example of a nonhuman element harnessing regimes of cooperation that consolidate relations/interrelations of mutual dependency and their governance.

5.2: The GAA and Other Sports.

Rule 42(b)

"Grounds controlled by the Association units shall not be used or permitted to be used for Horse Racing, Greyhound Racing, or Field Games other than those sanctioned by Central Council" (Official Guide-Part 1, 2003:27).

Rule 43 (a)

" All properties... as trustees who shall hold such property upon trust to use the same exclusively for the purpose of playing Gaelic Football, Hurling and Handball..." (Official Guide-Part 1, 2003:27).

Currently the most contested legislation in use by the GAA, the playing of games other than those recognised distinctly Irish. It is controversial in that huge sums of public money have been given through government funding for the building a modern stadium at Croke Park. Such a building represents a national symbol and a modern Irish identity. This Irish identity is increasingly marked as multicultural in the 21st century, drawing from hybridity of other cultures. These other cultures represent other sports whose interest has penetrated the normative ecology boundaries established through the creation of identity. As the constructs of identity become contested and renegotiated it might not become represented in the structures that create and govern it. However, as a national organisation that represents a political aspiring to national sovereignty and national identity. It is a national ideology that arose out of a contested colonial identity that still remains contested as part of its territorial borders remain under colonial rule. Such sites of resistance represented in a nonperformance in cultural production of a hyperbolic representation of a national ideology and the legislation that reflects it. However, the success of the GAA as a national movement and a cultural signifier can be represented in its penetration into society and its ability to mobiles 90,000 spectators to act in a celebration of Irishness at an All-Ireland Football final.

5.3: GAA and the Intrusion of Other.

Factors in complex geometries of power relations which shape the topologies in the Association through "spatial marginality, resistance and transgression"(Murdoch, 1998:369) are the British armies requisitioning of lands owned by the Association under the Trustee of Crossmaglen Rangers. This represents a direct intrusion of one

performance over another, one celebrates its Irishness as a source of resistance to a colonial ruler, and the other is engaged in a non-performance of those ideals, engaged in a performance that seeks to subordinate the later. The British Army has at times prevented people from performing an Irish national ideal at various times over the troubles, and prior, from shooting to intimidation techniques to invading the field of play. Such forms of subordinating behaviour lead to what Law calls translation "the process of negotiation, representation, and displacement which establishes relations between actors entities and place"(Murdoch, 1998:362) relations and interrelations are renegotiated as the minority reaffirms its mutual dependency within the GAA. As a site of resistance they consolidate the terms of their incorporation is represented in the Central Council and those terms are proliferated to other Units of the Association in recognition of that struggle. The GAA represents is an organisation that mobilises its structures in such a way as to protect the fundamental principals and aims of the Association and national identity of a 32 county Ireland.

Motion 23
General Policy

"That Congress demand that all property that is requisitioned by the British Authorities, be returned immediately to its rightful owners, Crossmaglen Rangers, and that Congress ask the Irish Government to continue its efforts to end this unjust occupation and unnecessary use of club grounds"   Ard Mhacha.

E O Dufaigh (Ard Mhacha)

"He said it may be part of the symbol of the problem within the six counties but as a point of principle they have lost ground that was requisitioned by the British Authorities and while they are there they retain the right to bring that motion to congress-… it was the only place they could bring it. "

C O Murchu (Iar Uachtaran)
> "Seconded the motion, he said the problem was remaining, it was a festering sore at the level of the Association in Armagh and in the Six Counties and for the Association and anything anybody can do to have them moved form their, the sooner the better"

Motion Passed Unanimously

(Cumann Luthchleas Gael, 1994: 74/75)

At the micro level of Irish identity this situation is representative of the forms of subordination endured socially by the GAA. On the geographical landscape it defines the point, Murdoch argues, of spatial prescription and fixed by points, however, the result for national identity represents spaces of spatial distribution that is not defined by fixed coordinates rather the identity that is occupying that space at any given time and variations of that identity that have evolved over periods of time and negotiation. Identity cannot be mapped as it is constantly being renegotiated; the heterogeneous activities in the Association develop empathy to all Units in the Association in the realization of their aims but ultimately the overall good of the Association and thus Irish society must prevail.

