

# **THE MISSING INK**

## Re-evaluating socialisation and nationalism in the work of Ernest Gellner

by

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## **Abstract**

This thesis expands on Gellner's theory of nationalism. Gellner provides an analysis of the 'why' of nationalism, i.e. why nations and nationalism develop, but, neglects to elaborate on the detail of how this takes place or by what method the nation is reproduced. This is the 'missing ink' in the title of the thesis, or the 'how' of nationalism. To focus the analysis the concept of the socialisation of nationalism has been employed. This is an application of a theory of socialisation to nationalism as a social construct. By taking Gellner's modernist approach to the study of nations I will examine how the nation is reproduced through a complex process of socialisation that crosses between a centralised state education system and social learning. This will be synthesised with Bourdieu's theory of socialisation, adapted by shifting the focus of analysis from social class to what is presented as 'national doxa'.

The theoretical fusion is applied to the study of observable manifestations of national doxa, habitus, and hexis, which concern the mundane and banal ways in which the nation is enacted and reproduced in the context of everyday social life. Importantly this also underscores the importance of socialisation as a process which is far more encompassing than state-run education, which is what Gellner tends to suggest in his concept of the 'educational machine'.

This is not to say that Gellner was entirely wrong in prioritising mass-compulsory education however, and the thesis examines this aspect of socialisation through a textual analysis of history text books, using Ireland as a case study. The findings are used to modify Gellner's theory by emphasising the mutable nature of nationalism, i.e. in contrast to the linear

development process found in Gellner's work; nationalism is a more complex process whereby the past is reconstructed in accordance with present concerns.

This shows how education acts as a tool of the socialisation of nationalism; this is only possible due to a centralised state education system maintained by a national government. Nationalism and the modern state work in tandem with one another, the socialisation of nationalism ensuring their existence.

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In memory of John O'Connell, always missed.

Finally for my children Jared and Ava for the love, laughter and joy you bring me.

## **Statement of Originality**

I hereby certify that all of the work described within this thesis is the original work of the author. Any published (or unpublished) ideas and/or techniques from the work of others are fully acknowledged in accordance with the standard referencing practices.

Judith O'Connell

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## Chapter 1 - Introduction

### *The missing ink: From navel to nation*

Nationalism is one of the most powerful forces in the modern world, being an ideology or filter through which the world is viewed. It is difficult to imagine the world we inhabit without nations. However, by what means does the nation become embodied in thought and action, how is the nation 'taught' and 'learnt'. These questions warrant an investigation of the journey from birth (the navel) to national solidarity.

In theories of nationalism Ernest Gellner stands out as one of the foremost scholars of modernist nationalism, maintaining the view that nationalism is a social construct. If we take this view as a theoretical starting point, accordingly the nation must somehow be established in human consciousness. Whilst Gellner highlighted what he termed exo-socialisation (socialisation outside the home) as the method by which this is achieved, Gellner does not examine this process fully. This absence has been noted by Karen Stanbridge in her work 'Do Nationalists Have navels?' As observed by Stanbridge, childhood is the missing link, arguing that 'Gellner and modernists do not elaborate to any great degree on the place of childhood in their account of modern nations.' (Stanbridge, 2011: 1). Consequently a more in-depth analysis of 'exo-socialisation' is required, and this in turn requires a more adequate understanding of socialisation itself. Pierre Bourdieu has developed a sophisticated theory of socialisation which, as will be shown, is particularly suited to the study of nationalism. Bringing together Gellner and Bourdieu's theories will foster a set of conceptual tools which will be used to conduct an analysis of what will be termed the 'socialisation of nationalism'. This will accordingly attend to the shortcomings in Gellner's theory, tackling the elusive 'missing ink' (or absent text).

### **1.1 NATIONALISM**

Though there are many stateless persons in the world today, this in itself is testimony to the power of nationalism. State and nation are tied together, and those without an assigned place within the international system of nation-states are likely to be classified on the basis of ethnicity rather than nationality. Nation and individual have become so tied to one another that

to remove the concept of nationality from the citizen is to eradicate some part of what they perceive to be the essence of themselves. As Gellner remarked: 'a man without a nation defies the recognised categories and provokes revulsion' (Gellner, 1983: 1). To be stateless is problematic in the circumstances of modernity, or as Gellner puts it: 'Having a nation is not an inherent attribute of humanity, but it has now come to appear as such' (Gellner, 1983: 1). In the pre-modern era people were not defined by their nationality, identity was more regionally based.

Historically, nationalism is born through a process whereby populations are tied to territory which is bounded as a state. Homogeneity of language, customs and indeed cultural mores had to be achieved for the cohesiveness and perpetuation of the nation. This has been achieved by means of a compulsory education and national curriculum, civil organisations and of course the mass media. By instilling these commonalities in the population, a sense of society and collectivity are generated throughout the population, thereby establishing what Benedict Anderson refers to as an '*Imagined Community*.' According to Gellner the successful integration of society depends on an all-embracing educational system, tied to one culture and protected by a state which in turn identifies with that culture. In his famous lecture *What is a nation* Ernest Renan suggested that:

A nation is therefore a large-scale solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and of those that one is prepared to make in the future. It presupposes a shared past; it is summarized, however, in the present by a tangible fact, namely, consent, the clearly expressed desire to continue a common life. A nation's existence is a daily plebiscite, just as an individual's existence is a perpetual affirmation of life (Renan, 1882: 1).

The argument here is that the nation exists in the form of ideas and emotions, but these are not generated by a spontaneous grouping together of a community with a shared history, as some depictions would have us believe. Nations may well exhibit homogeneity in terms of religious affiliation and ethnic identity, but the nation is assembled from a diversity that extends to values, aspirations and ways of being anchored in place-specific practices. Sociologically speaking, the really interesting matter is the 'how' question. For people to share a sense of togetherness the idea of the nation must be presented to them as inherently natural, which is to say it must be 'learnt' without being studied in the way one learns to perform a task that can be objectified. In

other words, it must be acquired in such a way that it becomes second nature. As Gellner would say, the nation does not have a navel, i.e. it is not born of a mother. In modernity the history of the nation is presented as perennial, primordial and continuous. This is reinforced through the means of national histories, literature, media, public rituals, or as Gellner puts it, through 'language' in the extended sense of shared ideas, norms and practices.

## **1.2 GELLNER'S THEORY OF NATIONALISM AND THE 'MISSING INK'**

In 1983, Gellner published *Nations and Nationalism*. For Gellner, 'nationalism is primarily a political principle that holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent'. According to Gellner nationalism only became a sociological necessity in the modern world. In previous times ('the agro-literate' stage of history) rulers had little incentive to impose cultural homogeneity on the ruled. But in modern society, work becomes technical. One must operate a machine, and to do so one must learn to read and write. There is a need for impersonal, context-free communication and a high degree of cultural standardisation.

## **1.3 THE MISSING INK**

Whilst Gellner's work is thought provoking and compelling, there are gaps within the theory that call for further explanation and in-depth clarification. The omissions concern the issue of how nationalism is instilled within a society. Whilst Gellner fleetingly states that this is achieved through a centralised education system, his writings do not elaborate nor provide the clear or thorough analysis necessary to uphold his claims. It is this gap in Gellner's theory which I aim to address.

To achieve this, an in-depth exploration of the means by which nationalism is embedded is deemed essential. To accomplish this I draw on Bourdieu's theory of socialisation, particularly the aspects concerning education as a method of class socialisation. Whilst sociology as a discipline deals with the topic of socialisation, this has been largely neglected by theorists of nationalism and nations. Bourdieu's oeuvre provides an in-depth analysis of how this takes place. Bourdieu's study of the mechanics of socialisation when applied to Gellner's theory of nationalism affords a comprehensive and coherent understanding of the socialisation of

nationalism. The 'socialisation of nationalism' could also be referred to as the 'education of nationalism' or the 'national education process'. But as observed by Stanbridge, Gellner does not investigate this matter beyond invoking the 'educational machine' as the engine that reproduces the nation:

Gellner discusses in detail neither the education process nor the recipients of that education. It is evident that childhood experience as it relates to the reproduction of the nation is of some concern to Gellner: he says, for example, that national literacy is easier to achieve if the language in which the nationals must be literate is the same or near the vernacular in which they were reared in the family (Stanbridge, 2011: 2).

But Gellner overlooks or bypasses the question of how this occurs or by which process this is achieved. Stanbridge thus poses what she describes as a:

somewhat facetious but related question: Do nationalists have navels? Concerned with the origins of modern nations and nationalisms, most prominent scholars of nationalism have not addressed directly the origins of nationalists: childhood is missing from mainstream nationalism theory (Stanbridge, 2011: 2).

This relates to the fact that Gellner unerringly dissects the process by which a nation evolves politically and sociologically whilst omitting to examine the question of how this takes the form of what will be discussed, from Bourdieu, as the national habitus.

One could suggest that Gellner defines the larger picture of how nationalism is developed but omits the smaller picture, or the detail, which is vital if his theory is to withstand the scrutiny of what his one-time teacher Karl Popper called the correct scientific method or falsification. Gellner does not pinpoint the *how* of nation formation but instead tackles the *why*. This is crucially an aspect of his theory which has been underdeveloped and overlooked.

Gellner's theory of nationalism emphasises education as the key method of 'exo-socialisation, the production and reproduction of men outside the local intimate unit.' (Gellner, 1983: 138), though he does not deliberate further on the matter. Exo-socialisation refers to how the subject is socialised outside the home, most importantly the educational process. Gellner highlighted

history as the chief method of informing a population's perception of the past, which in turn forms the basis of a societal commonality. Yet there is more to exo-socialisation than what is learnt in school.

#### **1.4 BEYOND THE MISSING INK**

These omissions will be addressed by synthesising the sociological theories of Pierre Bourdieu which relate to class formation with those of Ernest Gellner pertaining to Nationalism.

Bourdieu's body of work is primarily concerned with socialisation and the construction of class membership whilst Gellner maintained that nationalism is a social creation, a product of modernity and industrialism.

Linking Bourdieu's socialisation to Gellner's nationalism culminates in a more encompassing analysis of the ways in which nationalism is suspended within the texture of social life. Both theorists converge at the point of education, and with good reason, as will be explicated later. It must also be added however that attending to the ways in which the nation is learnt and embodied necessitates extending the concept of education beyond the school and the formal system of education. Though education is much more than what is learnt in the classroom an analysis of the educational tools will enable us to garner insights into the means by which nationalism is socialised through state run methods.

This theses thus seeks to understand how nationalism comes to be etched into minds, bodies and dispositions, and hence also society. So an understanding of socialisation will enable us to fill in these gaps in nationalist theory. Though I would maintain that the analysis presented here can be applied to all nationalisms, only one case will be undertaken in this instance. The example chosen is that of Ireland which provides an extremely interesting case that enables us to track the contextual dimension of national habitus as this develops through a series of transformations.

Bourdieu's work on socialisation has never previously been applied to nationalism theory, apart from Michael Billig's work '*Banal Nationalism*' which did not refer to socialisation by name but instead explored that which is 'taken for granted' (which could also be related to Bourdieu's concept of misrecognition). By understanding how schooling instils value systems, Bourdieu's

analysis of socialisation is particularly well suited to the study of national habitus. To quote Gellner directly: 'Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness; it invents nations where they do not exist' (Gellner, 1983). This is the focus of this thesis: that nationalism and nations are relatively arbitrary yet extremely durable social forms.

## **1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS**

Chapter 2 conducts a detailed survey of Gellner's work on nationalism, focusing in particular on its formation and development. The overall aim of this chapter is to reach a deeper understanding of his theories pertaining to nationalism, as well as identifying the weaknesses in his theory of nationalism.

In Chapter 3, an analysis of the complexities of socialisation as examined by Bourdieu is undertaken. Bourdieu comprehensively examines how class is socialised into both individuals and society. Bourdieu's oeuvre is mainly concerned with class and is both extensive and meticulous, thus providing us with a systematic understanding of how the process operates. It is the method of the process which will prove advantageous to understanding how nationalism is socialised, which will entail moving the scope of Bourdieu's work beyond the remit of class organisation. Bourdieu maintained that socialisation occurs through education and social and family ties. As only formal education falls under state control, this is clearly the area that has been easiest to influence and direct. Therefore through assessing the tools of education an understanding of state directed habitus formation can be ascertained.

Chapter 4 develops the concepts of national doxa, habitus and hexis. This is a synthesis of Gellner and Bourdieu's theories which is then put to work in identifying and examining observable manifestations of nationalism. As there is no physical reason for the cultural or national differences identified therein they must be a product of socialisation. These are clearly traits that are imbued in the same manner as a child learns their table manners. This normally occurs through interactions with family and societal groups thereby constructing and reinforcing their naturalness. These behaviours only appear arbitrary in contrast with other national customs when in direct contrast, for example the ingrained habits of cutlery usage. By placing these observable behaviours under the theoretical umbrella of Bourdieu's habitus, we can observe

these behaviours as forming part of a national habitus. National habitus is therefore that which appears natural within the nation, it is accordingly an example of misrecognition within society. Also under this umbrella lies the concept of national hexis which is accordingly the physical embodiment of national habitus. These are integral to the main body of the thesis which relates to how nationalism becomes a part of society. They are actions which are instilled in such a way as to become natural and taken for granted by the bearer. They are the observable manifestations of a socialised nationalism which not only are the embodiment of the nation but also act as a method of national socialisation in themselves. They thereby serve to reinforce national membership.

Chapter 5 presents a textual analysis of Irish history textbooks spanning the period 1831-1980. We can regard the school system as a field within which pedagogy takes place. As Bourdieu and Gellner's theories both converge on formal of education it was deemed necessary to conduct an investigation of educational material in order to drill into Gellner's notion of the educational machine as the principle means by which nationalism is taught and learnt. Accordingly an evaluation of text books provides an appropriate method of exploring and examining curriculum and syllabus content. This provides us with only one aspect of socialisation so in order to garner a greater understanding of the fuller socialisation picture context is also provided in this chapter.

The core of the research commences in 1831 which is the date of the establishment of a state controlled education system in Ireland. The findings also reflect Gellner's thesis that nationalism changes with time. The methodology comprises that of qualitative analysis of primary sources combined with appropriate supporting documentary material as secondary sources. By undertaking a thorough analysis of Irish history textbooks I provide examples of how history is narrated in accordance with present political, economic and social concerns. The books utilised are mainly history textbooks as they provide the historical national depictions required by this study. Through comparing texts from three different eras there is a clear demonstration of the changing depiction of historical events. The three periods chosen are:

- 1831-1922. Ireland was under British rule during this period. 1831 marks the establishment of an Irish national school system.



- 1922-1971. 1922 is the year the Irish Free State was founded. 1971 is the year of the commencement of the ‘new’ curriculum as advised by the OECD.
- 1971-1980. This period covers the ‘new curriculum’ which marks a departure from the political nationalism of previous decades, and the onset of a new variety of Irish nationalism.

Through investigating the representation and portrayal of key Irish events within the curriculum, this section of the thesis highlights the importance of national discourse within the education system. For example, how the curriculum informs a population’s perception of the past. The portrayal of pivotal events shifts according to present concerns. The time frames were determined by the findings of my study which has pinpointed these three eras as significant thresholds and turning points in national discourse.

The framing of nation within each time period represents a shift in the wider context with each time frame epitomising an episode of political adjustment. The topics covered are Empire/Colonialism, Famine and lastly the Ancient Origins of the Irish. The reason these three topics were selected for analysis will be discussed in due course. Each time period is completed by a smaller section ‘text to context’ which provides the social background under the titles of Religion and Sport. Chapters 4 and 5 are intended to complement each other, and the connections are made through short intermediate reflections which precede each of these key chapters.

In conjunction with the theoretical synthesis of Gellner and Bourdieu, these chapters address the question of how nationalism is socialised and embodied as habitus. Accordingly the examples and analysis provided serve to address the core research question, which concerns the missing ink in Gellner’s theory of nationalism.

## Chapter 2 - ERNEST GELLNER

Gellner first began to outline his theory of Nationalism in *Thought and Change* (1964) and this was further developed in *Nations and Nationalism* (1983). *Thought and Change* initially sought to explain and clarify the beginnings of Nationalism and separate them from its supposedly natural creation. *Nations and Nationalism* developed these original ideas, while his later book *Anthropology and Politics* (1995) further investigated the topic, as an exploration of the links between politics and culture. In many ways Gellner's proposition forms the basis of the modernist stance concerning nationalism i.e. that nationalism is a product solely of the modern era. Whilst Gellner's work *Nations and Nationalism* remains a seminal contribution to the position, there are a number of weaknesses. Whilst pinpointing certain factors that contribute to the understanding of nationalism, Gellner does not adequately explore these areas. 'The missing ink' in the title of this thesis refers to the oversights in Gellner's theory which are by no means fatal to his theory. However if as Gellner infers, nationalism is in part the product of socialisation, then we need a more robust understanding of the 'how' dimension, i.e. how does a nation come into being.

### 2.1 GELLNER'S NATIONALISM

Nationalism only emerged as a distinct field of scholarly study after the Second World War. Prior to this the discourses concerning nationalism were mainly confined to discussions debating the future of nationalism and its morals. In the post war period, substantial areas of the globe sought independence and became de-colonised. There subsequently occurred an accompanying resurgence in the study which was no longer limited solely to the realms of philosophy. Consequently broader theories were developed, which probed the sociological apparatus and mechanics of nationalism. Works by authors such as Hans Kohn, Elie Kedourie, Anthony D. Smith and Ernest Gellner formed the basis of this change in direction. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and accompanying establishment of divergent nations these ideas were scrutinised by those seeking to comprehend the attendant resurgence of nationalism.

Ever since, the field of nationalism has grown and includes a much wider theoretical base. Nationalism is one of the most potent ideologies in the modern era. In fact it has become so pervasive that in the modern era not possessing a nationality can become problematic. To travel or indeed confirm one's identity one must possess a passport, whilst the predicament of being stateless is tantamount to being without a full identity or enjoying the protection of a state.

Gellner's work *Nations and Nationalism* (1983) in particular has proved pivotal to the field of study and is considered to be as relevant today as it was when it was first published. What is fundamentally different about Gellner's hypothesis is that he links nationalism to industrialism, seeing nationalism as a by-product of modernity. According to Gellner they need one another in order to survive. Consequently nationalism is a product of the modern era, born of industrial social organisation. Gellner contended that a society that aims for affluence and economic growth is reliant on innovation, occupational mobility, mass media, universal literacy, and education in a shared, standard idiom. Without all of these factors industrialism would not expand or grow. The provision of such requirements hinges on the state, as it is the only organisation large enough to ensure its success. Accordingly this transforms the relationship between state and culture. Cultural differences between regions need to be reduced in order to form the basis for communities of belonging. Thus language and culture become centralised and more uniform. Central to this process, according to Gellner, is modern industrialism, driven by developments such as the printing press, modern communication methods and a national education system. Corresponding to this requirement is the prerequisite that industrialism needs a large and efficient body of workers in order to sustain itself.

In short, nationalism only appeared and became a necessity in the modern world. Historically rulers had little need or incentive to ensure cultural homogeneity in the ruled populace, as feudalism was more effective if the workers were disparate, unable to communicate and lacking a common identity. But in modern society, work becomes ever more technical. The worker must operate a machine, and the complex division of labour means one must be able to communicate over a wider geographical area. There thus arises the need for a standardised idiom to ensure the consistency of impersonal and context-free communications. This is accomplished through a centralised education system.

This becomes intertwined with and enshrined in a culture ensuring its on-going durability. Furthermore, modernity is underlined by the fact that there is perpetual growth - employment types vary and new skills must be learned. Thus, generic training is the basis of specialised job training. On a territorial level, there is competition for the overlapping geographical spoils. By ensuring state and culture operate in synch the state can thus maintain its grip on resources as well as shoring up its legitimacy. Gellner's theory defines nationalism as a social construct with no biological or evolutionary basis whatsoever. So, at some point an individual and thence the larger society must accrue knowledge of their nation and its members. This is achieved in part, through an education system which informs a populace of its national myths and heroes. Historical events are retold to instil a national self-belief forming a shared belief in 'our' hero and 'our' shared history. The national myths normally exemplify national moral codes as well as aims of morality and courage. According to Gellner the only apparatus large enough to perform such a function is the state. Hence, the gradual yet relentless emergence of state-run education systems with the advancement of industrialism. Accordingly, nationalism is a fundamentally new feature of modern life since states in previous times were not organised along nationalist lines. Nationalism creates and shapes populations into nations.

The basic deception and self-deception practised by nationalism is this; nationalism is, essentially, the general imposition of a high culture on society, where previously low cultures had taken up the lives of the majority, and in some cases of the totality, of the population. It means that generalised diffusion of a school-mediated, academy-supervised idiom, codified for the requirements of reasonably precise bureaucratic and technological communication. It is the establishment of an anonymous impersonal society, with mutually substitutable atomized individuals, held together above all by a shared culture of this kind, in place of a previous complex structure of local groups, sustained by folk cultures reproduced locally and idiosyncratically by the micro-groups themselves (Gellner, 1983: 57).

Moreover, the teachers employed by this system must themselves be trained in the same high culture, and so on, quickly escalating to the point where the culture needs a multi-level education system, at the least, to be self-sustaining. Industrial modernity demands that each state secures and contains one and only one nation and one idiom.

This then is the basis of Gellner's theory of nations and nationalism. The state needs one culture and one language employed throughout that state to ensure national cohesion. A state operating with many languages, dialects or cultures would ordinarily prove unwieldy. Gellner maintained that consequently culture and state are intertwined; the state instilling the culture which guarantees the maintenance of a community.

A community is a population which shares a culture. Therefore culture refers to whatever is transmitted non-genetically. The two notions culture and community are intimately linked. Culture and community are defined in terms of each other; culture is what a population shares and what it turns into community (Gellner, 1995: 45).

Shared communication and culture help to bind communities together, without either a community would not be viable. The need for a *lingua franca* is paramount and the culture cements the shared sense of belonging. Through these means the community recognises its members and distinguishes them from outsiders. The provision of these two attributes on a wider scale usurps previous regional dialects and identities ensuring the binding together of much larger population groups than was previously feasible: 'We identify, not with hereditary roles, but with the cultural zone ("nation")' (Gellner, 1998: 25). As this process is imbued historically this then ensures that the nation seems natural and self-evident, a fact of nature:

Men and societies frequently treat the institutions and assumptions by which they live as absolute, self-evident, and given. They may treat them as such without question, or they may endeavour to fortify them by some kind of proof (Gellner, 1998: 11).

It seems that the nation is both, i.e. taken as self-evident and also shored up with evidence of the nation's primordial origins. I will provide evidence of this in chapters four and five, suffice for now to note that Gellner's perspective has led to much discussion within the field of nationalism. From this have emerged the two divergent outlooks which are referred to as primordialism and modernism. The primordialist perspective is based upon a type of evolutionary theory. The evolutionary theory of nationalism perceives nationalism to be the result of the evolution of human beings into identifying with groups, such as ethnic groups, or other groups that form the foundation of a nation.

Roger Masters *The Nature of Politics* (Masters, 1989) describes the primordial explanation of the origin of ethnic and national groups as recognising group attachments that are thought to be unique, emotional, intense, and durable because they are based upon ties of kinship and promoted along lines of common ancestry. The modernist (Gellner) interpretation of nationalism and nation-building maintains that nationalism arises and flourishes in modern societies. These societies are described as being associated with having an industrial economy capable of supporting mass population, a central supreme authority capable of maintaining authority and unity (usually a state), and a centralised language or dialect understood by a community of people. Modernist theorists maintain that this is only plausible in modern societies, as historically traditional societies typically lacked the prerequisites required to constitute national identity. As pre-modern societies lacked these qualities, they could not communicate over large population groups or areas, they thus remained divided, unable to operate in unison effectively, even when they attempted to do so.

In modernity some families may still generationally follow the same employment but these skills are now more likely to be learnt outside the family group. Centralised training colleges ensure that future generations are trained in order to guarantee they are kept abreast of the latest technology and developments within their specialisations. As the literacy and hence the education provided must prepare the student for numerous specialisations the training must be generic. Such a function must be centralised in order to be effective hence the salience of the state. As previously noted Gellner attributes effective state run education systems to ‘centralised exo-education’ (Gellner, 1983: 34). Gellner also mentions exo-socialisation (Gellner, 1983: 37), which refers to the reproduction of society outside of the family unit and through centralised means. This would be in direct contrast to previous educational establishments which historically were regionally organised and operated normally in isolation of one another. Thus state, culture and the geographical bounding of the nation become intertwined. As industrialism requires perpetual growth in order to succeed the state utilises nationalism in order to achieve loyalty and to protect its resources.

Nationalism underpins the culture which unites the population. Thus are populaces bound: ‘A culture is a system of constraints’ (Gellner, 1995). The state thus reinforces a culture which provides the norms of behaviour applicable within society. ‘Culture can be loosely defined as

systems of concepts or ideas which guide thought and conduct (Gellner, 1988: 14). It requires a leap of imagination to visualise such a world where the idea of one state one culture did not exist.

The world we actually inhabit is totally different. Some two millennia and a half ago, it did perhaps more or less resemble the world the relativist likes to paint. There was a multiplicity of communities, each with its own rites and legends. It would have been truly absurd to try to elevate one of them above the others, and still more, to claim that the truth about any one of them was only to be had in the terminology of another (Gellner, 1992: 33).

On the issue of language alone, Gellner calculates that the Old World contained several thousand dialects, each of which could have been the basis of a formalised literary language. Nations have been constructed, in what might, in retrospect, be deemed a highly contrived and arbitrary fashion, through a process of selection and de-selection (e.g. thinking one is reviving peasant culture and folk traditions, while actually creating a formalised, school-dependent high culture).

Not all the old cultures, let alone all the old subtleties and shading, can conceivably survive into the modern world. There were too many of them. Only some survive and acquire a new literate underpinning and become more demanding and clearly defined. The new primary ethnic colours, few in number and sharply outlined against each other, are often *chosen* by those who adhere to them, and who then proceed to internalise them deeply (Gellner, 1992; 33).

In other words as nationalism has prevailed so group differences are highlighted. Instead of disparate people being aware of what they have in common they are more aware of what defines their differences. Old ways of being have been lost or modified. To be without the universal idiom is to be cut off from all prospects of a decent life.

To have the *wrong* idiom, that is, a different one than those in charge about you, adds the constant humiliations of being a stranger, outcast, isolated, constantly doing 'the wrong thing' quite possibly while knowing that one's own ways would work at least as well. Thus the passion behind nationalism derives, not from some atavistic feeling of tribal belonging (supposing such

a thing to exist at all, outside of the immediate circumstances of mass rallies and the like), but from the hope of a tolerable life, or the fear of an intolerable one. Faced with the difference between one's own idiom and that needed for success, people either acquire the latter, or see that their children do (assimilation) or force their own idiom into prominence (successful nationalism). Thus industrialism begets nationalism, and nationalism produces nations.

To clarify the development of nationalism Gellner outlines the changes in the social order from agraria to industria. One of the most significant adjustments in society in the last thousand years has been the passage from agricultural work to industrial employment. It is an unprecedented shift that has changed society globally. Concurrently, the world is now viewed through the prism of 'nationalisms' which effect the division of land and sea. The present global political structures are unimaginable without the nation-state. It would be difficult to perceive how the World's ever increasing population would cooperate successfully without the organisational frame of nations. Gellner presupposed that pre-modern societies which possessed agriculture and some limited literacy were economically static and internally culturally diverse, at least in comparison to their industrial successors. In such societies multiple variations in dialects and local customs co-existed peacefully.

Cultural differences often went with economic specialisations, and so served to arrange people in their inherited professions. People were accordingly more affiliated to a trade guild than a nation. In previous epochs elites had little need for their populaces to function as large communities, indeed they benefited from the existence of cultural diversity as it meant that there would be no unified challenge to their power. It is Gellner's thesis that economic success requires cultural homogeneity, and that the demand for such and the state apparatus to provide it, is what drives nationalism. The argument runs as follows: because industrial economies continually make and put into practice technical and organisational innovations, they continually change how they employ resources, especially human resources.

Their occupational structures change significantly in a generation at most, and often more quickly, and so occupations atrophy with greater frequency. In Agraria, training could be left to families or guilds, be largely tacit and tied up with the rituals and social context of the trade.



Different parts of the same society could be almost unintelligible to each other, provided they could go through the customary haggling or tithing.

None of this is sufficient in an industrial, rapidly changing society, where training must be much more explicit, and couched in a more universal idiom. Even modern manual work often entails the ability to operate a machine. Subsequently society must take on the characteristics formerly associated with the literate high cultures of agraria. In industrial societies, 'a high culture pervades the whole of society, defines it, and needs to be sustained by the polity' (Gellner, 1983: 18). This diffusion of high culture must take place across the entirety of the community for it to work effectively. So for example, in Agraria a family could contain generations of cobblers whereas with Industria such locally based jobs are lost and therefore future descendants must possess a set of skills that enables them to work within whatever trade is required. This is duly performed through the auspices of society and education. Thus a state operated education system instils cultural knowledge. The state ordains such knowledge with legitimacy and through this system the child learns to identify with the nation. Gellner once stated that 'nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy' (Gellner, 1983: 1). This is central to his theory in that it maintains that the state validates the nation and vice versa. Gellner also asserted that nationalism is 'primarily a principle that holds that the political and national unit should be congruent' (Gellner, 1983: 1). In other words nationalism is generated when state and nation function in tandem. The simplicity of this symmetry is the strength of Gellner's theory, but also its Achilles' heel, because without adequately adding the 'how' dimension of national habitus, Gellner's theory exhibits the stamp of functionalism.

## **2.2 THE MISSING INK IN GELLNER'S THESIS**

This section will deal with some of the criticisms of Gellner's theory resulting in an understanding of what was presented earlier as the 'missing ink' of the thesis title. In direct contrast to Gellner's theory of nationalism, primordialists uphold that nations predate modernity. Anthony Smith maintains that whilst nations in themselves may be a modern construct the symbols and myths on which they are built are not. Smith asserts that modernist theories:

fail to account for the historical depth and spatial reach of their ties that underpin modern nations because they have no theory of ethnicity and its relationship to modern nationalism (Smith, 1998: 46).

If this were true nations that incorporate multiple ethnicities would be unable to survive or perpetuate themselves, clearly untrue in the case of civic nationalism. Smith commented (1998: 17) that Gellner's reasoning does not account for the national movements in ancient Greece and Rome. But this is to conflate nationalism with city states. Smith (1998) also criticised Gellner saying his theory does not allow for the nationalisms that occur in non-industrial society or the resurgences of nationalism in post-industrial societies. But if disputed territories are lost to the stronger might of a neighbouring nation this necessitates the need to erect the same structural scaffolding. To not have a nationality in the modern world is to be considered a misfit; therefore in the contemporary world a state must have a nation or be protected by one in order to gain recognition and accordingly security. This is not solely based on Gellner's assertion of a multiplicity of languages as a basis of an emerging possible nation, but rather on the fact that in the modern era the United Nations bestows formal recognition of nationhood globally. Therefore political allegiances are as important in the modern political arena as much as language or culture. Nations do not form in isolation so much as through interactions with others in the form of economic, political and military alliances and conflicts.

A common criticism of Gellner is that his theory of nationalism is too reductive, i.e. that it does not take into account the emotions that nationalism is capable of creating. But this can be clarified by the explanation that national identity is that which the individual or larger community is familiar with. The nation can also act as an arbiter of taste or ethics. To criticise the nation may be perceived by some citizens as disapproval of standards they value.

The individual may learn their nationality; this is invested so that it is perceived to be predestined and natural. The individual absorbs the nation's history; it's perceived struggle for freedom, authenticity and justice. The nation therefore in the process creates an emotive character for itself. The nationalist thus can react with anger at those that criticise or attack their nation. The nation has become a receptacle of security for the nationalist; it remains a constant

for them. They can become secure in the knowledge that their nation will always be there for them. This too can inspire loyalty to the nation.

In O'Leary's appraisal of Gellner's nationalism (O'Leary, 1997) he maintained that there is no 'neat relationship between industrialization and the onset of nationalism' (O'Leary, 1997: 208). Despite O'Leary's criticism I would maintain that industrialisation is a requisite of the maintenance of nationalism to create the necessary sense of community. Also O'Leary questions how 'predictionless or retrodictionless' the theory is but it would impossible to predict which nations succeed and which do not. They would need to be analysed on a case by case basis as several factors come into play such as geography, location, resources and population size. O'Leary also commented that Gellner's theory is too functionalist stating that it is 'unashamedly' so, especially in the context of this quote of Gellner's:

So the economy needs both the new type of central culture and the central state; the culture needs the state; and the state probably needs the homogeneous cultural branding of its flock... In brief, the mutual relationship of a modern culture and state is something quite new, and springs, inevitably, from the requirements of a modern economy.<sup>45</sup> In (O'Leary, 1997: 203).

For O'Leary the key question regarding functionalism is whether Gellner's theory can be reconstructed in a non-functionalist way.

Indeed O'Leary drafts a functionalist interpretation of Gellner's nationalism as follows:

1. Nationalism is an effect of modernization.
2. Nationalism is beneficial for modernising states – because a highly specialised division of labour requires a unified high culture, which is underpinned by a highly developed and specialised educational system.
3. Nationalism (in Gellner's sense) is unintended by the actors producing modernization.
4. The causal relationship between nationalism and modernization is not recognized by the agents operating in modernizing societies.

5. Nationalism functionally maintains modernization by a feedback loop operating through the actions of modernizing states (O'Leary, 1997: 204).

O'Leary then reconstructs Gellner's claim as non-functionalism by reconstructing point 4 above, so that agents do recognise that nationalism benefits their cause:

it is possible to argue for the core Gellnerian thesis, of a functional relationship between nationalism and modernity, without expressing it in a strongly functionalist form (O'Leary, 1997: 205).

O'Leary identifies something pivotal here, though does not resolve the issue. Gellner's account of education is functionalist and this is the missing link or the 'how' of nationalism. Though in general, Gellner mainly attends to the larger state run aspects of nationalism this does not preclude the possibility of building on his work by filling in the missing link. So we can deduce that by further examination of the functionalist element and a clarification of the processes we can add nuance to Gellner's theory and address the omission. This can be achieved with an understanding of the 'socialisation of nationalism'. Consequently we can arrive at an explanation that addresses the problem of functionalism. This echoes John Hall's comments regarding Gellner's tacit functionalism:

This is not to say that Gellner's own genuinely causal account, socio-economic rather than political in character, should be rejected. The claim rather is that the theory needs to be complemented (Hall, 2010: 334).

Hall maintains this can be achieved by assessing the agency of the political leaders, but perhaps a more complementary approach would be by examining the method by which nationalism is in part socialised by the state. This is the approach that I will be taking. This will then provide the 'how' of nationalism missing in Gellner's model. Though Gellner discusses exo-socialisation as the method by which populations become nations, he omits to elucidate further. As noted earlier, this point is pinpointed by Karen Stanbridge in *Do Nationalists Have Navels?* Here Stanbridge discusses some of the deficiencies in Gellner's theory maintaining that 'childhood is missing from mainstream nationalism' (Stanbridge, 2011: 40). In other words, though the child and education are central, they are mentioned only in passing and remain unexamined. Indeed

childhood is referred to as ‘a black box in the modernist perspective’ (Stanbridge, 2011; 41). In fact, Gellner’s sole reference is to ‘the preparation of young humans in question’ (Gellner, 1983: 98). I would agree with Stanbridge’s observations and also assert that Gellner does not offer detailed analysis of how the education system teaches nationalism, merely states that it does. Furthermore Gellner neglects to elucidate further on family ties, social networks and their impact on the individual, which is what I will also discuss in chapter four on national habitus.

As Gellner’s theory hinges on the efficacy of the educational system, one can understand this perspective from his view of the economic necessity of nationalism. However this may have contributed to a blinkered view regarding other modes or aspects of socialisation. Whereas in comparison Stanbridge’s observations regarding the same processes are more encompassing: ‘and the varied ways in which culture is acquired and taken up in the name of the nation.’ (Stanbridge, 2011: 40) In fact Gellner only briefly eludes to the reproduction of society in the passage entitled ‘*Social genetics*’ (which ingeniously refers to social genes):

the centralized method of reproduction is one in which the local method is significantly complemented by an educational or training agency which is distinct from the local community, and which takes over the preparation of the human beings in question, and eventually hands them back to the wider society to fulfil their roles in it (Gellner, 1983: 29).

This can be taken as describing the role of a centralised state run education system in the socialisation of a national society. The school system incorporates national ideals, histories and myths in its curriculum which then form the idea of a national belonging. Though this is obviously fundamental to the process of the formation of nationalism Gellner does not take this analysis further, as Stanbridge points out: ‘Gellner’s nationalists are not born, they are made, emerging as political beings only as they are educated out of their apolitical childhoods in the family and community.’ (Stanbridge, 2011: 48). This is maintained by Gellner’s comments on the matter: ‘In fact, it seems that any culture on earth can be assimilated and internalized by any infant of any given “racial” group, just as any infant can acquire any language. Cultures are not genetically transmitted, even though cultures can and do use genetic traits as symbols and markers’ (Gellner, 1988: 14). So nationalism is accordingly transmutable, a completely structured quality.

Stanbridge also maintains that ‘Brubaker says that mainstream theories still talk as if nationalism regularly and naturally generates bounded groups of people that act on the basis of a uniform (nationalist) sentiment’ (Stanbridge, 2011: 54). This conception of how modern society operates is inconsistent with the facts, populations vary enormously within as their political and social sentiments reflect. But Gellner does comment: ‘The only thing that is perhaps obvious is that the two very great transitions – the Neolithic and the industrial revolutions – cannot plausibly be attributed to conscious human design and plan’ (Gellner, 1988: 20). So accordingly these are not premeditated or conscious strategies.

However, socialisation is not a straightforward process, i.e. one that is uniform or solely top down. Stanbridge criticised this omission in nationalist theory: ‘national reproduction as a one-way enterprise, with information flowing from the (adult) nationalist to the (universal) child’ (Stanbridge, 2011: 48).

Some measure of coercion and legitimation is inherent in human societies. It is a simple corollary of the fact that the structure of societies is not dictated by the human genetic potential: the range of possibilities is so very wide for populations of identical or similar genetic composition. Hence a structure, no longer imposed by nature, must be imposed by some other mechanism. Coercion can be assumed to be one element in it, and legitimacy and conviction another (Gellner, 1988: 18).

