

Consuming Guinness, Producing Irishness
Circuits of Cultural Production

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Thesis submitted for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Goldsmiths' College
University of London

September 2002



Abstract

This thesis explores the discourse surrounding the consumption of *Guinness*, the product, and its advertising, utilising the theoretical structure of Johnson's circuit of culture.

The theoretical underpinnings of the circuit of culture have been validated through the process of empirical investigation. This is achieved by interviewing the producers of the marketing and advertising strategies; interviewing Guinness consumers across three spaces (Ireland, the UK and the USA); and by analysing its advertising texts.

The circuit of culture enabled me to explore the relationship between the consumption of the product and the consuming audience to see how the product was being used by Irish migrants to restore the imagined space called 'home'. Due to the empirical process I uncovered a rich tapestry of data and discovered issues previously unconsidered. For example, the research shows that audiences in Ireland and Abroad use Guinness as a metaphor for Irishness, Community, and National Identity. An exploration of the product and its signifiers unlocks myths and rituals surrounding it and demonstrates the role of the product and its consumption in the lived experiences of the consumer. Abroad, the exploration of this act of consumption uncovers issues such as racism, intra-racism, hybridity and authenticity.

The research contributes in two main ways. It offers marketing and advertising theory a model for a more thorough understanding of the relationship between a product and its target audience. It also contributes to cultural studies theory by demonstrating the process and the effectiveness of the circuit of culture as an empirical tool.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following people who have shaped, and contributed to, this research. Firstly I wish to thank Prof. Debbie Epstein. She picked me up and dusted me down, and gave me the confidence to proceed with this thesis. Without her intervention, support and unwavering guidance, this thesis would never have seen the light of day.

I also wish to thank all the respondents in Dublin, London and New York who gave me their time, and shared their private lived experiences and their stories. Thanks also to the marketing and advertising managers at Guinness, and their advertising agencies, who gave their time and answered my questions with professionalism and candour.

There are no words to express my gratitude and the debt I owe my Mam and Dad for their unconditional love and support, and for their belief in me. My brother Dermot, who supported me with his wit and love, and was always there when I needed him. Thanks also to Deirdre, for her long distance support, to Mary in London and Kathryn and Cormac in New York, who always had room for me to stay, and to all those along the way who inspired, encouraged, challenged and contributed.

Finally, to Chris, for the unending flow of love and support, the words 'thank you', '*go raibh maith agat*' or '*grazie*' do not begin to express or measure what I have received.

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Chapter 1

Introductions

You can't be a Real Country unless you have a BEER and an airline. It helps if you have some kind of a football team, or some nuclear weapons, but at the very least you need a BEER.

Zappa

Motivation

In this thesis I explore the discourse surrounding Guinness, and I question its links with national identity, and so Frank Zappa's observation is succinct. As an Irish person, as a member of the diasporic space, and as a Guinness drinker, I had often asked myself "why do I go to an Irish pub and drink Guinness?" and "what is the attachment to Guinness-drinking for me or for any other Irish person living in Ireland or outside?" These initial questions caused me to embark on a project that has developed into an exhilarating, engaging, and sometimes arduous journey of academic as well as personal enquiry.

The questions that this thesis deals with have been in my head since 1992 when I was a final year undergraduate, and consequently I have had a lot of time to contemplate both the questions and the methodology. Even before reading any specific text that would have directed me to embrace any particular or prescribed methodology I had a sense of what my questions were and how my questions could be answered.

It was issues in 'advertising' and 'the practice of advertising' that stimulated me initially. Coming from a background in graphic design in practice I was questioning

“how do audiences process advertising campaigns?” Coupled with this I was asking questions from an experiential position such as “what do displaced people do with products and advertising to overcome the vacuum left when one leaves ‘home’ and goes to live in another country?”

As an undergraduate in 1992 I was exposed to methodologies from various disciplines, namely psychology, marketing and communication studies. At the time, focus groups were not being utilised in the main; rather they were very limited to results-oriented market research - where a client is paying for descriptions of what people think about the product/campaign/political issue etc. My lived experiences and my work experience impacted and shaped the research that I later embarked on.

The Research Questions

In this thesis I draw on Johnson’s circuit of culture (see chapter 2) and examine *Guinness* as an artefact in relation to each site on the circuit of culture, *production*, *text*, *audience* and *lived experience*. I explore the discourse surrounding the production and consumption of Guinness, and Guinness advertising, and examine the audience or consumer’s process of ‘making meaning’. I explore the process of production by talking to marketing managers and advertising executives in Guinness plc. in Dublin, London and New York to understand the planning and strategising behind the ensuing campaigns. I also look at the audience’s role in the consumption of the product and its advertising and subsequently examine the relationship between the product, and the consumer in Ireland, and the migrant Irish consumer in the UK and the USA.