> "One of the main objectives of our Annual Congress is to take stock of where we are and what we have achieved, of what our future prospects are and how we should set about achieving revised objectives, of what opportunities are open to us and what threats may prevent our achieving our aims..."

> Congressional Address
> C O Murchu (Iar Uachtaran)
> (Cumann Luthchleas Gael, 1994: 82)

41

5.4: GAA and Change.

Since the foundation of the GAA its policies and bylaws have been contested negotiated and renegotiated to represent the present day circumstances of the organisation. At times when the identity of the organisation, and things distinctly Irish, were perceived as being under threat the Annual Congress, made up of representatives of all the parts of the organisation, would enact policy to protect its ideologies. Collectively known as "The Ban" it was a set of policies to exclude non-native games and appeared as Rule 12.

Rule 12

"Any member of a club in Ireland playing Hurling, Handball, or Football under other rules than those of the GAA cannot be a member of the Association and neither can members of any other athletic club in Ireland be members of the GAA."(M[ac]Lua, 1967:27)

Subsequently "The Ban" developed into Rule 28 (a)

"That police, solders, sailors in the British Navy, pensioners form the British Army or Navy, be prevented from playing Hurling of Football or competing at athletic meetings under GAA laws" (M[ac]Lua, 1967:45)

The Ban "whose number often changed in re-drafts of the rules" (M[ac]Lua, 1967:47) became represented in its most present form Rule 21 and it became the most contested piece of legislation under use by the GAA. Rule 21 sought the exclusion of members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and the British armed forces. It had different consequences to different Units within the organisation; some Units saw it as the last line of resistance in what were impaired boundaries of a national territory; others saw Rule 21 as contestable and brought the Association into disrepute. No mater form which

perspective the arguments lay in relation to Rule 21, domestic politics of the nation were undergoing a process of dramatic change. The negotiation of the Good Friday Agreement through all party talks was securing peace in the province not seen before in the previous 25 years. What was already a contestable Rule was to come under further scrutiny as Units in the organisation were to capture the spirit of change griping the nation, although this was not the case in all Units of the Association.

Minutes Cumann Luthchleas Gael: 1994-1995 26/26 Marta 1994
Motion 43

That Rule 21 T.O. (1994) be deleted. - An Dun,

-Sligeach,

-Ath Cliath,

-Ceatharloch.

An tUachtaran said that Ard-Chomhairle had accepted from him the previous night the following motion.

That this Congress aggress standing orders be suspended to enable the tUachtaran to process the following motion on behalf of Ard-Chomhairle:

"That Motion 43 of the Congress Clar not be moved on the condition that Congress deputes to Ard-Chomhairle authority to call a Special congress to deal with Rule 21 should circumstances in the six counties call for such action. The Association takes this opportunity to re-iterating its commitment to contribute meaningfully to the cause of reconciliation and peace based on mutual understanding and respect.

Congress accepted the tUachtaran Motion." (Cumann Luthchleas Gael, 1994: 42)

The above motion put forward in 1994 laid the is an indicator of how the GAA operates is a bureaucratic organisation the fact that this motion was put forward lays the basis for Cumann Luthchleas Gael to put forward the motion in a Special Congress for debate by its members. It shows how the GAA was changing and how it recognised the changing nature of Irish domestic politics, Ard-Chomhairle laid the bureaucratic infrastructure in which the deletion of Rule 21 could be discussed without being ruled out of order, if the Irish context required it.