But according to Stanbridge the reality is somewhat different.

Culture is now recognized to be more fragmented and inconsistent than it was understood to be in the past. It is composed of rule-like structures to be sure, but these structures are learned and enacted by individuals differently, depending on their social positions and circumstances, often inconsistently (Stanbridge, 2011:54).

The construction of culture is not solely a top down practise but is instead a process which is in constant flux. For instance we can observe the impact immigrants have on national cuisines. For example the Indian derived dish of Chicken Tikka Masala frequently appears on lists of popular British dishes. However Gellner omits these issues completely and in doing so much is assumed about the methods of acquiring culture. This is an outmoded conception of socialisation that

allows no room for agency or improvisation. Gellner's theory is that of a society that simply reproduces itself identically; the reality is far more complex and nuanced. To address this problem we need to broaden the scope of what is entailed in the socialisation of nationalism.

Whilst education is undoubtedly key to the process of the socialisation of nationalism it is not the only arena where state involvement in national identity takes place. In Chapter 4 I survey other aspects of society that provide evidence of national socialisation. This extends the scope of Gellner's concept of exo-socialisation by specifying some examples of the instilling of national identity within the wider community, outside of the state school system. These will be presented as 'observable manifestations of national socialisation', meaning human attributes that unwittingly form part of our national identities. They demonstrate how humans come to embody the nation. These characteristics are circumstances driven and as such are socialised. 'It is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round' (Gellner, 1983: 55). The examples provided have no basis other than the social or cultural. In the process of the creation of a national identity not only are histories created and enshrined but also other values and attributes.

National identity carries with it more than just knowledge of wars or disputed lands. National membership denotes other values too; be it food tastes, sporting interests or cultural traditions. Our attitudes and beliefs are shaped by our experiences, which are in turn moulded by the circumstances of our birth. In fact Gellner alludes to these characteristics in *Plough, Sword and Book*:

A culture is a distinct way of doing things which characterizes a given community, and which is not dictated by the genetic make-up of its members. Humanity is unique in that the communities into which it divides display an astonishing variety of modes of conduct, all of them evidently compatible with our shared genetic inheritance; hence none of them are dictated by it (Gellner, 1988: 14).

These are culturally transmitted habits which can become identifying national signifiers or behaviours. In the chapter *The Future of Nationalism* Gellner speculates about the options of what may transpire with nationalism. Gellner states 'we can expect nationalism to become

modified' (Gellner 1983: 113). Though Gellner presents two broad options, the first being that 'the age of nationalism would become a matter of the past' (Gellner, 1983: 118), he also adds that 'I do not believe this will come to pass' (Gellner, 1983: 118).

Instead Gellner concludes his discussion with the statement that 'late industrial society can be expected to be one in which nationalism persists, but in a muted, less virulent form' (Gellner, 1983: 122). But there is nothing linear about the historical trajectory of nationalism. Nationalism instead seems to ebb and flow reflecting the economic, social and political factors at play. Gellner's hypothesis is 'flat', suggesting a linearity and path dependency once nationalism is established. However, it appears that instead nationalism is shaped and formed in accordance with contextual exigencies. Nationalism can be perceived as an on-going accomplishment, the nation is reproduced in accordance with contemporary concerns, the history it utilises being a malleable resource.

This is clearly in evidence in the Irish case, which is examined in detail in Chapter 5. This presents an analysis of Irish text books predating the foundation of the Irish State. These chart the attempt under British rule to include Ireland under the auspices of a United Kingdom consisting of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. From the emergence of the Irish State in 1922 the text books contain the virulent nationalist dialogue reflecting Gellner's ideas on the initial formation of a nation. 'Bringing society into line with the new imperatives was inevitably a turbulent process' (Gellner, 1983: 111). The rhetoric employed is passionate and thus provides the necessary impetus for the unification of an Irish state in the aftermath of a civil war, which accords with the point that Gellner makes when he notes that:

The most violent phase of nationalism is that which accompanies early industrialism, and the diffusion of industrialism. An unstable social situation is created in which a whole set of painful cleavages tends to be superimposed on each other: there are sharp political, economic and educational inequalities (Gellner, 1983: 111).

So in the foundation of a nation social cleavages may be generated. The nation in its preliminary composition may not be that originally aspired to, but this too can serve as a spur to successive waves of nationalism. This is also reflected in the analysis of Irish text books. From 1971



onwards there is a change in the depictions used and the accompanying commentaries, which recall Gellner's remark that: 'We can expect nationalism to become modified' (Gellner, 1983: 112).

So it may change its personality but not its core features, though even these may be mutable. The human need to belong can be met by national belonging usurping the ancient mode of local societal membership.

Mankind has always been organised in groups, of all kinds of shapes and sizes, sometimes sharply defined and sometimes loose, sometimes neatly nested and sometimes overlapping or intertwined (Gellner, 1983: 53).

So accordingly nationalism is to be viewed as the current organisational structure of mankind. It is not necessarily perennial or absolute but it is the form which society has taken at this point in time. The examples provided in chapter 5 depict the changing nature of nationalism.

### **2.3 CONCLUSION**

Gellner in *Nations and Nationalism* outlines the historical processes that lead to the formation of nations. Gellner argues that nationalism is characteristic of industrial society, not solely because of economics, but also owing to the interaction of education, power, and culture. A shared idiom and state operated education systems serve to unite the citizens of nations. The nation legitimises those within it even though some of the members of a nation may have less in common with one another, than with others outside their state. For example communities either side of the Alps in France and Italy probably would have more in common culturally than they would have with citizens in their respective capital cities. They would be united by the shared experiences of terrain, rural living, weather systems, crops, agricultural habits etc. But due to their education system they would be divided by language and culture, though historically this may not have been the case. They could have feasibly been bound together in the same manner in which their regions were divided by national boundaries. Furthermore, industrial society depends on perpetual growth in order to satisfy material needs. Perpetual growth can only be achieved by perennial shifts in the occupational structure. It also necessitates general education

before specialised training, in order to allow shifts in occupation. Thus, we see an important development in schooling. Education now defines the status of the individual, whereas in agro-literate societies kinship status was the defining factor. In the hands of the state education fuses state and culture thereby creating the nation.

This is the general profile of a modern society: literate, mobile, formally equal with a merely fluid, continuous, so to speak atomised inequality, and with a shared, homogeneous, literacy-carried, and school inculcated culture. It could hardly be more sharply contrasted with a traditional society within which literacy was a minority and specialized accomplishment, where stable hierarchy rather than mobility was the norm, and culture was diversified and discontinuous, and in the main transmitted by local social groups rather than by special and centrally supervised educational agencies (Gellner, 1987:87).

To recap: according to Gellner industrialism demands a homogeneous high culture; a homogeneous high culture requires an educational system. An educational system necessitates a state which protects it; and the whole is bound by nationalism. Although Gellner pinpointed education as the main process through which a population group learn their identity he did not expand sufficiently on this matter. This is in contrast to Pierre Bourdieu who exhaustively examined the role played by education in class formation. Accordingly by drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of how state run education systems operate as a powerful source of socialisation one can reach a deeper understanding of Gellner's hypothesis. By addressing weaknesses in Gellner's theory, the objective is to overcome the tacit functionalism so as to improve the theory he bequeathed to us.

As Pierre Bourdieu maintained, class identity and membership are achieved primarily through the means of education, it is therefore apparent that Gellner and Bourdieu agree on education as a means of attaining one's social identity. The pupil learns what is expected of them not solely in academic terms but also through social interactions. Acceptable behaviours are taught through many avenues but one of the many methods is through a state education system. The confluence of Gellner and Bourdieu at the point of education as a tool of imparting social knowledge is hence worthy of further investigation. Bourdieu also highlighted education as central to the creation of class affiliation and construction.

Accordingly we can appreciate how the two theorists in their own manner emphasised pedagogy as key to the development and construction of society. We can thus observe that the two theoretical dispositions converge at the point of a state run education system. Gellner stated that education is fundamental in the role of constructing national and cultural identity, while Bourdieu specified that education is a necessary component in the construction of class membership. Though Bourdieu's work concentrated almost solely on class we can apply Bourdieu's theoretical framework to Gellner's model of nationalism to garner an in depth perception of the means by which nationalism is socialised.

Some nations have navels, some achieve navels, and some have navels thrust upon them. Those possessed of genuine ones are probably in a minority, but it matters little. It is the need for navels engendered by modernity that matters (Gellner, 1983: 101).

In the socialising process the nation is formed, it is socialisation which creates the navel, and it is the process of subject-formation which is the focus of the next chapter.

## **Chapter 3 - BOURDIEU'S THEORY OF SOCIALISATION**

### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

The previous chapter has examined Gellner's argument that nationalism is a social construct. Gellner maintains that nationalism is naturalised through a process of 'exo-socialisation' or socialisation which takes place outside the home. However, Gellner omits to enlarge further on this process. Bourdieu however provides an exhaustive account of socialisation, providing the frame which can be applied to Gellner's theory of nationalism.

This chapter provides an overview of Pierre Bourdieu's theory pertaining to socialisation. Although Bourdieu tends to focus on class, the concepts he developed can be applied to other social attributes including most importantly in this case, nationalism. Bourdieu's work was mainly concerned with an understanding of how the middle class replicates itself through socialisation. Socialisation is the process of transferring norms, customs and traditions from one generation to the next, providing the relevant skills and knowledge to participate in a given community. This system ensures that social and cultural continuity is maintained across society. Socialisation influences behaviour, beliefs and actions through the life course. The process takes place through the means of family, social networks and education. Ernest Gellner maintained nationalism to be a social construct imbued primarily through a state run school system, and Bourdieu's theory mirrors this in his emphasise of pedagogy as the principal means of socialisation. Also, Bourdieu provides a sophisticated and nuanced theory of how this is accomplished, which is also suited to the socialisation of nationalism.

The chapter is in two parts, part one will provide a breakdown of Bourdieu's main concepts, focusing on class formation, forming an elaboration of Bourdieu's socialisation theory; an analysis of field, doxa, habitus, hexis and capital. Part two focuses on the application of these concepts to the socialisation of nationalism. This will be followed by critical reflection on how to synthesise the work of these two theorists.

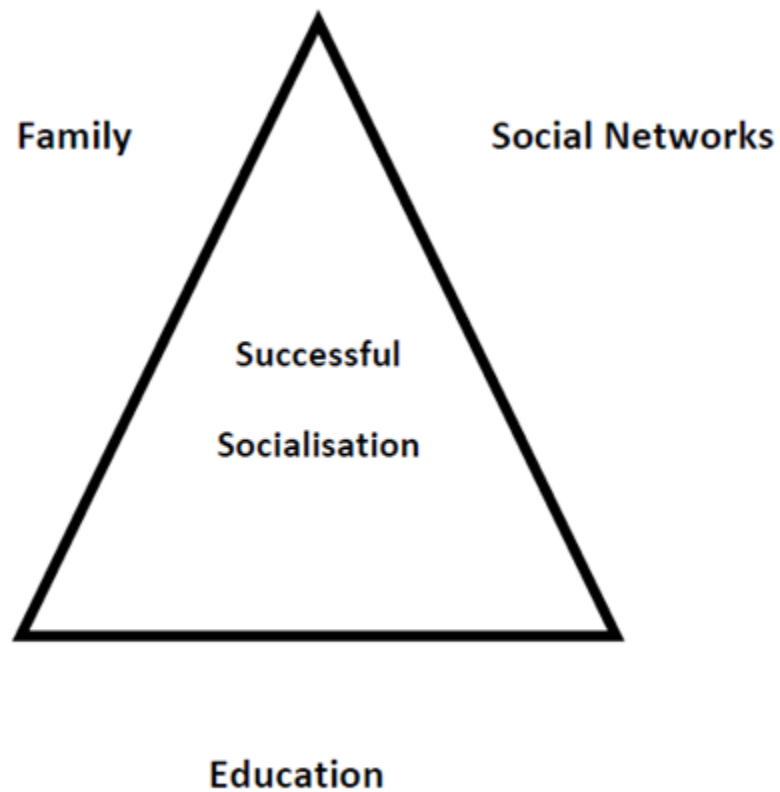
### 3.2 PIERRE BOURDIEU

Pierre Bourdieu produced a body of work dominated by an examination of the means through which social hierarchies and society are reproduced. According to Bourdieu's analysis the means through which this is achieved is termed socialisation. Bourdieu maintained in *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (1996) that society reproduces its social structures through the method of socialisation. This thus ensures the cross-generational transference of norms, reinforcing cultural values and influencing worldview perceptions.

Bourdieu pioneered the development of sociological concepts such as cultural, social, and symbolic capital, habitus, field (location), and symbolic violence to reveal the dynamics of power relations in social life. In other words, Bourdieu's work leads us to understand how class structures can seem instinctive and inherent, and this can be applied to the question of how nationalism too appears innate. This would lead us to an understanding of how *naturality* theory is developed, i.e. the notion that one's nationality is as natural as the colour of one's eyes, a genetically predetermined attribute. Similar to Gellner, Bourdieu utilised methods drawn from a wide range of disciplines, especially philosophy, sociology and anthropology. His best known book is *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* 1984, in which he argues that aesthetic choices are related to social position. Bourdieu claims that how agents choose to present themselves with respect to their judgements and taste, correspond to their status and social stratification. These dispositions enable them to distance themselves from other groups and ingratiate themselves with those who share their social position.

His argument is formulated through the original combination of social theory and data from surveys, photographs and interviews to build his theory. In the process, he tries to reconcile the influences of both external social structures and subjective experience on the individual. To a greater or lesser extent, this mirrors Ernest Gellner's thesis in *Nations and Nationalism* (1983) that the rise of a formalised national education system functions as a mechanism through which national identity is constituted. As noted in Chapter two, Gellner's theory of nationalism is to some extent mirrored in Bourdieu's argument concerning the importance that 'the contribution that the educational system makes to the reproduction of social structure.' (Bourdieu, 1998: 276).

In other words education is pivotal to societal reproduction, in the context of Industria. Though Gellner, (as discussed previously) tends to minimise the influence of other social or family factors, Bourdieu in comparison maintains that the main drivers of socialisation are the school system, social groups and family ties. These three elements are highlighted by Bourdieu as being fundamental to the process of socialisation, and they work in tandem to shape and form both the subject and social relations. The three aspects can be conceptualised as a triangle. This socialisation triangle also widens Gellner's theoretical basis of exo-socialisation.



**Figure 3-1 The Socialisation Triangle**

If one or more sides of the triangle are missing then the likelihood of successful or 'complete' socialisation diminishes.

Thus, if a child undergoes a lengthy process of socialisation that operates across the three sectors of social life, then there is an increased probability of that child expressing a continuity of ideas and norms, reflecting these influences. In what follows I will examine the main concepts of Bourdieu's terminology regarding the process of socialisation. Bourdieu's key terms which are relevant to this subject matter are *field*, *habitus* and *hexis*. These will be explored and their relevance clarified in order to become applicable as *national field*, *national habitus* and *national hexis*. There will follow an analysis of related concepts which have some bearing on the socialisation of nationalism, specifically doxa and capital.

### **3.3 FIELD**

For Bourdieu, the modern social world is divided into what he calls *fields* which he utilised in preference to social groups or classes. According to Bourdieu a field is a structured social space with its own rules, schemes of domination, legitimate opinions and so on, each relatively autonomous within the greater social spectrum. For Bourdieu each individual occupies a position in a multidimensional *social space* in which people relate and struggle through a complex of connected social relations (both direct and indirect). Among the main fields in modern societies, Bourdieu examined the arts, education, politics, law and economy. Bourdieu's concept of 'field' pertains to the social interactions and dynamics taking place. It is the space within which agents play out their engagements with each other. The arena can relate to anything as wide ranging as a job interview, walking down the street, eating dinner at home or the recent phenomena of the social networking site. We can understand that the constellation of fields constitutes society as a whole. The precise content and quantity of fields that exist are by definition limitless. People can belong to (or exist in) many fields. i.e. one person could exist in the fields of 'Irishness', 'being a Dubliner', 'being a woman', 'being a mother' as well as being a soldier.

So we can ascertain that people are members of various fields depending on the life they lead. Each field will have influenced the behaviours of the bearer in some way. Bourdieu focused primarily on fields relating to class but the number of fields in which we exist concurrently is far more varied. For example a nation can be perceived as a field, containing its own language and practices unique to that field.

Bourdieu referred to the notion of fields in everyday life as this pertained to the belief that ultimately, each relatively autonomous field of modern life, such as economy, politics, arts, journalism, bureaucracy, science or education engenders a specific complex of social relations where the agents will engage their everyday practice.

Each field develops its own unique specialist language and dispositions. Through engaging in this practice, there is created a certain disposition for social action which is ordained by the position in the field. Such behaviours, combined with other learnt customs the individual attains through engagement in a multidimensional (in the sense of multi-field) social world will eventually tend to become a *sense of the game*. This is a practical understanding of the field and social order in general, a practical sense or a practical reason, a way of understanding the world around them. (You could also refer to this as the rules of the game or feel for the game.) The individual who masters these rules performs best within the relevant field.

We can further clarify the realms of fields by comparing two that operate in contrast to one another. As an example of field we can observe the world of fashion. It is its own field. Within such a field are practices and norms which are taken as given but are particular to that field. For example the field of fashion has its own language and terminology with references to *haute couture* and *cruise collection* or *ready to wear*. Understanding of such terms gives the person entrance to the world of fashion. Without a familiarity of the fashion lexicon the agent is cast adrift. The contemporary world of fashion values aesthetics in its own right and prizes attractiveness as well as a desire to be thin, as thinness equates with clothing hanging in a certain manner on the body. This contrasts sharply with the world of catering where appearance and body shape are irrelevant. This field too has its own idiom with references to *a la carte*, *demi-glace* and *sous chef*. They are two noticeably separate fields with their own value systems, terminology and desirable characteristics. The general mode of behaviour is also vastly different. In the field of catering an ability to cook under pressure is a strongly desired attribute so physical stamina is prized, thinness is an irrelevancy.

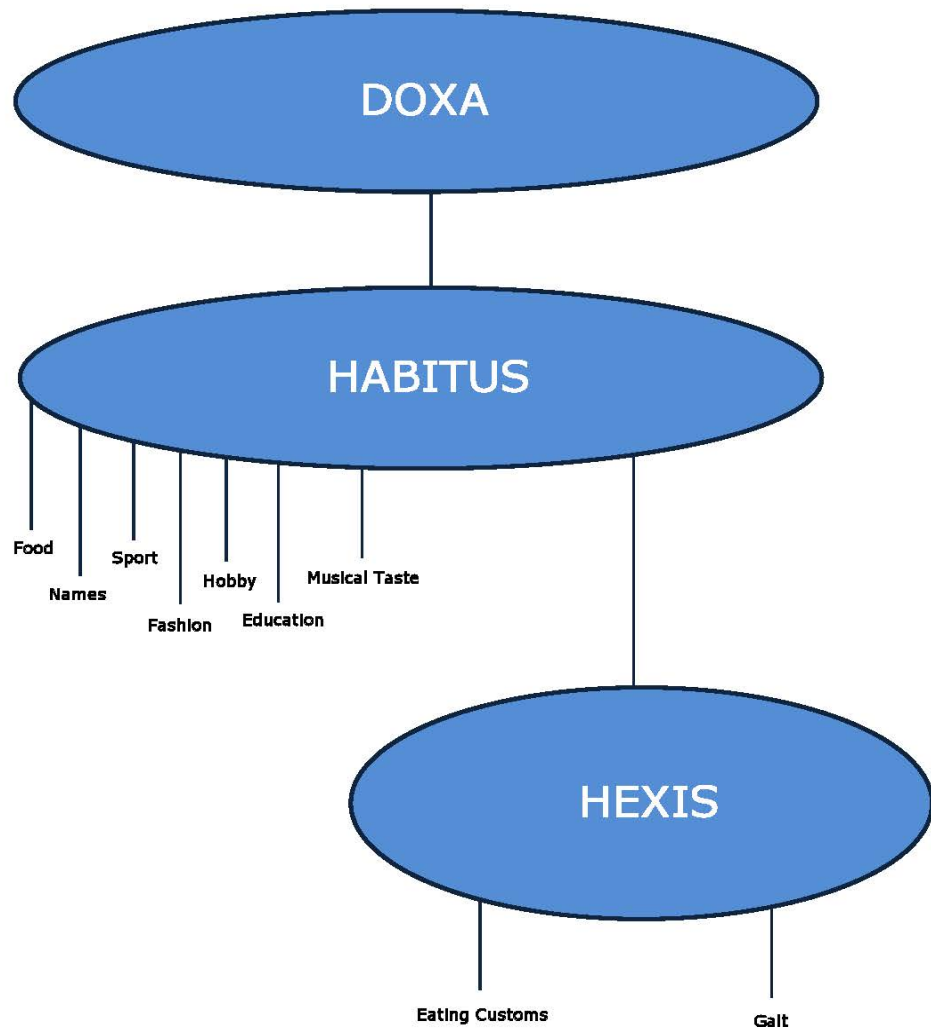
By contrasting two such fields we can understand how they work to ensure recognition of those that belong and also act as a means to keep out those that do not. By each field having its own language and terminology the members of each trade or group are bound by shared meanings



and feel imbued with a degree of power as they possess knowledge only privileged to some, the fact that such knowledge is acquired through education and experience does not undermine its credibility whatsoever, which is what Bourdieu refers to in his notion of ‘cultural arbitrary’.

In any given social formation, legitimate culture, i.e. the culture endowed with the dominant legitimacy, is nothing other than the dominant cultural arbitrary insofar as it is misrecognised in its objective truth as a cultural arbitrary and as the dominant cultural arbitrary (Bourdieu, 1996: 23).

Social agents do not, according to Bourdieu, continuously calculate accordingly to explicit rational and economic criteria. Rather Bourdieu maintained that social agents operate according to an implicit practical logic, they act according to their feel for the game. The game could be referred to as the way in which humans act and relate to one another so their feel for it is formed through learnt behaviour, that which is implicit or that which is taught through practice. Bourdieu’s anthropological work was shaped by an analysis of how the processes and mechanisms are implicated in the reproduction of social hierarchies. These inclinations are manifested on a pre-conscious level. They are observable as an opinion, a taste, a tone of voice, a group of typical body movements and mannerisms and so on (examples of these will be examined in detail in Chapter 4). Through this, the social field may become more complex and autonomous, while the individual develops a certain *habitus* that is typical of a position in the social space. By doing so, social agents will often acknowledge, legitimate and reproduce the social forms of domination (including prejudices) and the common opinions of each field as common sense applying this to the question of nationalism, it could be noted that the national field creates a national doxa which is self-evident to those within that field. The doxa forms a roof for the habitus which in turn maintains the hexis. This set of relations is described graphically in figure 2.



**Figure 3-2 - The Doxa Arrangement**

### 3.4 DOXA AND THE DOXIC EXPERIENCE

The concept of doxa captures the learned, fundamental, deep-founded, pre-conscious beliefs, and values, taken as self-evident universals that inform an agent's actions and thoughts within a particular field. Doxa tends to favour the particular social arrangement of the field, thus privileging the advantaged and taking their position of dominance as self-evident and universally favourable. Bourdieu asserts that this misrecognition whereby the individual cannot recognise the means of cultural reproduction as it is presented as natural or primordial thus inherently becomes a part of the individual's persona:

Thus the genesis amnesia which finds expression in the naïve illusion that things have always been as they are, as well as in the substantialist uses made of the notion of the cultural unconscious, can lead to the eternizing and thereby the 'naturalizing' of signifying relations which are the product of history (Bourdieu, 1996).

The concept of doxa can also be referred to as the 'doxic experience'. Accordingly the categories of understanding and perception that constitute a habitus, being congruous with the objective organization of the field, tend to reproduce the very structures of the field. The *doxic experience* can be clarified as the phenomenon whereby people assume that because certain parts of their life or upbringing are normal and every day so they must be natural or necessary. For example if we examine third level education attendance, some of its participants assume such attendance to be normal as that is true of their peer group. This is a purely subjective observation as some schools would have acted as feeders for acceptance to third level as opposed to other schools which may have instead trained their pupils for acceptance for the local secretarial college or factory. Thus is it possible to achieve a doxic sensibility whereby your values seem to be universal whereas they purely mirror your own social group membership. The schooling system in part reinforces this doxic quality. This applies not only to academic requirements but societal requisites as well:

Insofar as it is invested with a pedagogic authority, pedagogic action tends to produce misrecognition of the objective truth of cultural arbitrariness because, being recognised as a legitimate agency of imposition, it tends to produce recognition of the cultural arbitrary it inculcates as legitimate culture (Bourdieu, 1996: 117).

In this way national culture or habitus is understood as natural, authentic and desirable. Furthermore one could comment that what Bourdieu refers to as the *doxic experience* bears more than a passing similarity to Engels' (1893) concept of false consciousness, whereby members of a society do not recognise the systems of domination of which they are a part. The *doxic* experience can be said to be the basis through which national cultural identity is obtained. As we assume our class membership as normal so too is our inclusion in the nation. 'All successful socialisation tends to get agents to act as accomplices in their own destiny' (Bourdieu, 1998: 45). Much of our surroundings are assumed or taken for granted, this then enables those who are perceived to 'possess' power to feel it is legitimately owned, i.e. is natural and innate.

Terry Eagleton interviewed Bourdieu in 1991 and asked Bourdieu to clarify the difference between the doxic experience and false consciousness. Bourdieu responded by explaining 'that is what I mean by doxa that there are many things people accept without knowing' (Zizek, 1994: 117). So Bourdieu is obviously referring to a more generalised experience of misrecognition than that described by Engels with false consciousness. As Zizek states:

enlightened false consciousness i.e. that in a postmodern epoch the idea that we simply labour under false consciousness is too simple i.e. that people are actually more cynically or shrewdly aware of their values than the world suggests (Zizek, 1994: 118).

So whereby Engels may use false consciousness to describe class inequality, Bourdieu may suggest that people are unaware of how to live outside their class but they are aware that they are a part of it. The middle class know that they are such. With his description of the doxic experience, Bourdieu explains a deeper rooted reality whereby the possessor of class believes that the manners or behaviours that constitute part of their membership of the class seem completely inherent and naturally occurring to their bearer. So their class membership seems innate and instinctive to them. In a similar way, the doxic experience could be applied to the experience of national identity, thus explaining why it is that for many people it takes hold as an inborn and quasi-instinctive understanding. The membership of the nation appears effortless and familiar as though it is a natural state into which we are born.

The doxic experience concerns a habituation of dominant and pervasive principles. So if nationalism is the dominant belief system of a population or is perceived as a worldwide perspective than the individual assumes this must also be true. Thus we can understand that through the doxic experience socialisation takes place, and that the socialisation of nationalism transpires without its executors, architects or apprentices realising that they all play a part in this process. The doxa thus creates the habitus and they reinforce one another. The national doxa is therefore that which creates the national habitus enabling its reification.

### **3.5 HABITUS**

Bourdieu developed a theory of action, around the concept of habitus. This seeks to show that social agents develop strategies which are adapted to the demands of the fields that they inhabit. These strategies are pre-conscious and act on the level of a bodily logic. Habitus is adapted to the field, including the national field, in that different nations have practices which are more or less unique to each nation, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

Bourdieu derived the concept of habitus from Marcel Mauss although it is also present in the works of Norbert Elias and Max Weber. Habitus can be defined as a system of dispositions (lasting, acquired schemes of perception, thought and action). The individual agent develops these characteristics in response to the objective conditions encountered. In this way Bourdieu theorizes the inculcation of objective social structures into the subjective, mental experience of agents.

Habitus can be defined as a system of dispositions referring one's personal taste, mannerisms, speech, way of dressing, eating, all of the ways in which we presume to characterize ourselves as individuals. According to Bourdieu although these sensibilities are all socially determined, they are embodied by the agent as the self and are thus not easily shed nor relearned. They are pre-conscious acquired habitual actions and behaviours. The individual habitus is a result of the mix of multiple engagements in the social world which occur throughout the person's life.

In other words the habitus is the result of the social interactions that the individual has encountered throughout their life. The habitus is embodied experience, the cumulative effect of

life-long learning. They are shaped by the factors of class, employment, education and societal influences. National habitus is also transferred from the society into the individual through the means of education, family and social interactions. It could be described as a type of intergenerational national habitus transference. But habitus is contingent, purely being that which typifies cultural norms at a given time in a given place. Bourdieu sees habitus as key to social reproduction because it is central to generating and regulating the practices that make up social life. In his own words:

Habitus is thus at the basis of strategies of reproduction that tend to maintain separations, distances, and relations of ordering, hence concurring in practice (although not consciously or deliberately) in reproducing the entire system of differences constitutive of the social order (Bourdieu, 1997: 3).

The most improbable practices are therefore excluded, as unthinkable, by a kind of immediate submission to order that inclines agents to make a virtue of necessity, that is, to refuse what is categorically denied. For example a child living in an inner city estate is hardly predisposed to develop either aptitude or disposition for sailing as access to a boat would probably be non-existent. But, the child of a sailor is exposed to a different set of choices. That does not infer that sailing is out of the question for the urban child but it would not be the easiest option. The relationship between habitus and field is a two-way relationship. They define one another and are reinforced through their relationship with each other. In this way Bourdieu theorizes the inculcation of objective, social external concepts into the subjective, mental experience of agents.

For example, in some countries it is encouraged to be emotionally demonstrative, whereas in other environments such behaviour would be oppressed or repressed, thus forming a part of a 'national habitus'. The behaviour then becomes absorbed into the ordinary behaviours of the agent, becoming normalised. Habitus is the individual manifestation of external forces, when there are experienced as entirely natural.

Socialisation produces a habitus which is in part state ordained. The state-ordained aspect is of course the schooling process which reinforces a particular set of values legitimising them and adding social value, as argued by Bourdieu:

Pedagogic action entails pedagogic work, a process of inculcation which must last long enough to produce a durable training, i.e. a habitus, the product of internalization of the principles of a cultural arbitrary capable of perpetuating itself after pedagogic action has ceased and thereby of perpetuating in practices the principles of the internalised arbitrary (Bourdieu, 1997: 5).

This in turn manifests itself as taste, and bodily dispositions (hexis). Social agents act according to their feel for the game (the feel being, roughly, habitus, and the game being the field). Habitus thus develops with experience and a sense of the game. Habitus is consequently a sense of one's place and role in the world. The manner through which the behavioural patterns of the habitus are embedded in individuals may take various forms. This manifests through several aspects of human interaction with the world, not just in terms of ideas, patterns of speech or dress, but also with regard to the body and its stance or demeanour (hexis). Bourdieu's concept of habitus then can be extrapolated to become national habitus, so therefore not just a sense of one's class in the world but one's nationality as well. The hexis is part of this habitus as it is the physical aspect of the habitus.

### **3.6 HEXIS**

Hexis is the bodily manifestation of expression, the gait, stance, posture etc. of the bearer, normally learnt through continuous exposure to external influences and forces from an early age. Through the term hexis Bourdieu sought to explain how 'the body is in the social world but the social world is also in the body' (Bourdieu, 1977: 190), and how this was manifested in ways of 'standing, speaking, and thereby of *feeling* and *thinking*' (Bourdieu, 1977: 171). Bourdieu featured the term *hexis*, in his study of the Béarn peasantry in which he observed the difficulties experienced by peasants forced to uproot themselves from their traditional practices and customs during the post-war modernisation of France. This was reflected in their physical and psychological inability to participate in local dances.

Their posture and ways of moving had literally been shaped and defined by their prior experiences; they found it prohibitive to behave in a way which was anathema to their way of life. The core values of the dominant culture, Bourdieu emphasised, become inscribed in the apparently insignificant details of '*dress, bearing, physical and verbal manners*' (Bourdieu 1977). They embody their class in the sartorial choices available to them. These are choices based not purely on financial factors, but also considerations such as geography, peer pressure and family influences. So, for Bourdieu one can tell a person's social status by both their deportment and their manner of dress. The body as well as the clothing represent in a tangible form class membership. Posture and the 'proper way' to sit or hold cutlery are inculcated from an early age:

The body becomes a memory and acts as a repository for the principles 'embodied' within it which, since they are placed beyond the grasp of consciousness...cannot be touched by voluntary, deliberate transformation, cannot even be made explicit (Bourdieu, 1996:175).

The hexis, gait or demeanour is also socialised, again through a wide variety of contributing factors encompassing not just social ties, but physical elements also. So, for example city dwellers tend to walk faster than rural inhabitants due to learnt experiences, e.g. necessity of catching a connecting train, or to enable them to garner a seat before crowds arrive. City dwellers are more used to queuing, whereas the rural inhabitant does not live in such densely populated areas so therefore has no need to employ such strategies in their life. The social environment directly influences the habitus and hexis of the agent.

An example of national hexis would be to compare greetings. In all cultures people acknowledge one another as a sign of recognition, affection, friendship and reverence. Acceptable responses vary from cheek kissing which is common in Europe and Latin America to bowing which is widespread in China, Japan and Korea. There are variations within these forms such as on the Galapagos Islands women kiss on the right cheek only, whereas in Oman it is not unusual for men to kiss one another on the nose after a handshake. These are obviously learnt national cultural differences, taught and taken for granted by the practitioners.



This example can be employed further and applied to limitless fields, and their attendant habitus. In this way we can conclude that field, habitus and hexis are relevant to the study of nationalism and can be adapted as national field, national habitus and national hexis.

### **3.7 CAPITAL**

Bourdieu sees symbolic capital (e.g., prestige, honour, attention) as a crucial source of power. Symbolic capital is any type of capital that is perceived through socially inculcated classificatory schemes. When a holder of symbolic capital uses the power this confers against an agent who holds less, and seeks to alter their actions, they exercise symbolic violence. People who submit to this type of violence do so because they experience symbolic power and systems of meaning (culture) as legitimate. Moreover, by perceiving symbolic violence as legitimate, the agent becomes complicit in their own subordination. They could be said to be agreeing with the value of symbolic capital. Social and cultural reproduction is the means by which various forms of non-monetary capital tend to transfer from one generation to the next. For Bourdieu, formal education represents the key example of this process. Bourdieu extended the idea of capital to include categories such as social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital.

A person is not defined solely by social class membership, but by every single kind of capital he or she can articulate through social relations. That capital includes the value of social networks, which Bourdieu demonstrated could be used to produce or reproduce inequality. Educational success, according to Bourdieu, entails a whole range of cultural behaviour, extending to ostensibly non-academic features like gait, dress, or accent. Privileged children have learned this behaviour, as have their teachers. Children of disadvantaged backgrounds have not. The children of privilege therefore fit the pattern of their teachers' expectations with apparent 'ease'; they are 'docile'. The unprivileged are found to be 'difficult', to present 'challenges'. Yet both behave as their upbringing dictates. Bourdieu regards this 'ease', or 'natural' ability, as being the product of great social labour, largely on the part of the parents. The children are equipped with the dispositions of manner as well as thought which ensure they are able to succeed within the educational system. This enables them to reproduce their parents' class position in the wider social system. Cultural capital (e.g., competencies, skills, qualifications) can also be a source of misrecognition and symbolic violence. Working class children may come to see the educational

success of their middle class peers as the reflection of individual merit, seeing what is often class-based inequality as instead the result of hard work or 'natural' ability.

A key part of this process is the transformation of people's symbolic or economic inheritance (e.g. accent or property) into cultural capital (e.g. university qualifications) - a process which the logic of the cultural fields impedes but cannot prevent. The family that values, for example, spelling competency will ensure their children acquire this ability, enabling the children to perform well in spelling tests at school. The families that do not necessarily value such skills will consequently not instil this proficiency in their children. The prior group of children will accordingly perform better within the school testing system and become predisposed to succeed. This is just a small example of larger class assimilation:

Pedagogic work enables the group or class which delegates its authority to pedagogic action to produce and reproduce its intellectual and moral integration without resorting to external repression or, in particular, physical coercion (Bourdieu, 1996: 36).

In other words, this system enables the education system to sort or sift out those who do not possess the correct attributes of class membership. The attributes that are valued are those that are already present in that class. Characteristics that are respected within the working classes are deemed as vulgar and undesirable. This enables the education and inherent class systems to appear entirely natural and therefore eliminate the need for force. This reinforces societal cohesion and conformity despite widespread inequality.

Bourdieu hypothesizes that cultural dispositions are acquired at an early age and act to guide the young to their appropriate social positions. They are thus steered toward the behaviours that are identifiable with their class and accordingly can create an aversion concerning any behaviour that fall outside of this norm. Behaviour which for some social groups is deemed as common or rude and acceptable within others can thereby create the beginnings of social divisions. For example, correction of table manners can occur on a daily basis within some social groups from an early age; e.g. 'don't eat with your mouth open'. This becomes a self-disciplined mannerism which results in the child then viewing the behaviour as rude when exhibited by others, although these are values which may simply not be instilled in other social groups.

Accordingly Bourdieu theorised that classes teach aesthetic preferences to their young. These are determined by a combination of the varying degrees of social, economic, and cultural capital. Bourdieu emphasises the dominance of cultural capital early on by stating that the differences in cultural capital mark the differences between the classes. They therefore act as a means of recognising and rejecting other classes as well as gaining acceptance to one's own class.

Those aesthetic choices are ordinarily the result of social origin rather than accumulated capital or experience over time. The acquisition of cultural capital originates in the home as children mimic their family members. As the infant is taught the correct way of walking by its family so does the child become competent in a wide range of behaviours, habits and tastes? So for example if a child is brought up in a family of doctors we can recognise that they learn and become proficient in much of the language of the medical profession. Even as a family discusses that day's events the child learns and becomes skilled in a specific language game. As each profession in turn has its own terminology which acts as a means of both exclusion and inclusion we can surmise that if the child of doctors then enters training for the same profession they can appear gifted or naturally inclined to such a career.

But, in reality the child has simply learnt the *feel for the game* from an early age so whereas others may have to learn such knowledge (which can encompass terminology as well a competent bedside manner). The point to be taken from this example is that the child is not genetically inclined towards the profession; it is just that the grounding for their education took place at a very early age at home, during their primary socialisation as it were. As Bourdieu explains:

Because learning is an irreversible process, the habitus acquired within the family forms the basis of the reception and assimilation of the classroom message, and the habitus acquired at school conditions the level of reception and degree of assimilation of the messages produced and diffused by the culture industry, and more generally, of any intellectual or semi-intellectual message (Bourdieu, 1996: 43).

