COMING 'HOME': PLACE, BELONGING AND SECOND-GENERATION RETURN MIGRATION FROM ENGLAND TO IRELAND

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I confirm that the material presented in this thesis is all my own work and has not been submitted for examination elsewhere.

ABSTRACT

This thesis contributes to the growing academic interest in the second-generation of migrants and the connections they maintain with their parental places of origin. It focuses on the children of the Irish emigrants to England of the 1950s and the decision, by some, to 'return' to Ireland, as adults. The past twenty years have seen an increase in immigration to Ireland from a range of countries and included in this are the second-generation from England. Although both immigration and return to Ireland have been recently researched, this is the first time that this group have been recognised as a discrete migration flow and their experiences have been studied. The thesis aims to uncover how an emotional connection to the parental home country and a predisposition to return there is established through everyday lives in the 'host' country, combined with the positive experience of holiday visits. It employs a qualitative approach to access the range of influences on the migration experience with the intention of allowing a more nuanced understanding to emerge from the perspective of the migrant and to access the feelings and emotions associated with a return to a perceived 'home'. In interpreting the everyday lives of the second-generation Irish I draw on Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) theory of habitus and social field. This proposes that individuals develop a set of taken-for-granted behaviours (dispositions), which collectively make up a habitus and are attuned to a particular social environment (field). The research finds evidence that the second-generation Irish in England acquired a set of dispositions as a result of which an emotional connection was formed with Irish ways of being and with Ireland as a perceived place of origin. Despite this, their experience of return is not a straightforward 'homecoming' and their accounts illustrate some of the challenges of return for second-generation returning migrants.

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INTRODUCTION

Interest in return migration has grown as an area of research since King (2000) described it as "the great unwritten chapter in the history of migration". Until the 1990s, migration research was focused primarily on large datasets and analysis of statistics (Fielding 1992; McHugh 2000). Therefore, in part, the 'neglect' of this important component of the migration process was due to the lack of a comparable volume of data on return with which to apply analysis as well as problems in defining the term 'return migrant' (Christou 2006a). Calls to recognise migration as more than just a single event in time which can be captured by the statistics on border crossings have contributed to raising the visibility of the variety of reasons for migration, including return movements (McHugh 2000; King 2002). Migration is increasingly acknowledged as an act which is significant in the context of a 'whole life' and which has ongoing impacts both for the individual and more broadly, for the sending and receiving locations (Fielding 1992; Halfacree and Boyle 1993). As a result, the "migratory process" (Castles 2000, 15) has to take account of return movements of the first and later generations as well as those of circulation (Chapman and Prothero 1983).

Second-Generation Return Migration

Within recent literature on return migration it is increasingly recognised that second (and subsequent) generations, through their families, develop and retain an emotional link to the parental or ancestral homeland. This results in a range of behaviours including roots tourism (Basu 2004; Holsey 2004; Lambkin 2008), ancestral tourism (Darieva 2011), transnational activity (Levitt and Waters 2002) and permanent return migration (Christou 2003; Conway, Potter, and Phillips 2005; Teerling 2010; Reynolds 2011; Wessendorf 2013). These behaviours raise questions about how an emotional link to place and a belief that 'home' may be elsewhere, develops and endures in the descendants of migrants. It also broadens the scope of research to allow for both the economic and non-economic motives for

migration (Halfacree 2004). This thesis employs a qualitative approach in order to access the range of influences on the migration experience with the intention of allowing a more nuanced understanding to emerge from the perspective of the migrant.

The thesis contributes to the growing academic interest in the second-generation of migrants and the connections they maintain with their parental places of origin. It focuses on the children of the Irish emigrants to England of the 1950s and specifically the decision, by some, to move 'home' to Ireland, as adults. Following Christou and King (2010, 168), I am using the term 'return migration' since, although it is not 'return' in the sense of a migration to the place of birth and upbringing, it is for many, "very much a real, ontological return to the land of their ancestors", and in this case of at least one of, their parents. It is this belief in a connection to the place of parental origin and how it shapes behaviour which this thesis seeks to investigate. Recognising this as a 'return' movement invokes the idea of a homecoming and the emotional feeling of belonging to a particular place (Antonsich 2010) to which return is a 'natural' expectation (King and Kılınc 2014). However, despite assumptions about a taken-for granted sense of belonging, returning to a perceived home can also require a complex process of adjustment for both the individual and those in the return destination (Ní Laoire 2008a). Second-generation return migration can therefore be a highly emotional experience in which belief in belonging in a particular place frequently requires behaviour to adjust to the actual experience of place. As a result, second-generation return contributes to our understanding of the people-place relationship and the significance of emotion to this.

The research was motivated by my own experience as one of the returned second-generation Irish from England. I grew up in London with Irish parents who had migrated to England in 1957 and 1964. Every summer we returned to visit family in Co. Sligo and Co. Kerry; times which have left my sister and me with memories of idyllic times in places, as well as with our extended family, and relationships which are all the stronger for the time

we were able to be together as children. I moved to live in Ireland in 2004, and was struck by how many English accents I was hearing, something which was in complete contrast to my childhood visits in which an English accent was a rarity. Moving to Ireland, as an adult, provoked a heightened reflection about how I fitted into this place with which I had always felt connected. It was this curiosity about my emotional connection with Ireland, the places particular to my personal history and the drive to explore more generally the emotional relationship second-generation individuals develop for their parental home countries, which was a key motivating factor for this research.

The Irish in Post-War England

Despite the large numbers of Irish people who migrated to England, in the post-war period (1940s-1960s), relatively little has been written about their experiences. As Hickman pointed out, writing in 1995, there had been no major sociological text on the Irish in Britain since the work of John A Jackson in 1963. More recently that gap in the research has begun to be filled with work by Gray (2000a), Hickman (2000), Walter (2001), Delaney (2007), Louise Ryan (2007) and Scully (2010) all contributing to raising the visibility of a first-generation of Irish immigrants in Britain and to understanding their experiences.

The term 'second-generation Irish' is used throughout the thesis to refer to individuals who were born in England to one or two Irish-born parents. This is the definition also used in the *Irish2* project, the first large survey on the second-generation Irish in Britain (Hickman, Morgan, and Walter 2001). This is a relatively under-researched group given that the Irish are England's largest ethnic minority. The multi-generational nature of England's Irish community is rarely recognised (Walter 2015) and, as a result, the Irishness of the second and subsequent generations has frequently been denied or ignored (Walter 2004; Campbell 2011).

There is an increasing body of work, often by second-generation individuals who have come through the British education system, which has flagged the

existence of the second-generation Irish and contributed to building an overall picture of this multi-generational ethnic group. This includes examples of the contradictions and confusions of being second-generation Irish, as well as recognising it as a position of strength and opportunity (see for example Arrowsmith 2000; Harte 2003; Mac an Ghaill and Haywood 2003; Walter 2004; Hickman et al. 2005; Campbell 2011; Murray 2012; B. O'Sullivan 2017). This has challenged assumptions about the easy and inevitable assimilation of the Irish (Liam Ryan 1990) and illustrated lives at the intersection of the two hegemonic domains of Irishness and Englishness (Hickman et al. 2005) between which the possibility of a hybrid identity is rarely acknowledged (Ní Laoire 2002). Work with this second-generation has also contributed to questioning the assumed homogeneity of white Englishness (Hickman et al. 2005).

With reference to framing this research in the context of the UK, Britain and Ireland I refer, throughout the thesis to the Irish in England. As Kumar (2003) points out, England and Britain are frequently used interchangeably in both academic and journalistic writing, while the United Kingdom is meaningful, for most, only on passport and visa applications, although the population of Northern Ireland may be an exception to this. I see this research as contributing to previously published work on the Irish in post-war Britain as described by Delaney (2007) and recognise that other published work on which I draw refers to both the 'Irish in Britain' (for examples see Jackson 1963; Liam Ryan 1990; Hickman 1995; Mac an Ghaill 2000; Louise Ryan 2004; Harte 2009), and the 'Irish in England' (Campbell 2011; Scully 2010). Although I had initially sought people 'born in Britain to Irish parents' (see Appendix III), all of the participants were from England. It is also the case that in Ireland, the participants were recognised as being *English* and that this had a significant impact on their reception both during holiday visits and after their return. For this reason I have chosen to refer to England and Englishness throughout the thesis, although I recognise that it is frequently difficult to disentangle this from understandings of Britain and Britishness.

Return Migration to Ireland

Although there is some evidence for historical return migration to Ireland throughout the 20th century (Foeken 1980; Gmelch 1986; McGrath 1991), popular discourse has been dominated by assumptions of emigration and the associated tropes of exile, loss, longing and more recently, opportunity, with assumptions that emigrants may well visit but do not permanently return. In this there has been little acknowledgement of the links with home that emigrants and their children actively maintain throughout their lives outside of Ireland. Since the 1990s, Ireland has experienced positive net migration made up of Irish-born returning migrants and their foreign-born children and, for the first time, increasing numbers of immigrants of other nationalities. At the same time, recognition of the "extended Irish family abroad" (Office of the President of Ireland 1990) was one of the central themes of the Presidency of Mary Robinson and this coincided with an increased interest in the concept of 'the Irish diaspora' in both popular and academic discourse (Scully 2012). More recently the global Irish have been recognised as a useful economic resource for Ireland (Ancien, Boyle, and Kitchin 2009) with emigration and return much more widely discussed and acknowledged (E. O'Leary and Negra 2016).

With the reversal of Ireland's migration patterns and the increasing numbers of Irish-born returning migrants, there has been a growth in research into the motives for return and experience after return with work by Corcoran (Corcoran 2002), Jones (2003), Ní Laoire (2008a), Conlon (2009), Ralph (2009) and Cawley and Galvin (2016), building a picture of this return phenomenon. This includes themes such as feelings of displacement, the search for home and a sense of belonging and the lack of recognition of these 'immigrant' returnees in Ireland. This research with second-generation returnees explores similar themes to those described above, albeit nuanced by their status as English-born immigrants who, nonetheless, have numerous prior connections to place/s and personal histories here. Exploring their experiences through this research therefore adds a hitherto neglected dimension to the overall picture of recent immigration to Ireland.

Ní Laoire (2008a, 35) argues that the Irish-born returning migrants of her work challenge the boundaries between 'host' / 'newcomer' "dualisms" which exist in Irish society, arguing that the return migrant shifts constantly and often, uneasily, between these positions. Second-generation returnees further blur these positionings through their experience of choosing to return to a perceived 'home' in which they are often received as English and 'foreign'. This research shows how they move instead between the shifting positions of 'cultural insiders' who are frequently assumed to be 'outsiders' while also learning that they are not as 'inside' as they had perhaps assumed. Their observations and accounts of where and when they have felt a sense of not belonging therefore highlight the boundaries of 'Irishness' in Ireland.

Aims and Theoretical Context

The research has three aims:

1. To explore how a sense of belonging to Ireland was nurtured in the second-generation as a result of growing up with distinctively Irish expressions of family, cultural and social identity.
2. To identify how this sense of belonging and attachment to place may have influenced the migration of the second-generation to Ireland.
3. To identify how such 'returnees' experience life in Ireland.

The thesis focuses on the everyday lives of the children of the Irish in England in order to explore how a sense of belonging to Ireland evolved. The research was designed to investigate how, in the taken-for-grantedness of the everyday, identities are shaped and powerful attachments are formed to particular ways of being. In this way, the intention was to gain an understanding of how, while growing up in England, they also had a sense of Irishness in their lives and, combined with regular visits 'home' to Ireland they developed a connection to Ireland (Buckley 1997; Walter 2013).

The thesis uses a transnational perspective to explore the experiences of the second-generation Irish. It supports the claims of Delaney (2005) and

Walter (2013) who both argue that this migration from Ireland to Britain provides an historical perspective on the apparently 'new' transnationalism paradigm which emerged in the 1990s (Vertovec 2001). Portes et al (1999, 219) define transnational activity as "regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders" and, with reference to this cohort of second-generation Irish, there is evidence for 'regular and sustained' contact with Ireland during childhood. Related to this is the concept of 'translocalism' which incorporates the idea of activities across national borders but also recognises that much of this activity is focused on specific local places (Conradson and McKay 2007). Translocalism is therefore a way to "challenge the prioritization of the 'nation' that characterizes transnational theorizations" (Gilmartin 2008, 1845). However, while translocalism may well be applicable to the experience of the first-generation of migrants from Ireland, it is less appropriate for their children. With reference to the emphasis on local rather than national attachments the next generation are likely to develop attachments to two local places through regular and sustained contact with both branches of their extended families; therefore, although holiday visits enabled them to become deeply immersed at a local level, this time was typically remembered as time spent in 'Ireland' and contributed to how Ireland was imagined by them. Meanwhile, in England, they were members of 'Irish' communities and mixed with people from many parts of Ireland, although County Associations did feature for some families. In addition, the second-generation were able to demonstrate and affirm their allegiance to the nation through events such as international rugby and soccer tournaments and while watching the Eurovision song contest, all of which further contributed to their imaginings of Ireland, in place of or in addition to local allegiances, and this reinforced their feelings of belonging on a national scale. During holiday visits and after their return to Ireland they were also more likely to be recognised as English which again indicates the significance of a national sense of belonging, or not. Transnationalism is therefore a more appropriate concept than translocalism for exploring the experiences of the second-generation Irish across both England and Ireland. Transnationalism is also used in preference to diaspora as a way of highlighting the significance of

the “durable ties across countries” included in understandings of transnationalism (Faist 2010, 9) in which this second-generation cohort took part regularly. In this way the research focuses on the specificity of the experience of this group of migrants without attempting to include the multiple locations, both historically and spatially, in which Irish migrants and their children have engaged. It is this recognition of the “transhistorical and transgenerational” aspects of migration are what Hickman (2012, 22) argues distinguishes transnationalism from diaspora.

Although there is a long history of migration from Ireland to England the research focuses on the children of one particular migration flow, that of the migrants to post-war England; this is adapted from Delaney’s (2007) use of the term ‘post-war Britain’ and which refers to the migrants of the 1940s-1960s. This was a period of large scale emigration from Ireland, with the majority going to England. The context of their arrival in England was that of a growing post-war economy with much of the demand for new labour filled by immigrants from Ireland as well as from other former British colonies in parts of the Caribbean and South Asia. Their experience in Britain was shaped by the economic situation at the time in which much manual and unskilled labour was needed (Hickman 1995; Delaney 2007), the political environment, which increasingly sought to control immigration (Studlar 1978; Hickman 1998), and the social setting in which Irish Catholics were perceived as different to the white English (Hickman 1993). In addition, many only expected their time in England to be a temporary migration followed by an inevitable return home (Delaney 2007). As the Irish became established in post-war England and their temporary migration became a long-term commitment, their experience was further coloured by the outbreak of conflict in Northern Ireland in 1969 (often referred to as the ‘Troubles’). This resulted in reinforcing an atmosphere in which the Irish were often assumed to be politically suspect and socially ‘different’ from the English while, at the same time, as a white ethnic group in a society in which racism was assumed to be an issue of colour difference, claims of anti-Irish racism were rarely recognised (Hillyard 1993; Hickman and Walter 1997).

This is the context in which the second-generation grew up in England; their everyday lives shaped by their Irish, usually Catholic, families while their English accents and whiteness led to assumptions of easy assimilation and sameness (Hickman et al. 2005; Walter 2006). In interpreting the everyday lives of the second-generation Irish I draw on Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) theory of habitus and social field. This proposes that individuals develop a set of taken-for-granted behaviours (dispositions), which collectively make up a habitus and are attuned to a particular social environment (field). For Bourdieu, dispositions are the result of the power structures at work in a place incorporated into bodies through everyday behaviour. Therefore, an exploration of the dispositions of the habitus of the children of the Irish migrants to post-war England also draws attention to the wider economic, political and social environment in which these individuals grew up.

Related to this are Billig's (1995) concept of 'banal nationalism' and Edensor's (2002) work on national identity, popular culture and everyday life. These emphasise the power of the often unnoticed everyday objects, landscapes and performances, and our behaviours around them, to create a strong, often unacknowledged, sense of belonging on a national scale. With reference to the children of migrants, I argue that this sense of belonging is also acquired on a transnational scale as a result of the presence of everyday objects and performances relevant to the parental home country in the everyday lives of the second-generation.

Place and the sense of belonging to place with reference to England and Ireland is a significant theme in the work. The way in which place contributes to and is an aspect of the habitus (E. S. Casey 2001) is therefore important in understanding how a sense of attachment to the parental homeland can become a significant disposition of a second-generation individual. As well as being a disposition acquired through prior learning, this sense of attachment has an important emotional element. Second-generation return provides a way of thinking about migration which acknowledges the role of emotion in addition to, or in place of, economic or

quality of life factors; in this way the relationship between habitus and place and the resulting sense of belonging is understood as a result of affect and emotion (V. May 2013).

Employing habitus as a way of exploring second-generation attachment to place and return migration is therefore an opportunity to critique and extend Bourdieu's theory. It highlights the fact that there is a spatial dimension to habitus (E. S. Casey 2001; Cresswell 2002) and "that all social relations become real and concrete… only when they are spatially 'inscribed'" (Soja 1996, 46). In addition, it illustrates the way that "people experience their social position and their intersubjective ties as drenched with emotion and morality" (V. May 2011, 369) and helps explain how habitus endures while also being generative (Bourdieu 1990, 2005).

Research on migration "is full of emotional moments" (Richter 2011, 221) and it is as a result of emotion that the bonds endure between a dispersed, transnational family and a sense of belonging to place and people (Baldassar 2008; Skrbiš 2008). This work therefore also contributes to geography's "emotional turn" (Bondi, Davidson, and Smith 2005, 1; Bondi 2005a, 434) which recognises the role of emotion in connecting people with places and making places meaningful (M. Smith et al. 2009).

Methodology

Rather than prove that second-generation return is taking place, the research aims to gain a greater understanding of the migration experience through the use of a qualitative methodology. This provides an opportunity to explore other modes of the migrant experience through an in-depth exploration of experiences, feelings and thoughts both prior to and since the move. In order to achieve an in-depth knowledge of the migratory experience, the research focused on a small number of returnees in order to gather detailed descriptions of and reflections on their lives in England, their decision to move and their lives in Ireland since the move took place. Information was gathered from 30 self-selected second-generation returnees who were all the children of migrants from Ireland to post-war England; this included written

text and extended face-to-face, informal interviews. The written text and narratives were then analysed in depth, using a grounded theory approach, with the intention of gaining understanding of this return movement rather than proving or disproving an overarching theory.

Structure and Layout of the Thesis

The thesis begins with a discussion of the key theoretical constructs which underpin the work. In Chapter One, I discuss the recent growth in recognition of the multiple motivations for migration which includes the emotions people have for places. I explore the way in which second-generation individuals acquire a belief in their connection to the parental home country through their everyday lives; this results in their ontological sense of belonging there as referred to earlier. I use Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) concept of habitus to conceptualise everyday lives and to consider how everyday ways of being are also shaped by the wider economic, political and social environment. Everyday lives are further explored through the many "material, spatial and performative" ways (Edensor 2002, vi) by which the parental home nation is "flagged" daily (Billig 1995, 93), in addition to everyday experiences of the nation of residence, thus shaping and reinforcing attachments on a transnational scale.

Chapter One goes on to consider the relationship between social behaviour and place. It explores how place/s become meaningful and significant to the children of migrants both through their direct engagement with place as well as in the way that they are socialised to think about particular places and acquire a belief in belonging as a disposition of the habitus. It links the dispositions of the habitus with the particularities of place, supporting E. S. Casey's argument that habitus is "the mediatrix between place and self" (2001, 686). It also includes the emotional element of place attachment, something May (2013) argues is missing from Bourdieu's theory. The chapter ends with a consideration of the realities of return in which a particular second-generation habitus has to adjust to the realities of everyday life in place. In this way it is possible to further understandings of the nature of habitus, place and belonging and the way they are interrelated.

Chapter Two uses a range of secondary sources to put the lives of the participants of this study in context. It describes what it was like to grow up in England during the period of conflict in Northern Ireland (1969-1998), as well as witness the changes in attitudes to Irishness and changes in the Irish economy and society which began to take place in the 1990s. It also considers the agency of this second-generation cohort in shaping and contributing to recognition of their experience and their sense of difference as 'Irish' in England. In Chapter Three, I outline the development of qualitative methodologies in migration studies and describe the use of 'biographical methods' (Roberts 2002) in this work. I also explore my own reflexivity and emotional engagement with the topic from my 'insider' status as a second-generation returned migrant in order to acknowledge how this may have shaped the outcomes of the research (Rose 1997; Gray 2008).

Chapters Four, Five and Six present the findings of the research. Chapter Four focuses on growing up in England and the everyday lives reported by the participants. This includes reference to routines and behaviours of family life and the material possessions which shaped the habitus of the second-generation Irish. The discussion also includes the reflections the participants shared about how a more reflexive sense of Irishness evolved as they got older and the choices they made regarding their identities and therefore their behaviour. The chapter ends with extracts from one participant's account which reflects experiences reported by other respondents in order to give an overall picture of growing up 'Irish' in England.

Chapter Five explores the reported experience of place with reference to Ireland during annual summer holidays. The aim is to consider how places become "centres of meaning" (Tuan 1975, 153) without necessarily being sites of long term residence. It explores the significance of the imagining of place and the remembering and anticipation of time in place in addition to direct physical engagement. It therefore recognises the way the second-generation Irish from Britain experienced "regular and sustained social

contacts over time" (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999, 214) with places in Ireland and were thus engaged in transnational activity. The chapter begins with descriptions of regular holiday visits which the participants experienced throughout their childhoods and how this shaped a sense of connection to their particular parental homeplaces and to Ireland more generally. In addition to the everyday engagements with Irishness discussed in Chapter Four, holiday visits further confirmed a sense of belonging to Ireland and therefore contributed to the 'seeds' of the migration decision (Halfacree and Boyle 1993). The chapter ends by reporting on the reasons given by these participants for their return as adults.

In Chapter Six, the experience of return to Ireland is considered in more detail; this includes the extent to which this is a "homecoming" (E. S. Casey 2009, 290). The focus is again on everyday lives as the site in which belonging in Ireland is affirmed or denied and thus experienced as a 'home'. The chapter also recognises that "return is not so much about recapturing an idealized past as it is about forging the future" (McHugh 2000, 77) and thus the experience of "homesteading" (E. S. Casey 2009, 290) is also explored as an aspect of the return migration experience. The recollections illustrate how individuals adjust the habitus and the significance of place to habitus. The experience of the returning second-generation individual highlights some of the defining features of what it is to be Irish or to claim an Irish identity. The significance of accent is noted as a key contributor to the sense of belonging in Ireland.

The concluding chapter outlines the main findings of the thesis. It discusses contributions to concepts and theory and to understanding of second-generation return migration. It raises awareness of a previously neglected aspect of Irish migration and argues that emotional factors are highly significant in second-generation return migration decisions and experiences. The migration is seen in the context of a culture of migration which emerges as a result of the transnational activities with which this second-generation group grew up. It also affirms the link between habitus and place and provides concrete examples of the dynamic and generative nature of habitus.

CHAPTER ONE

SECOND-GENERATION RETURN MIGRATION: MIGRATION 'BEYOND' THE ECONOMIC

Return migration is typically imagined as the end or opposite of emigration. It is defined as "the movement of emigrants back to their homelands to resettle" (Gmelch 1980, 136) and described by King (1986, 4) as the term "used when people return to their country of origin after a significant period abroad or in another region". The increasing evidence for the numerous ways by which second (and subsequent) generations retain links with their parental home countries complicates this received definition and "challenges conventional and simplistic conceptualisations of international migration as a neat process leading from one country to another and then, for some at least back again" (Christou 2003, Appendix 3). It recognises that the children of migrants acquire a belief in their belonging to the parental home country and develop an "affective connection" (King, Christou, and Teerling 2011, 2). Therefore, although the second-generation cannot 'return' to a place it never left, there is still a sense of 'return' from the point of view of the individual migrant, even if this is not accurate in terms of migration statistics (King and Christou 2011).

Studying second-generation return contributes to broadening the scope of migration research since it challenges assumptions that all voluntary migrants are rational decision makers responding to economic push and pull factors (Lee 1966). It allows a consideration of the emotional element of migration decision making and therefore contributes to seeking reasons for migration which are "'beyond' the economic" (Halfacree 2004, 239). In this way, I argue, it contributes to geography's "emotional turn" which seeks to acknowledge "the presence of emotions in our interpretations and understandings of the world" (Bondi, Davidson, and Smith 2005, 1) and therefore recognises the way in which "social relations are mediated by feelings and sensibility" (K. Anderson and Smith 2001, 8).

This chapter explores four broad themes which have emerged from key studies of second-generation return, internationally, in order to outline the theoretical context for my own research. These are migrant transnationalism, the significance of the taken-for-granted behaviours and activities of everyday lives, the link between emotion and place attachment and the 'disruption' experienced of as a result of return migration. The chapter begins by discussing the concept of transnationalism and the way that recognising the "regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders" (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999, 219), in which migrants engage, has brought new perspectives to migration research (for examples see Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Vertovec 1999). This includes raising awareness of the relationships the second-generation develop with their parental country of origin and how this may motivate transnational activity, in particular, permanent return migration.

The acquisition of the practices and behaviours of a place of origin and the experience of growing up in a "transnational social field" (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004, 1002) is then explored. This is contextualised with reference to Bourdieu's (1990) concepts of 'habitus' and 'social field' through which everyday behaviour is produced according to the wider economic, political and social relations which operate in a place during a particular period of time. Following the work of Billig (1995) and Edensor (2002), I then argue that everyday, taken-for-granted behaviours determine the extent to which an individual can operate successfully in a given social field and that the second-generation learn to adapt in multiple and perhaps contrasting social environments.

Although Bourdieu does not explicitly acknowledge the significance of place in his work, thinking about migration and the experience of the second-generation, in terms of the dispositions of the habitus, highlights the role of spatiality in social relations (Soja 1996). In the next part of the chapter I focus on the link between habitus and place and how belonging to place is acquired. King (1995, 28) argues that habitus "gives people a sense

of place in the world". The way in which this sense is "carried with them and refashioned" as a result of migration indicates how migration research can draw attention to how dispositions adapt and evolve in different spatial settings. This part of the chapter also explores how habitus produces behaviour which is more than just learning and employing a set of rules; there is also an emotional element to social behaviour which helps explain its endurance (V. May 2013). This section continues by referring to the significance of time spent in the parental home country by the second-generation through holiday visits and how this further confirms an emotional attachment to place.

Having established the way in which second-generation individuals acquire attachment to the parental home country the final part of the chapter considers the experience of return migration. Enacting the parental "dream of return" (Wessendorf 2007, 1085) further highlights the significance of place to habitus. The experience of "re-implacement" (E. S. Casey 2009, 291) requires an individual to adjust taken-for-granted behaviours, again contributing to an understanding of how behaviour adapts and adjusts and the role of emotion in this. The chapter ends by acknowledging that, in the process of 'return' to the parental home country and a perceived place of belonging, transnational behaviour is likely to continue, particularly for second-generation individuals for whom the desire to return is often explained as a result of their transnational lives.

MIGRATION 'BEYOND' THE ECONOMIC

In the 1990s research in the US began to incorporate the concept of 'transnationalism' into understanding migration which brought about a change in focus regarding migrant lives. Transnationalism was a concept which began to be used in the field of international relations in the 1970s to "describe the proliferation of nonstate institutions and governance regimes acting across national boundaries" (Levitt and Waters 2002, 7). However, its application to migration research allowed recognition that "many migrants simultaneously become incorporated into a new land while keeping some kind of transnational connection" with a place of origin (Glick Schiller

2004, 454). This is not necessarily a new behaviour (for example Foner 1997; Benton 2003; Skrbiš 2008; and in the Irish context, Delaney 2005), although there is debate about the increased intensity of these connections (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999; Vertovec 1999). Instead, as Glick Schiller (2004) points out, the growth in transnational studies was the paradigm shift that enabled the inevitable activities of migrants between host and home country to become visible, activities which create a "transnational social field" (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). As a result, migration studies began to include a consideration of the way in which "migrants maintain and construct social, political and economic relationships across borders" (*ibid,* 455) with return migration a part of this broader pattern of transnational connection (Glick Schiller cited in Foner 1997, 358).

At the same time as these transnational connections were being recognised, research at the scale of internal migration, in both the US and the UK, was also contributing to a broadening of the focus of migration research. There were calls for recognition that migrations "are cultural events rich in meaning" (McHugh 2000, 71; see also Fielding 1992) and that there needed to be a "greater appreciation of the 'non-economic' issues that inform much migration behaviour" in an attempt to move migration research "'beyond' the economic" (Halfacree 2004, 239). This required attention to be given to the methodologies used in migration research, resulting in greater use of ethnographic methods. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three.

This broadening of the scope of migration research has resulted in "a far more variegated and nuanced exploration of the ontology of return" (King and Christou 2011, 453). It has enabled recognition of the relationships which second and subsequent generations may develop with their perceived places of origin and promoted new methodologies with which to investigate these relationships. As Conway and Potter point out in the context of the Caribbean, a first generation of migrants who maintained links between a home and destination country throughout their lives would be significant in shaping the "migration calculations" of the next generation (2009, 2). Many

of the second-generation take part in "transnational ways of being" as well as "transnational ways of belonging" (Glick Schiller 2004, 458) and this shapes their relationships with the people and places with which they are connected but from whom they are physically removed. It also impacts on their sense of identity and belonging in their place of upbringing. Transnational ways of being "include various quotidian acts through which people live their lives across borders" (*ibid*). For the children of migrants who grow up "in a context infused with homeland values and behaviours" (Levitt and Waters 2002, 22) they are, to an extent, "initiated into transnational practices and experiences" (Conway and Potter 2009, 4) as aspects of daily life about which they are not necessarily consciously aware. This may include, for example, the continuation of cultural practices of the home country in daily events such as language, food behaviours, religious practice, socialising with other immigrants and taking part in the exchange of information between home and host country through letters, phone calls, electronic communications or newspapers and television.

As well as its impact on everyday social practice, migration is increasingly recognised as "an ongoing emotional journey" (Louise Ryan 2008, 301) which impacts down the generations. For Skrbiš (2008), emotions are a key aspect of transnational family life within which an individual is moulded. He argues that everyday ways of being, such as keeping in regular contact with members of an extended family, are a form of emotional labour which is, "constitutive of the transnational family experience itself" (*ibid*, 236). In addition, the experience of absence from particular people or places, "create[s] situations where a sense of nostalgia and longing may be just as emotionally intense as the actual experience of co-presence". Migrants and their descendants thus create "transnational ways of belonging […] through which people reach out to distant lands or persons through memory, nostalgia and imagination" (Glick Schiller 2004, 458) and in this way shape "an emotional connection to persons [and I would add, places,] who are elsewhere" (*ibid*, 459). The experience of transnational being and belonging therefore orients a second-generation individual towards the parental home country and predisposes them to develop a sense of connection there.

Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) argue that an individual may take part in transnational ways of being without necessarily exhibiting ways of belonging or identifying with the home country (see also Wessendorf 2013, 51) and equally, belonging may be invoked without engaging in daily social practice. However, in reality, it is difficult to untangle ways of being and belonging in second-generation lives. If listening to stories about life in the homeland evokes nostalgia for that place, and teaches the next generation the idea that, 'we belong elsewhere' (see for example Reynolds 2008), it is also possible that the regular retelling of such stories becomes a way of being, a taken-for-granted practice of an immigrant family.

Equally, Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) argue that the second-generation may choose to signify belonging in a particular transnational social field without necessarily engaging in regular social practice, for example, through "practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group" (2004, 1010). However, while this may be an option for some second-generation individuals, early exposure to particular transnational ways of being, in a sense, helps to enable belonging. While Levitt and Glick Schiller's (2004) use of the term 'belonging' suggests an aspirational, voluntary state which an individual may choose, belonging is a much more complex concept. For May, belonging is about having a second nature knowledge of how to behave in order to achieve "a sense of ease with oneself and one's surroundings" (2011, 368); an ease which is created through having learned the unwritten "rules of the game" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 99). However, belonging, or not, is more than simply choosing to identify with a particular people or place. There is an important political dimension in that belonging is also about how an individual is recognised and received by the people and place in which belonging is claimed (Yuval-Davis 2006; Antonsich 2010). The African-Americans of Holsey's (2004) study for example, who visit the slave forts of Ghana as 'roots' tourists and see Ghana as a spiritual homeland make little connection with contemporary Ghanaian life. And, as I shall explore in detail later in this thesis, the claims of belonging in Ireland made by the

second-generation are rarely accepted straightforwardly (see Hickman 2007). While acquiring particular ways of being helps ease the path into belonging, second-generation return frequently produces a tension between being and belonging. As I shall discuss later in this chapter, knowing the rules of everyday social practice and knowing how to behave does not guarantee acceptance and feelings of ease in place.

Research with a number of second-generation groups provides evidence for the ways in which Glick Schiller's "transnational ways of being" (2004, 458) shape a sense of belonging to particular parental homelands. In her study of the Italian second-generation in Switzerland, Wessendorf (2010, 368) describes individuals who "spoke Italian at home and [during] visits from migrant relatives, Italian Mass on Sundays and Sunday meals with the extended family". As a result they found that they "naturally developed friendships with people of the same origin" (*ibid* 370; see also R. C. Smith 2002 in the context of the Mexican second-generation in New York). In addition, she found that the witnessing of their parents' nostalgia for the homeland combined with regular visits, shaped a sense of belonging which had "a powerful influence on the choices members of the second-generation make regarding their place of residence" (Wessendorf 2007, 1084). For the Greek second-generation in the US and in Germany, Christou and King (2006) find similar themes on the normality of 'Greekness' in everyday lives. One US-born respondent reported learning to speak Greek before English and that all their socialising was with Greek relatives and friends. In this way she acquired a sense of belonging with the result that: "I always thought and knew I was Greek" (*ibid,* 822). One of the German-born respondents described being encouraged, by his mother, to continue to attend 'Greek school' in order to facilitate eventual family return (King, Christou, and Teerling 2009). This, when combined with his reported experience of idyllic summer holidays in Greece, reinforced his "emotional connection to persons [and places] who are elsewhere" therefore creating his sense of "transnational belonging" (Glick Schiller 2004, 459).

Significant in these comments is the role of parents, family and the wider immigrant community in shaping transnational ways of being and belonging in next generations in circumstances that include both the quotidian and the unique. In the context of the Caribbean second-generation in Britain, Reynolds (2008, 15) notes that the decision to return was a "direct consequence of their participation in internal familial transnational activities, nostalgic reminisces of 'past lives' in the Caribbean passed down across successive generations". In a similar context, Stephenson found that, "the process of creating an idea and/or a sense of belonging to a particular destination appears to occur through childhood experiences and parental instruction" (2002, 398).

The idea that a second-generation individual inevitably takes part in both everyday social practices (ways of being) as well as practices which evoke memory and nostalgia for the parental home country (ways of belonging) are the two strands on which this thesis seeks to investigate the return migration of the second-generation Irish from England. The key questions are what is the role of everyday social practice in shaping the idea of migration? And, how does a sense of belonging to the parental home country, combined with not belonging in the host country, further motivate migratory behaviour? A further question addresses the 'reality' of return; how do the taken-for-granted ways of being acquired through social practice adjust following a migration to a perceived place of belonging? In the next section I use a range of examples to explore the multiple ways the second-generation may engage with both their country of birth and the parental place of origin in their everyday lives and how this shapes a particular second-generation way of being.

THE EVERYDAY LIVES OF SECOND-GENERATIONS

Glick-Schiller argues that second-generations are exposed to transnational ways of being which "include various quotidian acts through which people live their lives across borders" (2004, 458) and through which they can learn to belong to a particular people and place. At the same time, their everyday

lives in their country of birth also expose them to a national way of being of which they are inevitably a part. In this section, I explore everyday lives in more detail in order to consider their significance in shaping a sense of belonging in a trans/national social field. Also significant is the recognition that migration takes place and its consequences unfold, at a particular moment in space and time; the actors, the migrants and their children, live out their lives in the context of a unique set of economic, political and social relations which will shape their behaviours and to which they also contribute. Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) concepts of habitus and social field usefully help to explore the everyday in the context of these larger structures. Although difficult to identify recognisable boundaries, Jenkins explains 'social field' as "a social arena within which struggles take place over specific resources" (2002, 84). What counts as a resource and how such struggles occur is a result of the economic, political and social structures which operate in a given social field through the social practice of the individuals involved. Exploring the everyday lives of migrants and their children therefore gives an insight into the economic, political and social structures which operate in a place at a particular time.While the theory of the habitus was developed by Bourdieu to explain the durability of the class system, and its social and spatial boundaries are unclear (Kelly and Lusis 2006), there is a case to be made that habitus does have a spatial dimension (Cresswell 2002; E. S. Casey 2001) and that habitus and field can be identified both nationally (Edensor 2002) and transnationally (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). The spatial dimension of habitus is particularly relevant for migrants for whom a physical movement across space typically requires changes in social behaviour. In this way, studying the experiences of migrants draws attention to the social and spatial boundaries of 'field' and the accompanying behaviours.

Bourdieu (1990) proposes that all social practice is learned behaviour, learning which takes place and therefore 'fits' a particular social field. He explains that it is learned in the way a child acquires a first language, through action and involvement, rather than explicitly learning and then applying 'the rules'. In learning a mother tongue, a child is able "to think *in*

(rather than with) the language" (*ibid*, 67, italics in the original) and the ability to speak a particular first language therefore appears to be the natural, inevitable way to communicate. In the same way, a child also acquires a set of social behaviours or "dispositions" (*ibid*, 53) through action, involvement and monitoring by those already operating in a given social field. As a result of this learning, individuals acquire a taken-for-granted way of behaving which acts as "practical sense" (*ibid*, 66) within the social field to which the habitus is attuned; this is behaviour which also appears to be natural and inevitable and which, as a result, is rarely questioned. Further, those with a particular set of shared dispositions and who are invested in maintaining the social world of a particular 'field', inevitably make decisions which promote its stability and protect the assumed social order. Without "conscious calculation" (Bottero 2010, 4), decisions are made to behave in a certain way just because that is how it has always been, with the assumption that the 'correct' behaviour is "informed by a common sense" (Bourdieu 1990, 69). For migrants, however, this assumed stability is interrupted. The "practical sense" (*ibid*, 66) which informs behaviour no longer appears to be natural and inevitable and everyday behaviours can no longer be taken for granted.

In a national context, Edensor (2002) identifies durable dispositions of behaviour which are recognised as appropriate in a given national 'field'. He describes the numerous "everyday forms of practical knowledge" which the residents of a nation employ unthinkingly, such that they form "part of the normal competencies required to sustain a livelihood and a social life" and in this way contribute to a "national habitus" (*ibid*, 93) and a national "practical sense" (Bourdieu 1990, 66). It has also been argued that many international migrants, and their families, as a result of their "regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders" (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999, 219) live within 'transnational social fields' and therefore also acquire the dispositions of a 'transnational habitus' (Guarnizo 1997; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Kelly and Lusis 2006; Zeitlyn 2012). Levitt and Glick Schiller define the transnational social field as "multi-layered [and] multi-sited" (2004, 1003), thus its existence

challenges assumptions about "neat divisions of connection" within recognisable borders (*ibid,* 1010) and instead highlights "the experience of living simultaneously within and beyond the boundaries of a nation-state" (*ibid,* 1006). The transnational social field includes "those who move and those who stay behind" (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004, 1003) and, importantly for second-generations, it also includes those who grow up in the 'host' country, and who do not necessarily visit the parental country of origin, but whose everyday lives, and therefore the dispositions of the habitus, are shaped by this 'other' place. Wolf, for example, argues that the practice of measuring the behaviour of the second-generation against the standards of the 'Home' country meant that "at the level of emotions and behaviours, the [second-generation Filipino] becomes a transnational subject" and thus acquires a transnational habitus (2002, 285; see also Gardner and Mand 2012). Further examples of the "practical sense" (Bourdieu 1990, 66) acquired by the second-generation in their transnational social field are discussed below.

Transnational Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life

In *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*, Edensor (2002, 12) investigates "the material, spatial and performative dimensions of the everyday" in order to illustrate the way that the "nation is experienced and understood through popular culture" (*ibid,* vi). Following Billig's work on *Banal Nationalism* (1995) which argues that "the reproduction of national identity… is grounded in the habitual assumptions about belonging that permeate the media" (Edensor 2002, 11), Edensor proposes that national identity is "constituted out of a huge cultural matrix which provides innumerable points of connection" and into which "individuals can tap to actualise a sense of national belonging" (*ibid,* vii). He details the 'material, spatial and performative' aspects of this 'cultural matrix' with which individuals engage repeatedly in the "habitual, unreflexive routines of everyday life" (*ibid,* vi). He then uses this to explain why the idea that we have a national identity is so frequently taken for granted (Kiely *et al*. 2001) and the fact that 'nationalism' as a concept is typically attributed only to extremist views, rather than something that exists for all (Billig 1995). It is

important to note here the assumption that the achievement of an unreflexive sense of a national identity equates to an unreflexive sense of belonging to a nation. This is a point on which Antonsich (2010) criticises a range of work in the social sciences in which belonging is frequently used as "as a synonym of identity, *and in particular national or ethnic identity*" (2010, 644, emphasis added) . For many migrants and their families it is possible to acquire the 'habitual, unreflexive routines of everyday life' and become "embedded in a familiar, everyday world" (V. May 2011, 370). However, this does not also guarantee the achievement of an unreflexive sense of belonging in a host nation. This is a point which I discuss further later in the chapter.

In identifying the power of the everyday in shaping an unreflexive identification with and a sense of belonging to the nation, the ideas of both Billig (1995) and Edensor (2002) are similar to that of Glick Schiller's (2004) 'transnational ways of being'. However, in their search to explain the power and endurance of national identities in everyday life and despite drawing mainly on life in Britain as evidence, Billig (1995) and Edensor (2002) make little reference to Britain's multi-generational ethnic minority populations and the extent to which they may also have a quotidian experience of their home nations through the "the experience of living simultaneously within and beyond the boundaries of a nation-state" (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004, 1006); a quotidian experience which is embodied as an aspect of their habitus. For many international migrants, the 'cultural matrix' with which they connect inevitably includes elements of their country of origin, as well as their country of residence. These may be consciously sought, for example by subscribing to particular television channels (see Burrell 2003) as well as those which remain more second nature, such as language, religion or food practice. It is difficult to assess the extent to which the everyday behaviours of a first-generation of migrants can be fully habitual and unreflexive, assuming that many may be consciously engaging with elements of their home culture simply because they are displaced from home. However, for the next generation, the children of immigrants in a host country, the experience of the multiple

options available in their trans/national cultural matrix and the necessity to adapt to different quotidian worlds is typically part of their everyday lives.

The evidence that second-generations do, inevitably, access a 'cultural matrix' which includes elements of the parental home culture in their everyday life is referred to in much of the research on second-generations. This includes reference to the acquisition of the parental first language (Christou 2003; Louie 2006; Wessendorf 2013), socialisation within an immigrant community (R. C. Smith 2002; Viruell-Fuentes 2006; Wessendorf 2013), expectations about behaviour and dress based on standards of the parental home culture (Wolf 2002; Louie 2006; Teerling 2010; Gardner and Mand 2012), religious practice (Fortier 1999), food practice (Valentine 1999) and the planning and preparation for regular visits to the parental home country (Christou 2003; Louie 2006; Wessendorf 2013; Richter and Nollert 2014). Following Billig (1995) and Edensor (2002), it is the argument of this thesis that the everyday is a powerful factor in the national and transnational identifications of second-generations. They inevitably acquire a habitual and unreflexive knowledge of the ways of being of the national place in which they grow up as well as of their national place of parental origin. In this way, they acquire a second nature ability with which to behave in different circumstances in order to achieve a sense of belonging. This results in a particular second-generation way of being which, for some, includes an aspiration to return to the parental home country.

The Case for the Reflexive Habitus

The examples above support the claim that second-generations do acquire the dispositions of different social fields and also, importantly, learn when and how to switch between them. This suggests that social behaviour includes an element of informed choice and therefore is not fully dispositional, as the theory of the habitus suggests. Bourdieu acknowledges that habitus is a practice which inevitably evolves, and that the dispositions of the habitus are dynamic and therefore generative (2005, 46); therefore, with the evidence from research with second-generations, it is possible to

further explore how behaviours which are "enacted unthinkingly" (Adams 2006, 514), pre-reflective or dispositional can adapt or change.

Although Bourdieu claims that the habitus typically operates at the level of the unconscious, in situations where there is a lack of 'fit' between habitus and field such as in times of "crisis or sudden change" (Bourdieu cited in Hillier and Rooksby 2005, 401), he argues that habitus is brought to the fore, as a result "rendering conscious what was previously taken for granted" (Sweetman 2009, 494). However, for Sweetman (2003), although the concept of habitus is useful for understanding social behaviour, it is no longer something an individual is made aware of only at times of crisis or sudden change. He takes the approach that modern life is one constant crisis situation or changing field and therefore "for some contemporary individuals, reflexivity and flexibility is itself deeply embedded" (*ibid*, 537). Using the examples of changes in the workplace, changing forms of community and the impact of consumer culture, he illustrates the way in which it is possible and necessary to consciously play a role or partake in a particular lifestyle, depending on the context. This results in a "more or less permanent disruption of social position, or a more or less constant disjunction between habitus and field" (Sweetman 2003, 541) with the result that reflexivity becomes a disposition of the habitus.

This disjunction between habitus and field also develops in the movement of people between national spaces where there is disruption of spatial as well as social position. 'Disruption' or 'disjuncture' can be experienced by anyone on a foreign holiday where the holidaymaker's sense of their difference in terms of national identity is heightened by numerous mundane experiences, which Edensor (2002, 105, 120) illustrates in detail with reference to his own time spent in India. For immigrants, this 'disruption' becomes almost second nature and an aspect of the experience of what Clifford describes as "dwelling-in-displacement" (1994, 310). New habits and ways of being are acquired in the course of adjusting to a new place and what begins as a reflexive choice becomes, in theory, over time, habitual. In reality, this oversimplifies the situation of migrants who may never be

allowed to forget their 'foreignness' by their host society and it ignores the power relations with which large scale economic migrations are infused. Further, being an immigrant "is not just learning the differences of a new place, it is learning that *you* are 'different'" (Noble 2013, 349 italics in the original). Nevertheless, while adult immigrants may accept that they are 'different' and create a habitus that 'home is elsewhere', it does suggest that it is also possible to learn the new 'rules of the game' in order to enable the acquisition of a certain amount of economic capital in their new 'field'.

As well as this "'crisis' model of reflexivity" (Bottero 2010, 11), there is also the case for an ever-present, ongoing but more subtle reflexivity. Bottero calls for a much greater emphasis on the "networks of influence and obligation" (*ibid*, 16) in which we are all accountable as social beings. She argues that social practices are collective accomplishments achieved through the mutual monitoring and constant checking of how our behaviour is received by others. May (2013) draws attention to the fact that there is an important emotional aspect to social behaviour such that it is the continual "intersubjective negotiation and coordination between agents" (Bottero 2010, 13) which enables successful social practices and it is this intersubjectivity which explains ongoing but gradual social change. Not only does each individual need to know the rules of the game but there is a constant checking and adjustment of how to apply these rules in context. The significance of emotion to the concept of the habitus is discussed in more detail in the next section.

A Second-Generation 'Way of Being'

As the research referenced so far has shown, second-generation individuals frequently experience dual and contrasting social fields, resulting in "a more or less constant disjunction between habitus and field" (Sweetman 2003, 541). Many second-generation individuals, therefore, develop the ability to adapt to this continual disjunction and thus exhibit a particular set of dispositions which enable reflexivity. The regular disjunction experienced by many of the second-generation is summed up in the following quote from Chamberlain's research with Britain's Caribbean community. One of

her participants reported: “It was like, you came home from school [in London], you came through your front door and you were in Barbados” (1997, 70); a daily movement within the transnational social field which required the habitus to adjust appropriately and, therefore, was a ‘way of being’ for this second-generation individual.

Sweetman (2003) argues that the development of the reflexive habitus is an outcome of the increasing choice individuals have over their identities. Individuals make “choices on a day-to-day basis about who they are and how they want to represent themselves” (*ibid,* 529) and the issue of choice is also significant for members of a second-generation who can draw on the particular options available in their transnational social field. Valentine, for example, describes an Asian family in Britain, for whom the “food (the ingredients, method of preparation and the way it is eaten – on the floor) provides an important connection with their parents’ ‘homeland’” (1999, 519). However, she reports that the children frequently need to be bribed with other ‘Western’ foods in order for them to eat the Asian food (*ibid,* 518). In this way the second-generation exhibit knowledge of the choices available to them and how to maximise their options. She also notes that they wear South East Asian dress at school and to the mosque but opt for jeans when given free choice (*ibid,* 522), illustrating a sense of when it is appropriate to exhibit membership of a particular religious or ethnic group and therefore a reflexive awareness of how to behave in their dual social fields.

Choice about the extent to which an individual identifies with a particular national field is therefore a disposition of the transnational habitus and is particularly significant for the second-generation. In Louie’s (2006) research with young adult Chinese and Dominican second-generations in the US, who had contrasting experiences of their transnational social fields, she found that many opt to learn the parental language and take university courses with a specific focus on their heritage. The issue of choice is particularly significant for white second-generations in a majority white society such as for the children of the Irish in England. The lack of colour or

language differences from the host population reduces (but does not remove) the need to adapt behaviour in moments of crisis or in exceptional situations (Bottero 2010). Rather than being assigned an identity based on visual cues and assumptions of difference, a white second-generation individual may be allowed much greater choice about the extent to which they identify with either of the national 'fields' to which they are attuned. However, this is rarely straightforward and for the children of the Irish in post-war England there is also both a religious (Hickman 1995) and a class dimension (Walter 1999) to this sense of difference. As a result, second-generations frequently learn to adjust behaviour in subtle ways according to Bottero's (2010) proposals about the significance of 'intersubjectivity', rather than in 'crisis' situations.

HABITUS AND PLACE: RECOGNISING A LIVED AND EXPERIENCED SPATIALITY

Employing the dispositions of a particular habitus which have been acquired in everyday life therefore enables an individual to operate successfully in a given social field, a site of social practice which can be recognised on a national and a transnational scale. And, although social behaviour is usually performed unthinkingly and according to prior learning and preconscious knowledge of the "rules of the game" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 99), the evidence from research with second-generation individuals supports the argument that social practice is also continually adjusted according to the intersubjective nature of social life (Bottero 2010; Murphy 2011), as well as in exceptional circumstances (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Hillier and Rooksby 2005; Adams 2006).

Based on his theory of habitus and field, Bourdieu argues that having an implicit sense of how to behave in a social situation, or a "feel for the game" (1990, 66), enables feelings of comfort and ease in a place (V. May 2013). This suggests that acquiring the dispositions of dual social fields, as is typically the case for the second-generation, should enable such comfort and ease in the related social situations. However, although flexibility and

choice about behaviour may well be options for the second-generation, it is also documented that they experience a sense of hybridity and in-betweenness resulting in feelings of displacement, loss and of not belonging anywhere (Christou and King 2006; Potter and Phillips 2006b). This supports May's (2013) argument that it is possible for an individual to live in a familiar world and operate within the particular habitus, yet still feel that they do not belong. Acquiring the numerous everyday skills which enable a resident of a particular place to function in daily life, as detailed by Edensor (2002), does not necessarily guarantee "a sense of ease with oneself and one's surroundings" (*ibid,* 368) if 'where do I belong?' remains as a question. As well as being able to perform the "normal competencies" (Edensor 2002, 93) of everyday life there is also the fact that "our sense of who and what we are is continually (re)shaped by how we *feel*" (Davidson and Milligan 2004, 524 italics in the original). For returning migrants, this may include feelings which emerge from a personal belief in belonging in the sense of 'I'm home', as well as the objective structures which shape attitudes to newcomers and which may or may not be welcoming.

The ease associated with a sense of belonging in place therefore has an important emotional element. More than just learning and employing a set of rules for social behaviour, exploring how emotion shapes a sense of belonging brings a more nuanced understanding to Bourdieu's theory of the habitus and draws attention to May's argument that "habitus is not merely embodied but also emotional" (2013, 91). Acknowledging the emotional content of social practice helps explain how, through their everyday lives, many of the second-generation develop ways of being which include an emotional attachment and a sense of belonging to the parental homeland. It is this emotional attachment to place as an aspect of a second-generation habitus which I aim to explore in this part of the chapter in order to illustrate the way in which it underpins the everyday ways of being discussed previously.

Implicit in the feeling of ease in place associated with belonging is the concept of 'home'. This is particularly relevant for migrants and their

children who frequently engage in 'ways of being' which create a longing or yearning for a home from which they are displaced and for whom, what Zetter calls the "myth of home" (1999, 9), may be the motivation for maintaining connections with the past as well as shaping aspirations for the future. This is frequently reinforced by home country politics in which emigrants are referred to as continuing members of the national family (Vertovec 2006; Skrbiš 2008). Antonsich (2010, 645), defines "place-belongingness" as the "personal, intimate feeling of being 'at home' in a place" in which 'home' "stands for a symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security and emotional attachment" (*ibid,* 646). It is a place in which social behaviour performed with an appropriate 'feel for the game' promotes the sense of 'familiarity, comfort and security' and combines with a sense of yearning or longing (Probyn 1996) for such comfort. More than a fact of birth, origins or spatial location, the idea of home prompts a particular set of feelings, particularly for migrants (Ní Laoire 2007); it is therefore a site which is "*sentimentalized* as a space of belonging" and being at home is "a matter of *how one feels*" in a place (Ahmed 1999, 341, italics in the original). It is also a place remembered with nostalgia for a time past. As a result, as Massey (2005, 123) points out, travelling home is a journey across both space and time such that "the spatial surface slopes backwards in time".

More generally, recognising the significance of feelings to an individual's subjective experience of the world contributes to broader debates about the relationship between people and place/s. Place, what it means and whether or not we belong, is typically an unthought of and taken-for-granted disposition of the habitus. Cresswell (1996, 10), for example, states that "our consciousness of place all but disappears when it appears to be working well" and Probyn suggests that "if you have to think about belonging, perhaps you are already outside" (1996, 8). A defining feature of second-generation return migration *is* the significance of place and the accompanying search for belonging. Therefore research into this migratory movement helps to highlight how and why place acquires meaning and the link between place and social practice. Although Bourdieu does not

acknowledge the significance of place in his work, E. S. Casey (2001) argues that habitus does have an important spatial dimension (see also Cresswell 2002). As “embodied history” (Bourdieu 1990, 56), the habitus, for E. S. Casey, “represents a movement from the externality of established customs and norms to the internality of durable dispositions” (2001, 687).These are customs and norms which result from the “objective structures” which shape the social field and give individual practice its sense of purpose in terms of a meaning and orientation and, in effect, its “subjective sense” (Bourdieu 1990, 66).

Having been internalised as a set of durable dispositions, E. S. Casey goes on to argue that “in its actual performance a given habitus is a reaching out to place, a being or becoming in place” (2001, 687). Habitus is practice or action which is always enacted *in place* since we are never without “emplaced experiences” (E. S. Casey 1996, 19). The social and historical factors which determine a particular set of dispositions are lived out, or “re-enacted” (E. S. Casey 2001, 686), in the context of the “place-world” (*ibid,* 687) and, where necessary, adjusted according to local conditions. This helps explain the generative nature of habitus which, Bourdieu argues, has an “infinite capacity for generating products - thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions - whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production” (1990, 55) and which, for E. S. Casey (2001, 689), is put into action in the context of the peculiarities of the specific place in which it is ‘re-enacted’.