<u>Cumann Luthchleas Gael</u>

<u>Comhdhal Speisialta Riail 21</u>

<u>The Burlington Hotel Dublin</u>

<u>Satharan, 30 Bealtaine 1998</u>

Motion 1: That the Special Congress debate Riail 21

Debate:

Speaker (a) (County 1)

"He said they all looked forward to the day when exclusion is banished forever and the Association will actively pursue the inclusive participation of all and, accordingly, he would ask the tUachtaran to accept an amendment." (pg10)

Speaker (b) (County 2)

"He said that Rule 21 is only a focal point for what it is all about. What they want in the North is the same quality that people through the rest of the world demand" (pg12)

Speaker (c) (County 3)

"He said he came from a club which had three brothers shot dead in 1976 by the British army and their only crime was that they were GAA members." (pg13)

Speaker (d) (County 4)

"He said if this rule is removed he thought it would be for the betterment of the Association and if people do wish to join, and if they are not acceptable to the club they can reject them" (pg14)

Speaker (e) (County5)

"He said he would not go into history from 1972, it was probably to sore and too bitter for the people there, but he thought they knew the record of the RUC since direct rule in 1972- murder, unjust killing, semi-official assassination, collusion with loyalists murder squads, harassment, intimidation, blackmail, Black propaganda- that's how the RUC has behaved since 1972. He said they singularly failed to protect the nationalist people." (pg15)

Speaker (f) (County 6)

"They also agreed that in context of s political settlement in which the national and cultural traditions of the people of all Ireland are equally recognised and respected the concept of an exclusion rule will not have any relevance" (pg18)

Speaker (g) (County 7)

"A lot has been said about what has happened in Northern Ireland frames its artificial foundation back in 1920* but even in the last three years, since Down took that decision, a lot has happened" (pg19)

*In 1920 The Government of Ireland Act was passed putting the state of Northern Ireland into place.

Speaker (h) (County 5)

Town 1 club, 1992- injured players prevented form getting to hospital for treatment to injured players by paratroopers: their club premises also damaged: players of 18 years of age lined up and photographed along the side of the road. Where those photographs ended up heaven knows: harassed and stopped going to league games on three separate occasions;" (pg22/23)

Speaker (I) (County 8)

"He said he was a great believer that they in the Association should look after their own interests and that is the interests of the sport and leave the politicians to their own job, leave them to get on with what they are doing and keep their noses out of the affairs of the Association" (pg26)

Speaker (J) (No County)

"He said he was against the deletion of the rule because their Northern people were against the deletion of the rule who was he to suggest to them how they should live. They are the people living under this system, they are the people whose lives are affected, they are the ones who are threatened they live in fear and under threat and that fear sometimes amounts to fear of their lives and deletion of the rule that day was tantamount to a rejection of them and he would pay no opinion to the advisors without who counsel them on what they should or should not do" (pg31)

(Cumann Luthchleas Gael, 1998/99: 10-31)

Riail 21 was subsequently deleted and the motion was carried by special congress, the transcripts reveal just how the debate of the deletion ensued. It shows how the policy of the Association becomes contested debated and renegotiated to suit the current context of the Association. Contributes to the debate held Riail 21 with a different regard to other

members on the Special Congress, and each within their own setting Riail 21 meant little if anything at all, but it did represent a piece of legislation that discriminated against those who did not value the sovereignty of Ireland over it territorial boundaries. For others (saying others as sources have to remain anonymous) the rule was the only point of protection for their national identity and provided for their own security within the context of their clubs to realise the celebration of this identity. The admission of security forces that threatened and murdered members of an organisation on the basis that that organisation practiced national pastimes and national ideals contrary to governance structures of the Association was a complete disregard for the situation those Units in the Association found themselves in. Riail 21 was a site of resistance by a minority to a majority population contained in the boundaries Northern Ireland. As this was the only form of legislative expression to hegemonic (oppressive) rule Association Units could enact in order to protect the purity of its agenda, the right to enact this piece of legislation was contested as it did not now represent a direct threat to the majority of the Association its ideals and national identity. The Majority recreated the structures of its own subordination by removing legislation that affected directly a minority in the Association to improve the further aspirations of the Association.

5.5: Media Moguls.