In Ireland I focus on how the consumer relates to the product and what role the product plays in the lived experience of the consumer. I explore the myths and rituals that surround the consumption of the product, and I explore the function of consumption of the product in achieving ‘in-group’ membership. In the UK and the USA, I compare the experience of first and second-generation Irish migrants and I look at how the consumers use the *space* of consumption, the *act* of consumption,

and the advertising texts, in order to support their experience as 'other' and to support their experience as migrants.

In Ireland, the empirical process raised issues such as memory, paradoxes in behaviour, consumer sovereignty and gender and in the UK and USA it elicited issues regarding racism, authenticity and hybridity. The research process allowed me to consider questions about intra-racism, class and community, and facilitated me in raising discussions about migration and the authenticity of the term 'the Irish diaspora'.

I explore the construction of national identity through the consumption of Guinness, and the role Guinness and its marketing and advertising producers play in evoking 'Irishness' and 'in-group membership' as a strategy. I examine the consumption of Guinness as an advertising text by Irish consumers living in Ireland and compare that with meanings given to such texts by Irish emigrants living in London and New York. I argue that the consumption of Guinness, its advertising text and subsequent rituals and myths that surround it, play a part in the imagining of a place we call 'home'.

My exploration around Guinness as an artefact, unveiled themes of:

migration and diaspora; goods as commodities and goods as symbolic items; rituals and myths; communities, boundaries, inclusion and exclusion; food and community; the pub as a bounded space and as an ethnically marked space.

It has also unveiled themes directly anchored to the sites researched, and so issues surrounding production and consumption are interwoven throughout all of the themes above, creating a tapestry that is rich in its discourse and revealing in nature. The matrix of themes is woven throughout this thesis as the story of Guinness, and production and consumption, and Irish identity, unfolds.

Asking Questions

Combining each site of inquiry with the relevant methodological and theoretical approaches the central questions of this research can be summarised as follows:

- 1) What is the discourse surrounding the production and consumption of the product (Guinness)?
- 2) What is the discourse surrounding the production and consumption of the advertising text?
- 3) How is the act of consumption used to construct a sense of identity amongst its consumers?
- 4) How is the act of consumption used to bridge a space between the diasporic space and an imagined place called home?
- 5) How is the consuming audience using the product and text in their lived experiences?
- 6) What is the significance of the pub space in this act of consumption?

Subjectivities

any study always bears the traces of the subjectivity of the researcher.

Ang 1982, p. 12

By declaring that my research question has been formulated under the influence of some personal and subjective factors, I am aware that I risk being less than one hundred percent empirical and objective, consequently exposing myself to criticism.

In the early days of this project, I was warned to be cautious in case I lost my objectivity as the work is so inextricably bound with my own experience. I am concerned with emigration because I am a member of the diaspora. I am concerned with the sense of loss of 'place' because I too have felt the 'loss of place'. I am concerned with the issue of identity because I too felt my identity challenged as a result of moving from one place to another.

For some researchers the autobiographical element in research is essential (Millar 1995, Harding 1987). Millar (1995) encourages students embarking on research to “start by telling the story of their interest in the question”. By showing one’s hand, and one’s subjective autobiographical interest in the question, I argue that ‘that act of declaration’ will, in fact, go some way towards actually protecting the work from subjectivity. By stating personal interest and influences, the researcher will strive to avoid subjectivity even more so than in other situations, because she is acknowledging to herself the fact that there is a personal relationship. By acknowledging this fact, she is more aware of the situation, and of the subsequent danger of its influence on the work. Consequently she will go to greater lengths to avoid errors of subjectivity.

In the case of cultural studies, research has frequently developed due to the very fact that the researcher is inextricably bound with the lived experience that she is researching and is researching them because of her lived experiences. For example, women’s studies courses are attended by a majority of female students and researchers. Gay and lesbian studies are mainly the concern of gay and lesbian researchers. Those in the margins write about ‘the Other’ and being members of a specific class or ethnic minority are membership cards for writing about that ‘class’ or ‘ethnic experience.’ Who else will pick up the gauntlet?

Organisation of Thesis

The thesis is divided into three sections and I describe the chapters in more detail in Chapter 2.

Section One, *Product and Text*

Section One, reports on the explorations of the first two sites on Johnson’s circuit of culture. The three chapters that this section incorporates are dedicated to describing the findings around the investigations into the site of ‘production’ and the site dedicated to ‘text’. In Chapter Three, *Producing Guinness, Producing Irishness*, the marketing machinery operating on behalf of Guinness is scrutinised and the producers perceptions of their campaigns, their marketing strategies and their

audiences, is revealed. In Chapter Four, *Producing Guinness, Rituals Myths and Histories* the productivity of the audience is examined and this chapter demonstrates the productivity of the audience as they generate rituals, myths and history around the product. In the final chapter in Section One, Chapter Five *Reading Irishness*, the findings for this site are documented and consist of several readings of Guinness adverts. This chapter demonstrates how Irishness is written into the text in Ireland's campaigns, and 'Otherness' is inscribed in the UK and US adverts. The findings of these interviews are reported in Sections Two and Three of this thesis.