E. S. Casey equates the idea of the ‘place-world’ to that of Soja’s (1996) concept of ‘thirdspace’. This is “a knowable, real and imagined lifeworld of experiences, emotions, events and political choices” (*ibid,* 31) and recognises the way in which the world is “actively *lived* and receptively *experienced*” (E. S. Casey 2001, 687, italics in the original). Soja argues “that all social relations become real and concrete, a part of our lived social existence, only when they are spatially ‘inscribed’” (1996, 46). Just as E. S. Casey argues that we are never without “emplaced experiences” (1996, 19),

for Soja, "*there is no unspatialized social reality*. There are no aspatial social processes" (1996, 46, italics in the original).

Drawing on the work of Henri Lefebvre (1991), Soja identifies three ways of thinking about the way in which space is socially produced; these he names firstspace, secondspace and thirdspace. Firstspace, Soja describes as empirical space; it is the space that we use and can easily be seen, measured, accounted for or physically felt. He argues that in geography there has been an over-emphasis on 'firstspace' thinking which sees "human spatiality as outcome or *product*" (1996, 76) which can be recorded and measured (M. Phillips 2004). In terms of migration research this includes collecting evidence that migratory movements are taking place through, for example, census data (McHugh 2000); the debates about this and the emergence of new approaches to migration research are discussed in Chapter Three.

In contrast to firstspace, 'secondspace' thinking refers to the way in which space is imagined by, for example, the "creative artist", the "artful architect" and the "utopian urbanist" (Soja 1996, 79), those with the power to shape the way that space is used by others. However, secondspace thinking is not only the remit of those appointed or recognised as having the responsibility to plan space. With reference to geographies of gentrification in Britain, Phillips notes the way in which both city space and rural space exist as "landscapes of desire" (2004, 14) for *individual* decision makers whose collective imaginings can change the way space is used. In a similar way, Benson, in her research into British lifestyle migration to rural France, argues that "the act of migration… becomes a claim to a particular imagined life" (2012, 1685). For potential returning migrants the remembering of place and the imagining of a future there are important motivating factors. For many migrants the place of origin often exists as a 'landscape of desire' in the form of an "imaginative homeland" in which it is possible to achieve belonging (Christou 2011, 249). For the second-generation the imagining of place is even more significant since it is usually mediated for them by the parental generation and an aspect of their everyday ways of being, as detailed earlier. And, unlike the first generation of migrants, who have lived

in the return destination, the 'claim to an imagined life' is based on limited direct experience. Therefore 'secondspace' thinking can be an important aspect of migration decision making for the second-generation.

For Soja (1996), thinking in terms of firstspace and secondspace is limited as a way of understanding the importance of spatiality to social life; therefore to these concepts he introduces the idea of 'thirdspace'. Instead of being a third option, thirdspace is intended to be a fusion of both 'firstspace' and 'secondspace' and something more; it is "both/and also" (*ibid,* 5). Borrowing from Lefebvre (1991) he describes it as "the dominated… space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate" and it is this space which "overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects" (*ibid,* 67). Thus, particular features of the physical and human landscape are given personal and collective meaning and significance as a result of our "being-in-the-world" (E. S. Casey 2001, 684). In this way, acknowledging 'thirdspace' recognises that we are "active participants in the social construction of our embracing spatialities" (*ibid,* 1).

With reference to migration, thirdspace allows for a way of thinking which includes *both* the fact of physical movement between places *and also* the emotional experience of anticipating, experiencing and reflecting on the consequences of such movement for the individuals involved. Thus, how an individual feels about a place, or in a place, matters and migration is recognised as an engagement with the world as it is "actively *lived* and receptively *experienced*" (E. S. Casey 2001, 687 italics in the original) and therefore felt. A thirdspace approach provides a way of gaining a deeper insight into migration as a "cultural event" (Fielding 1992, 201) with a particular meaning for the individuals involved, as well as a movement across space. Recognising the emotional aspect of human engagements with place/s is particularly relevant with reference to second-generation return since it is an event frequently motivated by emotion, in addition to or instead of economic factors. Davidson and Milligan (2004, 524) argue that emotions act as a "connective tissue" between action and imagination or to use Soja's (1996) terminologies, between first and secondspace. Emotion is

therefore essential in understanding how individuals are "both connected with and disconnected from their world" and "a vital ingredient in the very composition of the world as a world" (M. Smith et al. 2009, 2) .

There is therefore an important spatial dimension to Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and social field in which emotion for place and imaginings about place are significant factors in motivating behaviour and shaping social practice. However, as Benson argues, such imaginings and any subsequent migratory behaviour needs to be considered in the context of "individual circumstances, structural preconditions [and] privileges and constraints" (2012, 1682–83). In this she invokes the concept of the habitus within which a potential migrant makes the decision to move and interprets the move within the limits of a particular set of dispositions which have been shaped by the "objective structures" (Bourdieu 1990, 66) at work. The fact that we are "active participants in the social construction of our embracing spatialities" (Soja 1996, 1) is always in the context of a particular habitus and the objective structures through which it was shaped.

The Holiday Visit: An Emotional Engagement with Place

A significant theme in studies of second-generations is the importance of the holiday visit and its impact on the way in which individuals learn to identify with the parental homeland and negotiate their transnational social field. As well as acquiring a link to the parental home country through everyday ways of being, as discussed earlier, recollections of holiday visits highlight many of the ways in which place is 'actively lived and receptively experienced'. This is through a direct engagement with parental home places which are also remembered, anticipated and imagined while in the host country. In much of the research, such visits result in a heightened reflexive awareness of place, thus making conscious aspects of place which are typically unthought of and taken for granted (Cresswell 1996). In addition, holiday visits are also important in creating feelings of belonging and of being at home (Probyn 1996). It is also the case that much of the commentary on place and belonging assumes long term residence (for examples see Tuan 1975; Basso 1996; Feld 1996; O'Neill 2001). However, the evidence from

research with the second-generation from a range of countries shows that places can become "centres of meaning" (Tuan 1975, 153) without long term residence. Absence from a physical place and the remembering and imagining of that place may be highly significant in contributing to the feelings of belonging there. Exploring the relationship between second-generations and the parental homelands from which they are mostly absent therefore broadens understandings of emotional geographies of place and how place/s become meaningful to individuals.

The return of migrant families for holidays in the home country is noted by a number of commentators for its significance in family life and its importance in keeping the next generation connected with 'home'. King *et al* (2011, 3) see it as "a performative act of belonging" and Mason (2004, 421) describes the visit as "important in helping to confirm a sense of belonging or affinity". While these comments suggest opting-in to this 'performance' in order to maintain feelings of belonging, such visits were also a practicality for some transnational families; Reynolds (2011), for example, in the context of Caribbean migrants in Britain, notes that some of the second-generation were sent 'home' for the purposes of childcare (in the Irish context see J. Boyle 2002; and Healy 2008 who I refer to in Chapter 2). For many families, planning and organising for the holiday were a key part of the annual rhythm of family life and thus a way of being for the second-generation (for example Wessendorf 2013; also M. Casey 1994 in the Irish context). Although a routine occurrence, the visits also included the emotional experience of the "drama and/or joy of homecoming and reunion" and have been noted for the potential to have "profound effects upon the second-generation" (Skrbiš 2008, 239). As a result, Sagmo (2014) argues that holiday visits can be experienced as a time of "crisis or sudden change" (Bourdieu cited in Hillier and Rooksby 2005, 401), in which the lack of 'fit' between the habitus and field "[renders] conscious what was previously taken for granted" (Sweetman 2009, 494). This therefore prompts "reflections on identity and belonging" (Sagmo 2014, 4) in relation to place (see also Baldassar 2008 with reference to first-generation return visits).

A significant theme in studies of these holidays is the sensory engagement which the second-generation experience and the way in which this contributes to their acquisition of a sense of place. This includes reference to the smells and tastes as well as the experience of a different climate and physical environment. This is frequently in contrast with lives in the host country which were typically urban, although inevitably not without their own sensory qualities. It is the contrast between the sensory experience of places which, perhaps, heightened the reflexive awareness and therefore made the visits all the more memorable and meaningful.

Zeitlyn notes how the second-generation British-Bangladeshi children of his study "were able to play outside, swim in the pond, climb trees and play with farm animals or in the fields" in contrast to lives in east London where "they were relatively isolated and confined to their flats" (2012, 965). With reference to holiday visits to Greece and Cyprus, King *et al* report "frequent references to sun, sea, beaches, idyllic villages, nature and the countryside" and an accompanying sense of freedom (2011, 6). At the same time, the contrasting sensory experiences also included negative memories such as, in Zeitlyn's study, that of the "chaos and dirt that shocks many Londoners", along with mosquitoes and unpleasant smells (2012, 965). A participant of Teerling's research in Cyprus, who grew up in San Francisco, reported being "mesmerized" and "shocked" to see her grandmother catching and killing a chicken in the yard of the house (King, Christou, and Teerling 2011).

For Feld (1996), it is as a result of such continual multiple engagements of the senses that a 'sense of place' is acquired. He argues that "as place is sensed, senses are placed" and in this way, without 'conscious calculation', place is experienced as "a fusion of space and time that joins lives and events as embodied memories" (*ibid,* 91). As a result a sensory stimulus, such as a smell, a taste or, in Feld's work, a sound, is able to trigger a memory of place along with a "whole network of associations" (Basso 1996, 55) which connect to that place. In a similar way, O'Neill also argues that an emotional connection with place is a result of "unselfconscious

knowledge registered in the physical body and in memory" (2001, 4). This, she argues, is acquired not through visual stimulus but through "corporeal activity and physical work" (*ibid*, 4); for visiting children, I would argue that this also takes place through play. As a result "places [which are] actively sensed amount to substantially more than points in physical space" (Basso 1996, 56) and it is through physical engagement that they acquire greater meaning. For E. S. Casey (1996, 2001), it is this incorporation of place into the body, as a result of physical engagement, which links the individual and place. He argues "we are not only *in* places but *of* them" (1996, 19, italics in the original) since every people-place encounter is one of continuously sensing place and therefore placing the senses. For the second-generation, holiday visits therefore enabled the sensing of place and the placing of senses and, in this way, the natural environment of the parental home locality, a combination of the smells, the sounds and the feel of the place, became incorporated into these children and contributed to their rememberings and imaginings after they had departed.

Despite the significant role of the senses in internalising place, such that the body is a unique accumulation of place/s (E. S. Casey 1996), there is also the fact that, despite a lifetime of being emplaced and of sensing places, only some places become meaningful and significant while others are barely remembered. In terms of belonging, Antonsich (2010) has explored the complexity of the territorial claim 'I belong here' (see also Yuval-Davis 2006), yet this also raises the question of why belonging is felt or aspired to in just one particular place, or a small number of places; for second-generations this may be their perceived place of origin, from which they are often absent, rather than their place of upbringing in which they may experience hostility and feelings of not belonging.

As well as sensory memories of place, studies of holiday visits also evidence the social aspect of the event and the way in which second-generations learn to value place through their extended family and community. More than just engaging the senses, Basso argues that the sensing of place is also "a form of cultural activity" (1996, 83). He refers to

the “self-invested viewpoints” (*ibid,* 54) from which we assign meaning to particular places and from which meaning is apparently returned. In this way, sense of place exists as “locked within the mental horizons of those who give it life” and results from, “the notional particulars of socially given systems of thought” (*ibid,* 84). O’Connor (2006), writing about her own annual holidays spent at her parent’s homeplace/s in rural Ireland, illustrates Basso’s notion of the ‘self-invested viewpoint’. She describes her sensory engagement with place but also notes that in drinking water from the same well and carrying the smell of turf smoke in her clothes and hair she “relived [her] parents' youngest days” (*ibid,* 9); thus, her experience of sensing place is heightened by the fact that there is a consciousness of a continued link to a “past remembered [by her parents] in that place, as well as a past *of that place* in the present” (E. S. Casey 2009, 291, italics in the original) which contributes to the place becoming a “centre of meaning” (Tuan 1975, 153) for her.

As well as a physical engagement with place, descriptions of second-generation holiday visits also report the importance of taking part in ‘family reunion’ (for example Reynolds 2011) and how the visit has an important social dimension. In her research on return visits by British-Pakistanis, Mason found that “co-presence with people is imbued with *co-presence with and in a place*” (2004, 427, italics in the original). For those involved, the impact of ‘the visit’ expands outside its immediate spatial and temporal frame since the remembering, sharing and anticipation of the event “helped to sustain family narratives of kinship networks that are active over long distances” (*ibid,* 423).

Other research notes the way that the second-generation experienced social events with the extended family and the local community (Christou 2003; Teerling 2010; Wessendorf 2013) which were frequently remembered in a positive way. These varied from informal (but important) visits to neighbours and impromptu social gatherings (King, Christou, and Teerling 2011), to attending local festivals (Wessendorf 2013) or family weddings which may have been timed to co-ordinate with the return visit (Zeitlyn

2012). In taking part in such social events, the visiting second-generation inevitably engage with and acquire local ways of being. Zeitlyn, for example, describes the way that "in Bangladesh, parents teach, or instruct family members to teach, their children the appropriate Sylheti practices and dispositions" (*ibid*, 954). The extent to which the children adapt them into their lives in London, he then argues, illustrates a transnational, British-Bangladeshi habitus which is distinct to the second-generation.

More than just a holiday experience in a different place, the evidence from a range of research shows that regular holiday visits are highly significant in affirming a meaningful link between the second-generation and their parental homeplace/s. Through an engagement with place which is both physical and social, individuals acquire attachments which anchor them in a transnational family and to particular places, attachments which also shape and confirm their "culturally significant imaginings" (Benson 2012, 1683) about their parental homeplace. In this way, such attachments to particular places become "internalised as second nature" (Bourdieu 1990, 56) and "contribute fundamentally to the formation of personal and social identities" (Basso 1996, 53). Recognition of the relationship between the second-generation and the places with which they are connected in their transnational social field illustrates a physical experience which is enriched by beliefs and emotion for the place. Thus, they illustrate the way place is "actively *lived* and receptively *experienced*" (E. S. Casey 2001, 687, italics in the original) through the dispositions of a particular habitus. Regular visits further reinforced the ways of being and belonging experienced in the host country. The planning and preparation was a way of being for migrant families while the emotional attachment to place which it created further oriented the second-generation individual to the parental home country and predisposed them to maintain links into the future; this, for some, resulted in return migration.

SECOND-GENERATION RETURN: ADJUSTING THE HABITUS AND FINDING BELONGING

The range of research referenced so far has shown that second-generations typically acquire ways of being and ways of belonging to the parental place of origin through their everyday lives in the host country and through holiday visits. They witness the way in which the parental generation behave with reference to the absent homeland and also learn to value this place such that this becomes a disposition of the habitus; dispositions which are strengthened by the emotional experience of being with particular people in specific places.

With reference to a first-generation of immigrants, Ní Laoire (2007, 332) notes that return, "represents the fulfilment of the classic emigrant dream of returning home", a dream which is passed on to the second-generation and feeds into their migration decision making (Wessendorf 2007; Reynolds 2011; King, Christou, and Teerling 2011). However, despite the expectation of comfort and ease associated with returning home it could also be a "migration to a place that may be in many ways strange to them" (Ní Laoire 2007, 332). This part of the chapter considers the 'unsettling' (Markowitz and Stefansson 2004) experience of return for second-generation returnees for whom the imagining of a return 'home' and a belief in belonging may contrast with their actual experience of return. It provides further evidence for the link between habitus and place and details the way in which habitus changes and adjusts and is therefore dynamic despite its apparent stability. Again, the focus is on everyday lives, the everyday behaviours in which belonging is affirmed or denied and the way this is negotiated by the returning second-generation.

Although the second-generation cannot, logically, 'return' to a place from which they never left, research with second-generation migrants finds evidence for an emotional connection with parental home countries. There is a strong belief in a somewhat inevitable link between person and (parental) place of origin to which return is believed to be "a natural or pre-ordained

event" (King, Christou, and Ahrens 2011, 491). With reference to return from Britain to Barbados, Potter notes "statements to the effect that 'it's home, it is where you belong'" (2005, 222). Research with returnees to Cyprus and Greece suggests belief in an innate connection to the land resulting in little choice but to return. One returnee to Cyprus stated: "I don't know how or when but I knew… I knew I would eventually settle here" (King, Christou, and Teerling 2011, 13). And Christou's work with Greek-American returnees reported one participant who, "always felt that home was here, Greece always *drew me back*" (2006b, 839 emphasis added). Thus, in a range of examples, there exists a belief in a link between person and place of origin which endures at least into the second-generation. This is a belief shaped and confirmed by the "regular and sustained social contacts" in which they engage across national borders (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999, 219). It also further illustrates migrant "ways of belonging", discussed at the start of the chapter, in which "people reach out to distant lands or persons through memory, nostalgia and imagination" (Glick Schiller 2004, 458).

The feeling of connection to a homeland by the second-generation is explained by Wessendorf (2007), with reference to Gardner's (1993) research with Bangladeshi migrants in Britain and the concept of the *desh-bidesh*. Gardner refers to a belief in the ability of the homeland, or '*desh*', to nurture the individual and provide "spiritual and social sustenance" while the '*bidesh*', or host country is a source of economic 'sustenance' although "morally dubious" (Mand 2010, 274). Thus, it is possible to live in one country due to economic necessity while retaining a strong orientation in everyday life to the place of origin as a true home. The *desh* is importantly a rural place, perhaps somewhat idealized, in which families and their wider social group live in harmony with the land which supports them. It is this connectedness with the land and the products of the soil which reinforces the idea of the *desh* as a source of roots and belonging. In the context of return to rural Italy, Wessendorf (2007) argues that the second-generation also acquire a longing for the homeland in which they have roots, a belief reinforced through everyday ways of being in the host country as well as

during visits ‘home’. (The idea of a connection with a spiritual homeland also emerges in research with ‘roots’ tourists. (For examples see Lambkin 2008; also Basu 2004).

In a similar way, for the Irish migrants to post-war England and their children, the imagining of rural Ireland as a spiritual homeland or *desh* while in the ‘morally dubious’ but economically essential *bidesh* of urban England (see J. Ryan 2004; also Delaney 2007), was a significant aspect of migrant life. Recognisably Irish foods, either grown in the soil of home or produced by particular brands, were preferred as a way of strengthening a link with home and feelings of Irishness (Kneafsey and Cox 2002). There is also a long tradition of songs about emigration which helped reinforce nostalgia for an Irish rural idyll (for examples see https://www.ucc.ie/en/emigre/emigrant-songs-1/). This took place in the wider context of a historical relationship between England and Ireland in which Ireland, since at least the 19th century, was imagined as rural and traditional in opposition to urbanising, industrial and progressive England (Nash 1993). In addition, O’Sullivan (2017) notes the way that from the 1950s, films such as *The Quiet Man* and the publicity material of *Bord Fáilte* and *Aer Lingus* promoted Ireland as a rural idyll and a place to which a visitor can ‘retreat’ into a more traditional life (see also B. O’Connor 1993; and Cawley 2003). The way that Ireland was presented and imagined for a British and a global audience therefore reinforced the idea of it as a place of sustenance for the Irish abroad and their children. If, as Massey (2005) claims, going home is imagined as a movement back in time, this was further confirmed for the Irish in England by the way that Ireland was being promoted more generally as a site of nostalgic return to times past which was available for all.

For E.S. Casey (2009, 290) a return to place results in “re-implacement” in the form of “homecoming” or “homesteading”, which he describes as “two extreme exemplars” of what happens at the end of a journey. Homecoming is “the fact of return to *the same place*” whereas in homesteading the individual commits to “remaining in the new place for a stretch of time

sufficient for building a significant future life there" (*ibid,* italics in the original). Despite the belief, by some of the second-generation, in an inevitable return to the soil of home and a belief that "I belong here" (Antonsich 2010, 645), for many, the reality of their 'return' to a perceived 'home' is not always a straightforward reconnection with place of origin. Second-generation return therefore illustrates both homecoming and homesteading as an individual returns to a perceived home and yet finds it is not the place they expected.

Although they have multiple prior connections to and experiences of the parental home country, in the process of homecoming and/or homesteading, a second-generation individual is more likely to experience "disruption" (Edensor 2002, 21) than the expected ease and familiarity associated with home. They may find that they lack a "practical sense" (Bourdieu 1990, 66) about everyday behaviours and this may prompt a heightened reflexive awareness of previously taken-for-granted ways of being. The return experience therefore provides further evidence for the way in which habitus is adjusted in relation to place and the significance of everyday social practice in affirming a sense of belonging or not. For many, taking part in the "mundane details of social interaction" (Edensor 2002, 17) again reinforces the idea that "that *you* are 'different'" (Noble 2013, 349) and the fact that as the habitus is "re-enacted" (E. S. Casey 2001, 686), taken-for-granted ways of being need to be adapted or adjusted due to the particularities of the new place.

Potter and Phillips (2006b, 591) describe a number of dispositions which are embodied as part of the habitus of the Bajan-Brits of their research and the way in which the returnees feel their difference after their return to Barbados. The returning second-generation were found to "talk faster, walk faster, walk in the sun rather than in the shade, and, on occasion, walk in the rain". In addition, they note different attitudes and ways of behaving which draws further attention to these returnees: "being punctual, doing things quicker, or simply complaining about being in long queues". As a result they were likely to experience problems establishing new friendships, be

teased about their accents and experience negative comments such as being accused of being 'mad' (Potter 2005). One response to the experience of 'disruption' to the habitus was that of acceptance, with one respondent explaining: "I was told that English people are mad… There is no point getting upset". Therefore, as Potter notes, "resilience is an essential prerequisite of living in Barbados [for the returning second-generation]" (*ibid*, 590).

A further example of the experience of disruption to the habitus is described by Teerling (2010) in her research on return to Cyprus by the British second-generation. She describes a moment of "crisis" (Bourdieu cited in Hillier and Rooksby 2005, 401) in which one of her participants experienced disruption and the realisation that she was seen as 'different' despite being of a Greek-Cypriot family. In the course of being introduced to her new work colleagues she recalled being described as "an English Cypriot, *but she is one of the good ones*" (*ibid*, 144 emphasis added). Despite her shock at this statement she goes on to describe the way in which she maximised her 'Englishness' in her professional life in Cyprus and found that by making sure people knew that 'this is how I did it in England' she could gain a certain amount of success in her work. Unlike the Bajan-Brit returnees for whom acceptance of their situation as different was a disposition of their returned migrant habitus, for this individual, in the intersubjective relations of her work life, she actively employed the dispositions of her previous professional life as a way of adapting in the new place and maximising the opportunities available to her.

In the process of claiming "I belong here" (Antonsich 2010, 645), accounts of how returning second-generation migrants feel their difference highlights the "discourses and practices of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion at play" (*ibid*, 649) in the place in which belonging is claimed. They draw attention to the typically taken-for-granted, "objective structures" of a place and how they operate to include or exclude newcomers. The examples above indicate particular attitudes to English people within the social field of, loosely speaking, Barbados and Cyprus and how the returning second-generation

learn to adjust the habitus in order to "re-inhabit [a place] by living there on pre-established terms" (E. S. Casey 2009, 295).

The examples support Bourdieu's argument that successful social practice is reliant on employing the "rules of the game" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 99) with one respondent to King and Christou's (2009) work likening her time in Greece to learning to play Monopoly or chess. However, as discussed earlier in the chapter, she also illustrates the fact that social practice is more than just employing a set of rules (Bottero 2010). King and Christou's participant notes that "if you practise you get to know the *code,* how the other person plays, so you're going to play better" (King and Christou 2009, 12 emphasis added); through repetitive 'play' it is possible to 'read' how others are playing the game and adjust and adapt accordingly. This is "the intersubjective negotiation and coordination of practices" which Bottero (2010) claims is missing from Bourdieu's work. It acknowledges that social practice is not only the outcome of an individual agent negotiating social structures but it is importantly also about the way an individual interacts with other agents or players of the game. Recognising intersubjectivity therefore highlights the emotional element of social practice (V. May 2013) with the result that, "when one's habitus fits the social field one is in, this can give rise to a *feeling* of belonging" (ibid, 91-92 italics in the original). As in the example from Teerling's research given earlier, King and Christou's participant illustrates the way that, although equipped with a certain amount of prior knowledge and expectations about social practice (the rules), second-generation returnees also learn through everyday social engagement and acquire a more nuanced understanding of how to be successful at negotiating their way in their new social fields.

The End of the Journey? Return Migration and Transnationalism

Return migration is typically imagined as the end of a journey in which an individual returns to an expected norm of stability in place (Moon 1995). King and Christou (2010, 171) describe it as an idealised, if frequently unachievable, end point and one which is effectively the 'unmaking' of diaspora, in which the scattering of a population is brought to a close by a

“counter-diasporic” (King and Christou 2009, 2) return movement. However, a transnational perspective challenges such assumptions of movement versus stability. In acknowledging that many migrants live cross-border lives in which they retain links with a place of origin, while being simultaneously incorporated into a new place of residence (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004), attention is drawn to the fact that transnational activity is likely to continue after return migration.

With reference to a first generation of migrants, Ralph (2014) notes that the recent growth in academic interest into return migration has focused on the homecoming aspect of return and the way in which returnees reconnect with the country of origin. Little consideration is given to the likelihood that “returnees will continue to maintain and nurture transnational orientations long after their initial homecoming” (*ibid*, 478). Research with the returning second-generation has also focused on homecoming and how the individual adapts and adjusts in the migration destination. This is a process which is acknowledged to be more complex in the case of the second-generation who are not actually ‘returning’. However, the likelihood of ongoing transnationalism is particularly significant for this group for whom a desire to return is often explained as an aspect of the ways of being and belonging experienced in the transnational social fields in which they grew up (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Conway and Potter 2009; Wessendorf 2013). For the second-generation it would be expected that engaging in activities which connect individuals with both ‘home’ and ‘host’ country would continue in some form and it is surprising that this features little in research on second-generation return. Wessendorf, for example, explains the desire to return to Italy as a result of the transnational lives of the Swiss-Italian second-generation. However, although she refers to the “reverse nostalgia” (2010, 376) shown by some of the returnees for Switzerland, her overall focus is on how the returnees find life in Italy with little mention of ongoing links with Switzerland. This research with returning second-generation Irish therefore contributes to knowledge about the ongoing transnationalism of the second-generation.

Where research has considered ongoing transnationalism, Reynolds (2011, 535) refers to the "backward links" which second-generation returnees to the Caribbean maintain with family in Britain. She found that this helps ease feelings of being outsiders and not belonging in the migration destination. With reference to the Dutch-Moroccan second-generation, de Bree *et al* also found that "transnational practices play an essential role in creating post-return belonging" (2010, 505). In addition, there is evidence for a more strategic transnationalism which allows for a possible "re-return" (Conway and Potter 2009, 1) or maximises opportunities for the returnee and their children in both countries. In the case of the Caribbean returnees, Reynolds refers to individuals who have kept property and maintained social networks in the event of a decision to return to Britain, suggesting that the 'backward links' described above may also act as 'forward' or 'future' links. In a similar way, de Bree *et al* (2010, 505) found that some of their female returnees to Morocco were raising their children in "a Dutch way" and that some of the children were sent to family in the Netherlands in order to learn Dutch. Retaining or nurturing transnational behaviour is therefore seen as a potentially useful social and economic asset for these second-generation returnees.

For the returning second-generation Irish there is less of a need for such 'strategic' transnationalism. With reference to the first-generation of migrants, Delaney (2005) argues that the practice of keeping in regular contact with home and family in Ireland, along with maintaining social ties and obligations to neighbours and kin from home continued during life in England thus creating the 'Irish in England' social field in which many of the second-generation grew up. Ongoing transnational links are therefore likely to be particularly significant for the second-generation from England in a continuation of the behaviours within which they were socialised. Unlike the strategic transnationalism referred to above, the lack of border controls (at present), the proximity of England and Ireland and the many shared aspects of economic and cultural life mean that return to Ireland and a possible re-return to England can take place relatively easily and without legal restrictions. Unlike for the Dutch-Moroccans above, and many second-

generation returnees in other contexts, there is no language barrier. The second-generation Irish are therefore in a unique position of finding it relatively easy to move back and forth between England and Ireland and yet, despite this, still find the process of homecoming and/or homesteading challenging at times.

CONCLUSION

This chapter aims to identify the way in which research into second-generation return migration broadens the scope of migration research by acknowledging factors which are "'beyond' the economic" " (Halfacree 2004, 239). In this way it recognises migration as situated "inextricably within culture" (*ibid* 241). The range of research with second-generations illustrates the numerous "ways of being" and "ways of belonging" (Glick Schiller 2004, 458) which exist in the everyday lives of migrants. Drawing on the concepts of habitus and field (Bourdieu 1990) further contextualises the experience since the habitus is shaped by the historical and political context which exists in a place at a particular time. Therefore investigating second-generation lives highlights what may typically be taken-for-granted and second nature in a place. Research also highlights the significance of the banal and quotidian to a sense of identity and belonging on a transnational (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004) as well as a national scale (Edensor 2002).

The parental home country as a perceived place of origin is important in second-generation return decisions and therefore the chapter also highlights the connection between habitus and place. The disruption which results from migration and the resultant changes in behaviour illustrate the way in which social behaviour is shaped by place (E. S. Casey 2001). There is also evidence that there is an emotional element to habitus through the intersubjective relations which result in gradual interpretations of the 'rules' of social behaviour (Bottero 2010; V. May 2013).

The second-generation Irish in England exhibit much in common with other children of post-war migrations in Europe (for example Christou 2006a;

Wessendorf 2013; Teerling 2010) and with other migrations to post-war Britain (for example Conway, Potter, and Phillips 2005; Reynolds 2011; Gardner and Mand 2012). Their 'return' is undocumented and this research therefore contributes to the growing literature on second-generation return and recognises the significance of 'non-economic factors' which shape the decision making process. For the second-generation Irish in England there are additional factors which make the return decision unique to the particular objective structures of place with which they grew up. In the following chapter I link the key theoretical concepts outlined in this chapter with the lives of the second-generation Irish in England in order to illustrate the context the participants lives as children and young adults. It describes the emergence of the dispositions of a specifically second-generation Irish habitus which resulted from the particular historical relationship between England and Ireland and the way that the habitus of the parental generation was "refashioned" (King 1995, 28) in urban England and interpreted by the next generation.

CHAPTER TWO

GROWING UP 'IRISH' IN ENGLAND: THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS' LIVES IN CONTEXT

"No one talked about us... you didn't know how to articulate what *your* life was like"(musician Cáit O'Riordan cited in Campbell 2011, 71, italics in the original).

This chapter explores what it was like to grow up 'Irish' in England in the particular period of the 1960s-1990s in order to contextualise the findings presented in Chapters Four, Five and Six. It draws on the concepts of habitus and belonging referred to in Chapter One and considers them in the specific context of the Irish in England at this time. Based on a range of secondary sources, the chapter describes the particular "ways of being" and "ways of belonging" (Glick Schiller 2004, 458; Wessendorf 2013) the second-generation Irish engaged in and shows how these are linked. The chapter also shows how the "discourses and practices of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion" (Antonsich 2010, 649), which were a feature of the Irish experience in England, shaped a reflexive sense of identity in their children and, for many, an emotional sense of attachment to Ireland. Three related themes can be identified as common to the experience of growing up second-generation Irish in England, those of difference, invisibility and displacement.

In the quote above, Cáit O'Riordan implies a sense of 'invisibility' and confusion as a second-generation Irish child in England. The fact that she felt that 'no one talks about us' left her unable to form a sense of who she was and to explain this to others. The intention in this chapter is to explore how the feeling of invisibility arose for many of the second-generation Irish in England and how it has changed with time. In this way I draw attention to the "objective structures" (Bourdieu 1990, 66) or the "established customs and norms" (E. S. Casey 2001, 687) which shaped the social field of

England in which the participants grew-up. Related to this is the idea of a 'sense of place', for which Basso (1996, 84) focuses not on "where it comes from" but instead what "it is made with... the qualities of its ingredients". In this chapter, I draw attention to some of the 'ingredients' which shaped the sense of place and feelings of belonging in England in the 1960s-1990s for the second-generation Irish.

Statistics on the multi-generational Irish population in England are limited and provide little insight into the feeling of belonging (or not) and the sense of emotional attachment to place which this research aims to investigate. Therefore, in order to give a 'flavour' of everyday lives and identify the 'ingredients' which contributed to the second-generation Irish sense of place in England in the 1960s-1990s, I draw on a range of autobiography/memoir, fiction and personal accounts of second-generation lives as well as academic studies. With reference to migrant literature, King *et al* (1995, 2) argue that it can provide "powerful insights into the nature of the migration process and the experience of being a migrant" since "the act of migration often relates to the calling into question of many of these aspects of identity that make up the individual's personality and psychological self-image". For the next generation, aspects of whose identity are shaped by an 'act of migration' which has already taken place, these personal accounts offer evidence that "the psychological journey of migration is far longer than the geographical one" (Gilmore cited in Murray 2006, 239). They illustrate some of the 'ingredients' which contributed to a sense of place and provide specific examples of the way in which this second-generation group felt the "discourses of exclusion" (Antonsich 2010, 649) operating in their lives in England while simultaneously developing an emotional attachment to Ireland and Irishness, although this was not always straightforward. Personal accounts therefore help demonstrate the unquantifiable feeling of being 'at home' in Ireland and with Irish ways of being as well as of feeling in some way, perhaps imperceptibly, 'out of place', at times, in England. They also help illuminate feelings of not belonging in either place. In this way literary sources can give insight into the feelings and emotions which

may be difficult to access by a researcher through more 'traditional' research techniques.

Research on the Irish in England has frequently assumed easy and rapid assimilation (Mac an Ghaill 2000; Walter 2004; Hickman et al. 2005; Campbell 2011). They are a multi-generational ethnic group for whom ethnicity is assumed to disappear after the first generation, often due to their whiteness combined with the loss of accent (Walter 2015). Hickman (2007) has argued that the Irish, with their long history of movement to England as labour migrants, have traditionally been regarded as inferior and 'other' (see also Jackson 1963; and Scully 2012). However, for the migrants and their children, who are the focus of this study, their experience was also shaped by the particular circumstances of the "monocultural (re)imaginings" which, Hickman (2007, 12) argues, took place in post-war England. This was a period during which the Irish were incorporated into white Englishness while, by the 1970s, they were also perceived as a threat to order and stability due to the conflict in Northern Ireland and the way this was portrayed by the media. For the children of the Irish in England, recognition of their particular identity, that of 'born in England to Irish immigrant parents' is complicated further. Although there is increasing recognition of the hybrid nature of migrant and second-generation identities which incorporate multiple places and may be signified by the hyphen in an identity label (Lavie and Swedenburg 1996), for the Irish in England (and the English-born in Ireland) there is no such label. These are identities which exist in the gap between nationalisms which have historically been defined in opposition to one another (Ní Laoire 2002). As a result, there is no place to claim a hybrid Irish-English identity (Walter *et al*. 2002). (This is also complicated by the term 'Anglo-Irish' which refers to the [mostly] Protestant ruling class in Ireland during the 19th and early 20th centuries). Being a mix of Irish and English is a position which is rarely acknowledged and frequently deemed 'inauthentic' (Scully 2012). Although many of the second-generation choose their own identity label (Hickman *et al*. 2005), as I shall discuss in this chapter, there is no official recognition of these mixed

identities, leading to further assumptions about assimilation (Walter *et al*. 2002).

The chapter begins with the experience of the parental generation and gives a brief outline of the circumstances in which they left Ireland. Drawing on statistical data it then outlines the early lives of the next generation. Next, I consider how Irishness was experienced in the public arena and in private or domestic spheres, the key social fields in which the second-generation habitus was shaped. I explore the role of the State and the media in creating a general mistrust of the Irish and how Catholic schools contributed to the invisibility of the ethnicity of the second-generation. This was frequently in contrast with family life where much of the socialisation into Irishness took place, reinforced by regular visits 'home' to Ireland. The chapter continues by documenting the way in which perceptions of Ireland and Irishness were changing by the 1990s, both in England and globally. By this time, the majority of the children of the migrants to post-war England were adults and this coincided with a period of improving UK-Irish relations and rapid growth in the Irish economy. Concurrently, there was increasing recognition of the complex and fluid positioning of the second-generation in the hierarchy of identities in both England and Ireland as well as an acceptance of their difference (Hickman *et al*. 2005). A further outcome of the changes in the Irish economy was that Ireland became a feasible destination for returning migrants (Walter 2008c).

Having focused on second-generation lives in England, the last section of the chapter discusses the experience of return to Ireland as reported by a small number of this second-generation group. Like the Irish in England, the English-born are the largest, but least acknowledged, group of immigrants in Ireland (Gilmartin 2013), although this includes those for whom it is a return to a perceived home as well as those with no previous connections. Census 2016 records approximately 203 000 people born in England and Wales with the next largest foreign born group being from Poland (115 000) (CSO 2016). For members of the second-generation who have returned, a small number of sources indicate that this is not a straightforward

homecoming (Dooley 2004; Mulhern 2011). In reviewing the documented experience of individuals who have returned I therefore introduce some of the issues identified by the participants of this study and which are further elaborated on in the forthcoming chapters.

LEAVING IRELAND

The scale of emigration from Ireland in the 1950s was such that "roughly three out of every five children growing up in that decade were destined to leave at some stage" (Delaney 2007, 12), with four-fifths of these going to Britain (Delaney 2004). At the time, the Irish economy was heavily dependent on agriculture and unable to generate enough jobs for its growing population and alternative opportunities were limited in rural Ireland, for both men and women (Delaney 2007). At the same time, Britain was going through rapid post-war reconstruction and was one of the world's most advanced economies (*ibid*) and, as a result, migration took place following the classic theory of economic push and pull (Lee 1966). The largest number of emigrants came from the counties of the rural west where the small farm economy was in "irreversible decline" (Delaney 2007, 18; see also Drudy 1986). Families were often large with only one or two children usually having the option of remaining on the family farm (or marrying into neighbouring farms), resulting in the inevitable emigration of other siblings (Walter 2013). As a result, the land could continue to be farmed by the same family and the remembering of this place became significant in the memories of those who had departed (*ibid*) and, subsequently, of their children (see, for example, White 2003).

Such was the 'normality' of emigration from Ireland in the 1950s that "thinking about emigrating was deeply embedded in the psychology of young Irish people" (Delaney 2007, 19) and an aspect of the "emotion culture" of the time (Louise Ryan 2008, 301). Widespread access to UK newspapers, radio stations and cinema, not available to previous emigrants, encouraged aspiration to a higher standard of living than that available in much of rural Ireland (Delaney 2007). This, combined with the evidence

from family members and neighbours who had gone before, meant that there was a great deal of knowledge of the material benefits of life in England so that, for some, emigration was less of a necessity and more "a simple preference" (Brody 1973, 12). In addition, there were complex networks of people available to support the potential emigrant, in what Delaney (2007, 24) has described as a "truly transnational" social landscape. For women, in particular, who emigrated in higher numbers than men, Clear (2004, 149) argues that "emigration was one of a number of strategies employed by Irish girls and women to better their lives".

While young people opted to improve their economic and material situation by leaving Ireland, Britain's post-war economy was growing rapidly with a subsequent need for labour. The main destinations for this 'second wave' of migration were the English Midlands, Bedford, Luton and London where there was employment for men in big construction projects (such as motorways), the engineering and car industries. Female migrants generally found employment in nursing, cleaning and catering (Hickman 1995, 208). For immigrants from Ireland there was no requirement for work permits; therefore there was ease of access to the job market with some employers (such as the National Health Service or the National Coal Board) recruiting directly from Ireland and paying for travel (Delaney 2007).

In addition, the proximity of England enabled belief in the possibility of temporary migration and easy return if or when things improved at home (Delaney 2007). Improving transport links also allowed many of this group of emigrants to be the first generation who were able to return regularly for holidays or for special events such as weddings or funerals (*ibid*). Although seasonal migration (or circulation) was long established in some parts of the country (see, for example, Boll 2011), the figure of the returning migrant 'home on holidays' from England became a regular feature of rural Ireland (Delaney 2007). It also established a pattern which continued once those migrants became parents and returned with their English-born children (for detail see Walter 2013; and in the Scottish context M. Boyle 2011).

SECOND-GENERATION CHILDHOODS

This section explores the childhoods of the second-generation Irish in order to give some background to the lives of the participants in the research. It begins by using the available statistics on the Irish in England to give a general indication of second-generation backgrounds. I then consider the "objective structures" (Bourdieu 1990, 66) which shaped experience of growing up 'Irish' in England. This includes reference to social fields which were both public and domestic. I also refer to time spent in Ireland on holiday.

By 1971 the Irish born population of Britain was at a peak of approximately 960 000 (Hickman 1995, 207) which included those born in both the Republic of Ireland (RoI) and Northern Ireland (NI). They were the largest migrant group in Britain (*ibid*) and were concentrated in urban areas with 32 per cent in London where the Irish born made up three per cent of the total population (Sorohan 2012, 6). Evidence from the 1991 census gives a general picture of this group of migrants and the background to second-generation lives. Although emigration from Ireland affected all sectors of Irish society and the '1980s' migrants were, typically, a more educated workforce than those of previous generations, Walter's (1999) analysis of the 1991 census data found patterns which "reinforce the position of the Irish as a labour migrant group" with clustering in the lowest social class as well as being under-represented in owner-occupied housing [http://www.runnymedetrust.org/projects/meb/bgIrishCommunity.html].

In terms of the next generation, the 1971 census records 1.3 million people born in the UK who had at least one RoI born parent although, as Walter and Hickman note, the 'other' parent was highly likely to be born in Northern Ireland or be second-generation themselves (1997, 19). 1971 was the only census year in which information on place of parental birth was collected and therefore data on second (and third) generations are limited. In order to estimate the size of the second-generation, Hickman and Walter suggest using a multiplier of 2.5 or 3, based on the numbers of RoI-born

recorded by Census 1991, which would bring the total number of the Irish population (first and second-generation) to 2.5 million or 4.6 per cent of the total population (*ibid,* 20). This figure would vary across the country with much higher concentrations in some urban areas; in London they estimate that the Irish as an ethnic group, in 1991, made up between 9.6 per cent and 11.5 per cent of the total population (*ibid,* 20) with concentrations higher in particular boroughs.

Notwithstanding having grown up primarily as the children of labour migrants, the next generation show high rates of educational achievement and social mobility (Hornsby-Smith and Dale 1988; Hickman 2011). Using data from the General Household Survey (GHS) of 1979 and 1980, Hornsby-Smith and Dale (1988) found that the second-generation achieved higher levels of education than both the parental generation, most of whom would not have had access to free secondary education in Ireland (introduced in 1967), and an English sample. In the male group, for example, 51 per cent of the second-generation achieved an 'intermediate qualification' (below A Level) compared with 30 per cent of the RoI-born and 43 per cent of the English-born (*ibid,* 530). They also found evidence for social mobility with, for example, 12 per cent of second-generation men in the 'employers and managers category' compared with 8 per cent of the first generation. Correspondingly there was a decline in the 'semi-skilled, unskilled: manual' category to 18 per cent for second-generation men from 34 per cent of the first (*ibid,* 531).

More recently O'Malley (2009) finds evidence that the second-generation, in contrast to the parental generation, are a highly qualified group engaged in a range of sectors of the labour market. Further evidence for upward social mobility is also presented by Hickman (2011). Using data from the Longitudinal Study (LS) established with a one per cent sample of the census populations of 1971-2001, she found evidence for greater than average upward social mobility in the second-generation with "15.8 per cent of the LS second-generation sample mobile into managerial and professional occupations between 1991 and 2001" (*ibid,* 87). This suggests

that education was valued by the parental generation who recognised that the opportunities available were significantly better than they had had access to in Ireland. It also illustrates the success of the (mostly) Catholic schools which the second-generation attended, in enabling social mobility for their pupils. (The role of the Catholic schools in recognising the ethnicity of their second-generation pupils is discussed later in the chapter).

Growing up in Multiple Social Fields: The Public Arena

Although statistics help to establish the general pattern of second-generation lives and the (small amount of) data available suggests a successful trajectory, this needs to be considered in the specific context of the England in which the next generation grew-up and the "objective structures" (Bourdieu 1990, 66) which shaped this particular social field. In this way, the aim is to construct a sense of place (Basso 1996) within which the second-generation Irish internalised the "established customs and norms" (E. S. Casey 2001, 687) of their lives in England as durable dispositions of the habitus. These dispositions were then "re-enacted" (E. S. Casey 2001, 686) in the context of their "place-world", the world as it is "actively *lived* and receptively *experienced*" by an individual, (*ibid,* 687, italics in the original) and, where necessary, adjusted, as discussed in Chapter 1.

In explaining the emigration of their parents, Delaney argues that, as well as the classic features of economic push and pull, this migration was also shaped by "additional factors unique to the 1940s and 1950s" (2007, 18). For those growing up in England in the 1960s-1990s, although there was a legacy of colonial relations, anti-Catholicism and a long history of labour migration, within which attitudes between the English and Irish were shaped, there were also 'additional factors' which were unique to that time. There were specific "discourses and practices of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion at play" (Antonsich 2010, 649) which meant that being Irish had particular, usually negative, connotations, which I discuss later in the chapter. Although most of the anti-Irish sentiment was directed at the first-generation (given assumptions about rapid assimilation [Walter 2004]), this inevitably impacted on their children with the result that, for many,

there was a feeling, summed up by writer and performer, Terry Christian, that "to be Irish was to be second class" (cited in B. O'Sullivan 2017, 195). Campbell (2011, 21) documents that singer, Siobhan Fahey, for example, reported that: "She absorbed some pretty negative messages about herself from the host culture, particularly the incrimination, 'you're a Paddy, you're thick'", while the teenage participants of Ullah's (1985, 312) work also reported experiencing anti-Irish sentiment including jokes and accusations of being 'thick', 'drunk' or associated with the actions of the provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA). For many, including the second-generation, negative attitudes to Irish people were part of the 'discourse of exclusion' at work in England. This section therefore explores how these negative attitudes were perpetrated by the State and media while the 'invisibility' of the Irish as an ethnic minority was further reinforced in the Catholic schools which the majority of the second-generation attended. In contrast, home, family life and, in particular, family holidays in Ireland were sites which reinforced a positive attachment to Ireland and Irishness although these could also prompt reflexive awareness of belonging, or not, for the second-generation individual.

In the context of post-war England, Sorohan (2012, 86) notes that "while a low-level hostility towards them [the Irish] from the British public continued... it was largely overshadowed by concern over the influx of non-white immigrants". By the late 1960s the need for controls on immigration were an increasingly important election issue (Studlar 1978) although this tended to focus on non-white immigrants. Since its independence in 1922, control of immigration from Ireland had been regularly discussed in the UK Parliament; however, as Hickman (1998) explains in detail, the Irish were not included in immigration control legislation due to the complexity of controlling the border with Northern Ireland and not, as is often assumed, due to their whiteness. Despite this, records of the discussions on immigration indicate the general attitude of politicians in the UK to Irish immigrants. Hickman (*ibid*, 297) reports on the fact that the Irish were a central concern in Conservative government discussions in the 1950s, noting particularly the language used which referred to the Irish as "less

civilized than the English; as forming a drain on public finance; as not subject to any discrimination; as possessing no ethnic specificity and as being of the same 'race' as the inhabitants of Great Britain 'whether they like it or not'".

The beginning of the conflict in Northern Ireland in 1969 and the subsequent 'Troubles' renewed anti-Irish sentiment. One response of the UK state to IRA attacks in Britain was the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) which was introduced following the Birmingham Pub bombings in 1974 (Hillyard 1993). The impact of the PTA, Hillyard argues, was to monitor and control the movement of Irish people and, in general, to intimidate the Irish community; this is evidenced by the fact that by 1982, over 5000 people, the majority of them Irish, had been detained with less than 100 charged under the act (Sorohan 2012, 82).

More significant for the Irish population was the casual way in which they were consistently referred to in the media as problematic, while attitudes which promoted negative stereotypes were often justified as a response to IRA attacks in Britain (Hickman 1995). Research by Morgan (1997, 204) explored "the representations of Ireland, Irish people and Irish culture in the national daily press and television dramatisations" and demonstrates the powerful role the media played in normalising anti-Irish attitudes. The negative representations of the Irish in the media have also been investigated by Curtis (1984, 82) with reference to newspaper cartoons which "typically reflected and exaggerated the main themes of the press coverage" and in which the Irish were presented as violent and irrational in opposition to British rationality (see for example Douglas, Harte, and O'Hara 1998; also Doughty 2018).

The Irish joke has a long history in England with the Irish joke-book dating from the 17th century and described by Moore (2011, 230) as a way to "memorialize the charming - funny, yet abhorrent - mis-speakingfulness of Irish Others". In Britain in the 1970s, Hickman argues that Irish jokes had a more serious role in attitudes to Irish people since they "articulated and

legitimated the anti-Irish feeling which flooded to the surface" (1995, 212) and in this way created an "instantaneous association between nationality and stupidity" (Campbell 2011, 21). Much of the justification for the apparent stupidity of the Irish was based on their use of the English language since, unlike colour differences, voice is a more direct link to thought processes, therefore the way someone speaks can be used as evidence for inferior intelligence (Walter 2008b). Jokes were also used to "defuse the political threat of the Irish" (Hickman 1995, 212). This further naturalised the apparently 'common sense' views of the Irish as 'different' from the English through, for example, their "madness, excessive drinking, aggressiveness and stupidity" (Walter 2000, 64) as well as through their assumed support for extreme nationalism (Sorohan 2012).

The result of the rhetoric of the State and the media was to create an overall air of condescension and mistrust of 'the Irish' in a continuation of attitudes which dated at least since the 19th century (Hickman 1995); for Irish people in Britain, therefore, there was an awareness of the need to be careful at times. Sorohan (2012, 76) describes a feeling of "guilt by association, or embarrassment, present among many of the Irish" and found that "even interviewees who recollected no anti-Irish comments and had no opinions on the media or the police, sometimes still said that they would rather not speak on public transport so as not to reveal their Irishness". One interviewee described her sense of trying to "shrink a bit" while another admitted that his feeling of being "uneasy going into work" wasn't anything that had been said directly to him, instead "it was just there" (*ibid*). (See also Walter [2008b, 178] on the benefits of supermarkets for those who did not want their Irish voices to be heard). In this way, many Irish people embodied the dispositions of the social field of England in the 1970s and the power relations which operated there. By keeping quiet in order to avoid confrontation they maintained the social order in which they were conditionally accepted as white and English, with all the benefits that provided.

The second-generation therefore grew up in the social field of England in which the objective structures created a discourse that 'the Irish', their parents and relatives, were potentially violent as well as stupid and to be laughed at. This created a sense of disconnection and confusion about their own Irish heritage as well as forcing a choice, for some, about which side to be on. At the same time they were somewhat protected from such attitudes by their English accents but therefore more likely to be witness to anti-Irish comments due to their assumed insider status in England (Walter 2008b). As a result, many experienced the 'dis-ease' referred to by Sweetman (2003) and discussed in Chapter 1 which challenged assumptions of belonging and at-homeness in England and promoted the development of reflexivity (*ibid*) as a disposition of being second-generation Irish. This meant that the second-generation learned to adapt their behaviour in different circumstances to the extent that the practice of adapting itself became part of the habitus.

In her novel, *Instructions for a Heatwave* (2013), set in 1976, Maggie O'Farrell identifies some of the realities of growing up second-generation Irish in dual but overlapping social fields. She describes the first meeting of the second-generation character of Michael with his middle-class, English girlfriend's parents: "'Michael's parents are Irish', Claire said, and was it his imagination or was there a hint of warning in her voice, *a slight wrinkle in the atmosphere*?" (O'Farrell 2013, 26 emphasis added). Having attended grammar school and university, Michael (or Michael-Francis as his Irish mother calls him throughout the book) has all the outward appearance of the middle-class English and yet the hint of Irishness brings an almost imperceptible change in how he feels he is perceived. In a similar way to Sorohan's interviewees (above), without anything being said, Michael has an almost second-nature sense of his need to be careful once his Irish background has been exposed. In this way, he illustrates the continual "intersubjective negotiation and coordination" which, as discussed in Chapter One, Bottero (2010, 13) argues, is an essential aspect of social practice. In addition, in this scene O'Farrell infers difference in terms of social class which further confirms Michael as the outsider (as well as the

unstated age difference) and indicates the intersectional nature of all social interaction. (See also [Walter 2001, 29] who recalls the "genteel cold-shouldering" shown to a Catholic family who moved from Manchester into the Protestant estate in which she grew-up in Dorset. She explains that it was likely to have been their religion in combination with their origins in the north of England which prompted such a response).

It is a strange anomaly that throughout this time of generally negative portrayals of Irish people, there was an increasing number of Irish people in the UK media. These included, Eamonn Andrews, Val Doonican and Terry Wogan. Terry Wogan, the self-confessed, "west-Brit from the start" (M. Doyle 2016), was perhaps the ideal Irishman for a English audience; Irish enough for the novelty of difference but with an easily understood accent and a non-threatening politics. For second-generation Irish broadcaster and presenter, Dermot O'Leary (born in 1973), Wogan was "a signpost of home" (http://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-35453541), indicating the strength of a shared ethnicity despite the contrast between Wogan's middle-class, urban Irishness and that of the majority of the Irish in England at the time who were generally from rural backgrounds. In a similar way, the numerous first-generation Irish soccer players who were recruited to English clubs in the 1970s became role models for many of the aspiring second-generation children kicking a ball around in the school playground and in this way could also be a 'signpost of home'. The 1979-1980 Arsenal squad, for example, included four players from the RoI and four from NI as well as a Northern Irish manager (http://www.worldfootball.net/teams/arsenal-fc/1980/2/-19 March 2016).

Catholic churches and schools in England were an important focus for the majority of the post-war migrants and played a formative role in the identities of the next generation. Hickman states that "in the 1970s a higher percentage of Catholics than those who regularly practised their religion continued to send their children to Catholic schools" (1995, 238), indicating the way that the "popular Catholicism" (Delaney 2007, 164) with which these immigrants grew up translated into a "banal Catholicism" (Griera and

Clot-Garrell 2015, 23) for their children. This refers to the way in which the behaviours and objects of an Irish Catholic life were part of the unnoticed backdrop to everyday routines and therefore an aspect of their "transnational ways of being" (Glick Schiller 2004, 458). This included mass attendance, which had an important social element as well as the practice of praying at home or with family. In addition, there was the presence of material objects such as rosary beads and statues of certain saints (for more detail see, for example, B. O'Sullivan 2017, 20).

Despite the overwhelmingly Irish backgrounds of the pupils in the majority of Catholic schools, Hickman (1993, 1995) argues that their ethnicity was typically ignored or denied in preference for their religious identity. She goes on to illustrate how the schools continued the legacy of the 19th century in which they "held up a mirror to their pupils in which was reflected their Catholicity rather than their Irishness" and thus were able to "incorporate and denationalise the Irish in Britain" (*ibid*, 298). By the mid-twentieth century the growth in demand for Catholic schools which resulted from the influx of Irish migrants, enabled the Catholic Church to grow by raising funds from parishioners to build new schools. These were schools which, once built, were State funded, although the Church maintained a large degree of control over the curriculum (Hickman 1995). Despite this, there remained an absence of teaching about Ireland and a failure to challenge Irish stereotypes in England (Hickman 1993). In this way, the Catholic schools removed the Irish from history and rendered both Ireland and the Irish invisible (Hickman 1995, 243). Thus the schools contributed to the invisibility of the Irishness of the second-generation by ignoring their ethnicity in the curriculum (see, for example Maguire 1997).