In the heterogeneous relations surrounding the GAA in which subject, object and relations become entwined within sets of association (Murdoch, 1998). The media take on the role of cultural commentator in situations were the GAA finds itself embroiled in

controversy, as its bureaucratic structures do not aspire to the wishes of its grass roots affiliations and those contained within a national identity. As the Association moves into the 21st century it ideally the policy of the GAA should recognise hybridity in Irish culture. As Units within the organisation, its periphery, strive to make this ideal a reality they are met with the more traditional structures within the organisation. This had led to some critiques wondering how such traditional structures hold such a prominent position, and why they cannot be removed. However, as the normative ecology of the Association is being called into question, calls for a renegotiation on how it views old cultural systems of production and negotiating an alternative reality. Such a situation resulted in a fever pitch atmosphere within the organisation, the media, and the response of the general public. As eight County Boards put forward a motion to amend Riail 42 on the grounds that property under control of the Association Units could be used for alternative fixtures not under the control of the Association.

Riail 42 was subsequently ruled out of order on the basis that it was not written properly and did not declare what other rules would have to be amended before and after Riail 42 was amended.

"It was simple enough to be in order a motion has to be properly written and these were not properly written," he said "but you can not do anything with rule 42 until rule 5 is changed. They said 'amend rule 5' at the bottom of the motion, nut rule 5 is a very important that needs a policy change" (Keys, 2004:10)

In order to change Riail 42, Riail 5 would have to be amended first in congress; to change Riail 42 would be invalid as there was no provision for Riail 5. Rules are dealt

with in congress in ascending order so rule 42 cannot be amended before rule 40 in the order of business in Congress.

Media reaction was fraught "democracy mugged in a GAA committee room"(Breheny, 2004:59) many held the view that an unelected committee made a decision for an elected Council with an election mandate. The Motion Committee is made up of past presidents of the Association and they can rule a motion in or out of order based on the validity of that motion in accordance with GAA byelaws. These motions are then subsequently debated in Congress. "A committee comprised of the former GAA presidents is perverse" (Breheny, 1004:59) also other critiques such as Dessie Farrell Gaelic Players Association Chief Executive stated that "supposedly hallowed, but arguably flawed democracy of Congress" (Keys, 2004: 59) was a wide condemnation of the decision taken by the Motions Committee on the motion put forward by eight County Boards and backed by many. It points to a system of bureaucratic red tape that allows the present day traditional structures to remain in place. Reminding of the 1994 Congressional address already quoted that looks at future prospects, revised objectives and "Threats that may prevent our achieving our aims"(Cumann Luthchleas Gael, 1994: 82). Whatever the case maybe 'secret societies or bureaucratic red tape, the GAA has exhibited fundamental changes (Riail 21) in its exclusionary policies and yet it still retains the right to refuse membership. Amending of Riail 42 would not necessarily mean that opening Croke Park would be a field day by any measures as central council would still have the authority and last say in the use of its property. But the exclusionary infrastructure in which the politics of exclusion operate would be removed from visible legislation. As the current tUachtaran, Sean Kelly, on the motion out of order

"Inevitably this led to disappointment and anger but I firmly believe that given the responsibility of applying the system should not be pilloried for its inadequacy" (Crowe, 2004: 7)

The systems in which the GAA negotiates the policies, rules and aspirations of nationhood are according to the current president of the association are fundamentally flawed. The ramifications of this are that as Ireland and Irish society moves into the 21st century its core traditional values hold a grip on how that social organisation structures itself. Although to here that it is recognised that this structure is still impaired in accordance with general policy in the GAA. This has a fundamental consequence on how geographers can map those engaged in performance and those engaged in a non-performance of a normative ecology and the resultant consequences. The GAA as an organisation can remove barriers that stand in the way of different hybrids coming together in a celebration of each other's performance. The traditional structures of protectionism still remain within the legislative procedures of the GAA reaffirming its role as ""one of the most successful and original mass movements of its day" ... it was nonetheless a belligerent in the over-all war of Ireland versus England. It waged its battles on the strategic plane of youth and had as its objective a decisive victory for what was native over what was alien"(Mac Lua, 1967:105).