Knowledge and competencies acquired at a young age becomes second nature, so as to feel normal and natural to the owner of this knowledge. It can seem to the child that 'everybody knows that', it is taken for granted knowledge:

Because pedagogic work has the effect of producing individuals durably and systematically modified by a prolonged and systematic transformative action tending to endow them with the same durable, transposable training (*habitus*), i.e. with common schemes of thought, perception, appreciation and action (Bourdieu, 1996: 196).

The same theory can be applied to a wide variant of occupations or lifestyles. For example, a child growing up on a farm learns from an early age much which would take years to learn by other means. The children's seemingly natural inclination or aptitude for either profession is actually a learnt behaviour which can then be reinforced as naturally occurring by their community. Much as a love of classical music may be taught at this stage so might an appreciation of heavy metal or jazz. From here we can understand how many tastes are taught or learnt, being heavily influenced by outside forces. They may not necessarily be purely based on purely subjective aesthetic leanings.

To clarify this point we could take as an example the British premier league. A lifelong affiliation is rarely based on an analysis of a team's comparative qualities (as that is constantly changing reflecting its current players) or its moral attributes. Though we can understand that geographical proximity or religious groupings may play a part in a proportion of memberships, it is commonly understood that such allegiances are formed on a much more emotive basis such as family associations.

The child of a Liverpool supporter, if they pursue an interest in the sport often develops into an adult Liverpool supporter. These are lifelong loyalties based on decisions made long before the supporter's birth. Supporting a football team is an emotional attachment that has become naturalised by the supporter reminding them subconsciously of home or feeling secure, loved and happy. They are part of a community and as such develop memories and experiences and indeed friendships rooted in this community. The support of the team is an allegiance which usually has little to do with impartial evaluation of the team's relative merits. As such loyalties

are shaped so too can we understand how other preferences are incorporated into the subjectivity of the bearer.

So a preference for opera may be due to early exposure to this genre in the family home. It becomes an indication of upper class membership which plays a formative role in constituting the character or habitus. Bourdieu asserts the primacy of social origin and culture capital by claiming that social capital and economic capital, though acquired cumulatively over time, depend upon it. According to Bourdieu, tastes in food, culture and presentation are indicators of class because trends in their consumption seemingly correlate with an individual's fit in society. Each element of the dominant class develops its own aesthetic criteria (encompassing dress, music, furniture etc.). However, Bourdieu does not disregard the importance of social capital and economic capital in the formation of cultural capital.

In fact, the production of art and the ability to play an instrument indicates that the practitioner of such arts evidently possesses a far greater degree of leisure time historically (as they require large amounts of time-consuming practice). So we can perceive that the facility to execute such crafts clearly acts as an indicator that the individual is probably not working twelve hour shifts as a labourer, for example. Objectively we can surmise that the capacity to perform such an act infers the class of the individual and is not solely the demonstration of an innate skill or genetic predisposition. These attitudes and inherent knowledge become a 'natural' embodiment to the bearer.

Each person carries within them their own knowledge of what is considered acceptable by their peers. Any attitudes or dispositions that fall outside of these experiences may seem unnatural and strange to the individual, their own habits and behaviours are their norm. Any practices that fall outside of these norms may appear unnatural, making the observer feel uncomfortable, not knowing how to act. Demonstrations of the tastes of luxury or the preferences born of necessity reveal a distinction among the social classes. Hence a liking for luxury food items such as caviar or oysters is in fact an acquired taste and yet it is often assumed that only the truly cultured can appreciate such foods. This denotes too the possession of wealth. The individual's relationship with food is not solely an act of sustenance but this is food as a mark of distinction. The importance of the food no longer lies with maximum yield for lowest economic investment, with

the food enjoyed for aesthetic reasons. The food acts as a class indicator. So it can be seen all these nuances of behaviour act as a major factor in social mobility (for example, getting a higher-paid, higher-status job may not just be the result of hard work and commitment but an ability to fit in during social occasions with others in specific fields). Hence the middle classes stress on the importance of 'good' table manners and social etiquette. Similarly a liking for and an aptitude for golf may provide access to those in positions of power, thereby providing the agent with the opportunity to demonstrate their feel for the game and ingratiate themselves further.

Bourdieu routinely sought to connect his theoretical ideas with empirical research, grounded in everyday life, and his work can be seen as a sociology of culture or, as he labelled it, a *Theory of Practice*. For example Bourdieu examines how, despite the apparent freedom of choice in the arts, people's artistic preferences (such as classical music, rock or opera music) strongly tie in with their social position. Also subtleties of language such as accent, grammar, spelling and style which are all part of cultural capital are learnt social characteristics. Bourdieu takes language to be not merely a method of communication, but also a mechanism of power. The language one uses is designated by one's relational position in a field or social space. Different uses of language tend to reiterate the respective positions of each participant. Linguistic interactions are manifestations of the participants' respective positions in social space and categories of understanding, and thus tend to reproduce the objective structures of the social field.

The words one chooses and the manner in which they are vocalised immediately inform the listener of the social place of the speaker. Accent and pronunciation are significant demonstrators of class membership and are passed seamlessly across the generations.

As an accent is imparted so too is language. The first language taught becomes the 'mother tongue' for the child, usually this being their national language. As such we can see language as an insight into how one is taught one's national identity. One develops an innate inclination or preference for primary language. This could possibly be perceived as the very start or stepping stone of acquiring a national identity.

It is also the case that national allegiance can be developed innocently from an early age in the home. But outside the home the link between patriotism and education is not only subliminal but

sometimes overt as we can perceive in the Federal Flag Code in the United States of America. This recommends that the flag should be displayed on or near the main building of public institutions and schools during school days. This of course underlines what Michael Billig refers to as '*flagging the nation*' in his work *Banal Nationalism* (1997). The idea being of course that the banal displaying of the flag acts to reinforce nationalism more so than its triumphant waving. It is the banal which is the truly potent force.

What Bourdieu called symbolic violence is the self-interested capacity to ensure that the arbitrariness of the social order is either ignored, or posited as natural, thereby justifying the legitimacy of existing social structures. In other words the class system is perpetuated by those it favours. This too can be applied to an analysis of nation systems. As long as its members act in accord, then the unity within each nation-state is preserved, a form of patriotic partnership if you will. As long as nationalism is perceived to be a natural state of affairs, thus its very survival seems assured. The more natural seeming an ideology the less likely it is to be subject to scrutiny or doubt, in fact its members may fight to the death for it.

### **3.8 FROM CLASS TO NATION**

Bourdieu provides us with a detailed, intricate analysis of how socialisation serves to reproduce class, particularly the middle classes. However, his theory is seldom used to explain how any other aspects of society are replicated. In fact it hardly requires a leap of the imagination or intellect to suggest that a range of our attitudes can be credited in part to socialisation. For example, our views towards violence, exercise, finances, health or sport may all be attributed in some part to socialisation. As socialisation is the process by which differing life worlds appear natural to those who inhabit them, we accordingly recognise that which we are familiar with as the norm. It can form the 'rosetta stone' from which we then experience or compare forms of life. Indeed Bourdieu himself points this out:

The choices which constitute a culture (choices which no one makes) appear as arbitrary when related by the comparative method to the sum total of present or past cultures or, by imaginary variation, to the universe of possible cultures; they reveal their necessity as soon as they are related to the social conditions of their emergence and perpetuation (Bourdieu, 1996: 8).

In other words, the preferences exhibited by inhabitants of a culture are more indicative of the type of society than a clear objective decision based solely on personal taste. For example, a person born into a capitalist society is more likely to either attain a mortgage or rental home than opt for nomadism. The choices are not suggestive of the entire human experience but instead represent what is considered acceptable or appropriate within that culture. Cultures conceivably could consist of an infinite array of possibilities, but on the whole choices are limited. The socialisation process provides us with ascribed norms of behaviour while societal expectations constrain the options available to us. The person learns how they are supposed to behave and if they deviate from the script, they may face sanctions. Hence we can understand that the elements presented as choices are also culturally specific constraints. This then informs the habitus which forms the doxa present in cultures.

As noted earlier, the habitus learnt by the urban person is different to that acquired by a rural resident. For example, the city dweller may possess an understanding of their local transport systems formed from childhood, creating a 'feel for the game', whilst the rudiments of the same journey may seem unintelligible to the person used to rural surroundings. These acquired knowledge bases form a habitus which is learnt. As they are usually internalised at an early age they seem normal and inherent. They are socialised into becoming members of the society into which they have been born. They are taught the basic set of competencies that they need to be successful members of their own environment. These types of socialised behaviours are however, largely missing from examination in Bourdieu's oeuvre.

Bourdieu discusses repeatedly the forms and means through which class is inculcated into the individual through the education system but never discusses the wider implications of the socialising effect. Bourdieu omits any discussion of how education or the curriculum ensures the production of law-abiding, taxpaying citizens. Class stratification is not the only by-product of a successful state education system. Many social attributes can be attributed to a successful pedagogical system. Though Bourdieu did cite Durkheim's contribution to the discussion:

The organs of education are, in every age, connected with the other institutions of the social body, with customs and beliefs, with the great currents of thought (Bourdieu, 1996: 111).



Education reflects the whole of society, its values and norms. Teachers act as arbiters of taste, judgement and ethics. The educational apparatus can act as an institutionalisation of a hierarchy of ideas, acts and a moral code. Therefore education is the means through which a particular habitus is legitimised.

The professional ideology which transmutes the relation of pedagogic communication into an elective encounter between the 'master' and the 'disciple' induces teachers to misrecognise in their professional practice, and to behave objectively, as Weber says, like 'little prophets in the pay of the State (Bourdieu, 1996: 110).

Thus the system reinforces values that reproduce the national culture so they are naturalised and all sense of their arbitrariness is lost. But as education passes on social and societal requirements, other qualities are also imbued through alternative means, as can be seen by briefly examining the discourse of hygiene at the turn of the twentieth century.

### **3.9 A BRIEF COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF HYGIENE**

If we take as an example of how hygiene has been treated in different nations we can perceive the various methods by which values can be inculcated within a population. This expands the definition of exo-socialisation as used by Gellner to include non-state activities. Hygienism was articulated differently in contrasting national contexts and although it was driven by the idea of public education, it was not left to the state alone to provide this education. Furthermore, hygienists set about entering the 'private' space of the home in order to inculcate habits of cleanliness, sobriety and industry. The following provides examples from North America, Ireland and Britain to enable comparisons of different national habitus formations.

#### **North America**

Historically bathing has fallen in and out of fashion reflecting social perceptions in the aftermath of plagues such as the Black Death. With the advancement of science and the discovery of bacteria carrying germs there was a move back towards cleanliness in a bid to eradicate disease. The education system then became the basis by which public opinions were to be swayed:

An international congress on school hygiene held in Paris in 1910 recommended that shower baths be built in all schools. Larger towns in Norway, Switzerland, Sweden and Germany already included showers as part of their school program, and Austria, France, Holland and Belgium were following their lead. Fifteen British school boards approved their use (Ashenburg, 2007: 233).

This echoes the social changes that had been taking place across the Atlantic in North America:

Americans, like their British cousins, regarded unwashed bodies as inevitable and unworrying if not positively healthful. By the 1880's, however, something happened that no one could have predicted. The United States' had become the Western country that most embraced the gospel of hygiene. And by the end of the century, urban Americans, at least, routinely distinguished between filthy Europeans and their own clean ways (Ashenburg, 2007: 200).

Schools and their teachers had been widely instrumental in this adjustment of public sentiment and attitudes:

A public school principal in New York City ordered that the teachers ask the children every day, 'What must I do to be healthy?' The children were to chorus in answer: I must keep my skin clean, Wear clean clothes, Breathe pure air and live in the sunlight (Ashenburg, 2007: 216).

This was not just about cleanliness but also about vigour, a means of combating tuberculosis and other diseases common among the poor. The pupils accordingly absorbed the perceived importance of good hygiene in contrast to previous generations. This was further bolstered by a campaign outside of the school environment: 'In 1927 the soap makers founded the Cleanliness Institute, a trade organization devoted to inculcating in Americans a belief in the supreme value of hygiene' (Ashenburg, 2007: 255). The Cleanliness Institute is indicative of the social ties dimension of socialisation as featured in Figure 3.1. The Socialisation triangle, as this creates a second side of the triangle, thus reinforcing belief systems:

Using magazine advertisements, radio ads and public service announcements, and a battery of classroom teaching aids, the Institute aimed at making Americans feel that there was no such thing as clean enough (Ashenburg, 2007: 255).

Thus we can see the move to specific hygiene standards in North American society was motivated through a robust public education campaign. This was achieved through a fusion of state and civil society organisations, resulting in a particular habitus acting as a social marker: 'For more than a century, cleanliness has been a definite part of the American way, and a signal divider between those who belonged and those who didn't' (Ashenburg, 2007: 271). This obsession with hygiene became a marker of national distinction, which was constructed through contrast to the alleged disdain for hygiene on the part of the French, evident in the idea that 'The French often seem to have a perverse national pride in their unconcern about cleanliness' (Ashenburg, 2007: 295).

The North American doxa was defined in opposition to French disdain for hygiene. As Ashenburg (2007:295) notes, 'The middle-class North American has never had less need to wash beyond the wrists and has never scrubbed more obsessively'. This does not mean, however, that all North Americans are fastidious and French people are less meticulous, what is being commented on here are national generalisations, supported through state or cultural institutional methods. So we can deduce that the mechanisms of education, in part, construct much more than class membership, in the example given public education was pivotal to the formation of a national habitus regarding hygiene.

## **Ireland**

In 1908 there was a campaign spearheaded by Countess Aberdeen to tackle the epidemic of tuberculosis. At this time TB was at epidemic levels and the objective of the drive was to educate the population of Ireland as to how best stop the spread of disease. The movement took its lead from previous successful campaigns in other countries, particularly America, adapting them to suit Irish society. This thus presents us with examples of the construction of a particular national habitus driven by a non-state body known as the Women's National Health Association

of Ireland. The campaign proved successful and influential in its aim of fighting tuberculosis in Ireland.<sup>1</sup>

This was achieved through the formation of a special committee of doctors and other ladies and gentlemen who had experience of the subject. This included medical men, the clergy of all denominations, and the members of the Urban and Rural District Councils and Boards of Guardians. The committees were formed with a view to organising a travelling Tuberculosis Exhibition, as this method of education had proven to be of great value both in the United States of America, in Germany, and elsewhere (Aberdeen, 1908: xv).

Accordingly we can surmise that the original impetus of the campaign came from overseas. Also it is not a state created programme. Within the stated aims of the campaign it is apparent that the intention was to impact directly on the habits of the populace. This was made explicit by Lady Aberdeen herself:

We must educate the people more and more as to the importance of keeping their houses clean and sanitary, well ventilated, not overcrowded, and so situated as to be properly lighted by the sun, and they must be taught what measures they can adopt to prevent the onset and spread of the disease. In other words, we must teach the people that they themselves have it in their own power largely to control the disease. Temperance in all things should be inculcated, as well as the use of nourishing, properly-cooked food, and the laws of hygiene and temperance should be taught in the primary schools, which should be medically inspected (Aberdeen, 1908: 80).

Of particular interest to the present discussion is how this ‘crusade’ was staged on the terrain of ‘expectoration’ or spitting in public, which at this time was defined as a repugnant and dangerous ‘Irish’ habit. In seeking to modify this habit on the part of the Irish, medical experts in Ireland drew on the experience of the United States. Part of this ‘crusade’ as it was called directed attention to the need to abolish or punish those who expectorate as it is this habit which causes the spread of tuberculosis.

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<sup>1</sup> In his work *The Germans* Elias also used the term ‘national habitus’. He compared and contrasted German habits to that of its neighbours the Dutch and finds explanations that contribute to their differences (Elias, 1998).

The American expectorated everywhere and at all times; but, with the growth of public opinion against the habit, the law of the land stepped in (Aberdeen, 1908: 93).

The comparison is thus drawn between Ireland and America where spitting had been largely eradicated. Thus we can understand the imposition of a set of ideas upon a general community in a way which encourages uniform behaviour.

The phrasing ensures that this is seen as part of a wider drive to development.

What renders the battle against tuberculosis so highly important is the fact that it has an intimate relation to social progress in general. The more we raise the social level the more we can civilise and humanise the people, the more we can educate them in just views of life, in right habits of living, the more shall we succeed in stopping the plague of tuberculosis (Aberdeen, 1908: 108).

The influence of the school is here perceived as being more far reaching than the training of children. The apparent impact on the home and family life is also taken into account:

with regard to cleanliness in their own homes, the children should be taught at school so that they may be able to teach their parents—for children sometimes do teach their parents, and most children think generally that they could teach them a great deal—and often it would be possible to enable the children to teach the parents much which it would be good for them to learn (Aberdeen, 1908: 143).

Whilst public spitting is decried within the campaign the need to expectorate hygienically is not omitted. Whilst in America the advice was for each person to carry their own spittoon this was deemed financially unmanageable in Ireland. It was thus advised that spittoons be made out of a sod of turf to enable children to spit cleanly and indeed economically. There thus evolved a turf spittoon, peculiar to Ireland, and in the travelling Tuberculosis Exhibition one of the exhibits was labelled as follows: ‘Co. Wicklow. Turf Spittoons, suitable for use in Irish country cottages’ (Aberdeen, 1908: 167). Thus we have a clear example of the creation of a nationally specific response to the problem of ‘hygiene’.

Turf was freely available in Ireland at that time and would serve to train the Irish in new habits of hygiene, raising them to a level of civilisation already achieved across the Atlantic.

Public opinion in Ireland is not yet educated up to the level of New York, where spitting on a footpath is punishable, for the first offence, by fine, and if repeated by imprisonment. Not one of the least important arguments for the establishment of sanatoriums is that in them patients are taught how to deal with their expectoration. Each person is compelled to carry a pocket flask and to collect his expectoration in it. At the close of each day the contents of the flask are mixed with sawdust and burned. The flask is then placed in a strong disinfectant overnight, and after washing the following morning is again (Aberdeen, 1908: 43).

This was a direct aim to eradicate the 'Irish' habit of spitting in public. We could say the main purpose was one of engineering a new habitus, and though framed in universal terms, it was in fact context specific.

## **England**

There was also a move towards influencing the households of England towards greater hygiene in a bid for a healthier population.

of particular significance were the decline in the birth-rate in the early decades of the twentieth-century, the loss of life in the First World War, and the further decline in births in the 1920s and 1930s (Rose, 1986: 147).

In terms of ensuring a healthier nation, the discourse of hygiene in England was framed by the notion of national 'efficiency' and the objective was not merely a healthier nation; 'the object was not merely the conservation of children, but the production of physically efficient bodies and socially productive habits' (Rose, 1985: 147).

This could be aligned to Gellner's view that industrialism is the driver for nationalism, as one of reasons for this state involvement was commerce:

the twentieth century saw the high numbers of infant deaths as both indicative of the low physical efficiency of the population and as a particular squandering of a resource which the nation required both for its defence and for its industry (Rose, 1985: 147).

This in turn became a driver for state involvement in the home: 'The strategy sought to bring all new-born infants into the field of inspection, enabling the mothers to be reached through their babies' (Rose, 1985: 148). Also the field of state bureaucracy began to encircle the family: 'trained and salaried midwives; compulsory notification of births; employment of health visitors to visit the homes of all new-born babies,' (Rose, 1985: 178). The family was no longer solely a private matter, the nation having a direct interest in the health of its young: 'schools for mothers to which new mothers could be directed for the inspection of children and for the inspection of mothers' (Rose, 19985: 148). These processes were to ensure that the nation was able to protect and provide for itself.

As argued by Nikolas Rose the nation 'did not limit its aspirations to the production of fodder fit enough for the demands of the battlefield or the factory' (Rose, 1985: 150). The point that Rose makes concerns morality, the discourse of hygiene was cast in the language of science and medicine, but it was also a moralising technology, i.e. 'ignorance and fecklessness were to be turned into conscientiousness and responsibility' (Rose, 1985: 150). Through a comparison of these examples we can see that a state run school system as the main vehicle of exo-socialisation is by no means insulated from the wider society. The term can be utilised to describe a wide range of examples of methods through which socialisation blurs the distinction between state and civil society, public and private, school and home. Furthermore, we can also see that education does not apply solely to class construction as defined by Bourdieu, even though this is also apparent in nationally configured discourses of hygiene.

This leads us to the proposition that Pierre Bourdieu's work on socialisation is more encompassing than the creation of class. Though his framework analysis has been utilised in examining power relations his actual close examinations of how class is reproduced have rarely been used to examine other areas of society. But there is nothing in his theory that prevents its

extension to other questions, such as nationalism. Bourdieu's work on the methods of class socialisation can clearly be applied to other questions that exhibit similar features.

### **3.10 CONCLUSION**

As we have seen, Bourdieu maintained that class is imbued through the act of socialisation. Socialisation takes place through the means of education, family and social networks. Differing social groups thus learn what is deemed appropriate for them. Their hobbies, manners and educational pursuits are ordained by an accident of birth. The academically gifted daughter of a coal miner, for instance, may be considered lucky to enrol into a secretarial school, whereas if she had been born the child of a brain surgeon, her options may have been less constrained. If we apply the same framework analysis to other social attributes, such as nationalism, we can reach an understanding of how socialisation can instil habits, values, and beliefs. Thus we can perceive how nationalism is transferred from one generation to the next. So by gaining an understanding of Bourdieu's understanding of socialisation we can use his theory pertaining to class construction as a theoretical framework to be applied to the question of nationalism. In this way we can begin to examine how the nation is an acquired attribute which is embodied individually and collectively.

Thus an in-depth analysis of socialisation can lead one to the conclusion that linguistic and cultural knowledge is arbitrary, in the sense that the holder of these values could possess others if raised in another environment. They can, in theory be taught to any individual who is either disposed to absorbing them or too young to make a value judgement. Once initially absorbed these preferences form a type of cultural 'mother tongue', which is the basis for comparison with other cultures. In this way we can understand how a national identity given from birth becomes the 'rosetta stone' from which other nations are understood. This original understanding would be thus taken as the base of comparison for all forthcoming interactions or experiences. Cultural and social tastes thus act not solely as class indicators but also as national signifiers. Bourdieu stressed that mechanisms of social domination and reproduction were primarily focused on bodily know-how and competent practices in the social world. These are then learnt in such a manner as to make them seem entirely natural. As education usually



commences during childhood, it forms the very basis of our understanding of the world and society which we inhabit:

It is nigh impossible that our judgements should be as pure or as solid as they would have been had we had full use of our reason from the moment of our birth and we never been led out by reason alone (Bourdieu, 1996: 37).

In order to ensure 'free will' is the only motivation impacting on judgements of taste, a child would have to be exposed to every possible cultural permutation in a completely unbiased manner. Consequently one can thus surmise that it would be an impossible task to educate someone without also imparting a partial view of the world. Logically they would have to be educated initially through the medium of a universal language or culture. Therefore there can be no such thing as pure objectivity so to assume that any nation is superior to another merely reflects the effect of socialisation. We can consequently understand how socialisation creates an individual's and thus a society's world view. We are taught by others as children how the world works and our place in it. Accordingly we can redirect Bourdieu's theoretical template of socialisation and utilise it to examine the construction of nationalism. Nationalism is as much a creation of socialisation as class membership is. This application therefore provides a widening of Gellner's theory pertaining to the creation of nationalism.

## **INTERMEDIATE REFLECTION: FROM THE ‘WHY’ TO THE ‘HOW’ OF NATIONALISM.**

Thus far we have seen that in the chapter on Gellner the pivotal theme is the understanding of nationalism as a modern value, which is fashioned through the process of exo-socialisation (socialisation outside the home). Whilst Gellner specifies education as the source of this socialisation, he omits the importance of other factors, such as social groups, or non-state bodies. Indeed Gellner does not even thoroughly examine the education system, the one source of exo-socialisation he pinpoints. Thus he has provided us with a possible consideration of the *why* of nationalism but not the *how*.

Bourdieu maintained that class is purely a matter of social construct. Bourdieu’s oeuvre is rich in dense detail which can be used to address the ‘missing ink’ in Gellner’s hypothesis. Bourdieu provided us with an in-depth analysis of the minutiae of class construction, the *how* of class construction. In a bid to explain the *how* of nationalism this work will generate an appreciation of the socialisation of nationalism, by applying Bourdieu’s theoretical frame to Gellner’s theory. This will accordingly adapt Bourdieu’s terminology, so that his concepts are re-presented as national habitus, national hexis, national field and national doxa.

Through the concept of national habitus we can understand thoroughly the idea of the socialisation of nationalism. This is where the two thinkers meet, the intersection of the two theories. Socialisation being that which is inculcated infers that all socialised values are therefore acquired or learnt. Thus we can deduce that nationalism is arbitrary, accordingly any value which acts as a national ‘marker’ or trait is the result of chance, an accident of birth. It is a characteristic or attribute imbued through the encompassing society, so that individuals raised within a similar social environment are likely to possess similar characteristics and a shared identity. But, the adoption of any given habitus is also open to the individual subjective experience.

The national habitus in itself reflects the impact of different historical and geographical vectors. We can perceive this from examples given in the previous chapter regarding comparisons of

hygiene. In particular the evolution of a 'turf spittoon' is an example of an innovation rooted in a culturally specific habitus. This is a development from the spittoon recommended in other countries for the handling of expectorate to prohibit the spread of tuberculosis. It was deemed that some members of the Irish population would not be able to afford purpose built spittoons, so instead a spittoon was to be fashioned out of turf sods (which were very much to hand in a predominately rural society). Thus is a national habitus formed and reinforced through situational elements and something as unobtrusively banal as a turf sod fashioned into a technology of hygiene is precisely what is missing from Gellner's theory of nation and nationalism..

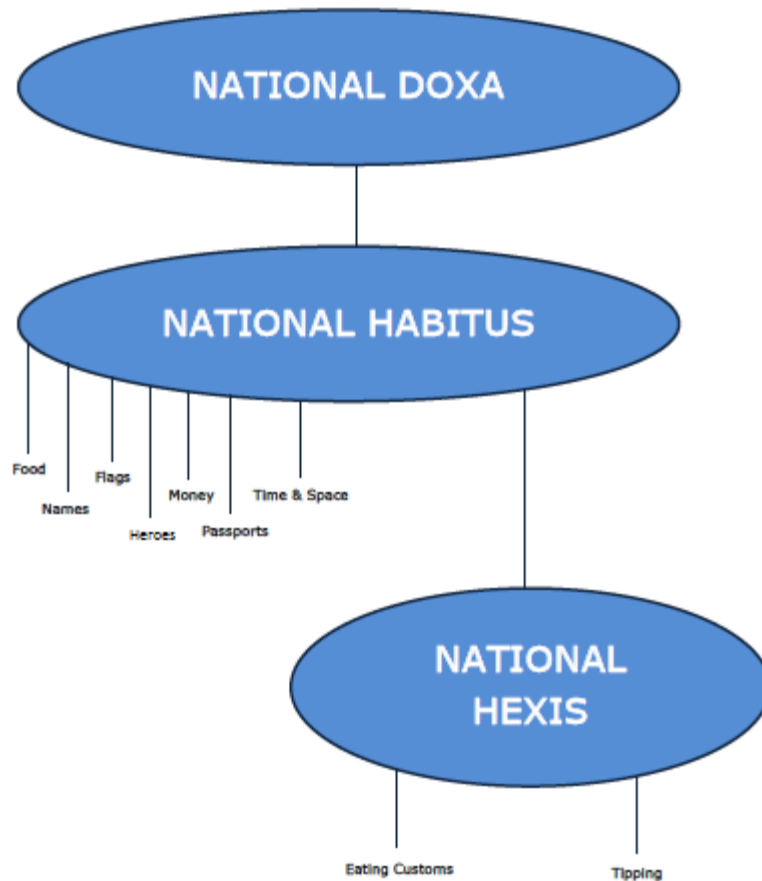
Accordingly national habitus is that which is examined in the following chapter: *Observable Manifestations of National Behaviour*. We will see mundane yet important examples of national habitus which have been naturalised through social networks. These examples range from eating habits to the time we observe in each nation. Furthermore, by surveying some of the many ways that the nation is embodied and enacted in routine social life, we will also be able to observe the very *being* of the nation.

## Chapter 4 - THE NATIONAL HABITUS

The purpose of this chapter is to build on the outline of exo-socialisation discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter identifies a variety of ways in which the nation is embodied and performed or enacted in the context of everyday social life. The origins of these behaviours can be reconstructed, but here the focus is how these operate as subliminal markers of national identity. They become tacit taken for granted actions. We could refer to these as nation-centric behaviours, beliefs, or values. They are qualities imbued through the process of socialisation and which can clearly only have been imparted through the channels of society. This could alternately be described as either the process of nationalist socialisation or nation-centric socialisation. They are normative behaviours which are also the accepted codes of conduct that we use to identify with co-nationals and distinguish us from 'others'.

As previously outlined in Chapter 1, I will be employing Ernest Gellner's theory of nationalism as a construct of modernity and Bourdieu's theory of socialisation. These combine as a theoretical analysis of how nationalism is socialised while also providing a supporting body of evidence. Bourdieu employed the concepts of doxa, habitus, and hexis to reveal the dynamics of social construction in society. I will demonstrate how these ideas can be applied to the reproduction of nationhood. In Bourdieu's terminology doxa refers to that what is taken for granted in any particular society. When applied to nationalism, national doxa denotes culturally specific behaviours, attitudes, traditions, customs and norms which remain more or less unquestioned within that societal group.

National doxa can be said to consist of national hexis and national habitus. National hexis refers to the physical embodiment of national norms and culture. Accordingly, national habitus is thus everything else which culturally forms part of the national doxa. The hexis is part of the habitus. This is described in Fig 4.1 which is adapted from Figure 3.2 and stresses the fact that the socialisation of nationalism is a set of interrelated processes.



**Figure 4-1 - National Doxa, Habitus, Hexis**

A national doxa is more or less culturally specific, imbued through a subject’s surroundings, reinforcing the national identity of the bearer. It is in the unconscious embodiment of belonging to a social group. The national habitus is the actual physical incarnation of a national doxa. The examples discussed in this chapter illustrate clearly that these bland and innocuous instances both fortify and reinforce the nation, binding together the collective community.

The chapter begins with an overview of nation centric habitus or socialisation of nationalism as covered in the literature. Before moving to an examination of observable manifestations of the embodied nation, it is necessary to review the extent to which this has been discussed by others.

#### **4.1 THEORETICAL OVERLAP**

The socialisation of nationalism has not previously been theorised in any great depth or detail. There is however some ideas and concepts that can be distilled from the literature, that move in this direction but without delivering an adequate answer to the ‘how’ question. I will briefly outline these examples and link them to this research, in order to further clarify what is unique about my research.

In Michael Billig’s work *Banal nationalism* (1995), Billig explores how nationalism is reproduced almost subconsciously. Banal Nationalism refers to that which is ‘taken for granted’ but which nonetheless strengthens the nationalist message, examples are given such as the concept of ‘flagging the nation’ (a referral to the flag hanging unfurled atop buildings). Billig does not discuss this as socialisation, though this is implicit in his analysis. Billig’s thesis also harks back to Ernest Renan’s comment that the nation is a daily plebiscite:

The term banal nationalism is introduced to cover the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced. It is argued that these habits are not removed from everyday life, as some observers have supposed. Daily, the nation is indicated, or ‘flagged’ in the lives of its citizenry. Nationalism far from being an intermittent mood in established nations is the endemic condition (Billig, 1995).

This thus ensures the creation of ‘cold’ nationalism (as defined by Michael Billig) as a means of ensuring the continued allegiance of a given population to its particular nation. ‘Hot’ nationalism is inflamed cold nationalism, that which compels citizens to join armies and fight at times of war or conflict. But there is much more in our everyday lives and surroundings which reinforce this ‘banality’ or ‘cold nationalism’, and this relates to socialisation.

This chapter will provide examples of what is termed national habitus; these reinforce and maintain cold nationalism in the same way as Billig’s flags and form part of a wider national

socialisation, reinforcing the communal belonging to a larger collectivity. They help to ensure the creation of an *Imagined Community* as defined by Benedict Anderson (1983).

Benedict Anderson's work *Imagined Communities* explores the idea that a nation's population cannot have face to face contact but instead are 'imagined communities'. We have a kinship or affinity for others of our nation not based on personal contact, but instead grounded in a taught empathy instilled through education and 'print capitalism' (Anderson, 1991). The Imagined Community is the population of a nation as a whole. This too can be regarded as a type of socialisation of nationalism. We are socialised into belonging to a nation and accordingly we learn to empathise with its members.

Hobsbawm examined the creation of national myths and histories in *The Invention of Tradition* (Hobsbawm, 1983). His analysis sought to study the development of traditions and how the modern is sometimes depicted as ancient. Traditions change and evolve in accordance with present concerns and I will examine the process in much greater detail in Chapter Five, that is, historical landmarks that flag the nation's past. For now it can be noted that the establishment of modern customs as ancient traditions mirrors the role of the history textbook in furnishing a nation with its foundation myths. They too are modern retellings depicted as ancient immovable facts, fortifying contemporary society's mores and values.

As national myths, histories and traditions evolve they must also be transmitted from one generation to the next to ensure perpetuation of societal values. These reinforce and create a socialised national identity. 'The invention of tradition' plays a pivotal role in socialisation as it is what furnishes our history text books. This thus forges a shared history or shared reality, in turn relating directly to Anderson's *Imagined Community* and to Billig's work on the banality of nationalism as a pervasive feature of everyday social life.

## **4.2 NATION-CENTRIC SOCIALISATION**

As Gellner maintained that nationalism is a social construct and not a naturally occurring characteristic, the idea of the nation must be fashioned among the population that constitute society. Gellner upheld the idea that education played a role in creating and maintaining the

nation-state ideology. Bourdieu examined ways in which class is reproduced and replicated through the process of socialisation, highlighting education as a key factor in this. So education is pinpointed by both theorists as the means through which one learns one's place in the world.

In weaving these theories together it can be said that both nations and social classes are formed from the same process. In both cases socialisation has the effect of uniting a society (or class) through a process of inclusion and exclusion. The inhabitants of nations and classes consequently know who belongs in their group and who does not. These modes of identification and non-recognition are taught and learnt through lived experience. To perceive those who do not belong to the same social group can create revulsion in the observer. As Bourdieu observed:

The denial of lower coarse vulgar venal servile – in a word natural – enjoyment which constitutes the sacred sphere of culture implies an affirmation of the superiority of those who can be satisfied with the sublimated refined disinterested, gratuitous, distinguished pleasures forever closed to the profane (Bourdieu, 1984: 66).

Similarly we have some cultures or nations who perceive themselves as refined or civilised and others as barbaric. The belief in another's inferiority is an idea that can be imbued through experiences which are filtered through systems of meaning. As one's class membership is usually ordained by an accident of birth so too is nationality. Both factors play major roles in the shaping of an individual's biography. Membership of both also influences the perception of the person's world. For example, this does not undermine the place of free will or self-determination, but agency operates within the parameters or boundaries of class and nation. In the case of the nation, multiple facets of the individuals' life from birth to death are influenced by membership of a particular nation.

For example if we contrast China's one child policy which necessitates birth control with Ireland's very different stance which prohibits all abortion we can understand how national boundaries influence personal choices. Consequently we can appreciate how membership of a nation can impact a person's personal choices or perception of what is acceptable behaviour. These in turn creates tacit knowledge which the agent utilises while going about their day to day



business. The acquired knowledge thus accumulated can therefore be referred to as their habitus which influences how they operate within the field.

Bourdieu relates his model of socialisation solely to class but by applying his concepts to the question of nationality it affords a way of understanding how members of a nation learn to recognize one another as such. So through an application of Bourdieu's model we can understand how the participant develops what Bourdieu refers to as a 'feel for the game'.

The 'feel for the game' is learnt and acquired through experiences that stretch back to childhood. It is a set of competencies that shape the actor's being in the world. The individual is thus ordained with a knowledge which identifies the agent's place in the world. This ensures their acceptance and also enables other members of society to recognize them as co-nationals. I intend to apply this understanding to nationalism in order to understand how this value is constructed in the same manner as class or social position. In other words, there exists a national 'feel for the game' as it were. For example if we analyse locally accumulated knowledge such as the correct usage of a public transport system. For the daily user this knowledge or life experience is rarely problematic, and it is only if and when it becomes problematic that one becomes aware of it as a stock of socially acquired knowledge.

However to an adult who has never encountered such a transport system their first such interaction can be bewildering, needing clarification and the attendant absorption of a new set of practices. The bored demeanour of frequent public transport users is underlined by their possession of a 'feel for the game' for the journey; the stranger may lack or possess a different set of skills. Both exhibit their own learned experiences, which enable them to operate within their normal environment. This is how national habitus can be comprehended as the accumulation of tacit nation-specific cultural behaviours and norms. It would be an unfeasible task to educate mankind in a general universal culture if such a thing were to exist. To do so would be an impossibly enormous task and leave the subject ill-prepared for membership within their own social group. As Bourdieu observed:

It is one thing to teach 'cultural relativism, that is, the arbitrary character of all culture, to teach individuals who have already been educated according to the principles of the cultural arbitrary of

a group or class; it would be quite another to claim to be giving a relativistic education, i.e. actually to produce a cultivated man who was a native of all cultures. The problems posed by situations of early bilingualism or biculturalism give only a faint idea of the insurmountable contradictions faced by a pedagogic action claiming to take as its practical didactic principle the theoretical affirmation of the arbitrariness of linguistic or cultural codes. This is a proof per absurdum that pedagogic action requires as the condition of its exercise the social misrecognition of the objective truth of pedagogic action (Bourdieu, 1996: 12).

In other words any habitus is of its context. The national habitus is unavoidably bounded both historically and geographically. No singular education system could possibly encompass all knowledge from all perspectives and give a completely unbiased or 'objective' view of the world. Through some attempts can be made in that direction a need to be able to function at a local level is a necessity. We can also consider that socialisation is comparable to being handed a figurative rule book of societal norms. These behaviours are usually presented as the only acceptable conducts. It is never forcefully stated that these are norms but they are however, imparted as acceptable forms of behaviour in that given society.