The way in which the Irish ethnicity of the second-generation was downplayed in Catholic schools is evidenced in the reported experiences of St Patrick's Day celebrations, as recalled by second-generation adults. Walter (2008a, 199) notes that large numbers of second-generation Irish children wearing shamrocks or harps to school on St Patrick's Day "effectively turned many schools into Irish spaces", although this was

something " 'allowed' rather than encouraged" by the schools. There is also evidence for the erasure of any 'Irishisms' in children's speech patterns. In his memoir, *The Falling Angels*, John Walsh (2000, 94), for example, is coached into changing his pronunciation of 'can't' even though he felt, "It doesn't sound like me" and academic Meg Maguire (1997), recalls the correction of her pronunciation of 'Mammy' to 'Mummy'.

Growing up in Multiple 'Social Fields': The Private Arena

Notwithstanding the generally negative portrayals of the Irish immigrant in the media and the lack of recognition of the cultural heritage of their children, there is much evidence that a sense of Irishness endured in Irish families. Hickman (1995, 247) notes that "the predominance of Irish identities amongst the second-generation… remains surprising". The majority (70 per cent) of second-generation teenagers in Ullah's (1985) sample identified as Irish (either 'mainly Irish' or 'half-English, half-Irish'), even though many had experienced or were aware of anti-Irish racism. More recently the *Irish2* project (Hickman, Morgan, and Walter 2001) identified a range of 'positionings' which the second-generation move between, including being 'half-Irish and half-English' or 'not being English/British' (Hickman *et al*. 2005, 166). This evidences the endurance of Irish identifications over time and suggests that, "the family is an effective counterweight to school and its incorporating strategies" (Hickman 1995, 253) and to wider practices of anti-Irishness.

A great deal of the behaviour which shaped the positive identification of the next generation with Irishness took place in the home. As a result, Irish ethnicity was frequently invisible to wider society and this further consolidated assumptions about Irish assimilation and white sameness (Gray 2000a). With reference to "transnational ways of being" (Glick Schiller 2004, 458), children typically grew up in homes in which there were regular connections maintained with family, both in Ireland and around the world, through letters and occasional telephone calls (Walter 2001), and with Ireland through Irish newspapers (Walsh 2000) and, at times, Irish radio. They experienced the everyday reproduction of Irish food practices which,

for some families, further reinforced transnational links (Kneafsey and Cox 2002). In the absence of Irish history in the school curriculum, home was a place for learning about Irish history as well as current political events (Walter *et al*. 2002). Home was also a site which reinforced a 'banal Catholicism', as well as a place for family gatherings and social events (Hickman *et al*. 2005).

In his memoir, *The Soundtrack to My Life* (2014), broadcaster and presenter, Dermot O'Leary, recalls the informal education he received in Irish history and literature from his father and the regular "ad hoc céilís" at his home in Essex involving "people who essentially had little in common other than actually being Irish" (2014, 236). In this, O'Leary indicates the way in which the "actual practices and social relations individuals engage in" (Wessendorf 2013, 51), their everyday 'ways of being', enable "conscious connection to, or identification with, a particular group" (*ibid*, 52) and thus promote 'ways of belonging'. O'Leary describes these aspects of his childhood as a fact of his Irish life in England and also remembers them as something for which he will "always be eternally grateful". This suggests a treasured memory and an emotional connection to his 'Irish' childhood which lifts it from the taken-for-granted realm of everyday practice. In a similar way musician, Johnny Marr, also recalled "the ethnic iconography with which he was 'constantly surrounded' - including harps, shamrocks and ornaments inscribed with '*Éire*', as well as Irish tricolours and Sacred Heart images" (Campbell 2011, 109). Thus, these everyday (for Marr) objects of Irishness (Edensor 2002) featured as the banal backdrop to his everyday life (Billig 1995) while shaping an emotional sense of transnational belonging.

As well as being socialised into Irishness in the home, attending the local Catholic church was an important feature of the lives of the Irish in England. Historian Patrick Joyce states, for him, as for most of the second-generation, "Irishness was almost inseparable from Roman Catholicism" (2001, 369; see also Walsh 2000; and Harte 2006). Therefore, attending Catholic churches and associated social events were also important in

reinforcing a sense of ‘difference’ from English neighbours (Hickman and Walter 1997) and in providing a community which “helped maintain connections with ‘home’ and provided a space for connecting with others in the diaspora” (Maguire 1997).

In addition, the second-generation frequently took part in cultural activities such as Irish dancing, traditional music and sport which further reinforced their sense of Irishness and enabled them to socialise with other members of the second-generation. McGovern (2002, 91–92) notes that “the playing of Gaelic games and Irish dancing classes became major means not only for the migrant to consolidate and manifest identity but also very often to pass this on to the next generation. Similarly the songs, music and talk”. Buckley (1997, 111) acknowledges the role that Irish women as mothers played in the “deliberate socialisation of the second and third generation into Irishness”, for example, by taking them to Irish dancing lessons and *feiseanna* (dancing competitions); events for which “there was a vast potential clientele in the form of young second-generation children [...] and eager parents to support them” (Hall 1994, 284; see also Ní Maolalaidh and Stevenson [2014] on the importance of immigrant mothers to their children’s sense of (Irish) national identity; and Nukaga [2013] in the context of the Japanese in the US). Hall also describes the work of musicians Brendan Mulkere and Tommy Maguire in teaching traditional music to the second- and third-generations in London. (See also Mulrooney [2006, 232] on the “fairly typical upbringing in the world of Irish dance” of principal dancer with *Riverdance*, Colin Dunne, who grew up in Birmingham).

In terms of sport, journalist John Walsh (2000), former RoI soccer player and manager, Mick McCarthy (Holmes and Storey 2004) and broadcaster Dermot O’Leary (2014), all recall seeing their fathers play hurling during their childhoods in England. Mulhern (2011) documents the story of Senan and Paul Hehir who learned to play Gaelic football with a GAA (Gaelic Athletic Association) club in London. Such was their ability that they were recruited for the Clare county team in the late 1990s, the detail of which I

shall return to later in this chapter. More generally, Harkin (2015), demonstrates the importance of the GAA in London to Irish identity.

Holidays at 'Home' in Ireland

As described in Chapter 1, holiday visits to the parental homeland are an important way of connecting the second-generation with extended family and neighbours in a specific place. For the second-generation Irish in England, visits to homeplaces in Ireland were also highly significant in shaping the sense of belonging of these individuals. This is an event to which many of the writers of second-generation memoir/autobiography refer as a fact of their Irish lives in England. Meg Maguire's (1997) family "went 'home' in the summer to Ireland, Patrick Joyce "departed England most summers for the life of rural Ireland" (2001, 369) and soccer player and manager, Pat Dolan, reported: "when I look back now, I can see the sacrifices my parents made - working overtime all year round so that we could have that holiday experience, that six-week summer to make us know what we were and where we were from" (Doyle 2013). These comments emphasise the regularity of the visit 'home' in second-generation lives, with the trip taking place 'most' or 'every' summer and thus a 'way of being' for an Irish family in England. They also show an awareness of its meaning and significance as a practice which shaped "an emotional connection to persons [and places] who are elsewhere" (Glick Schiller 2004, 458) supporting Buckley's (1997, 111) point that "adults of the second-generation routinely evoke these holidays as treasured experiences of the Irishness their parents persistently told them was theirs".

Walter (2013, 18) describes the importance of these visits as follows:

> For individuals, they reinforced a sense of ethnic and national identity which may have been discouraged in England by parents fearful of social and political stereotyping. For families, they inserted new generations into strong social networks of grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins. They also added valuable economic resources at a time of high expenditure on young children. At a wider community level they

> introduced children to a knowledge of Irish history which was absent in their education in England (Walter *et al*. 2002). Children heard first-hand stories about Irish independence and often gained an alternative view of the political relationship between Ireland and Britain which strengthened their ability to resist discrimination.

Through these holidays at 'home', children therefore experienced the everyday lives of their extended families and gained a sense of the childhood worlds of their parents, thus strengthening their place in their English/Irish transnational social field and their sense of belonging in Ireland. (See also Zeitlyn [2012] on the British-Bangladeshi transnational social field referred to in Chapter 1).

As well as idyllic summer holidays, some of the second-generation spent extended periods of time in their parental homeplaces, depending on family circumstances. This was time which enabled them to be on the 'inside' of Irish life and further confirmed the "close entanglements of families spread between Ireland and England" (Walter 2013, 17; similar practice in the Caribbean context is described by Reynolds [2011]). In his memoir, *The Grass Arena*, John Healy (2008), for example, describes living with his mother's family in Co. Sligo, attending the local school and the efforts he would take in order to avoid returning to London. John Boyle (2002), who grew up in Glasgow, spent a school term living with his unmarried aunt on Achill island, a time he later found out was intended as a long term arrangement. This was a practice common in Irish families at the time, whereby one or two of the children of large families would be raised by their parents' childless siblings or by their grandparents. This was a rural-Irish 'way of being' which shaped his relationship with both Glasgow and Achill. This is the starting point for his memoir, *Galloway Street*, in which he reflects on this time as a result of memories triggered by his return to Achill for his aunt's funeral.

In terms of negotiating a second-generation identity, visits to Ireland could prompt a sense of displacement. They illustrate Sagmo's (2014, 4) point,

discussed in Chapter 1, that return visits could be experienced as a 'crisis' and therefore prompt "reflections on identity and belonging" in relation to place as a result of the lack of 'fit' between habitus and field. The opening line of Maude Casey's semi-autobiographical novel, *Over the Water*, illustrates the idea that home is elsewhere: "We live in England. We live in England but all year long we're preparing for the journey home" (M. Casey 1994, 1); a dilemma which M. Casey's 12 year old central voice then goes on to explore throughout the novel. This is a contradiction also reflected on by John Walsh who suggests that home does not necessarily equate to place of residence: "Between Battersea and Galway, two poles I know with two levels of intimacy, one of them my resting place the other my true home" (2000, 30).

Just as the experience of growing up in Ireland remains a powerful memory for Irish emigrants (Walter 2001), holiday visits for the second-generation were an important way of cementing an emotional connection to place. In a similar way to the examples given in Chapter One, time spent in the parental home place involved both time with family and sensory experiences of the physical environment (M. Boyle 2011; Walter 2013). In learning the significance of a particular place they illustrate Basso's point that the sensing of place is "a form of cultural activity" (1996, 83) and, as a result, individuals learn to assign meaning to place. Comedian, Steve Coogan (2015, 105) recalls an "overwhelming feeling of warmth, security and extended family" during his holidays in Co. Mayo as well as the contrast with his life in England: "It was another life, a different world. The antithesis to my safe suburban life in Middleton" (*ibid,* 106). In recalling his childhood holidays he illustrates Feld's concept of "feelingful sensuality" as a result of which person and place are linked through sensory experience which creates particular emotional connections (1996, 91): "A slight trace of damp [in the car] that takes me right back to summer holidays in Uncle Johnny's farmhouse in a sleepy Irish village. I can smell wet turf and even burning peat. It's the most powerful smell in the world for me" (*ibid,* 105). He also recalls that the mix of, often unpleasant, smells on the car ferry still trigger happy feelings in what he describes as a "Proustian response" since,

in his childhood, the smells accompanied "the promise of two or three weeks holiday to come" (*ibid,* 109). The power of these childhood memories to shape adult lives is also summed up by Coogan in describing the therapy he received as treatment for panic attacks. He was advised that in the event of a panic attack starting he should think of a place in which he was happy as a child: "I always think of Ireland, of the farmhouse where I used to sit as a child and gaze out at the rain" (*ibid,* 333), illustrating his sense of "belonging as a personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home'" (Antonsich 2010, 645) in Ireland and thus a place he could feel safe and calm.

The small amount of statistics available, combined with qualitative research and personal accounts written by the second-generation outline some of the 'ingredients' (Basso 1996) which created a sense of place in England from the 1960s to the 1980s. The way in which Irishness was presented in the media, combined with the attitude of the UK state was often in contrast with the generally positive experience of Irishness at home in England and with family in Ireland. The children of the Irish migrants in post-war England therefore grew up with contradictory messages about Irishness in their lives. The home and family shaped 'social fields' in which Irishness was taken-for-granted and the dispositions of being 'Irish in England' were nurtured. Concurrently, in the wider society, being Irish was typically a negative attribute and rarely recognised or encouraged in these white, English-accented, children who also developed a range of dispositions suited to non-Irish social fields.

EMERGING IDENTITIES: CONFUSION AND THE QUESTION OF 'AUTHENTICITY'

The experience of living with and negotiating the contradiction of these contrasting attitudes to Irishness is illustrated in a number of second-generation commentaries in which individuals exhibit a heightened reflexivity about their identities and shows how they negotiated the social fields in which they were engaged. Despite the contrasts between the social

fields in which the second-generation habitus was shaped, return to Ireland, was rarely an option for the Irish in England. Although there was some family return, particularly during a period of economic growth in Ireland in the 1970s (Ní Laoire 2004), Delaney (2007) notes that by the late 1960s the Irish were relatively settled in England. However, Ireland remained as an imagined and accessible homeland around which daily life was lived and this had implications for the future "migration calculations" (Conway and Potter 2009, 2) of some of the second-generation and their decision to return.

Reflecting on Being Irish and 'Different'

Musician, Cáit O'Riordan, who is quoted at the start of the chapter, described growing up as the child of migrants, in the 1970s, as "very difficult", (her father was Irish and her mother was Scottish). She refers to the way that her "funny name" and her "parents who had this funny accent" reinforced her sense of difference, particularly at times when there were "bombs going off" which were attributed to the Irish generally (Campbell 2011, 71). Others describe social events and experiences at school in which their Irishness was significant. Dermot O'Leary (2014), as referred to earlier, experienced regular gatherings of Irish people at his home and as a result he "realised that my weekends were panning out slightly differently from those of my friends".

Despite the attendance of large numbers of the second-generation at Catholic schools, school was also experienced as a site in which identities were challenged or as a source of heightened reflexivity. Maude Casey (1994), for example, describes keeping quiet about her Irishness while John Walsh (2000) opts to defend his identity choice. In his memoir, he recalls how at his Catholic school and among pupils of mixed European-Catholic parentage, he had to justify wearing his shamrock on St Patrick's Day and, therefore, his Irishness, in a way that his classmates did not need to with reference to their own cultural heritage: "They didn't feel any need to wear badges (or weeds) of national pride, to insist on their differentness. They didn't talk with an accent, nor endure a score of stereotypical jibes about

stupidity and drunkenness" (*ibid*, 95), all of which leads him to reflect on his own sense of 'difference' and what it meant to be Irish in England while he was at school in the 1970s.

This awareness of difference, however, was not just about a difference from English peers and English society. For this second-generation group there was also a sense of difference from their parents. The children of migrants experience more than a generational break; they are distanced from the parental place and culture which has shaped them while their experience as "insiders" in the host society (Hickman 2007, 21) separates them further from their parents. In the novel *Mr Lynch's Holiday* (2013), Catherine O'Flynn's second-generation Irish character, Eamonn, observes the following: "He knew that he would never turn into his dad... His parents were Irish, that was what he said. Never that he was Irish. ...he had a Birmingham accent ...he was so palpably different to them that it seemed preposterous to him to describe himself as Irish". Nevertheless, Eamonn goes on to describe a double alienation: "to call himself English seemed no better. His name and indeed his physical appearance declared his otherness". Although initially this is to do with his ethnicity and religion he also refers to a growing awareness of class difference which he experienced at his non-Catholic grammar school: "It was not simply the nationality of his parents that made him different it was their religion, what they did for a living, the area in which they lived, the names they called meals, the places they hadn't been on holidays" (O'Flynn 2013, 95). Like O'Farrell's character of Michael discussed earlier, Eamonn's reflections here further signal the complexity of 'difference' and the fact that ethnic difference rarely exists in isolation from other markers of identity such as, in this case, class or religion.

Identities Ignored and Denied

As well as individuals observing their own sense of difference, there was little recognition of these mixed English-Irish identities either in England or Ireland. The Irish in England are typically assumed to "assimilate completely in a single generation" (Walter 2004, 185), thus reinforcing

assumptions of white similarity in opposition to the diversity of England's visible minorities. Examples of these assumptions at work in English society have been illustrated with reference to second-generation musicians (Campbell, 2011), second-generation international soccer players (Holmes and Storey, 2004) and during Census 2001, in which the option to indicate Irish ethnicity was included for the first time (Walter, 2004). At the same time, claims on Irishness made by the second-generation can also be judged to be "inauthentic" (Scully 2009, 126) by Irish people as well as by other members of the second-generation. In a number of examples, the 'authentically' Irish (those born and bred within the national territory) fail to engage with (Gray 2006), or mock (Free 2007), the claims of the second-generation to being Irish (see also Mac an Ghaill and Haywood 2003; Hickman *et al*. 2005). In addition, the right of anyone deemed 'not Irish' to engage with or contribute to Irish culture may be challenged (Campbell 2011; O'Hagan 2015).

Focusing mainly on the popular music of the 1980s, Campbell (2011, 4) has documented the way in which the Irish ethnicity of second-generation musicians was "routinely ignored" by both the mainstream media and in academic accounts in England. He notes that *The Smiths*, whose four members had seven Irish-born parents, were described as "organically English" (Bracewell cited in Campbell 1998, 166) and "the first great English pop group" (Kent cited in Campbell 1998, 166). With reference to *The Smiths* regular tours in Ireland, Campbell (2011, 112) reports that, "critics seemed bemused by the band's wish to entertain 'the Micks'", further illustrating the, at times, condescending attitude to Irish people and the inability to recognise that the second-generation could retain any sense of Irishness or connection to the parental home country.

At the same time as the musicians of Campbell's work were coming to prominence in English popular music, the Irishness of the second-generation was also being employed in terms of international soccer. Holmes and Storey (2004) document how the appointment, in 1986, of Jack Charlton as the RoI soccer manager, resulted in a number of players being recruited to

the team through the ‘granny rule’, which meant that they were entitled to play by virtue of having an Irish-born grandparent (or parent). Interviews and accounts of many of these players reflect the ‘typical’ experience of the children of the post-war migrants through both their positive feelings of attachment to Ireland as well as their sense of confusion over identity. Tony Cascarino, for example, described his upbringing and therefore his eligibility to play for Ireland as follows: “I had been brought up in an Irish household, I went to a Catholic school run by priests and nuns, a lot of my mates were Irish or first generation in London, and I knew a lot about that way of life” (cited in McLoone 2011, 23). More than just an entitlement to play through his bloodline to Ireland (which Cascarino was later found not to have due to his mother’s adoptive status) he refers also to the everyday “ways of being” (Glick Schiller 2004, 458) of his Irish ‘way of life’ which shaped his sense of belonging to Ireland and therefore, justified his selection for the Irish team. In a similar way to Catherine O’Flynn’s fictional character of Eamonn, referred to earlier, goalkeeper, Séamus McDonagh, captures the ambiguity of being second-generation. He was born in Yorkshire to Irish parents and “felt he was not accepted by anyone” (Holmes and Storey 2004, 97); he was English in Ireland, due to his accent but Irish in England, due to his name.

Despite the “very public ‘choice’ of national identity” (Holmes and Storey 2004, 89) which these individuals made, the negative responses they received in the UK press further illustrate the lack of understanding that white people, who have grown up in England, might choose to show loyalty to ‘elsewhere’ in their choice of international sporting allegiance. This was an attitude which was perhaps heightened by the subsequent loss of such players from the English national team. McLoone reports on comments made about the Irish team such as: “I have a dog called Paddy. Does that mean I can play for Ireland?” (2011, 23) and one letter published in the *Observer* in 2002 asked, “these players can claim they are Irish until the cows come home, but does anyone believe them?” (Holmes and Storey 2004, 93; see also Morgan 1997). This further confirms the lack of

recognition in England of the Irishness of the second-generation and the allegiance they may have to Ireland.

In 2001, for the first time, the census for England and Wales included an option to indicate Irish ethnicity. This was a "symbolic breakthrough" (Walter 2004, 191) in terms of recognition of the multi-generational Irish population in England and had been campaigned for by Irish community groups (Gray 2000a). However, in her discussion of the results of the census, Walter (2004, 188) argues that the wording of the question "reflects assumptions about ethnic identity" made by the UK Census administrators and therefore illustrates official understandings of the issue of Irish ethnicity in England. The census required respondents to choose a British *or* Irish ethnicity, with no option to select a hyphenated British-Irish identity as was available to Caribbean, African and Asian groups (*ibid*). While research with the second-generation has suggested that the majority, given a choice, would choose a mixed identity label, such as 'half-English, half-Irish' or use a local descriptor such as 'Manchester Irish' (Hickman *et al*. 2005), Walter argues that the wording of the census question illustrates a "general incomprehension amongst 'white' English people that people might wish to distinguish their cultural difference" (*ibid*, 189), for example by opting to describe themselves as 'British-Irish' in a similar way to those who opt for 'Asian British' or 'Black British'.

While assumptions about the Englishness of the second-generation indicate perhaps a laziness (or arrogance) on the part of the English to see past assumptions of white sameness and a bewilderment or 'general incomprehension', as identified by Walter above, that anyone would choose not to be English, attitudes from Irish people evidence a more conscious guarding of the national identity based on assumptions of authenticity. This is summed up in the term 'plastic Paddy' which came into use in England in the 1980s (Hickman 2002). Campbell explains that it was used as a "derisive allusion to the perceived inauthenticity of the second-generation's understandable identification with Irishness" (1999, 279) and was typically a means by which the '1980s' migrants could distance themselves from their

English born peers as well as the older generation of migrants (Hickman 2002).

In her work with Irish emigrant women in London, Gray (2006), for example, found a significant distancing between the lives of her subjects and the second-generation Irish whom they encountered. She notes a "sense of bewilderment about what it might be like to be brought up in England by one or two Irish migrant parents" (*ibid,* 214) and a sense of pity rather than empathy towards the English-born, suggesting a "history of Irish–English relationships that is denied and avoided rather than engaged with" (*ibid,* 215). A more explicit denial of the claims to Irishness of the second-generation is identified by Free (2007) in terms of support for Ireland's international soccer team. Despite the 'proof' of commitment to the national cause by travelling abroad in support of the Irish team, Free documents one incident in Lisbon where the English accents of one group of Ireland supporters were responded to by another group (from Dublin) with a rendition of the *Eastenders* theme tune, followed by comments made in mock cockney accents (Free 2007, 486). As with the UK census administrators, the assumption prevails that a second-generation individual can only be English *or* Irish and, as Scully (2009, 126) notes, "claiming Irishness in an English accent is fraught with difficulty and possible rejection, as the two identities tend to be seen as incompatible". (See also Gray 2000b; and Irish comedian, Dara Ó Briain 2009, who performs a sketch titled "I will always love my English son").

With reference to specific members of the second-generation, Campbell (2011, 77) reports on an incident where, during an interview on RTÉ radio in 1985, *The Pogues* were asked to account for their Irishness with the implication that they had no right to this claim. (See also Campbell 2011, 81 for the way in which singer, Shane MacGowan's Irishness was mocked in the UK music press). In a similar way, London-born playwright, Martin McDonagh found his right to write about Ireland questioned by (some) journalists and academics due to his outsider status (O'Hagan 2015).

Negotiating a New Path: Second-Generation Irish 'Ways of Being'

Despite the failure to acknowledge second-generation identities, individuals inevitably succeeded in negotiating their way in multiple and, at times, conflicting social fields. Mac an Ghaill and Haywood (2003), in their work with young second-generation men in Birmingham and London, describe commonalities of experience among second-generations from a variety of ethnic backgrounds (such as being told they were English when visiting the parental home country) and thus found evidence for shared dispositions of 'second-generationness'; ways of being which have evolved from the dispositions of the habitus of the parental generation combined with the specifics of life in urban England at a particular time.

As a result of the *Irish2* project, Hickman *et al* (2005, 166) identify a number of "positionings" which the second-generation may move between depending on circumstances. These are: 'being English'; 'not being English/British'; 'being Irish'; 'being half-Irish and half-English/British'; and 'being local'. The ability to "juggle simultaneously" (*ibid,* 166) the identity options available to them therefore indicates the agency of the second-generation in living "at the intersection of two hegemonic domains of rooted-ness, nation and authenticity" (*ibid,* 173). Rather than passively accepting their invisibility and assumed inauthenticity they provide further evidence for Sweetman's (2003, 537) argument that "for some contemporary individuals reflexivity and flexibility is itself deeply embedded", thus supporting the case for the "reflexive habitus" (*ibid,* 528) described in Chapter 1. The recognition of a specific second-generation way of being in which reflexivity has become habitual has been used to explain the success of a number of second-generation musicians who, as a result of their dual influences and hyphenated allegiances, have made notable contributions to British rock music (Campbell 2011). In addition, playwright, Martin McDonagh, acknowledges that, like *The Pogues,* he realised that "he didn't have to discard his Irish heritage; he could make use of it instead" (O'Toole 2006), thus shaping a 'London-Irish' way of imagining the west of Ireland in his work.

A number of second-generation commentators have also acknowledged the benefits of their somewhat marginal status as Irish in England. Academic, Meg Maguire (1997) for example, recognised that growing up in an Irish community in south London gave her "a strength and sense of historical solidarity ...a way into different sets of meanings... ways of seeing the world as contradictory, inconsistent and ambivalent". And for singer, Morrissey, Campbell (2011, 133) notes that, "while the experience of displacement may well evoke the pain and loss of not being firmly rooted in a secure place, it can also furnish a world of immense possibility".

Despite celebrating the benefits of the reflexive habitus for a small number of those engaged in the creative industries, for many second-generation individuals, questions of 'who am I?' and 'where do I belong?' remain pertinent. Based on evidence from second-generation memoir, Greenslade (1992, 220) suggests that they "belong completely to neither one culture nor the other and are caught between their parents' heritage and their present context". Walsh, (2000, 30) for example, refers to "the constant switchback of [his] relationship" with England and Ireland in a memoir which attempts to describe "the condition of being between two cultures". Maude Casey also reflects on her relationship with the two countries wondering which "is my true home" (1994, 4) and stating "I do not know where I belong" (*ibid,* 60). Although the ability to pick and choose who to be and how to behave may become second-nature, questions about and reflections on belonging therefore also feature as a disposition of 'second-generationness'.

CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF IRISHNESS: THE SECOND-GENERATION 'COME OF AGE'

By the 1990s, the majority of the children of the post-war migrants were now adults who had come through the British education system and were fully fledged "insiders" (Hickman 2007, 21) in British society. With reference to London, Gray (2006, 214) notes that "an ethnicity identifiable as 'London-Irish' was emerging in the 1990s" among the adult second-generation (see also Campbell [2011] on the "London-Irish" identity of *The*

Pogues). At the same time, the outcomes of several long term social, political and economic processes in the UK, Ireland, Europe and globally, as well as a number of key events, prompted changes in perceptions of Irishness in England. The "objective structures" (Bourdieu 1990, 66) which shaped England and which were, inevitably, continually evolving now contributed to a sense that claiming an Irish identity was more acceptable, although this was not always a straightforward 'coming out' for the second-generation.

In terms of key events in England, the quashing of the convictions of the Guildford Four (along with the Maguire family) and the Birmingham Six and their respective releases, in 1989 and 1991, perhaps signalled the beginning of an end to the negative attitudes to the Irish of the 1970s and also brought public recognition to the fact that the criminal justice system in England and Wales was flawed, in particular when it came to the Irish. (This refers to the Irish people in England who were found to have been wrongly convicted following high profile bombings by the provisional IRA in England). These releases, combined with the ceasefires of IRA and Loyalist paramilitaries and the eventual signing of the Belfast Agreement in 1998, meant that there was less of a need for a 'heads down' strategy for the Irish in England who were no longer the 'suspect community' created as a result of the Prevention of Terrorism Act in 1974 (Hillyard 1993; McGovern 2002). This is illustrated with reference to London's first high profile St Patrick's Day Festival in 2002 which Hickman describes as the "London Irish putting their heads above the parapet in a way not viewed as possible in the previous few decades" and thereby "putting to rest" many of the negative associations with Irishness which existed in England (2014, 123).

On a larger scale, the end to conflict in Northern Ireland brought about by the Belfast Agreement realigned the political relationship between the UK and Ireland and changed the way Ireland was seen globally, from a place of unrest to a place of potential investment. This, coupled with EU membership, further promoted a sense of the two countries as political equals and acquaintances. The end of conflict also ensured that the global

investments which had begun to flow into Ireland continued, resulting in rapid economic growth such that by 1996, Ireland was being referred to as the 'Emerald Tiger' (O'Toole 1996, 19). This combined with the declining authority of the Catholic Church and a general liberalisation of social attitudes meant that Ireland became an increasingly attractive destination for immigrants from a range of countries as well as for Irish-born returning migrants and their children. This idea of Ireland as a place of possibility for the Irish abroad was reinforced in 1995 by then-President Mary Robinson's *Cherishing the Diaspora* speech in which she acknowledged "the array of people outside Ireland for whom this island is a place of origin" and for whom she had begun her presidency by placing a light in the window of *Áras an Uachtaráin* (the official residence of the President of Ireland) to signify "our love and remembrance on this island for those who leave it behind" (www.oireachtas.ie/viewdoc.asp?fn=/documents/addresses/2Feb1995.htm).

In Britain, the 1990s saw recognition of the specificity of anti-Irish discrimination with the allocation of funding for a Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) report entitled *Discrimination and the Irish Community in Britain* (Hickman and Walter 1997) and subsequently the inclusion of a question on Irish ethnicity on the 2001 census for England and Wales, as discussed earlier. This contributed to the growing confidence of the Irish in Britain, although this was not necessarily recognised by everybody.

At the same time as these political and economic changes were taking place, Irishness was being commodified for a global market in which Britain was a prime consumer. Irish music, dance, literature and film all became popular worldwide and Irish traits such as the ability to enjoy the '*craic'* (fun) became desirable attributes (McGovern 2002). The rapidly growing Irish economy, the popularity of all things Irish on a global scale combined with Ireland's relative success at, for example, the 1990 soccer World Cup (where the Irish team reached the quarter finals), the Eurovision Song Contest (winning four times in the 1990s), the subsequent success of *Riverdance* and the popularity of Irish films and theatre meant that being

Irish became a positive attribute. As Mac an Ghaill and Haywood (2003, 388) argue, (male) Irishness emerged as "a highly seductive culture" with 'Paddy' evolving out of all previous negative connotations into "the iconoclast of popular (cool) culture" (see also McGovern [2002] on the images used in marketing Irish stouts and beers in the 1990s). At the same time, an increasing number of people in the public sphere began to openly acknowledge their Irish families and connections. In 1998, for example, then-Prime Minister, Tony Blair, opened his speech to the *Oireachtas* (the Irish Parliament) by referring to his mother's birth in Co. Donegal, his own formative memories of time spent there and thus his personal investment in the Peace Process (https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1998-11-26/2/). More recently, broadcaster and presenter, Dermot O'Leary (2014) regularly refers to his Irish background and his support for Wexford GAA (see also Coogan 2015). This is in marked contrast to the attitudes of the British music press in the 1980s to the Irishness of *The Smiths* and of Shane MacGowan described by Campbell (2011) and referred to earlier.

Despite the overall change in perceptions of Irishness and the improved attitudes to Irish people, for many of the second-generation their positioning remains a complex one. Although the allocation of funding into research on anti-Irish discrimination was a successful outcome for those who had campaigned on such issues, the announcement was met in the UK press with ridicule; *The Sun* newspaper, for example, printed a page of anti-Irish jokes while the *Daily Telegraph* stated that the CRE wanted to 'legislate against laughter' (Walter 2008b, 177). And while the Peace Process alleviated feelings of suspicion of 'the Irish', they could still be an easy target for racist attitudes in a culture in which 'racism' was assumed to be a problem of colour (Mac an Ghaill and Haywood 2003; for examples see Finch 2003; also Gould 2010).

Other evidence suggests ambivalence within the second-generation about the extent of their Irishness. The 2001 census question on Irish ethnicity failed to capture the multi-generational Irish population with only eight per cent of the potential second-generation population opting to tick 'White

Irish' (Hickman 2011), perhaps, as discussed earlier, due to the wording of the question. In terms of health as an indicator of migrant assimilation, it is typically the case that the health and mortality of immigrants begin to converge with that of the host population within a generation or two of migration (Haskey 1996). However, research on the health of the Irish in Britain has found that poor health and higher levels of mortality in the second-generation "suggests that some important elements of being Irish persist long beyond the initial migration" although the specific reasons "remain unclear" (Haskey 1996, 1373; Harding and Balarajan 1996). This further challenges assumptions that the Irish easily assimilate and that whiteness in England is a uniform identity which easily equates to Englishness.

As referred to earlier in this chapter, the second-generation Irish show high levels of success in the British education system (Hornsby-Smith and Dale 1988) and this is a fact which Campbell (1999) argues, like the health statistics, illustrates an enduring 'difference' from the host population. One result of this educational success has been the increase in academic research about and by the second-generation (for example Hickman 1995; Mac an Ghaill 2000; M. Boyle 2011; Campbell 2011; Murray 2012; B. O'Sullivan 2017). On a wider, perhaps more accessible, scale the second-generation Irish are mostly absent from British fiction in which the contribution of writers from a range of ethnic backgrounds who write about being 'ethnic' in Britain, is acknowledged. As Murray (2012, 150) points out, given the large numbers of Irish in Britain, "a writer of second-generation Irish experience has not yet emerged who can be compared to, for instance, Arnold Wesker, Hanif Kureishi or Zadie Smith", suggesting that there is no 'Irish in Britain' story to tell or that the Irish and their children do not believe they have a story worth telling or that would be heard.

THE SECOND-GENERATION AND RETURN TO IRELAND

The economic and social changes which took place in Ireland in the 1990s, together with a positive exchange rate and pension benefits that were

transferable to Ireland meant that for many of the emigrants to England of the post-war years it became increasingly possible to return home. For their English-born children it became a place of greater possibility in terms of employment opportunities. Those members of the second-generation from England who have chosen to return to Ireland have featured little in discussions of Ireland's new immigrants. Just as the Irish and their children have frequently been described as invisible in England, the returning second-generation are also invisible (if not inaudible) in Ireland. The English-born are Ireland's largest foreign born group and yet they are perhaps not quite foreign enough; as journalist, Shane Hegarty, points out, "when we talk about 'the new Irish', there's a clear sense that we're not including the Brits in that mix" (Hegarty cited in Gilmartin 2013, 641). There has been no attempt, to date, to recognise the specificity of the second-generation experience as migrants in Ireland; instead they are included as a variation within other studies. For example, Gilmartin's (2013) research with a small group of British-born migrants includes a number of people who are of Irish descent while Ní Laoire's (2008a) research with returning Irish migrants also includes members of the second-generation.

In terms of literature and memoir the book has yet to be written in which the second-generation protagonist ends their story by returning 'home' to Ireland (although John Walsh [2000] does reflect on this possibility). However, there are a small number of sources which do refer to the return experience and these outline some of the issues faced by second-generation returnees. Journalist, Brian Dooley, for example, comments that since leaving London for Ireland he has been, "more at home than I ever felt in my life" (2004, viii). However, he opens his book with an incident which illustrates that his unquestioned sense of being at home in Ireland was not one taken for granted by others. After going into a Dublin pub to enquire about the outcome of an All-Ireland GAA championship match between Galway and Kerry (his father's county of origin), he was given the result of the England-Germany soccer world cup qualifier match which had been played at the same time. Based on his London accent, his informant had

wrongly assumed that Dooley's request for the result of 'the match' referred to English soccer and not the GAA. Dooley (2004, vi) goes on to describe his urge to explain himself:

> 'Wait,' I wanted to shout back, 'my cousin Paddy Bawn Brosnan was a famous player in the great Kerry teams of the 1940s. I played Gaelic football for London. I live here. I've got an Irish passport…' But he was gone, and I wouldn't have said any of that anyway. As second-generation Irish people know, those conversations are humiliating and risky.

In this, Dooley illustrates a disposition of the habitus of many of the second-generation. Returning to Ireland required a certain amount of acceptance that his Irishness would not be recognised and that any attempt to justify himself may be futile. He shows an insider's knowledge of the importance of being able to prove his genetic connection to a particular county and to the Gaelic football for which that county is famous, thus illustrating his awareness of "the pervasiveness of the county as a point of reference within Ireland and the use of local identity as a marker of authenticity among the Irish diaspora" (Scully 2013, 145). However, all of this is overridden by his London accent which defines his ongoing outsiderness, despite what his passport may say.

A more detailed experience of return is given in the account of the Hehir brothers who played Gaelic football for their parental home county of Clare in the late 1990s. They were born and brought up in London in a house in which "GAA was the life and soul" (Mulhern 2011, 73), illustrating the normality of this particular aspect of being Irish in their everyday lives. They learned to play Gaelic football with their local GAA club in London and spent summers in Co. Clare where they would buy the Clare GAA jersey and were able to see the county team play (Mulhern 2011; see also Scully [2013, 146] on the concept of "banal county-ism"). As young adults they were recruited from London to the Clare county team and also played with their father's home club, Doonbeg. Through their very local

connections they were welcomed home. The Doonbeg GAA club was described by Paul Hehir as "like a mother and father to me" (Mulhern 2011, 74) and the manager recalled that "even though they were born in London we saw them very much as being from the place" (*ibid,* 86). Just as for Dooley (above), the connection to place, at a very local scale and through family, was an essential part of their acceptance 'at home'. The Hehirs' story also illustrates the opposite extreme in terms of the reception of the 'English-born Irish' in Ireland. Paul Hehir described himself and his brother as "the only *foreigners* around the place" (*ibid,* 74, emphasis added) and one local person described his own sons' excitement as well as confusion about "how fellas could be coming from London to play for Doonbeg" (*ibid,* 76). Outside of the immediate world of Doonbeg GAA there were more controversial issues. Although their family, and, thus, their authenticity as Clare people, could be traced within the county, Mulhern notes that "word on the street was [Clare football manager] John O'Keefe had signed two 'Tans' for the Clare forward line" (*ibid,* 74) and, following a win for the club in the Munster championship, "Brits Out" graffiti appeared on a wall next to the Doonbeg GAA pitch (*ibid,* 79). In reproducing graffiti commonly seen in Catholic areas of Belfast or Derry at the time, the biggest insult which could be used against the Hehirs was to 'accuse' them of being British and thus link them to British colonial history in Ireland; it was a powerful way of reminding them of their outsiderness even while they represented the county and parish to which they were actively connected throughout their lives. (For detail on similar accusations made by Roy Keane to Mick McCarthy at the 2002 Soccer World Cup see McLoone [2011]; also Dooley [2004]).

As these examples illustrate, the returning second-generation migrant has a difficult path to tread in terms of claiming their place in Ireland. Returning migrants problematise what Ní Laoire (2008a) describes as hegemonic and monocultural constructions of Irishness. She argues that "popular discourses of Irish society are often structured on the basis of dualisms which oppose a perceived native/Irish/white/settled/host community to a ... foreign/non-white/non-Irish/nomadic/immigrant/newcomer community" (*ibid,* 35). With

reference to Irish-born returnees she illustrates how they blur the boundaries between these dualisms, arguing that, the return migrant shifts constantly between the positions of 'host' and 'newcomer' (*ibid,* 35–36). Second-generation returnees further blur this dualism through their experience of choosing to return to a perceived 'home' in which they are often received as English and 'foreign'. Their experiences can therefore highlight the boundaries of the Irish 'we' (Lentin 2002) and at the same time force a reflexivity of identity for the individual involved.

CONCLUSION

This chapter gives a context to the lives of the participants of the research. Drawing on a range of secondary sources, it describes the experience of growing up as the child of Irish migrants to post-war England. It outlines the circumstances in which the parental generation left Ireland and uses available statistics to describe broad features of the lives of the Irish in England. The chapter then identifies the aspects of life in England which shaped the habitus of the next generation. This included the role of the State and the media in creating an atmosphere of mistrust of the Irish generally, while the Catholic schools contributed to a feeling of invisibility for the second-generation. At the same time, home and family life, along with holiday visits to Ireland, reinforced a positive experience of Irishness.

The chapter identified three related themes which sum up the experience of being second-generation Irish in England, that of difference, invisibility and displacement. There is evidence that in their everyday ways of being, the second-generation Irish frequently experienced a sense of 'difference' from the host population. Examples of this sense of difference include an awareness of their 'non-English' names (Holmes and Storey 2004; Campbell 2013; O'Flynn 2013), a consciousness of negative Irish stereotypes (Ullah 1985; Walsh 2000; Campbell 2011), a different way of socialising (Walsh 2000; Hickman et al. 2005; D. O'Leary 2014) and a consciousness of the Irish accents of their parents and having their own use of English corrected (Maguire 1997; Walsh 2000). Despite this sense of

difference there is also evidence for the feeling of 'invisibility' referred to at the start of the chapter. The 'whiteness' of the Irish led to assumptions of sameness and a lack of recognition of the existence of anti-Irish racism (Hickman and Walter 1997). This was further compounded for the next generation by their English accents (Walter 2000, 2004). The resulting assumptions of easy assimilation (Walter 2004) therefore contributed to the forgetting or ignoring of the possibility that those born in England to (white) migrant parents, might choose to identify with aspects of the parental culture.

A further result of the awareness of difference was that of 'displacement' and difficulty knowing quite where they belonged. Holiday visits were an important aspect of the lives of Irish families in England but this could prompt questions and reflections about being English or Irish with a hybrid mix of Englishness and Irishness rarely considered as an option (Gray 2000a; Ní Laoire 2002; Scully 2010). There was also an experience of displacement during lives in England. In a similar way to the participants of Chamberlain's (1997) work, discussed in Chapter One, moving between the contrasting social fields of, for example, school and home prompted a reflexive awareness of typically taken-for-granted behaviours (Sweetman 2003) with the result that the ability to adapt becomes an aspect of the second-generation habitus.

From the range of available research on the second-generation Irish in England there is little written about their ongoing transnationalism and possible return migration. Research has focused on the experience of being second-generation Irish *in Britain* and published personal accounts have all been written by individuals who live in Britain, although a few have lived in Ireland for extended periods. Given the positive influence home and family life apparently have on the endurance of Irish identities into the next generation and the emotional connection to place created during holiday visits, it is unsurprising that some of the second-generation might choose to return. This thesis adds to the picture of the lives of the Irish in post-war England and their children in order to illustrate how their ways of being and

belonging and their experience of the objective structures of place might promote the idea of return migration in the next generation.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

In Chapter One, I explored the idea that second-generations frequently grow up in transnational social fields, in which the idea of connection to the parental place of origin and possible return are part of everyday ways of being and belonging. With reference to the second-generation Irish in England, Chapter Two illustrates many of these everyday ways of being and belonging and how a sense of connection to Ireland developed in their everyday lives. This chapter describes how information was collected for the research with particular reference to these everyday events and how this may have shaped migration decision making. The research used a qualitative methodology in order to gain a greater understanding of the migration experience rather than seek proof of this migration flow.

Qualitative methodologies provide an opportunity to "get beyond statistics" (Limb and Dwyer 2001, 1) and explore the meaning of migration to the individual through an in-depth exploration of experiences, feelings and thoughts both prior to and since the move. This approach is one which is frequently useful when aiming to "recover and centralise marginalized voices" (*ibid*, 9) and, although the second-generation Irish from England are rarely considered to be a disadvantaged group, it is documented that they are a group which has particular characteristics which are frequently ignored by the mainstream white discourse in England due to their assumed similarity (Hickman 1998). This thesis, therefore, uses the migration biographies of a specific group of second-generation returnees to explore their experience of growing up in a transnational social field which spanned Ireland and England and how this shaped their decision to migrate to Ireland as adults.

In this chapter I outline the development of qualitative methodologies in migration studies and make particular reference to other studies of second-generations. I detail the way in which data was collected using a

‘biographical approach’ (Roberts 2002) involving written accounts and face-to-face, in-depth interviews. This is followed with a consideration of the need for reflexivity and acknowledgement of my own positionality as an insider to the research. The chapter ends with a review of the interview process and an acknowledgement of and reflection on the “emotion work” (Hoschild 1979, 551; Bondi 2005b) involved in gathering and analysing qualitative data.

QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGIES IN MIGRATION STUDIES

Debates about methodologies in population geography emerged in the early 1990s with the recognition that, as an area of research, it had moved from being the “point of reference” for the discipline of geography (Trewartha cited in Findlay and Graham 1991, 152) to a marginal position which had failed to address either the “big issues” of the day or to engage with new thinking in social theory (*ibid*, 149). Limb and Dwyer point out that as humanistic geography emerged in the 1970s there was an emphasis on placing people at the centre of geographical research and an acknowledgement of the need to gain an “understanding of the psychological, emotional and existential attachments individuals had towards particular spaces, places and landscapes” (2001, 3). However, Findlay and Graham criticise population geographers for, on the whole, ignoring this and failing to adopt innovative perspectives such as humanistic approaches or structuration theory which were being applied in other areas of human geography (1991, 155).

In the early 1990s, Fielding called for greater attention to be given to migration as a “cultural event” (1992, 201) and pointed out the dichotomy that although migration (internal or international) was often a major event in people’s lives and a turning point in life stories, migration research remained overtly focused on empirical studies. In the course of migration, either internal or international, an individual inevitably changes the way in which he or she makes sense of the world and his or her place in it. As discussed in Chapter One, it is through the re-enactment of the habitus in the

place-world (E. S. Casey 2001) that people acquire a sense of place and it is this which is "refashioned in the new context when they migrate" (King 1995, 28). Following an internal migration this may be as simple as using different shops and services, adjusting to local accents or having a changed relationship with family and friends. An international move may mean learning a new language, experiencing a new food culture or adapting to a different climate, as well as more subtle changes such as new norms regarding personal and social behaviour. Such changes, which lead to an increasingly reflexive awareness of identity (Edensor 2002), often result from migration, as Fielding (1992, 201) argues, being "one of those events around which an individual's biography is built". Despite this, migration was, he claimed, "in part culturally produced, culturally expressed and cultural in its effects" but to geographers culture proved too difficult to measure empirically (*ibid,* 201). Greater use of ethnographic methods was therefore needed in order to explore the individual experience of migration. Further support for ethnographic approaches was called for by McHugh, who found that "migration research is an area in which census and survey based methods dominate" (2000, 72) and also argued for a more ethnographic approach in order to understand migration as a cultural event. He claimed that ethnographic research investigates "lived experiences embedded in sociocultural contexts" and by researching in this way it is possible "to interpret everyday life in terms of the production and reproduction of sociocultural structures" (*ibid,* 74).

In 1993, Halfacree and Boyle argued for the use of a biographical approach which would enable "an alternative conceptualization of migration which emphasizes its situatedness within everyday life" and one which should be considered in terms of an "action in time", an "action with multiple reasons" and as a "cultural event" (1993, 334). This was an attempt to move on from the "behavioural legacy" (*ibid,* 334) in which the migration event was perceived simply as a response to economic inequalities and the decision to move was determined by factors outside individual control. This reflects a move in the social sciences generally to a focus on the study of lives in what could be described as a "narrative, biographical or auto/biographical turn"

(Roberts 2002, 3). Its appeal, Roberts argues, is that it enables an exploration of "how individual accounts of life experience can be understood within the contemporary cultural and structural settings" and that it can "aid the task of understanding major social shifts, by including how new experiences are interpreted by individuals within families, small groups and institutions" (*ibid,* 5). With reference to migration, therefore, the biographical approach enables an exploration around the question "why did you move?" (Ní Laoire 2000, 239) and is an attempt to understand a migration event through an individual's interpretation of the wider socio-historical context in which he/she is but one actor. Typically, migrants had been considered as "automatons, responding mechanically to forces beyond their control" (McHugh 2000, 74) and studies which concentrated on factors such as economic growth or recession, failed to consider migration as "individual choice informed by cultural values and social pressures" (Fog Olwig cited in Chamberlain 1997, 6).

In arguing for a biographical approach, Halfacree and Boyle (1993, 336) refer to the need to see the individual as a decision maker in "the social setting of everyday life" and draw on Gidden's (1984), concept of 'practical consciousness' which describes the taken for granted ways in which an individual usually knows how to behave (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993). Related to this is Bourdieu's (1990) concept of the habitus, discussed in Chapter One, which Halfacree and Boyle see as the "'source' of practical consciousness". By employing the concept of the habitus, they argue, it is possible to "integrate the process of migration into the everyday experience of the individual within society" (1993, 341) and a biographical approach recognises this. Information acquired or events which take place throughout life create "intentions" or "seeds" from which the action of migration may or may not take place (*ibid*, 338). Therefore in order to truly understand migration decision making it is necessary to devise methodologies which uncover these seeds and to establish what it is that may trigger their growth and development. To take this idea to its logical conclusion would mean also researching people in whom the seeds of migration may be sown but the migration did not take place and to consider why not. In a study of

emigrants from Hong Kong, Findlay and Li also acknowledge that people are "pro-active, socially embedded, intentional agents who influence and are influenced by the social worlds in which they are located" (1996, 34). By using an auto-biographical approach, Findlay and Li found it possible to investigate the way in which the meaning of migration is likely to be established over long time spans. They asked their subjects to describe typical events in their everyday lives in order to try to uncover value systems and used these to try to explain the non-everyday event of migration. In a later study of migration to rural Scotland, Findlay and Stockdale return to this idea in describing lives as a "tapestry" in which "threads of influence… have informed migration decisions" (2003, 7). The task of the researcher in using a biographical approach is then to unpick these threads to establish how they may have contributed to the tapestry of a life in which migration has featured. This new way of thinking about migration, as a normal behaviour and taken for granted aspect of the self, therefore required new methodological approaches. The biographical approach, they argue, enables an in-depth investigation into the multiplicity of factors which have contributed to migration decision making at the level of both discursive and practical consciousness.

While Halfacree and Boyle (1993) and Findlay and Li (1996) theorize migration decision making in the context of Gidden's concepts of practical and discursive consciousness, the consideration of the multiple 'seeds' or 'threads' which influence the migration decision also relates to thinking about everyday lives referred to in Chapter One. Investigating the "various quotidian acts through which people live their lives across borders" (Glick Schiller 2004, 458) helps to identify such 'seeds' as they are sown and nurtured in second-generation lives and how, by growing up in transnational social fields, dispositions are acquired which make migration seem normal, natural and perhaps an inevitable event to the individual decision maker. This includes both the event of movement as well as the choice of destination.

The recent growth in research into second-generation return evidences the usefulness of biographical approaches in migration research with researchers variously describing participant observation (Teerling 2010; Wessendorf 2013), narrative methods (Potter 2005; Teerling 2010), conversational interviews (Wessendorf 2013), autoethnography (Christou 2003), semi-structured interviews (Conway, Potter, and St Bernard 2009) and use of visual materials (Teerling 2010; Richter 2012). In part, this is a response to the lack of statistics on second-generation return with which to apply a quantitative analysis. Reynolds (2008) found that in terms of Caribbean return, the Returning Resident Facilitation Unit in Jamaica records only the returning first-generation (see also Conway, Potter, and Phillips 2005) and therefore the scale of second-generation return is difficult to assess. A similar situation is noted by Teerling (2010, 49) who describes the returning second-generation in Cyprus as "a hidden group in censuses and population statistics". Researching the second-generation has therefore promoted innovative approaches as researchers work to devise methods recognising such 'hidden' groups.

The returning second-generation Irish from England are also a 'hidden' group in statistics. The census of Ireland collects a range of data on population and migration which includes questions on birthplace, nationality, ethnicity and country of previous residence (see Appendix I). From Census 2016 it is possible to identify approximately 203 000 people who were born in England and Wales making them Ireland's largest foreign-born population. The next largest foreign-born group are those from Poland at 115 000 people (CSO 2016c) . The figures for those born in England and Wales includes the returning adult second-generation as well as those who returned as children, a pattern particular evident in the 1970s (Ní Laoire 2004). These figures also include those with no previous Irish connections. The second-generation are also 'hidden' in other data; for example, the approximately 121 000 people who were born in England and Wales and describe their ethnicity as 'white Irish' also inevitably includes those who returned as children (CSO 2016d). In the 2016 census the question on nationality allowed respondents free choice in describing their

nationality. While Irish was an option there was also the opportunity to indicate hybrid nationality from which the descriptor 'Irish-UK' was applied to the final dataset (CSO 2016b). The numbers of people born in England and Wales and who describe their nationality as Irish or a hybrid Irish descriptor approximates to 118 000 although again this is likely to include those who returned as children, while some of the second-generation may opt to describe themselves as having a English, British or UK nationality. There is also data available on those born outside of Ireland, nationality (not self-ascribed) and year of taking up residence in Ireland (CSO 2016a) from which it is possible to identify patterns of movement over time; however, it remains difficult to identify the adult second-generation some of whom may opt for UK nationality and not an Irish nationality. This may also include those who have moved from Northern Ireland which perhaps suggests that movement across the border from Northern Ireland is also 'hidden' in some of the census data.

More significant than the lack of statistics on second-generation return, is that the goal of such studies is to record more than just the fact of movement; there is a greater emphasis on the emotion with which the migration is anticipated, as well as its ongoing effects, acknowledging, as discussed in Chapter One, that migration is increasingly recognised as "an ongoing emotional journey" (Louise Ryan 2008, 301) which impacts down the generations. In her study of Greek-American return to Greece, Christou acknowledges that "the feelings, thoughts and meanings I wanted to unveil were not easily quantifiable" (2003, 36) and therefore her research design focused on qualitative interviews "in combination with observation, written narratives (personal journals), archival research and document analysis" as well as extensive field notes (*ibid*, 38). In a similar way, Teerling states that her aim was "to explore the second generation's return to Cyprus and their often complex and ambiguous views of home, identity and 'where they belong' … called for an in-depth qualitative study emphasising the *lived* experience of the migrants" (2010, 59 italics in the original). In a similar way, this study seeks to explore the complex feelings of home and belonging with which the second-generation Irish in England grew up. In

the next section I discuss the design of the present research with similar goals in mind; that of exploring the experience of migration through the everyday lives of the second-generation from England.

RECRUITING PARTICIPANTS AND GATHERING INFORMATION

There is a long history of migration and circulation of people between the islands of Britain and Ireland and, although the dominant movement in recent centuries has been from Ireland to Britain, there has probably also always been a smaller flow from Britain as well as a return movement. The focus of this study are the adult children of those who left Ireland as the migrants to post-war Britain described by Delaney (2007). They grew up during 'The Troubles' in Northern Ireland and were young adults during the early years of the Celtic Tiger (late 1990s). As discussed in Chapter Two, it is difficult to accurately give figures for the second-generation, although Walter and Hickman (1997) estimate that there were 2.5 million people with at least one Irish parent resident in the UK in 1991, with the bulk of these born between 1959 and 1968 (*ibid*, 77).