Chapter Six
Conclusion

Conclusion:

The initial concept of this study was to identify the best governance theory to analysis the complexities both internally and externally arising form the changes in Irish society and the impacts on the governance structures of the GAA that is based on distinctly identity and what that means for Irish society as it moves into the 21st century. The GAA formed itself within a background of colonialism and oppression of a society that considered itself as Irish. It was formed as a site of resistance in a renegotiation of social organisation and how that society viewed itself both internally and externally. The GAA created the opportunity to form an enclave in which to create a safe environment for those who considered themselves as Irish could come together through the medium of sport and celebrate Irishness. It also had a dual purpose in that it maintained the purity of the nation by contesting colonial physiognomy identities placed on it and engaged in creating a new identity and understanding of what it was to be Irish. The GAA played its part along with other cultural technicians in shaping the terrain of its organisation and mobilizing a new Irish society into a celebration of difference.

The consequence of such is that the action of the organisation far exceeds the boundaries of the Gaelic pitch. At various times the GAA's rules and policies, that set it apart from other organisation, become contestable as Irish society renegotiate what it meant to be Irish. The GAA's rules and policies, the fundamental principles on which it was founded were tested for validity. Did the rules and policies represent the structures of Irish society and the aspirations of such a society? This has the most fundamental critique of the GAA as an organisation in that society is dynamic, constantly renegotiating the

terms of its consolidation. The traditional structures of the GAA have been slow to respond to such changes that result in the mutual dependency between the organisation and societal structures and society as defined by the GAA being compromised. It is when these relations become compromised that the actors of all its parts renegotiate them. The GAA is a traditional organisation and retains its traditional structure to maintain this reality, as Irish society evolves a Traditional V's Modern argument will always ensue. The GAA could have represented an organisation incorporating a progressive reasoning in the formation of a national identity, embracing and remembering past conflicts but embracing a tolerant future.

The reality remains that the GAA organises itself around the aspiration of a 32 county Ireland and a national identity. While the territorial boundaries remain impaired, the GAA still remains a site of resistance in achieving those aims. In remaining a site of resistance the GAA retains the traditional structures and fundamental principals on which it was founded. As those who are engaged in the performance of GAA ideologies are at times doing so under threat and intimidation, while the Irish government can be powerless to do anything sometimes it is the legislative infrastructure of the GAA that provides a safe environment and peace of mind in which actors can engage.

The GAA is a contested terrain on many fronts its most immediate divide is the impairment of national boundaries. Also tensions arise from the traditional legislative infrastructure that remains in place as a source of resistance and protection to a minority in the organisation when a majority contests it. As it is a democratic organisation the

majorities will prevails, the organisation becomes the victim of its own subordination by removing legislation that directly affects the minority and not the majority. Internally what it means to be an actor in the GAA contests the enactants, the rulebook, becomes renegotiated to consolidate the relationship of all the parts in their mutual dependency. Another area were the GAA becomes contestable is as Irish society moves forward, as a whole; the dynamic change might not be represented in the organisation. This can point to some of the nullifying effects of organisational/societal structure. It is the haunting, the munera, that can garnish the creative ambitions of the present.

"Communities are to be distinguished, not by the falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson, 1991:6)

Bibliography

Bibliography:

Anderson, B. (1991), "Imagined Communities". Verso, London.

Auguet, R. (1994),"Cruelty and Civilization". Routledge; London.

Baker, F. Hulme, P. Iversen M. (eds) (1994) "Colonial Discourse/ Postcolonial theory" Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Bartley B and Shine K.T. (2001) "Competitive City: Governance and the Changing Dynamics of Urban Regeneration in Dublin" in Moulaert et al (eds) Urbanising Globalisation. Urban Redevelopment and Social Polarisation in the European City. Oxford, Oxford Press.