Teachers as well as pupils may experience misrecognition or an inability to perceive that there are multiple ways or options of doing things. A child emulates the world around them and becomes proficient in appropriate forms of speech and action. This taught socialisation does not just cover formal information but also non-verbal communication, such as table manners, greetings, hand movements etc. 'They include the gestures-waving, nodding, smiling, speaking set phrases – which daily smooth our meetings with other people' (Visser, 1991: 22).

Through these means the agent reproduces societal norms and develops a nation-centric feel for the game. They are normally unaware that this behaviour is nation-centric but assume they are exhibiting the 'correct behaviours'. Accordingly a populace learns its national habitus. But as nation specific behaviours are learnt so too are national ideals imparted. For example, most nations have physical archetypes which are imagined ideals; many people perceive red hair to be a characteristic of Irish appearance. This does not mean that only Irish people possess red hair nor does it presuppose that all redheads are Irish. But if an Irish person has red hair they are perceived as looking 'very Irish' even though their presumed Irish-ness is no less valid in their blonde or brunette siblings. The professed Irishness of their hair has an ascribed value which is

not necessarily authentic. These are values which are imparted to the individual from outside which are then upheld by societal interactions.

A large part of socialisation takes place during the childhood years, as this is normally when most values are passed from one generation to another. As Margaret Visser points out; 'We think of human children as needing, culturally speaking, to be licked into shape; fitted to be one of us' (Visser, 1991: 41). This is how national socialisation takes place. We teach children their place in the world, whether it is a class defined role as defined by Bourdieu or a national identity as examined here. So, nation-centric socialisation is the process by which a national identity is created. This produces a national doxa which consists of habitus and hexis, which I will henceforth refer to as national habitus and national hexis. I will utilise Bourdieu's theoretical structure and use the relevant terminology in a national instead of class context.

I will provide examples to clarify further what is meant. These qualities together create part of a national identity which is accordingly nation-specific. These attributes in turn create what can be termed national doxa. This refers to that which is taken for granted within a national context. This demonstrates how national habitus works; it grounds and anchors the individual in an extensive stock of social knowledge. It is the original to which all others are compared and found to be 'different'. In order to put some flesh on the bones of this framework, I will survey some of the ways in which nation-centric socialisation is manifested in everyday life. These are respectively grouped under the headings of nation habitus and national hexis. The field that Bourdieu utilises is the place that anchors habitus. So in the case of nationalism the field described is the nation. The national doxa, national habitus and national hexis all belong to one particular national field. For example, France has its own national doxa, consisting of a national habitus and national hexis. Some of these behaviours may overlap with other national fields and others may be field (nation) specific.

### **4.3 NATIONAL DOXA**

As discussed in chapter 3, Bourdieu's definition of doxa is that which is taken for granted within society. The doxic experience can be viewed as the embodiment of socialisation. It is the process through which habits are acquired and normalised without the need for choice and

decision. They then become part of the personification of the individual and as such are not usually available for analysis or evaluation.

Doxa is the relationship of immediate adherence that is established in practice between a habitus and the field to which it is attuned, the pre-verbal taking-for-granted of the world that flows from practical sense. Enacted belief, instilled by childhood learning that treats the body as a living memory pad, an automaton that leads the mind unconsciously along with it, and as a repository for the most precious values, is the form *par excellence* of the blind or symbolic thought (Bourdieu, 1980: 68).

The doxa then forms, in a national context, the learnt behaviours which form the national habitus. This is the bridge between individual and nation. This is how the individual comes to inhabit the nation or vice versa. To be a member of a nation requires an assumption of shared identity, 'The fundamental presuppositions of the field which is the very definition of doxa' (Bourdieu, 1980: 68). They are the day to day actions and behaviours which we perform unconsciously but which can be observed reflexively. These enable the disparate members of the field (nation) to recognise one another thus enabling the nation to cohere as a community.

The countless acts of recognition which are the small change of the compliance inseparable from belonging to the field, and in which collective misrecognition is ceaselessly generated, are both the precondition and the product of the functioning of the field (Bourdieu, 1980: 68).

Examples of these include ways of queuing, greeting or eating. It is often easy to spot a tourist as they are often not fully at ease in their surroundings.

Most behaviours and ways of being are inculcated from birth until they feel entirely natural to the possessor. But they are as arbitrary as a learnt language. Indeed these behaviours can be learnt, to a degree, but the differences are still apparent to the insider group. As Bourdieu notes; 'One cannot enter this magic circle by an instantaneous decision of the will, but only by birth or by a slow process of co-optation and initiation' (Bourdieu, 1980: 68). These behaviours or habits, also referred to as the habitus influence the person to whom they belong, as they create a membership to a social group, in this case a national identity so that 'habit provides the strongest

roofs and those that are most believed. It inclines the automaton, which leads the mind unconsciously along with it' (Bourdieu, 1980: 48). These taught habits are generally performed unconsciously, thus the habitus, in part, creates a collective belonging instilled since birth but most comprehensively and thoroughly infused through the process of socialisation.

#### **4.4 NATIONAL HABITUS**

As discussed in the previous chapter, national habitus is a concept derived from Bourdieu's idea of habitus. Instead of referring to class habitus, in this instance it refers to national behaviours, i.e. behaviour which is identifiable to a particular nation or nations. National habitus is the cultural habits which identify a nation's people or culture. The national habitus takes place in all strata of modern society but for the purpose of analysis I will discuss food, names, flags, heroes, passports and finally time and space. All are 'banal', and all work to construct and reinforce the national identity. The habitus informs the doxa and vice versa. This produces a culture which is instilled into its population who then use it as an unconscious guide when navigating life.

Culture can be likened to a giant, extraordinary complex, subtle computer. Its programs guide the actions and responses of human beings in every walk of life (Hall, 1987: 3).

This is not to suggest that people are programmed by the cultural computer, but that a culture has prescribed everyday cultural practices which, unless problematized, enable people to conduct the business of routine social life. But the historical origins of these cultural practices are normally forgotten over time, so that what is in fact contingent appears necessary.

Each culture has its own codes of behaviours, which are acceptable and accordingly those which are taboo. 'Even though culture is experienced personally, it is nonetheless a shared system' (Hall, 1987: xiii). We all act individually but share a culture as part of a wider population. But our actions as part of a community can be shaped by outside influences. We can observe how history can be utilised in order to motivate a population. The 'Blitz spirit' of Londoners has been much discussed. This refers to the apparent resilience of Londoners in the face of adversity (i.e. the Blitz). After the London bombings of July 2005 this 'Blitz spirit' was spoken of repeatedly and invoked as a description of how London's inhabitants had coped with the repercussions of a terrorist incident. According to the 2011 census ([Data.london.gov.uk./census](http://Data.london.gov.uk./census)) 37% of Londoners

were born outside the United Kingdom and yet the Blitz spirit is referred to as though it were something innate to the British. The 'Blitz spirit' is not something that is confined to indigenous Londoners but is unfurled like a flag in moments of trauma, and it also instructs Londoners in how they 'ought' to behave when collectively threatened. In short, it invokes what are perceived to be distinctly 'British' virtues of steadfastness and courage in the face of adversity, a willingness to stand together in collective defiance. The Blitz spirit is thus socialised as an overall aspiration for society, a desirable way of coping with otherwise traumatic events. As it was depicted as praiseworthy it is obviously the desired response not an attribute developed through shared experience. Hence a population are coached into behaving cohesively. According to Mennell:

although there has never been such a thing as an 'uncivilized' society in the technical sense of being devoid of socially induced self-constraints, there is a zero-point in the individual lifetime: infants are born in the same emotional condition everywhere and in every generation, devoid of self-restraints. Therefore, if change occurs from generation to generation in the way these functions are handled, it can be seen rather clearly in the social standards that young people are taught (Mennell, 2007: 66).

What is needed or demanded in each society changes, depending on the exigencies of that time. The focus on required attributes adjusts reflecting society's changing nature. For example, as mentioned previously the 'Blitz spirit' is clearly war time behaviour, but it is specifically posited as normatively desirable behaviour. It differs from other behaviours which occur in war time that are no longer viewed as positive such as bootlegging of the growth of a black-market economy, which developed as a way of avoiding rationing. So we can perceive that this type of socialisation tends to highlight only contextually advantageous actions. As Stephen Mennell observed in his work *The American Civilizing Process* (2007) 'Every nation's history leaves its mark upon a people's habitus' (Mennell, 2007: 52). But this is not confined to 'indigenous' peoples but the population group that happens to inhabit that society at that particular time. The act of socialisation requires the selective use of history, omitting the disagreeable facts. The origin of a nation's habitus may be lost, blurred or omitted as the source may no longer serve the contemporary need. As Mennell argues:

From the vantage point of the knowledge available to us early in the twenty-first century, it can appear all too obvious that most of the changes in customs, manner and behaviour just described can be explained by material reasons (Mennell, 2007: 66).

In other words these habits of behaviour are influenced by and susceptible to change from outside forces. We can also compare the socialisation of nationality to a familiarity of context. Through membership of a nation a person can become intimately acquainted with the ways of being acceptable or relevant in that particular time and space. This knowledge is absorbed into the individual's persona and influences their unthinking behaviours. They have unintentionally internalised the inherent habitus of day to day life the everyday expectations of behaviour. This can influence manners, casual and formal interactions, even personal habits. Many national differences are concerned with the personal. National habitus influences our everyday behaviours in multiple ways. For example 'In Japan or in the Middle East, one takes off one's shoes. Outside the house is dirt and leaving shoes at the door not only respects cleanliness, but also ritually recognizes the sacrality of inside' (Visser, 1991: 110). Whereas in the West, many would think it bizarre to take of ones shoes on entering someone else's home. We are familiar with the workings of our normal surroundings and hence can feel awkward or enthralled, but that too is recognition of difference when confronted with a different scenario than that which we are used to.

Whilst briefly inhabiting another nation whilst on holiday, for instance, we may experience degrees of unfamiliarity, dependent on the degree of cultural difference. The slight differences we observe illustrate that these inhabitants are different from us. Thus we can become aware of the variations and nuances of everyday life. This 'nation' behaves differently from us; they exhibit habits and customs unlike those previously experienced within the confines of our own nation. But these are all learnt behaviours. If we take the supermarket as a metaphor for the nation, we can greater define these differences. If we habitually shop in the same shop we know where everything we normally buy is placed. Even by entering another branch of the same supermarket chain we may be flummoxed by the layout, we cannot find what we need.

But this may purely be based on familiarity and has little to do with the act of shopping as such. Others who have always shopped there may feel as at home in that supermarket as you do in

yours and as misplaced by your shop as you are by theirs. It is to do with familiarity of experience. Similarly if you shop in another country even within the same language you may find the shopping experience baffling. The labels and brands are less familiar, some are unknown. You do not know what tastes good and what doesn't. By then returning to your 'own' familiar store (nation), you feel relief, all the brands are once again familiar, even the ones you have never purchased. It creates a sense of security, you understand your surroundings, they are familiar and you know your relevant place. That which we are used to habitually, is that which appears normal and every day to ourselves. We can take our much visited local supermarket as forming our base knowledge of how supermarkets work. In a different shop we still know how to shop but we do not know where the products have been placed as a more direct analogy of nationalism, our loyalty card is of little use. These rudimentary transactions or behaviours are learnt through our first supermarket interactions to which other supermarkets are then compared. So it is with the nation.

These examples of national habitus can said to be in themselves acts of national socialisation. In fact as these are actions that are enacted or performed daily and for the most part unthinkingly, they serve to strengthen a community's sense of collectivity. They are themselves acts of socialisation, which if not performed competently by members of a community also mark them out as an outsider. The habitus thus reinforces the field, in turn fortifying the national doxa. There now follows an analysis of more concrete examples of national habitus: food, names, flags, heroes, passports and time and space.

## **Food**

Bourdieu explored extensively the relationship between food and class but the connection between food and nation, though it has been examined, has yet to be adequately theorised as a form of socialisation. Michaela De Soucey has developed the concept of gastro nationalism which refers to the ways in which food can sustain the emotive power of national attachments (DeSoucey, 2010.) This in turn relates to food and its relation to the nation, one could therefore deduce that indeed some cultural tastes are defined by the culture surrounding the agent i.e. a love for the traditional Irish dish of bacon and cabbage could be said to be a product of Irish maternal and familial socialisation. Similarly when viewed through the nationalist prism things can become distorted. Irish immigrants to America during the nineteenth century could not find



the bacon for their native dish and instead replaced it with corned beef as the nearest equivalent. Today in the United States, corned beef and cabbage is consumed on St. Patrick's Day in the mistaken belief they are experiencing a traditional Irish dish. This could be viewed as romantic food nationalism.

Food plays a major role in nationalism as it has the ability to conjure up evocative memories based on early childhood experiences. Indeed, Bourdieu believes that 'the strongest and most indelible mark of infant learning' (Bourdieu, 1984) would probably be in the tastes of food. Accordingly a preference for a national dish may be an inclination of the agent's palate or it could possibly be the internalised response to the surrounding family's reaction to it when consuming it as a child. As a child we may become aware that others are looking forward to eating this dish so may also soak up the sense of anticipation relating to the consumption of the meal. The child may watch others reaction to the meal and thus develop a liking for the dish. The child reacts to their family's praise on eating such a meal and thus 'learns' to enjoy the dish. The child is attuned to the responses of those surrounding them and thus ascertains how to behave; consequently an affiliation for a food may be learnt and may purely represent an outward expression of internalised learnt behaviours. Or preferences could be based mainly on familiarity. A person with no emotional association to a dish would have a completely different reaction to the meal.

For example, in some cultures chicken feet are regarded as a delicacy, and are consumed with gusto, whereas within an Irish context the same 'delicacy' would likely be met with revulsion, certainly on the part of those who consider themselves to be 'native' Irish.

It is well attested that people continue to enjoy as adults the food they learned to like as children. They grow up loving, say curries and chutneys, or pasta and tomatoes, olives, sharp cheeses, and bitter herbs, and this food seems normal to them. Other people seem to them to eat very poorly indeed (Visser, 1991: 42).

Different tastes are thus seen as unnatural and are candidates for rejection. Bourdieu assigned this reaction to belonging to class specific tastes, but we can understand that the same concept applies to differences in national cuisines; resulting in 'disgust provoked by horror or visceral

intolerance ('sick-making') of the tastes of others' (Bourdieu. 1984:117). It could also be said that as an adult the dish acts as a signifier for childhood memory and parental care so therefore creates emotive feelings linked to security and love. The dish takes on a significance that is more than the sum of its parts. So thus we can conclude that what is referred to as personal taste may indeed not be a reflection of complete free will but rather these preferences may be taught or learned. That is not to say that there is no room for individual taste but what we experience during childhood has a huge impact on the adult choices of the person. For example when a child is raised in a society which regularly consumes a spicier cuisine they will inevitably develop a preference for a spicier diet, having been familiarised to such as an infant. This may take place through the very act of breast feeding itself. As Visser points out:

If adults commonly eat powerful substances like chilli peppers or fermented fish, the child will have become accustomed even before it is weaned to the smells of these, and even to their own taste, through its mother's milk (Visser, 1991: 42).

But also this can be applied to different cultures, their different ways of addressing one another, differences in cultural requirements of personal taste. All can be said to be learned or taught behaviour reinforcing a national identity through norms and habits which may have originated from purely geographical or historical differences.

In a nationalist context we could relate this to knowledge that is only accrued as a long term member of a society, which thus inherently can act as a barrier to 'outsiders'. In this way a nation enforces and maintains solidarity within its population. For example 'ancient Chinese children were trained from infancy never to use their left hands when eating' (Visser, 1991: 170). So to someone brought up in a culture with such a norm of behaviour, the left handed may seem uncouth and rude. This is a taught cultural value, instilled from an early age and thus difficult to shift. We can perceive the children of diverse cultures are taught singular behaviours relevant to the foods they consume.

French children are carefully taught never to serve themselves by cutting off the point of a triangle of cheese: in something like a Camembert or Roquefort this would be to take the delicious centre for yourself (Visser, 1991: 188).

Supposedly this teaches children the importance of sharing, so if a person raised in an environment without such instruction cuts the cheese as mentioned previously, they could be regarded as being selfish when they are simply unaware of the impact of their actions. But also this teaches the child that these foods are considered delicious within their environment. These are not internationally valued behaviours so others who are unaware of this protocol may appear rude whilst they remain unaware of having committed a 'faux pas'. These behaviours lead to the creation and the maintenance of the 'other', and can act as a means of providing social means of exclusion to outsiders, a form of symbolic violence. They appear natural and organic, so thus the national identity is once more reinforced, whether it is on a micro or macro level.

Table manners have a history, ancient and complex: each society has gradually evolved its system, altering its ways sometimes to suit circumstance, but also vigilantly maintaining its customs in order to support its ideals and aesthetic style, and to buttress its identity (Visser, 1991: ix).

But the teaching of table etiquette is much more than just a set of behaviours, they carry social and personal implications.<sup>2</sup> A person who is unaware of the correct table customs may feel embarrassed or ill at ease. They feel they do not 'fit in' even if nobody has noticed. Whilst Bourdieu explored the class implications of protocol within France, the ramifications for other cultures cannot be ignored. For example the complicated Indian caste system which provides a study in social classification.

Children learn when eating with their elders all the status and kinship patterns of their family as they watch how adults treat each other and discover their own place. An Indian child, for instance, soon knows as many as twenty-four castes, in their correct hierarchical patterns, and how they relate to each other – through food rules, and watching who can eat from the hand of whom (Visser, 1991: 50).

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<sup>2</sup> Elias cited the creation of a court as a centre of the new nation-state leading to the creation of 'courtly manners' and the evolution of new elite for whom manual work was unknown. There thus commenced the evolution of myriad types of customs, manners and behaviours that progressively served to act as class signifiers. (Elias. 1998).

A child absorbs a wide range of social messages through social interactions at the dining setting, which of course leads in part to the creation of national doxa, the unspoken rules which govern behaviours in the context of the nation. This is information taken for granted by those who absorb it as they acquired the information at an early stage of their development.

universal rules governing modern manners usually take the form of unspoken, almost unconscious guidelines and constraints – a basic substratum or minimum standard which the majority of us carefully observes (Visser, 1991: 341).

Visser's point here is that the growing child is educated in, and becomes accustomed to, the food of its culture. Hence the absorption of national culture includes a socialisation of national cuisine. This then forms part of the national habitus, which in turn contributes to a national doxa. Accordingly we can understand how populations absorb a national food or eating habit as the normative and preferable behaviour or habitus.

## **Names**

Names can also reinforce national ideals. They assist in strengthening latent aspirations by a community or consolidating existing national archetypes. Whilst names can act as a form of distinction (Indian caste system), or of belonging to a group they can also be changed to suit the political or national environment.

The first generation of Israelis (1948-1967), who lived in the pre-1967 boundaries, were passionate about hiking and outdoor pursuits, and this is revealed in their choice of names, echoing their new surroundings. They often changed their European names, taking the names of geographic features and sites in Palestine (for example Gilboa or Yerushalmic). This has been thoroughly documented by Amos Elon in *Israelis: Founders and Sons* (1971). Indeed:

In other countries, mountains are sometimes called after great men; in Israel, men more often call themselves after great mountains. For many settlers, the new surnames were mythic symbols of a personal and collective rebirth; for a few, they served compensatory needs. The widespread adoption of local flora and place names reflected the frantic desire of the settlers to become one, in body and name, with the landscape of their regained patrimony, its rivers and mountains, its trees and thorns (Elon, 1971: 166).

This was certainly to reinforce their Israeli identity and unite the community, reflecting their desire to be integrated. The British royal family also changed its name, reflecting political sentiment. During the First World War the King was George V. His family name was officially Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (the German family name of his father Prince Albert). In 1917, there was a radical change, when George V specifically adopted Windsor, not only as the name of the 'House' or dynasty, but also as the surname of his family. The family name was changed as a result of anti-German feeling during the First World War, and the name Windsor was adopted after the Castle of the same name. So a Royal family named after a castle in order to retain national support. As names are often the first thing we learn about people they are powerful indicators and methods of identifying people's cultural background and social standing.

## **Flags**

Whilst Michael Billig thoroughly explored how flags can be examined as a symbol of banal nationalism, this chapter explores instead the evolution of the flag as a national emblem. The term 'vexillology' refers to the study of flags, from the word vexillum, which was a Roman cavalry flag or standard (Eriksen, 2007: 15). Flags were originally utilised by Empires and groups of cavalry, but not nations. The earliest references to a form of vexilloid are in Ancient Egypt circa 550 BCE, (Eriksen, 2007). Flags have existed for over 4,000 years.

Archaeologists discovered an ancient metal flag in Iran, ca. 3000 BCE, and flags are depicted on ancient Greek coins, as well as Egyptian tomb carvings. Flags were originally used as a symbol or for sending a signal and were also used in battle as during arm to arm combat it was difficult to know who was stranger or foe. In the modern era flags are commissioned upon the foundation of a nation-state, they thus provide us with an example of modernist nationalism. There was no natural historic evolution of a national flag dating back into a primordialist pre-history, instead they are designed and imbued with national value.

As observed by Marvin and Ingle, 'The flag in high patriotic ritual is treated with an awe and deference that marks it as the sacred object of the religion of patriotism' (Marvin and Ingle, 1999: 770). As with national anthems, the words can invoke fierce loyalty and pride in the nation's ascribed attributes, just as national flags serve to reinforce one's nationality (Billig, 1995) The Irish anthem for example seeks to remind 'the nation' of the injustices suffered under

colonialism, whilst the British anthem depicts that nation as a noble warrior serving God, as the perceived justification of their actions. Anthems are written and flags are commissioned or designed much in the same way that traditions are invented (Hobsbawn, 1983). For example, in France La Marseillaise became the national anthem in 1879 and in 1880 July 14<sup>th</sup> became the national feast day. The two practices become entrenched in national identity and become traditions.

As pointed out by Erikson (2007), ‘The end of the eighteenth century marks the official appearance of “national” flags. The establishment of these was in some cases a gradual process’ (Eriksen, 2007: 23). The timings of the introduction of the anthems and flags supports Gellner’s claim of nationalism as a creation of modernity, coinciding with the age of industrialisation. If nations were truly primordial, then we might expect symbols such as flags and songs to have emerged much earlier. Instead we find that historically they were traditionally used to represent much smaller social groupings.

The early vexilloids, in use all over the world, are linked in their function to modern flags as signs of identification, although they represented groups smaller than modern nations (Eriksen, 2007: 15).

They would have been something more akin to a county or regional flag rather than the national flag. As noted above, ‘In the European Middle Ages, flags had an instrumental function, in that they made it possible to distinguish between friends and enemies on the battle ground’, ‘however, heraldic flags were also associated with kinship, origins and place. Aristocratic families had their flags, powerful Scottish families had their tartans, and many Europeans belonging to the establishment had their own coat of arms’ (Eriksen, 2007: 3). So again, a method of personal or familial identification or recognition rather than a flag encompassing people that will never know each other or encounter one another face to face. Anthems are commissioned and national flags are designed. However just as flags are commissioned, so they can also become null and void. In Figure 4.2 we can see the Fenian flag which was used by the Fenian rebels of Ireland, from 1858. The flag resembles the American flag and relates to the influence that the American War of Independence had on Irish Republican thinking. It depicts

thirty two stars which represent the thirty two counties of Ireland and four bars signifying the provinces.



**Figure 4-2 - The Fenian Flag (Source: Jaume Olle, 1867)**

The flag would prove to be contentious as it references the thirty two counties, whilst the Republic of Ireland contains twenty six counties, the remaining six counties remaining under the political auspices of the U.K. To that effect a different flag has been used since 1916, the Tricolour, consisting of three bands of colour; those being green representing the Gaelic tradition, orange signifying the followers of William of Orange in Ireland, and white for the desire for peace between them. Flags may become national symbols embodying the nation, but they can be changed, reflecting changing priorities and political environments. We think of national flags as ancient, unchangeable, historic but the prevailing national flag of any extant nation-state is in fact a product of modernity, it is regional flags which predate the nation. Along with the national anthem, the national flag is supremely and specially iconic of the nation-state. It is understood that the honour and integrity of the nation is represented by the flag, and as the history of every country shows, the national flag is uniquely capable of enlisting the aid of citizens, giving rise to sentiments of nationalism, and evoking the supreme sacrifice of death: in every respect, the national flag commands, not merely our respect, but our allegiance.

Flag burning is a potent symbolic gesture conveying sharp criticism of the state.

Indeed flag desecration, especially in the case of a national flag, is usually intended to make a political point against a country or its policies. Some countries have laws forbidding such destruction or even prohibiting the flag to be stepped on (U.S.A.). The flag can be said to act as a physical manifestation of the nation. 'In the case of American nationalism, that is the group symbolized in the totem fetish, the flag' (Marvin and Ingle, 1999:). Flags are flown at half-mast to honour the dead, and draped over the coffins of national heroes. The flag acts almost as an anointing of the dead; a signifier that they served the country well. They act in the same way as monuments to dead soldiers, a bestowing of national sainthood in exchange for the ultimate sacrifice of life. All can be perceived as being for the greater good of the imagined community (Anderson, 1991).

## **Heroes**

The depiction of heroes reinforces our national self-image providing role models embodying desirable national characteristics. Heroes frequently serve to embody national qualities of strength, morality and fighting for the nation. The characterisation of a national hero can become mythologised over time with the story edited to remove inadequacies or human failings. But, perhaps the embodiment of a nation in the form of heroes can be best observed not at the level of Gellner's 'high culture' but at the level of popular culture and pulp fiction i.e. myths written about fictional 'superheroes'. These are of course dramatic constructs for fictional purposes, but are frequently depicted slaying perceived national threats. America's superheroes were developed originally just before the Second World War. Superman was originally portrayed as a means of eradicating corrupt employers and scoundrels but rapidly found his nemesis in the Nazis and Japanese as the Second World War progressed. In fact, Superman's oft quoted slogan 'For truth, justice and the American Way', leaves us without any doubt that he is the fictional embodiment of American values.

For the February 27 1940 issue of *Look Weekly*, the creators Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster were commissioned to create a cartoon showing *How Superman Would Win the War* (Look, 1940) Joseph Goebbels (himself a master propagandist) responded by proclaiming that Superman was Jewish.



This was soon followed by the introduction of the character Captain America, personifying all that is moral about America. In 2005 in an act of unsubtle propaganda, Donald Rumsfeld posed with Captain America and Spiderman to launch the first of Marvel's free comic books for America's armed forces in Iraq. In recent editions of the comic *The New Avengers: The Spirit of America* (Moore, 2007: 43) the villains are 'terrorist organisations'. No specific war zone is given, only 'overseas'. So now we can see the enemy is completely faceless it just applies to anyone who is not American, all non-nationals are now the 'other'. This has of course changed dramatically from the period referred to as the Cold War when cartoon villains were usually 'commies' and Eastern European in appearance, reflecting contemporary geo-political concerns of that era. Presently due to a changed political landscape the superheroes fight unnamed 'Arab' foes (and perhaps not so blatantly fight to rid the world of Muslim ideology). These portrayals act as potent methods of socialisation and provide national models of behaviour, whilst clearly demarcating perceived enemies. Superheroes can also be said to represent the moral standards of a nation. They act almost as an arbiter of a nation's conscience. It is no surprise to find that Captain America is depicted as a stalwart ambassador of all that is good in America, and an opponent to greed, crime, racism, and hatred (Moore. 2007).

If we examine the following illustration of Captain America we can see that he is wearing clothing fashioned on the American flag and is holding his weaponry aloft, as though about to go into war. The cartoon super hero seems to be prepared to battle to protect America and its ideals. Captain America is the ultimate patriot, the perfect candidate for promoting just war and morally defensible violence.



**Figure 4-3 - Captain America (Source: Superhero hype, 2013)**

The message transmitted to the reader (in a visual language) is that here is a hero determined to protect/avenge his nation. If we compare the iconography of the illustration of Captain America there is not that far an ideological jump to recruitment posters from World War 1. Both are attempts to communicate and persuade. Whilst Captain America was originally aimed at young school going children and is explicitly fictional it primes children in a way that may prepare the way should 'cold nationalism' become 'hot' (Billig, 1995). The following poster for example

attempts to trigger the kind of identification which has been embodied by the socialised individual. This form of communication taps into socialisation. This shows the ‘Imperial Eagle’ of Germany being attacked and cowed by the American Eagle.



**Figure 4-4 - American World War 1 Recruitment Poster (Source: mentalfloss. 2013)**

Nationalism has been regularly used in recruitment posters as we can observe in the following poster for the British Army. This poster is an aim by the British Army to recruit Irishmen in the aftermath of the sinking of the Lusitania by German forces. In 1915, the British ocean liner *RMS Lusitania*, which primarily ferried people and goods across the Atlantic Ocean between the United States and Great Britain, was torpedoed by a German U-boat and sunk 11 miles from the coast of Ireland. Of the 1,959 people on board, 1,198 died. The sinking caused an international

outcry. This depicts the framing of a collective trauma as a means to cement Anglo-Irish relations whilst also calling upon Irish adult males to demonstrate loyalty to King and country.



Figure 4-5 - British World War 1 Recruitment Poster (Source: mentalfloss. 2013)

Nationalist symbols are invariably exploited in numerous ways. The emotions they can evoke manipulated as a form of advertising or emotional affinity. National feeling is both hijacked and reinforced banally through advertising. In the following illustration we can see Guinness' planned advertising campaign in Nazi Germany from 1936. The Guinness toucans fly over the Berlin Olympic stadium, complete with Nazi flags. Caption: '*It has arrived*'. The nationalist iconography present in the advertisements was a blatant move by the company to appeal to their target market at the time. The promotional campaign was cancelled after the designs had been



commissioned. The adverts feature swastikas, soldiers and Zeppelins with Nazi insignia alongside the familiar pints and toucans. They were obviously the appropriate iconography for those wishing to break into the German market at the time. It is only with hindsight it appears shocking.



**Figure 4-6 - Guinness Poster intended for the German Market in 1936. (Source: Hughes, 2013).**

By piggybacking cultural symbols a product can gain access to international target markets. This hijacking of images is utilised frequently across society by everyone from politicians to pop stars, affording a sense of just how malleable and easily manipulated national symbols can be.

### **Passports**

In many ways we can see the history of the passport as a metaphor for the history of nationalism. In modernity an individual must be in possession of a passport to travel

internationally whereas in the pre-modern era this was not a prerequisite, which raises the question of how the passport has become national symbol we recognise today. Historically passports have changed and modified as their function has evolved, reflecting societal changes. They were originally developed to guarantee the safe passage of property or people. The passport as we know it has evolved from a formal letter of introduction or a king's letter asking for safe conduct for a traveller. The passport's current incarnation as an embodiment of nationality is only a recent development, underscoring the formation of the modern nation.

If one imagines the Victorian gentleman completing his obligatory Grand Tour of Europe he did so unfettered by travel or identity documentation. In nineteenth century England 'the system was generally reviled by the public. They resented the bureaucracy involved' (Lloyd, 2008: 5). Passports differed widely in use until they were formalised internationally. For instance, in France during the eighteenth century an agricultural worker travelling to work thirty miles away in a town had to carry a passport describing his eyebrows, chin height, etc. (Lloyd, 2008: 7) whilst the 'British did not require of foreigners that they provide themselves with passports in order to disembark on their shores' (Lloyd, 2008: 5). Not only did the need to present a passport vary between countries but also the requirements for acquiring a passport. One could be refused a passport by one's country of residence or obtain one for another country. 'The applicant did not need to be a national of the respective country' (Lloyd, 2008: 8). So the passport was a travel document not entirely linked to ideas of nationality. It would have been quite commonplace for a British person to acquire a passport through the French or Belgian consulate as these were issued free of charge whilst a British one incurred a fee (Lloyd, 2008: 8) this lasted until 1858.

Also regions could have separate requirements, 'For example, before the unification of Italy in 1861 and Germany in 1871, every Italian duchy and German kingdom required its own visas' (Lloyd, 2008: 73). So again further indications of a world divided into smaller self-governing entities rather than the nation-states we know today. These earlier travel documents were incarnations very different to the present format we utilise today. In fact the passport was not a national document in the sense that we understand it. It was more a document corroborating a kind of loyalty to a state, so birth place had little to do with it. This substantiates Gellner's claim in *Nations and Nationalism* of the pre-industrial world. A planet not divided up neatly into nation states but more feudal in character as typified in his fictional metaphor of

Agraria/Megolomania, and Martin Lloyd seems to agree as we can see from his history of the passport:

Thus far, there was no mention of nationality for the truth is that 'nationality' as a word was not in common use until the nineteenth century whereas allegiance has its roots in Middle English or earlier (Lloyd, 2008: 141).

The passport system was not methodical at this time and still operated different practices in diverse states. For example 'China and Japan, however operated an internal control which required permissions for travel to be demanded from local lords' (Lloyd, 2008: 69). So there was no set way of dealing with the travel documents, each state had its own system or none at all. 'Passports also differed in what information they carried the British passport bore no description all through the nineteenth century and it was only in the first decade of the twentieth century that two descriptive details were added; age, expressed in years and occupation' (Lloyd, 2008: 73). There had been an earlier document but due to the rising popularity of rail travel in the mid-19th century and thus the rapid expansion of tourism, the attendant demand for travel documents had become too great for the system. This thus led to a complete breakdown in the European passport system. In answer to this crisis, France abolished passports and visas in 1861. Other European countries followed suit and by 1914 passport requirements had been eliminated practically everywhere in Europe. They were widely abolished as they were seen as an unnecessary encumbrance to travel. 'During the second half of the nineteenth century several countries including Norway, Sweden, Italy and Portugal discarded their passport system' (Lloyd, 2008: 95).

The passport was perceived to be a bureaucratic intrusion into people's freedom. 'Indeed many South American countries stated in their constitutions that all travellers were free to travel without a passport' (Lloyd, 2008: 95). Crossing a border was usually very easy, and no supporting documentation or declarations were required. This is a concept alien in the modern world with its enforced national borders. With the advent of World War One, European governments had a larger interest in preventing people with useful skills or potential manpower from leaving. Also there was a need to prevent spies or other undesirables from entering, so passports came back into common usage. We can thus understand that the success of the

passport has much to do with the invention of modern technology and a centralised nation-state bureaucracy. This reinforces Gellner's belief that modernity and Nationalism are inextricably linked. The resulting changes led to an International 'Conference on Passports, Customs, Formalities and Through Tickets' in 1920 (Lloyd, 2008: 99).

This streamlined and standardised the system and ensured its international reintroduction, with 'The overall aim of the Conference (...) to facilitate international rail travel by making improvements in the areas of tickets, custom formalities and passports' (Lloyd, 2008: 105). This led to a formalising and regulating of guidelines concerning passports. British tourists of the 1920's resented the bureaucracy involved in acquiring a passport and complained about the new legislation and red tape and described them as a 'nasty dehumanisation'. So, the advent of the passport as we know it in modernity has truly only been since 1920, less than a hundred years ago. We can thus acknowledge that the need for travel documentation and the attendant necessity to be identified with a nation has truly only arisen in the modern era. The past century also encompasses an unprecedented growth in cheap air, land and sea travel encouraging larger numbers than ever before to travel greater distances as well as an ever increasing global population.

There have been further developments since and the systems are ever further being tightened up in line with attendant bureaucratic developments and the desire to regulate movement of people. A modern passport, in theory proves the nationality of the bearer and thus ensures them their right to protection and right to travel through other countries. It is a product of modernity only recently brought into existence by bureaucratic requirements and capabilities.

So the examples given here of food, names, flags, heroes, and passports demonstrate national habitus. They provide an understanding and perception of how pervasive is the national habitus in forming part of a national culture. It filters our sense of our surroundings and contributes to our national doxa.

### **Time and Space**

Time and Space are what inform us of when and where we are. It forms part of our national doxa and thus provides us with knowledge of how the 'here' and 'now' relates to 'there' and



'then'. It is how we are informed of our nation's place in the world. It helps to define national territory and its spatial and temporal borders and boundaries. To ensure a cohesive national 'imagining' then time and place must be defined and agreed upon within the context of the nation. The people must belong at the same time and place to ensure solidarity and the creation of a unified population in contrast to those in other spaces and time zones. It is the beginning point of learning of our 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1991). Hence I will discuss time and maps as they define and create the idea of time and space both globally and locally. Under the auspices of Time and Space will fall Time, International Time Zones and Maps.

## **Time**

The formalisation of a national standardisation of time provides a concrete illustration of Gellner's theses concerning the relation between industrialism and nationalism in modernity, and this also connects up to the question of national socialisation. For thousands of years people have measured time based on the position of the sun. Time was locally specific, dependent on the sun's position in the sky relative to the observer. Mechanical clocks began to appear in the middle Ages, and these would be set according to the position of the sun locally. Eventually with the advancement of town clocks these too would be set utilising such calculations. Accordingly each town would be on a slightly different time, reflecting geographical differences. Time calculated by the sun, or true local time is called Apparent Solar Time. The advent of widespread train travel necessitated standardised time between stations. This did not go unnoticed and it was commented that 'annihilation of space and time was the early nineteenth century characterisation of the effect of railroad travel' (Schivelbusch, 1977: 33). It would be impossible to expect individuals to calculate local train times on a case by case basis. For example attempting to catch a connecting train to a destination would involve major calculations as opposed to solely consulting timetables. Initially in England, what was termed 'London time' was utilised throughout the rail network, using the time in London as a type of base time irrespective of regional differences.

By 1847 the Railway Clearing House, an industry standards body, recommended that Greenwich Mean Time be adopted at all stations. This standardised time system was first used by British railways on December 11, 1847, when they switched from local mean time to GMT. It was also given the name 'Railway time' reflecting the imperative role the railway companies played in its

development. It was gradually adopted for other purposes, but this eventually changed in 1880, when Greenwich Mean Time was legally adopted throughout the island of Great Britain (Schivelbusch, 1977: 44). This evolution of the concept of a standardised time system also correlates to Gellner's thesis concerning the ways in which the apparatus of modern state accelerates the process of cultural homogenisation. The uniformity of the nation was imposed on a disparate constellation and peoples, meaning that noon no longer occurred at 12 midday in regional areas, but only in the capital city from which is positioned as the epicentre of standard time.