Section Two *The Pub Space*

In Section Two the emphasis is on *the pub* as a site for consumption, and as the space where other theoretical issues arise. Chapter Six, *Gendered Places, Pub Spaces*, argues that the pub is a gendered and bounded space, and Chapter Seven, *The Pub, a complex space of 'Other'*, describes and explores other bounded moments and reveals issues of inclusion, exclusion, racism, hybridity and authenticity that the Irish experience as migrants in London and New York.

Section Three *The Consuming Audience*

In Section Three the emphasis is on the audiences' experiences as consumers and their lived experiences surrounding the product, its discourses and the space occupied by the product. Chapter Eight, *Pure Genius. The Irish Consuming in Ireland*, describes Irish consumers and their relationship with the product, and in Chapter Nine, *Transporting Irishness. The Irish in London and New York*, and Chapter Ten, *You can never go home. New Communities, New Worlds* the emphasis is on telling the story of the Irish migrants and consumers in the UK and USA.

Chapter 2

Investigating Irishness

Telling a story

In the summer of 1997 I was one of a group of doctoral students attending a research summer school at Kings College in London. During one session Stephen Ball spoke to the group and he asked us a series of questions that surprised and relieved us. He asked “How many of you like writing?”, “How many of you enjoy it?”, “How many of you think you are good at it?” and “Does writing frighten you?” We were collectively relieved that the questions could be asked of us and surprised when we all voiced similar fears.

Despite the fact that we were supposed to be accomplished writers at this stage in our academic career, we were relieved to agree that “yes, we were finding ‘writing’ hard”. Beginning to write is hard, putting forward your own arguments against the wall of established theorists can be daunting, and knowing when to stop is difficult too.

When I reiterated the workshops events and the realness of these fears to my supervisor she was reassuring in her response; she reminded me that “to do research is to tell a story and to develop and present an argument” (Epstein 1997). And so with the reminder that ‘there is a story to be told’ I was able to step away from the rigid rules that control the writing process and begin to tell the story.

One of my concerns surrounding ‘the rigid rules’ that control writing is that due to those rules, and due to the discursive practices that follow, academic writing becomes accessible to a minority and I think it is important that we are aware of this

exclusion when we become 'writers'. As new fledgling writers, we can strive to loosen the restrictive 'tie' of discursal rules from around the 'neck' of research writing. The restrictive 'tie' comes in many guises; it can be wrapped up in the bows of 'scientific writing', it can be bound up in 'traditional rules of research' and it can be 'jargon-laden' so as to exclude the uninitiated. All of these produce specific results, that is, writing written by and for an exclusive audience and texts that are boundaried and excluding.

In his work on masculinities Connell (1995, p. 6) argues that "science has a definite hegemony in our education system and media" and in most contexts "scientific claims have an undeniable edge" over other forms of knowledge. Consequently we have been taught that we must not argue against scientific findings because they 'carry validity'. This scientific genre is supported by sets of practices and by a linguistic culture that is restrictive of thought and action. This further increases the dangers of 'elimination' of what people say, what people think, how people feel; it also risks the elimination of a whole section of 'questions' about how people make sense of the world and various phenomenon within it; questions which can not be answered by scientific practice.

However, with restored awareness of such issues surrounding writing and with effort to be inclusive, 'writing' can be returned to readers, the subjects and objects of study don't have to get lost in the discourse and researcher writers can be delivered from the assault course of traditional academic writing. I am not suggesting that we ignore the traditional 'rules of research' nor am I advocating a quantum leap from 'known practices' to 'cowboy research techniques'. I am suggesting that we remind ourselves to write in an inclusive way, and to remember that, as *bricoleurs*, we are challenged to view the world's subjects, and the methods used to understand them, in a very different way; consequently, we should strive to produce writing that is 'different' too. And so, I am going to tell the story about the people, the drink, the adverts, the new space away from 'home', and the imaginings of 'home' ... the story begins.

Defining the Question

In recent years there has been considerable growth in studies of the relationship between media culture and identity. The focus has been on *print media*, *fiction*, and *television* as the media variables. In this research I am taking the exploration one step further. I am exploring the complex space of identity, but am focusing on the formation of national identity within consumer culture. I am going to apply it, not to *print media*, or *fiction* or *television*, but to a specific product, namely Guinness. The media variable is Guinness and its accompanying advertising text, the Guinness advertising campaigns, from 1928 to the present day.

To explore the relationship of the elements mentioned above I considered three sources. Firstly I talked to the producers of the advertising text, i.e. the marketing managers and advertising executives responsible for the rationale and creativity behind the images that the audience is exposed to. Secondly I examined the actual texts themselves, that is, the advertising campaigns launched by Guinness over the years in three sites: Ireland, the UK and the USA. And finally I talked to the consumers: the people drinking the product and the people reading the texts in Ireland, the UK and the USA.