In using a "biographical approach" (Roberts 2002), the intention is to investigate the way in which individual identity and sense of belonging to place emerged and was negotiated through wider events which created a feeling of Irishness, pertinent at a particular historical time and life course stage, and in this way identify the 'seeds' of the return migration idea. Given that the majority of the interviewees were aged between 40 and 50 this research can only 'intercept' individual life-path trajectories (Conway, Potter, and St Bernard 2008) and remain aware that the meanings and interpretations given to past events are shaped by current circumstances.

The process of recruiting participants, gathering information and analysis is shown in Figure 3.1.

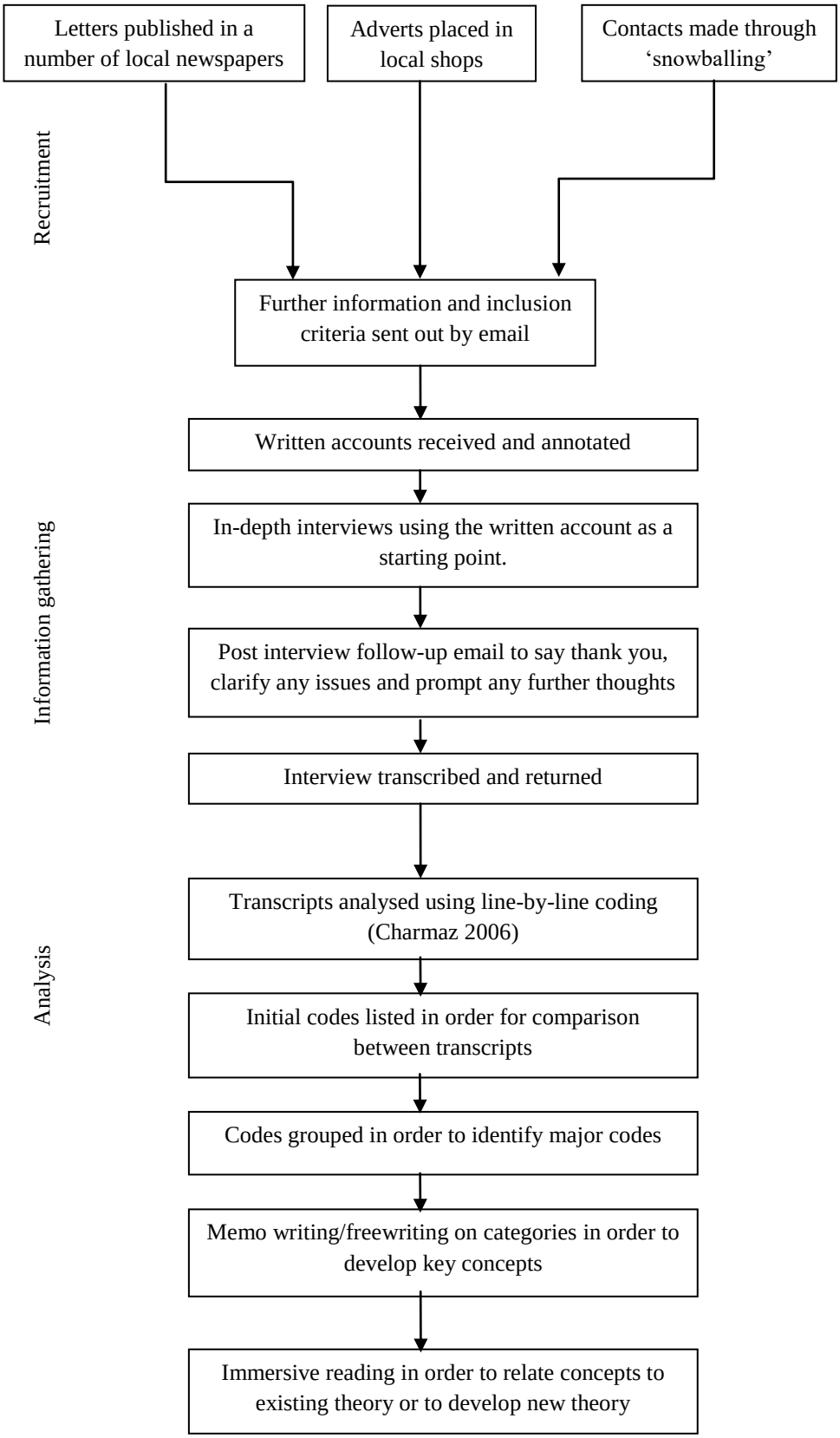

Figure 3.1: Information Gathering and Analysis

Participants were sought in the following ways:

- Letters published in five local newspapers (see Appendix II): *The Mayo News*, *The Galway Advertiser*, *The Clare Champion*, *The Limerick Leader* and *The Kerryman*. A small ad was also placed in *The Limerick Post* as this newspaper does not have a letters page.
- Adverts placed on shop notice boards in small, local shops such as *Centra*, *Supervalu* or *Spar* ranging from Tubbercurry, Co. Sligo to Dingle, Co. Kerry (see Appendix III).
- An interview on Mid-West Radio which broadcasts to south Sligo, Mayo, north-east Galway and parts of Roscommon.
- Personal contacts which included, at times, situations where I might overhear an English accent and go on to explain my research and pass on my contact details.

It was difficult to assess in advance the extent of second-generation return and how many people would respond to the letters and adverts. Therefore the choice of newspapers and location of adverts was a logistical one; they were expected to generate responses from people with whom it would be relatively straightforward to arrange follow-up meetings given my location in the west of Ireland. The letter to *The Galway Advertiser* generated the highest number of responses. Eighteen of the participants lived in Co. Galway with the other twelve living in counties in the west of Ireland, with the exception of Co. Offaly, which is in the Midlands.

This approach to recruitment generated over seventy responses of interest, not all of which were suitable. Some respondents had returned as children, with their parents and therefore had not made an independent decision to return and a few were the children of a much earlier or more recent migration flow. Most of the respondents were born between 1959 and 1968 reflecting the age profile of the second-generation in Britain as evidenced by Walter and Hickman (1997). This response was a reassuring indication of the large numbers of second-generation returnees in Ireland and therefore of the wider value of this research. It also reflected a willingness or a need in many of the recruits to tell their story and an eagerness to help me, as ‘one

of them', a second-generation returnee, in my research. I discuss my positionality as an 'insider' to the research later in this chapter.

Through these requests for participants 36 written accounts were received and 30 people were interviewed. The remaining six people decided not to commit to further involvement in the project. NUI Galway did not require written approval from the ethics committee for such research. Although some sensitive issues did arise during the interviews, I follow Teerling (2010) in that the participants had volunteered their time and their stories and would not be considered a 'vulnerable' group. Detailed information (see Appendix IV) about the project was sent out to anyone who volunteered their help and further information was provided by email and phone calls in some cases. Participants were aware that the interviews were recorded and I made it clear when recording began and ended. The recording device was switched off when requested during one interview. Recordings and transcripts were available for participants should they request them. Participants were also informed that their names and personal information which could identify them, such as specific place of birth or destination in Ireland, would be removed from the thesis and any related published material. Pseudonyms have been used throughout the thesis and in related published material. The recordings and completed transcripts were stored securely.

Information was gathered in three stages (see Figure 3.1). After making contact, participants were sent further information and instructions by email. They were first asked to write the 'story' or account of how they came to be living in Ireland and to return this by email or post. This task was intended to be purposely open ended with minimal instructions, no maximum (or minimum) word limit and no deadline date. By encouraging the participants to begin by writing their story the intention was to allow the research to begin from the point of view of the migrant rather than the researcher. This was a way of allowing key influences and significant events to emerge which could give direction to the subsequent research process. This method also allowed time for reflection and recall of a migration event which may

have taken place some years previously, as well as recall of particular events or stories from childhood or life in England and events subsequent to the migration. Stories or events which may have occurred in day to day life but are not always at the forefront of thoughts may need prompting or time for recall. In a similar way, Christou (2003) used written responses in her research. She required her participants to keep a journal with which to record their experiences of migration and which prompted further discussion. In this research the written task was used as a way of retracing an individual biography from childhood to the present day and of beginning a discussion.

Although many people expressed an interest in the project, finding the time or motivation to 'sit down and write my story' inevitably eliminated some respondents. A written task such as this required the writer to be competent in both articulating his or her thoughts in writing and in being able to recall and reflect on prior influences. For this reason, it was decided to also have ready additional guidance on what to include and to offer this only as follow up support; however this was not necessary. Previous experience during MA research suggested that second-generation returnees were likely to be interested in the project and keen to be involved. Therefore to help ensure that the individual got beyond the stage of good intentions it was stressed that a few sentences were as valid as a few pages and that this was simply a starting point for further discussion. In some cases email was used to enquire about continuing interest and this often prompted a response; however I did not make further contact after one 'reminder' message. In asking participants to write their story the second-generation returnees were offered the chance to tell the story they wanted to tell rather than produce information elicited by the researcher. Initially at least, this was an attempt at a more inclusive and collaborative process which allowed the participant to establish the starting point which was then guided and developed further by the researcher.

Writing an account or story requires the individual to present a coherent account of his or her life using a narrative form and while not a 'polished' or

indeed ‘final’ version, many of the responses demonstrated the way in which qualitative information gathering is frequently about “how social actors interpret the social world and their place in it” (Lawler 2002, 244). And although each ‘social actor’ went on to interpret the social world and their place in it further during a subsequent interview, at this initial stage participants were both researched and researcher, writing and editing their story while making decisions about what to include, apparently questioning themselves and providing interpretative explanations at times.

The written accounts varied in length from 150 to 2000 words and most of what was written was fairly factual; my parents were from [place names], I was born in [year], I went to [name] school... Nevertheless, even the shortest account, while giving a brief account of the factual events which led up to the migration, finished with a comment like; “I find myself back in the place where my father came from, despite never having had any contact with Cork throughout my life” (Interview 15), suggesting an ‘inevitable’ sense of return, as if the place itself had drawn the writer back. A similar text was produced by Geraldine (Interview 13), who, after summarising her life by reference to key dates and events over her life course ended with “I have never been sure how to classify myself, English or Irish”. A recurring comment on not knowing how to describe their identity was the most frequent issue raised in the written accounts. For some participants their focus on the factual content of their lives suggests a possible reluctance to share personal or emotional content with a person they had only had email contact with, as well as the fact that it is quicker and easier to type up and email descriptive facts than to articulate deeply felt emotions as readable text.

For other contributors, however, the text included a great deal of reflection and emotional content, suggesting that these stories were the outcome of much reflection and waiting to be told. Rob (Interview 11), for example, following a reminder email sent about six months after first contact, responded with “I started writing some stuff for you and was distracted! I have about 1000 words thus far and will get this to you by the weekend. So

yes, I am very much interested in contributing in any way", as if his text was a work in progress and only the beginning of the story. His 1000 word contribution then went on to both describe what he had selected as key aspects of his life story and also offer explanations and reflection on the events which shaped him and eventually led to his migration. Mark (Interview 19), who contributed around 2000 words, also offered reflective comments along with his factual account. He, for example, commented on his growing sense of difference from other children with the following comment, "I was about 8 I think, I began to notice that there were subtle differences between my friends and me, cultural distinctions. ...this became more pronounced as I grew older, concepts such as family, 'I', 'we' were not quite the same for me as they were for my peers on the street. But I had no words to articulate this difference. I just felt it". In this Mark reflects on his childhood self and the feeling of difference which he could only later describe. In writing an account or a 'story', therefore, the individual makes sense of events in his/her life and puts order on a world in which he or she is the principal character. In addition, it is possible to trace connections between individual lives in the wider historical and social contexts in which they are lived (Ní Laoire 2008b, 198).

The next stage was a follow up to the writing task with a one-to-one discussion. This was intended to be a relatively open ended 'interview', hence the term discussion was used. Although interviews used in academic research take many different forms, the term interview outside the academic world suggests formality and a sense that there may be right or wrong answers. Taking the initial story as a starting point the discussion was used to elaborate on or to clarify particular aspects of the story and to fill in gaps. It was also an opportunity to explore themes which emerged as the research developed. This was not therefore a completely unstructured interview, in most cases it followed the chronology of the life story and was also guided by the aims of the research proposal which were to consider growing up 'Irish' in England, how this influenced the decision to move and the experience of life in Ireland since migration. Interviews were also guided by the evolving themes of the information produced in earlier meetings and

those interviewed in the early stages were contacted again as additional themes arose. The intention was to avoid the formality of having a list of questions to be ticked off as the interview progressed and to enable 'conversation' rather than 'interrogation'. The meetings generally took place during the day or early evening, in the reception or bar area of one of the hotels in Galway while a small number took place on the NUI Galway campus. They varied in length from 45 minutes to 2 and half hours with most taking between 60 and 90 minutes. Following the interviews I kept field notes with any initial thoughts, prompts and reminders to follow-up on. The recording of the discussion was transcribed with every hour of recorded interview taking approximately eight hours to transcribe. As well as transcribing speech, pauses were also noted. The transcripts were then returned to the individual for checking. At this stage participants were also able to edit or to add to the text, thus allowing for the inclusion of additional thoughts and reflections which may have arisen subsequent to the meeting. No one removed or added to the transcripts although there were some follow-up emails which clarified some points.

Interviews were carried out with 11 women and 19 men and a profile of the participants is given Appendix V. Most were born in the 1960s and had grown up in cities in England. The majority had attended Catholic schools, gone to university and were highly qualified. Although a small number had moved in the 1980s, most had moved to Ireland during the 'Celtic Tiger' years (1996-2007). Their current location in Ireland was usually for practical reasons, such as employment opportunities, although a few had chosen to return to the county of origin of one parent. In order to provide anonymity to the participants locations in Ireland are given simply as the county of residence.

The transcripts and written commentaries were read through and initial thoughts were noted. Following Charmaz (2006) I aimed to build a theory grounded in the data rather than setting out to prove or disprove a theory. I began with line by line coding which forced my attention to the detail of the interview and away from my preconceptions. As Charmaz points out, each

line of text may not even be a complete sentence and therefore this type of close reading of the text allowed me to "remain open to the data and to see nuances in it" (*ibid*, 50). Saldaňa (2013, 3) defines a code as "a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" and at this initial stage I aimed for a word or short phrase which would assign a code to a portion of text. I also added specific notes or questions to consider where relevant. As analysis progressed the codes were listed and compared in order for common threads to be identified and links to be made between the different texts. This close reading of each transcript therefore allowed numerous codes to emerge and by comparing transcripts it was possible to group these 'initial codes' and thus identify 'major codes' and overall patterns. For this reason it was important to return to transcripts produced in the early stages of the research in order to check for themes which emerge later and this required follow up emails and phone calls in some cases. An example of the coding process is shown in Table 1 based on Saldana (2013, 254). With reference to what is written up in Chapter Six on the experience of belonging in Ireland after migration, it lists some of the initial codes which emerged from the transcripts and shows the more general or major codes produced by grouping initial codes together. This is supported with quotes which are reproduced in full in Chapter Six. It also gives brief notes on my interpretation of the codes and shows briefly how this links to theory. The reality of coding and analysing the transcripts and biographies was not as clear cut and straightforward as Table 1 may suggest. Some of the codes were repeated at different points in the interviews and contributed to different aspects of the final write-up. 'Displacement' and 'loss', for example, listed in this table as part of the experience of return migration, also featured with reference to returning to England after holiday visits. There were also frequent comments about feeling different and not belonging in Ireland as a result of an English accent. The frequency with which 'responses to accent' featured as a code warranted writing a specific section of the thesis with reference to this.

Freewriting and memo writing (Charmaz 2006) during the coding process combined with immersive reading of existing theory and of research with other second-generation returnees helped the interpretive summaries emerge. As a result it was possible to build links between this research and existing work and in some cases, critique and extend theory. In the case of the example given in Table 1, it was possible to illustrate how the accounts of this returned second-generation contributed to understandings of the spatial element of habitus. They also contribute to recognising the role of emotion in belonging and how this can shape the habitus.

Although coding in this way, by seeking recurring words and themes, I also consciously sought information related to the aims of the work as stated in the Introduction. The whole project was motivated by an interest in the emotional attachment people have for place, therefore inevitably, as participants referred to this issue, it was something I explored in more detail in the interviews and I also sought in the transcripts.

Table 3.1: An Overview of the Process of Coding with Reference to Return Migration and Belonging

Initial Codes	Major Code	Supporting Quote (from Ch 6)	Interpretive Summary	Links to Theory
Belief in belonging. Emotional connection with Ireland. Return is 'meant to be'. Ireland is home. Relief & ease of being home. Longing to belong Home is England. Home is elsewhere. Home is elusive.	Seeking home produces emotional responses.	"primarily an emotional bond with the country which is indefinable"	Belief in belonging becomes more complex in reality since return is not a straightforward 'homecoming'. Individuals re-learn/ re-negotiate their relationship with Ireland. As a result they accept their particular status.	The experience of return reflects the 'objective structures' (Bourdieu, 1990) of place. Contributes to understanding the dynamic and generative nature of habitus. There is a spatial dimension to habitus (E. S. Casey, 2001).
Being 'English' in Ireland. Feelings of displacement, disappointment, loss. Isolation in new locations. Isolation in family.	Feelings of displacement/ difference in Ireland.	"since I've arrived here everyone considers me to be English"	Comments are drawn from everyday lives and everyday social encounters.	Belonging is felt in everyday social encounters Probyn (1996), May(2013).
Explaining connections. Accepting not being fully Irish. Recognising the 'rules of the game'	The need to explain 'who I am' and/ or 'why I'm here' or to accept that Irishness of returnee often not recognised.	"it grates when I am described as English, it's an innocent mistake, not meant to be offensive"		
Maintaining sense of difference. Recognising positives of being 2nd gen. Accepting not fully belonging in Ireland. Belonging in multiple places. Recognising and 'playing' within the 'rules of the game'.	Maximising connections and celebrating influences of both England and Ireland.	"I saw myself as different and I always will be" [being returned 2nd gen Irish is] "part of my identity and I suppose I quite like it really"		

REFLEXIVITY, EMOTION AND RESEARCHING FROM 'WITHIN'

The fact that "the sort of knowledge made depends on who its makers are" (Rose 1997, 306–7) requires the researcher to reflect on her positionality and in doing so indicate to the reader the subjective nature of the research outcomes. For Gray (2008, 936) such research reflexivity involves "addressing questions of the researcher's biographical relationship to the topic, the multiple voices in the text, different potential readings and the instability between the research text and the object of the study or representation".

In this section, I consider the link between my own biography and the topic being researched, in order to reflect on how my positioning may have shaped the knowledge produced. This includes considering the power relations between the researcher and the researched; how being 'from the University' may shape the relationship as well as the difference of other identity characteristics such as age, gender and ethnicity. In attempting to include this researcher-self in the final text I can state that I am a woman, an academic researcher, speak with a London accent (therefore am assumed to be English) and am a second-generation Irish returned migrant. This brief list of who I am (to me) does not explain how I have come to decisions in the ongoing process of research and knowledge production, and using a kind of reflexivity 'checklist' does not remove my researcher subjectivity (Browne, Bakshi, and Law 2010). In addition, if we accept that identity is not fixed but is an ongoing process, produced in context, positionality is also a constantly changing and malleable notion (*ibid*, 588). There is a need therefore for "a conscious exploration of the continual negotiations that create research" (*ibid*, 589). The ideal scenario is, in theory, one in which, by stating the positionality of the researcher any claims for a universal truth are countered. And while this is an academic ideal worth working towards this raises two further assumptions to explore. The first is that full reflexivity is achievable and the second is that the project of reflexivity is fully rational and therefore emotion free (Gray 2008). For Rose (1997, 311) the practice of "transparent reflexivity" assumes that it is possible to fully

know all the factors which have shaped the outcomes. This includes the power relations in terms of the context of the research and the agency of those involved (*ibid*) and, having tried to achieve transparent reflexivity, Rose accepts the "impossibility of such a quest to know fully both self and context" (*ibid*, 311). Instead it is important to "inscribe into our research practices some absences and fallibilities" (*ibid,* 319). What follows therefore is an attempt to consider some of these 'absences and fallibilities' as well as the benefits of reflecting on reflexivity.

The second assumption is that the practice of reflexivity is a fully rational one, detached from person and context, yet as Gray points out, "emotional reactions are part of human life and are therefore never absent from the research situation" (2008, 936). Including the researcher's affective engagement with the topic is therefore an important aspect of situating the research "within the particular socio-personal context in which it is produced" (*ibid,* 938). Gray goes on to elaborate on how her own personal experience of Irish migration through her family, as well as her own migration, has shaped her academic engagement with the topic and motivated her work and argues "that all knowledge is situated, partial, performative and a product of its own conditions of production" (*ibid,* 949). My 'affective engagement' with the topic of second-generation return was essential in motivating the research initially. Having begun the process it continued to be an emotional journey. On receiving responses to my requests for participants I was relieved and delighted to find that there was much support for and interest in the research. I also felt very privileged to be hearing other people's stories many of which contained similarities to my own. They could trigger both positive and negative memories for me of growing up in England and with a constant questioning of my own relationship with Ireland. However, the formal act of interviewing also meant that I rarely shared any of these thoughts and, to an extent, had to control my emotional responses.

My own biography is also set in the context of Irish migration and this has undoubtedly had an important effect on this research. Born in London to

parents from Co. Kerry and Co. Sligo, it was a taken-for-granted (and much anticipated) part of the annual rhythm of family life that we went to Ireland every summer and also that we had relatives in other parts of England and in the US. It was a fact of our family history that all of my grandparents had also been emigrants from Ireland. My father's parents went to London in the 1930s, returning to Co.Kerry with their baby son, my father, at the start of World War II. On my mother's side, my grandmother had worked in domestic service in the US in the 1920s and my grandfather had worked in Butte, Montana, before returning to Ireland and raising eight children, six of whom were to emigrate subsequently. Migration, movement, displacement but family connections were part of who we were as an Irish family.

While growing up in London, through the local Catholic Church and school and my mother's work as a nurse, all of our family friends, in a similar way to John Walsh's (2000) childhood, referred to in Chapter Two, were Irish. These were the people who shaped the dispositions of my 'Irish in England' habitus and from whom I, mostly unconsciously, acquired a sense of ease with Irish ways of being. When I try to remember the "ingredients" which contributed to my sense of place (Basso 1996, 84) while growing up in south-east London what I recall is a warmth and welcome which existed among Irish family and friends; tea with everything, lots of chat and friendliness. The Irish accents with which I was surrounded were barely noticed and taken for granted while the few phrases of Irish I encountered were of novelty value. Along with other second-generation children I attended Irish dancing lessons and *feiseanna* and learned to play the tin whistle. The *Irish Post* newspaper was bought regularly and it was to the sound of Terry Wogan's Irish voice that I got ready for school each morning (see also the comments of O'Leary [2014] discussed in Chapter Two). I also attended ballet and piano lessons indicating an engagement with a non-Irish social field. Catholicism was a constant thread in this Irish world; there were priests and nuns in our family who would visit regularly, although my experience at my Catholic school was one in which Irishness did not feature and I would agree with Hickman's (1993, 1995) assertion that the Catholic schools typically ignored or denied the ethnicity of their pupils. Through the

Irish people with which we interacted there was also a sense of connection to Ireland. Although our main points of reference were the homeplaces, townland, parish and counties, of my parents, which we visited regularly, the names of other places in Ireland became familiar and meaningful through the Irish people we knew. Perhaps one of the most important ways in which this 'Irish in England' social field shaped me was hearing talk of 'home'. I recall phrases such as "any news from home?" or "when are you going home again?" and also how strange it was to hear my mother talk of home as somewhere other than the house we lived in (see also M. Casey 1994, referred to in Chapter Two); combined with idyllic times spent at 'home' in Ireland, this was perhaps one of the "seeds" (Halfacree and Boyle 1993, 338) from which the idea of my own migration grew.

As a young adult I took an interest in 'all things Irish'. As part of my undergraduate degree in Geography I took a course in ethnic and racial studies and completed some research on the Irish in London; many years later I took two modules of a BA in Irish Studies purely out of interest. I chose Irish fiction and Irish popular music and also continued to visit Ireland regularly. From my life in England I felt the significance to Ireland and the Irish everywhere of Italia 90, multiple Eurovision success during the 1990s and the global impact of Riverdance, as well as the gradual move towards peace in Northern Ireland culminating in the Belfast Agreement in 1998. I had a sense, at the time, of changes in Ireland and changing attitudes to Irishness in England and, during the 1990s, as Irishness became more 'fashionable', it finally became acceptable to admit, with pride, to having an Irish background. Like many others, I was amazed to hear of economic growth in Ireland and the reversal in the migration statistics; I had always assumed my cousins would come to England when they were adults. Some of my parents' friends retired 'home' and some of the Irish and the second-generation in my own social circle also decided to emigrate and my childhood imaginings of living in Ireland now became a vague possibility.

Gray (2008, 940) describes her own experience of emigration as part of how she "apprehends the social world" and, in a similar way, for me, the

experience of being the daughter of Irish migrants in England during particular socio-historical circumstances has been important in shaping how I 'apprehend the social world'. The "objective structures" (Bourdieu 1990, 66) which influenced the "customs and norms" (E. S. Casey 2001, 687) of England in the 1960s-1990s and which I internalised as "durable dispositions" (*ibid*) have shaped my own social practice, including my engagement with the topic of second-generation return migration.

The Complexities of 'Insider' Research

Although insiders are frequently assumed to be able to access a closer 'truth' due to their cultural familiarity with the group under study, in reality this can be a highly complex position. With reference to the fieldwork interview, Ganga and Scott, in their separate work with two different migrant communities (Italians in Britain and British in Paris), found that as insiders, their shared cultural knowledge meant that, as well as being able to recognise commonalities in the group, it was easier to identify differences, a dynamic they termed "diversity in proximity" (2006, unpaginated). Although it may be an ethno-national label that has identified and gathered a group together, a whole range of other identity characteristics and social markers also exist within the group. These can be read and interpreted more quickly and in greater depth by an insider, thus shaping the fieldwork situation in a different and more nuanced way than for an outsider investigating an assumed homogeneous group. For Ganga and Scott this meant that as insiders they were "better able to recognise both the ties that bind us and the social fissures that divide us" (*ibid*, unpaginated). Related to this is the fact that the boundary between the private and public self is different in insider research, that there is greater need to share private information with informants and this in turn influences the social dynamic of the research interview. For De Andrade (2000), revealing personal details of her ethnic/racial identity became an unanticipated but important part of her research interviews with the Cape Verde community in New England. In answering questions about her private self she 'earned' her insider status and in reflecting on this process was able to comment on how the Cape Verdean migrant group recognised and defined itself. In this she also

acknowledges the ‘messiness’ of qualitative research and that there will always be an unpredictable element to working with personal stories. Scully also found an unanticipated need to deliberately position himself as an insider during his research with the Irish in England, despite what he describes as his own “almost blasé sense of being Irish” (2010, 140).

In terms of this research, my insider positioning is worth reflecting on with reference to recruitment of participants and fieldwork. Participants were recruited through letters to local newspapers and adverts, in which the brief text stated “seeking people born in Britain to Irish parents” and with the newspaper letters also including the fact that this was also ‘my own story’. People therefore recognised themselves in these words and chose to contact me and therefore opt in to ‘group’ membership. I chose not to use the term “second-generation Irish” although many people described themselves as such. By stating that this was also, my own story, I made an explicit claim about myself as an insider and sought to appeal to ‘people like me’ although I did not elaborate on this, leaving participants to decide if they were in fact, ‘people like me’. I anticipated that these potential recruits would be interested in and therefore supportive of the project. Many people stated that they were happy to help and that they felt this was an important topic, thus reassuring me that my efforts on behalf of my own, imagined community (B. Anderson 2006), would be worth it.

If ethnographers typically live with the target group for an extended period of time and, through participant observation, learn about the group under study, the insider has lived with and as a group member throughout their lifetime. No one has a more thorough cultural knowledge than the insider researcher. This is of particular benefit when investigating previous experiences, those which can no longer be replicated or lived by the ethnographer. The children of the present do not experience the lives of their parents as children; the ethnographer can only capture lives lived ‘now’. In the case of this research this is highly relevant. Participants were asked to recall their lives from earliest memories and how they gained a sense of Irishness in England. In doing so I inevitably used my own cultural

references to interpret their recollections. For example, nobody had to stop and explain the intricacies of the British State school system to me. Most of the group went to (state funded, voluntary aided) Catholic schools, some went to grammar schools (which may or may not have been Catholic schools) and one person won a scholarship to a (non-Catholic) fee paying school. Having attended a Catholic primary school and an all girls convent secondary school and, having worked as a secondary school teacher, I appreciated the significance of 'getting in' to grammar school, the fact that going to a Catholic school was a choice that marked you as Irish (or more generally, not English) and that winning a scholarship to a fee paying school would also have implications for a sense of a class difference as well as ethnic and religious difference. With this prior knowledge I was able to ask around this significant aspect of childhood without stopping for explanations of what the different types of school represent.

With reference to feeling different in Ireland and missing full connection with Irish people of the same generation, one participant gave the example of 'school dinners' which she felt could trigger a whole series of memories in a group of second-generation returned migrants. Another participant talked, during her interview, about 'school assembly', a compulsory aspect of daily life in schools in England which does not feature in Irish schools. Typically it would include a religious story or message, prayer and hymn singing as well as being an opportunity to give messages to the whole school and to praise the achievements of particular pupils or groups of pupils. (In this case the participant recalled being praised in school assembly every time she won an Irish dancing competition). In both of these examples, talk of school dinners and school assemblies triggered memories of my own school days, in particular Primary school, where I can recall the visual scene but also have a sensory memory of the smell of the waxed floor of the school hall, the smell of 'school dinner' (probably boiled vegetables) and feel the excitement of knowing that if it was Friday it would be fish-fingers and chips on the menu.

In migration research, often increasingly completed by cultural insiders (Nowicka and Cieslik 2014; Kusow 2003), the researcher typically attends cultural events and support groups organised for and by the migrant community in order to fully immerse themselves in the migrant experience (for example Scully 2010; Teerling 2010; Christou 2003). In the case of this migrant group, although I attended one social event organised by and for the second-generation from England, there is little evidence that many such social groups exist. This might suggest that the move is straightforward and the migrants settle in quickly; however it also means that they are difficult to recognise as a 'group' as such and therefore less likely to be included in discussions of Ireland's 'new immigrants' (Gilmartin 2013). The insider researcher is therefore an important agent in researching and recording an experience which could otherwise be overlooked.

Teerling describes how "'inhaling' the daily life" of Cyprus by immersing herself in local life, reading articles and fiction by British-Cypriots as well as accessing visual art "allowed for a more 'holistic' impression" of the experience of second-generation return (Teerling 2010, 61). Thus her fieldwork is remembered as "a patchwork quilt, a vibrant collage produced by participants and myself, by stories and conversations, by places and events, by experiences and emotions" (*ibid*, 72). In a similar way I have been 'inhaling' Irish life since earliest days both consciously and unconsciously. This includes a range of experiences "which may not, cannot, be cerebrally written down" and which importantly are "recorded in memory, body and all senses" (Okely cited in Teerling 2010, 62). As a result, the knowledge produced is inevitably more than the outcome of a series of individual accounts but is significantly weaved together by my own motivation to record this migration and attempt to describe the experiences and emotions which have made it happen.

While I see my insider status as undoubtedly useful to facilitating the research it is also worth considering possible disadvantages, because although I have a great deal of cultural knowledge, my story (as was that of each participant) is unique. Therefore while some recollections matched my

own, many inevitably did not and, although I would say I am interested in and empathetic to every Irish in England experience, I should not assume to know the full story. There are, as Ganga and Scott (2006) found, the ties that bind and the social fissures which divide. From within the group it is easier to recognise our differences from each other. In England there is a north-south divide which was particularly strong during the 1980s when many of the participants were in their late teens or early adulthood. My London accent marks me out as different from those with Leeds, Manchester or Birmingham accents and might be perceived as 'posher' or 'snobbish'. There are also different educational experiences which could ultimately lead to class differences; some left school and started work at sixteen, others have postgraduate qualifications. There is also the assumption that we know enough about each other for things not to need to be said. Previous research found that the second-generation Irish, as children, found the homes of English people different in some way from their own (Hickman *et al*. 2005); however although asking about this, it did not generate much information. This may possibly be a case of asking participants to state the obvious; after all, why would they need to describe their Irish home to me, surely my home was similar. I was also surprised to find there were assumptions made about me. One interviewee while talking about his father's friends in the pub, made the assumption that my father had a similar social life. My father preferred tea to alcohol and did not go to pubs, which even to me, seems to challenge a stereotype of Irish men. In making this assumption this interviewee signalled how he saw my family background as similar to his own and therefore saw me as a group insider.

Unlike De Andrade (2000), I did not feel I had to justify my claims for group membership. It was rare that anyone asked about my own background and at times I found this strange but appropriate indicating that participants had prior expectations about what being interviewed for 'research' means. Although, at times, I volunteered information about myself in order to facilitate the interview, on the whole I tried not to use the meeting as a chance to tell my own story, not primarily out of a need for privacy but more in an effort not to lead others in a particular direction. Nevertheless, as

well as finding shared reference points with regard to growing up 'Irish' in England, we also shared experiences of life in Ireland which I felt further affirmed a 'group' feeling. It was a useful point of commonality to share our bewilderment at, for example, the unfamiliar necessity of paying for health care, the practice of lifelong loyalty to particular politicians or political parties or the national devotion to the *Late Late Toy Show*. In this way we were united in our feelings (at times) of outsiderness in our presumed homeland.

In terms of the 'fissures which divide', although they were there it did not feel, to me, as if they were that important. The 'fissures', such as they were, existed as a legacy of our lives in England and may have mattered more had the research been conducted there; a point which further confirms the significance of place to social practice (Soja 1996; E. S. Casey 2001). Instead there seemed to be a powerful recognition of a core experience of being the children of a particular generation of Irish people in England within which difference and fissures existed in relation to this common core. These reflections are of course my own comments on the research process and to fully review the experience it would be important to include the perspective of the informants (Carling, Bivand Erdal, and Ezzati 2013, 17).

REFLECTING ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS

As the first study into the second-generation in Ireland it was difficult to anticipate who would volunteer to take part in the research and how to identify them. Nevertheless, there was a large and positive response to my requests for participants. The majority of the respondents were born between 1959 and 1968 and were, in terms of their age profile, representative of the children of the Irish emigrants to post-war England whom I sought. I did not try to control for religion, gender or class or the myriad of other factors which may shape an individual migration experience. Everybody interviewed had grown up in an Irish, catholic family and I did not seek to investigate current religious affiliation or practice, although it was mentioned where relevant. In terms of gender

balance, the group of 30 was made up of 11 female and 19 male respondents. This surprised me as I had assumed women would more easily get in touch and share their story. Instead, every time I advertised for participants it was always more likely that it would be men who would respond and I do not have an explanation for this. Class was a further factor which I did not seek to control for or assess specifically. All were from backgrounds representative of the Irish emigrants to post-war Britain described by Delaney (2007) and referred to in Chapter Two; they had parents who left rural Ireland with relatively little formal education or training (at a time before second level education became widely available) and many had fathers who worked in the construction industry. In keeping with the findings of Hickman (2011) and O'Malley (2009), discussed in Chapter Two, this group appeared to have achieved high rates of social mobility with most educated to graduate level and many with further qualifications. The list of places in which participants grew up also indicates a profile typical of post-war economic immigrants in England which included inner-city areas such as Tottenham in north London, Cheetham Hill in Manchester and Sparkbrook in Birmingham. In this way they are representative of Walter's (1999) research, referred to in Chapter Two, which found that the Irish were over-represented in the lowest social class.

As well as religion, gender and class there were numerous other factors which may have shaped the migration experience. Although my focus was on the individual, as opposed to the family experience of migration, it is possible that family circumstance is a contributing factor. One participant explained his desire to 'reconnect' his children with their Irishness as one of the reasons for his move. This triggered questions, which I did not ask, about his wife's (previously established) Englishness and what happens to that following a move. In addition the identity of a partner could influence the identity of the individual migrant. One person, to my surprise, described himself as 'English' and explained this as a result of the fact of his wife's (more obviously 'genuine') Irishness. This was in variance with those who had English partners and for whom the 'Irishness' of the second-generation returnee was an important factor. There were also participants who had met

partners after their return and those who had second-generation partners. A further aspect of the importance of family was that in some cases the participant had left their Irish parents and siblings in England whereas, for others, parents and/or siblings had also moved 'home'. Other variables included the year in which migration took place, a small number had moved during the 1980s, a time when large numbers were emigrating from Ireland. Alternatively, there were those for whom the economic growth of the 'Celtic Tiger' years had enabled a migration which many assumed would always happen.

Asking for written accounts at the start of the process was a useful way of focusing the interviews and allowed participants to reflect on their migration and their lifelong relationship with Ireland in their own time. It also allowed them to decide what they wanted to share and perhaps what they might keep private. In terms of the practicalities of data collection the written accounts required a certain amount of independent commitment to the research before meeting me. The individual interviews which followed the written biographies allowed exploration of individual lives and built on information previously provided. They also took place in the context of the overall aims of the research as well as the earlier interviews and analysis as it developed. In using individual face-to-face interviews as opposed, perhaps, to a number of focus groups, participants were able to discuss their lives in as much detail as they chose without time constraints. A number of interviews included reference to the loss of parents or siblings as well as lost pregnancies due to miscarriage. In some cases these events were directly attributed to the decision to migrate. More generally this information was an important part of building a fuller picture of the person (as much as is possible in one interview) thus setting the migration and sense of Irishness in the context of a 'whole' life (Fielding 1992; Halfacree and Boyle 1993).

With specific reference to the aims of the research the individual, face-to-face interview allowed detail to emerge about the participant's relationship with Ireland and Irishness. Capturing emotion for place required recall of events and emotions which may limit or change the ability to articulate

feelings. There were a number of times where, as participants described particular memories, it seemed to me that they were picturing themselves walking the fields or in the setting of their extended family as they recalled childhood holidays and therefore it was important to allow time in the interviews for these thoughts to emerge and to be elaborated. Related to this was the sharing of negative experiences by some participants which generally related to growing up 'Irish' in England and being 'English' in Ireland. For those who were disillusioned and disappointed by their move to Ireland, the interview allowed them to share their feelings about this and to elaborate with incidents from their lives. This was perhaps possible due to my insider status in which it was possible to discuss both 'them', 'the Irish' and 'them', 'the English'. From all of these reflections, I conclude that the interview helped produce 'richer' data than would have been possible in a group situation where perhaps different topics and issues may have evolved without the detailed emotional engagement which many of the interviews produced.

CONCLUSION

Since Fielding's (1992, 201) call to recognise migration as a "cultural event" which shapes individual life stories, qualitative methodologies have increasingly become an accepted and essential approach to gaining an understanding of the migration experience. In acknowledging reasons for migration which are "'beyond' the economic" (Halfacree 2004, 239), particularly for second-generations, qualitative approaches provide a means by which to investigate the feelings people have about place and the meaning of migration in the context of the dispositions of an individual habitus.

This chapter has outlined the approach taken to investigating the return of the second-generation from England. By taking a 'biographical approach' and gathering in-depth accounts of a small number of individuals the goal is to broaden understandings or this return movement according to the aims set out in the introduction. Chapter Four draws on the results of the analysis of

the written text and interviews to focus on the first aim of the research, to investigate what it was like to grow up 'Irish' in England for the participants of this study. Chapter Five then investigates how place, in particular the parental homeplaces was "actively *lived* and receptively *experienced*" (E. S. Casey 2001, 687, italics in the original) for these second-generation individuals based on their recollections of time spent in Ireland as children. The final chapter presents the findings on the experience of life in Ireland since migration. The recollections and rich reflections produced by a qualitative approach to data collection helps to build a picture of the realities of migration to Ireland for these individuals.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EVERYDAY LIVES OF THE SECOND-GENERATION IRISH IN ENGLAND

The second-generation migrant sense of connection with a parental country of origin is recognised as being a complex phenomenon (Levitt and Waters 2002). It involves acquiring dual, perhaps conflicting, allegiances as a result of growing up in a transnational social field. This chapter explores the experience of growing up 'Irish' in England as reported in the written texts and in-depth interviews of one particular group of returnees. It aims to illustrate the way in which Ireland and Irishness emerged as significant in the everyday lives of the second-generation Irish to the extent that they were typically unquestioned and taken-for-granted. This then contributed to a sense of connection, identification and belonging to the parental home country and places within it. The chapter broadly follows the chronology of childhood through to adolescence and adulthood, although it is difficult to specify precisely when the particular events that are recounted took place and they will inevitably differ for each individual. I begin with recollections of childhoods which were shaped almost entirely by Irish migrant parents and in which dispositions developed which reflected an Irish in England way of being. The chapter ends with comments from individuals who are capable of reflecting on their world and their place in it and evidence how the dispositions acquired in childhood evolve and adapt in changing social fields.

The everyday lives of the participants while growing up, are explored using the concept of habitus, thus drawing on the work of Bourdieu (1990). As discussed in Chapter One, this is a second nature way of thinking which informs behaviour. The narratives detail the way in which these children were socialised into an Irish (in England) habitus and therefore learned to belong in the particular social field in which they were raised. This included witnessing the effort parents made to keep in touch with family and friends

in Ireland and England as well as socialising with Irish people locally in England and engaging in aspects of Irish culture. Employing the concept of habitus to explain the identifications of these second-generation Irish respondents is useful because it allows everyday behaviours to be considered in the context of the specifics of place and time, England in the 1960s-1990s. It is also an opportunity to critique the concept of habitus and to consider how the dispositions (specific behaviours) of the habitus take shape and evolve, something lacking from Bourdieu's explications (Bottero 2010; V. May 2013). May argues that "habitus is not merely embodied but also emotional" (2013, 91). In many of the comments which follow there are examples of the role of emotion in bonding an individual within the field in which they are first socialised. While habitus suggests that an individual knows how to employ the 'rules of the game' according to an internalised logic, for May (*ibid*), the experience of 'fit' in a particular social field also creates a feeling of belonging and ease; a feeling of being at home. The accounts therefore support May's argument and provide examples of the role of emotion in the evolution of a particular habitus.

The next section focuses on material possessions and the way in which these also contributed to an 'Irish in England' habitus by reinforcing the fact that Irishness existed in the banal and quotidian objects of everyday life. This extends and complicates Billig's (1995) banal nationalism thesis to one of banal transnationalism (Aksoy and Robins 2002) in which a nation outside of the country of residence also has a presence in daily life. It also highlights the fact that second-generations access a "cultural matrix" (Edensor 2002, vii) which includes elements of the parental home culture, as discussed in Chapter One. This influences their feeling of belonging to the parental home country in addition to or instead of developing a sense of belonging in their country of birth.

The chapter continues by exploring the reality of the acquisition of an Irish habitus in the context of a life lived in England. It moves from a world shaped by immigrant parents to the direct negotiation by the second-generation individual of the wider society. It identifies the "ties and

interactions" (Vertovec 1999) which linked the Irish in England with Ireland and therefore shaped the transnational social field which these returnees experienced during their childhoods in the 1960s and 1970s through to teenage years and early adulthood in the 1980s and 1990s. I include recollections of a growing awareness of difference from the mainstream, host, population. This is a position the individual comes to based on his/her own observations and reflections as well as from the attitudes of others (Walter *et al*. 2002; Hickman *et al*. 2005). It includes the everydayness of going to school, food behaviours and interactions with English neighbours. It also includes comments which show how events in Northern Ireland shaped the experience of being Irish in England during the 1970s and 1980s. As a result, many found they made choices about who they were or wanted to be, in terms of a national identity. This heightened awareness of being Irish (in England) as well as having an insider's sense of ways of being English supports the case for a particular second-generation (Irish) way of being. This is one shaped by the experiences in the space between what have historically been the two opposing nationalisms of Englishness and Irishness (Hickman 1998; Ní Laoire 2002; Scully 2012). The chapter ends with the biographical narrative of one participant. Her story illustrates what, for many, was a typical second-generation childhood. In using this long extract I highlight key themes referred to throughout the chapter and illustrate many features of the transnational social field in which the participants grew up.

THE HABITUS OF BEING IRISH IN ENGLAND

As discussed in Chapter One, Bourdieu (1990) argues that social practice is learned behaviour which enables an individual to act according to an apparently natural and inevitable "practical sense" (*ibid*, 66) within a particular social field. As a result an individual acquires a set of dispositions which collectively contribute to a specific habitus. For Bourdieu a disposition is the "result of an organizing action", "a way of being" and "a predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination"; a particular habitus is therefore a "system of dispositions" (1977a, 16, 214). For the Irish in

England, the disposition I want to explore is one in which Ireland (and places in it) were special and valued. Related to this, is the disposition that Irishness was a taken-for-granted way of being and one which was different to being a member of the host English population. Implicit in this is the assumption that the social field in which this habitus exists is that of 'Irish in England'. As Kelly and Lusis (2006, 835) point out, the social and spatial boundaries of habitus are unclear in Bourdieu's work and although his work refers to space he does not explicitly write about spatiality (E. S. Casey 2001; Cresswell 2002) or acknowledge "that all social relations become real and concrete… only when they are spatially "inscribed"" (Soja 1996, 46). The Irish in post-war England were a large and heterogeneous group (Delaney 2007) and therefore within the group, inevitably, different social fields existed. However, for the purposes of this work 'Irish in England' is to be taken as the 'field' in which the next generation acquired the dispositions of the habitus in the context of the broader transnational field within which the second-generation grew up.

First, there are the practices which kept a connection with place in Ireland. A number of people recalled receiving the local newspaper from their parents' home area/s: "I remember years ago before you could get them [local Irish newspapers] over there my grandparents would roll them up and send them over and I remember Mum, seems like every day she used to write a letter back to Laois" (Dermot, Interview 4). As well as the visual impact of these newspapers they also, importantly, provided local news thereby keeping the emigrant up to date with and feeling connected to what was going on at home, thus reinforcing a sense of "banal county-ism" (Scully 2013, 146). At a time when few Irish homes had a telephone, letter writing maintained a direct line of communication with family, which in this case is remembered as, 'every day'. For James, the local newspaper created a connection between the home county and his global Irish family. He recalled: "*The Kerryman* always arriving every week and that would be read and posted on to the sister in Australia" (Interview 18). This reinforced his own sense of connection to home in Ireland as well as the fact that his extended family, with origins in County Kerry, had been dispersed around

the globe by migration. (See also the comments of former President, Mary Robinson, who in her 'Cherishing the Diaspora' speech describes her joy at finding a copy of *The Western People* in a Boston newsagent's while a student there (see http://www.oireachtas.ie/viewdoc.asp?fn=/documents/addresses/2Feb1995.htm for detail).

Other participants recalled their parents, usually fathers, trying to listen to Irish radio broadcasts, again a way of bringing the absent place into English homes. Rob (Interview 11) recalled: "My Dad used to manage to tune in to a dreadfully weak *Céilí House* signal [broadcast on Saturday nights] and drive us all potty". Also, Mike (Interview 26) stated: "I remember Dad used to have this big old radio and you'd go in and there must've been something on a Sunday [possibly GAA results] and it'd be in the middle of the floor in the kitchen, at a certain angle, with the aerial up". As well as the radio, Irish music had an important presence in these homes. For Kevin (Interview 28) the sounds and smells of a Sunday morning in his house were recalled as follows: "There was an amalgamation of different senses, the smell of Brylcreem, the [Irish] music playing and my Dad getting dressed for mass". (See also Campbell [2013] for musician, Cáit O'Riordan's, recollection of her father listening to Country and Irish music; and O'Toole [2006] who refers to the music listened to by playwright, Martin McDonagh, while growing up in London).

For the immigrant parents of these participants, their places of origin in Ireland remained as important places in their lives, with which they maintained their interest and connection through newspapers, radio and correspondence. They reveal how transnational behaviours exist in the realm of the banal and therefore the taken-for-granted (see also Aksoy and Robins 2002; and Burrell 2003). For the children, the absent place of Ireland, or places in it, was given a very real presence and the effort that parents went to for this place was also a normal part of everyday life.

As well as an ongoing sense of connection to Ireland, participants were part of Irish communities in England in which they learned Irish ways of being. Catherine (Interview 5) sums this up as follows:

> My childhood was like living in our own little 'Irish bubble'. Irish culture and heritage was highly exaggerated and venerated. The epicentre of our community was The Irish World Heritage Centre [Cheetham, Manchester]. This is where I conducted my extracurricular activities. Heaven forbid I learned tap dancing or the cello. It was Irish dancing, tin whistle and *bodhrán* lessons all the way. The Irish Centre was the venue for all family functions and entertainment. My parents would go to a Show Band once a week. My Dad helped to run a local GAA club and he still does. Most of the local lads played gaelic football. My Mum and sister did too. My Mum is a set dancer and is involved in that scene also.

Bourdieu writes that "between the child and the world, the whole group intervenes... with a whole universe of ritual practices and utterances" (1990, 76). Here, Catherine indicates the way that in her 'Irish bubble', in Manchester, she was enclosed within an Irish family and community where the 'whole group' intervened to socialise her into the culture of the Irish in England. Her reference to the typically middle class pursuits of 'tap dancing or the cello' indicates not just an ethnic difference but also an observed class difference between Catherine and what she implies are aspects of Englishness from which she is distanced by her Irish family. In this she echoes the second-generation Irish fictional characters referred to in Chapter Two by Maggie O'Farrell (2013) and Catherine O'Flynn (2013), in which their ethnicity is just one aspect of their sense of difference from the English people with whom they interact.

Although raised in homes where the Irishness of their parents was part of the backdrop of everyday life, many people also recalled specific events where Irishness was elevated from the background in particular social occasions. These were events where something to do with Ireland was coupled with other positive associations, thus unconsciously conditioning

the child into thinking of Ireland and Irishness in a positive way. They evidence the significance of emotion in creating social attachments (V. May 2013) and thus a sense of belonging within a particular way of being and the accompanying social setting. Growing up within a particular habitus is therefore about more than implicitly acquiring the 'rules of the game', it is also about the emotion that particular behaviours evoke (*ibid*).

For Sharon there were gatherings in her home of local Irish family and friends: "We would've had people visiting and the evening would've ended up with a sing song but not all rebel songs, a lot of love songs, songs about the different counties, *Lovely Leitrim, Slievenamon*" (Interview 8). By taking part in this social occasion, Sharon and her five siblings gained knowledge of places in Ireland and the broad sweep of Irish history, just as John Walsh recalls in his memoir *The Falling Angels* (2000). She also admitted, again in an echo of Walsh's experience, that, "actually it can be quite cringey when you're 11 and asked to sing" but, reflecting on this some thirty years later, stated "I'm glad I know the songs now". Through her family's social occasions, therefore, she learned not only about Ireland and specific places but was socialised into this gathering of Irish family and friends where she learned the importance of listening and being listened to, in the relatively informal setting of her home. As Walsh found, "to not sing was to be English" (2000, 72) and, although Sharon does not put it quite so explicitly, she describes continuing a tradition in her family handed down from her grandmother: "Mum was very good at learning and remembering things so she would have the words of songs and her own mother was a very good singer and would've had very old songs... She would encourage him [Dad] and us to learn the songs and sing them". Through performing and listening to these songs Sharon continued this link with her family in Ireland, while at the same time was part of the community of the Irish in London. (Similar social events are also described by O'Leary [2014]; and, with reference to *The Smiths* guitarist, Johnny Marr, see Campbell [2011]).

People gathering in the home were also a feature for Rob (Interview 11) who grew up in a town on the Kent coast. "We used to have these nights

where the rosary would be said in the home and we really enjoyed it because there were always really good biscuits available". Along with his eight siblings, Rob learned the ritual of saying the rosary (the saying aloud of set of prayers, the repetition of which is counted on rosary beads) as an aspect of his Catholicism and Irish Catholicism in particular. In part this was an aspect of the "popular Catholicism" with which his parents had grown up, in which "devotional activities" were "an accepted element of everyday popular culture" (Delaney 2007, 164). The saying of the rosary was particularly important following the tour of Irish American-based priest, Fr Peyton, on his 'rosary crusade' in Britain in 1952 (Harris and Spence 2007) and Ireland in 1954 (Delaney 2007). Saying the rosary was a meaningful way of bringing the family and local Irish neighbours together but, most importantly, to Rob, the luxury of the good biscuits confirmed this as an important event. Just as for Sharon above, by learning how to behave appropriately at this gathering, Rob's behaviour is "positively sanctioned" by the group (or his parents) and in this way his future possible behaviours became "objectively adjusted to the logic characteristic of [this] particular social field" (Bourdieu 1990, 56). Although these were conscious, planned events for the adults involved, in which the local Irish community came together for religious practice and to socialise, they were a taken-for-granted aspect of the childhoods of the next generation. In addition, although these practices of (Irish) Catholicism took place in the private space of the home, these families recreated routines established in their homes in Ireland and thus recreated place through culture (S. Hall 1995).

Kevin (Interview 28) recalled the enthusiasm his father had for Ireland in terms of sport:

> My Dad was a really keen sports enthusiast, he would often go with his friends up to the nearest telegraph pole and listen and they'd all sit around at the bottom of the telegraph pole and listen to the hurling matches and football but also when the Internationals were on my Dad would support Ireland in anything. (See Hanberry [2015] for a description of Irish emigrants tuning in to "the match".)

As a child he witnessed the effort his father and his friends would go to to listen to Gaelic football and hurling matches, thus indicating the value of this aspect of Irishness to his father. In addition, this was a special event in Kevin's life, since he would usually accompany his father without his three siblings: "It would normally be me and my Dad and my Dad would shout, he wouldn't hold his feelings in". And ultimately, Kevin felt he was coached into having a love for Ireland by being taken to special events where again his behaviour, in terms of following his father's interest in Irish sport, was 'positively sanctioned'. He stated: "I think he tried to encourage me to have a love for Ireland, like we would go to Wembley Stadium to watch the GAA, whoever won in Ireland that year would play" (see Mike Cronin, Duncan, and Rouse 2009; see also Walsh 2000; Holmes and Storey 2004; D. O'Leary 2014 for examples of second-generation sons seeing their fathers play hurling).

Interviews usually began with the prompt "tell me about your Irish life in London/Birmingham/Manchester…" or "how did you gain a sense of Irishness as you were growing up?" and the quotes which follow summarise this section by emphasising the everyday taken-for-grantedness of Irishness in the lives of this group. Sharon (Interview 8) immediately answered, "well, obviously from your parents" and went on to describe growing up in north London where, at school, she was taught by Irish nuns and, out of school, she had tin whistle lessons, Irish dancing lessons, family gatherings involving singing and the regular presence of *Barry's Tea* and *The Irish Post* newspaper in her home. Steve (Interview 25) also affirmed the normality of Irishness in second-generation lives and in a similar way to Joyce (2001) referred to in Chapter Two, this was often through the Catholic church. He stated that in terms of his family's social life: "The priests were all Irish, [from] Cork, Murphy, O'Connor. Most of Mum's friends seemed to be Irish. It wasn't massively Irish dancing, Irish music it just seemed to be more... *craic* and *we just thought this was normal*" (emphasis added). And Tony (Interview 27) stated: "So I think you said to me how do you know you're Irish, that's how you know, 'cause that's what you do, *it's completely normal to you*, you didn't know anything different, its only when

you start knocking around with English people that you see we're poles apart" (emphasis added). (See also McLoone 2011, 23 who reports on the everyday Irishness of soccer player, Tony Cascarino).