In 1884 at the International Prime Meridian Conference in Washington the system of international standard time was agreed upon. It would be impossible to imagine the contemporary world without a global standardised time system; it is one of the features of modernity which is now taken for granted. The advent of standardised time-keeping thus provides a perfect specimen of modernity influencing the effective alignment of state and nation as theorised by Gellner. But one can also examine how the development of a standard national time system also influenced the perception of its inhabitants to see themselves as a community. This leads us to Bourdieu's theory of socialisation (by way of Anderson's imagined community), as a member of a national community we become aware of others doing similar things as we are at the same time. For example getting up, going to school, break times at school and work, or watching the national team compete live in an international sporting event. We are socialised into awareness of being part of a greater community whom act in unison and form a common society separated only by distance.

So we can understand how the advent of industrialisation preceded the formalisation of a wider community. This also necessitated the standardisation of practises which previously had operated on the basis of local exigencies and custom. The train system encouraged inhabitants of differing geographical areas to coordinate the rhythm of life to a much greater degree. The formalisation of time within national zones also then accordingly evolved to form national time differences. This brings with it perceived national distinctions. Time zones reinforce the idea of community and accordingly, difference. As we can deduct from these observations time zones are in fact arbitrary. The actual time in itself is less significant than the tacit agreement of a community to observe an agreed time. It can be difficult to understand the historical way of

being in the world, but if we were to imagine the contemporary world without a coordinated zoning of time we can perceive the difficulties that would arise. Even watching television would require some calculation, if the country in question observed apparent solar time. If for example, the state broadcaster, which is usually based in the national capital city, were to broadcast the evening News every day at 9pm, it would need minor calculations regionally in order to calculate the local viewing time. Undertakings such as international air travel would require major calculations daily to understand the times of departures and arrivals.

Modern societies tend to operate according to a time-based schedule which aside from an annual hourly adjustment for winter and summer time does not change during the course of the year. For example, the times of both work and school do not fluctuate in accordance with the amount of daylight available, but maintain the same timetable all year, due, in part to electric lighting. By having the same schedule yearlong the successful operation of the mechanics of modernity can be ensured, for example the operation of large scale transport networks, telecommunications and public transport systems, amongst others. This is in marked contrast to agrarian societies whose work and life were governed by the amount of daylight available at any particular time. Modernity imposes a streamlined society which benefits industrialism and the consequent lifestyles. But there also exists differing national attitudes to time, which themselves are matters of convention.

It has been observed that there are two different time systems in the world, Monochronic and Polychronic time (Hall, 1987: 13). Polychronic is defined as being more focused on complex human transactions than by observing a schedule. The antithesis of this is the monochronic system which is dominated by tightly observed time segments. The schedule takes precedence over all else. 'It is nonetheless a learned product of northern European culture and is therefore arbitrary and imposed. Monochronic time is an artefact of the industrial revolution in England' (Hall, 1987: 14). So, the ways in which our entire societies operate and function is an historical accretion. We are taught from an early age the patterns of behaviour best suited to the society into which we happen to have been born.

Edward Hall argues this point when he explains that: 'In spite of the fact that it is learned, monochronic time now appears to be natural and logical because the great majority of

Americans grew up in monochronic time systems' (Hall, 1987: 14). In other words, for an American, for example travelling to a polychronic society such as Brazil, the residents appear very relaxed and without a 'work ethic'. The monochronic societies are viewed as modern and efficient, as though the industrialised world is the only possible world. The system one is brought up in creates one's base of experience and point of reference, so the other system can seem alien or foreign. This also is a manifestation of socialisation.

### **International Time Zones**

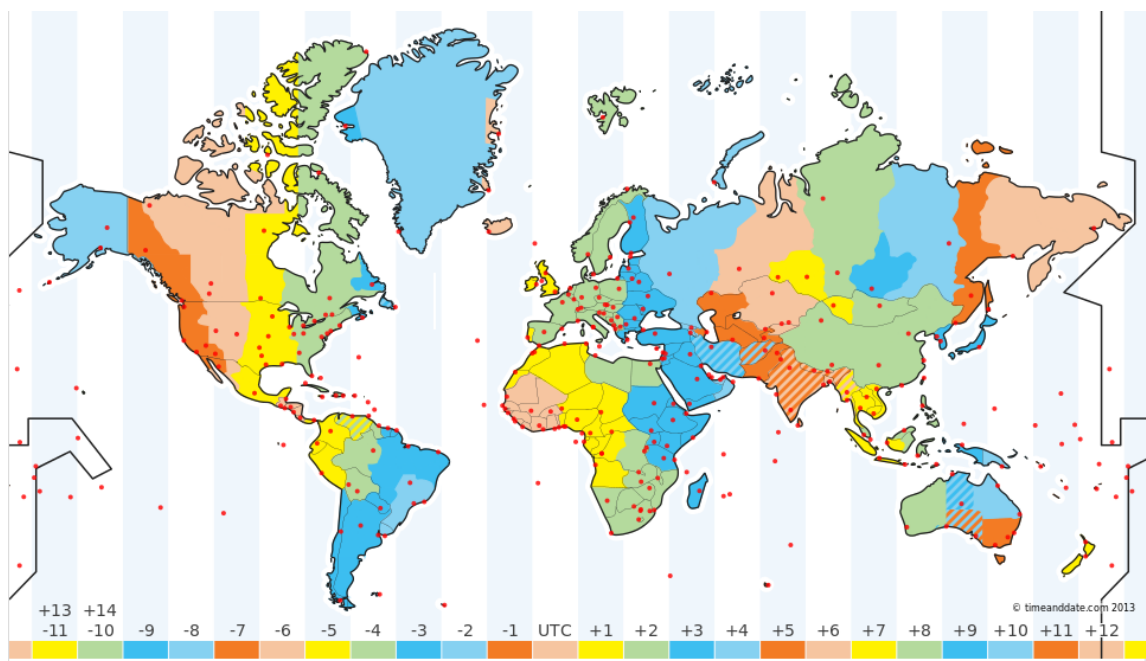
Gellner discusses International Time Zones in *Thought and Change* (1965) but does not examine the machinations of the Greenwich Mean Time system nor its ramifications. Gellner instead focuses on the evolution of nationalism aligned to his idea of typography of Time Zones. The following discussion of Time Zone's is dissimilar though also relates to the matter of nations. Instead of discussing the evolution of nations the focus will be on how the perceptions of national Time Zones shape our view of the world. Time Zones act to reinforce visions of national solidarity or international differences. International Time Zones supposedly differ at the rate of one hour per 15 degrees of longitude. In practice however, zone boundaries are often drawn much farther to the west with often irregular boundaries, and some locations base their time on meridians located far to the east.

For example, even though the Prime Meridian (0°) passes through Spain and France, they use the mean solar time of 15 degrees east (Central European Time) rather than 0 degrees (Greenwich Mean Time). France previously used GMT, but switched to CET during the German occupation of the country during World War Two and did not adjust back after the war.

Different meridians were used by countries prior to the streamlining of the system, though the Greenwich Meridian was the most popular. The International Meridian Conference in 1884 formally recognised the Greenwich Meridian as the global prime meridian and advocated hourly variations from that point in accordance with longitudinal differences (Adler. 2010: 12). However, Time Zones do not strictly adhere to longitudinal lines but instead tend to follow boundaries or borders belonging to states. This is common sense especially in places where the geographical longitude dissects a town. Both Russia and the United States observe different time zones within their borders, though India and China do not, despite covering large geographical

areas. There is a tendency to outline the time zone boundaries to fit national boundaries. This can result in idiosyncrasies within national territories. As a result in summer the solar noon in the Spanish town of Muxia occurs on 14:37 according to the clock as opposed to the more traditional midday of twelve noon.

A more extreme example is Nome in Alaska, which follows Alaskan time even though the result is that it is slightly more than two hours ahead of the sun in winter and over three in summer resulting in the sun being at high noon at 8.40am on a summer's day. Alaska should in fact have four time zones, but political considerations have led to the use of two, leading to distortions. Also, Some countries, most notably China, use a single time zone even though the extent of their territory far exceeds 15° of longitude. This has resulted in a 3.5 hour gap along the border of China and Afghanistan.



**Figure 4-7 – World map depicting actual time zones (Source: Time and Date, 2013).**

Time Zones were originally determined in accordance with local conventions but as time zones follow political and therefore national agendas, measured and managed time has come to reinforce the concept of the nation. Time acts as a means of uniting a population whilst also

acting as a psychological differential between societies, creating artificial time variances along political borders. This creates a contrast and distinction where none would have existed prior to the existence of national borders. If we think of medieval nomads they would not have followed modern conventions of borders nor territory. Instead they roamed large geographical areas their lives closely governed by the seasons and available daylight. The same area in modernity would be cut by multiple political borders and the associated time differences. In this manner we can see something of how the temporal ordering of territorial boundaries also organises the behaviour of those who inhabit that territory.

### **Maps**

World maps tend to depict the world from the perspective of the respective nation where they are produced. As there is no logical centre on the surface of a sphere, any depiction must therefore be purely arbitrary, once this globe is represented in two dimensions. What seems to happen in practice is an example of nation-centric world views. Though this is a judicious choice the repercussions are that the designated nation is therefore portrayed as the centre of the world which can also serve political objectives. Historically colonial powers used the map as a cognitive tool to legitimise territorial conquest as a process of civilisational diffusion said to benefit the colonised. The British Empire famously depicted its territories as coloured in red. Along with the oft quoted saying that 'the sun never sets on the British Empire' this helped to spread the idea that the British Empire was omnipotent and inevitable. A map can also serve as an assertion of national unity. The national atlas commissioned during the rule of Elizabeth I bound together maps of the various English counties and asserted their unity under Elizabeth's rule. This was an attempt to intimidate others by a show of strength.

Maps can be used to represent or vindicate political aspirations by stretching state boundaries or inflating and deflating the size of countries for political aims. A map can become a powerful tool when depicting disputed territories. 'When nation A and nation B both claim territory C, they usually are at war cartographically as well' (Monmonier, 1996: 90). Indeed maps on stamps can perhaps be considered some of the most political of all as they are not confined to the home state but spread their message overseas.

Useful both on domestic mail to keep aspirations alive and on international mail to suggest national unity and determination, postage stamp maps afford a small but numerous means for asserting territorial claims (Monmonier, 1996: 91).

We can observe this phenomenon on the following two examples figure 4.7 and figure 4.8 , which depict different government political intentions towards the Falklands/Malvinas islands in the South Atlantic Ocean. The first stamp is Argentinean and depicts the Islands as The Malvinas and the pictured ship is the Heroína that was utilised in 1820 to take possession of the islands for Argentina. The second stamp depicts King George VI the then King of the United Kingdom.



**Figure 4-8 – Argentina stamp Issued 1976 (Source: Child, 2009: 128).**



**Figure 4-9 – Stamp from Falkland Islands 1952 (Source: Child, 2009: 128).**

Both stamps were issued long before the Falklands war and clearly portray political and territorial claims. By depicting the islands themselves, both nation-states lay claim to the territory. They depict graphically political ambitions.

The depiction of the world in maps has a bearing on an individual's understanding of the world around them. It serves in part to create an awareness of one's membership of a larger imagined community. A world map typically shows the country of the domestic audience at its centre. For example a Russian World Map shows the Russian federation at the centre of the map, an American map situates the U.S. itself as the focus of the map. Perhaps, common sense prescribes that your own geographical surroundings are going to be of greater interest, but this indirectly situates other states at the periphery. This accordingly donates less importance to those at the perimeter. If we consider world maps other than the ones we are familiar with, we can understand the subjectivity of perspective. Accordingly they are open to interpretation and reflect dominant power structures and nation-centric perspectives.





Figure 4-10 - Russian map of the world (Source: Nnm.me, 2013).

The following map provides us with an illustration of how subjective such depictions of the globe can be, as it merely signifies which direction one is observing from. It can be perceived as disturbing the way in which we ‘see’ the world relative to our (nation-centric) perspective. There is no ‘up’ in space so any depiction is a form of decision.



**Figure 4-11 - Reversed map of the world (Source: Nnm.me, 2013).**

Maps have long been used for political means. The British Empire was famously depicted in red in British school text books but in the following map from a Geography text book published in 1900 the representation is employed to substantiate claims of supremacy. This is from a text book used in Irish schools. The map is printed at the very beginning of the text book and the first chapter is titled *The Red Spots* and seeks to explain exactly what are the red parts of the world maps, and their significance to the viewer. The endeavour here is to reinforce the idea of pre-eminence and superiority based on geography. In an instruction to the pupil the text states that:

Now give one last look at the particular red spots which represent Great Britain and Ireland. They occupy nearly the centre of the land-masses of the globe! This fact alone is of great importance and has largely helped to give England its present commercial supremacy (Ward, 1900: 9).

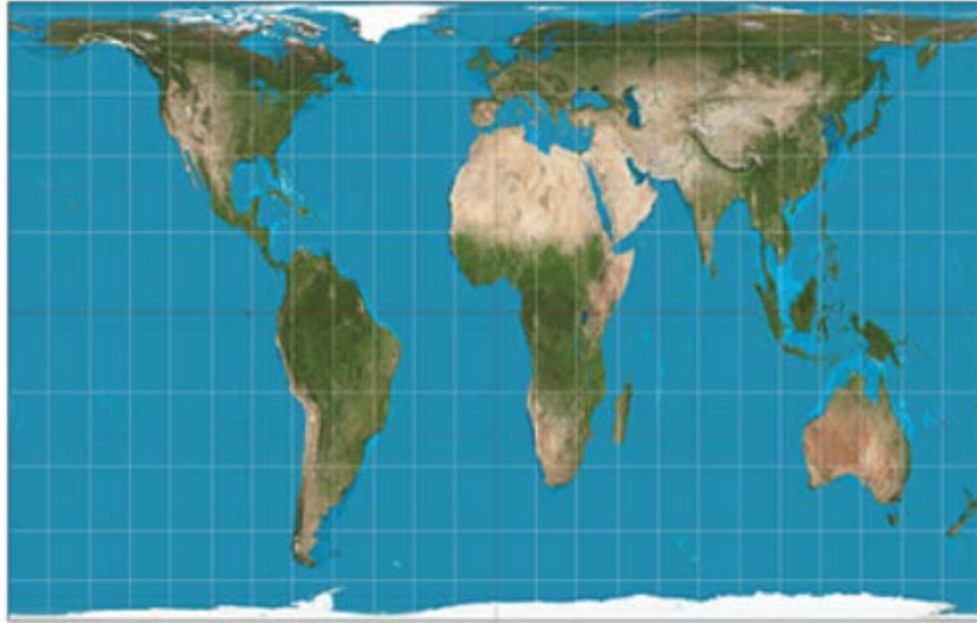
It is noteworthy that the centrality signifies superiority, so that placing Britain at the centre of the world is also a way of locating Britain at the top of a global hierarchy.



**Figure 4-12 - Map of the British Empire displaying the Empire in red (Source: Ward, 1900).**

If we were also to examine The Gall-Peters projection map commonly known as the Peters projection map we would see large differences in the way countries are represented in comparison to the more widely used Mercator projection. The Gall-Peters achieved considerable notoriety in the late 20th century as the centrepiece of a controversy surrounding the political implications of map design. Maps based on the projection continue to see use in some circles and are readily available, though few major map publishers produce them.





**Figure 4-13 - The Peters Projection Map (Source: Geography-about.com, 2013).**

The Peters Projection World Map clearly displaying a different geography to that in widespread usage. Arno Peters, an amateur historian, devised a map based on Gall's orthographic projection in 1967 and presented it in 1973 as a 'new invention.' He promoted it as a superior alternative to the Mercator projection, which was suited to navigation but also used commonly in world maps. The Mercator projection increasingly inflates the sizes of regions according to their distance from the equator. This inflation results, for example, in a representation of Greenland that is larger than Africa, whereas in reality the geographical area of Africa is 14 times as large. Since much of the technologically underdeveloped world lies near the equator, these countries appear smaller on a Mercator, and therefore, according to Peters, seem less significant. On Peters' projection, by contrast, areas of equal size on the globe are also equally sized on the map. By using his 'new' projection, poorer, less powerful nations take a much greater visual significance.

This reasoning has been picked up by many educational and political bodies, leading to adoption of the Gall-Peters projection among some socially concerned groups. The use of the Peters

projection map versus the Mercator version is still a contentious subject among cartographers but this also accordingly demonstrates the political implications of map projections. The depiction of the world in maps is obviously pivotal to forming an individual's understanding of the world around them as so much depends on our awareness of membership of a larger imagined community (Anderson, 1991). Consequently we can understand that the national field is that which informs a society's sense of time and space. It defines its borders and time zones, as well as organising the routine social life of those who inhabit the space of the nation. As the inhabitants of a nation are usually united by occupying the same time and place they thus create a sense of community. Thus a community exists within these spatial boundaries with the 'other' being outside.

#### **4.5 NATION-CENTRIC HEXIS**

National or nation-centric hexis concerns the socialised national behaviours which manifest themselves in the actual body or posture of the individual. They come under national habitus, and in turn under a national doxa. Our nationality directly impacts our individual physical actions, in a way that becomes second nature. These include attitudes to spitting (as was noted at the end of Chapter 3), queuing, and even bathing rituals.

In fact, Chinese authorities have published a 'Guidebook for Civilized Tourism' (*Guidebook for Civilised Tourism*) to inform their travellers of the desired etiquette when travelling overseas. This includes recommendations regarding abstinence from public nose-picking and urinating in swimming pools when abroad. If the focus of the guidebooks is reversed and used as a way of observing Chinese culture, the conclusion one might reach is that these types of behaviour are normal in China. But in any case it seems that we all need guidance when visiting other cultural spaces if we are to avoid unintentional insult to our hosts.

National hexis impact the bodily actions and activities of the subject, are socialised and accordingly are performed unconsciously. Personal space behaviours are an example of the manifestation of the social construct of national differences. These are marked in international interactions but not within the confines of one's own nation.

Personal space habits vary greatly culturally ‘The French stand and sit closer to each other than do Germans and most Americans’ (Hall, 1987: 92). In contrast others maintain a greater personal space. ‘The Germans are careful not to touch accidentally or to encourage signs of intimacy’ (Hall, 1987: 39). These differences arise through social conditioning as there is no physical basis to comfort zones. Not only do personal space attitudes differ, but even the use of public space varies greatly from nation to nation. In many Asian nations sleeping in public is completely socially acceptable, and is in fact viewed as a way of coping with an intense working culture. People often sleep in public places during the day without causing comment or consternation and has indeed been documented in the work of the photographer Eric Leleu.



**Figure 4-14 - Man sleeping on a park bench (Source: DayDreamers, 2013).**

This is in contrast to European approaches regarding sleeping, whereby it is usually a private activity; indeed in the ‘West’ this may be deemed (and punished) as loitering. This is clearly a form of socialised behaviour, acceptable in some societies but not others. We can term these different cultural styles or customs, of which there are many.

## **Eating Customs**

A succinct example of hexis when applied to national habitus would be differing use of cutlery. In general, the evolution of table manners was originally intended to prevent the utensils from appearing threatening. Consequently, cutlery is held delicately, carefully balanced on the prescribed fingers and guided by the fingertips. To hold any utensil in a fist, or to manipulate it in such a way that is pointed at anyone would hint at potential danger, as could setting it down in an inappropriate way.

Globally diverse cultures utilise different eating utensils, for example chopsticks or western style cutlery. But even within these cultural groups further differences can be observed. The conventions which ordain how cutlery is used have evolved to reflect the history of the utensils themselves. The American style of cutlery usage, also known as the zigzag style is a case in point. Americans tend to use their cutlery in quite a distinct manner. This is of course a style taught to them at home, at the family table and is a stark example of a national hexis as it is the actual physical embodiment of a habitus.

There was a different evolution in the development of table habits due primarily to the relatively late introduction of the fork to America. All three utensils are intended for use primarily with the right hand, which is the more capable hand for most people. This leads to some complicated manoeuvring when foods, such as meat, require the use of knife and fork to obtain a bite of manageable size. When this is the case, the fork is held in the left hand, the hand in a fist with the fork tines pointing downward, the better to hold the meat in place while the right hand operates the knife. After a bite-sized piece has been cut, the diner sets the knife down on the plate and transfers the fork to the right hand, so that it can be used to carry the newly cut morsel to the mouth. The European, or Continental, style of using knife and fork is somewhat quicker, not requiring a 'swap-over' of utensils. According to this method, the fork is held continuously in the left hand and used for eating. When food must be cut, the fork is used exactly as in the American style, except in a downwards grip as opposed to a fist like grip, thus enabling the food to be eaten immediately from the fork. There is thus no zigzag moving of utensils.

'It has been suggested by James Deetz that the old way was more deeply entrenched in America because forks arrived there relatively late' (Visser, 1991: 193). The absence of the fork in

American society explains this habitus, as it would mean that American diners historically had only a spoon and knife with which to eat. It would have taken careful manoeuvring of a spoon and knife to eat, hence the evolution of the 'zig-zag' eating method. The late introduction of the fork to America in contrast to European table customs is explained by historical specifications:

In 1637 Cardinal Richelieu of France was supposedly so disgusted by dinner guest's habits of picking their teeth with their knife that he had the tips of the knives ground down. The fashion conscious French court picked up on this style and followed suit. In 1699, to reduce the risk of dinnertime knife fights, French King Louis XIV banned pointed knives outright (Visser, 1991: 187). Since blunted knives were useless for spearing food in the old two-knife dining style, forks replaced the knife held in the left hand. The new-fangled blunt knives reached the American colonies in the early 1700s, where few forks were available. Americans were forced to use upside-down spoons to steady food for cutting. They would then switch the spoon to the right hand, flipping it to use as a scoop. Even after forks became everyday utensils, this 'zigzag' style as it is referred to continues to divide American eaters' customs from the Continental style of dining (Visser, 1991: 184). However Mennell observed that 'many upper-class Americans are brought up to eat according to the European model' (Mennell, 2007: 60). As these small but observable differences are transmuted from one generation to the next we can perceive them as a practical and direct example of shared national identity, habitus or hexis. The American or European absorbs the national hexis regarding cutlery as a norm, without question having been initiated into this behaviour from a very early age.

The reasons why these differences exist are historical, but within a shared community this is how its members are taught to behave or act, usually without observation, comment nor analysis. As Bourdieu observed in his work *Distinction* (1979) there are numerous rules and etiquette surrounding table manners and food. These have historically been identified as a means of ascertaining class differences, as previously documented by Elias in his *Civilising Process*, but they can also be a means of characterising national differences. There can be huge variations of convention between nations which are as fraught and complex as those between classes. Discussing Chinese attitudes to eating rituals or manners Weisen Li explains that:



Eating begins in order of seniority, with each diner taking the cue to start from his or her immediate superior. Children are taught to eat equally from each *ts'ai* dish in turn, never betraying a preference for a particular item by eating more of it, never seeming to pause to choose a specific bite from the plate. In order to cool the soup a bit and to better diffuse the flavour in the mouth, soup is eaten by sipping from the spoon while breathing in. This method, of course, produces the slurping noise that is taboo in the West. To eat *fan*, a diner raises the bowl to her lips and pushes the grains into her mouth with chopsticks. This is the easiest way to eat it and shows proper enjoyment -- eating *fan* from a bowl left sitting on the table suggests dissatisfaction with the food. The diner must finish all the *fan*. To leave even a grain is considered bad manners, a lack of respect for the labour required to produce it (Weisen. 2011:2)

This passage outlines a very different set of behaviours to those commonly demonstrated in Europe. The importance of finishing every grain of rice and the observation regarding the slurping of soup all signify very different attitudes towards eating than are exhibited in the West.

### **Tipping**

Tipping is also indicative of a national hexis. Tipping is the practise of adding sums of money to a bill to be given to the service provider in return for good service. These practices vary widely globally, in some countries this may only happen in extraordinary circumstances whilst in others it is considered mandatory to offer at least 10% of the bill on every occasion when service is provided.

In fact, there are vast differences across countries in the number of service professions it is customary to tip. In some countries, like Egypt and the United States, it is customary to tip many different service professions, while in other countries, like Denmark and New Zealand, it is customary to tip only a few service professions (Lynn, 2000: 395).

These actions are of course a national construct which can appear out of kilter if performed within other nations.

## Greetings

Greetings vary greatly between nations. They can include different modes of kissing, handshaking, nodding and bowing. What seems completely taken for granted and obvious in one nation would seem bizarre in another. These are learnt modes of interaction which become almost instinctively used. Again Weisen Li's analysis is instructive:

The Chinese will sometimes nod as an initial greeting. Bowing is seldom used except in ceremonies. Handshakes are also popular; wait, however, for your Chinese counterpart to initiate the gesture. If you visit a school, theatre, or other workplace, it is likely that you will be greeted with applause as a sign of welcome. In turn, you should respond by applauding back (Weisen. 2011:2).

The applause that greets visitors in China would appear inexplicable in another setting. It is culturally specific and therefore forms part of the Chinese national hexis. For a Chinese person who has grown up with such actions as norms this would form part of their taken for granted behaviours and actions. These would then make them feel at home or belonging to something. It is these unspoken gestures which have been taught or instilled from birth that helps a community to adhere. When these differences are known they also 'flag' the nation, for example bowing is recognized as being distinctly Japanese while a handshake signifies North American or the English speaking world more generally.

If we consult the resources available to travellers as guides to limit offensive behaviours we can gain interesting insights into the main cultural differences:

**In the USA**, it is normal for men to shake hands when they meet, but it is quite unusual for men to kiss when they greet each other. Greetings are casual – a handshake, a smile and a 'hello' will do just fine.

**The British** often simply say 'hello' when they meet friends. They usually shake hands only when they meet for the first time. Social kissing, often just a peck on the cheek, is common in an informal situation between men and women and also between women who know each other very well.

**French nationals, including children**, shake hands with their friends and often kiss them on both cheeks, both upon meeting and leaving.

**In Japan**, the common greeting for men and women as well is to bow when they greet someone, as opposed to giving a casual handshake or a hug. (moveoneinc, 2014).

So we can conclude that what may seem polite or good manners in some nations may appear uptight or rigid to others. For example, if we were to employ the French method of greeting in Japan the former could be viewed as invasive or overly familiar. If the Japanese greeting were used in France it could seem overly formal and stiff. These behaviours are nationally identifiable means of expression. They are the physical embodiment of a national socialisation, a national hexis. National hexis can refer to many different practices such as tipping, queuing, and spitting in public. Each act possessing its own attendant attitudes and habits within different nations. We can thus conclude that the nation can be embodied within the subject, impacting a wide range of behaviours that we would normally presume are personal choices. But once these 'taken for granted' choices are examined we are can determine that they are culturally specific and accordingly socialised.

These socialised behaviours and choices impact on large portions of our lives in seemingly innocuous ways. There is off course latitude within these customs but these may be limited by what is customary or legal in the respective nation. For example, abortion may be a personal choice but it is illegal in some states, so therefore the option is removed from the sphere of choices, the illegal aspect may in itself lead to a doxic quality regarding the attitudes of the subject. The nation manifests itself within the subject. So, we have examples of national hexis, which are learnt physical manifestations of national identity. They are instantly recognisable, especially to outsiders, but are relatively unconsciously performed by the agent. They accordingly form part of the national doxa.

#### **4.6 CONCLUSION**

Social agents do not, (according to Bourdieu), continuously calculate their behaviours according to explicit rational, social or economic criteria. Rather, social agents operate according to an implicit practical logic, i.e. a practical sense which had been internalised from birth by the individual during their life time. These can be appreciated as a national doxa or an expression of

national socialisation. The examples previously mentioned are real life examples that are given in order to illustrate how the socialisation of cultural norms can be understood. Social customs become common place and taken for granted, accordingly they epitomise misrecognition and are thus absorbed as standard behaviour by the social group. In the same way we can deduce that the ideology of nationalism is internalised, becoming a part of a person's very self. We can think of national doxa/culture/tradition as interchangeable terms referring to the embodiment of a national belonging. They form part of our identity and as such are performed without question and are rarely further examined.

It has been shown that examples of national hexis are lost generationally if the environment changes. The hexis is thus a bodily expression of the environment not an outer manifestation of the inner person. This becomes apparent through scrutinising David Efron's research into the hand gestures of Sicilian and Lithuanian immigrants in New York City. We can deduce that these are an example of a national hexis. They are culturally specific and internalised from outside factors.

His research concluded that these gestures disappeared from use as the people became assimilated within American society (Efron, 1941). Therefore the gestures were representative of the place not the person who embodied them. They were not an inherent part of the person's biological make-up but rather a learnt social expression imbued through their surroundings. They are a social construct; an example of the efficiency of a learnt national hexis. The hexis is a physical demonstration of socialised group characteristics. The fact that it disappears as cultural assimilation takes place indicates their arbitrariness. Accordingly the hexis is socially constructed, based on a lived experience within a certain cultural group.

What has been argued then, with the help of concrete examples, is that a national doxa, comprising of national hexis and national habitus is taught and learnt. As these attributes are instilled through the society surrounding the individual, a different environment would create an entirely altered national doxa. These are acquired characteristics, their successful absorption based as much on the misrecognition of nationalism as anything else. As will be shown in Chapter 5, the educational system is pivotal to this process and is also deeply political in the way it seeks to instil an attachment to a sacred national past. Also the educational system is part of a

central bureaucratic system without which such a large scale undertaking could not be achieved. Thus we can surmise that the national field, doxa, habitus and hexis help to further understand how the nation becomes embodied within the subject.

The examples discussed above are evident expressions of a socialised national identity. These form a national habitus which is formed through the means of socialisation. These have no physical basis and are constructs of the culture within which the individual is situated. The national doxa which is socialised into the citizen is capricious, in the sense that anybody could conceivably possess any national doxa if brought up in that environment.

In contemporary society the vast majority believe implicitly in the idea of belonging to a nation. Nationality is taken for granted and explicitly pervasive, though no objective decision is usually taken in the decision as to which nation one would prefer to belong to. The matter is normally a case of chance or 'accident of birth'. A citizen does not usually decide their nationality by evaluating global national morals or standards of living most people are born into their nationality as they are their class membership. We are taught that we must belong to a nation, though statelessness is on the increase, but this drives home just how precarious one is without a recognised place in the international system of nation-states. The person must have a nation or state in order to exist meaningfully and ensure full recognition of their rights. In this chapter I have surveyed some of the more banal ways in which the nation is embodied, communicated and reproduced. In the next chapter the focus will shift to what Gellner called the educational machine, which was for Gellner the main mechanism through which the nation is produced and sustained. This follows in Chapter 5, but first an intermediate reflection will provide the contextual connection between this chapter and the next.

## INTERMEDIATE REFLECTION: THE MACHINERY OF NATIONALIST SOCIALISATION

The previous chapter explored national doxa, habitus and hexis by looking at a variety of manifestations. These are examples of socialised national identity: habits which are not innate but are instead the result of habituated instruction from an early age. Accordingly they provide compelling evidence for the idea that nationalism is socialised.

This resonates strongly with Gellner's argument that nationalism is a social construct. As previously discussed he neglected to examine in any great depth or detail the *how* of nationalism or the mechanics by which nationalism is constructed. His only references to the actual formation of nationalism are when he mentions exo-socialisation. As discussed previously, exo-socialisation can be taken to refer to all social groups outside the family but, Gellner solely focuses on the state run education system. Consequently in order to better understand this dimension of the *how* of nationalism; one must examine the state-run education system.

Though as previously discussed it is unsatisfactory to suggest that this is the sole engine or 'machine' (as Gellner describes it) it remains an important driver of the process of socialisation, as argued convincingly by Malesevic: the school is 'the key vehicle of nationalist socialisation' (Malesevic, 2014: 15). This is exo-socialisation as originally defined by Gellner, i.e. a state run school system.<sup>3</sup>

The next chapter examines how the nation is taught, and retaught (with an emphasis on changing narratives of the nation), by focusing on the Irish case. Accordingly the following chapter contains a comparison of Irish state text books from three contrasting eras. These provide evidence of changing discourses and depictions indicating adjusting political or social change. We find instances of changing nationalist rhetoric or indeed allegiance, providing evidence of how past events are narrated in accordance with present concerns. This also conforms to Gellner's supposition that nationalism is a mutable beast reflecting social change.

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<sup>3</sup> On this, Gellner points out that while the state may not be the sole agent responsible, it still regulates education, and thus remains the authority in charge of the machine.

Therefore the following chapter provides an examination of Irish text books during three key junctures in modern Irish history. As the representations and depictions of the same event alter this provides documented evidence that nationalism within Ireland has changed. The findings reflect Malesevic's claims that:

It is weak not strong nationalisms that are noisy and brazen. Well established, taken for granted nationalisms do not require relentless and instant mobilisation. Thus is the habitual, banal, practises that are much more important for the reproduction and expansion of nationalisms than aggressive posturing (Malesevic, 2014: 16).

What will be seen, in accordance with Malesevic's somewhat counter intuitive argument, is that Irish nationalism becomes more robust through time, even as explicitly nationalist discourse becomes muted. Moreover, it will also be necessary to supplement the Gellnerian analysis with a Bourdieusian focus on the broader social and cultural context in order to better understand not only the process of nationalist socialisation itself, but also the deficiencies of Gellner's theory of nationalism. The next chapter thus focuses squarely on the 'missing ink' in Gellner's theory.

## Chapter 5 – Ireland 1831-1980: A Textual and Contextual analysis

*'History, as Dr. Arnold defines it, is the biography of nations'* (Neil, 1880: 9).

The objective of this chapter is to provide evidence of how the school has been deployed as an instrument of nationalist socialisation. This will be done partly through a Gellnerian analysis of school textbooks, taking this as far as possible before looking to Bourdieu to explain why this does or does not succeed. In other words, this chapter will combine Gellner and Bourdieu and examine nationalist socialisation by placing school textbooks in the wider context. The Irish case is relevant to this thesis as it exhibits a series of discontinuities that highlight the weaknesses and strength of Gellner's theory of nationalism. In other words the 'missing ink' will be addressed.

The previous chapter provided examples of the manifestations of national behaviour or habitus. These are socialised embodied qualities which are handed down generationally and acquired socially. This chapter engages squarely with Gellner's conception of exo-socialisation which, as noted above, is based more on assertion than detailed analysis. It is not that Gellner is wrong; the problem is that his theory is hampered by reliance on a functionalist account of exo-socialisation. Gellner focuses exclusively on education as the means of socialisation; this however omits the greater picture. His account thus omits detailed analysis of the methods of socialisation or indeed an exploration of the changing substance of nationalism. Furthermore, Gellner's description lacks real attention to context, and the ways in which nationalism is actually nationalisms (i.e. plural). In other words, if we attend to the evidence, we see that the socialisation of nationalism is intensely context-specific, and that the meaning of 'the nation' is quite malleable. In short, the meaning of 'the nation' is not static and how this is imparted to school children changes over time. The 'how' of nationalism is addressed in this chapter, consequently providing the necessary substantiation of the *'Socialisation of nationalism'*.

Gellner refers to exo-socialisation as socialisation which takes place outside the home, but in his writings this is equivalent to the school or what he refers to as the 'educational machine', by



which he meant education managed directly or indirectly by the state. In this chapter I will be using text books in order to examine how the Irish nation has been discursively constructed and transmitted within the classroom. Furthermore, by examining history textbooks we acquire further insights into what has been taught in different eras providing an analysis of how nationalism changes over time.

As discussed earlier there are three aspects to an effective socialisation triangle. These three elements are education, family and social ties, thus within this triangle is socialisation fashioned. Gellner only really focuses on one side of the triangle. As will be seen in more detail below, this proves to be inadequate in practice i.e. Gellner only allows for one side of what was presented earlier (fig 3-1) as the socialisation triangle. It is important and necessary to consider all three dimensions of socialisation if we are to understand the formation of habitus. This provides perspective and background to the research and clarifies the environment in which they were placed. This clarifies the idea that for a subject to experience a successful socialisation it has to operate across the three sectors of social life: education, family and social.

Ireland has been used as the case study for this research as it affords a clear example of an initial transition from empire to nation, and a subsequent transformation of Irish nationalism itself: from a highly politicised 'primordialist' nationalism, to a future-orientated variant that submerges the language of political nationalism within a discourse of economic modernisation. During the nineteenth century the aim was to assimilate Ireland into the United Kingdom, unlike other members of the British Empire which accrued the title colony or dependency. As Ireland was part of the British Empire until comparatively recently this gives us tremendous scope to examine how this period of transformation is narrated through the discipline of history. The change was rapid; most institutions remained as they were but with British insignia or the word 'Royal' removed from literature, signage or titles. In the case of post boxes, for example, they were painted green, merely changing the colour from the previous red. There still remains to this day the anomaly of some Irish post boxes painted green but still bearing the Royal insignia. The following picture depicts a post box dating from the reign of King George V, painted green.



**Figure 5-1 - Irish post box with regalia of King George V (Source: Ferguson, 2009).**

Prior to Irish independence the education system had long been a source of discontent within Ireland due to its focus on including Ireland within a United Kingdom. It was also perceived as being neglectful of Irish history or geography and depicting subjects purely from a British perspective. The history of Ireland is a contentious one, but accordingly one that supplies copious examples of changing historical depictions. Through this analysis it can be seen how nationalism is partially – but only partially, and this is important - constituted through the education system.

This chapter begins with some remarks on methodology, followed by a short overview of how the educational system in Ireland evolved. I then use the prefaces and introductions from some of the textbooks used to sketch an outline of how empire and nation are discursively framed and how this changes over time. The analysis itself is organised into three main sections, each of which is in two parts: a first longer section that examines school textbooks, followed by a shorter section that shifts from textual to contextual analysis, which also marks a shift from Gellner to a Bourdieusian perspective.

The three main sections are arranged according to three time frames identified as being pivotal eras during Ireland's history. The first period is 1831 until 1922 when Ireland was still under British rule. The second period covered is from the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922 until 1971. This was the first time that the content of Irish text books was under the control of an Irish State. The third and final period examines textbooks from 1971 onwards and the advent of what was termed the 'new curriculum'. These contrasting social and political epochs enable us to observe that the substance of what is taught in schools reflects adjusting national priorities.