Richard Johnson (1983) describes culture as a combination of four elements: *production*, *text*, *readings* and *lived cultures* (see Figure 2A). In this way the circuit of culture demonstrates how each variable supports, influences and impinges on each of the other variables. In fact Johnson and later Paul du Gay and Stuart Hall (1997) argue that any cultural text or artefact must pass through this circuit of culture if it is to be adequately studied.

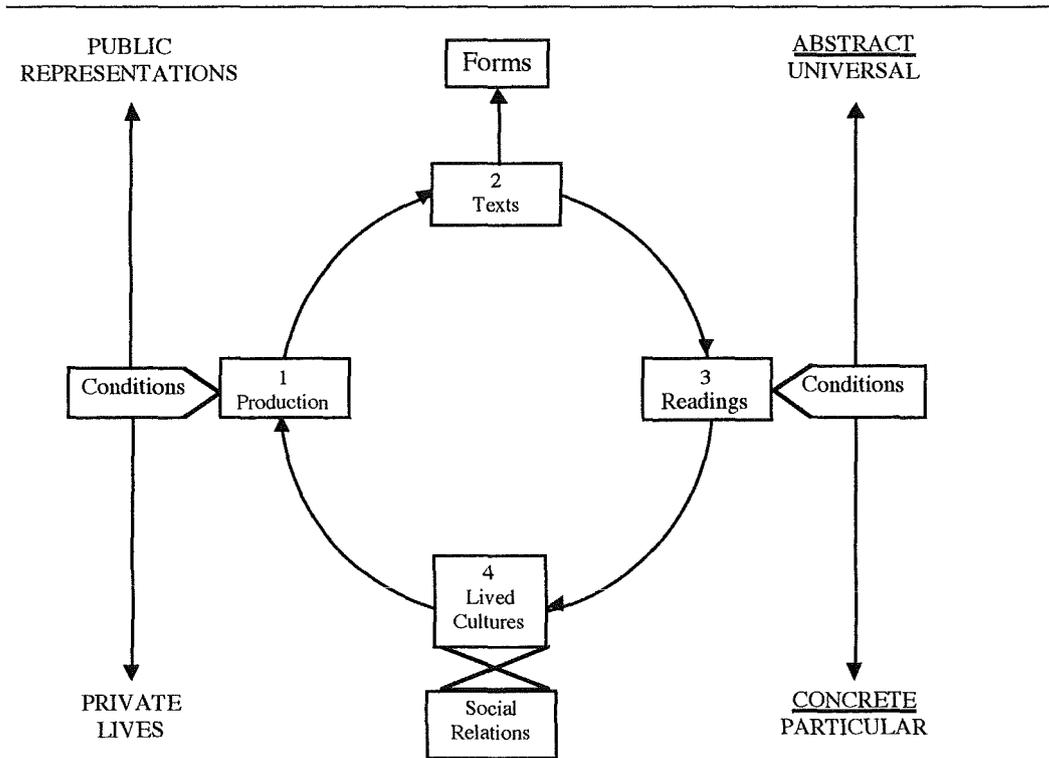


Figure 2A: Johnson's *circuit of culture* (1983, p. 16)

In this academic space, which combines 'media' and 'audience', it is not common to find a holistic approach where researchers attend to all of the elements that appear on Johnson's circuit of cultural production. Significant works about audience and media consumption tend to focus on one or possibly two of the sites mentioned above, with few exceptions. Bausinger (1984), Modleski (1984), Radway (1987), and Lewis (1991) focus on the 'audience' and their response to the 'media text'. Ang (1993, 1996), Morley (1986), Lull (1990) focus on a combination of 'production' and 'audience'. Hobson (1982) and Buckingham (1987) are examples of the rare studies that approach issues surrounding 'production', 'media text' and 'audience' by looking at each of those elements in relation to each other, in keeping with Johnson's model. To proceed with this research I engaged with and applied Johnson's defined sites of production, text, audience, and lived experience and this thesis demonstrates the process and proves the effectiveness of the circuit of culture as an empirical tool.

My research is distinct as it empirically tested Johnson's theoretical model of the circuit of culture (see Figure 2B). It explored all four sites on Johnson's circuit of culture; the site of *production* of the advertising campaigns, (see Section One), the advertising *texts*, (see Section One), the site where *audience* consumes the text and 'makes meaning' of them, (see Sections Two and Three) and the *lived experiences* of those audiences (Section Two and Three). I investigated each of these sites in detail and then analysed them to demonstrate how they interact in the process of meaning making and the act of consumption of the text and product. The story is told throughout the thesis and is summarised in Chapter Eleven (Conclusions).