As a result of their socialisation within the dispositions of Irishness during childhood, many participants thought of themselves as Irish from an early age. This was despite the fact that they were growing up in urban England in which other ethnic groups lived alongside the host population. For Mike (Interview 26), his sense of Irishness has never changed: "I consider myself now the same as I was at 12, I knew what I was, I was Irish. My school in [north London] was all Irish descent, it was everywhere, everyone was Irish, the Arsenal team was Irish, priests were Irish, shopkeepers were Irish". And Anne (Interview 21) stated: "I think it was a very strong sense of being Irish that I can't even think when there was a point that I didn't feel Irish or that it was a conscious thing, it was always there". Of course this was not the case for everybody, some choosing the labels, for example, of Leeds-Irish/London-Irish (see Hickman *et al*. 2005); making a choice and the fact that (white) second-generations have choice is a point I return to later in the chapter.

MATERIAL POSSESSIONS AND EVERYDAY LIVES

In addition to observing and taking part in particular behaviours, objects encountered in the home served as everyday reminders of Ireland and Irishness. They were also part of broader parental practices which shaped the habitus of the next generation. Drawing on the concept of 'banal nationalism' (Billig 1995) on which Edensor (2002) builds an argument for the links between everyday life and national identity, this section explores the numerous ways in which the Irish nation was conveyed as being present in everyday lives in England through particular objects. In this way, I extend Edensor's work to recognise that migrants and their families also maintain a quotidian experience of their home nations and, as a result, draw on a "cultural matrix" (*ibid,* vii) which includes both home and host nations.

Beginning with what is one of the most significant national emblems, the flag, Billig (1995), citing Roland Barthes, the French literary semiologist, attributes its power as a symbol of nationalism to its ubiquitous, unnoticed presence in everyday lives as much as from its ceremonial display at state occasions and international events (Billig 1995, 40). It is "the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building" (*ibid*, 8) which provides "banal reminders of nationhood" (*ibid*, 41); reminders which are all the more powerful since this is "occurring while other activities are being consciously engaged in" (*ibid*, 41). In addition to the flag, there are other objects or things which also take on meaning as national signifiers. Edensor argues that "the material worlds of objects seem to provide evidence of the common-sense obviousness of the everyday. By their ubiquitous presence, things provide material proof of shared ways of living and common habits" and in this way they "sustain identity" (2002, 103). In addition, for migrants, objects are important "connective markers" to other places while creating a "collage of familiar textures" in a host country (Tolia-Kelly 2004, 317; see also Plotz 2015).

In describing childhoods in England, there were many examples of the 'objects' of Irishness which were reported as being present in the homes of the participants. The emphasis is on *things* which were present; things which were unremarkable in their normality and part of the remembered picture of these childhood homes. Despite this, these are objects which reinforced "the commonsense obviousness of [Irishness in] the everyday" (Edensor 2002, 103) and to a certain extent, were able therefore to "sustain [a sense of an Irish] identity" (*ibid*, 103). This included record albums, musical instruments, food products, newspapers and religious imagery; these were the symbols that flagged the Irish nation daily with the result that, despite being in England, this other nation would be "mindlessly remembered" (Billig 1995, 144). As well as sustaining a sense of national identity, the objects of Irishness also existed as objects of home, around which daily life in England was lived; thus a close association was created between home as the immediate place of residence and the perception of Ireland as a national home.

Music was a feature of many Irish homes and while the action of playing, singing, dancing or listening to music has been discussed, the focus here is on the visual presence of recorded music and musical instruments which had associations with Ireland. Kevin (Interview 28), for example, remembered the range of records his parents had "from [the song that referred to interned Republican prisoners]*The Men Behind the Wire* to [albums by] *The Gallowglass Ceili Band* to [the country and Irish music of] Big Tom and Larry Cunningham"; both Big Tom and Larry Cunningham were well known Irish singers who regularly toured in England. The album covers of *The Gallowglass Ceili Band*, for example, typically used a green background with one also showing the Irish Tricolour (see www.thegallowglassceiliband.com). In Kevin's home the Irish nation was therefore 'flagged' daily through the unobtrusive presence of these images.

In his written commentary, Sean (Interview 2) stated that: "There was a tin whistle knocking around the house which there is in most houses". Sean did not describe himself or any other family member playing the tin whistle and in this description it sounds more like a taken-for-granted piece of the furniture. It is not kept on display as a reminder of the 'old country'; instead it was "knocking around the house" suggesting it was of no special value to the family. Sean's assumption that most houses have a tin whistle further confirms it as an object which "provides material proof of shared ways of living" (Edensor 2002) and his assumptions about my insider status as a second-generation Irish person. His neglect to state that this is unique to Irish homes further confirms how normal it is, to him, to just have a tin whistle at home.

Food is a normal aspect of daily life which can also have symbolic value in a taken-for-granted sense (Valentine 1999). Food practices are discussed later in the chapter but, like the references to music above, the focus again is on the associations evoked by the visual presence of Irish food products. Catherine (Interview 5) recalled: "The shop in the Irish Centre in Cheetham Hill, that's a food shop, and you'd get your *Calvita* and *Galtee* cheese and

red lemonade" and for Sharon (Interview 8), "*Barry's Tea* was a big thing, she [her Granny] was constantly supplying us with *Barry's Tea* by post". Like the album covers above, the packaging of these common Irish food products helped create a sense of elsewhere and a feeling of familiarity with Ireland which would be further confirmed on visits 'home'. The *Galtee Cheese* box showed a silhouette of cows grazing in front of what was assumed to be the Galtee mountains and, although *Calvita* or *Barry's Tea* did not feature flags or pictures of Ireland, the fact that the images were different and not typically seen in shops in England meant that they confirmed an association with the parental homeland. In addition, visits to the Irish shop were a trip into a 'mini-Ireland' where Irish music might be playing and Irish newspapers were sold alongside sausages, cheese and chocolate, as well as shamrock around St. Patrick's Day. Making the trip to the Irish shop for particular brands of food associated with home therefore, as Kneafsey and Cox (2002, 12) found, "enable[d] Irish people to signal their Irishness, given that English and Irish food types are quite similar". The loyalty to distinctively Irish food brands therefore became a way of indicating an ongoing attachment to Ireland and for the second-generation this was one of the 'ways of being' of their everyday lives. There is also a comparison to be made to the idea of the 'desh', discussed in Chapter One, through which Bangladeshi emigrants gain physical and spiritual sustenance by eating the products of the home soil (Gardner 1993). For the Irish in England and their children, particular Irish food brands were thought to provide sustenance of a national identity in addition to the belief that, as Kneafsey and Cox (2002) found, the food of home was believed to be of superior quality.

For many participants an Irish newspaper was a regular presence in the family home. Bought locally in England or received by post, this was also an object which carried both a national and a local identity. In James's home "*The Kerryman* arrived every week [by post]" (Interview 18). Mike (Interview 26) stated that "Dad would always buy *The Western People*" and in a similar example Rob recalled that his "Uncle used to send over the GAA [Gaelic Athletic Association] yearbooks; I always followed Leitrim

and Donegal", his parents' counties of origin (Interview 11). The local newspaper from home often carried the name of the home county (*The Western People* being a possible exception) and would have named local parishes and people which then had a presence in these Irish homes in England. A number of people also referred to newspapers specific to the Irish in England: "Occasionally you'd get the local papers [from Ireland] but it would've been *The Irish Post* and *The Irish World*" (Kevin, Interview 28). "The paper we'd have read would have been *The Irish Post*, a paper more for people in England, that was how we got our news about Ireland" (Sharon, Interview 8). *The Irish Post*, first published in 1970, described itself as "the voice of the Irish in Britain". Visually it flagged the Irish nation through its use of green ink; the word 'Irish' was printed in green with 'The' and 'Post' in black. There was also a small map of Britain and Ireland, also printed in green, with the Irish language phrase, *An Nuachtán Éireannach (The Irish Newspaper)*, printed underneath. In its first leader comment it outlined its purpose and the "imagined community" (B. Anderson 2006) it served, that of the Irish *in Britain*. Thus it spoke to Billig's national 'we', albeit one shaped by two nations referring to "you, our fellow countrymen in Britain" (*The Irish Post*, February 14, 2015) in which the absent place, Ireland, was all the more powerful for its unnamed but assumed presence (Billig 1995).

It is impossible to separate Irishness and Catholicism in the parental generation of the participants. Although there is a non-Catholic second-generation in England (Morgan and Walter 2008), all the participants in this study grew up in Catholic homes in which it could also be argued that a "banal Catholicism" existed (Griera and Clot-Garrell 2015; see also Delaney 2007, 164 on the "popular Catholicism" of 1950s Ireland). For some, this banal Catholicism was 'flagged' in homes where religious statues, pictures and rosary beads would have been as much a part of the background as tin whistles and *Calvita* cheese. Anne (Interview 21) recalled for example, "pictures of *The Child of Prague, The Sacred Heart, Our Lady of Lourdes*" in her home. A further reference to religious iconography was given by Geraldine (Interview 13) who, having won a scholarship to a non-Catholic

secondary school, described how, on her first day there, "my mother put [religious] medals onto my vest" as a way of keeping her safe. (For similar examples see also Hickman *et al*. [2005]; the comments of Johnny Marr, musician with *The Smiths*, in Campbell [2011]; and O'Sullivan [2017, 20]). Although there were references made to attending Catholic schools and to other practice, such as saying the rosary at home, as well as social lives connected to the church, there was little comment on regular mass attendance or on religious belief in their current lives. This may have been a result of assumptions about my insider status as a researcher who would know what an Irish Catholic childhood entailed. Alternatively, it may indicate the declining relevance of the practice of religion in the current daily life of the participants.

The recollections of Irish childhoods in England given by the participants supports the argument, made in Chapter One, that the children of migrants do access a "cultural matrix" (Edensor 2002, vii) which includes the parental country of origin. They provide evidence for banal transnationalism, an "ongoing, two-way contact" which is "ingrained in everyday life" (Burrell 2003, 323). As a result they were able to maintain an emotional connection with Ireland as 'home' in the sense of a place of origin, instead of, or in addition to their daily experience of 'home' in England and the associated engagement with Englishness in everyday life.

A SECOND-GENERATION IRISH 'WAY OF BEING'

Thus far I have explored growing up 'Irish' in England and the way that a sense of loyalty to and connection with Ireland was fostered through objects and events in everyday lives. In this section I want to include the reality of growing up in England and how this could challenge the dispositions of the habitus and perhaps shape them in a new way, one particular to being second-generation Irish. This section therefore incorporates the wider experience of growing up in England during the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s. The comments, while still drawing on everyday events, also illuminate the socio-historical factors which shaped the experience of the

Irish in post-war England and their children. By paying attention to individual recollections, it is therefore possible to build a picture of the "objective structures" (Bourdieu 1990, 66) which existed and how they were internalised into the "durable dispositions" (*ibid*, 58) of a second-generation Irish habitus. They detail the experience of being (mostly) working class and Catholic in urban England in the context of a long historical relationship in which Englishness was conceived as superior to Irish or Celtic inferiority (Curtis 1984; Kiberd 1996; Scully 2010). They also inevitably reference the political situation in the north of Ireland at the time and how that negatively impacted on the lives of the Irish in England.

Interrogating the possibility of there being a specific 'second-generation Irish in England' way of being is also an opportunity to reconsider the theory of habitus and gain a more detailed understanding of how it changes and evolves. In the accounts which follow there is much evidence that participants, some from a very young age, recognised times where there was a lack of 'fit' between their way of being and the field in which they operated. As a result of this lack of 'fit', the typically unconscious and dispositional nature of habitus is brought to the fore "rendering conscious what was previously taken-for-granted" (Sweetman 2003, 537); in this way, according to Bourdieu, behaviour is adapted or reshaped to the demands of the new 'field' (2005). For Bourdieu, therefore, reflexive awareness of social behaviour occurs in moments of crisis or in exceptional situations (Bottero 2010); events which demand change through their particular circumstances. Although there is evidence for moments of heightened reflexive awareness resulting from 'crisis' situations, many of the quotes also support the case for an ever present, ongoing but more subtle reflexivity (Bottero 2010). They illustrate the "networks of influence and obligation" (*ibid*, 16) in which we are all accountable and support Bottero's argument that social practices are collective accomplishments achieved through the mutual monitoring and constant checking of behaviour between social agents and through which social change evolves gradually. This may be particularly significant for the children of the Irish in England. The lack of colour or language differences from the host population reduces (but does

not remove) the need to adapt behaviour in moments of crisis or in exceptional situations. Instead it is possible to learn to fit into new social fields such as 'white English', in the case of the Irish, via the intersubjective negotiation and coordination described by Bottero (2010).

Many of the participants described a sense of an Irish identity in childhood which, with age, was increasingly a source of difference. This included comments about religion, class, food practice and an awareness of anti-Irishness which resulted in self-monitoring of behaviour. It was a difference felt through observation and awareness of the world in which they were growing up, as well as through the attitudes and behaviours of others. Thus, at times, there was a clear disruption to the habitus, at other times individuals appreciated their 'difference' in less obvious ways. As a result many made choices about their national identity and learned to adjust their behaviour accordingly. The following three examples illustrate this self-observed sense of difference in terms of being Catholic, working class and Irish, facets of identity which frequently overlap in the recollections and are summed up here by Steve (Interview 25): "I have three brothers and we were definitely brought up on the poor side of working class. We were probably more a Catholic [than an Irish] family, that made us a little different to other kids nearby, and all the other Catholics in our church all seemed to be Irish too". In this Steve's comments are similar to those of historian, Patrick Joyce, referred to in Chapter Two, for whom being Irish and being Catholic were "almost inseparable" (2001, 369). For many of the second-generation Irish, this further confirmed their difference from the host population. Frank (Interview 14) remembered wondering, at a very young age, why, although he lived opposite a school, he didn't attend that school and instead had to walk to a different school, which he later understood to be the local Catholic primary school:

> One of my earliest memories would've been looking out our window where there was a school directly across our road but it wasn't the school we went to, so that was suggestive that we were somehow different from a very early stage 'cause all our neighbours would've gone to that school but we went to a school that was about five

> minutes away so we were already starting to get marked out as different.

This was perhaps Frank's first experience of 'disruption' and the beginning of his reflexive awareness of where he fitted in the social field in which he was living.

Amy (Interview 17) described one of her experiences during the year she attended a private Catholic primary school, in London, aged 10:

> We'd go to parties, I remember I went to this girl's house once and there were [artistic] statues in the hallways and I thought 'why have they got things like that in the hallway', I couldn't believe it and they'd drop me home in the Rolls Royce and park up next to my Dad's Murphy's van. And then I'd go into our house and there'd be bits of wallpaper missing.

In this, Amy seems to be describing her first sense of class difference, albeit one which was, in part, to do with her Irish immigrant background.

Sharon (Interview 8) also described an incident from primary school where for the school's St Patrick's Day concert: "My Grandmother had sent over tri-colour ribbons for us to wear in our hair for this concert but my Mum thought it wiser not to have them on display that day" (see also Walter 2008a). Sharon didn't recall being specifically told why she shouldn't wear the ribbons, it was just something understood. This illustrates the 'heads down' disposition typical of many of the Irish in England in the 1970s (Sorohan 2012); while celebrating their Irishness within families (Sharon, earlier, described the many aspects of Irish culture in which she was involved), there was a more self-conscious sense of the need not to draw attention to being Irish in public. Sharon's implicit understanding of this as a child also supports Bottero's (2010) claims for the importance of intersubjectivity in explaining how the 'group' monitors and controls its behaviour.

Food behaviours involve regular decisions about what and how to eat and are therefore a significant aspect of everyday life which exists in the realm of the banal. Through their everyday repetition and normality, food behaviours "can locate people within particular emplotted stories or narratives of identity not of their own making" (Valentine 1999, 496). In this way children acquire many of the habitual food practices of their parents. In the interviews, many people linked their mother's cooking to perceptions of traditional Irish meals. For Kevin (Interview 28) his family meals were remembered as "bacon, cabbage, spuds with everything, trifle, jelly" and James (Interview 18) stated: "very much traditional food, the food of the country, an egg in the morning, bread, plenty of butter and plenty of milk and the food would be what you'd expect, stews and bacon and cabbage". These comments support the findings of Kneafsey and Cox (2002) in their research on the food practices of Irish women in Coventry. Food eaten at home was one of the things which their participants identified as a marker of being Irish, indicating the way in which "Irishness is often constituted and sustained through the most banal and ordinary activities" (Kneafsey and Cox 2002, 10; for a similar example with reference to Britain's Polish community see Brown [2011]). The meals the women described "such as stew, bacon and cabbage, liver and onions" (2002, 11) were similar to the recollections of Kevin and James, above. For Geraldine (Interview 13), family food was remembered in a similar way: "she [her mother] was big into stews and soup". However, Geraldine was also aware of other choices, choices which were not available to her: "We never had burgers or ketchup, I wanted to go to *Wimpey*". In this she echoes the experience of other second-generations in England, summed up by the British-Asian character of Meena in Meera Syal's semi-autobiographical novel *Anita and Me* in which Meena longs for fish fingers instead of her mother's curries (Syal 1996).

More significant than what was eaten were the comments in which food practices signified difference between Irish families and their [usually English] neighbours. Similar agricultural practices in England and Ireland mean that differences in national diets seem, at first, minimal and perhaps

this expectation of similarity is what made food, and related behaviours, more significant in marking differences between people. Catherine (Interview 5), when asked if she had noticed differences between her life and those of English neighbours or friends stated:

> It was different because maybe the families might have been smaller but food was different certainly. If you went to an English child's house for dinner or tea you wouldn't get fed the same, half as much food or proper food. I don't want to sound racist or anything but you might go to an English person's house for tea and they might give you beans on toast whereas if you went to an Irish person's house they'd give you spuds and carrots and meat.

(See also Hickman *et al*. 2005 on the different experiences of hospitality between English and Irish homes.)

Similar sentiments were expressed by Tom (Interview 10):

> The one thing we always look back on with food was we always had, and we were the poor ones, meat, potatoes, vegetables. You look at the others [English neighbours], what they were eating and think how did they survive on that? Jam sandwiches, ridiculous stuff for tea. My mother made sure, you had to have breakfast… but then you sat down in the evening and you all had… But they never done that (sic). To them burgers or fish and chips…

Catherine's understanding of 'proper food' as 'spuds and carrots and meat' and Tom's recognition of some foods as 'ridiculous' illustrates Gibson's point that, "food and what counts as food is a signifier of belonging, cultural identity and home. The materiality of food, styles of cooking, and ways of eating are symbolic ways of drawing a boundary between us and them" (2007, 15).

Geraldine, who had earlier longed for ketchup, also recalled: "I remember going to one girl's house and we sat down and they had serviettes but it was sausage and mash whereas Irish food was meat, and fish on a Friday". The

serviettes, as well as the food, in this case were ‘drawing a boundary’, for Geraldine, between herself and her friend’s family. Susan (Interview 22) also illustrates this boundary in the form of cups and saucers as well as the many differences she remembers between her family and her English neighbours:

> We had two English ladies living right next door and every week they’d invite my mother in for afternoon tea. It was lovely, very English, she got her cups and saucers out and had bread… She had a budgie, when I think back now she was a proper English spinster, they were great at tapestry and sewing… beautiful garden.

In these comments it is possible to recognise situations where there is disjunction between habitus and field (Sweetman 2003), in which behaviour which is usually taken for granted has to be adapted in what Bourdieu describes as a time of “crisis or sudden change” (cited in Hillier and Rooksby 2005, 401). In addition there is evidence for a more subtle but consistent checking of behaviour, intersubjectively (Bottero 2010). In recalling a visit to another child’s family home, while welcome and excited about visiting a friend, were the accounts above a result of heightened self monitoring (and therefore all the more likely to be remembered many years later)? While perhaps on their ‘best behaviour’, particularly during mealtime with a friend’s family, there seems to have been a greater awareness of how the individual’s behaviour was received by those around them as well as a sharper observation of the behaviour of others. The behaviour of eating may have been fully dispositional, second nature and unconsciously co-ordinated, but what to do with a serviette perhaps was not; in this way individuals recognised that their ‘ways of being’ differed from other ‘ways of being’ and also began to learn how to recognise and adapt in different circumstances. It is possible therefore that reflexive behaviour, the questioning of norms and adapting to the demands of multiple conflicting social fields, can become part of the habitus of some individuals (Sweetman 2003), in this case evidenced by the children of migrants.

As well as the individual assessment of everyday difference, the attitudes of others also contributed to self-consciousness about being of an Irish family in England. In some cases this was a personal experience of being 'different' or of anti-Irish sentiment while there was also awareness of a more general feeling of anti-Irishness which existed in England. James (Interview 18) recalled being made to feel different by the fact of having an Irish accent when he started school:

> Well, when I went to school I had an Irish accent. I'd never spoken to an English person even though I lived in England. When I went to school I was corrected by an Irish teacher as to how to say 'three'. I used to say 'one, two, tree' and she said, 'no you can't' she said 'stand up, how many trees are there in the field' and I said 'tree trees' and she said 'no you've got to say three trees'. (See also Greta Mulrooney's fictional character of Roy Keenan in Murray 2012; also Walter 2000; and Walsh 2000).

While participants recalled specific incidents in their lives there were a number of examples of a general anti-Irishness as well as the personal stories described above. Rob (Interview 11), the youngest of a family of nine, recalled how while attending a non-Catholic grammar school, he and his seven brothers were all referred to as 'Paddy' at school by both pupils and, at times, teachers, illustrating the ease with which anti-Irish racism existed in England in the 1970s (Hickman and Walter 1997). Despite many happy memories of growing up in England, he also recalled experiences of police victimisation due to the family's Irishness:

> I remember one Sunday evening; there would have been loads of us in the house and a knock on the door and these two guys in macs, Special Branch. There had been a serious incident in [local] station, a hoax bomb call and the call was traced to our number.

The house phone was found to be out of order when the police called and had been for some time; the event was explained by Rob as "all a show" and a result of the visibility of the family's Irishness. In addition:

> One brother, for example, was arrested early one morning on his way to sit his Physics 'A' level, wearing his green, grammar school uniform. He had been falsely accused of making threatening and abusive phone calls about his broken video player. We didn't even have a TV at home. He is now a Prime Minister nominated OBE.

Patricia (Interview 6), who was from the English Midlands, recalled both negative and positive incidents where her Irishness was assigned to her by others. This first comment also illustrates the ubiquity of anti-Irish attitudes:

> There was a park around the corner from us and we used to play in that all the time, the children there said 'oh yeah, we can see your house from here' and we said, 'how do you know which house we live in', and they said, 'oh yeah, we do it's got Paddy written on the roof' we said 'no it hasn't' they said 'you can't see it because you're a Paddy but if you're not a Paddy you can'.

This was in contrast to her experience during her year abroad as a student in Brittany: "I started learning Breton and they called me cousin, they said, 'oh you're not English at all, you're Irish and you're a cousin of ours'". The perceived Celtic connection between the Irish and the people of Brittany was the first time she had experienced her Irishness as an asset: "that was the first time it was put to me in a positive way, there was something in me that they recognised and it wasn't English and it was good".

As a result of being aware of their difference as the children of Irish people, many of the participants indicate a heightened sense of national identity and a recognition that, to an extent, there was a choice available to them. For some, there was a conscious adoption of an Irish identity as well as, at times, a sense of when perhaps to keep quiet and play down that identity, indicating that they were aware of how and when to adapt in particular circumstances. Choosing Englishness was undoubtedly also an option for the second-generation Irish in England; however, this was rarely mentioned in the interviews and not explored in this study. Inevitably there were times when white skin and English accents were useful to this group in terms of

employment and social mobility although this is difficult to assess fully. What was more likely was the articulation of a '*not* English' summed up here by Amy (Interview 17) who felt that, "somehow Ireland's history was more relevant to me than England's. I could never relate to England's imperialism. It was like the British Establishment and the English Monarchy had absolutely nothing to do with me". And Frank (Interview 14) stated: "I've always had an antagonism towards British structures, The Crown, The Flag and really that was from a feeling of not wanting to be disloyal to my upbringing" (see also the comments of Johnny Marr in Campbell 2011, 109; and those of Cáit O'Riordan in Campbell 2013).

Kiely *et al* (2001, 34) argue that for many people, national identity "is often seen to be of little everyday relevance". However, an important aspect of being second-generation is an awareness of the significance of national identity and this is a disposition which is typically unique to the children of migrants. Further, in the specific case of the second-generation Irish in England, there are no economic costs to claiming to be Irish and, as a result, Hickman *et al* (2005, 166) identified a number of "positionings" which individuals may "move in and out of" or "juggle simultaneously". Although there is much evidence of discrimination against the Irish community (Hillyard 1993; Hickman and Walter 1997), Irish citizens have the same rights as UK citizens in terms of access to employment and to social welfare. Choosing an Irish identity and consciously not choosing Englishness may also have been, for some of the participants of this study, a small act of rebellion against Ireland's former coloniser; a decision with few costs for the individual in terms of social mobility in England.

In terms of choosing an Irish identity, James (Interview 18), who attended a Catholic Grammar school in the 1970s, recalled that when it came to international rugby matches:

> You had to make a choice whether you were going to support England or Ireland so quite a lot chose England even though they were [second-generation] Irish but then there was a conscious minority of

> us who stayed loyal to Ireland, so that was a deciding point, I don't think I could bring myself to support England.

Mark (Interview 19) grew up in Birmingham and, although he was brought up as a Catholic, he commented that his father had consciously chosen not to engage with the Birmingham-Irish community, a result of which was that Mark did not attend Catholic schools. Nevertheless, he opted for an Irish identity, partly as a result of his experience at school and, as stated earlier, his Catholicism is difficult to disentangle from his Irishness:

> I would say that from the age of about twelve, I self consciously designated myself as Irish. And I think that was partly because having to decide who I was, was in a sense forced upon me by the context of the school because I was Catholic. Being a Catholic was already a marker of difference, I was kept out of religion at school. It was really when I went to secondary school, I was one of the few from a working class estate who went there. Then, to find myself on one of the first mornings, during assembly, in the classroom/storeroom, me and the Sikh, the Polish catholic, the Hindu...

Passports can be an important signifier of national identity, an official validation of a territorial claim, and the second-generation Irish in England are entitled to hold an Irish passport through the fact of their parental birthplace/s. For Dermot (Interview 4) his choice of an Irish passport suggests a dispositional nature to his identity but also indicates how this resulted in a heightened reflexive awareness:

> We went to Ibiza in 1981 and I got the Irish passport and I didn’t think about getting anything else. Loads of my friends said it was strange like you know cross over and do passport control and there were times you’d be segregated. …you’d still be going through a separate section so straight away people would look at you ‘how come you’re going through that bit?’

Even though he suggests that his choice of an Irish passport was an inevitable consequence of who he was (a real Irish person), in this incident,

that decision forced him into a situation where he needed to justify himself; his second nature belief in his own Irishness was made conscious by employing the passport to return to England. Dermot also illustrates the way that his 'Irish' attitude to death and funerals, signified his difference from his English workmates:

> That was another thing English fellas couldn't understand, I was going back to Ireland for funerals and they thought I was nuts, I'd say it was my grandparents and they just couldn't understand it, it's strange isn't it? I remember being at work and getting compassionate leave for three days, it was the done thing. Obviously I had friends who were second-generation Irish [who] understood it; they'd done the same thing.

In this comment Dermot suggests that returning to Ireland for funerals was just what you do, his way of being; however, again, by employing this 'Irish' disposition he is forced to explain and justify himself or be made to feel his behaviour is different from the norm. The habitus of being second-generation (Irish) therefore involves the disposition of being prepared to justify and explain behaviours that are second nature, to other, non-migrants.

One of the most significant events for the post-war Irish in England was the outbreak of conflict in Northern Ireland in 1968 and its continuation for the following thirty years. While the news from and about Northern Ireland became part of the banal backdrop of everyday life for many people in England, for the Irish and their children it often crystallised attitudes to national identity in terms of 'which side are you on?' The following event was recalled by James (Interview 18):

> Over the years going back and forth, the really important thing from '69 onwards was the trouble in the North and everybody had to make a decision really about their attitude to that. I can remember the night of Bloody Sunday because my Uncle Vincent and his wife were around and we were up in bed but we were pulled out of bed and told

> to come down and watch *The News at Ten*. Vincent was saying, 'always remember you're Irish this is what the English do to us'. (Bloody Sunday refers to an incident on 30 January, 1972 when British soldiers shot twenty-eight unarmed civilians in Derry, Northern Ireland).

In this way, James, as a 12 year old, experienced a heightened sense of Irishness and his own sense of difference in the way that the news of Bloody Sunday came to him through his Irish family. (A similar example is given by singer, Kevin Rowland in Campbell [2011, 13]; see also John Bird in Murray [2012, 163]). Despite the need, according to James, to make a decision about their attitude to the situation in Northern Ireland, many of the second-generation had little understanding of events and many parents chose to keep silent rather than voice an opinion or offer explanations (Hickman 1995). Steve (Interview 25) admitted, "I didn't understand what was going on. Where I came from in [rural, east] Cork you really couldn't imagine anybody shooting anybody". Nevertheless it did have a direct influence on his family: "I know my Mum got a little bit of hassle from it. We had bomb scares in school, just kids ringing up and saying there was a bomb and we'd get the day off school, my Mum [the school cleaner] got pulled in". This incident illustrates one of the ways the Irish in England, during the 1970s and 1980s, were affected by a general anti-Irishness in their daily lives. The resultant 'guilt by association' often promoted by the media then led to a heads down mentality for many of the Irish, as discussed in Chapter Two.

As a result of their consciousness of their lack of knowledge about events in Northern Ireland many people made efforts to find out more for themselves (see also Walter *et al*. 2002). This was illustrated by Tom (Interview 10) who experienced the "disruption" (Sweetman 2003, 541) of being the Irish person in his non-Catholic school which was followed by a need to educate himself, albeit in a fairly informal way:

> All of a sudden something happens and of course you're the Irish fella and there was a few times a teacher would say things. Eventually

> you'd say 'well what do you know about Irish history?' I didn't know a fantastic amount but you start questioning. People in England haven't a clue. You learn by listening to others. You're in the pub and you learn by listening to others talking and they're talking about 1916, the Easter Uprising, I suppose it's just little bits you're getting all the time over years and then eventually you do, you start to read a few books and that's it, you make up your own mind then.

As a result he learned to be careful about admitting to being Irish. He explained that:

> The problem then was in the 1970s, the trouble in the North, you were always conscious of what was happening. You meet strangers you don't know how they're reaction is so I don't know. If it came up I would say [I was Irish] but if it didn't I wouldn't.

Tom was perhaps almost unconsciously seeking clues to the 'strangers' identity and therefore attitudes to Irish people before revealing too much about himself, gauging which of his identity options best suited the situation and keeping his 'head down' about his Irishness when necessary (Sorohan 2012). In this way he illustrates the way in which social practice requires the mutual monitoring and constant checking of how behaviour is received by others (Bottero 2010, 13).

Dermot (Interview 4) also had a fairly informal education about Irish history and events in Northern Ireland in the pubs of north London where he would buy *The Republican News*. Rather than keep quiet about his Irishness, Dermot then found that, "You'd go to work and a Hunger Striker would die and fellas would be taking the piss and you'd nearly come to blows with the fellas".

This section has shown that being the child of migrants inevitably shapes a particular way of being, which is a result of the combination of parental and natal cultures and is specific to place and time. For the second-generation Irish of this study, a heightened consicousness of the options available to

them in terms of national identity was a significant disposition of the habitus as well as an awareness of the need, at times, to adapt or justify their decisions.

FIONA (INTERVIEW 9)

This chapter concludes with a long extract from Fiona's account as a way of summing up some of the points made so far in terms of acquiring the habitus of being second-generation Irish in England. This was sent by email in response to the request to 'write me something about how you came to be living in Ireland'. From this general request participants were free to write their own account without guidance or following a particular structure. The detail provided by Fiona's response provides a useful picture of a second-generation childhood; it indicates the social field in which she acquired the dispositions of her Irish family and how these were challenged and adapted as she got older. Similar experiences of other respondents are also included where relevant.

Fiona, who was born in 1961, in inner London, starts by illustrating how Irishness formed the backdrop to her life through her neighbours and the people she mixed with at school; this was the 'field' in which she was socialised into particular ways of being. "I was born in London in 1961. We lived in flats built by British Rail for their workers. I would say that at least 90 per cent of the occupants were Irish. My father was a lines man for British Rail and my mother worked in a college canteen". Her parents were from Co. Clare and Co. Kilkenny and met in London in the 1950s and their employment was typical of many of the Irish migrants to England at that time (for more detail see Delaney 2007).

In keeping with her parents' Irish Catholicism, Fiona was sent to the local Catholic schools which at the time would have had large numbers of second-generation Irish pupils. "I went to St. Joseph's Primary School and then on to St. Michael's Secondary School. As these were Catholic schools nearly 80 per cent of the students were of Irish descent". This was echoed

by a number of respondents who described schools where "you go through the register and it was McEvoy, Lavin, Ryan, Gannon, O'Donoghue" (Anne, Interview 21) (see also O'Flynn 2013) or pupils who, if not Irish, were also the children of migrants (Frank, Interview14). Such was the demand for Catholic schools in Irish areas at the time that a number of people recalled difficulty getting a place:

> My brother couldn't go to the same primary school because it was so hard to get a child in to the school. He had to go to a non-Catholic primary school. I must remember it because it was awful, they all thought it was terrible [from a religious point of view], but there were so many Irish there that the Catholic schools couldn't take all the Irish, (Susan, Interview 22). (See also Hickman 1995, 238).

While living in a close knit Irish community in her part of London, Fiona also had a sense of the way that migration had shaped her family. "While growing up, all our socialising was done amongst family and friends. My Mother had two brothers and a sister living in England. One brother had emigrated to New Zealand and a sister to Australia. The remainder (she was one of twelve) stayed behind in Kilkenny". The remembering of and keeping in touch with relatives elsewhere, while growing up in London, would therefore have been part of the habitus of her Irish family. And despite this awareness of her scattered family, her primary point of identification was still with Ireland. "In school we were always considered to be Irish. Even when we spoke about going on holidays we always said we were going 'home'". Like many of the respondents, for Fiona, the fact that her family had another home, in Ireland, was also part of her habitus cultivated during life in London and confirmed during her annual visit to her parents' homeplace/s. Referring to Ireland as 'home' indicates the significance of a 'linguistic habitus'; one which recognises the importance of understanding the social arena through the way that language is used (Jenkins 2002). In keeping with the comments of Patrick Joyce, Meg Maguire and Pat Dolan referred to in Chapter Two, other respondents stated, for example:

> I think it was that sense that it was always 'are you going home for summer?' Ireland was always called home (Anne, Interview 21).

> We came home on holidays all the time, every year to Ireland, (Sharon, Interview 8).

> Oh yeah, 'we're going home'. 'Are you going home in August?' or whatever. And a lot of my English friends couldn't get that but they knew what I meant but the Irish ones would understand it (Daniel, Interview 7).

This final comment also further indicates Daniel's reflexive sense of difference from English friends.

As Fiona grew older her social life was also shaped by her Irish habitus, choosing Irish spaces to socialise in with other second-generation teenagers:

> As I got to my teenage years and started going out it was with friends and their brothers to the Irish Clubs. All the top bands from Ireland would be playing. If we went out on a Sunday night it was with a friend's parents to the local Catholic Club. Basically the parents drank in the bar and we played pool etc in another room. They would often run discos there.

Socialising in 'Irish' places and with the parental generation was also recalled by Susan (Interview 22), who grew up in Birmingham: "when I was 15 or 16 we used to go down to the Irish Club, you'd be there in the Shamrock Club [disco]". And by Tony (Interview 27), who grew up in Manchester: "We used to go to Irish clubs and as you got older, I used to go out with my parents".

Having grown up in a London surrounded by Irishness, Fiona started work and for the first time recognised 'difference' in her behaviour. "When I left school at 16 I went to work at Midland Bank. It just wasn't the done thing to stay on at school. That was reserved for the English girls to do". In this

comment Fiona paraphrases Bourdieu's "not for the likes of us" statement (1985, 728) to explain how the workings of her habitus led her to accept her decision to leave school at 16 as a normal, inevitable action for her. Even though there were choices available, such as staying on to do 'A' levels, she did not recognise this as something that Irish girls like her did and in this her comments echo those of Catherine, earlier, who described 'tap dancing and the cello' in a similar way. After starting work Fiona then experienced the first "disruption" (Sweetman 2003, 541) to her habitus:

> It was such a shock when I first started working to find that people were not Catholics. I can remember starting work and being so shocked when this woman told me she was Church of England. I don't know how the conversation came up but I was just so shocked, I suppose I'd never been exposed to anything other than Catholics my entire life and everything was done around the Church, all the social activities but there was obviously this other side of [place name] there that I didn't know about until I was about 17 or 18.

In this Fiona illustrates the way is which she was apparently isolated from other aspects English society by her upbringing in an Irish community in London, a point which also challenges the idea of white sameness in England (Hickman *et al*. 2005, 1998). Despite the shock of meeting a non-Catholic, Fiona found she was then able to choose who she was as an adult. Her white skin and English accent made her indistinguishable from the majority population and therefore she found that: "Suddenly I was no longer Irish. No-one cared what nationality your parents were. You were now English. I met new friends and slowly started socialising in pubs and clubs and very rarely went to the Irish clubs". She had the freedom to reflexively move, as an insider, between her 'Irish' and 'English' worlds in London. Although some participants described themselves as Irish throughout their lives a number also recognised that their choice of identity label was flexible. Sharon (Interview 8), for example, admitted that, "maybe when I went to college, that was when I was least identifiable as of Irish descent". In this they evidence the "positionings" (Hickman *et al*. 2005, 166)

available to the second-generation Irish and the choices they had to move between them.

Fiona's account, along with the additional comments included here, illustrate the way in which being Irish in England was a taken-for-granted aspect of these second-generation lives. She grew up in an Irish, Catholic, urban environment shaped by her parents and the local Irish community and, to a great extent, was insulated within her social field. As a white person with an English accent and, despite experiencing some 'disruption' to her habitus, she found it relatively easy to adapt to the variety of social worlds open to her in her adult life in London.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have described the everyday lives of the participants from childhood to early adulthood and the way in which, while growing up in England, the Irish ways of being of their parents were important influences on their social behaviour and evolving identities. They illustrate the "quotidian acts through which people live their lives across borders" (Glick Schiller 2004, 458) and engage in a transnational social field with the result that a "transnational consciousness" (Burrell 2003, 323; Vertovec 1999) emerges as an aspect of the habitus. Following the work of Bourdieu (1990), Billig (1995) and Edensor (2002) there is much evidence for a second nature sense of connection with Ireland and Irishness as a result of its taken-for-grantedness in everyday life. This taken-for-grantedness resulted in an ease with Irish ways of being which also fostered a sense of belonging (V. May 2013) in Irish (in England) social environments.

In addition, the accounts evidence the dynamic, generative nature of habitus and the way in which social behaviour evolves to meet the changing 'rules of the game' as well as the demands of new social fields. As a result of growing up in England, participants learned to adjust or adapt behaviour where necessary through the experience of "disruption" (Edensor 2002, 21) or "disjunction" (Sweetman 2003, 541), as well as through

“intersubsectivity” (Bottero 2010). In this way they exhibit a “reflexive habitus”, one in which “processes of self-refashioning may be ‘second nature’” (Sweetman 2003, 528), thus enabling them to experience society as insiders (Hickman 2007; see also Murray 2012). Although, as discussed in Chapter Two, there is no easily applicable identity label for the second-generation Irish in England, the accounts support Hickman *et al*’s (2005) findings that individuals choose a ‘positioning’ which is flexible, depending on circumstances.

The chapter ends with evidence for dispositions which are specific to a second-generation Irish habitus which is the outcome of the interplay of a parental habitus shaped in the rural, Catholic, Ireland of the 1940s and 1950s and childhoods in urban England in the 1960s and 1970s. The most significant disposition is that of consciousness of choices around national identity and the related need to explain and justify themselves. By examining everyday lives in England it is possible to identify some of the ‘seeds’ of the migration idea (Halfacree and Boyle 1993) in these second-generation individuals. In the following chapter I explore the significance of the return visit as a further influence on the decision to migrate.

CHAPTER FIVE

GOING 'HOME': HOLIDAY VISITS AND MIGRATION DECISION MAKING

As well as the unconscious immersion into Irish worlds shaped mainly by their parents and described in the previous chapter, the relatively short distance home to Ireland meant that the children of the migrants to post-war England could and did visit regularly (see Walter 2013; M. Boyle 2011 in the context of the second-generation in Scotland). The holiday visit, as discussed in Chapter Two and Chapter Four, was typically referred to as a going 'home' although some of the personal accounts and memoirs reveal that this could be a point of 'disruption' for the second-generation, prompting reflection on where 'home' really was (for example M. Casey 1994; and Walsh 2000). This chapter explores the attachments that developed between the second-generation Irish in England and their parental homeplace/s as a result of repeated holiday visits and how this contributed to their decision to return to live in Ireland. Recollections of holiday visits illustrate the way that participants, as children, were incorporated into the daily life of their extended families and experienced an engagement with place that was both social and physical. The narratives suggest that they were engaged in the habitual routines of the place while also experiencing Feld's concept of "feelingful sensuality" which helped "naturalise" (1996, 91) their sense of place in Ireland.

Having described the physical experience of place during holidays in Ireland, the concept of spatiality as it is "actively *lived* and receptively *experienced*" (E. S. Casey 2001, 687 italics in the original) is then explored using Casey's contention that "we are not only *in* places but *of* them" (E. S. Casey 1996 italics in the original). Related to this is Soja's (1996) concept of 'thirdspace', one in which the physical and the imagined experience combine to make a "both/and also" way of thinking about place (1996, 5). For the second-generation Irish, the ways of being and belonging (Glick

Schiller 2004) to Ireland experienced in England, combined with regular holiday visits meant that their engagement with Ireland provides a useful illustration of the concept of thirdspace. Further, although holiday visits involved immersion in one or both parental home places set in specific townlands, parishes and counties, this is what shaped the remembering and imagining of 'Ireland' while in England; a small-scale and local experience which was remembered and equated to the scale of the nation.

Thinking in terms of thirdspace also extends the concept of habitus to include the spatial context in which the dispositions of the habitus are shaped and employed, an aspect of social performance that is missing from Bourdieu's work (E. S. Casey 2001; Cresswell 2002; Kelly and Lusis 2006). This is a spatial context which is described by E. S. Casey as the "place-world" and one which he equates to Soja's 'thirdspace' (E. S. Casey 2001, 687). In this way I aim to explore the particular relationship this second-generation group developed with Ireland, and places in it. This includes the way in which "attachments to geographical localities contribute fundamentally to the formation of personal and social identities" (Basso 1996, 53) as a result of which belief in attachment to a particular place may contribute to the return migration idea and the ongoing experience of return. This contributes to understandings of the emotional attachment second-generation individuals develop for their parental home country and the feeling of an innate link to the land referred to in Chapter One.

The final section presents the main themes which emerged from discussions about reasons for migration to Ireland and the way in which migration took place in the context of the second-generation Irish 'place-world'(E. S. Casey 2001). As voluntary migrants free to move, in theory, to 'anyplace' what explains their decision to choose Ireland? The first theme is that of 'escape' from life in England, which was linked with the perception of a better quality of life in Ireland. The second is that of 'unintentional' migration; this was often driven by a curiosity to know more about Ireland and was enabled, in part, by Ireland's changing economy and society.

HOLIDAYS AT 'HOME' IN IRELAND

The Journey 'Home'

For many of the second-generation Irish in England the most significant event of the year was the annual trip to Ireland which usually took place during the six week school summer holidays (Walter 2013). This typically involved long journeys by car or train to the ferry and then onward across Ireland; journeys which therefore often began early in the morning and also necessitated travelling during the night. This event, repeated annually, was one of the "synchronised enactions" (Edensor 2002, 96) of Irish families in England. Edensor argues that "repetition [of daily, weekly or annual routines] is essential to a sense of identity" since this creates a "temporal framework within which to make sense of the world" (*ibid*). Although Edensor is commenting on routines on a national scale, the importance of this 'temporal framework' is also important in the context of Irish families in England and the event of the annual trip 'home' was highly significant in creating a sense of connection between the second-generation child and an imagined home in Ireland . Many people referred to their trip '*every* summer/July/August' or to something that '*always*' happened during the journey, thus emphasising that the repetition of this event was a normal, taken for granted aspect of the annual routine of the family and a way of being for the second-generation. Walter notes the way that this "summer outflow of children from Irish neighbourhoods in English cities had no parallel in English people's experience and was barely noticed as an activity amongst Irish neighbours" (2013, 18). However, it is remembered in great detail by many of the participants who held "treasured memories" (*ibid*, 17) of such visits. In a similar way, other second-generations in Europe also experienced summer holiday visits, illustrating the significance of the holiday visit in shaping the child's sense of connection to the parental home place. Wessendorf, for example, found that for Italian migrants in Switzerland "the journeys as well as the holidays form part of the migrants' and their children's everyday lives and became an integral part of how migrants organize their year" (2013, 35). Thus while Tuan (1975, 154) notes that home is the "pivot of a daily routine" and a place which provides

sustenance and rest, for the Irish in England and their families, as for the Swiss-Italians of Wessendorf's study, home in Ireland became the pivot of an *annual* routine which was anticipated and remembered throughout the year (in the Irish context see M. Casey 1994; also Christou and King 2010 on second-generation return visits to Greece). This also suggests that for the second-generation, 'home' is somewhere you visit on an annual holiday as well as the place in which you live permanently.

For the participants of this study, recollections of the journey to parental homeplaces in Ireland included memories of the practicalities as well as the emotion generated. A number of people described the way that families 'managed' the journey. Sharon (Interview 8), who was one of six children and travelled by train to the ferry, remembered that, "quite often my Granny would come one way with somebody and we would escort her home, three or four of us would go back with her. And then the others would come later, it wasn't necessarily that everyone would come for six weeks every year, I can't remember all eight of us travelling". Steve (Interview 25), when asked about the journey stated: "I loved it". As well as the company of his three brothers, he recalled car journeys where, "we'd bring other people, eight or nine. And stuff. And a baby's crib". Although presumably an exaggerated description, Steve's intention was perhaps to emphasise how full the car was and how, although squashed between people and things, he relished the adventure. Mary (Interview 29) also described how she was "always wedged in the back seat amidst suitcases and bags of presents to be brought home for relatives". Despite the excitement and the knowledge of the holiday ahead, it could also be a difficult journey at times. Fiona (Interview 9) stated that "the smell of Paddington station still makes me feel sick, I was there about two years ago to get a train to Bath and I just felt sick". And Peter (Interview 20), who loved his time on holiday in Cork city nevertheless recalled the ferry as follows: "We used to get the *Inisfallen* [ferry] to Cork, horrendous". The event of travelling to Ireland was therefore an important part of the overall holiday. The excitement and anticipation of being with family in Ireland, the novelty of travelling across England and of being on the ferry, the possibility of tiredness and/or travel

sickness all combined to confirm this as a highly memorable annual event in the childhoods of the participants.

The following extract captures the sense of excitement and adventure that the journey generated from a child's point of view while at the same time indicating awareness of its greater meaning. Rob (Interview 11) described his family's annual departure from their home in Kent for summers spent in Co. Leitrim and Co. Donegal as follows: "On the very last day of the summer term, we were packed and ready to head towards Holyhead for the 03.15 sailing that would mark the beginning of another summer-long adventure". He remembered the novelty of the change in routine: "When you're small there's something exciting about not sleeping in a conventional bed and travelling through the night". And he recalled his sensory memory of the place as the ferry brought him closer to the landmass of Ireland: "For year after year I can recall standing on deck at about 6 a.m. facing into the cool morning breeze as Ireland, and Dublin Bay specifically, came into view". The combination of his excitement about the holiday and the novelty of travelling on what was an annually repeated journey confirmed his sense of Ireland as an important place since he also stated that "I loved it, but we were also infused with the importance and significance of this journey", suggesting an awareness of its meaning long after the journey had ended. In this Rob illustrates Basso's point, discussed in Chapter One, that the sensing of place is also "a form of cultural activity" (1996, 83). His experience on the deck of the ferry is assigned meaning and becomes a "self-invested viewpoint[s]" (*ibid*, 54) as a result of his previous visits to Ireland, his expectations and excitement about the holiday and his knowledge of Ireland as a place of origin for his family.

Holidays at 'Home'

Holidays in Ireland usually took place during the school summer holidays where, as Buckley notes, "an unshakeable sense of continued belonging to their native neighbourhoods in Ireland" emerged "anchoring" identities there (1997, 111–12). This section presents examples of events which promoted this 'sense of continued belonging' although this was not always a

straightforward reconnection with a place of origin as some of the accounts will show. The comments further illustrate Walter's findings that holiday recollections of the second-generation Irish provoke "rich and treasured memories" (2013, 18) where, importantly, children experienced everyday life in which, although they were visitors, they were not tourists (see also M. Boyle 2011). They also echo the findings of King *et al* who note the "warm welcome from family members" shown to second-generation Greek and Cypriot children on holiday 'at home' (2011, 6). Walter points out that these visits "had important consequences at a number of levels", which included the reinforcing of "a sense of ethnic and national identity", and the insertion of "new generations into strong social networks" (2013, 18). In this way "co-presence with people [became] imbued with co-presence with and in a place" (Mason 2004, 427), thus helping time spent in Ireland to become special and memorable.

The recollections, with some perhaps tinged with nostalgia, referred to the numerous contrasts between lives in England and everyday life in Ireland. The contrasts included reference to the habitual routines of rural Ireland in the 1960s and 1970s; the practicalities of everyday life; attitudes to visitors and to children in particular; the experience of being 'English' in Ireland; and the opportunity to spend time in the natural environment. The contrast between life in urban England and rural Ireland inevitably caused a certain amount of "disruption" (Edensor 2002, 21) to the habitus and perhaps this is what contributed to making the holiday memorable. Participants provided keenly observed recollections of differences between the two places and despite this disruption and the associated discomfort assumed to prompt a change in behaviour (*ibid*), what came across in the interviews was an acceptance of change and a sense of enjoyment of the novelty of time spent engaged in different routines and ways of being. The ease with which most of the participants fitted into the already established routines of their extended family confirmed this as a place which could be imagined as home.

Steve commented on the contrast he experienced:

> It really was like being taken from [city name] stuck on Mars, the difference. The food was one thing, but we got used to that. I'd say the first year or two and the first week or two were a shock to the system but once we got to know them we fitted in pretty easily then.

In the following somewhat idyllic extract, Mary also comments on the changes she experienced every summer during her fondly remembered time with her father's family in Co. Clare:

> Arriving in Ireland was a complete transformation in my life. From the house bound life of London to the freedom of a rural country farm life in County Clare. I was immersed in the bosom of my extended family. I loved the farm, the air, the milking of cows, the feeding of hens and bringing home the hay. Long summer days were passed with my grandmother and the children from neighbouring farms.

As well as commenting on the difference of life in Co. Clare, this extract also illustrates Walter's (2013) and Mason's (2004) assertion of the significance of family in what made these visits special.

English school summer holidays usually take place between the middle of July and the end of August and therefore, for those staying on farms, visits to Ireland coincided with the same farm tasks each year. At this time of year cows were milked twice a day and this would then have required regular trips to the creamery or a drop off point with creamery cans. There would also have been the making of hay or silage as well as turf to bring home for the winter. Many of the comments therefore refer to being involved in these "synchronised enactions" (Edensor 2002, 96) and in this way the visiting children were quickly immersed into the routines of their extended families; into a new "conductorless orchestration" (Bourdieu 1990, 58) which itself had been shaped by the physical environment and the social and economic climate of the time. Tom (Interview 10), for example recalled: "Went to the bog and if he [grandfather] was bringing in the hay you'd give him a hand with that, you'd go off messing around with other kids". And David (Interview 16), stated: "It was great; I really enjoyed my holidays with my

brothers. We'd go down to the bog and harvest the turf. We were right by the beach so we'd always go down to the beach, make the hay". As with the recollections of the journey, participants made little distinction between one year and the next therefore emphasising the taken for granted nature of each holiday in terms of what 'always' happens in Ireland; activities remembered were often activities repeated on the next visit, thus consolidating one particular view of how things are done in Ireland.

In addition to farm routines there was a more general experience of ways of being in rural Ireland. Mary (Interview 29) referred to the 'synchronised enactions' (Edensor 2002) which she witnessed such as the fact that "soda bread would have been made *every day*", "the rosary was said in the *evening*" and "*once a week* a van would come in from the town and that was the shop". Through this temporal framework Mary's time in Ireland was given a structure into which she could fit and in recognising when things happened and being part of the routines she was incorporated into the place and the place was incorporated into her (E. S. Casey 1996).

As well as adapting to new daily routines there were a number of comments about the practicalities of everyday life. These mainly referred to the lack of indoor plumbing:

> I remember in my grandmother's in Limerick, the chicken house was next door [to the toilet] so the stone wall, whitewashed wall, only went up so far and then there was chicken wire so the chickens would be up, looking down at you (Kevin, Interview 28). (For a similar recollection in the Cypriot context see King *et al* 2011, 'We Took a Bath with the Chickens').
>
> We might come to Clare for a week or so, you see my Grandmother was still alive and my Uncle lived there but they had no running water, so there was no bathroom, no toilet, no nothing and they only had lights downstairs, there was one plug, in what they called the kitchen, so it was quite hard work for people born and bred in inner city London that were so used to having a tap. If you wanted milk for

> your breakfast you took it out of the milk churn and it just took a lot of adjusting (Fiona, Interview 9).

In addition, Geraldine (Interview 13) recalled: "Going out in the donkey and cart with my Grandad" and Mary (Interview 29) noted the fact that: "It was still horse-drawn, doing the hay or ploughing".

A further observation of the contrast between life in England and life in Ireland was the welcome these children received and the freedom they enjoyed. Rob (Interview 9) recalled "the endless stream of visitors welcoming us all 'home'" and the fact that, "people would ask about life in England… you had status as a visitor from England". Daniel (Interview 7) also described the welcome and this, in part, was why he preferred his holiday in Ireland to other family holidays: "We went to Rhyll or Towyn [North Wales] or one of those places one year and I hated it because [in Ireland] at least you had a welcome, even if it was raining. You had your Granny, Grandad, uncles and aunts and cousins and there was always something to do". Welcoming those 'home from England' reinforced a gone but not forgotten feeling, that although you have left you are still of this place (although permanent return might have complicated that sentiment) and this was a feeling extended to visiting children. This may have been in contrast to life in urban England, characterised by wariness and mistrust of strangers and a 'heads down we're Irish' consciousness (Sorohan 2012).

Related to this feeling of welcome was the sense of freedom many participants described; a freedom enabled by the relative safety of rural areas as well as by a sense of community in which individuals would unobtrusively keep an eye on unsupervised children (see also King, Christou, and Teerling 2011). There were no comments about the darker side of rural life in which some children experienced abuse as discussed by Walter (2013). Sean (Interview 2) recalled his visits as follows: "Small, typical west of Ireland farm and just arrive there and disappear out the door and be gone for two weeks, come back at night, sleep there and that's it, there wouldn't be the same worries about where are you, *everyone in the*

village was known" (emphasis added). Frank (Interview 14) made a similar observation: "We'd just land there and really feel that we were at home and all of the clichés are absolutely true about the freedom, just being able to wander around, *the friendliness of neighbours*" (emphasis added). These comments indicate that these children were known to be connected locally and as the grandchildren or cousins of members of the local area there was an interest taken in them. This is a further example of the ongoing 'path-dependency' (P. Boyle, Halfacree, and Robinson 1998) and "conventions of reciprocity and co-operation" which Delaney (2005, 437) argues were a feature of the rural Ireland from which the parents emigrated. These shaped the "informal personal networks" (*ibid*, 425) which enabled much of the migration to England of the parental generation and which continued to include the next generation during their holiday visits.