Under these periods the subject matter is presented as follows: firstly the educational material is discussed under the headings Ancient Origins of the Irish, Empire/Colonialism, and the Famine. The three themes have been chosen for their significance to the Irish case. As education represents one side of the triangle there then follows an analysis of the other two sides of the socialisation triangle (text to context) or the 'missing ink' of the title. Hence a fuller understanding of Irish nationalism is gained by tracking it through time, and also by bringing Bourdieu's more encompassing approach to socialisation to bear on the strengths and weaknesses of Gellner's theory of nationalism. Thus a fuller picture of socialisation is given clarifying why the attendant socialisation did or did not take hold as habitus. In order to ground the Bourdieusian perspective thematically, I will be focusing on sport and religion.

## **5.1 METHODOLOGY**

As previously discussed the theories of Bourdieu and Gellner (on nationalism) converge on education as the field where nationalism (or class in Bourdieu's case) is reproduced through mass socialisation. School textbooks are one established way of conducting this type of research as they provide us with tangible evidence of what is imparted through the school in particular contexts. It is of course impossible to gauge the teacher's actual interpretations or delivery of the material contained in these textbooks, but textbooks nevertheless do provide evidence of how nationalist discourse has been codified and communicated to what was (in the context of the classroom) a captive audience. While this tells us little, if anything, about how the message is received, it does provide a reasonably reliable indication of the message or discourse itself. For the purpose of the analysis, my source material is school text books in both primary and secondary schools and is supplemented by the secondary literature.

Education typically takes place during a person's most formative years and is pivotal to young citizens learning their place in the world. One of the primary means in which nationalism is taught is through education, as it is there that children learn about national myths and heroes, which provide them with social templates. It is for this reason that I have chosen to focus on textbooks.

As portrayals of events and historical figures tend to adjust according to the political and social exigencies of any particular era they provide insights into society at given moments in time. The depictions within text books illustrate a sustained and systematic change in attitudes reflecting inherent adjustments in outlook and direction. Text books can be perceived as the official histories of a nation-state. Official histories are those that have been endowed with legitimacy by the state. The sample of textbooks used for this analysis is based on a comprehensive evaluation of the text books and Programmes for Instruction stored in the library of The College of Teaching and Education at St. Patricks College, Drumcondra, Dublin.

Undeniably, officially sanctioned histories or histories that have a stamp of approval from academics, civil servants and political leaders shape the self-understanding of a society. The past is not simply recalled by accumulating self-evident 'facts' and piecing together an 'objective' account of the nation's glorious or traumatic history. On the contrary, as the story is told it is legitimised and becomes proof of its own importance. The history told is then reinforced further through public displays such as parades, commemorations, festivals, museum exhibitions and journalism. This provides these histories with the credibility and credence so that 'narrative' becomes 'truth'. The teaching of a nation's history is an act viewed as a matter of fact. The history is then presented to the school pupil as an impartial and objective truth.

History, as a form of knowledge which is organised into social practices, is intimately linked to national membership, as argued by Benedict Anderson, membership of an *Imagined Community* (Anderson, 1991). But the reality is that history is selective and seldom contains all of the relevant facts, it is anything but impartial. If history were completely objective it would not change under any political regime or from state to state. The facts of history would be agreed upon irrespective of particular perspectives. For example if we compare the teaching of history

to the instruction of plant biology then we can observe that an explanation of plant photosynthesis does not change from culture to culture or language to language, but in contrast history does. The depiction adjusts in accordance with the political or economic landscape.

The textual analysis undertaken here clearly illustrates how the depiction of historical events shifts and changes reflecting the political arena at that time. Moreover, as will be discussed in due course; the histories taught in the classroom do not necessarily cohere with the reality of the world outside the classroom, which is one important reason as to why attempts at socialising children in this way do not always succeed. The analysis takes 1831 as its point of departure, which is when a national system of elementary education was provisioned for in Ireland. To provide context I will firstly sketch an outline of the history of education in Ireland. This will be followed by juxtaposing the prefaces of textbooks from the aforementioned time frames to locate the main contrasts.

## **5.2 EDUCATION IN IRELAND**

### **5.2.1 - PRIOR TO 1831**

Prior to 1831 formal education was mainly the preserve of the rich and the clergy. Its wider potential was apparent from early on though as from the initial British involvement in Irish affairs there had been an effort to assimilate the population through the education process:

From the early days of the Tudor conquest, English policy aimed through legislation and encouragement to promote schooling as an agency of conquest with a view to spreading the use of the English language and the Protestant faith (Coolahan, 1981: 8).

This was a strategy adopted throughout the British Empire and not solely in Ireland, as this was seen to be the most successful means of incorporating a population into the British Empire. The speaking of Irish was actively discouraged and punishable within the education system. Under the Penal laws of 1695 it was forbidden to teach Catholics, and in retaliation hedge schools came into existence, which proved to be extremely popular with the poorer sections of the populace. There was also the provision of schools by the Kildare Place Society which received grants from government as well as some charitable donations. The Kildare Place Society had at

that time about 1,621 schools with about 140,000 children in attendance. It has been estimated that in 1824 there were 11,000 schools in Ireland with a total of about 500,000 children attending them. According to John Coolahan the attendance at schools in 1824 was ‘two out of every five children of school-going age at that time’ (Coolahan, 1981: 10). This attendance could be erratic and did not necessarily infer a prolonged or systematic attendance as primary school as attendance was not obligatory.

### **5.2.2 - 1831 to 1922**

From 1831 until 1922 Ireland was still a part of the United Kingdom and as such all matters of state were decided by the Government in London. In 1831 the National Board of Education was set up and a national system of primary schools commenced in Ireland, paid for by the state. Any locality that wanted a school applied for a grant, which then funded almost all building costs as well as teachers’ salaries. The Department of Education decided on curriculum and teacher salaries. The national school system was not the only form of primary schooling available. The national system had been principally intended for the education of the poorer classes and there were still other options available for those who could afford them. Hedge schools continued until about 1870 and many religious groups also became active in the area of education. There were Protestant groups such as the London Hibernian Society and the Sunday School Society for Ireland (Beckett, 1981).

The Catholic Church was represented by the Presentation Sisters, the Christian Brothers, the Sisters of Mercy and the Loreto Sisters. However the education provided still remained contentious as the books contained very little information or material which related to Irish geography or history. They were instead geared towards the British cultural assimilation policy of that time. The system served to weaken any sense of cultural identity of both teachers and students. The neglect of the Irish language and culture in the syllabus was a criticism often made (Foster, 1990).

As English was the sole language of instruction this led to children living in Gaeltachts (Irish speaking areas) being at a severe disadvantage, as they were unable to understand English:

Indeed parochial schools were established enacting ‘that the English tongue, habit, and order be henceforth (and without ceasing or returning at any time to Irish habit or language), used by all men (Anon. 1896-7: 209).

The national school system was one important factor in the decline of ‘the’ Irish language in nineteenth century Ireland. The policies adopted were in line with contemporary cultural integration policies, typically utilised by colonial powers.

### **5.2.3 - 1922 to 1971**

In 1922 the Irish Free State was formed. This was in the aftermath of the War of Independence and the Civil War. The Irish Free State came to an end in 1937 and was succeeded by the sovereign and current state of the Republic of Ireland. In 1922 the first curriculum originated by the Irish Free State was introduced. This was the first time that Ireland had determined its own affairs. According to John Coolahan the curriculum was inspired by cultural nationalism and ‘what was attempted was a cultural revolution with the schools acting as the agents of change’ (Coolahan, 1981: 7).

The curriculum was insular in character and chose to ignore international models. Prior to the establishment of the Irish Free State the Irish National Teachers Organisation had convened a conference in order to decide the aims of a prospective curriculum and outline the intention of the syllabus:

In the administration of Irish education, it is the intention of the new government to work with all its might for the strengthening of the national fibre by giving the language, history, music and tradition of Ireland, their national place in the life of Irish schools (Coolahan, 1981: 41).

So we can perceive clearly that from the very beginnings of the Irish State the objective is clear, nationalism is at the very core of educational priorities. This is decided long before any actual curriculum material is written or sought. The intention is in place and the syllabus written around it and it is here that we get a clear glimpse of Irish nationalism being organised into the

apparatus of state at this time. This is hardly surprising considering that the country was in recovery not only from a Civil War, but prior to that a War of Independence.

The Irish nation was only beginning and in connection with Gellner's ideas on nationalism and education the following proves insightful:

One of the chief aims of the teaching of history should be to develop the best traits of the national character and to inculcate national pride and self-respect. This will not be attained by the cramming of dates and details but rather by showing that the Irish race has fulfilled a great mission in the advancement of civilisation and that, on the whole, the Irish nation has amply justified its existence (Anon, 1922: 5).

This quote offers a clear indication of the importance attached to the teaching of history, which was tasked with much more than simply recounting the nation's past. In straightforward language we understand that from the very beginnings of the Irish State that the intention is explicit. The education syllabus (in this case history) must be utilised to inculcate national pride and self-respect. This was to be done through validating the Irish nation through depiction of the Irish race as fulfilling a great mission. No accident then that history would become the art of narrating Irish myths, legends and heroes.

One of the chief influences on the formation of an Irish education system was Padraig Pearse. Though his writings are not examined here it is necessary to note the impact his patriotic beliefs had on an emerging nation and his substantial influence on the Irish educational system in all its endeavours. Padraig Pearse was an Irish teacher, writer, nationalist and political activist who was one of the leaders of the Easter Rising in 1916. Pearse was a pivotal influence on the Irish Education System after the formation of the Irish Free State and his views have been influential ever since. Pearse believed fervently that the Irish school system, (under British rule) attempted to raise Ireland's young to be good Englishmen or obedient subjects, and therefore an alternative was needed.

Pearse wrote on the subject in the *Murder machine* in which he describes his observations:

The English thing that is called education in Ireland is founded on a denial of the Irish nation. No education can start with a *Nego*, [denial] any more than a religion can. Everything that even



pretends to be true begins with its Credo. It is obvious that the savage who says 'I believe in Mumbo Jumbo' is nearer to true religion than the philosopher who says 'I deny God and the spiritual in man.' Now, to teach a child to deny is the greatest crime a man or a State can commit. Certain schools in Ireland teach children to deny their religion; nearly all the schools in Ireland teach children to deny their nation. 'I deny the spirituality of my nation; I deny the lineage of my blood; I deny my rights and responsibilities.' This Nego is their Credo, this evil their good (Pearse, 1976: 7).

Pearse's views reverberated through the education system for decades and his insistence on the re-establishment of the Irish Language can still be discerned in Irish contemporary society. From the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922 Irish is a required subject of study in all schools within the Republic in receipt of public funds. Those wishing to teach in State run primary schools must also pass an Irish language examination. All official documents of the Irish Government must be published in both Irish and English or Irish alone (this is according to the Official Languages Act 2003). These measures have been designed to improve proficiency in the Irish language and ensure it does not become a dead language.

After the setting up of the Irish Free State in 1922 a programme of structural reform within the Irish educational system was proposed. Influenced heavily by the ideology of cultural nationalism it was held that schools ought to be the chief agency in the revival of the Irish language and native culture. 'For many nationalists the main purpose of education in a free Ireland was the re-establishment of Gaelic civilisation' (Coolahan, 1981: 38).

In the founding of the new state, it was determined not only that schools would be geared to the promotion of the Irish language and culture, but also that the teaching of history should be exclusively concerned with the history of Ireland, as it was felt that it had been neglected previously.

So, history instruction completely focused on Irish history with world history omitted:

The new Minister for Education, Thomas Derrig, announced at an early stage that he was committed to school programmes in which the Irish language and history would combine to foster a patriotic and Gaelic outlook (Coolahan, 1981: 42).

Accordingly, we have a new state committed to designing an education system to generate and institute national sentiment, with the Irish story positioned solely within its own context and with the wider world merely a means for the emerging nation to cast its own shadow.

#### **5.2.4 - 1971 to 1980**

1971 was the year of the introduction of the 'new curriculum'. This had been formulated after Ireland's government sought guidance from the OECD regarding its economy, which at that time was failing miserably. The economy had been stagnant for decades after independence which in turn had led to high levels of emigration and unemployment. Ireland was in economic trouble due to DeValera's policies, John McCarthy outlines them thus:

DeValera's idea was that Ireland would produce and consume whatever it needed, exporting only what was necessary to obtain foreign exchange. The policy failed to recognise the limitations of both country and climate or to capitalise on the advantages of being on the edge of one of the biggest world markets (McCarthy, 1990: 51).

This had been a disastrous policy for the people of Ireland, the result had been economic stagnation and mass emigration; by 1954 the level of emigration was 45,000 a year which translated as 75 per cent of the annual birth rate (McCarthy, 1990: 16). By 1957 this had risen to 80,000 (McCarthy, 1990: 25). The Irish government needed to adjust its policies to ensure the economic health of the community. The economy became viewed as essential for the health of the nation. Changes took time to be established, but these were initiated in the 1950's. In 1958 the Secretary of the Department of Finance T.K. Whittaker published a paper entitled *Programme for Economic Expansion* (McCarthy, 1990: 11). This outlined a blueprint for economic growth. Central to this plan was the idea of incentivising foreign investment through the means of government grants and low rates of taxation (McCarthy, 1990: 12). In 1957 British entry into the European Economic Community seemed imminent (McCarthy, 1990: 39). In his opening chapter of *Economic Development*, Whittaker commented:

The possibility of freer trade in Europe... necessitates also a re-appraisal of future industrial and agricultural prospects, it seems clear that, sooner or later, protection will have to go and the challenge of free trade be accepted (Whittaker, 1958: 2).

The economic situation in Ireland at that time was dire and indeed John McCarthy describes the situation thus:

Like a small boat in a hurricane, Ireland in 1958 was heading rapidly towards crisis. It was Whittaker who grabbed the tiller and set a new course, drawing about him people who shared his concern about the state of the nation and who were able and willing to act. Out of all of this, Economic Development was born (McCarthy, 1990: 41).

Whittaker's approach was multi-faceted and involved him speaking to senior civil servants of the Departments of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, and most important to the present discussion, Education (McCarthy, 1990: 47). This was followed by a wide analysis of the education system initiated in 1962 by the Dept. of education and the OECD. The report stated that:

Decisions which were socially acceptable must be made by governments, which presumably, would take account of economic needs in so far as these could be articulated (Farrell, 1998: 7).

These were the conditions which led to the introduction of the 'new curriculum'. The need of economic salvation for the nation lay in foreign investment, so this necessitated a more outward looking stance. Also this reinforces Gellner's belief that economics becomes central to a nation after the initial desire for independence. So the Irish nation underwent a change in perception from the previous inward looking stance of autarky to a type of nationalism which derives its meaning from its position in the global economy. In a discussion on the importance of the content of history textbooks Padraic Frehan points out:

The movement away from a predominately nationalist narrative, which began in 1971, comes to fruition here in a curriculum which both acknowledges and celebrates diversity. To enable a child to play a responsible role as an individual, as a family member and as a member of local, regional, national, European and global communities. This curriculum is effectively continuing, albeit implicitly, the policies carried forward in all curricular revisions: 'that of the implanting of an attitude of national awareness, pride and respect in Ireland (Frehan, 2012: 173).

So the aim is still nationalism but within a wider more outward looking perspective. This led to the publication of the *Investment in Education Report* published in 1966. Following these

recommendations the school curriculum was changed drastically. This was to bring it in line with the requirements of a more industrialised economy and became official policy in 1971. This new curriculum was drastically different in form and content and the texts read in a less insular manner. The ‘new curriculum’ heralded a shift in the substance of the syllabus. With the changes wrought by the commencement of free secondary education in 1967 and the curriculum in 1972, the focus changed. The rhetoric used become less insular and instead became more outward looking. Events in world history were depicted. The famine was no longer portrayed in isolation but compared to famines globally across history. The aim was to place Ireland within a larger European context to ensure economic stability. This conforms to Gellner’s observations regarding later stage nationalism:

The nationalist state is not the protector only of a culture, but also of a new and often initially fragile economy. (It generally loses interest in protecting a faith.) In those cases where a modern nation is born of what had previously been a mere stratum – peasants only, or urban specialists only – the state’s concerns with making its ethnic group into a balanced nation, and with developing its economy, become aspects of one and the same task (Gellner, 1983: 112).

As will be seen in due course, this statement coheres strongly with the transformation of Irish nationalism from the late 1960’s onwards. The textbooks produced after the establishment of the Irish Free State attempted to unite the nation by constructing ‘the Irish’ in opposition to an historical oppressor – sort of David and Goliath narrative – but as nationalism became taken for granted the depictions became banal. This is reinforced by Malesevic’s description of the Irish State at that time as a ‘puny Leviathian’ a conviction that:

Ireland lacked the organisational and ideological capacity for the development of a deep society-wide nationalism. Consequently nationalist ideology and practice has actually intensified over the last several decades and today’s nationalism is much more powerful and socially embedded than that present in de Valéra’s era (Malesevic, 2014).

In other words the nation has gradually become the taken for granted backdrop against which society is to modernise, to prosper, and to Europeanise. To connect this to chapters three and four, it might be said that it is only quite recently that nationalism has sedimented in the form of habitus.

### **5.3 RESEARCH FINDINGS**

The investigation of textbooks is presented in the following manner: It is divided into three themes: Ancient Origins of the Irish, Empire, and the Famine. These are subsequently arranged under three time frames. The first era is from 1831 until the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922, the second focus is between 1922 and 1971 when ‘protectionism’ defined Ireland’s governance and politics, and thirdly from 1971 onwards. The texts’ descriptions and their discernible changes reflect the social, economic and political adjustments taking place in society.

The first era reflects the British desire to unite Ireland under the auspices of the United Kingdom. This period depicts the syllabus under British rule when Ireland was incorporated within a United Kingdom. The second era shows a strongly nationalist stage seeking to bind the nation as one community. This period from 1922 until 1971 indicates an inward looking period when historical depictions focused almost solely on Anglo-Irish relations with little apparent interest in the wider world. The third period reveals a banal nationalism in which the nation has become taken for granted. With the advent of the ‘new curriculum’ in 1971 we have the advent of a more context-driven depiction of Irish history. The result is a more outward-looking perspective, and its apparent ‘inclusivity’ offers insights into how Irish nationalism has been reconfigured. By way of making an insertion into these national histories, the next section looks at how the nation has been prefaced in each of these contexts, which affords an initial sketch of how text relates to context. These provide us with a clear indication of how the texts from the immediate previous eras had been viewed. There is also an inter-textual relation as the more recent discourses are defined through distinction with earlier discourses. They provide an interesting commentary or overview of the shifting nature of nationalist discourse.

### **5.4 PREFACE/INTRODUCTIONS**

#### **5.4.1 - 1831-1922**

The prefaces of this period make for a stark contrast with those written after the establishment of the Irish Free State, in that here the past is treated with suspicion. The following extract from *The Home Teacher. A Cyclopaedia of Self Instruction* is a paradigmatic example:

History, as Dr. Arnold defines it, is the biography of nations. Its first and fundamental form is the Chronicle. There was a period in the past when all thought manifested itself in poetry. History then appeared as song. The epic presented itself to men as a record of events, and gathered the traditions of olden ages into the treasures of literature. But registers of genealogies and ancestral tables of the members of the heroic families of early times constitute the original germs and seeds of that which has attained to flower and fruit in history. It need scarcely be said that the narratives of experience of outward fact and incident imparted in genealogies and legendary chronicles supply little information, and that generally a considerable mass of fable mingles with the authentic matter they contain. In the mist of tradition many things glitter and glow with apparent splendour and glory which, when the sunlight of knowledge shines directly upon them and the mist has cleared away, are very far from being worthy of their renown. Exalt them to a place in history (Neil, 1980: 8).

This could be viewed as entreating the reader to listen to old fables and myths with caution as they have not been written down and officially sanctioned. Or under the auspices of the maintenance of Empire one could possibly view them as a warning to not heed counter-histories.

#### **5.4.2 - 1922-1971**

In 1922 we have the establishment of the first education system in Ireland administered solely by an Irish state bureaucracy. There is a strong nationalistic tone to the texts and robust reactions to texts and methods utilised previously. The following excerpt is taken from the first Irish conference to decide the new Irish curriculum:

It must be apparent to any person who gave thought to educational matters in Ireland that for quite a number of years past the Programmes of Instruction in our schools has been the subject of much criticism and complaint. From time to time, various bodies representative of public opinion protested against the unsuitability of these programmes (Anon, 1922: 3).

The message is clear, previous educational paradigms are judged defective. Education was now tasked with binding together a nation, instilling it with pride and dignity. By 1960 we can find the following passage discussing the history of education in Ireland. Upon reading this one garners a feel for the rhetoric employed at every level to ensure national pride and solidarity:

The National Schools (1831) - In 1831, the Government established the National School System and built primary schools in every parish in the country. The teachers received special training and their salaries were paid by the state. Parents gladly availed themselves of the opportunity to have their children educated, and illiteracy steadily decreased.

The national schools served a useful purpose, but in these early days they were anything but national. Neither Irish history nor the Irish language was taught, and all the subjects were taught through English, even in the Irish-speaking districts. An extract from a geography book of the time reads: 'Many people who live in Ireland were born in England, and we speak the one language and are one nation.'

The Government hoped that its new schools would lessen love of country amongst the children of Ireland and help to bring about the decay of the Irish language. No doubt the early national schools did much to spread the use of English, but although Irish history was not included in the curriculum, love of Ireland and a knowledge of her past did not die out.

The Government's aims were offset by the patriotism and devotion of the teachers, and by the hearthside ballads and stories in which the history of the country was handed down to each generation (Feeney, 1960: 63).

The sentence 'we speak one language and are one nation' would indeed have been a provocation when viewed through the eyes of Irish nationalists. The depiction is of an alien government trying to drive out all vestiges of the Irish nation. However the final extract underlines the importance of patriotism and national identity to the reader, praising as it does the loyalty of the teachers. This sentence also underscores the Bourdieusian insight that for successful socialisation to take place all three spheres must work in tandem: education, family life and social networks. If one part is missing the socialisation may well be ineffective. As will be discussed in more detail below, in Ireland's case there was only one side of the triangle under

the control of the British government, which explains in part why Irish nationalism was able to thrive in spite of the attempt to use education as a means of creating subjects loyal to the Crown.

### **5.4.3 - 1971 - Present Day**

After the initiation of the 'new curriculum' of 1971 the tone and structure of Irish nationalism undergoes a transformation, a fact we can elucidate clearly by observing this passage taken from the introduction to a history text book published in 1971:

In the past, the writing of Irish history for schools was frequently biased, uninformed and oversimplified. It was obsessed with the Anglo-Irish struggle. It dwelt excessively on political and military matters to the exclusion of social, economic and other aspects. It was drearily written and drably presented. It treated Irish history in a vacuum, with little reference to the wider setting of Irish events (Collins, 1972: Preface).

A striking statement when contrasted with the earlier extracts presented above, and one reinforced by the following statement taken from the foreword of a textbook published in 1976. 'For too long Ireland has been studied in isolation, a fact which has left many students with a very disjointed view of the past' (Gill and Macmillan, 1976). But this does not mean that nationalism is left behind in the wake of the new curriculum. As will be seen below, the more explicitly political face of nationalism is here becoming submerged by a shift in emphasis from past to future, and from sovereignty to economic development. The introduction from two textbooks published in the 1970s informs the reader that they should still embrace nationalism but now the idea of nation is positioned within a perspective that resonates with emerging ideas of European and global interdependency:

Because we live in Ireland we are interested in the history of Ireland. We like to know how Irish people lived long ago. But, as you will see in this book, many people, who never saw or heard of Ireland, affected the way of life here. We should know about those too (McGilicuddy, 1974: 2).

So we have texts which are no longer only inward looking and place the history of Ireland in a more global context. This is continuous with a nationalism that is more aligned with an assumed or asserted economic necessity.



The language is not as inflammatory or passionate; Ireland is no longer viewed in isolation and is linked to the outside world. The portrayal is in sharp contrast with the heated language in 1922 or the tone prior to the foundation of the Irish state. More specifically just as the content of education prior to 1922 was out of synch with the wider lived context, so after 1971 the insular nationalism which had been organised into the fabric of the educational system was being overtaken by cultural nationalism. This passage is much more conciliatory and attempts to place history into the larger context, a world view. From the above can be seen a series of contrasts in how the story of the Irish nation has been framed. The analysis that now follows examines each of these phases in greater depth. As noted earlier, each of these three sections is organised under the headings of ancient origins, empire, and famine. Further to this, each section concludes by considering socialisation in the round, that is by adding context to the analysis of textbooks.

### **5.5 - 1831-1922**

The period 1831-1922 is one in which Ireland is still under British rule. The educational aspect of the socialisation triangle was harnessed to the goal of creating loyal subjects of the British Crown, but this would be frustrated by the influence of the Catholic Church, particularly in family and communal life. The Catholic Church gradually became synonymous with 'Irish', the polar opposite of Protestant/British, and as the nineteenth century wore on, the cultural face of Irish nationalism would also make significant inroads into family and communal life via the field of sport, specifically the Gaelic Athletic Association. In short, Gellner's 'educational machine' was pitched into a contest with the other sides of the socialisation triangle: family and social ties as they remain outside the auspices of British control. One side of the triangle will be examined here firstly, the education system, under the titles of Ancient Origins, Empire and Famine. This is then followed by an assessment of the other two side of the triangle under the titles of Religion and sport. We can then build a greater consideration of what Irish society as a whole looked like at this time. Here the three sides of the triangle were presenting conflicting messages, with the result that the substance of socialisation as organised into the educational machinery of state was not wholly effective.

### 5.5.1 Ancient Origins

Under British rule this topic serves to inform the Irish people that they are the product of many influences. The past depicted is one of numerous incursions onto the island of Ireland with differing civilizations ruling at separate times:

It is said that the first colonists who settled in Ireland migrated from Migdonia, a part of Greece. They came hither under the auspices of Partholan from whom they derived their name, Partholanians, and possessed the country for about three centuries, when they were entirely destroyed by a pestilence, after which the island remained uninhabited during about thirty years (Anon, 1896: 5).

This marks the first phase of an historical process that sees an almost bewildering diversity of settlers competing for territorial control:

The Nemedians occupied the country for upwards of two centuries. Some African pirates, supposed to have been Carthaginians, colonized parts of Ulster. These engaged the Nemedians frequently in battle, and finally conquered them; but the greater portion of the latter abandoned the island, being unwilling to bear the yoke of slavery under African task-masters. Sometime afterwards, the Belgae, or Firbolgs, descendants of the vanquished Nemedians, commanded by five chiefs, all brothers, and children of Dela, invaded the country, and made themselves masters of it, either by the defeat or desertion of the Formorians. They divided the island into five parts, or provinces, and this was the origin of the Irish Pentarchy. After about forty years, they were in turn dispossessed by the Tuatha-De-danauns, or Damonians another race of adventurers, also descendants of the Nemedians. Finally, when the Damnonians had held this country for about 200 years, new invaders, the renowned Milesians, came to claim it for themselves, and ere long became masters of the island (Outlines of Irish History, 1896: 5).

These depictions of conquest and re-conquest fit squarely with the story of empire as another stage in history, with the British presented as merely the latest stage of an on-going process, but importantly one that brings order to these successive waves of invasion:

The Milesian dynasty continued, in almost unbroken succession, during so many centuries, that no less than 136 pagan sovereigns of that family occupied the throne of Ireland. Some writers are unwilling to grant this high antiquity to the Milesian line, or even to the other ancient races – but

the valuable relics of ancient civilization so frequently discovered, and the extensive traffic carried out an early period between the Irish ports and those of Spain and Gaul, afford strong evidence of the great antiquity of the Celtic race in Ireland. Some of the early inhabitants of this island very probably passed hither from the coasts of Gaul or Britain; but it's quite certain, that the Celtiberians or Spaniards were its principal colonists (Anon, 1896: 5).

This depicts an Irish people of uncertain and mixed backgrounds or histories. This is certainly not the pure unsullied history required of nationalism. The Irish are given an impure sullied history of origins in contrast to the pure idealised one preferred by nationalist historians. This narrative of ceaseless war serves to enshrine the idea that the British Empire is the basis of peace and prosperity for its entire people.

### **5.5.2 Empire**

As noted above, state-run elementary education was established in Ireland in 1831, accordingly the period from then until the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922 is the period under examination. During this period Ireland was still governed from Westminster and was treated as part of the United Kingdom. The textbooks reflect this fact and the language employed is inclusive referring to a collective 'we'. As the British Empire was still intact at this point the depictions utilised and the subjects covered within the textbooks are of the achievements of the Empire and its perceived greatness. So we frequently find emphases on the English, Scottish and Irish playing their part in the continuation of the British Empire.

Whilst Ireland was considered part of the British Empire the depiction of Empire is that of a brave and noble entity, legitimised by God. The Empire is portrayed as being for the greater good of all. This framing of empire echoes the doctrine of divine right, though there is a crucial difference. It is God-given yet its greatness is framed as a unity that emerges from the diversity of its constituent peoples. This was due to the British desire to ensure Ireland remained part of the British Isles, a United Kingdom:

The Empire is a work not of the will of man, but of a will that overrules all human wills, and binds them in the path of His Supreme Wisdom. It is not only the massiveness of the world-wide

structure which is full of wonder, but this Imperial power has perched itself, as it were, on crags, on coigns <sup>4</sup>of vantage, which by their smallness show the greatness of the power represent, Heligoland off the coast of Germany, Jersey off the coast of France, Gibraltar on the very soil of Spain, Malta in the straits of Italy and of the east, the Falkland Islands in the South Atlantic, Borneo in Polynesia, Hong Kong in the Chinese Empire, what are all these but tokens of the self-reliance of a great but courageous people (Manning, 1892: 90).

The empire is depicted as having been sanctioned by God and his will is for the common good or the common wealth. The textbooks provide plenty of illustrations of rhetoric which attempts to bind Ireland to England within the auspices of the British Empire. In the next passage we see that Irishmen are praised for their role in the maintenance of the Empire. Irishmen are elevated to the status of Empire holders:

What has built up the British Empire? In one word, the courage of Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen, the inheritance of the courage of Britons and Celts, and Saxons, and Scandinavians, and Danes, and Normans' ( Manning. 1892: 88).

Again in this extract the peoples of Ireland, Scotland and England are referred to as if they have identical aims and are part of the same realm. In the chapter describing the attributes of a courageous person:

Are we then a courageous people? What form of courage for the faith or for the battle-field is wanting in Ireland? What self-command and inflexible persistence in duty can surpass the courage of the people of Scotland? What shall an Englishman say of the people of England? None but free-born men have reared the British Empire. It is a great edifice, built up by centuries of manhood and intelligence, and force of will and sustained energy. It must be acknowledged with shame that fraud, and cruelty, and injustice have tarnished its beginnings. But as it now subsists it is a reign of law and justice. (Manning, 1892: 87-89).

This asserts that notwithstanding its painful genesis, the British Empire has blossomed into a noble entity that guarantees law, justice and freedom. We find repeated references in this era to a United Kingdom of England, Ireland and Scotland:

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<sup>4</sup> Coigns are projecting corners.

The conflicts which have made England, Ireland, and Scotland one, are a record of courage in all its kinds and degrees (Manning, 1892: 89).

The three regions are repeatedly referred to as forming one larger entity of the United Kingdom, and here can be seen a concrete example of how maps serve to habituate national identity, as discussed in Chapter Four above:

Let the Englishman, Scotchman, or Irishman be suddenly transplanted to any country or island marked in red on the map, and he at once can make himself at home. He will be governed by laws which he himself has helped to make, or which his forefathers have made for him; he will be able to speak to those around him in his mother tongue; while the clothes he sees worn, and the tools he sees used, were perhaps manufactured within a few miles of his old home (Ward, 1900: 7).

These quotes are all from the nineteenth century and clearly illustrate the rhetoric employed in an attempt to sustain the structure of the United Kingdom. The larger intention is unquestionably to preserve and maintain the British Empire.

The peoples of the United Kingdom are depicted as predisposed to rule the peoples of the Empire. From 1899 we have these remarks which are presented under the heading, Great Extent of the Empire:

The British Empire is the largest in the world. It includes, besides, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, many other countries, all of which are under Governors chosen by the Queen, and protected by her army and navy from the attacks of foreign enemies. These countries are called British Possessions (Anon, 1899: 5).

As we can observe Ireland is linked with Britain under the title of the United Kingdom whereas the other countries form the remainder of the British Empire are referred to as Possessions. The following passage demonstrates the Imperial belief in its inherent superiority at that time, which is discussed under the theme of, Influence of Climate on the Character of the Population:

As we proceed with the description of the Empire, we shall also perceive that each country generally attracts to itself the kind of people best fitted to do well in it, and to make the most of its advantages. Thus in the countries which have a climate at all like our own, the people of British birth, or descent, are fast increasing in number (Anon, 1899: 7).

The claim here is that alleged British superiority is to be explained by favourable geographical and climatic conditions; the environment has been conducive to evolutionary 'fitness' to compete on the world stage. The language is an expression of racial superiority and entitlement which again serves to merge disparate populations so that are presented as a singular and united people. The following excerpt outlines the belief in an innate pre-eminence based on geographical and racial presumptions: these may look archaic to our eyes but this was authorised by science at that time which accordingly vindicated the practice of colonial conquest and possession:

With very few exceptions the most vigorous and intelligent races have, both in ancient and later times, dwelt in the Northern and temperate Zone. Wherever we read of races which have founded great and enduring kingdoms, or of the wisest men who have ever lived, we shall find that their abodes was in this zone. The leading nations of their day have always been remarkable for their scientific and other discoveries; and the history of all the most wonderful and useful of these discoveries will readily illustrate what has been said of the wisdom and intelligence of the inhabitants of the Northern Temperate Zone... The Torrid Zone, though possessed of such a luxurious climate, and producing everything necessary for the wants of man, has been the home of very few great men or famous nations... That the inhabitants of the Northern Temperate Zone have enjoyed all these advantages more largely than the people of any other region, and consequently it has been the birthplace of the wisest men and the home of the most famous nations.(Anon, 1899: 27-37).

So what begins as a narrative of parity among the peoples' that make up the Empire ends up as a hierarchical discourse of superior and inferior races. Importantly, what is missing here is any notion of a distinct Irish nation.

### **5.5.3 Famine**

The Irish Famine (1845-1852) has long been framed as one of the most traumatic events in the modern history of Ireland. Its impact on the identity of the Irish people should not be underestimated and it is often brought into contemporary discourse as the event that has truly shaped the meaning of Irishness. Indeed it is the famine that has helped to spawn the notion of an Irish 'diaspora'.

The depiction of the Irish Famine changes drastically over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as noted above, in the nineteenth century Ireland is still under British rule and the aim is to integrate the Irish populace into the United Kingdom. This was a cultural assimilation process which had been signalled by the Act of Union in 1800. So whilst the occurrence of the famine could not be ignored, as it was still in living memory, the facts are stated in a manner which lays the blame on Irish farming practices.

Not only did many die, but many also quitted their native country to find in other countries the food denied them in Ireland. And what caused the famine? You may ask. In India and Egypt, famines occur when the land becomes so dry that it ceases to yield a harvest. But in Ireland the people trusted entirely to one kind of food – the potato - and almost every other source of food supply was neglected. A disease fell upon the potato crop; it grew black, and rotted in the ground; and millions of people became so utterly destitute as if the land were unable to produce any other kind of food (Ward, 1900: 116).

So in 1900 the blame for the famine is laid with the Irish people. Over-reliance on one crop (the potato) is depicted as a symptom of inadequate farming practices and negligence as opposed to structural constraints.

Famine is mentioned as occurring in other parts of the world due to drought, but as this was clearly not the case in temperate Ireland, some other cause had to be given. So though the crop failed, the fact that the Irish only subsisted on one crop is presented as the real cause. Though this is not incorrect it is but one possible interpretation, and as far as explanation goes, it is incomplete. Mention is also made of the fact that the famine did not only affect Ireland. Again Ireland and England are brothers in arms, as constituent parts of a unified economic and political entity:

During the years 1846 and 1847, the people of Ireland suffered from a most terrible famine, the result of the mysterious potato blight, which impoverished, at the same time, the farmers of Great Britain (Anon, 1902: 148).

It is mentioned that the potato blight also affected farmers in Britain. This serves to remind the populace that they did not suffer alone, but there is no mention of the different measures taken to alleviate the suffering of farmers in Great Britain, no matter that it was also a completely different economic context. The British Government is also portrayed in a favourable light in its handling of the situation:

We stated that O'Connell's last words in the House of Commons were an appeal to the Government and British people to save his poor countrymen and women. The Government spent £10,000,000 of money on relief works in order to give the poor employment, food and clothing. Charitable people in Great Britain, America and on the continent of Europe contributed large sums, but as so often happens in cases like this, to the greater number the Government relief works and the shiploads of food abroad came too late (ibid, 1902: 148).

Hence the efforts by the British Government to alleviate suffering are highlighted, but the British Government is absolved of neglect by this statement. So we find in the period after the famine, leading up to the foundation of the Irish Free State, that the famine is not ignored and the lack of action by the British Government is diminished.

#### **5.5.4 Analysis: from text to context**

Under the British government the education system in Ireland was to be utilised in the role of creating British citizens, yet the historical record shows that this aim was clearly not achieved. One important reason for this was that the stories delivered through the educational machinery of the British Empire were countered by social and cultural trends that contributed to the growth and consolidation of Irish Nationalism. Here I will briefly discuss two examples: the Catholic Church and a specific manifestation of what John Hoberman (Hoberman, 1997) refers to as 'sportive nationalism', which in the Irish case was anchored in the notion of 'Gaelic' sport.



A sense of community separate to a British one was maintained through Catholicism and distinct sporting activities. During this period the idea of a separate Irish identity was beginning to gain momentum. These mitigating factors came into play to undermine the substance of national identity as imparted in state-funded schools. The family and social ties were firmly rooted in an emerging national identity constructed in opposition to any and all things even vaguely 'British' or 'English'. In other words, Gellner's educational machine was at odds with the other two sides of the socialisation triangle. There was a disconnect and thus the process of socialisation was fractured, the education was unsuccessful in its isolation, and a British identity took only partial hold in Ireland

An important feature of Irish nationalism from the late 19th century onwards was a commitment to Gaelic Irish culture. A broad intellectual movement, the Celtic Revival, emerged in the late 19th century. It was largely initiated by artists and writers of Protestant or Anglo-Irish background to further Ireland's native cultural identity (this fits Gellner's template of a repressed middle class intelligentsia contriving a romantic golden past to fuel a nationalist ideal). Most of the cultural nationalists were English speakers, and the associated movements had little impact in the Irish speaking areas. However, the Celtic Revival was the starting point for many radical Irish nationalists of the early twentieth century, especially the leaders of the Easter Rising of 1916 such as Patrick Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh, and Joseph Plunkett (Foster, 1990). The main aim was to emphasise a clear 'distinction' (to borrow a phrase from Bourdieu) between Ireland and its alleged oppressor. The Cultural nationalists strove to develop aspects of life which were uniquely different to the British (Beckett, 1981).