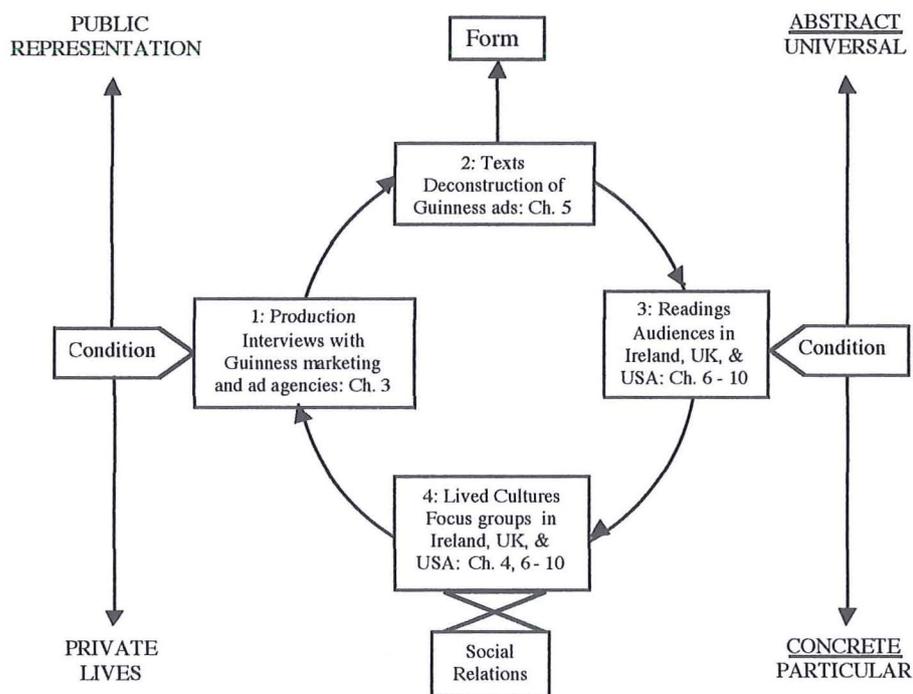


Figure 2B: The *circuit of culture* – Exploring Irishness, Consumption and Identity

Furthermore, as the focus of the work was quadripartite, the empirical aspects of the work are an important augmentation to research design in general. The research required several complementary research techniques in order to interrogate the four areas of concern. I needed to apply different methods to each sector in order to make the most of the diverse approach taken by looking at these complex areas and their interplay with one another. For example, when exploring the site of production, *in-depth interviews* were held with marketing managers at Guinness (Ireland),

Guinness (UK) and Guinness (USA) and with their respective account executives at the advertising agencies who handle the accounts in each location. These were performed to identify the marketing strategy for the product and to see how the production rationale is related to strategy decisions. Understanding the manipulation of variables such as demographic, psychographic and lifestyle made it possible to generate a deeper understanding of the relationship between the producer and the text, and the relationship between the producer and the audience. This fieldwork was then complemented by the theoretical work of Myers (1986), Williamson (1988), Vestergaard and Schroder (1989), Jhally (1990), Leiss *et al.* (1990), Davidson, (1992), Cook, (1992), Dyer (1992), Brierley (1995), and Lury (1996) who have written extensively on advertising as a cultural phenomenon. My research into this first section generated a clear understanding of the procedure lying behind the production of the text, and enabled me to understand how the industry perceives the audience. From this, I could delve into the process of production of the advertising message and the ideological cognition that lies behind it. The exploration of this site is documented and described in the first section of the thesis. In Section One, Chapter Three, *Producing Guinness, Producing Irishness*, I scrutinise the marketing machinery operating on behalf of Guinness and reveal the producers' perceptions of their campaigns, their marketing strategies and their audiences. In Section One, Chapter Four, *Producing Guinness, Rituals Myths and Histories*, I examine issues of 'productivity' from the audience's domain, and demonstrate the productivity of the audience as they generate rituals, myths and history around the product.

To explore the second point on the circuit, I use *textual analysis* as the main methodological tool to examine the advertising texts featured in print and on television (a selection of texts from the Guinness campaigns based in Ireland and the UK from 1928 to the present day). In keeping with Johnson's model I played the role of the expert or specialist reader drawing on traditional structuralist theories for this part of the work. However, I wanted to extend the methodology and approach within this site and I did this by applying two other methodological tools. Firstly, while executing the specialist readings, I introduced *discourse analysis* as an additional interrogative tool. Here I gave special reference to Cook (1992) as his application of discourse analysis to advertising addresses some of the limitations of structuralism. It allows the researcher to extend the analysis by considering not just

text, but also the context in which the text occurs. With this I could extend my deconstruction of the advertising texts beyond the limitations of semiological analysis (see Chapter 5). Secondly, although Johnson recommends utilising an expert or specialist reader, I felt that this was insufficient. Audience research shows that readers of media texts are able to read in different ways, and I argue that they are capable, not of just 'reading the texts actively' or reading in 'different ways to each other', I argue that they are actually able to locate preferred meanings and talk about the text in a deconstructive manner. I wanted to reveal that the audiences were capable of deconstruction without being 'experts', and I wanted to enrich my data by including their readings of the texts. Furthermore, from a research design perspective, the incorporation of this exercise into the focus group sessions allowed me to shift the respondent's narratives from non-personal discussions about the adverts to more personal discussions about their own lived experiences.