Despite descriptions of welcome and freedom, an additional contrast many participants faced was that of becoming 'English' while in Ireland. Amy (Interview 17) stated that: "We went to school [in London], we were called the Irish kids", but then found that, "they call you English here. My Dad's place, farm and beach and we were from England, we were English". This was not necessarily a negative thing as she still felt included in the family: "We weren't foreigners, we were treated as family, yeah, I think they were proud of us" and yet it still required her to reflect on her identity label, thus heightening her reflexivity. However, as discussed in Chapter Two a hybrid identity label was not an option for Amy; she was 'English' in Ireland and 'Irish' in England.

In contrast, some participants described experiencing hostility based on their perceived Englishness. Tony (Interview 27) likened his entrance, with other 'English' cousins, into the local pub in Co. Galway, to a scene from a Western in which they were the threatening newcomers:

> Normally on a Sunday you go to mass and go to the pub after, so you might go playing pool, and you'd walk into the pool room where all the locals were, and it would be one of those tumbleweed moments.

This was an event that rarely came to anything more than looks; once power relations were acknowledged, Tony and his cousins could then continue on to play pool. John's story (Interview 1) suggests that attitudes to those with English accents varied across the country. He described the way that, where his father was from in Co. Sligo, everyone assumed that the person with the English accent was somebody's cousin and therefore accepted locally. His experience in his mother's home area in Co. Limerick was different; there his accent defined a much more negative experience since he was told not to speak for fear of being 'accused' of being English:

> Where my Mum's from there wasn't really a history of emigration. We used to be out with my cousins in the rural areas, they'd be like 'if anyone asks where you're from, don't talk' and people used to hear your accent, other kids and they'd be like 'oh English scumbags' what they'd hear from their parents, no experience, they just assumed 'oh he's English,' you might as well be carrying the Union Jack.

Kevin (Interview 28) described a similar experience between Co. Kildare and his father's homeplace in a village on the borders of Co. Limerick and Co. Clare: "...relishing our departure from my mother's home in Kildare where we were often called English b******s by the kids in the nearby estate as we walked by to get to our grandparents farm". Being known to be connected locally therefore often had a significant impact on the reception which the visiting second-generation received. In a similar way to the Hehir brothers described in Chapter Two, at one extreme they were welcomed as family returning to a local area while at the other, in places where they were not known, they represented the worst of English colonial rule.

These comments suggest that for some individuals, being in Ireland prompted a heightened awareness of self in the context of a sense of national identity. For many, being assumed to be 'English' in Ireland led to greater reflection on how they chose to describe themselves. As stated in Chapter Four, the ability or need to choose from the various labels available in terms of national identity therefore became one of the dispositions of the habitus of being second-generation; a choice not required of non-migrant

children. In addition, the situations described above illustrate that despite the welcome shown to family 'home' on holiday, the visit was not always straightforward for those with English accents. This is something which I explore in more detail in Chapter Six.

As well as being incorporated into the social field (typically) of rural Ireland in the 1960s and 1970s, the freedom these children had to roam also, importantly, enabled a direct engagement with the natural environment; an engagement which O'Neill (2001, 4), referred to in Chapter One, argues creates an emotional connection through "unselfconscious knowledge" of place and this further shaped their sense of connection and belonging. Although almost all of the participants visited rural areas, only a small number stayed on farms. Nevertheless, many people referred to grandparents who kept a few animals or grew vegetables. Jackie (Interview 3), for example, stated: "We used to arrive into a house on the Birr Road in [village name] and I remember it had an outside toilet, pigs and chickens, that kind of stuff". And Sharon (Interview 8) recalled: "There were a couple of cows and pigs but they weren't farmers. That wasn't their income, that was just incidental".

There was therefore a sense of being in a rural community which had a genuine engagement with the land. In her research with ranchers in rural Montana, O'Neill found that, "childhood experiences in the landscape represented an important phase of highly tactile and kinaesthetic place learning" (2001, 10). Athough the participants, as children, spent a maximum of six weeks in rural Ireland each summer, they also evidence an experience of place which was tactile and kinaesthetic and, despite the picture postcard beauty of much of rural Ireland, no one mentioned their visual memory of the holidays. In response to the question, 'What did you do during your holidays?' the following statements illustrate their kinaesthetic engagement with place:

> It was just walk down the street every morning, meet the rest of the gang, we'd probably play down by the river, there was a waterfall just

> outside [village name], we'd just go and just walk really or play in fields that was it really, you were never bored. (Fiona, Interview 9)

> It was excitement running around in the fields and playing football and finding streams. (Rob, Interview 11)

> It was very much playing outside, in nature. I can remember playing games with the neighbours, we'd play shops and we'd use different things from the hedgerow to play with. (Mary, Interview 29)

As discussed in Chapter One, by playing and at times working, on the land, participants were able to "know the place in ways that could not be achieved by visual means alone" (O'Neill 2001, 5). As a result, they support O'Neill's findings that "the memory of place-specific, haptic experiences in childhood and adolescence formed vivid and deeply felt attachments for the land and locality. These unselfconscious, phenomenal experiences of the body informed the ways in which they considered the geography in adulthood" (*ibid*, 10). This haptic experience included a sensory engagement which further tied person to place. Feld argues that place is experienced as "a fusion of space and time that joins lives and events as embodied memories" (1996, 91); in this way person and place are linked through sensory experience which creates particular emotional connections. For Tom (Interview 10), as for many of the participants, the most powerful sensory memory was that of the smell of turf smoke:

> As soon as you smell turf, straightaway, I've got a picture of getting off a bus in [town name, in the 1970s], as soon as you'd step off the bus, that is the smell of Ireland. As much as I hate turf, I wouldn't use it at all, the whole experience of the bog and there's too much ash, I still love the smell of it, you cannot beat it, you're straight back to that point, getting off the bus with a suitcase.

Geraldine (Interview 13) also referred to smell more generally as well as different tastes: "There was a different smell coming from the countryside and they had the water dripping down into a big barrel. Everything was

richer, the milk was richer and ham wasn't like ham now, it was a lot stronger". Memories of time spent in rural Ireland therefore illustrate E. S. Casey's argument that, "we are not only *in* places but *of* them" (1996, 19 italics in the original), a point on which I shall elaborate in the next section.

For a small number of people the 'holiday' in Ireland was remembered in a fairly ambivalent way and their comments lack some of the nostalgic qualities of many of the recollections. For Patricia (Interview 6): "it wasn't even a holiday, you couldn't really say we were going on holiday. It was just, we were going to Ireland and we'd come over on the boat and it used to be just hell". And during her time with relatives in Co. Dublin and Co. Louth she remembered that, "you'd have to visit everyone on the way up and everyone on the way down". Jackie (Interview 3) also indicates some ambivalence about her visit. In response to the question, 'did you like coming on holiday?' she stated; "I don't think I liked it or didn't like it, I used to probably think why aren't we going on holiday to Spain or Florida or Disneyland but once I got there it was fine". In terms of farm life Susan (Interview 22) stated: "I didn't really get it, your shoes would be muddy, toilet outside, all this turf, nothing was really clean enough". Despite their ambivalence, all three of these respondents subsequently migrated to Ireland and responded to my request for research participants. They illustrate the point that return migration is not always a sentimental move to an idealised place and may also take place for practical reasons. In the examples above Jackie moved, initially on a temporary basis, to be closer to her parents and Susan moved to be with her parents as a result of her own ill health.

The End of the Holiday: Going 'Home' to England

Inevitably the return to England at the end of these holidays resulted in renewed observations of the contrasts between the two places which, like the journey to Ireland, were highly charged with emotion. This was explained by Sharon (Interview 8) who stated: "It's a very long journey, time wise; it gives you a lot of time to think. I used to be very, very lonesome about leaving. Part of it was that I was leaving Granny, Nana, it was leaving her more than anything". Her journey involved being taken into

the town of Abbeyfeale, Co. Limerick, from where she caught a bus to Limerick city. She then took a train (or trains) to the ferry in Rosslare. The four and a half hour ferry took her to Fishguard where she got a train to London's Paddington station from where she travelled home on the London Underground; thus, although probably not travelling alone, she had plenty of time to think. Sharon's comment about the sadness of leaving her Granny illustrates the significance of grandparents in the holiday visits and the way in which they created an important emotional link between grandchildren and the 'homeplace' of their parents.

Daniel (Interview 7) also remembered his leaving with emotion: "I was always very homesick when I left, I didn't enjoy the thought of going back, my grandparents were getting old, they'd get upset which would make me upset". For many of the grandparental generation, visits to children in England were rare, therefore leaving at the end of the summer often meant it would be almost a year until they would see their children and their growing grandchildren again. Departures also perhaps refreshed the memory of the initial migration; the rupture of adult children leaving now replicated every August and the sadness of the goodbyes therefore witnessed by the next generation. This was illustrated by Mary (Interview 29) as follows: "The only time I ever saw my father crying was saying goodbye to his mother" (see also M. Casey 1994). Mary went on to describe her return to England as follows:

> Returning to London was a depressing experience. Each September was filled with tears and melancholy. I can only describe it as like a bi-polar experience between a rich loving world of nature and colour [in west Clare] to a cold, unfriendly, disconnected existence [in south London]. In time we would all adapt and by October we had settled once again. However, throughout my life I continued to feel that Ireland was my true 'home'.

In this comment Mary's description of each place is shaped by the emotion she felt on her return. At other points in her interview she described a happy childhood in London; however at this point in her life, every September,

Ireland is remembered in a positive light and London in a negative one. This extract also shows that despite the sadness of the rupture caused by the family's departure from Ireland, they inevitably adjusted to life in London; the ability to adapt indicating that this was part of the seasonal rhythm of family life and therefore, to a certain extent, part of the habitus of this 'displaced Irish family'.

Although the return to England therefore brought the holiday to an end, Ireland remained a significant, if absent, place. The remembering of time spent in Ireland as well as the planning and anticipation of the next visit ensured that the experience "extended well beyond the temporal confines of the event itself" (Mason 2004, 423). In this way the remembering and anticipation of being in Ireland therefore became a further disposition of the habitus of the Irish in England and their children. (This is a way of being also noted by Wessendorf [2013] in the context of Italian families in Switzerland).

THE 'PLACE-WORLDS' OF THE SECOND-GENERATION IRISH: THE SEEDS OF RETURN

The recollections of holidays in Ireland convey a sense of a "lived and experienced spatiality" as described by E.S. Casey (2001, 687). Through bodily encounters and sensory engagements in place, an emotional link was established between the participants and place/s in Ireland in the context of time spent with their extended family. The next section considers this 'sense of place' with relation to Ireland in more detail. I use longer extracts from two of the interviews in order to fully explore this 'lived and experienced spatiality' (E. S. Casey 2001) in individual lives. The aim is to link the individual's system of habitual dispositions with how they are re-enacted in the place-world, thus illustrating how "we live out our bodily habitudes in relation to the changing spatiality of the scenes we successively encounter" (E. S. Casey 2001, 687). The first account details the way in which one participant remembers his holidays and illustrates how significant the time spent on his mother's family farm was and is to him. It illustrates how this

experience shaped his sense of connection to a particular place and how this contributes to his ongoing belief in Ireland as a place in which he belongs. The second account includes memories of holidays as formative events and also illustrates how a deeper engagement with Ireland took place during life in England, shaped by family as well as by his individual agency.

Steve (Interview 25):

Steve grew up in Southampton and now lives in a town in Co. Galway. From the age of 12, he and his brother spent every summer holiday in their mother's homeplace, a farm with a camp site and beach shop, in east Co. Cork.

> We were put on the train in Southampton and sent off. It was also a bit of independence, one of us would work on the farm one day and one in the shop. We had six weeks and it was a brilliant six weeks and we got paid absolutely f*** all but you went home with £20 or £30 in your pocket. The freedom we had was absolutely…

Like many of the people referred to in the previous section, Steve thoroughly enjoyed his summers in Ireland and has many positive memories: "There was chips every night and fun fairs and the beach and we had a little ice-cream shop on the camp site and there was all the ones from Cork so there was girls..."

As well as the fun and excitement of the holiday, Steve also alludes to a deeper engagement with place:

> There were these back fields I used to walk up when I was 12 or 13, get the cows to bring them down to be milked twice a day and it could be a mile up these fields and boreens and you're a long way from home and on your own and you'd be singing a song and wouldn't be thinking much about it at all.

In this he describes his "haptic" experience of place; an experience explained by O'Neill (2001, 4) as involving "the integration of many senses, such as touch, positional awareness, balance, sound, movement and the

memory of previous experiences". Steve walked well established paths across the fields, tracing a route perhaps only known to the family (and the cows). While moving across the fields his multi-sensory experience may have included the smells of the animals and the land, the noise of any wildlife, the feel of the weather and his own awareness of where he was, a teenager from Southampton who was walking his (mother's) family land. During these walks this place was "actively sensed" and in this way Basso argues, "the physical landscape becomes wedded to the landscape of the mind" (1996, 56). As a result, he found that "I realised I felt very much at home" and he linked this to the fact of his mother's birth there: "there was this family farm where my mother was born and left and I always felt this draw to it". At the time of interview, Steve was living in a Co. Galway town where he runs a successful business and is married with four children. Despite being well established in his 'adopted' place, the family fields in Co. Cork retain a particular hold on him:

> When I drive past now I look at the fields, you can see them over the back, and I just have this thing. Like I'm in a house now with a few acres of land, its fine, its mine, I've bought and paid for it but it's not the same as down there, that's kind of where we're from that farm, that land is where my mother came from, where I came from, I've got cousins in Canada who feel the same about it, the exact same.

His sense of this land as a special place also extends to include the local area, illustrating the way that "people know their landscapes, the self-invested viewpoints from which they embrace the countryside and find the embrace returned" (Basso 1996, 54). He stated, "I've got a graveyard, beautiful graveyard where mine are buried, and its fabulous, I'd love to end up there, I'd often walk down there with the dog and I'd feel it, I don't know how far back we go here but you know that's where you're from, this is where your people were". And when asked if he thought of his mother's homeplace as home he stated: "Yeah, definitely. When I'm in the village, there's a crossroads, there's the homeplace where my mother was born and it's derelict now but it's definitely there. And on the beach where the shop

was, where my mother grew up, went to school, definitely, yeah". At the same time he included his current location in his understanding of home:

> Yeah, this is home now, where I'm living, this is home 'cause it's where my kids are but when I'm down there it's definitely.., it's the homeplace and always will be no matter what goes on and that's not going to change, that's where my mother was from, my grandparents all came from within two or three miles of there.

Massey (2005, 123) acknowledges the way in which a place of origin or home place is often imagined as it used to be and going 'home' means travelling not only across space but across time, as if "the spatial surface slopes backwards in time". In this, Steve indicates his sense of the unchanging nature of the 'homeplace', as an already established place of origin, as opposed to his current home, a continually evolving place in progress.

Following his childhood summers Steve continued to visit into adulthood:

> I felt very at home coming back here and then when I got older I started hitching back and forth even if I just had a few days off I could arrive in Cork and always felt welcome, I had friends here and pretty much felt at home.

As a young adult he had travelled around Europe and spent a lot of time surfing on beaches that meant "nothing, I just went for the surf that was it". Whereas while travelling and surfing around Ireland he realised that: "I knew when I was on some of these [Irish] beaches this is where I need to be". And his most profound comments about his relationship with Ireland were made with reference to having his own ashes scattered in Galway Bay since "the closest thing I ever get to religion, is being in the sea [around Ireland] in a canoe or on a surfboard, total quiet and isolated, looking back at the land". Although this statement perhaps contradicts his earlier comment about burial in the family graveyard in Cork, it further evidences his belief in this land as of special significance to him.

Steve's time spent in Ireland as a teenager gave him an unreflexive sense of place as well as a more explicit awareness of this as a significant location for his family. From his sensory experience of the few fields in Co. Cork in the context of his mother's family history there, he illustrates the way in which "as places animate the ideas and feelings of persons who attend to them, these same ideas and feelings animate the places on which attention has been bestowed" (Basso 1996, 55) enabling his specific experience of (a part of) Ireland to transfer to his feeling of a deep bond with the country as a whole. Steve's permanent move to Ireland was eventually prompted by the meeting of his future wife in Galway. While that was his "watershed moment" (Benson 2012, 1690), the fact that he was in Ireland, familiar with the place and amenable to moving are all outcomes of his particular way of being. It illustrates the way in which "the activation of [his particular] habitus expresses an intentional and invested *commitment to the place-world*" (E. S. Casey 2001, 687 italics in the original). Having walked the fields and lived on the family farm during his regular visits, the place is remembered and imagined as a place with meaning to him. His experience is one in which place is both perceived and conceived, both historical and social and therefore a 'thirdspace' as identified by Soja (1996).

James (Interview 18):

In this second example, James's account details his experience of Ireland as a real and imagined space (Soja 1996) resulting in a deeper engagement which has shaped his current experience and his belief in his belonging in Ireland. During regular holiday visits he describes an experience of "a material and materialized 'physical' spatiality" referred to by Soja (*ibid*, 74) as firstspace; the space that we use and can easily be seen, measured, accounted for or physically felt. In addition, while at 'home' in England he illustrates an experience of secondspace; one which prioritises an "imagined geography" in which "the image or representation [comes] to define and order the reality" (*ibid*, 79). As a result of the fusion of his particular experiences of firstspace and secondspace he demonstrates the "both/and also" concept of thirdspace; "space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate" and which "overlays physical space" (Soja 1996, 67) and

which E.S. Casey equates to the "place-world"(2001, 687) and highlights how feelings and emotions about place shape behaviour. For James, this contributed to how the dispositions of his habitus developed, resulting in his eventual decision to move to Ireland as one which was within the possibilities of his particular way of being.

James's parents were from Cork city and north Co. Kerry and he grew up on the outskirts of London in Essex, where his father worked for Ford. He described a childhood where "the school was... 90 per cent of the kids the fathers would be working in Ford and all of them Irish and the priests were Irish and every teacher in the primary school was Irish" and he therefore grew up with the 'Irish in England' habitus described in Chapter Four. He also experienced regular holiday visits to Ireland:

> We'd have four or five weeks [on a farm] in Kerry and then we'd come back [to Cork city] and that was always the beginning of the end. Cork was associated for me as the tail end of the holiday but the pattern went on every year from the age of five until I think the first year I stopped coming I was 19 or 20.

He recalled the excitement of the journey and his time spent on the farm, illustrating again O'Neill's reference to "place-specific haptic experiences" (2001, 10) as well as his immersion into the 'synchronised enactions' (Edensor 2002) of rural Ireland at that time:

> It was just brilliant. It was a long journey, we used to get the train to Holyhead then cross, we used to get the train to Mallow and then from Mallow to Tralee. My grandfather used to wait for us on his pony and trap in Tralee station and we used to be taken up to the farm and be more or less free for the next six weeks. It was completely different from the life in London where we were more restrained. In Tralee we went wild really but for me the best part was I was very close to my grandfather, I used to milk the cows in the mornings and we used to go down to the creamery.

At the end of his holiday, the return journey to England was remembered with great sadness; a journey which he now feels was formative in his life. He stated: “I will never, as long as I live, forget the absolutely miserable tear soaked journey back to England which my siblings and I endured every 29th of August year after year. It was probably the most profound emotional experience of my childhood”.

As well as this unquestioned, inevitable immersion into daily life in Ireland and the emotion of leaving, he also commented on his increasing interest in Ireland and awareness of his Irish identity while at ‘home’ in England. He described his sense that the Irish family and community in which he belonged was separate or different from the local people where he grew up, which was therefore an aspect of his habitus:

> They [his parents] weren’t really going out of their way to [hide their Irishness] but you kept your head down a bit. You didn’t go around broadcasting it and we would talk amongst ourselves a bit about the very regular slights you’d get from what we’d call Cockneys. They were at us all the time about accents, the way you pronounce things, the Irish joke thing you’d get a lot of that but we didn’t go out of our way to come back at them we kind of noted it amongst ourselves that we weren’t English and we would be conscious of that.

As discussed in Chapter Two, his family opted to not draw attention to being Irish, a behaviour which was common among the Irish in England during the 1970s (see Sorohan 2012). At the same time, by being conscious of a sense of difference and noting it within the family, James illustrates the importance of social relations *between* people *within* the social field as well as those which result from structural factors which shape the social field thus illustrating the importance of intersubjectivity in practice (Bottero 2010).

He also recalled being encouraged to learn about Ireland through his family and how this stimulated his interest in other aspects of Irish history, culture and politics:

> My introduction to Irish history was my grandfather on my mother's side being in the old IRA and he gave me *Guerrilla Days in Ireland* by Tom Barry and I read that and started to get really interested and I started to go to the library.
>
> If you were Irish and became interested in Irish music as I did and started to read other things and read other accounts of the story, of course the more you read the more you realised the version you'd been given was one sided so I'd say by the time I was 12,13,14, I was becoming more and more sympathetic to the Republican side, once you get that sort of thing it's a process of learning, listen to traditional music and you start to read poetry and go into the history and become immersed as I did in Irish literature and reading.

E.S. Casey argues that, "habitus represents a movement from the externality of established customs and norms to the internality of durable dispositions" (2001, 687), in this case resulting in James internalising a particular sense of Irishness through the 'Ford' Irish community in England and his summers in Kerry and Cork. His subsequent interest in and commitment to knowing more about Ireland is the re-enactment of this habitus in the place-world (*ibid*) leading to a deeper sense of engagement with Ireland, "a lived and experienced spatiality" (*ibid*, 687).

It was during "a pivotal point of change and crisis" in his life that James decided to move to Ireland, initially for a temporary break:

> I said I want a period of compassionate leave but I had about a week into that and was just standing looking out the window of this dismal estate in the north east of England, looking out onto a motorway and I just thought what am I doing here? I had three months compassionate leave so I just went back to Kerry because my parents were already back so I thought I'd go back and recuperate there. But I think within a month of going back to Kerry I thought sod this I'm not coming back [to England]; this is the break I want.

Although his parents had already returned and, in terms of the practicalities of migration, he had somewhere to go to, his decision is importantly explained in terms of his direct feelings about place. His description of looking out of the window of his flat suggests a sense of 'disconnection' from place. In contrast he held the belief that, "if I returned to Ireland for good, that somehow I would be 'looked after', certainly not by the state, nor the people, but by the place itself which I had always felt I truly 'belonged' to"; a belonging shaped in the fields of his grandparents farm as well as in his local library in Essex as a child.

REASONS FOR MIGRATION

Time spent on holiday as children gave the second-generation knowledge of parental homeplaces and contributed to the imagining and remembering of Ireland during life in England. As referred to in Chapter Two and noted by Walter (2013), they were incorporated into the routines of their extended families and experienced Feld's sensing of place creating "embodied memories" (1996, 91) which contributed to making Ireland meaningful for them. In this part of the chapter I explore the reasons given for migration. Although all of the participants visited regularly as children and continued to visit as adults there was little evidence that these visits were part of a return migration strategy. This is in keeping with the findings of research with second-generation returnees to Greece and Cyprus (King, Christou, and Teerling 2011) and to the Caribbean (Conway, Potter, and St Bernard 2009). With reference to return to Greece and Cyprus, King, Christou and Teerling (2011) note that there are too many factors at play to attribute a decision to return as a direct result of holiday visits. In the context of the Caribbean, Conway, Potter and St Bernard (2009) found that although repetitive visiting was important for keeping in touch with extended family, it was not an essential return migration strategy. In this research it was a lifelong engagement with Irish "ways of being" and "ways of belonging" (Glick Schiller 2004, 458), one aspect of which were holiday visits, which predisposed individuals to choose Ireland as a migration destination and shaped a belief in belonging there.

Benson (2012, 1682–83) argues that the imagining of migration becomes a reality as a result of "the embodied interplay of biographies, individual circumstances, structural preconditions, privileges and constraints, as well as culturally significant imaginings". As discussed in Chapter Two, the growth in the Irish economy in the 1990s saw Ireland become an increasingly attractive destination for migrants from a range of countries including the second-generation Irish from England. For many of the participants the increasing employment opportunities provided the 'structural preconditions' which enabled their migration in the context of individual biographies and their 'culturally significant imaginings' about their connection to Ireland. Despite this, few people commented on the changed economy as directly enabling their migration. Instead an emotional connection was more important to their return.

The participants described the way that they continued to visit, independently, as adults and kept in touch with relatives in Ireland and thus illustrate a disposition of the 'Irish in England' ways of being with which they had grown up. Fiona (Interview 9), for example, stated: "I kept coming until I was maybe about 16 or 17 and then I wouldn't come for summer holidays but I always came for maybe a week, I would always make a point of coming at some stage during the year". Rob organised his holidays as follows: "I used to try to go to warm places in November and March and home in the summer". The practice of visiting Ireland and maintaining connections with family and meaningful places, established in childhood, therefore continued into adulthood. This was a dispositional feature of the second-generation habitus which, in a few cases, helped with finding employment and facilitated migration but in general, as Conway *et al* (2009) also found, was simply a way of keeping in touch with relatives. It was also the case that although this research focused on individual migration events, these took place in the context of complex webs of connection which existed within families and across Ireland and England. Many people had parents and/or siblings who had also returned and this reinforced an

emotional link as well as providing practical help with migration in some cases.

The accounts which follow include comments on the specific time in the individual's life that the migration took place, "the desire for a particular migration destination", in this case, Ireland, as well as evidence of the relevant social, cultural and economic capital required for the move to take place (Benson 2012, 1689). The first theme is that of 'escape' from life in England which was often accompanied by an expectation of a better quality of life in Ireland. For some, leaving England was the dominant motivator while, for others, expectations of an improved quality of life in Ireland were more significant. In keeping with Ní Laoire's (2007) research on return to rural Ireland by a first generation of migrants, participants explained their move with reference to many of the same themes: the rural idyll, a better place for children and the positive experience of holiday visits. One noticeable difference was that return to be with family rarely featured. Although the experience of Ireland was importantly shaped by time spent with extended family and some parents and siblings had also returned, being closer to family rarely featured in the reasons given for the move; being in Ireland, the place, seemed to be more significant than being with particular people.

A second theme is that of 'unintentional' migration. The fact that someone can 'unintentionally' migrate is, in part, to do with the physical and cultural proximity of England and Ireland. There are no legal restrictions on the English-born living and working in Ireland and there are many shared aspects of culture and language. The short distance also means that it is a relatively low risk migration if things go wrong. The people in this group were young adults at the time of migration and without dependants or major financial commitments. They therefore had the freedom perhaps to satisfy a curiosity about living in Ireland, without making a permanent commitment. Reasons given for eventually staying in Ireland were typically to do with meeting a partner or with a particular combination of employment opportunities.

Escape/Quality of Life Migration

For many of the participants, Ireland was perceived as a refuge or a place to escape to and a place where life moves a little slower (Ní Laoire 2007; Shaw 2001). Tom (Interview 10) explained that after seeing the events of September 11, 2001 in New York (9/11) he made the decision, aged 40, to move: "Is life that important? I'd been dragged into the rat race, you think 'no'. The next morning I got up early and sold insurances, stocks, shares, got rid of the lot. Life's too short..." His 'escape' was from the accumulation of wealth in the 'rat race' as well as from the threat of global instability which followed 9/11. His actions illustrate his belief that it is possible to opt out of the race or at least that there might be alternative routes to take. At the time he had one adult daughter (who had also moved to Ireland, independently of him); therefore having cashed in his investments he had a certain amount of financial security which enabled his move to Connemara and the place of origin of his [second-generation] partner's family.

Mary's migration (Interview 29) was also explained in terms of escape from a busy life in London with Ireland imagined as a place to relax and be at ease. Prior to her migration, she explained that: "Throughout my life I regularly visited Ireland, and would always use it as an escape from a hectic urban life. Arriving at Shannon airport was like a complete dissolution of stress. I immediately felt at home". Therefore when she was made redundant and, combined with the end of a relationship, she made the decision to take some temporary time out:

> My initial decision to return to Ireland was not intended to be a permanent life change. My job had come to an end... At the same time I saw a post advertised in [name] Hospital, [place name]. I applied for the job and to my astonishment was successful at interview. I decided to come for one year with my young son. He was very keen to come as he loved time he spent in Ireland and was always tearful on return. My relationship had broken down and it seemed like an opportunity for us to spend some time together in Ireland. I had a circle of supportive friends and relatives in Ireland.

Although her job and her relationship had both ended and she decided to move, her choice of destination is a result of the positive relationship both she and her son had with her father's homeplace in Ireland. She was, in a sense, free to choose any new destination in which to live and work but her decision to choose this specific place was made based on her real experience and imagined relationship with Ireland and it was this which informed her decision making.

Rob (Interview 11) also described regularly escaping from urban life:

> I used to escape from London. I could hop on the tube in Hammersmith and go to Heathrow and get on a plane on a Thursday evening. I'd land in Dublin and get a plane to Galway and by10.30 I'd be in a cab straight to where his [brother's] café was. And by 11, I'd be in behind the counter making cappuccinos for people. It was just 'this is where I want to be'.

For Rob (Interview 11), the death of his mother, at home in Co. Donegal, was the event that prompted his decision to move. On his return to London after her funeral he "thought that's the last time I'm ever going to do this, this way around [travel 'home' to London]". Rather than 'escape' from city living he describes a sense of escape from feelings of grief and loss with Ireland, the country, perceived as place of sanctuary; it was an 'escape' to Ireland at a time of loss and a homecoming that he felt was inevitable:

> It was like an enormous pair of arms that comes out and takes hold of you at a time when you're not sure what's going on in the world, you're not really feeling the loss but you know that something fundamentally has changed and I just thought there was something powerful in that. I'd also invested a huge amount in work. I'd been working really hard. I was so dedicated to work and playing music and football, a nice balance in my life and never really stopped and thought about me and where I was going and what was happening. Like I've always thought about going home [to Ireland], was it only

> going to be a pipe dream? This actually was what moved me. It was the paradigm shift, I thought I'm going to make this happen now.

Rob's migration decision was therefore a result of his mother's death but also explained in terms of something he always thought he would do. He believed that an eventual 'homecoming' was almost inevitable for him and it was his mother's death that provoked action. In addition, although Rob and Mary above did not mention it, Ireland's changing economy and its growing demand for labour was also significant to their ability to successfully migrate. As noted earlier, this was something that few people mentioned with many preferring to describe their return as inevitable and something they had always planned to do.

The final example of 'escape' comes from Julie (Interview 30). Unlike the other examples, hers was an escape to Ireland following her separation from her husband. When her (returned) father asked what she would like to do, she told him: "'I just want to go to Ireland', I always felt more at home here than I did in London". In a similar way to Rob, above, Ireland was a place of comfort at a time of insecurity in her life.

In addition, there were those for whom the perception of a better life was a more significant motivator, with comments about housing and expectations of a better life for children being important. For this group the specific timing of migration was less to do with an individual 'epiphany' and more to do with their stage in the life course and how it intersected with the wider economy. The three people featured all had pre-school age children at the time of migration and their comments also indicate possession of a certain amount of economic, cultural and social capital. For Daniel (Interview 7), having children was an important motivation for his move combined with economic capital from the sale of his house in Birmingham:

> Once I had the children, we brought them over every year and every time we went they enjoyed it, the farm, the friends and cows so they liked it, we compared it to what they were used to in England and said wouldn't it be nice to come back here and there was no sign that time

> of the economy getting better. That was 1996. We sold the house in 1996 and decided not to move again but to come over here.

Andrews (2010) illustrates the fact that until the early 2000s lower average house prices existed in Ireland compared with the UK. Therefore, Daniel (who moved from Birmingham) benefitted from the positive currency exchange rate between Sterling and the Punt as well as the relatively low cost of housing in Ireland.

Dermot (Interview 4) also had the economic capital to migrate following the sale of his house in north London in 2004. His comment also indicates a knowledge of place which enabled him to successfully find somewhere to move to in just one week.

> Once the kids came along we thought we'd go to Ireland, we'd talk about it a lot. We looked at *Sherry Fitzgerald* online and we came over for a week and looked at about seven houses, it was a neutral county and we saw the school, church, it was what we could afford.

With his second-generation wife he chose, what he called, a 'neutral county'; one with which neither of them had prior connections. They therefore achieved their goal of moving to Ireland within the limits of what they could afford, what they needed and where they would be happy to live; a decision made in the context of their "place-worlds" (E. S. Casey 2001, 681).

In this final example, Sharon (Interview 8) explains the timing of her move along with her feelings about moving to Ireland.

> We were living in Reading and a job came up in Galway and we were 'oh my God, this is Ireland'. It was very exciting and a very joyful kind of feeling and then when Jim did get the job at that time as well things were a lot different [property prices, exchange rates]. I suppose we thought we'll come home and buy somewhere and it'll give us an opportunity to get set up, really well in terms of the house, space, so when we came we rented for a year.

In terms of the practicalities of moving to Galway with her young family, she identified the economic benefits of being able to buy a larger house given the property prices and exchange rates at the time in 1998. This therefore fits a pattern of migration within England and Ireland from an urban core to a rural fringe (P. Boyle, Halfacree, and Robinson 1998). Sharon then went on to explain what the migration meant to her in terms of her own place-world:

> When I came for the first six months I was on holiday in my head because Ireland was a holiday destination for me, I would go down the shop and think 'oh this is great, this is lovely, the girls, they talk to you at the cash desk and everybody says hello to you and I enjoyed that and I still like that, there was a warmth there. And the other thing, the smell of the turf, when you came home and you smelt turf smoke. The only place you smelt it was in Ireland, you never smelt turf burning in England so that was very evocative.

Her experience as a new immigrant to Galway was therefore coloured by her past history with place/s in Ireland. Her feeling of (temporarily) being on holiday and the evocative smell of the turf smoke were important reminders of her "past remembered in that place, as well as a past *of that place* in the present" (E. S. Casey 2009 italics in the original).

Unintentional Permanent Migration

There were a number of participants for whom permanent migration had not been explicitly planned. Instead, visits or trial periods in Ireland, enabled by the proximity of the two countries and the ease with which many of the second-generation could move between them, had eventually evolved into a permanent stay. Sean (Interview 2) explained his move as a trial which he hoped would become permanent; he was therefore open to the possibilities of life in Ireland and seeking reasons to stay:

> At the age of 22 I went off for a year in Australia. Before I left I had the notion of moving to Ireland for a period at some stage in the future. Anyway during my time in Australia, I increasingly thought about the move back and how... it would be just easier to stay

> in the travelling frame of mind and hop over to Ireland for a trial... but I actually knew it was going to be a permanent thing, or at least hoped.

He explains his decision in terms of his 'Irish in England' habitus, one in which England is not home and the idea of moving to Ireland was always present. Sean's parents and one of his two siblings have also returned to Ireland, illustrating the significant pull this place had on their life in England albeit a normal, perhaps inevitable decision in the context of the dispositions of their habitus.

Patricia (Interview 6) exhibited a more explicit curiosity about place. Although she had been told she was Irish and regularly visited while growing up, she felt she knew little about the place:

> I initially moved to Ireland because I had just finished my degree and had no work lined up. I wanted to come to Ireland just to see what it was like. I didn't come to look for work; I just came to have a look. I thought if I don't do it now I never will. I thought I might stay for six months.

'Just coming to have a look' was a possibility for Patricia because of the physical and cultural proximity of the two countries and the lack of any legal restrictions to her movement. She was able to satisfy her curiosity and in fact realise that, due to her lack of knowledge about everyday life in Ireland, "I wasn't Irish at all". She also found that, "I was British straight away because of my accent", a point to which I shall return in Chapter Six.

In this final example, David (Interview 16) illustrates most explicitly unintentional migration. His mother had already returned to her home in Co. Galway and he had previously lived in Ireland in the late 1980s. He explained:

> I was travelling in Australia and when I came back I hadn't seen my family for a while so I came here and while I was here I was offered a job and then just never left.

As for a number of other migrants, his migration was enabled, in part, by Ireland's growing economy. He initially turned down the job he had been offered and was then persuaded to take the job after an offer of an increased salary. Through his mother's return he just happened to be in the right place and had the right connections to be offered a job which facilitated his stay. He also described Galway as, "the cultural centre of the world" and as, "the place I am meant to be". Therefore despite his migration being 'unintentional' he shows a predisposition to living here which meant that he was open to the opportunities which arose for him.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that positive childhood experiences in Ireland were highly significant in creating a sense of connection between the second-generation and their parental homeplaces. Although visits were not a calculated aspect of planning for return migration, positive imaginings of Ireland had a significant influence on the decision to migrate. 'Ireland' was both a place imagined and remembered during lives in England and, as a result of time spent in specific places and with their extended families, it was a real, physical place in which the second-generation experienced a social and sensory engagement. While the idea that Ireland was home was an important aspect of the habitus of the Irish in England and their children, the holiday visit reinforced a belief in feelings of belonging in Ireland. As a result, Ireland was perceived to be a place of safety and nurture and a place to which to escape and relax; for some of the returnees there is the sense of an inevitable 'pull' to Ireland in a similar way to the participants of Christou's (2006b) work, discussed in Chapter One, who felt 'drawn back' to Greece.

The literature on the person-place relationship privileges the physical experience of place (Feld and Basso 1996; E. S. Casey 2009); however the evidence from this research shows that the incorporation into family life in the context of daily and annual routines and the social experience in the parental homeplace/s was also important. As well as knowledge of ways of

being in Ireland it created memories and enabled imaginings during life in England which further reinforced the web of connections in the transnational social field within which the second-generation grew up. In the next chapter I explore the experience of return migration and the way in which the habitus of the second-generation adjusts to the reality of living in Ireland.

CHAPTER SIX

SECOND-GENERATION RETURN TO IRELAND: ADJUSTING THE HABITUS AND NEGOTIATING BELONGING

The previous two chapters have detailed the way in which the participants of this study were "initiated into transnational practices and experiences" (Conway and Potter 2009, 4) as a result of which the aspiration to return to Ireland became a disposition of their habitus. In Chapter Four, I described how the 'seeds' of migration were sown in everyday lives in England and Chapter Five explored the experience of holiday visits to Ireland and also illustrated the specifics of the decision to return to Ireland as adults. This chapter presents the findings on the experience of return migration to Ireland. It begins by describing the "re-implacement" (E. S. Casey 2009, 291) of these second-generation returnees in their chosen places of residence. The next section acknowledges the fact that, in the process of 're-emplacement', already established transnational links continue and evolve. The chapter then considers the experience of belonging as it is felt in everyday encounters; in this way I illustrate the significance of intersubjectivity and emotion in adjusting the habitus in a new place. The final section explores belonging in more detail with specific reference to the reception of the English accents of the returnees and how this impacts on their experience in Ireland.

With reference to their "re-implacement" in Ireland, the second-generation returnees of this study illustrate both "homecoming" and "homesteading" (E. S. Casey 2009, 290), referred to in Chapter One. Although not returning to the place from which their journey began, a number of participants expressed a belief that their return was an inevitable step in their life course which resulted from their lifelong connections to Ireland; thus in their return they enact the end of the parental journey of emigration and their re-emplacement is a homecoming. Many also described how they had made a

commitment to their new places of residence and how they had tried to build a "significant future life there", thus illustrating "homesteading" (*ibid*) in addition to, or as an alternative to, discourses of return.

In the process of homecoming and/or homesteading, individuals experience "disruption" which results from "the habituated, embodied national subject being displaced or situated in an unfamiliar context" (Edensor 2002, 21). This prompts a heightened reflexive awareness of previously taken-for-granted ways of being and certain dispositions of the habitus come to the fore, requiring the 'displaced subject' to adapt or adjust their behaviour in the new context. Despite growing up with particular ways of being and belonging (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004), for these returnees, the reality of migration and return to Ireland still required behaviour to adapt and adjust and therefore required changes to the habitus. It prompted comments which ranged from their consciousness of the symbolic significance of their return to the country and to specific places of parental origin, to their explicit knowledge of what they needed to do to fit in and be accepted in their new places of residence. As a result of this experience of adjusting the habitus to "re-inhabit [a place] by living there on pre-established terms" (E. S. Casey 2009, 295), the comments evidence E. S. Casey's argument that "a given habitus is always enacted in a particular place" (2001, 686), despite the fact that Bourdieu makes little reference to place in his work (*ibid*; Cresswell 2002; Kelly and Lusis 2006).

As well as describing their experiences of 're-emplacement', the participants also referred to their current links with England and therefore their ongoing transnational lives. As discussed in Chapter One, the increasing recognition of the transnational lives of migrants who retain links with a place of origin, while being simultaneously incorporated into a new place of residence (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004), suggests that many second-generation migrants will retain links with their place of birth and upbringing after their return. Although 'return' suggests a homecoming and an end to the mobility of a first generation of migrants, a transnational perspective acknowledges that leaving a 'host' country, especially for

second and subsequent generations, does not end a relationship with that place. Having grown up in a transnational social field, cross-border lives are likely to continue in some form in order to facilitate life in the return destination and as a strategy which maximises opportunity on a transnational scale (De Bree, Davids, and De Haas 2010; Reynolds 2011).

Implicit in the experience of homecoming and/or homesteading is the sense of belonging which is sought through the return to a place of parental origin. The chapter continues by exploring the sense of belonging in more detail, both in terms of the "personal, intimate feeling of being 'at home' in a place (place-belongingness)" (Antonsich 2010, 645) and the "discourses and practices of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion at play" in the specific place in which belonging is claimed (the politics of belonging) (*ibid*, 649; Yuval-Davis 2006, 197). May defines belonging as "a sense of ease with oneself and one's surroundings" (2011, 368) and this is similar to E. S. Casey's description of home as "a place in which you can move about with ease and familiarity" (2009, 300). May argues that this sense of ease is created through having learned the unwritten "rules of the game" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 99) such that "when one's habitus fits the social field one is in, this can give rise to a *feeling* of belonging" (V. May 2013, 91–92 italics in the original). It is this emotional aspect of being in place which Davidson and Milligan (2004, 524) argue "can shape the very nature and experience of our being-in-the-world". Therefore exploring the experience of belonging for return migrants is a way of highlighting the emotional element of habitus.

The sense of belonging conveyed by the returnees in this study includes an important emotional element through which it is possible to build a richer understanding of the processes at work and their links with the places to which they returned. A number of critics of the concept of habitus have argued that Bourdieu neglects the "emotional content of familial and communal relations" (Bottero 2010; Murphy 2011; V. May 2013). By acknowledging the emotional content here, the aim is to illustrate the "complexity of affective ties" (Murphy 2011, 104) which operate in a given

social field and how relations between people and the "negotiation and interpretation [which] are required in the coordination of any activity" (Bottero 2010, 13) shape the adjustment of the habitus. Considering the emotional aspect of belonging in a place also raises questions about the difficulties of return migration and re-emplacement and what happens when the returnee cannot adjust to the habitualities of place.

Although the comments are those of the individual voices of the participants, belonging is more than just an individual feeling, it is also about an understanding of who 'we' are (V. May 2013). The personal feeling of place belonging is frequently about 'who I belong with' which implicitly includes assumptions about 'who I do not belong with' or 'who does not belong with me'. Exploring belonging therefore contributes to understanding how groups define themselves; the behaviours in which belongingness is challenged illuminate the edges or boundaries of the group. In the context of recent return to Ireland, Ní Laoire (2008) illustrates the dual and opposing positionings of Irish born returning migrants who are assumed to be simply homecomers to a society in which immigrants are always foreign and 'other'. For the second-generation this is complicated further. As discussed in Chapter Two with reference to Brian Dooley and the Hehir brothers, returning 'home' to Ireland and being recognised as English further challenges this host/newcomer dualism. Exploring the experience of return for the second-generation therefore contributes to understandings of belonging in Ireland.

The final part of the chapter considers the extent to which these second-generation returnees are either homecomers and/or immigrants and are allowed to be included in the Irish 'we' (Lentin 2002; Ní Laoire 2008a) with specific reference to their accents. For the Irish in England, accent has been key to distinguishing them from the host population with the result that, at various times, Irish people have felt their difference through their audibility (Walter 2008b). Accent is also an important distinguishing feature for the second-generation. In England, the English/local accents of the second-generation have contributed to a lack of recognition of their Irishness and

assumptions of assimilation (for a similar example in the Polish context see Górny and Osipoviéc 2006.) At the same time, in Ireland or with Irish people in England, their accents have, at times, been used to confirm their outsider status (Mac an Ghaill and Haywood 2003; Walter 2008b; Scully 2009). For the participants of this study, accent was consistently discussed with reference to their sense of acceptance and belonging. The comments therefore illustrate how the returning second-generation further problematise what Ní Laoire describes as "hegemonic and monocultural constructs of Irishness" (2008a, 36) and contribute to understanding how the Irish 'we' is defined and recognised.

BETWEEN HOMECOMING AND HOMESTEADING: THE EXPERIENCE OF 'RE-EMPLACEMENT'

In terms of the diasporic journey, return migration is often assumed to be the ultimate, if rarely achieved, goal (King and Christou 2010; see also Anwar 1979). In the case of second-generation return, it is the end of a migration event which began with the parental generation. Thus the adult child carries out the "intention to return" (Conway, Potter, and Phillips 2005, 7) of the parent. However, since this is not return migration in the strict sense of migrants returning to their place of birth (or origin), this is not, logically speaking, a homecoming; it is not the "fact of return to the same place", as described by E. S. Casey (2009, 290), and which can only be attained by the first generation. Nevertheless, as King and Christou point out, for many second-generation returnees, "it is very much a real, ontological return to the land of their ancestors" (2010, 168) and, in this case, their parents, and it is also a place to which many returned 'home' on holidays, as described in Chapter Five. Therefore, for many, homecoming is an appropriate term. In this study, although not all of the participants explicitly stated that they were coming home, for some, there was still a sense that moving to Ireland, even if not to the specific place of parental origin, was a return to a place of connection and a place in which events unfolded which were to facilitate their eventual migration. In general, being

in Ireland was more important than return to a particular home place, although re-connection with particular counties featured in some accounts.

At the other end of the re-emplacement continuum E. S. Casey states that "in homesteading, I journey to a new place that will become my future home-place" (2009, 290). This is a place in which "one seeks to attain an ongoing co-habitancy with one's new home-place and its denizens" (*ibid*, 291). As well as referring to their established knowledge of Ireland, many participants also described new encounters with Irish ways of being and the contributions they felt they had made or were making to their local areas and to Ireland generally. Although many of the comments indicate a sense of coming home, rather than seeking a lost Ireland or a return to the past, they evidence the fact that "return is not so much about recapturing an idealized past as it is about forging the future" (McHugh 2000, 77). Building on established knowledge of place and a sense of how things are done here, many responses detail the way in which participants are 'forging the future' with this place, be it a specific place of parental origin or Ireland more generally.

The recollections which follow are organised along this continuum from homecoming to homesteading. They illustrate the range of reported second-generation return experiences with some comments evidencing an experience of both homecoming and homesteading. They begin with a homecoming which is explained in terms of a natural, inevitable attachment to place, to the soil of Ireland and a return experience which prompted highly emotional responses. They continue with comments about learning more about Ireland, living with Irish ways of being and with contributions made to specific places.

In terms of an essential connection to place, Chris (Interview 23), who moved from London to Galway, describes the emotion he experienced on his arrival in Ireland: "I remember when I drove off the ferry at Rosslare, with all my belongings loaded in my car, I was crying with tears of joy. I felt for the first time in my life I belonged. I was home". Although Chris

went on to find that he perhaps did not belong as much as he had assumed (when he had difficulty applying for social welfare payments it was suggested to him that he go 'home' to England), at this particular moment his belief that this was the place in which he belonged evoked a powerful emotional response. Adam (Interview 15) described a similar sense of belonging to Ireland as a form of embodiment: "For me it has been a discovery of my roots, basically, my parents came from here, my blood, my cells, everything, so that blood connection with the land is strong in me… It's like I'm coming home, there's something about this place". For Adam therefore, the fact of his family's engagement with Ireland in the past, on the land from which (his father's family) had 'evolved' (and he specifically referred to Co. Cork) had created a belief in an innate connection between him and the country generally. Like many of the participants, Adam referred to Ireland, Co. Cork and specific places in Cork interchangeably in terms of feeling connected to place and being home.

James (Interview 18), who's story I discussed in detail in Chapter Five, also referred to his connection to the land of his ancestors. He described his sense of attachment to place in north Kerry:

> Driving here today I drove past a cemetery where there's four or five of my relatives buried. I drove past where my grandfather was born and where all my family are from, so when I look at this landscape I know my position in it. Whereas in England you look across a landscape, what does it mean to me? Nothing to do with me at all.

For James there is less of a sense of a blood connection, instead it is the evidence of his family's relationship with this specific area over time which has created a belief that he belongs in this place and has 'anchored' his identity there (Buckley 1997, referred to in Chapter Five). North Kerry is given meaning for him through his family's embeddedness with the local area and through this he felt that this was also his place in a way that England never was or could be. In a similar way, Christou and King identify 'rootedness' in the soil of home as significant in narratives of second-generation returnees to Greece. One participant refers to being "emotionally

and physically connected to the land" and through touching the soil near his grandfather's grave he could affirm his sense of belonging in Greece (Christou and King 2006, 823). Belief in belonging to the land or the soil of home as it is imagined on a range of scales is therefore a powerful trope in the process of second-generation re-emplacement.

There was also a belief in the importance of reconnecting children with a perceived place of origin and although being in Ireland was important returning to a particular county was also significant. This was not expressed explicitly in the sense of being closer to the present day culture or language of the country as, for example, in Gray's work with Irish women in London for whom an Irish education was deemed important for their children (Gray 2000b; see also Ní Laoire 2007). Instead, as for Chris and Adam above, there was the need to ensure the family 'genes' were reconnected with the land in which they had originally been nurtured. Mike (Interview 26) stated:

> There hasn't been a [family name] born in Galway since my father's family, I suppose it's over 70 years, so my son is the first [family name] son born in Galway in 70 odd years and I feel that is... It really makes me a proud Galway man and my wife says don't forget the other grandparents [Dublin and Cork] but for me [son's name] will only ever be a Galway man in my eyes.

As a child, Mike spent his summer holidays in his mother's homeplace in Co. Mayo during which time the family made a one day trip to the graves of his paternal grandparents in Co. Galway, as well as visiting Knock Shrine. Galway was not a place where Mike engaged in the haptic and sensory experiences described in Chapter Five. Nevertheless, his comment here suggests a belief in the importance of the family connection with Galway being continued through his son. It is also significant that he has two daughters and his wife is also second-generation Irish but it is the male line which is privileged here.

A similar belief came through in Kevin's commentary (Interview 28). In the following extract from his interview he describes some of his considerations when deciding to move from London to Limerick:

> …also I thought if I have a child, [son's name] wasn't born then, it would be nice that the blood's brought back, that was the idea. My brother in England, his offspring are going to be English they'll get mixed in so will my two sisters', but my son will be Irish…

Like Mike above, Kevin then went on to indicate the importance of not just being in Ireland but also the specific county of origin (see Scully 2013 on the significance of county loyalty) in which, again, reconnection is through the male line.

> Interviewer: …and also that it's Limerick, where your father was from, does that matter?
>
> Kevin: Yeah, I think it does, so my son is a Limerick man.

If, as King and Christou (2010) argue, the act of return migration closes the rupture of migration and unmakes diaspora, the evidence here is that it is the second-generation returnee who facilitates this. The term 'rupture' refers to the way that migration causes "disruption" (Edensor 2002, 21) between person and place therefore it is through return migration that 'healing' is possible. In this research, it is the second-generation returnees who are the conduit through which this healing takes place in terms of family migration. Later in this chapter I discuss the fact that, for the individuals concerned, this is not always a straightforward sense of closure and also that healing or closure, in the sense of erasing the effects of migration, is not necessarily the only option.

As well as describing a homecoming as providing a sense of personal fulfilment, many participants also described how they felt they had contributed to life in Ireland. Mark (Interview 19) first describes his belief that going 'home' to Ireland was what he needed. Although he did not refer to a specific crisis in his life, he felt that this would be a place in which he could settle and be at ease: "To cut a long story short, and despite moments

of turning my back against Ireland, I knew that I would know no peace until I found a way of going home". Home for him was his mother's home area in west Kerry a place he first visited when, "I travelled by myself, at the age of 16, to Dingle. The summer I spent there transformed my life. It was like going home. The stories and photos of my youth became vivid, multicoloured, moved from being silent movies to talkies". In this he illustrates Soja's concept of thirdspace (1996) as discussed in Chapter One. The physical reality of being in west Kerry (firstspace) combined with his engagement with the place as imagined in his mother's stories (secondspace) created a sense, not just of being on holiday, but a deeper engagement with west Kerry which he had learned to think of as home. This is the "both/and also" (*ibid*, 5) experience of place as thirdspace. As a result he experienced a 'homecoming' in which, as E. S. Casey states, "I effect a series of special alliances: with those who still remain there; with those who were once there but are now dead or departed; with my own memories; with my current self; with the home-place" (2009, 291).

In addition to this belief in his need for homecoming, Mark also illustrates homesteading. Included in his decision to return was his intention, "to do so in a way that enabled me to give something and not just consume the place". Using his work related skills he felt that he had contributed to challenging unsustainable planning applications in his, particularly scenic, part of the country. In addition, he believed that his presence, along with that of other second-generation returnees, made a more intangible but important contribution to Irish life:

> It is also in a sense, to a certain extent... we're coming back, confronting Ireland with the history it would like to forget, which is migration; 'I'm here to remind you that you couldn't keep my mother, you couldn't create conditions that would keep her, you couldn't keep my father'.

Moving to Ireland, for Mark therefore, included a consciousness of a reciprocal relationship that, despite the loss of his parents to England, he can

bring something positive to the future of this place from his 'outsider' status; a status he admitted he quite liked having.

In the following example Rob (Interview 11) also expresses his relationship with Ireland in romantic terms and describes how, through working here, he has been able to reassess his perspective on the country. Rob had worked as a social worker in London. When asked about how the reality of living and working in Ireland compared with his expectations, he stated:

> [Through work he had learned more about] the systems of government and health and that's when I started to take a really close interest in what was happening here in terms of suicide. I remember thinking I've had a love affair with this country all my life and I've had a dream that I would come and live here, but clearly there are very large numbers of people who are so unhappy that they are prepared to destroy themselves. What's that about? It was when I started to look very closely at the whole issue of suicide and it brought me to the very heart of Ireland and the big picture, not through rose tinted glasses.

Like Mark above (before moving to live in Ireland), Rob admits to having an idealized view of the country but one about which he is interested in learning more. Instead of feeling disappointed or angry about the reality he found, he appeared committed to contributing to life in Ireland using skills he acquired in England:

> A colleague of mine in Mayo was just saying to me that the HSE [Health Service Executive] would be advertising for a new Board and I will apply because I was very much involved in effecting an influence in culture change in the public sector in Britain. I've managed to instil those kinds of values in lots of my colleagues [in Ireland].

E. S. Casey states that co-habitancy is with a known place and a past remembered in that place, as well as a past *of that place* in the present" (2009, 291 italics in the original). For Rob his 'dream' of moving 'home' was based on idyllic memories of his past in Ireland, while his growing

awareness of rising suicide figures was linked to the bigger picture of Ireland's past in the present. For Rob therefore, in homecoming, as E. S. Casey states, "I return to a place which I can be said to know for the first time, even though in fact I have been there before and still retain intact memories of my earlier experiences there" (2009, 293 italics in the original).