As noted in the textual analysis above, it was not until the end of the 17th centuries that the Crown of England gained full control of Ireland by means of a series of military campaigns in the period 1534–1691. During this period, the island was progressively populated by English and Scottish Protestant settlers. Most of the indigenous population remained Roman Catholic. The Irish Confederate Wars resulted in much destruction of church property (Wolf, 2014). Catholics were persecuted under Oliver Cromwell, their situation only slightly improving under the Stuart kings. The land settlements in the aftermath of these wars, and the defeat of James II in 1691, reduced Irish Catholic freeholders to a fraction of their previous size. The introduction of the Penal Laws further proscribed the practice of Roman Catholicism, with many priests and

bishops forced into hiding or exile. Not until the 1770s did the religious climate relax, somewhat. Under this climate of British rule did Catholicism become synonymous with Irish identity in Ireland, particularly after Catholic emancipation was secured in 1829 (Wolf, 2014). This coupling of religious and ethnic identity, principally Roman Catholic and Gaelic as well as a consciousness of dispossession and defeat at the hands of British and Protestant forces, became enduring features of Irish nationalism. Thus we can see how Catholicism was utilised in the forging of a separate identity to the Protestant British, even as Irish protestants built momentum into the Celtic Revival. Religion became an important social marker, due to the interweaving of church and home through the many Catholic rites and rituals that structure and regulate family life, such as baptism, communion, confirmation, marriage, weekly mass, Easter, Christmas. This is why it is necessary to supplement Gellner's theory of nationalism by looking to Bourdieu and the salience of social ties and family life in constituting habitus.

After the 1916 Rising the perceived noble martyrdom of the rebels further enforced and underlined a religious aspect to the Irish nationalist cause, as noted by Kenny (1997:62):

It was also the word of mouth excitement about the holiness of the 1916 rebels which seems to have meant so much to the people. Stories quickly spread throughout the country of the religious and sacrificial nature of the Rising itself; this was not a mere rebellion against the proper authority: it was a beautiful and voluntary martyrdom. The British Prime Minister Lloyd George was – justifiably – most alarmed not just by the news that there was a rebellion in Dublin, but by reports that little girls in Dublin were already praying to 'St. Pearse'. (Kenny, 1997:62)

This might be characterised as a Durkheimian perspective given that here nationalism is seen to transcend the realm of the profane (Durkheim, 2008). In the case of Ireland, it also indicates the extent to which nationalism is a complex interweaving of church and state, religious and political identity, symbolism and ideology.

There were varying degrees of opposition to British hegemony, resulting in some native ways being actively preserved or re-invented to identify Irishness in contrast to a perceived British domination. One of the ways a distinctly Irish identity was formed and consolidated was through

the grafting of sport to Celtic revivalism. In Ireland in 1884 the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) was founded. This was in response to a perceived growing British cultural domination. The GAA was set up to preserve and promote native Irish games (primarily hurling, camogie, handball and Gaelic football). As stated by Mike Cronin: ‘The twin gods of the GAA at the time of its formation were nationalism and self-definition against Britain’ (Cronin, 1999: 115). In addition to preserving traditional Irish games the GAA sought to undermine the popularity of British sports, accordingly there were early GAA rules forbidding its members from playing British sports, as well as the disbarring of British military personnel from playing Gaelic sports. This banning of foreign sports also extended to playing fields including Croke Park in Dublin. Consequently this created and maintained difference, ensuring a separate identity culturally from the British. Hence the membership ban was also later extended to anyone who attended dances run by the British armed forces. Cronin, 1999:148). This actively ensured allegiance to only one cultural group.

The motivations behind the forming of the GAA were strong and bound up in creating a distinct identity; the founders strove to establish this throughout Ireland in the face of British imperialism. The mass demonstrations of sporting enthusiasm represented a national unity and identity separate to Britishness (Ward, 2009).

It is worth noting that the meaning of ‘Gaelic athletics’ for the GAA was not confined to sport. Through a division of the GAA known as Scor (Irish for ‘score’) Irish cultural activities were promoted with competitions in music, singing, dancing and storytelling. This ensured a cultural, social and community dimension which undermined the content of the school curriculum. The cultural backdrop of the GAA provided a canopy that encompassed much more than the preservation of sporting traditions, it ensured an Irish identity to which nationalism could affix itself, with ‘It’s official aim being to cultivate an awareness and love of Irish national ideals’. (Cronin, 2014: P.xv).

The organisational success of the GAA can be seen by the extent to which it rapidly became a root and branch movement, meaning that it had roots in small local communities throughout the provinces, whilst the branches linked the nation, and thus played a formative role in communal life. The GAA had an impact on the actual shaping of the Irish national hexis as it organised and

ran the activities that shaped the substance of everyday social and cultural life. The GAA gradually made inroads to the point that it undermined the British sporting influence in Ireland and thus destabilized attempts at socialisation in that realm. Indeed it could be said that ‘Sport itself seized power, and worked as a symbol of the status quo’ (Schoenberg, 1997).

The GAA came to exemplify Irish nationalism, an embodiment of Irish national ideals. ‘From the beginning, the GAA was identified with nationalism. Everyone – opponents of the GAA as well as its supporters – accepted that the GAA was more than simply a sporting organisation. This, of course, is partly a function of the context in which the GAA was founded’ (Cronin, 2014: 141). Since its foundation in the late 19th century, the Association has grown to become a major influence in Irish sporting and cultural life with considerable reach into communities throughout Ireland and among the Irish diaspora.

Thus we can see that during the period under review here British education was out of synch with the other two sides of the socialisation triangle. British national identity was not adequately socialised because family and social networks were pulling in a different direction, with the result that the process of habitus-formation was fractured and uneven.

## **5.6 - 1922-1971**

The Irish Free State was formed in 1922 and the newly formed Irish state gained control of the education system. After the reverberation of armed conflict in Ireland between 1916 and 1922 the educational system became a vehicle to promote national unity. The text books from this period are insular in their content; Ireland is depicted in splendid isolation.

### **5.6.1 Ancient Origins**

We can observe this as contributing to a national creation myth, a story which is like a parable in its validation of the nation’s existence. These myths convey the idea that the nation is ancient and as such is as natural as the air one breathes:

One fact that proves that Ireland at a very early period was advanced in civilization was the establishment of a Triennial parliament at Tara 1000 B.C. Learned men met to examine the laws of the kingdom, and to transact other items of business. The meeting was held in the beginning of November, and legend tells us that great order prevailed at these gatherings (Brady, 1926: 16).

So a glorious wise past is depicted, full of order, justice and most importantly unity amongst the tribes. The Irish are depicted as being able to trace their roots to a time that long precedes the British Empire. This then provides the needed glorious past required by nationalist scholars. *The Book of Invasions* proved critical to the writing of history in the period 1922 and 1971 and provided history textbooks with numerous examples of a golden glorious past. *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann* or *Leabhar Gabhála na hÉireann* (*The Book of the Taking of Ireland*) is the title of a loose collection of poems and prose narratives recounting the mythical origins and history of the Irish from the creation of the world down through to the Middle Ages. An important record of the folkloric history of Ireland, it was compiled and edited by an anonymous scholar in the 11th century, and might be described as a mix of mythology, legend, history, folklore and Christian historiography. It is usually known in English as *The Book of Invasions* or *The Book of Conquests*:

Old manuscripts which had lain untouched for centuries were studied by scholars and published with English translations. Two of the greatest of these scholars were John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry. Among the works published by O'Donovan were 'The Annals of the Four Masters', and 'The Book of Invasions'. Thanks to the labours of these men, the beauty of the Irish language and the richness of its literature came to be appreciated widely on the Continent, and many distinguished scholars, particularly in Germany and France, devoted themselves to Irish studies (Feeney, 1960: 113).

Purporting to be a literal and accurate account of the history of the Irish, *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, (*The Book of Invasions*) draws upon the pagan myths of Celtic Ireland, but reinterprets them in the light of Judaeo-Christian theology and historiography. The work describes how the island was subjected to a succession of invasions, each one adding a new chapter to the nation's history. Biblical paradigms provided the story tellers with ready-made stories which could be adapted to their purpose. Thus we find the ancestors of the Irish enslaved in a foreign land, or

fleeing into exile, or wandering in the wilderness, or sighting the 'Promised Land' which was rightfully theirs.

For many centuries the *Book of Invasions* was accepted as an accurate and reliable account of the history of Ireland. As late as the 17th century, Geoffrey Keating drew on it while writing his history of Ireland, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*. Recently, however, the work has been subjected to greater critical scrutiny. The Irish archaeologist Stewart Macalister, who translated the work into English, was particularly dismissive of it: 'There is not a single element of genuine historical detail, in the strict sense of the word, anywhere in the whole compilation' (Macalister. 1993: 252). Macalister's view is that the work is an amalgamation of two works: a *History of the Gaedil*, which was modelled on the history of the Israelites as set forth in the Old Testament, and an account of several pre-Gaelic settlements of Ireland (the historical accuracy of which Macalister gives little credence).

The latter was then inserted into the middle of the other work, interrupting it at a crucial point of the narrative. Macalister thus suggests that the quasi-Biblical text had been a scholarly Latin work entitled *Liber Occupationis Hiberniae* ('The Book of the Taking of Ireland'), thus explaining why the Middle Irish title of *The Book of Invasions* refers to only one 'taking', while the text recounts more than half a dozen. This may not be entirely unjustified as we can find parallels drawn between the Irish and the Israelites in other works, such as the poem by Dorcha Ó Mealláin entitled *Exodus to Connacht*, (c.1650) which described Cromwell exiling some of the Irish to the West of Ireland:

Consider a parable of this:  
Israel's people, God's own,  
Although they were in bonds in Egypt,  
found in time a prompt release (O'Tuama, 1981: 107).

The comparison between The Israelites and the Irish is well-defined and would reinforce Macalister's view. Whilst contemporary scholars are still highly critical of the work, there is a general consensus that it does contain an account of the early history of Ireland, albeit a distorted one. This may be attributed to an oral tradition of handing down history that predates

the use of the written word. The most contentious claim in the work however is the assertion that the Gaelic conquest took place in the remote past, around 1500 BC and that all the inhabitants of Christian Ireland are descendants of these early Gaelic invaders.

Although the *Book of Invasions* is viewed as fictitious by contemporary historians it was enormously influential during the time period under discussion and was used as the source material for historians for decades, influencing and shaping the writing of history textbooks. This in turn fits with Gellner's thesis in *Nations and Nationalism* that historical facts serve as the justification of an ancient glorious past that confirms the existence of a separate national identity.

This shaping and editing of facts serves to craft 'Irish' and 'English' as distinct nations:

The people who lived in Ireland at the time of which we speak were called Milesians; they came from Spain. People at the present time, who have 'Mac' or 'O' to their names are supposed to be direct descendants. The Milesians were the fifth colony that invaded Ireland; they came from Spain and having conquered the proceeding colony – the De dannans, they settled in the country.'  
The Teacher's Practical Lessons in Irish History (Brady, 1926: 111).

Other validations for the distinctions between the two nations are also provided:

The Irish language also furnishes strong proofs of the antiquity of the Irish nation: it is not derived from any other known tongue, and is the purest dialect of the old Celtic now existing. Its value in elucidating the antiquities of the greater part of Europe had been emphatically asserted and repeatedly acknowledged by the most distinguished archaeologists and historians (Brady, 1926: 12).

Again this reinforces the idea that the Irish are different, particularly from their nearest neighbours the British. The claim to a unique language reflects Gellner's supposition on the importance of a link between language and national identity. This text informs us that the Irish are unique; this reinforces the basis of the belief in the purity and distinctiveness of a separate and individual ancestry. The narrative thus binds the community together and also instils a belief in the need to protect a dying language. The past is repeatedly utilised to provide evidence of the

validity of Irish difference which is also a claim of ethical superiority. Here we have an excerpt highlighting the supposed moral worth of the ancient Irish:

There must have been something great and noble in its tenets to have held sway for so many centuries. A code of chivalry towards the weak was established: feelings of justice, and truth and honour were upheld. These things satisfied men's hearts and answered some good purpose until the great coming of Christianity (Brady, 1926: 15).

Here the ancient Irish are equated with the perfect society, and implicit in what follows below is the idea that the original healthy and vigorous constitution of the Irish Nation was ruined by foreign rule (including the Famine and the Great White Plague of Tuberculosis, as it was known at that time). It is comparable to a Utopia. The following passage also contains instructions in brackets for the teacher as to how best deliver the lesson:

They were strong and healthy men and women in those days – independent of the products of other nations. (Refer to Ireland's present dependency on other countries for food stuffs, clothing, etc., forcibly brought home to us during the Great European War). Food consisted of products of the land. People led a simple life. As men advance in civilization their wants – real or imaginary – increase (Brady, 1926: 12).

This statement can be connected directly to the national dogma regarding trade at that time, particularly that which took place between Britain and Ireland. The above textbook was published in 1926 and shows the emerging state policy which eventually generated the Anglo-Irish Trade War which lasted from 1932 till 1938. The disagreement originally commenced in the aftermath of the establishment of the Irish Free State and concerned disputes surrounding the changing constitutional status of the Irish Free State. In particular, the government sought to end the repayment to Britain of land annuities. These originated from the government loans granted to Irish tenant farmers by the Land Commission, which had enabled them to purchase lands from their former landlords, under the Irish Land Acts.

The Irish State embarked upon a protectionist policy in economic dealings, and it was thought necessary to redress the trade balance between Ireland and England which was having huge economic consequences for Ireland's economy. Other means also had to be found to help the



disastrously undermined balance of trade and the mounting national debt. A vigorous campaign was set in motion to make Ireland agriculturally and industrially self-sufficient. Every effort was taken to boost tillage farming and industry and to encourage the population to avoid British imports and 'Buy Irish Goods'. The aim was for the Irish population to become as self-sufficient as possible. This policy actually proved disastrous for the Irish economy and led to decades of stagnation eventually leading to the changes evident from 1971 as discussed previously. We can however garner from these excerpts that the emphasis post 1922 and the foundation of the Irish state, is on an ancient people, with biblical overtones, which forms the basis of a communal national identity or belonging.

### **5.6.2 Empire**

As Ireland's formative history has been with its nearest neighbour the textbooks illustrate a troubled and inconsistent relationship. The depiction of Empire or Colonialism is a feature in textbooks under British rule (i.e. prior to 1922) and after 1971, with the advent of the new curriculum. In the period from 1922 to 1971, the focus of content within history textbooks is almost solely on Britain's relationship with Ireland. The history of the rest of the world or global context is largely omitted. Instead of history books they could have instead been titled '*what the British did to the Irish*'.

From the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922 until the initiation of the new curriculum in the 1970s, neither colonialism nor Empire is discussed in a comparative historical sense. Instead Irish history textbooks are almost entirely an historical litany of the crimes allegedly committed by the British against the Irish people. Most textbooks commence with an account of the ancient origins of the Irish, then commence to a retelling, chapter by chapter, of the wrong doings of the British in Ireland.

It is hardly surprising that the rhetoric employed is somewhat vivid and passionate as the texts were written in the immediate aftermath of a War of Independence and then a Civil War. Presenting the British as the enemy was a means of calling upon the Irish to unite as a people with a common identity and destiny. Accordingly from 1922 onwards the subject matter and the

manner of depiction changes drastically. The British Empire is no longer described as a force for good. Britain is now the oppressor.

The first wave of history textbooks produced by the Irish Free State read like a catalogue of wrongs committed in Ireland by British forces, we have chapters devoted solely to Cromwell or the Plantations. Hence the excerpts from this period are divided into subheadings reflecting the main topics covered during this period. These are; Cromwell, Plantations, Penal Laws and Rebellion. The rhetoric employed is passionate in tone and acerbic in its distaste for the British.

### **5.6.2.1 Cromwell**

Cromwell is presented as a particularly nefarious character in Irish history. Cromwell and his New Model Army landed in Ireland in 1649 under orders from the English Parliament to subdue the Chieftoms of Ireland. By May 1652 Crown forces had occupied the country in what became known as the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland. Cromwell confiscated large amounts of Catholic owned land and passed a series of antagonistic Penal Laws which were designed to force the Catholic majority to accept the Anglican faith.

Oliver Cromwell is not mentioned at all in textbooks prior to the foundation of the Irish State in 1922. Nor is Cromwell commented on in textbooks published since the 'new curriculum' of 1971. However, the first history textbook published after 1922 employs bold and passionate language in describing the period of subjugation under British rule, but note also that it is assumed – and thus implicitly asserted – that 'the' Irish nation predates the invasion of foreign power. The history curriculum is overwhelmingly concerned with Ireland's relationship with English forces. It is a narrative of battles, invasions and rebellions. The rhetoric within is also highly passionate.

In the introduction of a chapter devoted solely to the misdeeds committed in Ireland by Oliver Cromwell we find these fervent words:

The name of Cromwell is familiar to most people in Ireland, educated or otherwise, and there is perhaps no other name in Irish history remembered with such feelings of horror and bitterness, as

is that of the 'Huntingdon Squire,' as Cromwell is sometimes called. The English may well regard Cromwell as a national hero since he fought with undoubted ability and courage for their national freedom. We in Ireland can only look on him as the most bitter and powerful enemy that ever set foot on Irish soil (Anon, 1922: 72).

A truly vitriolic description, designed to stir malevolent feelings into the heart of the reader, particularly the young and impressionable child at which this is aimed.

### **5.6.2.2 Plantations**

In 16th and 17th century Ireland plantations refer to mass confiscations of land by the forces of the English crown. The lands were then granted by Crown authority to Protestant colonists from England and Scotland. The plantations altered the demography of Ireland completely as the older Catholic ruling class was replaced by a Protestant ruling class with different systems of credit and ownership, which ensured the stability of the Crown authority in Ireland at that time. Like Cromwell, the Plantations are not mentioned at all in textbooks prior to 1922. However after the introduction of the new curriculum in 1971, the subject is revisited as will be discussed below. As recently as 1963 however, we can observe that it is a most antagonistic topic:

This policy of establishing English landlordism caused general exasperation. The Irish felt that there were no bounds to English greed and that there was no protection in the law (Anon, 1963: 12).

Here the moral character of the British is essentialised by invoking the figure of the Robber Baron. The following quotes, also from 1963 demonstrate exactly what Gellner infers when he indicates that nationalism is imparted through state-provisioned education. The nation is depicted as noble, brave, resilient and strong, and the pupil is to feel pride in belonging to such a nation:

At this time it seemed that the Irish cause was finally defeated, but in spite of persecution the historic nation survived and her people never ceased to hope for the day when they could take arms again in her defence (Anon, 1963: 33).

And again:

The object of this elaborate scheme of confiscation was undoubtedly the destruction of the historic Irish nation – its religion, its tradition, and its people. But this object was never achieved. In spite of the hardships they had to endure, the Irish people on the whole were true to their religion and traditions, and remained a race apart (ibid, 1963: 32).

So the Irish Nation, and it is notable that the concept of race is here used as a marker of distinction, not only survived against apparently insurmountable odds, it is also the case that this way of narrating the past is also a means of positioning the Irish nation *in* the distant past: the nation is posed as presupposed. The implication here is that to survive under duress a society must preserve national religion and traditions. This passage misrecognises the extent to which this narrative of defending and preserving the nation also constitutes that which is to be defended and preserved.

### **5.6.2.3 Penal Laws**

Penal Laws is a term used to describe the laws imposed in an attempt to force Irish Catholics to accept the Anglican Church. The laws are mentioned in text books prior to 1922 only when their removal is mentioned as being of benefit to the empire. They are closely examined in the period after the establishment of the Irish State, and then after the ‘new curriculum’ in 1971 the topic is omitted altogether. They are still a highly provocative topic for most Irish people today as they are viewed as laws against the Irish people as opposed to laws against Catholicism.

But this matter also relates to the British Crown’s measures to incorporate the people of Ireland within the United Kingdom, the credo one religion, one language, one people was their ultimate ambition. The Penal laws forbade Catholics from holding public office, receiving an education, purchasing land, to leasing land, to vote or to attend Catholic worship. Catholics were also compelled by law to attend protestant service. Whilst most of these laws were laid down in 1700 the vast majority were repealed in 1829 with Catholic Emancipation. But in 1926 in history textbooks there is a strong criticism of the Penal laws and their inherent impact on Irish society. They are recalled with distaste, but the opportunity is not missed to praise those who subverted

such laws. The second paragraph in brackets below contains directions to the teacher as to how best to deliver and reinforce this message:

It will be remembered that according to the Penal Laws, no Catholic could educate his children at home or abroad. If they were educated at all, it must be as Protestants. Now came the repeal of that Act.

(Explain that during the Penal Times, Catholics did not submit tamely to such a cruel law. The schoolmaster, like the priest, at the risk of his life, carried on his glorious work of educating the youth of the country, but it had to be done in secret, often under the shelter of a friendly hedge – hence the terms ‘hedge’ schools and ‘hedge’ schoolmaster, which remained long after the prohibitive law had been abolished).

In 1831 was established the National School system of education by which children of all creeds might receive secular instruction at schools financed by the Government without any interference with the religious principles of the pupils. The national Board was formed in 1831 and first met to transact business in December of that year (Brady, 1926: 117).

The school masters (or teachers) who flouted the Penal Laws are acclaimed and celebrated in their acts of bravery; this is very much in keeping with the foundation of the new state. In 1960 we can observe this contradictory depiction of the Penal Laws. Whilst it correctly informs us that Penal laws forbade Catholics to be taught or to send their children abroad to be educated, this clearly happened and the law was not strictly enforced. The depiction, however does not inform the reader of this fact yet frames the laws as being extensively prohibitive to Catholics in Ireland:

The Penal Laws, which made it a criminal offence for a Catholic to open a school, or to teach in one, had a disastrous effect on education. Some wealthy Catholics sent their sons to French schools, but the ordinary people had to depend on the wandering teachers and the hedge Schools. By the end of the eighteenth century, education was at its lowest ebb (Feeney, 1960).

The contradiction lies in the fact that the law was clearly not strictly enforced as the hedge schools flourished. In 1963 the dialogue concerning the Penal Laws still maintains the same level of reproach:

The aims and objects of the Penal Laws might be classified as follows: a) to destroy the Catholic Religion; b) to dispossess all Catholics; c) to deprive Catholics of all civil right; d) to reduce the Irish people to ignorance and poverty (Anon, 1963;23).

The historian Lecky sums up the purpose of the whole scheme of persecution thus:

It was intended to make them (The Catholic Irish) poor and to keep them poor, to crush in them every germ of enterprise and degrade them into a servile state. No wonder that an English traveller, Arthur Young, reported in the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century that he found in Ireland 'an Anglo-Irish Aristocracy of half a million joying in the triumph of having two million slaves' (Anon, 1963: 52).

The inference is that the Penal Laws shocked outsiders. According to Lecky the specific intention of the Penal Laws was as an instrument to repress the Irish and prevent the continuance of the Irish nation.

The rhetoric and dialogue continues with particular emphasis placed on the observations of those who were neither Irish nor Catholic:

The enactment of the cruel Penal Laws was begun in full earnest by a Parliament held in 1695 by Deputy Sir Henry Capel. More and more penal laws were added during the years which followed, until by 1727 those who invented them were satisfied that their arrangements to wipe out the Irish nation were now complete.

It is difficult for Irish people to speak with restraint about these vicious, vindictive laws, but distinguished men of different nations have set down their opinions of them. Dr. Samuel Johnson, an Englishman and a Protestant says 'there is no instance even in the Ten Persecutions of such severity as that which the Protestants of Ireland exercised against the Catholics.' Edmund Burke, The Irish Protestant orator who distinguished himself in the English Parliament, described these laws as 'a machine as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment and degradation of a people and the debasement in them of human nature itself as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man.' The brilliant writer Montesquieu, said that the whole system was 'conceived by demons, written in blood, and registered in hell' (Anon, 1963: P.48).

Again references are made to criticism which comes from towering intellectuals who remain untouched by the penal laws and these figures are pressed in to the service of legitimising Irish nationalism. So the inference is that these are the condemnations of objective observers, giving further credence to the views expressed in the textbooks.

The criticism of the penal laws continues in the same vein with praise given to both scholar and teacher who circumvented the laws. In a section titled 'Hedge Schools' we find the following:

Despite the Penal Laws, the Irish Catholics managed to provide some education for their children by organising 'hedge schools'. The pupils gathered together in some sheltered place and were taught by a 'Scolaire Bocht' whom they paid for the work. This system continued commonly throughout the country down to about 1850, and some of the hedge schools produced very fine scholars, and many of the teachers were distinguished Irish poets' (Anon, 1963: 55).

The passage subtly marks the protagonists as nationalists, to be admired and venerated. The penal laws are no longer mentioned in detail in text books after 1971.

#### **5.6.2.4 Rebellion**

This section deals with the various depictions of rebellion within the textbooks between 1922 and 1971. Many rebellions or battles took place under British rule but had unsurprisingly been omitted from textbooks prior to 1922. In fact any earlier depictions infer quite the opposite, though there are exceptions, such as the following from 1904, which depicts the Irish as loyal subjects to the Crown. The following statement from 1904 infers that the Irish are in fact loyal to Great Britain:

A common feeling of Irish national sentiment – not disloyal to Great Britain, but far otherwise – had sprung up among a large number of the noblemen of the country, as well as among their tenants and retainers; and they appeared resolved to improve, in every way they could, the commercial and industrial interests of the people (Anon, 1902: 126).

Again the depiction is of a united people all seeking the same aim, the good of the Empire. But from 1922 until 1971 there are frequent depictions of both the French and the American Revolutions that compare them to the story of Ireland's battle for independence.

In 1789, the long-suffering French people, encouraged by the success of the American colonists, revolted, executed their king and queen, and declared France a republic (Feeney, 1960: 30).

The following passage links the situation in France prior to the Revolution to that of the Irish in an overt, straightforward fashion:

#### Irish Interest

After having suffered cruel oppression for such a long period it is little wonder that some of the Irish people became interested in the ideas of Liberty and Equality which the French had lately made so popular (Anon, 1963: 67).

So the inference is clear: the French and American revolutions and their respective bids for freedom are directly linked to the Irish story. They are depicted as overthrowing rich and greedy rulers in the search for freedom and self-rule:

Soon after the American War of Independence, another great world event, the French revolution, was to consider the course of Irish history. We must now consider briefly the circumstances which led to the revolution (Feeney, 1960: 29).

The Irish are thus depicted as being among the advance guard of a new world order whereby formerly oppressed people's rose up in defiance and laid claim to liberty. The Easter Rising of 1916 is not mentioned directly in text books until 1963 and onwards. As Ireland experienced a civil war in the immediate aftermath of the War for Independence, it is perhaps not surprising to understand the omission of depictions of 1916 for the intervening decades. The story having been contested by both sides, it was perhaps a subject best avoided. In 1963 however we have this description of the Easter Rising of 1916:

Up to this the people of the country in general had not shown any great interest in the Sinn Fein movement and most of them were not in sympathy with the actions of the leaders of Easter Week.



The executions and deportations, however, produced a violent reaction, and the people began to admire the men who had staked all and died fearlessly for the cause of Irish freedom. The leaders of Easter Week recognised full well that their chances of military success were hopelessly slender but they believed that their ‘blood sacrifice’ would rouse the people to a realisation of their nationhood; and in this they were not mistaken. The Irish people, who had taken so little notice of them in life, soon approved and endorsed their high principles. Easter Week may have been a military defeat, but it was a great spiritual victory, and the memory of the dead leaders soon became – as it will always remain a source of pride and inspiration to the whole people. The English soon realised that their harsh treatment of the men of Easter Week had strengthened rather than destroyed the new movement. In Ireland, the patriotic fervour of the people increased, and in America, where the Irish had considerable influence, England’s treatment of Ireland was severely criticised (Anon, 1963:141).

The main participants of the Easter Rising were by now becoming enshrined in Irish history, the martyrs becoming elevated to the realm of the sacred. This passage being printed in 1963 which is three years before the fifty years commemoration of the Easter Rising took place. Although the focus of this chapter is history textbooks, it is worth mentioning a sample from an English grammar text. These books contain short pieces for the student to work on for grammar or comprehension purposes. This piece, published in 1970, shortly before the ‘new curriculum’ was launched features a passage describing the supposed events that took place during the Easter Rising.

#### Easter 1916: Surrender

Miss Grenan wept when Miss O’Farrell was chosen to carry a message to the nearest British post: it seemed certain death to go into the street where men had been shot down before their eyes. In order to prevent the slaughter of Dublin citizens, and in the hope of saving the lives of our followers now surrounded and hopelessly outnumbered, the members of the Provisional Government present at the headquarters have agreed to an unconditional surrender, and the Commandants of the various districts in the City and Country will order their commands to lay down arms (Anon, 1970:75).

Here we have a clear depiction of self-sacrifice as a noble act, the message conveyed through a routine exercise in grammar reinforcing the banality or presumption of nationalism.

### 5.6.3 Famine

In the decades following the founding of the Irish State in 1922 the Famine takes on different significance:

In 1845 and 1846 came the potato blight for the first time in Ireland, and the crop was unfit for food. (Potatoes formed the chief food of the peasantry). Then followed the Famine and famine fever. It was estimated that £320,000,000 worth of potatoes was lost in 1846. (Refer to present precaution against blight – spraying). Emigration began on a large scale; nearly a million died of starvation and fever, and out of 8,000,000 people, only a little over 4,000,000 remained (Brady, 1926: 115).

When the potato crop failed, as it did on several occasions during the first half of the nineteenth century, famine spread over a fertile country which provided corn and cattle in abundance (Feeney, 1960: 51).

This foregrounds the punchline, which becomes apparent in the quote below. The population need not have starved because corn and cattle were available. By 1960 the famine is depicted within the context of Colonialism. The blame for the impact of the famine laying with the fact that Ireland was governed by a foreign power. Again in relation to Gellner this could clearly signify to the reader that the nation is best protected and governed by co-nationals:

During these tragic years, there was an abundance of corn in Ireland, but the starving tenants were forced to sell their grain in order to pay their rents; for in spite of the suffering of the people, many of the landlords insisted on their rents, and tenants who could not pay were evicted without mercy. Thousands of tons of corn and shiploads of cattle were leaving the Irish ports, though the people were dying of starvation, but appeals to the Government to stop the export of food met with no response. Had a national government been in power, its first duty would have been to close the ports to the export of food and enforce a stay on the payment of rents. This would have saved thousands of lives (Feeney, 1960: 66).

Here a counterfactual history serves to legitimise the Irish State. This accordingly relates back to the quotes (from 1926) which refer to an ancient (pre-British) Ireland, portraying Ireland as a self-supporting utopia: ‘A code of chivalry towards the weak was established’ (Brady, 1926:17).

This stage in the nation's glorious past is depicted as being more moral and ethical, this claim deriving its legitimacy from the myths of national origin. The myth of a past golden age is a horizon that stretches into the future; a fiction of plenitude that has been lost but which can also be reinstated.

To summarise, between 1922 and 1971 the Famine in 1840's Ireland is presented as being purely the culpability of the British, as the governing force at this time. This of course underscores Gellner's thesis that the rulers must be representative of the same culture. Also this could instil a belief in the power of nationalism as it suggests that lives would have been saved if Ireland had not been under foreign rule. Most important to the present discussion however is that this way of narrating the nation is more or less contiguous with social and family life. In other words, the three sides of the socialisation triangle are working in tandem.

#### **5.6.4 Analysis: from text to context**

In this era, there is now greater synchronicity between the three sides of the socialisation triangle. As discussed in Chapter 4 Bourdieu maintained that habitus is initially acquired within the family. This accordingly has a bearing on how messages transmitted in the classroom are interpreted and incorporated into the child's habitus. Thus they must work in synchronicity in order to combine as a national habitus.

During this time frame the Catholic Church consolidated its alliance with the state and achieved hegemony over the institutional fabric of education, health and welfare. There is perhaps no clearer indication of just how strong Church/State relations were at this time than the drafting of the 1937 Constitution. The government, led by Eamon de Valera, was at this time still subject to the Crown and the authority of a Governor General, and de Valera had been playing the long game by patiently yet relentlessly dismantling the 1922 constitution. De Valera also demonstrated his political guile by seeking approval from the Vatican (Keogh, 1995). De Valera personally supervised the writing of the Constitution with significant input from John Charles McQuaid, the Archbishop of Dublin, on religious, educational, family and social welfare issues. Other Religious leaders were also consulted, Archbishop Edward Byrne (Roman Catholic), Archbishop John Gregg (Church of Ireland), Rev. William Massey (Methodist) and Dr James

Irwin (Presbyterian) (Cooney, 2009). However, despite this broadly ecumenical consultation, the Catholic Church was written into the Constitution as having a 'special position':

Article 44.1.2:

The State recognises the special position of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church as the guardian of the Faith professed by the great majority of the citizens (Bunreacht na h'Eireann).

In addition, a draft of the constitution was presented personally to the Vatican for review and comment on two occasions by the Department Head at External Relations, Joseph P. Walsh.

In the context of everyday life, this alliance between the Catholic Church and the Irish State resulted in very conservative laws and policies, banning for example, divorce, contraception, abortion, pornography as well as encouraging the censoring of many books and films.

'Catholicism was seen as the moral teacher in forging the new identity of Eire, since Catholicism was the crucible of the historic Irish identity' (Kenny, 1997:168). This is a period when the Catholic Church attained what the sociologist Tom Inglis refers to as a 'moral monopoly' (Inglis, 1998). I will come back to Inglis' work in the next section, but for now it can be noted that the Church achieved significant control over the State's hospitals and schools and remained the largest provider of many other social services. Thus a nationalist hegemony was intertwined with the Church, accordingly social prestige became identified with being a good Catholic. To be successful in Irish society at that time it was necessary to be seen as a good, practising Catholic, thus the Irish habitus at this time was in part, defined by religion. In the Irish case, particularly at this juncture, a purely Gellnerian analysis of nationalism and socialisation proves to be woefully inadequate precisely because it focuses only on one side of the socialisation triangle. The church's power and influence in Irish society at this time at this time reached deep into the space of the homes and lives of parishioners.

An example can be seen from the extent to which Catholicism became entwined with sport, as pointed out by Cronin when he argues that: 'The bishop throwing in the ball on All-Ireland Sunday symbolised the relationship that had developed between the GAA and the Catholic Church after the partition of Ireland and the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922' (Cronin, 2014:

243). Sport became a reiteration of what was learnt in school, a way of remembering the nation's traumatic yet heroic past, while also providing a vehicle for the expression of Irish identity as experienced in the context of local-communal life: that is, a routine yet impassioned interaction ritual which keeps the nation alive in the hearts and minds of individuals, families, and communities. 'Sport also reinforced the idea of nation through the use of anthems and emblems through sporting usage, both on and of the pitch. The idea of the nation is strengthened in the symbols and rituals concerning the game' (Hunter, 2003).

Education, church and sport were thus entwined in constituting a national habitus within the wider society. Indeed religion and sport were entangled in a form of religious athleticism, according to Schoenberg religion was used as a catalyst, as a model for the transition from stadium to state, placing sport under the aspect of religion (Schoenberg, 1997). But this vision of Irish society was characterised as insular and puritanical and led to some criticism such as the writer Sean O' Faolain describing Ireland as a "dreary Eden".(Cronin, 2014).

The socialisation was impactful yet gradually experienced as stifling, at odds with the experience of the Irish diaspora many of whom were living in countries experiencing the huge social and cultural changes of the sixties. This insular mode of socialisation gradually began to fall out of step with a society on the move, as pointed out by Cronin when he argues that 'In the Free State and later in the Republic, the GAA stood as a movement projecting unblemished nationalist credentials. As a sporting body they did not have to deal with political realities, but instead chose to preach an insulated and isolated notion of nationality' (Cronin, 1999: 91). It is this period of transition and transformation which is the focus of the next section.

## **5.7 - Post 1971**

Ireland is now being driven to economic modernity, in part driven by the work of T.K.Whittaker, as discussed earlier in this chapter. The school textbooks begin to reflect a gradual shift in perspective: from an emphasis on the past to the possibilities of a brighter future, from an inward-looking understanding of the nation, to a more outward-looking focus on Ireland's place in the wider world. Accordingly, Ireland is depicted in an international context.

### 5.7.1 Ancient Origins

At the time of the initial foundation of the state we have seen that passages used in textbooks were heavily influenced by the *Book of Invasions*. Children were taught a near mythical account of their origins, which was presented as truth. But by 1973 the understanding of the *Book of Invasions* changed and also Ireland had joined the European Economic Community and undergone huge changes to the education system resulting in what is referred to as the new curriculum:

We are told in these stories that five different tribes of people came to Ireland – the Partholonians, the Nemedians, the Firbolgs, the Tuatha de Danann and the Milesians or Celts. We know that the Celts did come but we are not sure about the other tribes (O'Neill, 1973: 7).

So the earlier depictions are now framed by doubt, and 'myth' is separated from 'fact'. However, the link to the Celts is maintained, in fact it is reinforced by diminishing the validity of anything that precedes the Celts, which are according to these texts derived solely from Scotland:

The Celts were strong, clever people. When they came to Ireland they overcame the people who had lived there before them. Their swords and spears and cooking pots were made of iron. The Celtic smiths made lovely brooches, pins and buckles from iron and bronze. The Celts were able to make wheels. When they went into battle they used horses and chariots. With their superior weapons it was easy for them to defeat their enemies in battle ...The ladies and little girls dressed themselves in good, colourful clothes. They wore brooches and belts with buckles made of shining bronze (O'Neill, 1973: 13).

About 6000 B.C. the first people reached Ireland. They came over from Scotland in small boats. They hunted and fished to get food (McGilicuddy, 1974: 12).