Booth Walling, C. (2001) " The History and Politics of Ethnic Cleansing" pg 47-66 Booth (ed.) The Kosovo Tragedy: The Human Dimension.

Breheny, M. (10 March 2004) Boycott of Congress the Only Answer to Scandalous decision, Irish Independent. 59

Brett, D. (1996). The construction of heritage. Cork: Cork University Press.

Debord, G. (1994), " Society of the Spectacle". Zone Books; New York.

De Burca, Marcus. (2000) "The GAA, A History", Gill & Macmillan; Dublin. (796.0609415 GAA)

Carroll, C. King, P. (eds)(2003) " Ireland and Postcolonial Theory" Cork University press, Cork. (941.5 CAR)

Crowe, D. (18 April 2004) Fiery Kelly Slams Critics, Irish Independent. 7

Cumann Luthchleas Gael, Tuarascail Chomdail Bhliantuil, Ard Chomairle Miontuairisci-1994/95

Cumann Luthchleas Gael, Tuarascail Chomdail Bhliantuil, Ard Chomairle Miontuairisci-1996/97

Cumann Luthchleas Gael, Tuarascail Chomdail Bhliantuil, Ard Chomairle Miontuairisci-1998/99

GAA (2003) "Official Guide 2003" Central Council of the Association, Dublin.

Graham, S. Marvin, S. (2001) "Splintering Urbanism" Routledge; London.

Hubbard, P. Kitchin, R. Bartley, B. Fuller, D. (eds) (2002) " Thinking Geographically" Continuum; London.

Keys, C. (10 March 2004) Rule 42 Lobby Pledges to Amend and Deliver, Irish Independent. 58

Keys, C. (10 March 2004) Boothman: Motions 'would be beaten', Irish Independent. 58

Keys, C. (10 March 2004) Public Fury Over Old Guard Stance in Croker Row, Irish Independent. 59

Kitchin, R. (1998), "Cyberspace", John Wiley & sons, Chichester

Lancaster University (2001) " Notes on the Theory of the Actor Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity" http://comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/soc054jl.html, Accessed (25/06/2004)

Law, J. Hassard, J. (eds)(1999) " Actor Network Theory", Blackwell Publishers, Oxford. (301.01 LAW)

Lowenthal, David. (1985) "The past is a foreign country", Cambridge; Cambridge University Press.

Mac Lua, Brendan. (1967)," The Steadfast Rule". Press Cuchulainn Ltd; Dublin. (796.060415 MACL)

McNeill, M. Sproule, J. Horton, P (2003) " The Changing Face of Sport and Physical Education in Post-Colonial Singapore" Sport, Education and Society 8(1), pp 35-56.

Murdoch, J (1988) " The Spaces of Actor-Network Theory", Geoforum 29(4), pp357-374

Neuman, W.L. (2000) " Social Research Methods", Allyn and Bacon: Boston

O'Rourke, C. (18 April 2004) Keeping Croke Park for Ourselves Argument Shot to Pieces, Irish Independent. 9

Ussher, J.M. (1997) "Framing the Sexual 'Other': the regulation of lesbian and gay sexuality," in Body Talk: The Material and Discursive Regulation of Sexuality, Madness and Reproduction, J.M. Ussher, ed, Routledge, London pp. 131-158.

Van Krieken R. (1999), "The Barbarism of Civilisation: Cultural Genocide and the 'Stolen Generations'" British Journal of Sociology Vol. 50, No 2,pp.297-315

Walsh, J.A.& Breanacht, P (1994)" Industrial an Regional Development in Ireland. Geographia no1 pg 67-72

"This lays the basis for the argument that adversity forces us to look after ourselves: 'Before we feel for others, we must in some measure be at ease ourselves. If our own misery pinches us very severely, we have no leisure to attend to that of our neighbour; and all savages are too much preoccupied with their own wants and necessities to give to much attention to those of the other person.'"(Carroll and King 2003: et. al; 86)