Consequently, I extended the approach to this site by facilitating *non-specialist readings* of the texts. I was very interested in the audience's opinions regarding the adverts and so, during focus group sessions to record the audience's lived experiences (see below) I invited the members to analyse a selection of TV adverts. I believed, and wanted to demonstrate, that while there are 'specialist' readers, who have been trained to deconstruct a text by utilising structuralist tools, the consuming audience is equally capable of making sense of, and locating ideology in these texts. They may not have the discourse of structuralism available to them, but I argue that their readings are as legitimate and valid as any expert reading and in this study I found this to be so. I found that irrespective of variables such as class, gender or educational level, the respondents deconstructed the texts in an insightful and erudite manner. The final chapter in Section One, Chapter Five *Reading Irishness*, documents some of the audience's discussions surrounding the texts. This chapter also demonstrates how Irishness is written into the text in Ireland's campaigns, and 'Otherness' is inscribed in the UK and US adverts.

To delve into the third and fourth points on Johnson's circuit, *focus group sessions* and *individual interviews* were the main methods used to talk to the audience or consumer and to locate their position in the paradigm. This facilitated discussions about the product, the text, and the rituals, myths and personal stories surrounding the consumption of the product. The audience related their lived experiences about

the product, the adverts, the links between the product and home, and their 'Irishness'. Carrying out focus group sessions allowed me to explore the discourse surrounding the consumption of the product including the reception and practices of the three populations: the Irish consumers residing in Ireland, and the first and second-generation Irish emigrants residing in the UK and USA. The findings for these interviews can be found in Section Two and Section Three of this thesis. In Section Two the emphasis is on the pub as a site for consumption. Chapter Six, *Gendered Places, Pub Spaces*, argues that the pub is a gendered and bounded space, and Chapter Seven, *The Pub, a complex space of Other*, describes and explores issues of inclusion, exclusion, racism, hybridity and authenticity that the Irish experience as migrants in London and New York. In Section Three the emphasis is on the audiences' experiences as consumers. Chapter Eight, *Pure Genius. The Irish Consuming in Ireland*, describes Irish consumers and their relationship with the product, and in Chapter Nine, *Transporting Irishness. The Irish in London and New York*, and Chapter Ten, *You can never go home. New Communities, New Worlds*, the emphasis is on 'telling the story' for the Irish migrants and consumers in the UK and USA.

I considered theorists from differing positions on audience reception, from the cultural approaches of Hobson (1982), Modleski (1984), Fejes (1984), Buckingham (1987), Radway (1987), and Ang (1993, 1996) to the more sociological perspectives of Lull (1990), Livingstone (1991), and Morley (1991a, 1992) to understand issues surrounding the audience. Combining each site of inquiry with the relevant methodological and theoretical approaches I examined and explored the central questions concerning this research. These include 1) What is the discourse surrounding the production and consumption of the product (Guinness)? 2) What is the discourse surrounding the production and consumption of the advertising text? 3) How is the act of consumption used to construct a sense of identity amongst its consumers? 4) How is the act of consumption used to bridge a space between the diasporic space and an imagined place called home? 5) How is the consuming audience using the product and text in their lived experiences? 6) What is the significance of the pub space in this act of consumption?

Defining the construct ‘audience’

Before I proceed further, it is important that I clarify the use of the term *audience*. I argue that the construct ‘audience’ is a fiction. There is no ONE audience. The audience is a community imagined by researchers, producers and market researchers. If ‘audiences’ are asked, they are more likely to see themselves as ‘fans’, or ‘consumers’ or some other category, but not as ‘audience’. Due to the nature of the construct, I had difficulty in deciding whether I was referring to one audience, a collection of audiences (due to different locations and other segmentation factors), a differentiated audience or a homogeneous audience (as they were all Irish). This difficulty was addressed but not resolved and I proceed by referring to ‘audience’ or ‘audiences’ depending on which seems most appropriate. Similarly, I touch on the same problem when I talk about the producer/producers, and consumer/consumers and again, proceed by referring to a collective noun or a plural, depending on which seems most appropriate. I have used them with consideration and care, and there is no hidden meaning or value assignment in my use of them.

Chasing the stories – the producers, the text & the audience

Talking to the producers

Paul du Gay (1997, p. 4) argues that

meaning is produced at ‘economic’ sites (at work, in shops) and circulated through economic processes and practices (through economists’ models of how ‘economics’ or ‘organisations’ work, through adverts, marketing materials and the very design of products) no less than in other domains of existence in modern societies.