Now here is an important strip of land, or a land bridge, joining Ireland to Scotland. There was another strip connecting Scotland with Europe. Another long land-bridge may even have stretched from the south of Ireland to Spain. We are not sure, but it is possible that the first people who came to Ireland crossed on these land bridges. Later on, the seas flowed in and covered the land bridges (Pierce, 1974: 15).

Again and again the link to the Scottish Celts is reiterated. These extracts illustrate the constitution of a glorious Celtic past, but in this case the depiction is more outward looking as it includes links to Scotland and Spain. It serves an important symbolic function here in that it constructs a narrative of contact and connection, which makes for a sharp contrast with the previously depicted insular nationalism. The telescoping of the nation back into the annals of time creates a foundation or bedrock for the nation. It forms a historic age or mythical past which pre-empts later wrong doings by outside perpetrators. It is the golden era to which nationalism continually returns as a historical Shangri-La.

### **5.7.2 Empire**

After the new curriculum is initiated we see a marked difference in depictions. Here we find the topic of colonialism is frequently treated with enough gravity to again warrant its own chapter. The matter is handled extensively and thoroughly. But instead of the supposed greatness of an Empire (as depicted prior to 1922) or the inventory of wrongs (post 1922), colonialism is placed in a comparative context. There is no more the concentration on the battles with the British, no longer a retelling of the intricacies of Penal Law or Cromwell; instead colonialism is dealt with as a general feature of human history, or part of an historical period where this was by no means exceptional. The role of the British is not diminished but is placed in its global historical context.

Indeed Britain is even depicted as a more sympathetic ruler than other European nations at that time:

There were extremes of harshness and kindness throughout the continent. Perhaps best off were the Africans who lived in the Gold Coast, A British possession which is today called Ghana. Here railways were built, medical improvements were made, and more Africans attended school than anywhere else on the continent. As early as 1880 native Africans were among the advisers of the British Governor of the territory.

At the other end of the scale was the Congo Free State, which became the Belgian Congo in 1908, and today is known as Zaire. Formed in 1885, this central African territory was anything but free. It was the personal property of king Leopold of the Belgians. He ruled the entire area

and its twenty million people with one purpose in mind: making profit for himself. Congolese natives were forced to work as virtual slaves harvesting the Congo's great natural resource, the rubber obtained from the trees in her jungles.

All the rubber collected from the country belonged to Leopold, no wonder he was one of Europe's wealthiest monarchs! Within the country Leopold's hired armies ensured that his profits would be large, by beating and arresting those who did not work as hard as the government wanted. A common punishment for a 'lazy' worker was the cutting off of one of his hands or feet! (Anon, 1976:150).

So we can observe that Belgium is compared to Britain unfavourably, an assessment that would have been disregarded in the syllabus prior to 1971, when the focus was on a retelling of every wrong ever committed by the British. By omitting the wider comparative analysis of colonial conquest and depicting the British-Irish story in isolation the reader was only informed of a certain agenda, be it without strategy or design.

But post 1971, the background to colonialism is given, providing an alternative account:

By the end of the century most of Africa was sub-divided between several European powers. Let us take a closer look at the 'scramble' which left Europeans in control of this continent (Anon, 1976: 142).

This serves as a reminder that other empires existed alongside the British Empire. It places the British Empire in the context of a world history involving ever-changing power structures:

Each explorer had his own reasons for coming to Africa. Some came to spread Christianity, others just to get rich. But the greatest motive for most was simple curiosity; they had to see what lay beyond the next riverbed or over the next mountain (ibid, 1976: 143).

This extract offers a different account of colonial expansion beyond mere avarice. It was also not the sole preserve of the British. So the previous portrayal of a rapacious British empire is now placed in comparative historical context. Colonialism is acknowledged as having been performed by several European countries. Other nations are portrayed in an unflattering light, as



though to say that the British were not the only ones or necessarily the worst practitioners. In fact there is a concession that the British may not have been entirely malevolent:

Most British officials in India did what they could to improve living conditions. New roads were built, post office and telegraph systems were established, and thousands of schools were opened. By 1900 India had a well-developed railway system, the best in the world outside of Europe and North America. In trying to modernise India, the British felt they were doing the people of the country a great favour. As imperialists they were convinced that the European way of life was superior to the Asian. Most Indians, of course, did not agree. Although they were not united or strong enough to drive out the British, many were dissatisfied with the 'Europeanization' of their country (Anon, 1976: 147).

This passage reflects the changing dialogues of the texts post 1971, driven by Ireland's economic repositioning in light of the potential joining of the European Community and the possibilities of attracting foreign direct investment, which became the main remit of the State's Industrial Development Authority. It resonates with the widely perceived imperative to embark on a new economic course of modernisation, as opposed to the previous position of protectionism. The previous attempts at self-sufficiency had proven disastrous economically for Ireland and thus drove cultural change which is reflected in the contemporary textbooks. So as Britain is acknowledged as an economic ally, this is reflected in depictions from the initiation of the 'new curriculum': again the forces of the British are shown in a more positive light:

The 1890's were the golden years for Irish railways. The British government encouraged the construction of small railways in poorer areas, both to provide work and to try and develop industry (ibid 1976: 50).

The larger benefits of being part of the British Empire are highlighted. Trade could serve the Irish economy well as it opened up a much larger market for Irish goods. By the 1970's and the introduction of the new curriculum the discourse of nationalism had shifted ground. Imperialism and Colonialism are presented within the context of global and historical perspectives. Examples are provided of historical Empires worldwide and the previous concentration on only the British Empire is now absent. Instead of the British Empire being the sole reference point for Colonialism the depiction of other Empires and their practices is highlighted. Whilst the role of

the British Empire in Ireland's history is not denied there are attempts made to place it in a wider context, i.e. all colonialism was bad, but was also practiced widely and with differing consequences.

But this also has wider implications: this is not unlike a sociological thesis of unintended effects. Some European powers were brutal (Belgium) and others benevolent (Britain) but the long term unintended effect has been that the historically greater powers have prospered whilst the former colonies have been under-developed. Irrespective of intention on the part of the Great Powers, there is a moral obligation to atone for past wrongs. In the context of Europe, Ireland was a partner but was unable to compete on equal terms. Ireland needed assistance in the form of grants and subsidies, and yet Ireland was not a beggar so much as an injured party, and asking for favourable trading arrangements and subsidies from Europe is merely a means of addressing Ireland's 'peripheral' status, which is the consequence of world history.

### **5.7.3 Famine**

Following Ireland's accession to the European Union in 1973 and the advent of the 'new curriculum' in the field of education, there is a change in discourse. By the time we reach contemporary textbooks, the representation of the Famine is completely altered and the reader is given a global overview of famines and their attendant causes. The aspiration from 1971 is very much to frame the Famine within the wider global context of famines across time and place. Instances are given of different famines in contrasting time frames, under varying social conditions. The previous discussion presented the Irish Famine in isolation with no context given. The Irish reader would have felt that theirs was the only famine, but in later texts the Irish Famine is not ignored nor are the facts whitewashed. The language utilised is less passionate and inflammatory, with greater perspective given to the global and political arena. The reader can reach the conclusion that the treatment meted out to the Irish under British rule was not a form of injustice; it was how those in power treated the weak and the poor at that time. Also outlined is the measures taken by the British Government and others to lessen the distress through aid.

There had been famines in the preceding decades, but what was different about the famine of 1845-46 was its severity and duration.

### **Laissez-faire**

In June 1846 Peel's government had been replaced by the Whigs under Lord John Russell. Unlike the Tories, the Whigs believed in a theory of government called laissez-faire. That means that a government must not interfere in matters of trade. This theory was completely unsuited to the crisis situation in Ireland, but the Whigs knew little of Ireland. They refused to follow Peel's policy of buying Indian meal and selling it cheaply to keep prices down. Any food that was needed could, they believed, be supplied by local merchants. Unfortunately, in many western districts, there were no merchants as the people had grown their own food and had had no need of shops. And where there were shops, prices rose so steeply that even those with money could not afford to buy (Collins, 1972: 70).

All of the measures attempted to alleviate the suffering of the people during the Famine are carefully outlined in the textbooks during this time frame, and depicted within the contemporary political landscape. This re-framing of the famine resonates with the strategy of economic modernisation being undertaken at this time, so the famine was in part down to the inadequacies of a subsistence economy. This mirrors the changes then taking place in the move from De Valera's protectionism to Lemass' and Whittaker's export led industrialisation. The language of Irish nationalism was undergoing a transformation which no longer looked back at a terrible past but forward to a possibly more affluent future. It is also relevant to note the mention of Queen Victoria as a private donator. Clearly not in agreement with the Government's lack of aid, one could presuppose.

### **Private Charity**

The fever made it very dangerous for anyone to go near the poor, yet hundreds of men and women of all classes and religions risked their lives to help. In fact, throughout the dreadful winter of 1846-47 it was private charity which kept hundreds of thousands alive. In London a group of businessmen collected subscriptions, including £2,000 from Queen Victoria, and bought meal to be shipped to the west of Ireland. Many landlords ruined themselves in trying to help their tenants who were unable to pay rents. Others, however, refused even to subscribe to the local Relief Committees (Collins, 1972: 73).

### **Famine Relief Schemes**

1. Indian Corn: Robert peel, the British prime Minister at the outbreak of the famine, imported £100,000 worth of Indian corn from America in November 1845. The corn, hard and unpalatable, was nicknamed 'Peel's brimstone.'
2. Relief Works: Work schemes, such as building piers out into the sea, making roads into the middle of bogs or cutting down hedges, were begun in 1846.
3. Soup Kitchens: In 1847, Local Relief Committees were formed to distribute soup free to destitute people. Some 3,000,000 people were helped but such relief came too late and was only a drop in the ocean.
4. The Quakers and other private charities did all they could (Slevin, 1973: 117).

The blame for the evictions which took place during the famine is also ascribed to a far more local source, the Irish themselves:

The famine ruined many landlords, and, in the next few years, many of them sold off their estates. The new owners, who were mostly Irishmen, wished to make a profit on the land. They cleared off many small farmers and cottiers and joined small holdings together to make bigger farms. In 1850 alone, 104,000 people were evicted (Collins, 1972: 77).

The entire socio-economic background to the famine is also given:

In one respect the potato was a blessing. It provided even the poorest farmer with a nourishing diet, helping him and his family to live longer and healthier lives than they might have done otherwise. But in another way the potato was a curse. Because so few acres were needed to support a family, small farmers were encouraged to sub-divide their holdings among all their sons. As the years went by, this meant that small farms kept getting smaller and smaller. By 1842 the West of Ireland was near the breaking point. In Co. Mayo there were 475 people for every square mile of farming land. Even today, few cities in the world are so densely populated. However, unlike modern cities, Mayo and the other countries of western Ireland had no factories in 1845, and could offer no jobs outside of farming. Even more dangerous was the fact that most farms were too small to support a family on any other crop if something should happen to the potato. And in 1845 something did (Anon, 1976: 56).

So it was not just the fact that the potato crop failed that caused the famine to happen, there were numerous factors at play. One of the reasons being, that it was the only crop that could be grown in large enough quantities on a small farm to sustain a family. The population almost solely relied on the potato as a source of nourishment. So culpability for the Famine is no longer placed solely with the British, other contributing features are also examined. This also reinforces the language of economic modernisation that 'tradition' was a consideration and what was required for future survival are initiative and a culture of innovation and enterprise.

Also in very clear language the governmental factors are described that attributed to the disaster. The role of the government or the state was very different then and this is outlined, not as justification but as a factual description of the way the world was. It is also interesting to note the way political motivations are discussed in these passages, which in light of the government's change in economic policy, (as discussed earlier) provide insights into the impetuses of the texts:

We can easily imagine what a modern government would do if disasters like the Great Famine struck today. Millions of pounds worth of food, clothing and medicines would be given to those in need, while help would pour in from worldwide groups such as the United Nations. But in the mid-nineteenth century most European governments had very different ideas about how they should act during such disasters. For one thing most of the people involved in government were well-off, with no real idea of what it was like to be hungry or poor. For another, most leaders felt strongly that governments should never interfere in the business affairs of the country it ruled. In their opinion, the purpose of government was to keep law and order, and nothing else. On matters affecting the way people lived-poverty, housing and education-governments rarely got involved (Anon, 1976: 56).

The government's actions are framed within the political ideology of that time. The repercussions that the famine had on Irish society and its populace in the long term are also outlined:

Perhaps the most important result of the Famine was the bitterness which it left between the Irish Landlords and their tenants. In many cases landlords as well as tenants had suffered during the 1840's. Unable to collect rents and forced to pay higher rates to support the workhouses, many

could not pay off their debts and went broke. Most Irish peasants however did not see their side of things – they blamed all their sufferings on their landlords and the British Government which stood behind them. From the Famine onwards few tenants were content with their position as renters of land. The question of who should own the land of Ireland would be one that would concern people on both British Isles (Anon, 1976: 63).

Also one of the factors present in depictions of the famine is also dismissed. ‘In fact, it is calculated that far more people died of fever in these years than died of actual hunger’ (Collins, 1972: 71). What is however interesting with considerations to all representations, is not only what is included but what is excluded from the retelling of histories. Regarding the depictions of the Famine is that nowhere in any text book has it been noted that on 24<sup>th</sup> March 1847 Queen Victoria led a National Day of Atonement to raise money for those suffering under the famine in both Ireland and Scotland. It is mentioned that she donated money but not in which context. It is interesting to note that it was referred to as a Day of *Atonement*, denoting an act of penance or a form of apology.

But as the economic stagnation of the country continued economic necessity drove change. Education (as discussed previously) became more outward looking and framed the Irish experience within a more objective world view. The history books no more listed a litany of perceived crimes committed by the British against the Irish but instead framed them against the enormous cultural and political changes. We can see that the depictions throughout the text books adjust fitting the enormous cultural and political changes taking place at this time. This reflects a larger emphasis on personal responsibility even as the Irish State is crafting a way of framing its dependency on Britain and Europe as a debt to be paid rather than as a form of charitable help. This has been the trajectory of Irish nationalism since this time and this is how socialisation is now orchestrated.

#### **5.7.4 Analysis: Text to context**

During this period Ireland enters the European Union and there is more emphasis on interaction with the outside world which has the effect of re-presenting the nation. Consequently the educational socialisation adjusts to a new nationalism, which can be characterised as ‘Ireland in a global context’. It is important to stress that this relational way of framing the nation is still a

form of nationalism, but reflects the way in which international networks and families are linked. The changes wrought during this period are huge yet nationalism does not become less salient so much as fade into the background, and somewhat paradoxically, this type of banal nationalism is more resilient than the 'noisy and brazen' variant (Malesevic, 2014) precisely because it is so deeply sedimented as habitus. The national habitus becomes taken for granted and the three sides of the socialisation triangle now envelop a different type of national habitus which replaces the previous model (1922-1971) which was primarily insular in outlook making it untenable, because family and social networks are now perceived to be global.

The Catholic Church has had a powerful influence over Irish society for several centuries, but this has diminished in recent decades. This separation of church and state can be tracked through several cases which rocked Irish society. In 1984, the 'Kerry baby case' as it became known (concerning the deaths of two infants) led to discussion concerning the treatment of unmarried mothers in Irish society. Nell McCafferty maintained that this particular case and the 'medieval treatment' of the woman at the centre of the accusations 'acted as a catalyst for change' in Irish society (McCafferty, 2010). 1984 was also the year in which a 15 year old girl Ann Lovett and her baby son were discovered dead in a grotto in Longford, Ann Lovett having died in childbirth (The Irish Times, 2015). These cases impacted Irish society and encouraged critical debate on the authority and influence of the Catholic Church.

In 1992 there occurred what became known as the X-case. This concerned a 14-year-old rape victim who sought to terminate her pregnancy in England. However, when the attorney general department learned of this they attempted to force her to remain against her wishes in Ireland (Loscher, 1992). Thus began a constitutional and legal battle over conflicting rights, with the rape victim's lawyers arguing that under EU law she had a right to travel and indeed a right to life, as an enforced pregnancy brought up by rape might end in her taking her own life. She won her right to travel to the UK to terminate the pregnancy and the legal battle established a precedent in terms of right to travel and, eventually, the right to abortion information although

abortion itself is still illegal in the Republic.<sup>5</sup> Thus the relationship between Church and State was legally challenged, paving the way for very public debate which has also entailed reappraising the past, specifically forms of physical and sexual abuse inflicted upon vulnerable people, and in particular children, placed in residential institutions managed by the Church.

Following the X-case there were a series of cases which became public knowledge involving members of the Catholic clergy raping, beating and abusing children either in care or under their pastoral guidance. The most notorious of these abusers was Father Brendan Smyth, a serial sexual predator of children who even after the Catholic hierarchy learned of his crimes in the 1970s just moved him around not only Ireland but also the United States. The Church's decision to keep the scandal hidden allowed Smyth to continue abusing children for years before the police in Northern Ireland finally caught up with him after receiving allegations from some of his victims. The Smyth scandal and the disclosure that the authorities were complicit in the cover-up led to shock waves being felt throughout Irish society (rte.ie 2015).

Since then there have been several independent inquiries into Catholic dioceses where clerical sex abuse was not only rife but in the main covered up. One of these was the Cloyne Report (2015) which showed that not only had the local bishop, John Magee, but also the Vatican were still obstructing the civil power, i.e. the Garda Síochána, in their inquiries into allegations against priests in the County Cork diocese. The publication of the Cloyne Report in 2011, led to the leader of the Irish Government Enda Kenny to make a very public, and thus highly politically significant, rebuke of the Vatican describing it as suffering from: 'dysfunction, disconnection, elitism and narcissism' (O'Hanlon, 2011), which has definitively fractured the long-standing alliance between Church and State in the Republic of Ireland.

Whilst Kenny is in private still a practising Catholic, this episode encapsulates the separation of Church and State. Whilst Irish nationalism is mainly Catholic, there is still evidence of

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<sup>5</sup> In 2013, Ireland passed a new law allowing abortion under certain circumstances. The law provided for a woman's right to an abortion if her life is at risk, including from suicide. It is currently regulated by the Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act 2013.



secularisation gaining momentum, with a large part of the population practicing their religion in a way that Inglis describes as an 'a la carte' approach. People still derive meaning from religion without subscribing entirely to Church doctrine, and thus the Church's 'moral monopoly' has diminished, and yet the place of Catholicism in the Irish habitus still thrives. This change in attitude has been pertinently described as cultural Catholicism by Inglis (Inglis, 1998), and what is significant here is that Inglis' research is based on empirical data. Al la carte and cultural Catholics still identify strongly with religious milestones and rituals, but they do not feel bound by Church doctrine or orthodoxy.

For example a couple may co-habit before marriage which is transgressive when viewed through the lens of Catholic morality, yet they may still opt for a church wedding as opposed to a civil ceremony. Thus we can observe that the meaning of Irishness is still in part derived from being a member of the Catholic flock, but the Church does not exert the same degree of control it once did nor exercise the same involvement in state affairs. However the Church's influence can still be felt in some matters such as attitudes to the legalisation of abortion.

Shifting from the field of religion to the field of sport, we find comparable changes, in 1971 rule 27 of the GAA constitution which banned G.A.A. members from playing foreign games was abolished. However, rule 42 still prohibited the use of GAA property for games with interests in conflict with the interests of the GAA. The belief was that rugby and association football were in competition with Gaelic football and hurling, and that if the GAA allowed these sports to use their ground it might be harmful to Gaelic games, while other sports, not seen as direct competitors with Gaelic football and hurling, were permitted. On 16 April 2005, a motion to temporarily relax rule No. 42 was passed at the GAA Annual Congress. The motion gives the GAA Central Council the power to authorise the renting or leasing of Croke Park for events other than those controlled by the Association, during a period when Lansdowne Road, the main sporting events venue in Dublin was being rebuilt.

In January 2006, it was announced that the GAA had reached agreement with the Football Association of Ireland (FAI) and Irish Rugby Football Union (IRFU) to stage two Six Nations games and four soccer internationals at Croke Park in 2007 and in February 2007. These agreements were within the temporary relaxation terms, as Lansdowne Road was still under redevelopment until 2010. Although the GAA had said that hosted use of Croke Park would not

extend beyond 2008, irrespective of the redevelopment progress, fixtures for the 2009 Six Nations rugby tournament saw the Irish rugby team using Croke park for a third season. 11 February 2007 saw the first rugby union international to be played there (McCarry, 2015).

A match between Ireland and England on 24 February 2007 was particularly symbolic because of events in 1920 when during a match 13 spectators and 1 player were killed by British forces (Foley, 2014). Accordingly, there was considerable concern as to what reaction there would be to the singing of the British national anthem. As it transpired, the anthem was sung without interruption or incident, and applauded by both sets of supporters at the match. In 2011 there then followed a visit by the Queen of England to Croke Park (Irishindependent.ie 2015), while Prince Philip was presented with a hurley stick and a sliothar (hurling ball). The cultural significance of the visit signified not just a new relation between the Republic of Ireland and Great Britain, but also a reappraisal of Ireland's past – the once sacred narratives or origins and oppression discussed in sections 5.6.1. to 5.6.3 above now find their place among the ordinary and the profane.

Accordingly, the nature of sport in Ireland has changed with less emphasis on 'Gaelic' games (though Football and Hurling still attract a huge following and receive the lion's share of state funding for sport), and more interest in international sports that place Ireland on the international stage. Rugby Union also has become more popular at this time and is believed to be part of the creation of a highly visible, globalised arena of Irish identity (Maguire, 2005). Indeed a new vigour and self-respect can be evidenced in the playing of the game particularly in their associations with the English: 'A less deferential and more assertive Irish habitus was and is evident in relation to their former colonial masters, the English' (Maguire, 2005). It seems Ireland's new nationalism is no longer concerned solely with the British. Sport in Ireland is now played on the international stage reinforcing Ireland's self-image as a global player. It plays a vital role in maintaining national identity and meaning:

the relevance of sport reaches far beyond playing and participating, it is deeply embedded in everyday life and the ways in which people create and sustain meaning. We can see this in terms of some of the other ways in which sport has replaced religion (Inglis, 2014:109).

As religion loses its hold on everyday life some, such as Inglis, have observed that sport is instead taking on the same social significance. This in no way diminishes the salience of nationalism, which comes to the fore on a bi-annual basis via the cycle of World Cup and Olympic tournaments, which between them ‘flag the nation’ every two years, placing ‘The Republic’ on a world-stage. In addition, the Irish seem particularly proud of their athletes competing at the Para-Olympics and Special-Olympics, both of which receive significant coverage on the national broadcasting channel Radió Teilifís Éireann.

Here again, post-1971, we can observe that all three sides of the triangle are still in synchronicity, yet this is a different type of synchronous whole when compared to the insular nationalism of the post-1922 period. Culture has moved on, nationalism has adapted, and thus the inward-looking nationalism of the previous period, a nationalism that looked to the past and anchored itself in a politics of difference and isolation has been displaced by a more omnivorous nationalism. Bryan Fanning offers a striking example: Ballyhaunis in County Mayo, a rural community with a significant Muslim minority, where a young hurler nicknamed ‘Setanta’ converses on the pitch with his friends in Urdu. This succinctly captures the hybridity of Irish nationalism as it is played out in everyday life. As argued by Hall and Malesevic (2012: 167) ‘nationalism has no essence, only existences’. Family, social ties and education have undergone significant change, yet they still combine as a national habitus.

## **5.8 CONCLUSION**

From the above analysis we see how the nation is discursively constructed and reconstructed, and how history is used as a vehicle to form and shape the habitus of children, as the rising generation who carry Irish nationalism into the future. Whilst Gellner maintained that education is the main vehicle of socialisation in the construction of nationalism his theory omits to understand the greater picture (the missing ink). By utilising Bourdieu’s theory of socialisation to construct a socialisation triangle we can see that other factors come into play namely social and family ties. Accordingly to understand this concept an analysis of text books during three pivotal periods has been undertaken, with the context of family and social ties then applied to

each section in order to provide a fuller comprehension of the socialisation in place across society at that particular time. This shifting from text to context demonstrates the importance of Bourdieu's contribution to our understanding of socialisation, and also the contingent nature of nationalism itself.

We have seen that from the cases offered from the commencement of national education in 1831 until the foundation of the Irish State in 1922, that the discourse is one of inclusion within the British Empire. Indeed the English additionally sought to destroy the indigenous language and dialects by abolishing its usage in the Irish education system as they sought to assimilate the people of Ireland. The aim was of a common identity and as the basis of unity and allegiance to Empire. However the educational socialisation was out of synch with the family and social ties of that time as the Catholic Church and the G.A.A. were strong forces in the community. Thus the British socialisation solely through education did not entirely succeed.

From the Foundation of the Irish State in 1922 onwards the text books offer examples portraying a nationalistic and insular outlook. This was to unite a country in the aftermath of a war of independence closely followed by a civil war. The education, church and G.A.A. presented a united front but this was gradually diluted by the lived experience of the large Irish diaspora.

From 1971 and the advent of a new curriculum the text books become more outward looking, with the explicit face of nationalism submerged within a discourse of economic modernism. This serves an economic purpose as Ireland's policies were at that time were leading to fiscal failure. These findings reflect Gellners' supposition that nationalism will adjust after an initial virulent stage, its motivations being economic:

A transition has to be made from a world which does not encourage even the formulation of the nationalist ideal, let alone even remotely make possible its implementation, to an age which makes it seem (erroneously) a self-evident norm, which in most cases is implemented. The period of this transition is inevitably a period of national activism (Gellner, 1983: 111).

As nationalism originally arises from industrial change it gradually becomes banal and taken for granted. As the findings reflect political, economic and social changes, we can postulate that nationalism is not completely resolute. These findings also fill in the gaps in Gellner's theory as pinpointed by Stanbridge who referred to childhood as the 'black box' in nationalism study. By highlighting the role of socialisation in the formation of a national identity we can understand how nationalism is transmitted so that it is embedded as a habitus. Thus is the nation socialised.

From the examination of school textbooks we can thus see how education acts as a tool of the socialisation of nationalism. This may be deliberate and it also takes more banal forms, but either way, it is only in part possible due to a centralised state education system maintained by a national government. Without nationalism to bind populaces together on a large scale, the modern state would falter. Nationalism and the modern state go hand in glove, but as shown throughout this chapter, socialisation is a lot more than what is imparted through state-provisioned education. In concluding this chapter I want to bring Gellner into a conversation with former presidents of Ireland:

Nationalism is not what it seems, and above all it is not what it seems to itself. The cultures it claims to defend and revive are often its own inventions, or are modified out of all recognition (Gellner, 1983: 56).

Gellner's words offer an important and critical perspective on two landmark speeches made by Irish presidents. The first is a vision of the nation laid out in 1943 by DeValera in his speech on St. Patrick's Day, 1943. This was made to mark the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Gaelic League (*Conradh na Gaeilge*), a group promoting Irish culture and the Irish Language:

The ideal Ireland that we would have, the Ireland that we dreamed of, would be the home of a people who valued material wealth only as a basis for right living, of a people who, satisfied with frugal comfort, devoted their leisure to the things of the spirit – a land whose countryside would be bright with cosy homesteads, whose fields and villages would be joyous with the sounds of industry, with the romping of sturdy children, the contest of athletic youths and the laughter of happy maidens, whose firesides would be forums for the wisdom of serene old age (quoted in McCarthy, 1990: 50).

In this instance industry refers to farming in a rural setting, not industrial manufacturing, and De Valera makes it clear that sacrifice is inseparable from the life of the nation:

It was the pursuit of such an Ireland that later made our country worthy to be called the island of saints and scholars. It was the idea of such an Ireland - happy, vigorous, spiritual - that fired the imagination of our poets; that made successive generations of patriotic men give their lives to win religious and political liberty; and that will urge men in our own and future generations to die, if need be, so that these liberties may be preserved (quoted in McCarthy, 1990: 51).

In recent years this speech has been critiqued and often derided as archetypal of de Valera's traditionalist view of an isolationist, agricultural land where women held a traditional role. But this affords an insight into the state of the nation at that time. As DeValera's policy had led to economic stagnation the need for change is understandable. The contrast with the following could not be sharper: remarks made in a speech by the then President of Ireland Mary McAleese at a conference in Cork, discussing the 1916 proclamation and Irish Constitution:

The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and all of its parts cherishing all of the children of the nation equally.

To paraphrase the Proclamation, we are resolved to 'pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole island'. We want to consign inequality and poverty to history. We want to live in peace. We want to be comfortable with, and accommodating of, diversity (McAleese. 2006:2).

Prosperity and achievement are equated with the nation. The success of the economy has become the bedrock of nationalism, with Ireland's capacity to compete in the global economy a key ingredient of the new nationalism. Nationalism has become banal and taken for granted, it has become the doxic backdrop against which Irish lives are lived.

McAleese's speech also concurs with Malesevic's belief in the banality of nationalism, as he identifies:

the centrality of banal practices as being vital for the everyday maintenance and strengthening of nationalism. These include mundane activities such as the routine use of the plural personal pronouns ('we', 'us') in the mass media and political speeches that simply assume one's membership in a specific nation (Malesevic, 2014: 7).

This is apparent in how McAleese repeatedly addresses the 'we' of nationalism. So whilst the speech speaks of inclusion it is in itself addressing a particular 'we'. Nationalism has become banal, taken for granted; it no longer exhibits the fervour of its initial stages. It has become an assumed facet of modern Irish life. Nationalism has been, in turn, initiated, solidified and reinforced until it is thoroughly rooted in the habitus of those who identify with and answer to McAleese's 'we'. Its continued success seems assured, though whether this cold nationalism will be reignited remains to be seen.

## Chapter 6 - CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has expanded on Gellner's theory of nationalism. Gellner provides an analysis of the 'why' of nationalism, i.e. why nations and nationalism develop. But, Gellner neglects to elaborate on the detail of how exactly this takes place and also, in the banal contexts of everyday social life, how the nation is reproduced. This is the 'missing ink' in the title of the thesis, or the 'how' of nationalism. To focus the analysis I have employed the concept of the socialisation of nationalism. This is an application of a theory of socialisation to nationalism as a social construct. By taking Gellner's modernist approach to the study of nations and nationalism I have examined how the nation is reproduced through a complex process of socialisation that crosses between formal education and social learning.

Through the application of Bourdieu's work on socialisation to Gellner's model of nation-formation, I have shown how nationalism is transmitted and embodied as habitus. By adapting Bourdieu's theory of class formation and shifting the focus of his concepts from the analysis of class inequality to the question of national habitus we can understand how the expression 'socialisation' can be applied to a type of societal learning. As nationalism is the current system in which contemporary societies are usually arranged this concept must be transmitted successfully. This is such a large undertaking that it could only be achieved by a centralised state education system.

The idea of a nation may have originally been utilised in an abstract manner, the aim being to smooth over regional tensions or disputes. Historical events could have been depicted in such a manner so as to reinforce solidarity and ensure unity. For example in the aftermath of a civil war there is an acute need to unite and safeguard society. History may be narrated in such a way that it can whitewash some events or omit them, as they may be too contentious at that time.

Though the proposition of the socialisation of nationalism may be achievable theoretically the evidence must be provided to underpin this supposition. As the relevant theories of both Gellner and Bourdieu's converge at the idea of education that is the point at which the analysis has been undertaken.



My argument is that nationalism is a social construct, the knowledge of which is imparted through several means, partly, though not solely, through the national education system. The *Socialisation of Nationalism* is the idea that nationalism is a socially imbued disposition. According to Bourdieu people acquire or learn their social class through education, family groups and social networks. As every child is born without innate knowledge, so it must learn how to interact with the world and acquire the appropriate skills for the time and place into which they have been born. These are thus socially acquired attributes absorbed and assigned in such a manner as to become normal and habitual. Language, manners and socially accepted behaviours are thus influenced or refined through family interactions, contact with members of other social groups, and through the education system.

In chapter two I examined how Gellner maintains that one's national identity and belonging is informed through the educational process. Chapter two discusses Gellner's theory pertaining to nationalism. In *Nations and Nationalism* Gellner outlined the historical processes that he maintained led to the formation of nations. The argument being that nationalism is a feature of industrial society, in part due to economic factors, but also because of the co-dependent relationship between education, political power, and culture. From such interfaces arise state operated education systems and also idioms which unite the citizens of nations. The nation thus legitimises its members and its own existence. In effect the nation unites disparate communities who would otherwise have more in common with others. For example it could be argued that urban inhabitants of New York and London may have more in common with one another than with members of their own nation's agricultural community.

Also, according to Gellner, industrial society is dependent on perpetual growth in order to succeed. This can only be achieved by having a population able to react to changes in the occupational structure, so subsequently this necessitates a generic education as opposed to specialised training, more suited to small collectives. Education thus defers more status; this is in direct comparison to pre-modern society in which kinship was the defining factor. The state is the only apparatus large enough to perform such an undertaking which results in a fusing together of state and culture. In Gellner's quasi-functionalist terms, industrialism requires a universal high culture, which in turn needs an attendant educational system. This function can only be fulfilled by a large state which is sustained by the belief and cooperation of the nation.

Gellner highlighted exo-socialisation, or socialisation which takes place outside the home (which he identified as education) as the main method by which a society learn of their national identity. However whilst uniquely identifying this process he does not elaborate on it further, instead developing what can be called the 'why' of nationalism. This thesis expands this on this concept by creating a 'how' of nationalism'. This is achieved through an expansion of Pierre Bourdieu's work on the socialisation of class. By utilising Bourdieu' framework of socialisation and instead applying it to nationalism we can observe the 'socialisation of nationalism'. This accordingly widens Gellner's original thesis and overcomes the tacit functionalism within, whilst adding context.

Chapter three examined in detail Bourdieu's analysis of the ways in which class is imparted through the act of socialisation. Socialisation takes place through the means of education, family and social networks. Social groups accordingly learn what is deemed appropriate for them; these attributes encompass accents, table manners, artistic or recreational pursuits and education paths, amongst others. For Bourdieu unconscious training is so effective that it is largely unnoticed by the recipient. Socialisation commences before a child can talk and is formative of the child's subjectivity becoming the accepted norms of behaviour or thought. This is the process by which such attributes are misrecognises, whereby they are believed to be naturally occurring traits or characteristics. The actual method of acquiring the knowledge of how to operate in one's society is therefore discounted or disregarded. The learning process legitimises itself and its properties. We can observe this to be a form of inter-generational knowledge transference.

Accordingly we can understand how national identity is conveyed from one generation to the next. Though Bourdieu's framework has previously been utilised in examining power relations the detailed machinations of class socialisation have rarely been used to examine other attributes of society. There is nothing in Bourdieu's theory that would preclude its expansion to other matters, such as nationalism.

Bourdieu maintained that social reproduction and power dynamics were primarily concentrated with bodily know-how and competent practices in the social world. These ascribed qualities are thus acquired in such a way as to make them appear completely natural attributes. By understanding the processes of socialisation we can appreciate how nationalism can come to be

embodied individually and collectively, creating a national doxa. Accordingly this is how the process of socialisation occurs, a set of ascribed values are thus naturalised. Consequently we can perceive how socialisation creates an individual's and exponentially a society's perception. Nationalism is therefore a created value, a social construct.

Chapter four provided examples of the manifestation of national habitus, this provides evidence that nationalism is a social construct. Thus we have observable manifestations of an implicit practical logic, i.e. a practical sense which had been acquired since birth. These can be referred to as a national doxa or the bodily expression of national socialisation. The examples given include food, names, flags, heroes, money, passports, time and space, eating customs and tipping. These social customs or norms are taken for granted and as such provide little comment in their 'home' environment of their particular nation.

In this way we can understand these actions as outer manifestations of an inner identity. The terms national doxa/culture or tradition are interchangeable and refer to an embodiment of a national belonging. They form part of our identity and as such are performed routinely and are rarely further examined. The hexis is the physical demonstration of socialised group characteristics or membership. Accordingly the hexis is a subjective quality, based on a lived experience within a certain cultural group.

The purpose of this survey of the national field, doxa, habitus and hexis was to provide tangible examples of how the nation becomes embodied within the subject. In this chapter I surveyed some of the more banal ways in which the nation is demonstrated, communicated and reproduced.

In chapter five, an analysis of textbooks was conducted. This was presented as three contrasting time frames concluding with a section entitled text to context in order to provide necessary perspective. The first period encompasses the foundation of national education in 1831 through till the establishment of the Irish State in 1922. Here the findings are that the discourse was one of inclusion within the British Empire. The second time frame covers the era from 1922 to 1971. During this period the textbooks offer examples portraying a nationalistic and insular outlook. This was to unite a country in the aftermath of a war of independence closely followed by a civil

war. The third and final time period covered relates to 1971 and the advent of a new curriculum. From this point the textbooks become more outward looking, with the nationalist dialogue wrapped within a discourse of economic modernisation. This process might be seen to track Gellner's hypothesis that nationalism adjusts after an initial virulent stage, its motivations being economic. As the results reflect political, economic and social changes, we see evidence of how nationalism is transformed. Thus we can utilise these results to adapt Gellner's theory by highlighting the capricious quality of nationalism, i.e. in contrast to the straightforward linear development found in Gellner's work; nationalism is a more multifaceted practice whereby the past is recreated in accordance with contemporary interests. These outcomes allow us to create a 'how' of nationalism to fill in the 'missing ink' of Gellner's theory of nationalism. This omission has been previously identified by Stanbridge who referred to childhood as the 'black box' in nationalism study.

Bourdieu defined socialisation as taking place through the experiences formed by social networks, family ties and education. If these three factors lack coherence the socialisation is unsuccessful as it is disjointed. For example, we can observe the Irish case under British rule, where only one influence, the education system was in place, hence the ineffectiveness of education as an instrument of socialisation in isolation.

Whilst I have focused exclusively on the Irish case, I believe the analysis could also be applied to other contexts. Each would in all probability produce variant findings and results, but the central claim that nationalism is the product of socialisation would remain intact. It might be conceded by way of a conclusion that Gellner was correct but his theory was incomplete. In other words education acts as a tool of the socialisation of nationalism, and it matters not whether this is driven by intention on the part of nationalists. This is only possible due to a centralised state education system maintained by a national government. Without nationalism to bind populaces together on a large scale, the modern state would falter. Nationalism and the modern state work in tandem with one another, the socialisation of nationalism ensuring their existence.

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