This sense of 'knowing' a place for the first time, as a resident instead of a visitor, was also expressed in comments about how things are done differently in Ireland. Patricia (Interview 6) moved to Dublin and then to Cork City where, having grown up near Birmingham and being told, "to consider [herself] of fine Irish stock", she soon found out, "that I wasn't Irish at all. I hadn't got a clue how to do GAA scores, didn't know bands, I didn't know what life was like in Ireland at all and it was a big city as well so it was different [from childhood holidays]". In contrast to the comments earlier about connecting with Ireland on the basis of a genetic or blood line, or a familial engagement with the land, Patricia's experience is much more practical and immediate. She illustrates Edensor's point that "the nation is experienced and understood through popular culture" (2002, vi). Realising, for example, that she could not follow the scoring system of a game of Gaelic football or hurling led her to question the extent to which she had come home. Despite having grown-up being told she was Irish, her lack of ease with popular culture heightened her reflexive awareness of place and her belonging in Ireland. For Patricia her efforts to know the place suggest that for her, "homesteading is in effect a homecoming, a coming home to the habitualities of the place and the habitudes of its history" (E. S. Casey 2009, 295). Having become fluent in Irish in the first few years after her migration, she now lives and works through Irish and has brought up her children as native speakers of the language. She visits her family in England regularly and finds that, "In general I feel more at home in Ireland than England. When we go to England it's like a foreign country now, lots of things have changed".

In terms of contributing to and learning about Ireland, a number of participants described their engagement in their local areas. Dermot

(Interview 4), for example, while growing up in London, had played with his church soccer team which wore the Glasgow Celtic colours. And as an adult he had been a member of the London Branch of the Republic of Ireland Soccer Supporter's Club. He described his contribution to his local area as follows:

> We're living in east Galway and it's more a hurling area, they'd never heard of anything else, and I notice since people have moved in, [from] other parts of Ireland and second-generation, Gaelic football and soccer have come in. I'm a coach in [place name] for the U10s' soccer and [wife's name] is a coach for the athletics club, U11. So we've put ourselves about when we came over we didn't just stay indoors so we met quite a few people.

Daniel (Interview 7) also describes his contribution to his local area in a similar way: "[Wife's name] got involved in Foróige and camogie (a variant of the game of hurling, played by women). I got involved in Community Games". However, despite his sense of contributing to his local area, Daniel evidences perhaps a conflict of the "habitualities of place" (E. S. Casey 2009, 295). He found it frustrating that: "We'd say eight o'clock and people would still be coming in at ten past", an attitude to time keeping to which Daniel and his wife had yet to adapt. (For similar frustrations regarding return migrants and time keeping see J. Phillips and Potter 2009; Teerling 2010; Jain 2011).

In the following example, Tom (Interview 10) suggests a sense of homecoming, stating that while growing up in Slough: "If you ever talked about coming home it was always to Ireland". However, more significant were the comments he made about his efforts to fit in and be accepted locally according to his sense of the 'rules of the game' in this particular social field. In this way he evidences his efforts "to inhabit a place in terms of the habitat and habitus" and the way that Tom "re-inhabit[s] it by living there on pre-established terms" (E. S. Casey 2009, 295). Having moved to Connemara with his [second-generation] partner, the place of origin of her father, he describes his sense of how best to fit in with his local, rural

community. He does this by comparing his attitude with that of another newcomer to the area:

> There was another English couple but with no Irish connections, they moved back after us and they were going to move here permanently. They moved back, she fitted in great, he couldn't. Silly thing, when I was working on my house and I could go inside and make myself a cup of tea and a sandwich but I don't, I go down the pub, have a cup of tea and a sandwich and have the *craic* with whoever's in there. This Phil wouldn't do it. He'd say, 'what do you do that for? Why do you waste money having a sandwich down there?' I said, 'Phil, it's not that, you go down the pub and you might meet someone, you get away from the job, meet people and mix with people and next time you see him you know him or you might be looking for something and he knows a man...

In this Tom illustrates his awareness of his potential isolation as a newcomer to a rural community where everybody knows each other and looks out for each other. He also has a good sense of what to do to earn his acceptance. For Tom, the money spent on the tea and sandwich is an investment in his own social capital locally, with the anticipated result that when he needs help or information, it will be there for him. In addition, in terms of establishing himself locally as an independent builder, he may be remembered and offered employment.

Peter (Interview 20) was the least 'typical' of the participants in terms of his Irishness, as well as the most explicit 'homesteader'. Although he grew up in London with parents from Cork, he did not actively seek to move 'home' to Ireland; his was a quality of life migration to an affordable coastal idyll. Nevertheless, he responded to my request for participants through the *Mayo News*. In the late 1990s, Peter and his (Irish) wife bought an abandoned school on the Co. Mayo coast which they renovated to turn into their home. The school was the typical two classroom construction of many Irish, rural schools and had been abandoned in 1970. He stated:

> I guarantee you, 100 per cent, if we hadn't taken that building on it wouldn't be there now. It's by the beach so it would've been demolished and there'd be a holiday home there. So we saved a bit of Irish heritage, which I'm kind of proud we did.

Following the renovation they hosted a reunion for past pupils of the school, after which time he felt that they had been accepted locally. He felt that, "the school reunion was the catalyst to acceptance, up to that point you had to tred lightly". Peter therefore contributed to the local area by ensuring that the school was not demolished but remained part of the physical landscape, while through the reunion he contributed socially and in this way felt he 'earned' his acceptance.

The comments illustrate a range of experiences and behaviours which accompany what appears to be the end of the journey for this group of returning migrants. For E. S. Casey, home is "a place in which you can move about with ease and familiarity" (2009, 300), although many of the comments suggest that this is not always straightforward. Later in the chapter I consider the extent to which participants reported experiencing this sense of ease in place in more detail by exploring their feelings of belonging since their return.

ONGOING TRANSNATIONAL LIVES

As well as the evidence for homecoming and/or homesteading activities, the participants also referred to their continuing links with England and thus their ongoing transnational lives. Having grown up in a transnational social field which spanned England and Ireland, it is unsurprising that behaviours endure which maintain connections across borders, albeit in a changed form, and the comments evidence the fact that, for many, a "transnational consciousness" (Burrell 2003, 323; Vertovec 1999) continues to exist.

As discussed in Chapter One, much of the recent research into return migration has focused on the homecoming aspect of return and the way in

which returnees reconnect with the country of origin (Ralph 2014). There is little consideration given to the likelihood that "returnees will continue to maintain and nurture transnational orientations long after their initial homecoming" (*ibid*, 478) despite the fact that, particulary for the second-generation, the desire to return is often explained as an aspect of the ways of being and belonging experienced in the transnational social fields in which they grew up (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Conway and Potter 2009; Wessendorf 2013). For many of these migrants, transnational practices contribute to the homecoming/homesteading process as individuals renegotiate belonging in a new place (De Bree, Davids, and De Haas 2010; Reynolds 2011). Maintaining transnational connections, to a certain extent, also reduces the risks associated with voluntary migration and keeps the idea alive that "re-return" (Conway and Potter 2009, 1) remains an option. For the participants of this study there was evidence for this, partly due to the geographical proximity of Ireland and England. For a number of people their initial migration was made on a temporary basis with expectations of return to England. In addition, some continued to work in England after the family had moved although they subsequently found employment in Ireland. Therefore, while regular visits helped enable migration the back and forth movement did not necessarily end after migration, as the dominant homecoming narrative might imply. "Re-implacement" is not necessarily "conclusive and stable" as E. S. Casey suggests (2009, 291) and migration may therefore be accompanied by mobility (McHugh 2000).

The accounts evidence an ongoing emotional connection with people in England illustrating, as Reynolds found in the context of the Caribbean, that "'left-behind' kin operate as social resources and support second-generation return" (2011, 536). Many people had parents, siblings, nieces and nephews and friends with whom they were in regular contact and whom they visited. Catherine (Interview 5) described daily phone calls with her sisters in Manchester and, at the time of interview, Kevin (Interview 28) was considering returning to live with his mother in London on a temporary basis in order to work. Fiona (Interview 9), who's account of growing up in

London was given at the end of Chapter Four, described regular visits to school friends.

As well as a physical proximity to England, the fact of a shared language and the many cultural similarities between the two countries means that a 'transnational consciousness' is somewhat inevitable in Ireland. The media often report on events in Britain and British television channels and newspapers are widely accessible. Therefore many people in Ireland live within the sphere of influence of Britain, whether or not they have ever visited or have other connections there. Many of the participants referred to the practical nature of their connections with England and the way in which, due to the ease of travel and communications across the borders, they still accessed what seemed, for some, 'the best of both worlds'. Catherine (Interview 5), for example, described herself as an 'NHS tourist' and Anne (Interview 21), who still had property in England, described going to the theatre and visiting the same hairdresser in London. Mark (Interview 19), who still worked in England, admitted that, despite the complications of his journey, he quite liked having a reason to return regularly.

In terms of an engagement with place, many people referred to the fact that the places in which they had grown-up in England were now unrecognisable and, as was the case for their 'homecoming' in Ireland, there was the sense of knowing the place "for the first time" (E. S. Casey 2009, 293). In contrast to their recollections about the perceived unchanging nature of rural Ireland experienced during childhood holidays, many of their own places of childhood were now vastly different. Having, on the whole, grown up in England's inner cities, it was the case that those areas which were remembered as 'Irish' were now more likely to be occupied by other ethnic groups, as was the case, for example, with Tottenham in north-west London (Mike, Interview 26). Alternatively, some inner-city areas were now gentrified beyond recognition, such as Clapham in south-west London (Mary, Interview 29). This helped reinforce a sense of their new locations in Ireland as home, although, as I discuss later in the chapter, this did not necessarily affirm a sense of belonging.

Despite the changes in these childhood home places there were comments about the need to connect the Irish-born next generation with particular places in England; places which had featured in the childhoods of the second-generation participants. Jackie (Interview 3), for example, stated: "I had this thing, I wanted my children to go to the Science Museum and to do the things that I used to do and see where I lived so that was really important and we've done that now and I've got that out of my system" suggesting that, for her, this was a step in distancing herself or saying goodbye to her own childhood home. Steve also described a visit in which he took his children to the urban area in which he had grown up. He recalled that he had, "had a great time growing up there" but found that he could see his children "looking at the place going, why would you want to live here?" This was in contrast to Steve's own descriptions of idyllic summers in his mother's homeplace which were discussed in Chapter Five.

After migrating to Ireland, subsequent return visits to England also prompted feelings of "disruption" (Edensor 2002, 21) and heightened reflexive awareness of difference; this further supports the evidence that these individuals were in the process of adapting to the "habitualities of place" (E. S. Casey 2009, 295) in Ireland by adjusting the dispositions of their habitus. While some expressed a "reverse nostalgia" (Wessendorf 2010, 376) for England and aspects of life there, often as a result of a feeling of not belonging in Ireland, a number of people commented on how different they found life in England in contrast to what they had got used to in Ireland. James (Interview 18) felt that his return visits were very much *visits*, as opposed to nostalgic returns to places of his childhood. He stated: "as the years have gone by, I go back to England now and I can't wait to get out of the place" suggesting a gradual detachment from and a weakening of transnational ties. Geraldine (Interview 13), admitted that she likes to see her home city of Bristol on television (it is the setting for a number of BBC dramas). Following her most recent visit she stated that, "I felt a connection there", indicating an emotional link to the city but also that, "I found it very busy, very fast, very changed in a lot of ways". Jackie (Interview 2), who

now lives in a village in Co. Offaly also illustrates an experience of 'disruption' to the habitus and a detachment from place through behaviour: "I remember going on the Tube (London's underground transport system) at Christmas and it was packed and this lady got on going to work and she got out her make-up bag and did her full make up on the Tube and I just thought this is bizarre *and I used to think this was normal*" (emphasis added). Having adapted, to a certain extent, to life in rural Co. Offaly, Jackie is able to reflect on what she might not have noticed previously and therefore taken-for-granted and in this she further illustrates the significant link between habitus and place (E. S. Casey 2001).

In the process of homecoming and/or homesteading, the return migrants of this study support Ralph's findings that "just as transnational identifications are an important aspect of immigrant life in immigrant receiving societies, so too are they in the lives of return migrants" (2014, 490). In the next section I discuss the experience of belonging in Ireland and further illustrate the way that, for some of the participants, "keeping, and even strengthening, transnational connections is an adaptive response to feelings of exclusion and non-belonging in the post-return context" (*ibid*, 491).

NEGOTIATING BELONGING: THE ROLE OF INTERSUBJECTIVITY AND EMOTION IN ADJUSTING THE HABITUS

For many of the participants, their descriptions of life in Ireland since their migration included reference to their sense of belonging, or not, in their new places of residence. This was not something they were specifically questioned about but which emerged from their comments and reflections. Implicit in the act of return migration is the goal of homecoming and focusing on belonging highlights the emotional aspects of the idea of home (V. May 2011); it allows for the fact that home may be "sentimentalized as a space of belonging" (Ahmed 1999, 341) while avoiding the specifics of home as the 'house where I live'. Belonging also avoids the fixity implied by an identity label (Probyn 1996). As discussed in Chapter Two, there is no

identity label which can be universally applied to the second-generation Irish in England. The participants offered a range of identity descriptors; however this was rarely straightforward with one person, admitting that after living in Ireland for 13 years his choice of calling himself 'London-Irish' seemed redundant. Investigating the experience of belonging (or not) therefore allows for the fact that, regardless of a chosen identity descriptor and a place to live, an individual's feelings of ease in place are remade with every social interaction and that the nature of such interactions changes over time.

In this section I explore what Antonsich (2010, 645) describes as "the mundane, banal claim 'I belong here'" as reported by these second-generation returnees. For Probyn (1996), belonging is experienced through social interaction and created and recreated in everyday encounters; therefore it is while taking part in Edensor's "mundane details of social interaction" (2002, 17) that an individual feels their belongingness, or not. The fact that these social interactions are shaped by the wider socio-political structures at work in a place means that exploring an individual's experience of place-belongingness also sheds light on the politics of belonging in that particular place thus connecting the individual to the politics of a place at a specific time (V. May 2013).

While the process of re-emplacement described previously requires the adjustment of the dispositions of habitus in order to achieve ease in place, a focus on belonging also helps to clarify just how habitus does adjust in relation to place. E. S. Casey refers to "the gradual re-acquisition of the right habits, the sedimentation of the appropriate habitudes [and] the growth of effective habituations" (2009, 297) but gives little detail on how, through the everyday behaviours of homecoming and/or homesteading, a changed set of dispositions evolve which are appropriate to the site of re-emplacement. He also prioritises the relationship with *the land* or the "geo- and bio-history of the place" (*ibid*, 295). Although some of the participants describe their return as an important way of ensuring the continuance of a family connection to a particular county, thus evidencing their belief in

belonging to a place, the comments more generally show how the social and political history of a place, in this case Ireland, are also highly significant in enabling belonging and the ease associated with being 'at home'. Building on the work of Bottero (2010) and Murphy (2011) as discussed in Chapter One, May argues that "habitus is not merely embodied but emotional" (2013, 91). Since "people experience their social positions and intersubjective ties as drenched with emotion" (V. May 2011, 369), belonging draws attention to the significance of intersubjectivity to the habitus which operates through the networks in which we are all accountable (Bottero 2010).

In some cases, the feeling with which people spoke about both their childhood memories and their experiences since moving to Ireland was difficult to capture either on the recording or in text. It was an emotive feature of some of the interviews which was perhaps enhanced by my insider position as a second-generation returnee and recorded later in my field notes. Despite being apparently settled and successful, a number of participants gave poignant descriptions of their sense of loss or that something was missing, although what that was, was difficult to pin down. Many evidence the fact, therefore, that it is possible to be embedded in a place while still not feeling completely at ease (V. May 2013) and that migration has an emotional impact long after the event (Louise Ryan 2008). This suggests that the sense of belonging and ease in place which is sought in homecoming and/or homesteading is not inevitable. For some, therefore, although they were in the process of homecoming and/or homesteading, they retained a reflexive awareness of the extent to which they belonged in Ireland and this, I would argue, is a disposition of the second-generation Irish habitus. Having grown-up in the circumstances described in Chapter Two, during which time being Irish, publicly, was something to keep quiet about, the possession of a heightened awareness of what belonging (or not) feels like was a taken-for-granted aspect of second-generation life. It also further illustrates the role of the second-generation who, despite their personal sense of loss or displacement, enable future belongings for their

children, although the extent to which this is a 'success' is not yet possible to assess fully.

'I Belong Here'

For a number of people, their belief in the fact that 'I belong here' was often accompanied by an acceptance of the inevitable lack of understanding from others. Thus they illustrate the way in which the "politics of belonging" (Antonsich 2010, 645) shapes everyday intersubjective relations which enable feelings of "place-belongingness" and the "personal, intimate feeling of being 'at home'" (*ibid*, 646). In this first example, James (Interview 18) describes his belief that Ireland is the place he is 'meant' to be and that this is a link between him and the physical place: "primarily an emotional bond with the country which is indefinable. I don't know how to explain it but it's a very strong emotional thing". By returning during what he described as, "a pivotal point of change and crisis" in his life, he was sure that this place would look after him because of this emotional bond: "[I was] convinced that somehow if I returned to Ireland for good, that somehow I would be 'looked after', certainly not by the State, nor the people, but by the place itself which I had always felt I truly 'belonged' to".

Despite the strength of his belief that 'I belong here', his experience has been shaped by discourses of exclusion which fail to recognise his connection to Ireland and which he has accepted as a fact of being here:

> My own sense of identity has at times been challenged by a very small minority of people in Ireland who insist on identifying me as 'English' despite me never having had that conception of myself before. However most people once I have patiently, (and believe me sometimes patience is required), explained my strong family connections to Ireland seem to accept me as Irish.

Employing patience and accepting that he must explain himself are therefore dispositions which he has had to develop in order for his belief in his innate bond with Ireland to complement his everyday social interactions in place.

Anne (Interview 21) also indicates an acceptance that her claims to be Irish are not always understood, despite her own sense of herself as an Irish person: “I have always perceived myself as Irish. Both my parents were Irish, Dad from Donegal, Mum from Mayo. The church in Birmingham where they were married, St Francis’s, served a mainly Irish community. The schools I attended were full of children like me”. Since her move she has found that “it grates when I am described as English, it’s an innocent mistake, not meant to be offensive, but I have always perceived myself as Irish”; however, she did not take it personally or let it make her feel unwelcome. Like James, above, she seems to accept that she will be assumed to be English and has adjusted her response in what she feels is the appropriate way.

Anne also illustrates an emotional bond with the country which was shaped by growing up in an Irish environment in England. Her move to Ireland was prompted by the death of her Irish parents in Birmingham; the house she grew up in was importantly an Irish home and with their death this link to Ireland was gone. The loss of this home changed her feelings about living in England and led her to seek a home in Ireland. This illustrates the way “our sense of who and what we are is continually (re)shaped by how we *feel”* (Davidson and Milligan 2004, 524 italics in the original). Moving to Ireland was one way of reconnecting with some elements of Irishness she had acquired from her parents, she stated: “Many people have asked me why I moved here? The biggest single reason was the death of my mother: my home in England was my parents’ home, my Irish home. With Mum’s passing a year after Dad’s, Britain just wasn’t home any more”. While living in England, the loss of her parents (and a sister) had limited her career prospects due to the time she committed to caring for them and she felt that at work she had become a “second class citizen”. In Ireland however it was a relief to find an employer who “understood that family trumped every time”. In this way the dispositions of her habitus, acquired in her Irish family in England, operated to make her feel ‘relief’ and therefore ‘at ease’

in opposition to the stressful work situation she had found herself in previously, thus confirming her feelings of belongingness.

Unsettled Belongings

In the following examples, the experience of being at the intersections of place-belongingness and the politics of belonging led the participants to conclude that they do not belong in Ireland. In the first example, Fiona (Interview 9) moved from inner London to the house in which her father grew up in rural Co. Clare. At the end of Chapter Four, Fiona's description of growing up in an Irish community in London evidences the development of her habitus and her sense of connection to Ireland. However, her comments about life since her move suggest disappointment, confusion and a sense of loss. She described a feeling of displacement and therefore a sense of not belonging due to the way the identity she grew up ascribing herself contradicts the identity she is now ascribed by others: "I almost feel like I'm a displaced person if you like because when you were a child growing up you were always Irish, you always considered yourself to be Irish and since I've arrived here everyone considers me to be English". And she illustrated this further with the following comment in which it is in her everyday social interactions that she is reminded of her difference: "...and even friends, you know when they were playing the rugby in Croke Park for the first time there were a few comments made. So they would see me as English even though my 'pedigree' [is Irish]". Her experience of belonging to the nation is felt at the level of the everyday in her local area where the national identity she grew up with is no longer recognised since she is now considered to be English, an identity assigned to her based on her London accent. Unlike James and Anne above, however, instead of adjusting her habitus and accepting this as a habituality of place, it contributes to her feelings of not belonging.

In addition, she found it hard to 'fit' with the dispositions of the rural area to which she had moved and this may, in part, be due to having grown up in a large city: "One of the hardest things I find about living in [village name] is how everyone is related to everyone and it's almost like 'I can't say

anything because she's married to [vague relation]' so I feel that they just don't want to be seen to be upsetting people because everyone is related". Despite moving to her father's homeplace she does not have an extended family locally and therefore is not 'held' in this place by the networks of family loyalty in which she feels other people are connected. The feeling of not belonging has implications for the way she describes her identity and her connection to place: "In England I would've said, without hesitation, I'm Irish, now I would say I'm English" and as a result, "I must admit and I look to my future and I think I don't want to live here. I don't want to be here when I'm retired, I don't want to spend the rest of my days here". Despite this, the practicalities of moving back to England were also a concern which, in a similar way to James above, indicated her belief in the importance of her family connection to the land which they had farmed for generations and therefore the need for loyalty to the place:

> Realistically if we did move back we would have to sell. We wouldn't have the money to buy somewhere in England and still have this place. I don't know what I would do. My great-grandfather first bought the land and the house we live in my grandfather built. How could you sell it? It really is a tough decision. To be honest that just adds to my feelings of desperation here.

In this second example, Amy (Interview 17) illustrates the feeling of "longing to belong" identified by Wessendorf (2013, 133) in the context of Swiss-Italian return migration. Although she did not describe her move to Ireland as returning 'home' she talked about a relationship with this country as something she was entitled to: "I do remember feeling like I wanted to be from the same place as my Mum and Dad. I didn't like the fact that I was born in England and I did sort of feel like there was somewhere else that was really home. It meant I sort of had a right to live here, that I should feel at home here". Like many of the participants, Amy suggests that the search for a home and belonging in Ireland is a result of the migrant disposition that 'home is elsewhere' combined with a sense of not belonging in the host country.

Now living in a town in Co. Galway, Amy admitted that in her everyday interactions, “I just find it so hard, I don’t know why, I just feel it’s so hard to explain who I am to those people”, indicating a sense of loneliness and isolation in this place in which she thought that she “should feel at home”. Rather than experiencing difference as a result of how others see her, for Amy, it was the other way around, “I think I see myself as different to them, so different to them and I find it really hard to relate to them”. Her inability to explain herself to those around her left her feeling that, if she was without financial and family commitments in Ireland and free to choose where she lived she “would go to London, I would go home” a return to where her Irish parents and three siblings still live.

At the intersection of the personal feeling of place belonging and the wider fact of the politics of belonging, these examples illustrate an experience of displacement and detachment which is felt in everyday encounters. Both participants left the interviews and returned to their homes, their work and their families, to the worlds in which they are “embedded” (V. May 2011, 370). Their comments indicate that despite this, the fact of living in a place and being part of its routines, even a place which is perceived as a place of origin does not necessarily guarantee a feeling of belonging.

As well as this feeling of not belonging in the places they were living in Ireland, a number of people identified times when they felt isolated as a result of being the only ‘English’ person in their family. Frank (Interview 14), for example, illustrated this through some of the vocabulary which he used in contrast to his Irish wife and (London-born) Irish children: “I’d say plasticine, they’d say *márla*” (the Irish word for plasticine). John (Interview 1) felt that his father was closer to his grandson, John’s Irish-born son than to John, his own Manchester-born son. Although he did not give a specific example it was a sense that they were united in their Irishness and it was this from which John felt slightly excluded.

Mary (Interview 29) also referred to being the only ‘English’ person in her family and as a result felt that her family just did not ‘get’ her feelings of

loss and isolation. She described the attributes of an apparently happy life; she had a good job which she enjoyed, a nice house and a happy family life. Her mother had also returned and their story suggests the closure of the 'rupture' of migration and a subsequent ease at being re-emplaced. Despite this, Mary's comments indicated a lack of ease in place. She acknowledged that in growing up in London she had been able to access educational opportunities and career advancement which would not have been available in Ireland at the time and she was grateful for how this had shaped her. She kept up to date with life in Britain through British newspapers and internet radio and this helped her keep a sense of her 'London-ness'. The fact of her mother's return to Ireland meant that she had lost a physical link with London, her childhood home was gone and she had little reason to visit. As a result she felt that her teenage daughter had little understanding of Mary's childhood and early adulthood in London whereas Mary had regularly spent time in the childhood homes of her own parents. There was, in a sense, a 'missing link' in the chain of place connection. Although Mary had grown up in a transnational social field which connected her life in London with places and people in Ireland her daughter had not. She therefore had a limited understanding of the influence of London in Mary's life and the extent to which she felt the loss of her connection there.

Reflexive Belongings

For this final group there is evidence of living an acceptance of the mis-match between their identity labels and the multiple places to which they feel attached. It is a more positive scenario with indications of more fluid attachments to people and places. Belonging and not belonging are not necessarily the positive versus negative opposites of each other since, as Probyn (1996) argues, in the experience of not belonging new options are created. Sean's (Interview 2) account below illustrates this possibility of multiple belongings and the way he has adapted to the realities of his identity-place experiences. He grew up in Leeds but always with a sense that he belonged elsewhere and that England was not home:

> The idea of moving to Ireland was constantly there growing up, my parents often spoke of it, not sure how much of it I was supposed to be

> hearing but I picked up the vibe that it was always a possibility. It likely was a contributing factor in the overall feeling that England wasn't really home or that something was amiss there.

As for Anne, referred to above, the sense that home was elsewhere became a disposition of his habitus while growing up in Leeds and perhaps this contributed to the ease with which he continues to feel that home is elsewhere. He stated that; "I wouldn't call myself a Mayo man or a Galway man even though I live here", indicating like James and Anne in the first section that he has accepted that he does not fully belong locally. Having lived in Ireland since 1998, he still felt that Leeds was home and suggests a sense of transnational belonging: "I love going back to Leeds, nearly as much as I used to love going to Ireland for the school holidays. As much as I'm at home here in Ireland and the people are all fine and everything, the only time I think I'm properly 'at home' is when I'm in Leeds having a pint in the company of Leeds-Irish people". In this he recognises his "community of identity" (Antonsich 2010, 653) and describes the "mundane details of social interaction" (Edensor 2002, 17) in which his belongingness is affirmed; it is not just the place but the activity of having a pint and the social environment with other Leeds-Irish people that shapes his feelings of belonging with this group. Sean also stated that he did not vocalise directly his claim to be Irish; like James, Amy and Fiona quoted above, he had learned that, generally, his claim would be misunderstood, thus illustrating the power relations which prevent him from outwardly 'choosing' Irishness:

> I don't claim it, not verbally anyway, the reality is, it seems to be something that gets projected on to you not something you get to choose. I always introduce myself as from Leeds/Yorkshire, play the North of England badge for a while (which is mine to wear after all if I want!) then before too long the Irish catch on (and often just tell me in case I didn't know) that I'm not English at all.

Sean has learned the 'rules of the game' in which it is not acceptable to boast an Irish identity in an English accent (see Mac an Ghaill and Haywood 2003; Scully 2009; Walter 2008b; also Dooley 2004 discussed in Chapter

Two). Instead he knows that the 'game' is played by proving his cultural insiderness in other ways and allowing the identity to be assigned and thus be 'awarded' the right to belong. In this way Sean demonstrates the way in which he negotiates belonging through his habitus; he protects himself from rejection and the experience of not belonging by not outwardly claiming Irishness and in this way creates his own way of being second-generation Irish in Ireland.

Sharon (Interview 8) also described a feeling of not quite belonging in Ireland but saw this as a positive thing and described an acceptance of her status. When asked about whether or not she thought much about being London-Irish or her mixed 'English-Irishness' she stated: "It's part of my identity and I suppose I quite like it really". As a result she felt, "just slightly outside" although she did not clarify what it was she felt just slightly outside of. May (2011, 373) argues that "for many of us there exists a tension between wanting to be similar to and belong with others, and wanting to be unique and different from others" and Sharon's comments support this. She felt that her 'London + Ireland' life had shaped her in a unique way; it set her apart from most of the people she mixed with but this was a difference which did not limit her, supporting the point that straightforward belongings to place are not necessarily an ideal state. Like Sean, Sharon was aware that she did not have an automatic right to belong in Ireland as an Irish person stating: "You always feel like you have to prove it to people". In her Co. Galway village she found that, "many of my friends are girls who have been away and come back as opposed to always having been there", suggesting that she had found a sense of belonging through a community of returned migrants, the experience of migration being more important than the "identity marker" (Kiely *et al*. 2001, 36) of a particular place. Her comments also indicate that she had found a way to belong while maintaining her sense of herself as unique and different.

A similar experience was described by Jackie (Interview 3) who grew up in London and now lives near a small village in Co. Offaly; the village where her father grew up and to where her parents returned. Extracts from her

interview refer to many of the everyday activities she has been involved in and describe a comfortableness with her difference:

> Oh, I saw myself as different and I always will be. Even though I'm married in [village name] and I've had a role in the school and the hurling club, I still see myself that it's quite cliquey in the sense that people who went to school together stick together so the people I've become friends with would be people who've maybe moved away from [village name] and come back.

She found some of the traditions of rural Ireland unusual to her:

> In terms of deaths, the whole idea in the beginning of going to everybody's funeral even if you didn't know them used to be bizarre and [husband's name] used to say to me, 'no one is ever going to go to your funeral', he really believes you have to be there to be seen whereas I wouldn't have that view at all.

In contrast to Amy earlier, she has accepted that she is 'different' to other people locally and even jokes about her 'Englishness' within the family, stating: "They see me as English and they'll often make comments about 'the English one' and my husband as a joke would call me 'George' sometimes with my English ways. For these three returned migrants, therefore, there is an acceptance of not fully belonging in Ireland which is retained as an important aspect of their identities. They are embedded in worlds in which they know how and to what extent they wish to claim belonging without denying their place of birth and its influence on them.

INSIDERS OUTSIDE: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ACCENT TO BEING PART OF THE IRISH 'WE'

Despite a socialised sense of connection, via habitus, to Ireland and Irish ways of being and the efforts made to contribute to life in Ireland, being able to claim "I belong here" (Antonsich 2010, 645), for the second-generation returnees of this study, was frequently found to be dependent on the reception of their English accents. Although not identified specifically in

Edensor's (2002) work, accent and the use of language play a significant role in the everyday social encounters in which a sense of belonging is felt and affirmed (Probyn 1996). The findings support Ní Laoire's work with Irish born returning migrants who found that "belonging and being accepted as fully Irish is, to a large extent, a question of voice" (2008a, 44; see also Ralph 2014). In addition, their comments contribute to the process of "interrogating the Irish 'we'" (Lentin 2002, 228; Ní Laoire 2008a); considering the events and places where an English accent matters highlights who belongs, who counts as Irish and what constitute the boundaries of Irishness.

For Bourdieu (1977b), speaking is inevitably a social behaviour, the practice of which is acquired along with the range of embodied dispositions which collectively contribute to the habitus of an individual. The way in which language operates in the social field is a further example of the power relations which shape social interaction and is therefore closely related to class hierarchies (see K. Jones 2001 on the relationship between accent, social class and region in England). For most people, knowing what to say, when, and how to adjust for different audiences or in different spatial settings, is a result of a "practical sense" (Bourdieu 1990, 68) through which language use remains unquestioned. In addition, the concept of the "linguistic habitus" (Bourdieu 1977b, 658) and the value attributed to a particular way of speaking reflects the wider social and political history of a place in which language use is attributed a certain status. This is particularly evident in the case of the Irish in England for whom an Irish accent has, at times, been something to hide (Walter 2000, 2008) due to its association with assumptions of 'suspect behaviour' and is more recently ranked as a highly attractive attribute (Bishop, Coupland, and Garrett 2005). The changing status of a particular way of speaking, such as the possession of an Irish accent in England, illlustrates how the "discourses and practices of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion at play" therefore "condition one's sense of place-belongingness" (Antonsich 2010, 649) and how these discourses and practices can change over time. For the speaker, accent is also a difficult disposition to adjust. In the intersubjective negotiation of everyday

behaviour in which individuals constantly check each other and adjust their responses accordingly (Bottero 2010; Murphy 2011), accent, for most, remains as a stable disposition which is not easily changed. Responses to accent in everyday social interactions are, therefore, a useful measure of belonging and illustrate the "way the 'imagined nation' is discursively patrolled through accents" (Creese and Kambere 2003, 566).

For those born in England to Irish parents, the Irish accents of their parents were part of the backdrop of everyday life while, as discussed in Chapter Five, their own English accents may have been one of the first ways they felt their difference in Ireland during childhood holidays. The participants spoke with a range of English accents which included regional variations such as Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol and London/south east England. Although in some cases these were now mixed up with Irish accents, all could be identified as 'English' to a certain extent. For many there was a sense that their English accent was the most significant indicator of how they were perceived by others and a barrier to being fully accepted as Irish. This was summed up by Dermot (Interview 4) who stated: "but you could be dressed in green and your first and second name could be in Gaelic and people still only hear your accent". In a similar way Susan (Interview 22) also found that: "after living here for the past twenty years, no matter what, your accent makes you English". The way English is spoken in Ireland therefore acts as an important validation of nationality both in terms of how it is claimed and how the claims of others are received and assessed (in a similar way Kiely et al. 2001 note the significance of the way English is spoken in Scotland).

For some, their consciousness of sounding different made them feel they had to justify their presence in Ireland, as Sharon (Interview 8) explains:

> I may sound English but actually I'm the same as you and now I've been here for twelve years you don't feel like you need to make that point so much and you'd also think people were a bit suspicious of you in the beginning. I mean they weren't but that's how I felt. They were trying to explain things to you because you might not understand

> and I do, I know, I have an Irish Granny and I've been to Ireland on holidays.

In this, Sharon further illustrates the role of intersubjectivity in adjusting the habitus. During her initial time in Ireland she had a sense that people were 'suspicious' of her; however, with time she now accepts that perhaps she was 'reading' the social situation in the context of her own need to prove her right to be recognised as an Irish person in Ireland.

The importance of the accent in signifying what a 'real' Irish person is and the fact that this had been internalised by the second-generation was illustrated in a number of comments (see also Walter 2008). John (Interview 1), who grew up in Manchester and now lives in Co. Sligo felt that it was a "dirty secret for some people too that they were born in England. I know guys born in England who came here before they started school" and therefore could, in a sense hide their 'foreignness' with their Irish accents. The comments of Dermot (Interview 4), who moved from north London to Co. Galway with his pre-school age children, suggest that Irish accents were essential to the children fitting in. He stated the following: "Two of them were born in London but no one's ever going to know as they've got Irish accents". Their place of birth, in a sense, can be 'disguised' by their Irish accents, as if this is a family secret to be covered up. Dermot again illustrates the role of the second-generation returnee as the conduit through which future generations can straightforwardly claim Irishness in ways that are not available to him; by his return his children can become Irish people without question. He also indicates that he has internalised the fact that his own London accent makes him one of the 'not quite Irish', a fact that he experienced directly in the following incident. In November 2009, Dermot went to his local pub to watch the Republic of Ireland soccer team play in a World Cup qualifier match against France. As a result of an incident of handball during the game, France qualified for the 2010 World Cup and Ireland did not. Dermot recalled the evening as follows:

> We were all in there watching it, all Irish lads, one or two of them actually born in London but came back here, got Irish accents, one of

> them said ‘Dermot, oh it doesn’t matter to you Dermot, you’re English’ and I said ‘you know my surname why am I sitting here watching an Ireland game? Don’t be talking to me...’, ‘oh I’m only joking’, so I was raging anyway.

He then went on to state, “but no they wouldn’t be malicious now, it would *just be craic*” (emphasis added) illustrating that these comments are often made as a joke which is also, to a certain extent, disempowering since it takes away the right to be angry or insulted.

Although not confronted with regular and repeated anti-Englishness, Dermot’s experience here describes his encounter with a boundary of the Irish ‘we’. At a crucial moment of emotion for the nation, in the form of the national soccer team, Dermot is excluded by the Irish people around him because of his English accent. A similar experience of exclusion was described by Kevin (Interview 28), also in terms of international sport, in a pub in Limerick:

> I remember being in the pub one time watching the Irish team play and [rugby player/landlord] was behind the bar and I remember saying to him, ‘oh we played really well there’ and he said to me ‘what do you mean, *we*?’ and I said, ‘well Ireland’ and he said, ‘what do you mean *we*?’ I never went there again.

It is also significant that the boundaries of the Irish ‘we’ are contested in specific spatial and social settings. None of the participants felt that their Englishness had limited them in terms of, for example, employment and one or two felt that their accent might have brought them some authority with reference to their employment, a possible legacy of colonial rule (see also Potter and Phillips [2006]; and Reynolds [2011] in the context of return to the Caribbean). However, in the social environment of the pub, at times of heightened national feeling, such as a sporting event, who is ‘inside’ or ‘outside’ the group takes on a new significance. In a similar (but non sport-related) social setting Geraldine (Interview 13) reported:

> I was in a pub and the group I was with was singing Irish songs that I knew and I joined in singing. Someone made a comment about me singing that I was a Brit or something like that, I made some comment and stood up for myself.

In a further example, David (Interview 16) illustrates the significance of specific places (outside of the pub) to affirming his outsiderness:

> I was a steward at Pearse Stadium [Galway's GAA ground] for two years. That was an odd experience, being crowd control at a completely Irish dominated thing, I got some real hassle, if I'd say 'you can't come through that gate' I'd get 'who the f*** are you telling me'.

In this situation David's English accent had no authority in such an Irish environment.

The experience of Dermot, above, who defended those who 'accused' him of being English with the explanation that it was just a joke, was a recurring experience of the participants, even within families (see also Potter [2005] on the teasing of returnees with English accents to Barbados). Catherine (Interview 5), who was from Manchester, described being very self-conscious about her "really thick Vera Duckworth accent [a well known former character from Manchester based soap opera *Coronation St.*]" and here describes her response to her family (in Ireland) calling her a 'Tan' (a nickname given to the 'Black and Tans' unit of the British Army who were brought in to Ireland in 1918 and remembered for their brutality). "They're just winding me up. They think it's funny and again that used to rise me. I'd be getting vexed and be 'feck off' and whatever". She also admitted that she is not as sensitive about this as she used to be, stating: "there's just this change in a couple of years, maybe it is maturity. Don't care, I just take it with a pinch of salt and not over react because they're just trying to wind me up anyway". In this, Catherine indicates how she has adjusted her response and learned to accept this as a 'way of being' for her family. Other people reported their Irish-born children mocking their accents, as Steve explained, "It's like, 'Daddy I'd like another pony'". Again, as referred to in Chapter

Four, Englishness is linked with middle-classness in opposition to being Irish and implicitly working class (see also Ó Briain 2009).

With reference to the way in which English is spoken in Ireland, Moore (2011, 230) refers to the heightened sense of the accents of English which link person to place and which are also frequently "deployed for comical effect". This he dates from the 17th century and the Irish joke-book tradition in which the Irish voice was reproduced in text for an English readership. Jokes based on the way someone speaks English are part of an Irish linguistic habitus in which all accents trigger association with a range of stereotypical traits and often further reinforce the 'banal county-ism' (Scully 2013) referred to in Chapter Two. Included in this are a particular set of attitudes to an English accent which is recognised as representative of former colonial rule and which, as comedian Dara Ó Briain (2009) points out, has left the English to feature as the 'pantomime villain' in contemporary Irish life. For a number of participants in this study their English accents prompted jokes about neither the Anglo-Irish former ruling class nor the pantomime villain. Instead, as referred to by Catherine, above, their accent triggered comments such as, "that's a fine Tan accent" (James, Interview 18) and Sean (Interview 2) stated: "On my good friend's phone I'm 'Tan Bastard'" adding, "but that was *just a joke*" (emphasis added). Aside from linking the second-generation Irish with one of the worst aspects of British engagement in Ireland, jokes about being English in any sense are particularly wounding for individuals who are unlikely to describe themselves as 'English' or to show any of the stereotypical traits, associated with 'the English'; for most, however, accepting that an English accent may be the source of a joke was acknowledged as somewhat inevitable.

Despite the responses provoked by their accents, no one described trying to change an accent in order to fit in. Many recalled the apparently unchanging Irish accents of their parents and felt that consciously changing an accent would be 'false' or 'inauthentic'. Catherine (Interview 5), for example, recalled referring to anyone with an Irish accent at her school in Manchester as a 'plastic' (see also Scully 2009). Alternatively, Fiona (Interview 9)

actively reinforced the English accents of her Irish-born children. Rather than being left abandoned by their home nation and outside the Irish 'we' as a result of their accent, many acknowledged that it was an important part of who they were. As discussed earlier, it is difficult to find an appropriate label for the second-generation Irish in England which accurately sums up their identity. Many acknowledged happy childhoods in England and positive experiences in education and employment and no one wanted to deny the English influences on their lives. For many therefore, accent was a way in which their Englishness could be retained and acknowledged. Amy explained:

> I'm conscious of wanting to keep my own [accent] because I think it is important to know who you are. It's important to be comfortable… I mean I don't think I can ever call myself Irish and I don't think I could ever call myself English because I'm just not either, I don't feel I'm Irish, I feel like I'm London-Irish and that's a unique experience and I think it's unique to the economics of the time, I don't know if people will be that again, it's a very specific time.

For a similar example in the case of return to Israel see Tannenbaum (2007, 169) who found that, "several participants maintained their second language accent upon returning to Israel, possibly reflecting a mixed or double identity, or a wish, not necessarily conscious, to emphasize their overseas experience".

In the range of research on second-generation return migration the importance of accent as an indicator of belonging makes this research somewhat unique. Where language features, it is typically with reference to second-language acquisition and accent is rarely mentioned. The experience of the participants of this study with reference to accents indicates that, as Kiely *et al* (2001, 36), found in Scotland, where a common language is spoken, accent is an important "identity marker" and shapes a sense of belonging in everyday interactions.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored the experience of return migration for the adult second-generation returnees of this study. Using E. S. Casey's (2009) concept of 're-emplacement' it details the homecoming and homesteading activities and experiences of these returning migrants and used these to highlight how the habitus evolves and how belonging is experienced in everyday interactions. Although this was a small sample of returnees, it is possible to identify different responses according to gender. Comments about a belief in belonging and the importance of re-connecting with the soil or the natural environment of Ireland (or a specific place) could be attributed to male respondents; Chris (Interview 23), Adam (Interview 15), James (Interview 18), Mike (Interview 26) and Kevin (Interview 28) all referred to these themes in their interviews. In contrast, Patricia (Interview 6), Fiona (Interview 9), Amy (Interview 17) and Jackie (Interview 3) highlighted more immediate and practical aspects of their experience such as a lack of knowledge of popular culture, being outside of local social networks, despite having family connections, and the unfamiliarity of rural, Irish funeral etiquette.

The accounts evidence the continuation of transnational activities and the fact that these inevitably change and evolve after migration but do not necessarily cease. They support Ralph's (2014) claim that transnationalism is an important aspect of the lives of return migrants. This is therefore an important consideration in future research with both first and second-generation returnees. With specific reference to Irish migration, the accounts also support Delaney's (2005) claim that the Irish migrants to post-war England exhibit historical transnationalism. Many of the informal social networks which, he argues, enabled migration from Ireland, endure into the next generation creating dispositions in which back and forth movement, physically and/or emotionally, continues as an aspect of the habitus of the Irish in England and their children.

With reference to the sense of belonging in place, the participants reveal

generally practical attitudes to their migration. Although recollections of childhood holidays elicited cherished memories for many, no one appeared to be sentimentalising or longing for the Ireland of the past; even as they struggled with belonging in some cases. There is evidence that the claim "I belong here" (Antonsich 2010, 645) is shaped by the wider discourses at work in Ireland and that this is felt in everyday social behaviour. The way the participants reflected on their own feelings of belonging (or not) illustrates how the dispositions of the individual, second-generation habitus can be re-shaped by the objective structures (Bourdieu 1990, 66) of a place. In some cases the participants appeared to have developed 'strategies' for belonging such as accepting that they would have to explain their claim to Irishness (James, Interview 18) or, wait for Irishness to be attributed to them through other behaviour (Sean, Interview 2). Accent can be recognised as one aspect of social behaviour through which belonging is affirmed (or not) in everyday social interaction. Although there is little existing research into accent and migrant experiences, it is a dispositional aspect of social behaviour which provides a measure of belonging in differing social and spatial settings.

CONCLUSION

This thesis was designed to contribute to better understandings of second-generation return migration by documenting the experience of the adult children returnees of Irish migrants to England in the post-war period (1940s-1960s). Second-generation return to the parental country of origin is an under-researched dimension of migration (King 2000). Recent studies relate to Greece (Christou 2003), Cyprus (Teerling 2010), the Caribbean (Reynolds 2011) and Italy (Wessendorf 2013). Irish second-generation return has been neglected, although having a potential contribution to make to the literature. The research follows a biographical approach from growing up in England, through contacts with Ireland, to migration and residence. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1990) concept of 'habitus', the thesis explores the practices in which Irish families engaged during their everyday lives and through which the next generation acquired a particular set of dispositions or behaviours. This lens provides further insights into the ways that the children of migrants grow up "in a context infused with homeland values and behaviours" (Levitt and Waters 2002, 22), revealing how they are "initiated into transnational practices and experiences" (Conway and Potter 2009, 4). These practices and experiences include regular holiday visits which further confirmed a belief in belonging in the parental home country as a result of an engagement with people and in place. In documenting the everyday lives of the returnees after their migration, the research further illustrates how they adjust dispositional behaviours in order to adapt to the demands of everyday life in a different place. Apart from following the life course as recounted by the respondents (Roberts 2002), biographical methods provide additional insights into feelings held about Ireland and places in it and the sense of belonging in relation to place. This was achieved by using written texts and in-depth interviews in which participants were able to describe their lives through particular events and the feelings which accompany them. Analysis was conducted using a grounded theory approach.

Despite the large numbers of people who emigrated from Ireland to England in the post-war period there is relatively little written about their experiences and much of this is recent work. Research by Gray (2000a),Walter (2001) Louise Ryan (2004), Delaney (2007) and Scully (2010) detail the first-generation of migrants in Britain while Gray (2011) has considered this emigration from the point of view of those who stayed in Ireland. The second-generation experience in England has been documented by Mac an Ghaill (2000), Hickman et al (2002), Campbell (2011) and Scully (2012) and further insight is available through fiction, memoir and personal accounts. This thesis adds to previous work with the first and second-generation Irish in England. In exploring this return movement, it contributes a new perspective on Irish migration to post-war England and its ongoing effects. In considering the Irishness of the second-generation, from childhood, the thesis recognises migration in its "situatedness within everyday life" (Halfacree and Boyle 1993, 334) and links the return of the second-generation with the emigration of the parental generation. It recognises the way in which migration shapes both everyday social practice through migrant "ways of being", while at the same time acknowledges the emotional aspects of migration which shape migrant "ways of belonging" (Glick Schiller 2004, 458).

With reference to recent immigration to Ireland, the research provides a particular perspective from those who are relatively invisible as migrants. Despite the large numbers of English-born immigrants in Ireland (approximately 203 000, Census 2016), they are rarely mentioned in discussions of immigration (Gilmartin 2013). Therefore, as well as contributing to knowledge about the impact of the emigration of the 1950s, this thesis also makes visible a recent migration stream which would otherwise remain unnoticed. It highlights many of the themes identified with reference to first-generation return which is often motivated by the desire for home and a sense of belonging but may also be accompanied by feelings of displacement (see for example Corcoran 2002; R. C. Jones 2003; Ní Laoire 2008a; Conlon 2009; Ralph 2009; Cawley and Galvin 2016). This research underlines the specificity of the second-generation experience in

which the search for home and belonging are complicated by the fact of being born elsewhere, thus heightening feelings of displacement at times.

REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

The thesis had three main aims. The first was to explore how a sense of belonging to Ireland was nurtured in the second-generation as a result of growing up with distinctively Irish expressions of family, cultural and social identity. The second aim was to identify how this sense of belonging and attachment to place may influence the migration of the second-generation to Ireland. The third aim of the work was to explore and identify how such 'returnees' experience life in Ireland.

The research began by focusing on how the participants acquired a sense of Irishness in childhood. They gave detail on "the habitual, unreflexive routines" (Edensor 2002, vi) in which they engaged regularly and which were shaped mainly by their Irish parents. This included witnessing and taking part in regular contact with 'home' in Ireland through letters, phone calls and newspapers, the fact of Irish food practices, attending Catholic schools and churches and the general experience of being socialised within a group of Irish family and neighbours. There is evidence for practices which involved "regular and sustained social contacts over time" (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999, 219) between England and Ireland thus illustrating the transnational activities of this migrant group. These practices were typically part of the backdrop of everyday lives in England and therefore illustrate a banal transnationalism (Billig 1995; Aksoy and Robins 2002; Burrell 2003).

As well as engaging in Irish worlds in England the participants commented on their observations of difference and the 'non-Irish' social fields in which they also interacted. There is therefore evidence that many developed a reflexive habitus (Sweetman 2003), a second-nature ability to employ appropriate, and perhaps contrasting, social behaviours depending on the setting which shaped a particular second-generation Irish way of being. One

significant feature for this second-generation group, is that they may have choice about where and when to employ particular dispositions, therefore maximising the options available to them depending on context. Their experience also contributes to a questioning of the assumed homogeneity of white Englishness (Hickman et al. 2005).

In keeping with research into the return migration of similar second-generation cohorts, holiday visits to the parental home country were formative in creating a sense of attachment to place and a belief in belonging (for examples see Christou 2006a; Wessendorf 2007; King, Christou, and Teerling 2011). This research found that holiday visits were part of the annual rhythm of family life in England and thus a "way of being" (Glick Schiller 2004, 458) in the childhoods of the participants. Ireland was given further meaning for these second-generation individuals through their physical and social engagement with place, and time spent with extended family and in specific places was remembered by many with a great deal of emotion. In this way, perceiving Ireland as home and developing a belief in belonging there became an aspect of the habitus of the second-generation. By taking part in regular holiday visits, as children, they were also active participants in the transnational social field in which they were socialised. This was a transnationalism which then continued into adulthood and contributed to their migration experiences.

The combination of childhoods in England and holiday visits to Ireland shaped an aspiration to return for the participants of this study. There was a curiosity about Ireland borne out of a belief that home may be elsewhere and a sense that England was not quite where they belonged; these were the 'seeds' of the migration idea (Halfacree and Boyle 1993). Although much of this return movement was enabled by Ireland's economic growth during the 'Celtic Tiger' years (mid-1990s-2008) and the subsequent availability of employment, many described their personal return journey as somewhat inevitable, given their lifelong relationship with Ireland, thus emphasising the strength of their belief in belonging. It is also notable that six of the participants had returned in the 1980s, a time of large-scale emigration from

Ireland and further confirming that economic factors were not the most significant influences for the individual migrants. The research therefore contributes to Halfacree's (2004) call to seek an understanding of migration which is "'beyond' the economic". This is in keeping with other research into second-generation return in which the emotional pull of the parental home country is prioritised over economic need (see for example Christou and King 2010). In the context of a lifelong aspiration to return, for many the move was prompted by a range of 'watershed moments' (Benson 2012) such as the death of a parent, relationship breakdown or unemployment, in which Ireland was seen as a place of escape or recovery. For those with young families, moving with the expectation of a better quality of life was important along with the sense of reconnecting the next generation with Ireland.

Following migration to Ireland, the experience of return reveals both the emotional and practical dimensions of return and ongoing transnational practices. For some of the returnees there is an inevitable sense of a 'homecoming' (E. S. Casey 2009) and an affirmation of their bond with place. Others describe their practical efforts to fit in to a new place in what E. S. Casey (*ibid*) refers to as 'homesteading'. For many, there is evidence of both homecoming and homesteading. Their descriptions indicate the extent to which they experience belonging in Ireland and how they may have adapted or adjusted to life here as well as how they have had to accept what they need to do in order to feel their return has been a positive experience. Just as the earlier part of the thesis reports on everyday lives of the second-generation in England, the accounts of the experience of return also illustrate the significance of Edensor's "mundane details of social interaction" (2002, 17). In this way they highlight the way in which belonging is experienced through social interaction and created and recreated in everyday encounters (Probyn 1996). The research found three experiences of 'belongingness' for these returnees. The first is the belief that this is undoubtedly the place that the person belongs, in spite of what others may think or say. The second is a sense of not belonging, a feeling of displacement. The third is a reflexive sense of belonging; an acceptance of

the benefits of a loosening of ties to place with evidence for maximising the benefits of dual belongings. Although experienced in everyday encounters, the findings also illustrate how belonging is shaped by the wider socio-historic factors at work in Ireland (V. May 2013). For this group, this was often to do with the way that Englishness is perceived as a negative attribute and often used to undermine the claims of a second-generation returnee, often through joking behaviour. For those with young families, the returning second-generation individual appears to act as a conduit to enabling the belonging in Ireland of the next generation. The reconnection of children and the continuation of a family line in place (either Ireland or locally) is enabled through the effort that the returning second-generation individual has to make to adapt and adjust.

CONTRIBUTION TO UNDERSTANDINGS OF RETURN MIGRATION

By drawing on Bourdieu's (1990) concepts of habitus and social field the research illustrates the explanatory value of these concepts in migration research. In seeking to understand migration as a cultural event situated in everyday life (Fielding 1992; Halfacree and Boyle 1993), Bourdieu's work provides an investigatory conceptual tool. It enables a focus on the individual migrant while also including the wider context within which the migration takes place. The multiple ways in which Irishness featured in the everyday lives of the second-generation helps explain how attachment to Ireland and Irish ways of being was a normal, unquestioned behaviour and therefore an aspect of the habitus. However, habitus is also the product of the wider context of an individual life. Considering the experiences of the second-generation in the context of growing up in England in the 1960s-1990s draws attention to the specifics of this particular period of time and the, often negative, attitudes which existed around being Irish in England (Sorohan 2012). These are the "objective structures" (Bourdieu 1990) which shape the "customs and norms" of a place and are embodied into "the internality of durable dispositions" (E. S. Casey 2001, 687), thus shaping an individual habitus.