Consequently it is essential to hear the producer’s story in order to understand the complex links between the economy and culture, and in this study, there are two reasons why I needed to hear the producer’s story. Firstly I wanted to explore *how* the process of production was operating. For du Gay “discourses of the economy, like those of sexuality, ‘race’ or nationality, *carry meaning*” (1997, p. 4). By looking

at the economic process I could interrogate another discourse and reveal how these processes act as carriers/supporters of cultural phenomena. By interrogating the discourse of the economy and the specific discourse of marketing and advertising I could excavate another layer of matter that functions to carry 'meaning' and 'cultural memory' on behalf of the producer (and the consumer). Secondly I wanted to understand the marketing strategy adopted in each country to see if they utilised similar strategies in each location, and to identify their targeted consumers and potential consumers. Here, I wanted to check if the meanings the audiences were decoding from the text were the same as the meanings intended at the point of production. In other words "was the 'preferred reading' being made by the consumer or were alternative readings and meaning being constructed?" In order to do this I needed to speak to key individuals involved in the planning of the advertising campaigns in each country. I wanted to ask them what strategies they had employed in order to create the campaigns, who they were targeting, and what they had intended the reading of the texts to be.

I identified the individuals in the following institutions for one-to-one in-depth interviews. In Ireland I spoke to Donagh Lane, the marketing manager at Guinness and to Trevor Jacobs, account manager at Ark's (Guinness's advertising agency from the early 70's to the mid 90's). In the UK I spoke to John Hosking, the marketing manager at Guinness Park Royal and to Neil Quick at Ogilvy and Mather (Guinness's advertising agency from the early 80's to the mid 90's). In the USA I spoke to Connie Doolan from the marketing department at Guinness and to Neil Cotton at Weiss Whitten Stagliano (Guinness's advertising agency in 1997).

By speaking to both the marketing managers at Guinness *and* to the advertising agencies who had executed the marketing briefs, I was able to generate a clearer picture of the marketing strategies as the two sources talked about the campaigns from slightly different perspectives. For example, the corporate philosophy was a defining element when talking to Guinness employees, but as they were the account managers, they were more likely to be critical and more likely to have a thorough and historical knowledge of the campaign, whereas the agencies were more likely to have in-depth knowledge of the market research strategies and were less likely to be critical in any way. During these interviews I was also able to check what the

producer's intentional meanings were, so that I could later measure these against how audiences ultimately read that text and constructed meaning.

Finally, I wanted to look at the commodification of culture and cultural artefacts. In keeping with the giants like Sony, Disney etc. "whose business is the production and distribution of 'cultural' hardware and software", (du Gay 1997, p. 5) I argue that Guinness, to varying degrees, is commodifying and selling 'Irishness' as a product. I wanted to ask Guinness marketing personnel about the degrees to which they utilise the cultural icons signifying 'Ireland' and 'Irishness' in their campaigns. Is this association being created by the consumers, and Guinness is simply reflecting these signifiers back to the audience? or Is the company being proactive in the linking of the product and the cultural icons, and packaging that image and association to the audience as part of the marketing strategy?

Interrogating the text

To understand the process and practice of representation, I decided to analyse a selection of the advertising texts associated with Guinness's marketing campaigns. I needed to get a holistic sense of the different genres that the advertisers 'bought into' or borrowed from, and I also needed to familiarise myself with both the language and graphic content of the varied campaigns. I aimed to understand these campaigns in terms of text and context. In the first instance I familiarised myself with all electronic advertising from Ireland, 1969 to present day, and the UK from 1928 to present day. I could not include US TV advertising because until Autumn 1997¹ there had not been any TV advertising on behalf of Guinness in the USA. I decided to examine both campaigns for several reasons. First, I wanted to understand both the history and style of the campaigns in both countries as thoroughly as possible, and I want to familiarise myself with icons and repeated images used within the campaigns over time. Secondly, I was interested in identifying the degree of intertextuality between the two countries campaigns. Thirdly, I wanted to have a historical context so as to understand the social and

¹ The USA advertising material was print based. The first electronic advert was due to be launched in Autumn 1997 but as I was researching in New York in Spring 1997 this campaign could not be incorporated into the focus groups' deconstruction sessions.

political context of each campaign. Finally, as well as needing a thorough understanding of the content of the various advertising texts myself, I wanted to place the texts before the consumers during the focus group sessions and see their responses to the adverts.

The adverts were placed before respondents for a multitude of reasons: firstly, Irish consumers in Ireland have always had access to both local and UK television so they would be familiar with both the Irish and UK campaigns, and hearing their discussion about the comparisons and differences between the two sets of texts would be interesting from a socio-political perspective; secondly I wanted to get a deeper understanding of what both Irish and Irish migrant consumers thought of when they viewed these adverts. Furthermore, since I was intending to speak to migrants in London and New York who would have been exposed to these campaigns at different points in their lives, I wanted to offer them familiarity as well as giving them the opportunity to compare the texts. Finally, as pointed out above, I wanted the consumers to do their own semiotic analysis of the adverts and test Williamson's belief that we are an 'army of semioticians'².

Talking to the consumers - Where, Who & How

Where to talk to the audience

In the pub one can gather up stories and legends ... and lore.