This work therefore highlights the spatial dimension of habitus and supports E. S. Casey's (2001) argument that the habitus is always shaped and employed in the context of the specifics of a place. With reference to this study, this is illustrated with the 'heads down' attitude many of the Irish in England developed as a result of the climate of the time. This challenged feelings of belonging in England and also shaped the reflexive habitus of the second-generation. The reported experiences of return to Ireland also highlight the link between place and habitus. Descriptions of the way in which individuals had to adapt and adjust their behaviour after their return to Ireland, illustrate how internalised customs and norms which are dependent on one set of objective structures are challenged by external change. The way in which the customs and norms are "re-enacted" (E. S. Casey 2001, 686) under changed conditions, such as those following migration, further underlines the dependency of habitus on place, thus supporting the arguments of E. S. Casey (*ibid*) and Cresswell (2002) and adding to Bourdieu's theory.

Having employed the concepts of habitus and social field to understand second-generation return migration, this research also provides examples of how the habitus is shaped and evolves and therefore provides a more nuanced understanding of Bourdieu's work. Many of the recollections give specific detail on how an individual was coached into particular 'Irish' behaviours by their parents or the wider Irish community in which they were raised. These included taking part in a range of cultural activities and holiday visits which were associated with many positive memories. There is an emotional content to the recollections which illustrates the power of emotion in anchoring particular dispositions in an individual habitus. The evidence supports May's argument that habitus has an important emotional element which explains the durability of many of the associated attitudes and behaviours and that this is missing in Bourdieu's work (V. May 2013). It helps explain the power of a belief in belonging to Ireland which many of the second-generation acquired and how this endured, even as their actual experience of belonging was challenged following their migration.

The specific detail of individual accounts also contributes to understandings of how the habitus changes and evolves. Although Bourdieu describes habitus as dynamic and generative (2005, 46) critics have questioned how dispositional behaviours can change (Adams 2006). For Bourdieu habitus can adapt as a result of "crisis or sudden change" (cited in Hillier and Rooksby 2005, 401); however, there is also evidence for a more gradual change in behaviour as a result of interactions between social agents (Bottero 2010). The importance of these intersubjective relations is illustrated in this research in the way that, as children, the participants observed their difference in non-Irish social fields and adjusted their behaviour as appropriate. This was again significant after their return to Ireland when the dispositions of their life in England needed to be adjusted as a result of their move.

The participants grew up in a transnational social field created by the "regular and sustained social contacts over time" (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999, 219) between Ireland and England in which their families engaged. The research details some of these transnational activities and supports Delaney's (2005) argument that the emigration from Ireland of the parental generation took place within a transnational social space. Delaney adds weight to the argument that transnationalism is not a 'new' phenomenon (Foner 1997; Vertovec 2001) and the evidence from the second-generation participants of this research illustrates this further. Delaney details the way in which emigration was enabled by networks of connection across the two countries which "were centred on well-established conventions of reciprocity and co-operation that were a feature of Irish rural society" (Delaney 2007, 437). The practice of keeping in regular contact with home, along with maintaining social ties and obligations to neighbours and kin from home, continued during life in England and this shaped the everyday lives of the second-generation. The recollections given in this research provide concrete examples of the workings of this transnational social field from the perspective of the next generation and of the many ways that the lives of migrants and their children are lived across national borders both practically and emotionally.

Another contribution of the research relates to its illustration of ongoing transnationalism and the fact that return does not bring an end to mobility. In contrast to studies of second-generation return which focus on the experience of return and assume an end of mobility (for example Christou 2006a; Wessendorf 2013), this research supports Ralph's (2014) findings that transnational practices are likely to continue in some form, although this changes in relation to place. In the context of the second-generation in the US, Levitt and Waters (2002) state that this cohort is generally too young to enable researchers to predict the endurance of transnational behaviours, beyond the generation of initial migrants. However, the evidence from this study is that transnationalism does continue into the second-generation. For this group of returnees, their transnational activity may also be enabled by the geographical and cultural proximity of Ireland and England between which movement is, currently (in 2018), relatively easy.

The thesis adopted a transnational perspective with which to explore the specifics of lives connected across England and Ireland and in so doing highlighted the significance of everyday social practice in shaping a sense of belonging. There is evidence that many of these families also maintained connections with globally dispersed family members and existed in networks which may have spanned multiple countries and in which the idea of Ireland as home endured while everyday lives may have differed. There is scope, therefore, to explore second-generation lives through this more diasporic perspective which recognises the "transhistorical and transgenerational" aspects of migration and is more open to a consideration of the "*relationship"* which second and subsequent generations develop with home and host nations without necessarily living as "*members"* of both societies (Hickman 2012, 22, italics in the original). With reference to the emigrants and their children who have been the focus of this study, there is comparison to be made with those who migrated to the USA and to Australia and how their children, who may be the cousins of the participants of this research, developed a sense of connection and belonging to Ireland. This is an area on which there is little research at present.

Throughout the thesis there are descriptions of feelings and emotions about growing up 'Irish' in England and then returning to Ireland which build a detailed picture of this experience. Research with second-generation return migrants can therefore make an important contribution to emotional geographies. There are happy memories of growing up in Irish families in England and, on the whole, positive experiences of education and employment in England. There are also descriptions of the anticipation and excitement of holidays in Ireland. These recollections also include a feeling, in some cases, that home was in Ireland and this was compounded by the sadness and loss felt at the end of a holiday. More generally many referred to a sense of displacement and difference in spite of their happy childhood environments. After their return, emotions and feelings also contribute to understanding the experience. There were descriptions of feeling excited, relief and ease at being 'home' and also descriptions of feeling different, displaced and uncomfortable at times. Anderson and Smith (2001, 9) argue that greater attention should be given to the fact that "social relations are lived through the emotions" and this is how an individual connects with and constructs their world (M. Smith et al. 2009). As a result, "our sense of who and what we are is continually (re)shaped by how we *feel"* (Davidson and Milligan 2004, 524). For these second-generation returnees their sense of 'who and what they are' evolved in relation to how they felt both in England and Ireland depending on the everyday social encounters which confirmed or denied their belonging.

AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH AND ENDNOTE

One of the most significant findings of this research has been the role of accent as a marker of identity and an enabler or a barrier to belonging in Ireland. It provides evidence of the way that "the 'imagined nation' is discursively patrolled through accents" (Creese and Kambere 2003, 566) in Ireland. The English accents of the participants of this study acted as an important signifier of their difference; therefore accepting that their accent defined them as 'foreign' or not fully Irish was one of the adjustments many had to make in order to adapt to life in Ireland. Research on language use

among immigrants tends to focus on the acquisition of the host country language and relatively little has been written about the significance of accent to migrant identity and belonging (for examples see K. Jones 2001; Creese and Kambere 2003; Tannenbaum 2007). In English speaking countries, accent and the lexicon of language are important signifiers of both social and spatial positioning (K. Jones 2001). They are recognised as dispositions of the habitus and a significant aspect of social practice (Bourdieu 1977b). Accent and language use are also a previously unacknowledged feature of the banal and the quotidian worlds in which Edensor (2002) argues national identity and belonging is shaped and affirmed. Further research into the reception of the variety of accents of English used by immigrants in Ireland would contribute to the evidence that this is an important signifier of, or barrier to, belonging.

Given that the children of the post-war migrants are now old enough to be parents and grandparents, further contribution could be made to the field of transnationalism by investigating the enduring links, if any, which the third-generation, in England, maintain with Ireland. Scope exists also to study how the children of the returned second-generation act in relation to their potential ongoing connections with England.

This research has highlighted the experience of a previously unacknowledged group of immigrants to Ireland, that of the second-generation from England. Having grown up in England and had regular contact with Ireland throughout their lives prior to migration they are somewhat unique as an immigrant group in Ireland. Many of the findings echo those of research with other second-generations in Europe for whom their belief in belonging in a perceived place of origin is challenged by the actual experience of return migration; the way in which the second-generation returnee act in response to this furthers understandings of the relationship between people and place. While the returnees of this research have much in common with second-generations in other contexts, there are also distinctive features of the Irish experience. This second-generation cohort grew up at a time when being Irish in England often had negative

connotations, which may have heightened feelings of not belonging in England and further reinforced the perception of Ireland as home. It is also the case that economic and social change in Ireland meant that this return movement was not a move to a more traditional, rural way of life, from which the first-generation left. Many of the material benefits which the parental generation sought in England (Delaney 2007) are now available in Ireland thus easing the migration experience.

This thesis contributes to the small, but growing, body of research which recognises the specificity of growing up second-generation Irish in England in the 1960-1990 time period. Given the normality of Irishness in the lives of this cohort, it is unsurprising and perhaps to be expected, that some would choose to return to Ireland, a decision to a large extent enabled by Ireland's recent economic growth. The transnational activities which featured in these second-generation lives are now broadly recognised as a feature of migrant communities. This has usefully enabled acknowledgement of return migration and second-generation return as an aspect of the connections which migrants sustain between host and home country. Research with different ethnic groups in different geographical contexts adds to better understanding and theorisation of this dimension of migration research. This research therefore enriches understanding of transnationalism in the specific context of the second-generation Irish from England.

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APPENDIX I:
SEEKING THE 'HIDDEN' SECOND-GENERATION RETURNEES IN THE 2016 CENSUS
(CENSUS OF IRELAND 2016)

Table E7054: Population Usually Resident and Present in the State by Birthplace

Birthplace England and Wales: 203 173

Table E7057: Population Usually Resident and Present in the State by Birthplace and Ethnic or Cultural Background

Birthplace 'England and Wales' + Ethnicity 'white Irish': 121 174

Table E7053: Population Usually Resident and Present in the State by Nationality and Birthplace

Birthplace 'England and Wales' +	Nationality 'Irish'	107 429
	'Irish-UK'	10 662
Total		118 091

Table E7032: Population Usually Resident and Present in the State by Nationality and Year of taking up Residence

Year of taking up residence	Irish Nationality	UK Nationality
Before 1951	934	172
1951 to 1960	1,506	384
1961 to 1970	6,893	1,876
1971 to 1980	16,691	5,049
1981 to 1990	12,322	5,319
1991 to 2000	40,223	19,638
2001 to 2006	40,000	17,908
2007 to 2011	19,751	10,545
2012 to 2016	15,321	12,411

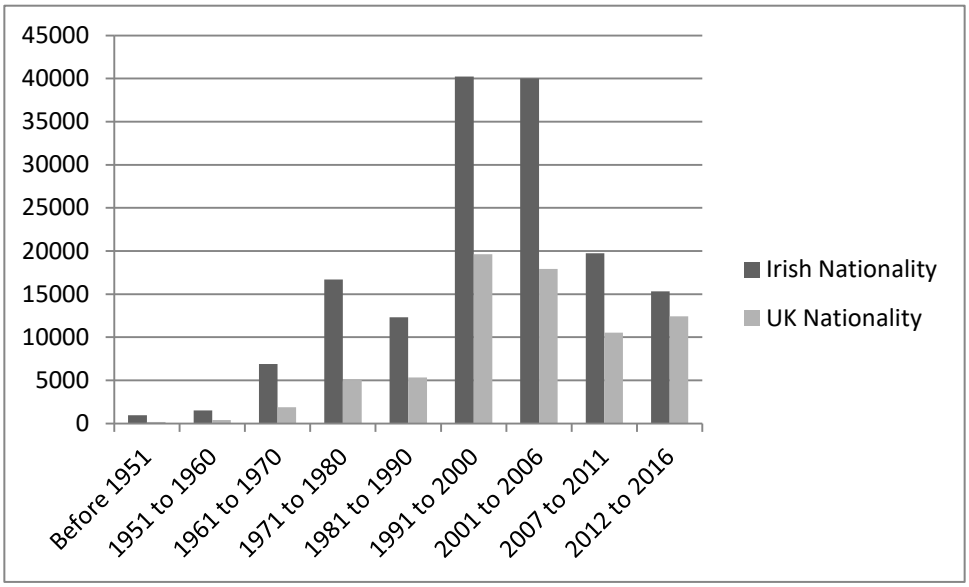

Figure 2: Population born outside the State by year of taking up residence and Irish or UK nationality

APPENDIX II

Email sent to *The Clare Champion* and published on the letters page, October 2010.

Dear Editor

I am carrying out research at NUI Galway and wonder if your readers could help. I am looking for people who are living in Co. Clare having grown up in Britain with Irish parents (as is my own story). I am interested in finding out about the experience of growing up in Britain, the decision to move and what life has been like since the move. For more information I can be contacted at the Centre for Irish Studies, NUI Galway or at s.hannafin2@nuigalway.ie.

Thank you

S Hannafin

Government of Ireland Research Scholar
Centre for Irish Studies, NUI Galway

If you wish to check my credentials my PhD supervisor, Dr Mary Cawley, can be contacted at NUI Galway on 091 492171 or, you can read a brief outline of this research project at http://www.nuigalway.ie/research/centre_irish_studies/research.html

APPENDIX III:

Advert placed on noticeboards of garages/small supermarkets.

OÉ Gaillimh
NUI Galway

Born in Britain to Irish Parents?

As part of a research project at NUI Galway I am looking to speak to people with Irish parents, who grew up in Britain and are now living in Ireland. If you would be happy to share your experience of life in Britain, your decision to move to Ireland and what life has been like since your move or, if you would like more information on the project, please contact:

s.hannafin2@nuigalway.ie

087 7xxxxxx

S Hannafin
Centre for Irish Studies

Martha Fox House

Distillery Road

NUI Galway

IRCHSS

APPENDIX IV:

Information sent out to potential participants in the research.

Seeking people born in Britain to Irish parent(s) who are now living in Ireland……..

I am a postgraduate student at NUI Galway currently researching the experiences of people who moved to Ireland as adults having grown up in Britain with Irish parent(s). I grew up in London with Irish parents and moved in 2004 so it is a project which is of personal interest to me. Although rarely documented, it is probably true to say that the children of the Irish abroad have been returning to live in Ireland for many years and I hope in this work I can raise awareness of this and do justice to some of our experiences.
Below I have outlined further detail on the project should you decide to take part.
If you have any additional questions please feel free to ask using the email, postal or phone details below.

Who am I looking for?
People who

- grew up in England, Scotland or Wales with at least one Irish parent;
- moved to Ireland as adults and
- have lived here for at least a year.
- Depending on the number of responses it may also be necessary to restrict those included by geographical area or age group.

At a later stage of the study I would also like to find people who, having lived in Ireland for at least a year, decided to return to Britain.

What do you need to do?

Stage 1: I am interested in hearing about what it was like for you to grow up in Britain with an Irish background, what made you decide to move to Ireland and what life has been like since your move.

Rather than me just having a long list of questions to ask you, first I would like you to write the story or account of how you came to be living here. This can be as short (a few sentences) or as long (50+ pages!) as you like. The purpose is to allow you time to think back over your decision to move to Ireland and to trigger your memories and reflections before we meet so do not worry too much about having a perfectly written piece; the ideas included are more important than perfect spellings.

If you would like more help or guidance with this, for example, how to get started or how to organise your thoughts on paper, please let me know. If you would prefer to record your story orally (e.g. on tape or as an mp3 file) please also let me know.

Send your story/account to me by email or post to the address below. Also include your name, age, contact details (postal and/or email address and a phone number), your place of birth in Britain and the place from which you moved.

Stage 2: Following this I will be in touch to arrange an informal meeting in which we will discuss your story further. This conversation will be recorded and is expected to take between one and two hours.

After the meeting the conversation will be typed and returned to you for checking. At this stage you will be able to edit, delete or add new comments should you wish to.

Over the next year I will be meeting up to between thirty and forty people and as new thoughts and ideas emerge I might need to contact you again (by phone or email) with supplementary questions.

What are the expected outcomes?

Information gathered will be used over the next two to three years to complete my PhD thesis and possibly be included in published articles or conference papers. The work will be looking for themes common to all or most of those interviewed so your whole story is not going to be reproduced in the thesis; instead only relevant quotes are used alongside quotes from others on relevant themes or key ideas.

Confidentiality:

In order to ensure anonymity names will be changed and only first names used (not your real name). Place names are only used generally so you may be referred to as 'moved from Birmingham now living in Co. Galway' in order to avoid naming specific suburbs or townlands where you might easily be identified.

Thank you for showing an interest in the project.

If you would like to be involved then I look forward to meeting you.

Sara

This is a three year project funded by the Irish Research Council for Humanities and Social Sciences which developed from an MA thesis on the same topic. If you wish to check my credentials my PhD supervisor, Dr Mary Cawley, can be contacted at NUI Galway on 091 492171 or, you can read a brief outline of this research project at http://www.nuigalway.ie/research/centre_irish_studies/research.html

APPENDIX V: Participant Profile (overleaf)

Notes:

1. All names were changed in order to provide anonymity to the participants. This prompted reflection on what were suitable pseudonyms for a second-generation individual of this time period. This raised my awareness of the significance of first name choices to identity, an area about which there is little research.
2. Both Tom (Interview 10) and David (Interview 16) returned to live in Ireland in the 1980s, re-returned to England and subsequently re-migrated to Ireland thus two dates are shown on the table.
3. The table shows marital and family status at time of migration. A number of participants married and started families subsequent to their migration.
4. The table shows those who had dependent children at the time of migration. In addition, Tom (Interview 10) had an adult daughter who had also returned to Ireland, independent of him. Also, James (Interview 18) was divorced and his children lived with their mother in England.
5. The majority of the participants were born in the 1960s however the overall range of birth years goes from 1953 (Interview 24) to 1979 (Interview 5). This is explained by the often large families in which the participants grew up or by families in which there is a large gap between the youngest child and its next sibling.

Interview	Pseudonym	County of residence	Parental place of origin: M/F	Place of birth	Year of birth
1	John	Sligo	Limerick/Sligo	Manchester	1979
2	Sean	Galway	Mayo/Galway	Leeds	1975
3	Jackie	Offaly	Offaly/Limerick	London	1976
4	Dermot	Galway	Monaghan/Laois	London	1963
5	Catherine	Galway	Galway/Roscommon	Manchester	1979
6	Patricia	Galway	Louth/Dublin	W. Midlands	1965
7	Daniel	Galway	Mayo/Mayo	Birmingham	1965
8	Sharon	Galway	Sligo/Kerry	London	1966
9	Fiona	Clare	Clare/Kilkenny	London	1960
10	Tom	Galway	Monaghan/Laois	Slough	1960
11	Martin	Galway	Leitrim/Donegal	Kent	1964
12	Patrick	Limerick	Wexford/Leitrim	Hertfordshire	1966
13	Geraldine	Galway	Sligo/2nd gen	Bristol	1971
14	Frank	Galway	Mayo/Wexford	London	1962
15	Adam	Cork	Cork/Longford	Yorkshire	1956
16	David	Galway	Galway/Scotland	London	1967
17	Amy	Galway	Clare/Clare	London	1968
18	James	Kerry	Kerry/Cork	London	1959
19	Mark	Kerry	Kerry/Dublin	Birmingham	1961
20	Peter	Mayo	Cork/Cork	London	1964
21	Anne	Galway	Mayo/Donegal	London	1965
22	Susan	Galway	Leitrim/Galway	Birmingham	1961
23	Chris	Leitrim	Leitrim/Sligo	London	1971
24	Andy	Galway	Monaghan/Cavan	London	1953
25	Steve	Galway	Cork/Britain	Southampton	1967
26	Mike	Galway	Mayo/Galway	London	1967
27	Tony	Limerick	Kilkenny/Galway	Manchester	1966
28	Kevin	Limerick	Kildare/Limerick	London	1959
29	Mary	Limerick	Cork/Clare	London	1962
30	Julie	Galway	Galway/Kerry	London	1956

Year of migration	Married/ Single	Children	Parental/ Sibling return	Occupation	Interview
1999	S	No	Yes/No	Construction worker	1
1996	S	No	Yes/Yes	Engineer	2
2000	S	No	Yes/No	Psychologist	3
2004	M	Yes	No/No	Painter/decorator	4
2007	M	No	No/No	Healthcare worker	5
1988	S	No	No/No	Teacher	6
1994	M	Yes	No/No	Telecoms engineer	7
1997	M	Yes	Yes/No	Homemaker	8
1995	M	Yes	Yes/No	School receptionist	9
1981/2002	M	No	No/No	Builder	10
2002	S	No	Yes/Yes	Social work	11
1991	S	No	No/No	University Lecturer	12
1997	S	No	Yes/Yes	Nurse educator	13
1988	M	Yes	Yes/Yes	University Lecturer	14
2004	S	No	No/No	Teacher	15
1988/1998	S	Yes	Yes/No	Social worker	16
1999	S	No	No/No	Teacher	17
1998	S	Yes	Yes/No	University lecturer	18
2002	M	Yes	No/No	University lecturer	19
2000	S	No	No/No	Engineer	20
2008	S	No	No/Yes	Hospital Consultant	21
1990	S	No	Yes/No	Nurse	22
2010	S	No	No/No	Unemployed	23
1995	M	Yes	No/No	IT manager	24
1990	S	No	No/No	Engineer	25
2004	M	Yes	Yes/Yes	Council worker	26
1998	S	No	No/No	Construction worker	27
1981	S	No	No/No	Carpenter	28
1996	S	Yes	Yes/No	Social worker	29
1985	S	Yes	Yes/Yes	Teacher	30

APPENDIX VI:

PUBLICATIONS ARISING FROM THE RESEARCH

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Place and belonging: The experience of return migration for the second generation Irish from Britain

Sara Hannafin

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Place, belonging and second generation return migration from Britain to Ireland

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Abstract: The enduring connections between the children of migrants and their parental homelands suggest that the parental home place/s frequently remain meaningful and significant to next generations. This paper aims to explore the concept of belonging in the context of second generation return migration. It is based on research with a small group of the children of the Irish in Britain who, as adults, chose to move to Ireland; a return to a perceived home. The term 'belonging' captures the desire for some sort of attachment (Probyn, 1996). In the case of second generation returnees it is the desire for an attachment to place, the feeling or expectation that 'I belong here' (Antonsich, 2010). A qualitative methodology was used in order to explore the relationship these migrants have with Ireland and places in it and the results show how three experiences of 'belongingness' emerged. The first is the belief, that this is undoubtedly the place that the person belongs, in spite of what others may think or say. The second is a sense of not belonging, a feeling of displacement. The third is a reflexive sense of belonging; an acceptance of the benefits of a loosening of ties to place with evidence for maximising the benefits of dual belongings.

Keywords: belonging, place, return migration, second generation Irish, Irish in Britain

Introduction

There is a growing literature on the links between the children of emigrants and their parental homelands; this includes transnational behaviours which maintain connections with place of origin (Levitt and Waters, 2002) as well as return migratory movements (Conway *et al.*, 2005; Christou, 2006; Teerling, 2011; Wessendorf, 2013). The enduring connections between the children of migrants and their parental homelands suggest that the parental home place/s frequently remain meaningful and significant to next generations. This challenges assumptions of
assimilation into the host society and also indicates a need to consider multiple motivations for migration.

This paper is based on research with a small group of people who were born in Britain to the Irish migrants of the 1950s and who have returned to live in Ireland as adults. The aim is to explore the sense of belonging in the context of this second generation return migration. Following Antonsich, the paper explores the sense of territorial belonging claimed in the statement 'I belong here' (2010, p. 645). For Antonsich, this includes the 'personal, intimate feeling of being "at home" in a place (place-belongingness)' (2010, p. 645) as well as the 'discourses and practices of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion at play' in the specific place in which belonging is claimed and which therefore 'condition one's sense of place-belongingness' (2010, p. 649); this can be summed up as the 'politics of belonging' (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 197).

In Ireland this is particularly relevant given the recent and rapid reversal of Ireland's migration pattern from one of emigration to immigration and the extent to which this has challenged Ireland's cosy image as a place of welcome. This is best summed up by Hickman (2007, p. 16):

> Despite a fostered reputation of being the country of 1,000 welcomes, immigrants have often faced a hostile reception in Ireland past and present. The 'Ireland of the welcomes' is not always apparent if you visit from Northern Ireland or if you visit from England, are of Irish descent and have an English accent. In both these instances an at best ambivalent, and often adverse response, can greet claims that a visitor might make about 'being Irish'.

Return to the parental homeland for the second generation Irish from Britain does not therefore guarantee a straightforward sense of 'I belong here' and it is this experience which this paper shall explore.

Place, Belonging and Migration

For most of us, place, and whether or not we belong in a particular place, is unthought of and taken for granted most of the time. Cresswell, for example, states that 'our consciousness of place all but disappears when it appears to be working well' (1996, p. 10) and Probyn suggests that 'if you have to think about belonging, perhaps you are already outside' (1996, p. 8). Edensor (2002) argues that for most people, most of the time, there exists a feeling of belonging to place which arises from an unreflexive sense of identity. An individual develops a sense of (national) place through an experience which is 'grounded in the everyday, in the mundane details of social interaction, habits, routines and practical knowledge' (2002, p. 17) and this feeling of belonging in place typically requires no effort, is unquestioned and unconscious. The claim 'I belong here', when it is stated, is therefore straightforward and uncontroversial for the individual and for those around him/her (see Skey, 2011, for an example in the context of English national identity). Implicit in this unreflexive sense of belonging is Bourdieu's concept of habitus; the ability to act appropriately, in a specific social field, without conscious or calculated effort (Bourdieu 1990). It is not suggested here that habitus *creates* an emotional attachment to place; rather it confers a sense of unreflexive identity which may convey an innate right to belong. May defines belonging as 'a sense of ease with oneself and one's surroundings' (2011, p. 368) and argues that this sense of ease is created through having learned the unwritten 'rules of the game' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 99). However, it is possible, as May (2011) goes on to argue, that people can live in a familiar world and operate within the particular habitus and yet still feel that they do not belong. Therefore, belonging requires more than just learning and employing a set of rules; it also includes the emotions people have about places and their desire or yearning 'for more than what is' (Probyn, 1996, p. 6). McCreanor *et al.*, state that, 'the experience of belonging can be the glue linking place and identity' (2006, p. 197). Exploring the nature of this 'glue', therefore, allows a richer understanding of the emotion people have about places and how this shapes and motivates behaviour.

Migration, a stepping out of place, challenges an individual's taken-for-granted sense of belonging and their unquestioned right to claim 'I belong here'. Employing the appropriate 'rules of the game' may now be less straightforward, thus reducing the feeling of ease and raising the reflexive awareness with which an individual operates in new surroundings. For the children of migrants this reflexive sense of belonging in place is heightened further. The combination of lives lived in one place while shaped by the dispositions of their migrant parents means that although second generations experience a society as insiders (Hickman, 2007, p.

21) they may also be aware of other choices available to them in terms of where they claim they belong, although these choices are rarely straightforward.

With specific reference to the second generation Irish in Britain, recent autobiographical writing usefully clarifies some of the issues of belonging and the related senses of displacement and hybridity for this group, who 'belong completely to neither one culture nor the other and are caught between their parents' heritage and their present context' (Greenslade, 1992, p. 220). Walsh, for example, in *The Falling Angels*, refers to 'the constant switchback of [his] relationship' with England and Ireland in a memoir which attempts to describe 'the condition of being between two cultures' (2000, p. 30). Casey also considers this in her novel, *Over the Water*, in which she reflects on her relationship with the two countries wondering which 'is my true home' and stating 'I do not know where I belong' (Casey cited in Arrowsmith, 2000, p. 35). Therefore, issues surrounding belonging are perhaps part of the second generation condition; a way of being which Arrowsmith argues is 'truly, genuinely inauthentic' (2000, p. 42) (see also Harte, 2003). For these writers, there is a search for the reassurance of belonging to *one* place and a sense of loss and confusion that they cannot confirm their belongingness in either England/Britain or Ireland. However, this unrequited search for belonging is not the only option for second generations. Bromley (2000) illustrates how, through the British-Asian character of Meena in Syal's semi-autobiographical novel, *Anita and Me*, it is possible for second

generations to successfully navigate the two worlds of their parental and natal culture and create their own relationship with place/s. As a result of the dual influences of her Asian family and her childhood in the British Midlands, Meena concludes that 'the place in which I belonged was wherever I stood and there was nothing stopping me simply moving forward and claiming each resting place as home' (Syal cited in Bromley, 2000, p. 148). Her British-Asian experience has, in a sense, empowered her to claim belonging wherever she should choose rather than limit herself to one, possibly idealised, place.

Research with the second generation Irish in Britain has identified a desire to claim a hybrid identity label (Mac an Ghaill and Haywood, 2003; Hickman et al., 2005; Walter, 2006) with the associated assumption of dual belongings. Hybrid labels such as London-Irish or Manchester-Irish, for example, 'acknowledge the duality of [second generation] placement' in a specific British city while also retaining 'an ongoing and acknowledged displacement' from Ireland (Walter, 2006, p. 20 italics in the original). Regardless of this desire to articulate a hybrid 'British-Irish' identity, it remains an identity charged with 'inauthenticity both from those pressuring them to be English and from those denying their Irish identifications' (Hickman et al., 2005, p. 177) based on their white skin and English accents (see Walter, 2008). As a result the second generation are often 'invisible' within the white majority in Britain (Hickman et al., 2005) and therefore, unlike Meena above, are disempowered, unable to fully belong in Britain or Ireland.

Despite the individual voices of the second generations quoted above, belonging is more than just an individual feeling, it is also about an understanding of who 'we' are (May 2013). The personal feeling of place belonging is frequently about 'who I belong with' which implicitly includes assumptions about 'who I do not belong with' or 'who does not belong with me'. Therefore, exploring belonging contributes to understanding how groups define themselves and the behaviours in which belongingness is challenged illuminate the edges or boundaries of the group. In the context of recent return to Ireland, Ní Laoire (2008) illustrates the dual and opposing positionings of Irish born returning migrants who are assumed to be simply homecomers to a society in which immigrants are always foreign and 'other'. Thus, the individual experience of return is shaped by the wider discourses

about migration which exist in Ireland at present. This results in a heightened sense of displacement for these returning migrants since there is no space to acknowledge their experiences during their time away and their possible need for readjustment. Ralph also notes that 'returnees often find themselves discursively positioned as "different", as outside mainstream Irish society' (2012, p. 446) and in his study of Irish returnees from the US, also found that while they did not 'stand out' like other migrant groups in Ireland, they nevertheless struggled with the day-to-day demands of fitting in as soon as they returned (see also Conlon, 2009).

For Probyn, (1996), belonging is experienced through social interaction and created and recreated in everyday encounters; therefore, it is while taking part in Edensor's 'mundane details of social interaction' (2002, p. 17) that an individual

feels their belongingness, or not. The fact that these social interactions are shaped by the wider socio-political structures at work in a place means that exploring an individual's experience of place-belongingness also sheds light on the politics of belonging in that particular place, thus connecting the individual to the politics of a place at a specific time (May 2013).

Therefore, this paper presents an experience of place-belongingness for these second generation return migrants, which is shaped by the politics of belonging in Ireland at the present time. The narratives indicate a range of feelings of belonging (or not) in Ireland and their stories help to explain what creates this 'glue' between place and identity.

Background to the study

Since the 1990s, Ireland has experienced positive net migration made up of Irish born returning migrants with, for the first time, increasing numbers of immigrants of other nationalities. Within this new flow of immigrants were the British born who compose Ireland's largest foreign born population of 230,157 in 2011 (CSO 2011). These figures include the children of the Irish in Britain who, although British born, may well describe themselves as Irish and perceive Ireland to be home. It is difficult to extract this second generation group from the statistics in order to quantify their presence; census data on Birthplace 'England and Wales' and Nationality 'Irish' inevitably includes large numbers of people who may have returned to Ireland during childhood, a return migration pattern which was particularly evident in the 1970s (Ní Laoire, 2004). This paper is based on research which, rather than proving the existence of second generation return through statistics, focused on the experience of that return in order to try to understand how people develop emotional attachments to particular places. Understanding return migration and particularly, second generation return, requires a consideration of decision making which includes the '"non-economic" issues that inform much migration behaviour' (Halfacree, 2004, p. 239). The emotion people have for particular places and the fact of the migration event as a culmination of past experiences combined with future aspirations means that migration is, as Fielding writes, 'a statement of an individual's world-view, and is, therefore, an extremely *cultural* event' (1992, p. 201). Thus, exploring the migrant's feelings of belonging to a particular place offers an explanation for the feeling that 'this is the place I want to be/am meant to be' in the absence of (or in addition to) economic factors.

In the 1950s, over 400,000 people left Ireland with the majority going to Britain (Delaney, 2007). This paper is based on the experiences of their children who have now 'returned' to Ireland. They are referred to as return migrants since, although they are not returning to their place of birth, Ireland is seen as a place of origin. During various interviews and without any prompting, participants referred to their migration as 'going back', 'going home' or 'returning' and defended their responses when questioned. In addition, they also, unreflexively, referred to their 'home' in Britain. This is a group of migrants who grew up in Britain in Irish families and communities at a time when claiming Irishness in Britain, 34

outside of the family, could be problematic (Hickman *et al.*, 2005). Typically, they attended Catholic schools, often took part in Irish cultural activities, such as traditional music and dance, and also made regular trips 'home' to Ireland during the school summer holidays. In this way, they acquired a familiarity with Irish 'ways of being' (Glick Schiller, 2004), the practices of daily life which shaped being Irish in Britain and differed from the host English/British population as well as from the Irish in Ireland. Many participants described their 'meat and two veg dinners', the Irish accents of their parents, the contact with home in Ireland through letters and newspapers, and social lives which revolved around the local Catholic church or Irish Centre. Through such practices, these children acquired a particular habitus; a set of dispositions (Bourdieu, 1990) which enabled them to act within their family and the Irish community without conscious or calculated effort and in this way they learned to 'fit' into this particular social field and gain a sense of belonging to the group. At the same time, while growing up in Britain they inevitably also learned to 'fit' in other non-Irish social fields, for example, at school, thus developing a particular second generation habitus which is flexible and exhibits a certain amount of reflexivity depending on context (Sweetman, 2003). One important aspect of the habitus of this second generation group was the idea that home was elsewhere; an idea confirmed by regular visits to this home where they gained a direct experience of (usually) rural Ireland and their family and communities there. This often led to what Buckley describes as 'an unshakeable sense of continued belonging to their native neighbourhoods in Ireland' which resulted in 'anchoring' their identities there (1997, pp. 111-112).

It is unsurprising therefore, given Ireland's changed economic circumstances since the 1990s, that (some of) the children of the Irish in Britain would seek to return. Having grown up with an ongoing connection to 'home' in Ireland, this could be seen as the place to which they inevitably felt they belonged. Many of those interviewed expressed a strong desire to be physically in place; in Ireland, the country and sometimes specifically in their parents' home places. For practical reasons, they may have chosen a location according to employment opportunities, for financial reasons or based on a partner's needs; what came across in interviews was the significance of Ireland as a perceived place of origin and connection. At the same time, as shall be shown, the social experience of emplacement has required them to justify their claims of 'I belong here' and challenged them to prove themselves to others and, at times, to themselves. Analysis of their narratives presents an experience of belonging which is therefore felt at the intersection of place-belongingness and the politics of belonging (Antonsich, 2010, p. 653).35

Research Methodology

Participants for the study were recruited through letters to four County newspapers (*The Clare Champion*, *The Mayo News*, *The Kerryman* and *The Limerick Leader*) and one free newspaper, *The Galway Advertiser*. Notices were also placed in small shops such as local convenience stores which are often attached to petrol stations; these were in the same counties as referred to above. There was one radio interview (Mid-West radio) and participants were also sought through a small number of personal contacts. The letters and notices were titled, 'Born in Britain to Irish parents?' and after contact was made, further information was sent out specifying that participants needed to have moved as adults, independent of their parents. It was also decided to focus on the cohort of people born in the 1960s who would loosely be the children of the 1950s emigrants from Ireland. Second generation returnees therefore opted-in to the study and volunteered their stories. Information was collected from thirty people. First, they were asked to 'write me something about how you have come to be living in Ireland'. This was followed up with in-depth interviews which took the general themes of growing up in Britain, the decision to move, and life in Ireland since the move. Using this qualitative methodology enabled an exploration around the question 'why did you move?' (Ní Laoire, 2000, p. 239). Personal stories illustrate the way in which belonging is felt in everyday encounters and recreated with each social event (Probyn, 1996, p. 13) and this methodology allowed participants to recall day-to-day events which shaped their sense of connection to Ireland as well as to explore the social encounters which have confirmed or denied their feelings of belonging in this place.

This paper draws from my PhD research on second generation return migration from Britain which addressed the experience of growing up 'Irish' in Britain and how a sense of connection to Ireland may have shaped migration decision making. It was motivated by my own experience of growing up in Britain in an Irish family and my choice to move to Ireland, as an adult, in 2004. My positioning as an 'insider' to the research meant that I could often relate to the emotions with which participants recalled past experiences and their feelings about place/s in Ireland. This included, for example, memories of the long journey by car/train and ferry from urban Britain to 'home' in Ireland or the feeling of being Irish in Britain and English in Ireland. This was useful in enabling me to explore some issues further, particularly when one person described her feelings that Ireland was home as 'intangible' or for those who talked of particular sensory memories such as the taste of red lemonade or the ubiquitous smell of turf smoke. My own memories, which were triggered during the process of data gathering, helped me to delve deeper, to question and explore the life events being recalled and in this way build a picture of the second generation return experience.

A summary table of the participants referred to in the following section is shown in Table 1.

Table A1. Background information on the participants referred to in this paper[1]

Pseudonym	Year of birth	Origin in Britain	Current location	Reason given for move
James	1960	Essex	Co. Kerry (town)	'At a pivotal point of change and crisis I remembered my childhood vow [to return]'.
Thomas	1960	Yorkshire	Co. Cork (town)	'Just maybe the Irish [branch] needs a bit of help, so I came over and started to talk to them about it and they said yeah come over, so I did and ended up here in Cork'.
Amy	1965	Birmingham	Co. Galway (village)	'The biggest single reason was the death of my mother: my home in Britain was my parents' home, my Irish home'.
Marion	1960	London	Co. Clare (rural area)	'Where we live now is like where he [husband] grew up... in Hampshire in a small village... he always loved Clare'.
Susan	1968	London	Co. Galway (town)	'I was on holiday here visiting a friend in Clare, he said: "Why don't you come and do that course you keep talking about?"'
Dermot	1970	Leeds	Co. Galway (town)	'[On return from Australia] It would be just easier to stay in the travelling frame of mind and hop over to Ireland for a trial... and that's what I did basically'.
Jackie	1966	London	Co. Galway (village)	'A job came up in Galway and we were "Oh my God, this is Ireland". It was very exciting'.
Fiona	1970	London	Co. Offaly (rural area)	'I came over to Ireland [for a year] to spend more time with my [returned] parents and to end a relationship'.

[1] **Note:** Stating a straightforward 'reason for move' oversimplifies many of these migratory movements. The physical and cultural proximity of Ireland and Britain means that the 'reason for moving' may not be the same as the 'reason for staying' since the possibility of return to Britain or repeated circulation is an option. In the case of Dermot, for example, his move was the non-committal 'just see what happens' of someone in his early 20s; during his 'trial' he met his future wife and decided to stay permanently. For Susan, although she moved to study for an MA, her choice of course and destination was shaped by her curiosity about the place she thought should be home and her decision to stay after her course had ended was an extension of this. She also had the security of knowing that she could easily return to London if she changed her mind.

The findings

Analysis of the interviews identified three different experiences of belonging for the participants after their migration to Ireland. The first is a feeling that 'I belong here' although this feeling of belonging to place of origin had to allow for a lack of understanding for these claims by others at times. The next two participants illustrate a feeling of 'I don't belong here'. Despite growing up with a strong sense of being Irish in Britain, their return to Ireland as adults, and their experiences in the everyday have left them questioning their reasons for being here and whether or not their futures will be in Ireland. The final group indicate a reflexive sense of belonging. Their comments are similar to those of British-Asian, Meena, referred to earlier, in the sense of maximising their connections to multiple places.

'I belong here'

For some participants the feeling of 'I belong here' was without doubt. They felt that they had come 'home' in the sense that this was the place they were 'meant' to be. At the same time this feeling was inevitably shaped by the specific 'discourses and practices of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion' (Antonsich, 2010, p. 649) that operate in Ireland around newcomers and particularly for those who speak with English accents and yet claim an Irish identity. For this first group, their belief in the fact of 'I belong here' was usually with an acceptance of the inevitable lack of understanding from others. However, their emotional connection could override this. In this first example, James illustrates his belief that Ireland is the place he is 'meant' to be and that this is a link between him and the physical place; 'primarily an emotional bond with the country which is indefinable. I don't know how to explain it but it's a very strong emotional thing'. By returning during what he described as, 'a pivotal point of change and crisis' in his life, he was sure that this place would look after him because of this emotional bond (I was) 'convinced that somehow if I returned to Ireland for good, that somehow I would be "looked after", certainly not by the State, nor the people, but by the place itself which I had always felt I truly "belonged" to'. Although describing a link with the physical place in a spiritual sense, it is his family's embeddedness in the local area which gives this place meaning for him. As a result, he felt that this was also his place in a way that England never was or could be:

> Driving here today I drove past the [name] graveyard, there's four or five of my relatives buried there. Last night I took my partner's mother and sister to visit [name] Church, seven or eight of my relatives in there. On the way here I drove past where my grandfather was born and where all my family are from, so when I look at this landscape I know my position in it, it doesn't matter if other people don't know about it. Whereas in England you look across the landscape, what does it mean to me? Nothing to do with me at all.

Despite the strength of his belief that 'I belong here', his experience has been shaped by discourses of exclusion which fail to recognise his connection to this place and which he has accepted as a fact of being here:

> My own sense of identity has at times been challenged by a very small minority of people in Ireland who insist on identifying me as 'English' despite me never having had that conception of myself before. However most people once I have patiently, (and believe me sometimes patience is required), explained my strong family connections to Ireland seem to accept me as Irish.

Another example of belonging to the physical place was given by Thomas who grew up in rural Yorkshire and now lives in Co. Cork. He described his childhood as follows: '...the Irish home was music and singing and boozing and the usual *craic*. I mean that's what it was there, they were a little enclave. My father was a drummer and a musician, he loved it. I was just a kid being brought up in an English environment with all Irish people around me'. Although he visited his mother's family in Ireland every summer, unusually, he did not describe this as a very positive experience. Instead he felt that, 'I was an "English Proddy", that's what the local kids used to call me so it wasn't a very good experience for me, put on the boat in Liverpool and sent over'. He grew up with a certain amount of confusion about his Irish identity and as he got older he rejected that identity in preference for an English one. During a visit to Ireland as a young adult his sense of attachment was recalled as, 'I just couldn't quite work it out, there was something there but I didn't know what it was, just I had Irish parents but I didn't have any connection any more; it was too long'. He explained this sense of 'cultural familiarity' as follows: 'my mother and father sowed seeds in me about Ireland, the fact that my father never spoke about Cork, it was the unknown of my life'. He felt that the circle is complete, that through a series of events the place had brought him back, and he explained this as, 'something about this land I was born from and all my ancestors were born from this island', as if the fact of his family's engagement with this place in the past had created a spiritual connection with him which is contained in the land. For Thomas, it was the habitus of his Irish childhood which stirred this sense of belonging in him as an adult. The place and how to 'be' in this place was familiar to him and this therefore created a sense of ease into which he could fit.

In this final example, Amy, like James, indicates an acceptance that her claims to be Irish are not always understood despite her own sense of herself as an Irish person: 'I have always perceived myself as Irish. Both my parents were Irish, Dad from Donegal, Mum from Mayo. The church in Birmingham where they were married, St Francis's, served a mainly Irish community. The schools I attended were full of children like me'. Since her move she found that 'it grates when I am described as English, it's an innocent mistake, not meant to be offensive, but I have always perceived myself as Irish'. However, she did not take it personally or let it make her feel unwelcome. For Amy, her move to Ireland was prompted

by the death of her Irish parents in Birmingham; significantly, the house she grew up in was an Irish home and with the death of her parents this link to Ireland was gone. Therefore, moving to Ireland was one way of reconnecting with some elements of Irishness she had acquired from her parents: 'Many people have asked me why I moved here? The biggest single reason was the death of my mother, my home in Britain was my parents' home, my Irish home. With Mum's passing a year after Dad's, England just wasn't home any more'. While living in England, the illness of her parents (and a sister) had limited her career prospects due to the time she committed to caring for them and she felt that at work she had become a 'second class citizen'. In Ireland, however, it was a relief to find an employer who 'understood that family trumped every time'. In this way the dispositions of her habitus, acquired in her Irish family in Britain, operated to make her feel 'relief' and therefore 'at ease' in opposition to the stressful work situation she had found herself in previously, thus confirming her feelings of belongingness.

'I don't belong here'

In the next two examples, the experience of being at the intersections of place-belongingness and the politics of belonging led the participants to conclude that they do not belong here in Ireland. In the first example, Marion moved from inner London to the house in which her father grew up in rural Co. Clare. She described a feeling of displacement due to the way the identity she grew up ascribing herself now contradicts the identity she is now ascribed by others: 'I almost feel like I'm a displaced person if you like because when you were a child growing up you were always Irish, you always considered yourself to be Irish and since I've arrived here everyone considers me to be English'. And she illustrated this further with the following comment: '...and even friends, you know when they were playing the rugby in Croke Park for the first time there were a few comments made. So they would see me as English even though my "pedigree" [is Irish]'. Her experience of belonging to the nation is felt at the level of the everyday in her local area where the national identity she grew up with is no longer recognised since she is now considered to be English, an identity assigned to her based on her London accent. In addition, she found it hard to 'fit' with the dispositions of this rural area which may in part be due to having grown up in a large city: 'One of the hardest things I find about living in [village name] is how everyone is related to everyone and it's almost like "I can't say anything because she's married to [vague relation]" so I feel that they just don't want to be seen to be upsetting people because everyone is related'. Despite moving to her father's homeplace she does not have an extended family locally and, therefore, is not 'held' in this place by the networks of family loyalty in which she feels other people are connected. The feeling of not belonging has implications for the way she describes her identity – 'in England I would've said, without hesitation, I'm Irish, now I would say I'm English' and as a result, 'I must admit and I look to my future and I think I don't want to live here. I don't want to be here when I'm retired, I don't want to spend the rest of my days here'. Despite this, the practicalities of moving back to England were also a concern

which indicated, as in the earlier examples, her belief in the importance of her family connection to this land:

> Realistically if we did move back we would have to sell. We wouldn't have the money to buy somewhere in England and still have this place. I don't know what I would do. My great-grandfather first bought the land and the house we live in my grandfather built. How could you sell it? It really is a tough decision. To be honest that just adds to my feelings of desperation here.

In this second example, Susan illustrates the feeling of 'longing to belong' identified by Wessendorf (2013, p. 133). Although she did not describe her move to Ireland as returning 'home' she talked about a relationship with this place as something she was entitled to: 'I do remember feeling like I wanted to be from the same place as my Mum and Dad. I didn't like the fact that I was born in England and I did sort of feel like there was somewhere else that was really home. It meant I sort of had a right to live here, that I should feel at home here'. She also describes a feeling of not belonging to Britain despite having been educated in the British school system and having worked there before her move: 'I also remember having a huge fascination with the place and that somehow Ireland's history was more relevant to me than England's. I could never relate to England's imperialism. It was like the British establishment and the English monarchy had absolutely nothing to do with me'. Now living in a town in Co. Galway she stated that, 'I just find it so hard, I don't know why, I just feel it's so hard to explain who I am to those people'. And rather than experiencing difference as a result of how others see her, for Susan, it was the other way around: 'I think I see myself as different to them, so different to them and I find it really hard to relate to them'. Her inability to explain herself to those around her left her feeling that, if she was without financial and family commitments in Ireland and free to choose where she lived, 'I think I would go to London, I would go home', a return to where her Irish parents and three siblings still live.

At the intersection of the personal feeling of place belonging and the wider fact of the politics of belonging, these examples illustrate an experience of displacement and detachment which is felt in everyday encounters. Both participants left the interviews and returned to their homes, their work and their families, to the worlds in which they are 'embedded' (May, 2011, p. 370). Their comments indicate that despite this, the fact of living in a place and being part of its routines, even a place which is perceived as a place of origin, does not necessarily guarantee a feeling of belonging.

Reflexive belongings

For this final group, there is evidence of living an acceptance of the mismatch between their identity labels and the multiple places to which they feel attached. It is a more positive scenario with indications of more fluid attachments to people and places. Belonging and not belonging are not necessarily the positive versus 41

negative opposites of each other since, as Probyn (1996) argues, in the experience of not belonging new options are created. Dermot's account below illustrates this possibility of multiple belongings and the way he has adapted to the realities of his identity-place experiences. He grew up in Leeds but always with a sense that he belonged elsewhere and that England was not home:

> The idea of moving to Ireland was constantly there growing up, my parents often spoke of it, not sure how much of it I was supposed to be hearing but I picked up the vibe that it was always a possibility. It likely was a contributing factor in the overall feeling that England wasn't really home or that something was amiss there.

The sense that home was elsewhere became a taken for granted aspect of his life in Leeds and perhaps this contributed to the ease with which he continues to feel that home is elsewhere. He stated that, 'I wouldn't call myself a Mayo man or a Galway man even though I live here'. And, having lived in Ireland since 1998, he still felt that Leeds was home: 'I love going back to Leeds, nearly as much as I used to love going to Ireland for the school holidays. As much as I'm at home here in Ireland and the people are all fine and everything, the only time I think I'm properly "at home" is when I'm in Leeds having a pint in the company of Leeds-Irish people'. In this, he recognises his 'community of identity' (Antonsich, 2010, p. 653); it is not just the place but the activity of having a pint and the social environment with other Leeds-Irish people that shapes his feelings of belonging with this group. Dermot also stated that he did not vocalise directly his claim to be Irish; as with James, Amy and Marion quoted above, he had learned that, generally, his claim would be misunderstood, thus illustrating the power relations which prevent him from outwardly 'choosing' Irishness:

> I don't claim it, not verbally anyway, the reality is, it seems to be something that gets projected on to you not something you get to choose. I always introduce myself as from Leeds/Yorkshire, play the North of England badge for a while (which is mine to wear after all if I want!) then before too long the Irish catch on (and often just tell me in case I didn't know) that I'm not English at all.

Dermot has learned the 'rules of the game' in which it is not acceptable to boast an Irish identity in an English accent. Instead, he knows that the 'game' is played by proving his cultural insiderness in other ways and allowing the identity to be assigned and thus be 'awarded' the right to belong.

Jackie also described a feeling of not quite belonging and saw this as a positive thing. When asked about whether or not she thought much about being London-Irish or her 'English-Irishness', she stated: 'It's part of my identity and I suppose I quite like it really'. As a result she felt 'just slightly outside' although she did not clarify what it was she felt just slightly outside of. She felt that her 'London + Ireland' life had shaped her in a unique way, illustrating that straightforward belongings to place are not necessarily an ideal state and the fact that 'for many 42

of us there exists a tension between wanting to be similar to and belong with others, and wanting to be unique and different from others' (May, 2011, p. 373). Like Dermot, Jackie was aware that she did not have an automatic right to belong in Ireland as an Irish person stating: 'You always feel like you have to prove it to people. I may sound English but actually I'm the same as you'. In her Co. Galway village she found that, 'many of my friends are girls who have been away and come back as opposed to always having been there', suggesting that she had found a sense of belonging through a community of returned migrants, the experience of migration being more important than the 'identity marker' (Kiely et al., 2001) of a particular place. Her comments also indicate that she had found a way to belong while maintaining her sense of herself as unique and different.

A similar experience was described by Fiona who grew up in London and now lives near a small village in Co. Offaly; the village where her father grew up and to where her parents returned. Extracts from her interview describe a comfortableness with her difference:

> Oh, I saw myself as different and I always will be. Even though I'm married in [village name] and I've had a role in the school and the hurling club, I still see myself that its quite cliquey in the sense that people who went to school together stick together so the people I've become friends with would be people who've maybe moved away from [village name] and come back.

She found some of the traditions of rural Ireland unusual to her:

> In terms of deaths, the whole idea in the beginning of going to everybody's funeral even if you didn't know them used to be bizarre and [husband's name] used to say to me, 'no one is ever going to go to your funeral', he really believes you have to be there to be seen whereas I wouldn't have that view at all.

In contrast to Marion earlier, she has accepted that she is 'different' to other people locally and even jokes about her 'Englishness' within the family: 'they see me as English and they'll often make comments about "the English one" and my husband as a joke would call me "George" sometimes with my English ways'. For these three returned migrants, therefore, there is an acceptance of not fully belonging in Ireland which is retained as an important aspect of their identities. They are embedded in worlds in which they know how and to what extent they wish to claim belonging without denying their place of birth.

Conclusion

The heightened sense of where and in what circumstances migrants can claim 'I belong here' means that their experiences provide a useful way of exploring the frequently unquestionned and taken-for-granted nature of place and belonging. For the second generation Irish of this study belonging, or the search for belonging, was frequently about a belief in connection to place through individual and family

history and engagement with the physical place, the land, over time. This was illustrated most explicitly by James and Thomas ('*I belong*') but also by Marion; her feeling of not belonging being all the more poignant because of her awareness of her role as custodian of the family place. Combined with this belief is the fact that belonging is about knowing the 'rules of the game' and employing the appropriate dispositions in a place. A number of people accepted that in order to claim belonging in Ireland they needed to explain themselves or adjust their behaviour; this included 'putting up with' being assumed to be English (James) as well as being aware of the need to prove their Irishness in other ways (Dermot). For these migrants, belonging is an achievement of ease by adapting and making the best of a situation, although the comments suggest that belonging perhaps never becomes fully second nature. Instead, the reflexive awareness of how to belong becomes a second nature way of being and, therefore, part of the habitus of being second generation Irish in Ireland. Conversely, not knowing, or feeling uncomfortable with, how things are done creates a feeling of unease in a place and, therefore, gives rise to a sense of not belonging.

Although experienced in the everyday, the accounts of the return migrants of this study also illustrate how belonging is shaped by the wider socio-historic factors at work in a place. Many of the comments illustrate the way that, in Ireland, there is a general lack of recognition for the claims of the second generation from Britain and this is most often in response to their English accents. Accent is therefore an important 'reinforcing shibboleth which makes members of an [this] outsider group more easily recognisable as such' (Elias and Scotson, 1994, p. xxx). Accent indicates who belongs and who does not belong in the Irish national family; an attitude shaped by the long history of Irish-British relations (see also Hannafin 2016).

Despite these important audible differences, as migrants per se, the British born are mostly absent from the national conversation about immigration and the 'new Irish' (Gilmartin, 2013). In the hierarchy of belonging in Ireland, they are perhaps not quite foreign enough and in a similar way to the Irish returnees of Ní Laoire's (2008), Ralph's (2012) and Conlon's (2009) research they are assumed to experience a straightforward adaptation to life in Ireland. As a result, they rarely feature in current discourses about migrants. For the second generation Irish, the combination of this with the relative silence on the mass emigrations of their parents' generation in the 1950s, perhaps explains the lack of acknowledgement of these 'British-born Irish'; a situation frequently alluded to in the research and illustrated most explicitly by Susan's difficulty referred to earlier in explaining who she is on a daily basis.

This paper contributes to the growing interest in second generation return migration by exploring the sense of belonging to place that these migrants seek and experience. Using the analytical framework proposed by Antonsich (2010), I have attempted to map belonging for the second generation Irish from Britain at the intersection of place-belongingness and the politics of belonging. If 'the experience of belonging can be the glue linking place and identity' (McCreanor

et al., 2006), then it is a glue shaped by the discourses at work in an place and felt in everyday social relations. For these migrants, their Englishness makes them audible and different at the everyday level and yet invisible at the scale of the nation, resulting in a range of outcomes for individuals in their claims of 'I belong here' in Ireland – their perceived home.

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