Morris, (cited in Kearns 1997, p. 1)

In its influence on public opinion the pint has been as powerful a catalyst as the pulpit, and the pub is as worthy of serious discussion and consideration as the Church.

Blake, (cited in Kearns 1997, p. 1)

Various spaces have been deemed appropriate for facilitating interviews with 'the audience'. Modleski (1984), Morley (1986) and Radway (1987) opted to speak to

² This quotation is commonly attributed to Judith Williamson.

respondents in their own homes, Ang (1996) recruited and talked to her respondents via classified adverts and letters and with subsequent home visits later in the research process, and in marketing, agencies hold their focus group sessions at their own premises so that members of the research team can observe the groups while the sessions are running. I decided to hold the audience interviews in the pub space contrary to previous audience research where respondents were facilitated in their own home space because just as TV or romance novels are mostly consumed in the home, and therefore this is the best place to engage the audience, I wanted to capture the act of consumption of this product in its 'normal' space. I was aware that the consumption of the product and the consumption of the advertising texts occur in different places but in this case the task of locating the discourse surrounding the consumption of the product was the deciding factor.

In keeping with Morley and Silverstone's (1991, p. 149) suggestion that "we need to investigate television viewing in its 'natural' settings" I felt it was essential to hold the interviews in the space where Guinness is consumed most. Since the study was concerned with a mapping of the discourse surrounding the consumption of Guinness as a product, the only 'authentic' place for these focus group sessions was the pub space. In two cases where it was impossible to hold sessions in a pub, I ensured that pints were provided in order to give the respondents an opportunity to 'touch' the product.

I argue that the consumption of Guinness needs to be examined and understood within the structure and dynamics of its 'natural' environment. Like studies of other acts of consumption, little is known about how the space of consumption, and the discourse surrounding the consumption, impinges on the meaning-making process. This anthropological approach allowed me to focus on the broader context of processes of both material and symbolic consumption (See Section 2 *The Pub Space* and 3 *The Consuming Audience*).

Selecting the audience

My central question determined the people I needed to talk to in order to 'get the full story'. I wished to talk to Irish people residing in Ireland, as consumers of the

product and advertising text, and to the Irish migrants residing in London and New York - two of the largest spaces for Irish diaspora. I also saw the need for geographic fragmentors; in Ireland, I used an urban/rural split, using Dublin and Co. Waterford as the two sites, in the UK, I divided London into northside and southside, and in the USA I divided New York, identifying Manhattan for access to professional respondents and Queens to locate working class respondents. The locations were designed to reflect the 'type' of consumer I was looking for and the aim was to make recruitment for each group profile a little smoother. Further to this, I split the audience according to 'gender' and 'class' and considered respondents across all ages - 20+, 30+, 40+, 50+, and 60+. In London and New York I differentiated between first and second-generation³ Irish migrants. I also included a marketing variable and set out to ensure that my focus groups included a mix of *brand loyal* consumers and *brand switchers*⁴. (See Appendix 1 for a detailed description of participants of focus groups).

Labelling consumers with a classification such as 'class' and 'gender' was problematic for me. I was aware of the value-laden signification of these terms from the outset and did not want, either consciously or unconsciously, to assign any bias to the groups in accordance with these terms. I used the terms in order to segment the groups on a broad scale. The aim was to loosely keep similar groups together in order to avoid alienation of individuals on the basis of educational or work-related perceived status. In keeping with Kruger's (1994) practical guide for applied research, I was aiming to recruit participants who were reasonably homogeneous and where possible, unfamiliar with each other.

Recruiting the audience

Continuing with the ambitious methodological 'marriage' of traditional research techniques and market research techniques, I drew on the demographic 'ABC1' socio-economic stratification model⁵ for demographic selection and while

³ First generation refers to migrants who have travelled to another country. Second-generation refers to children born of Irish parents in another country.

⁴ *Brand loyal* consumers are consumers who only consume particular products in a specific product class. *Brand switchers* will consume any or all products in a specific product class without differentiation.

⁵ See Brierley (1995, p. 29)

acknowledging the obvious weaknesses and restrictions of this model for sophisticated stratification for marketing purposes, it was suitable for the simple stratification I was seeking.

Once the audience profile was clear, I had to develop strategies for recruiting the appropriate audiences in each location. Fontana and Frey (1994, p. 366) support the philosophy that in order to ‘get in’ or access the setting, there is no hard and fast rule, rather “the different way and attempts to ‘get in’ vary tremendously, but they all share the common goal of gaining access to the setting”. I found this to be very true. Recruiting respondents to tell their stories constantly required a different strategy, so the method for recruitment changed at almost every location. Each location required different techniques and ultimately resulted in different formats for the focus group sessions. Locating the respondents was often the most frustrating part of the research and demanded fast alternative solutions if one approach wasn’t working in the pub space on a given evening. While some of the respondents were taking part because they were invited, I recruited others by approaching them ‘cold’ in the pub, prior to the session. Finding the courage to approach potential respondents was very challenging. The most testing session is still crystal clear in my memory as I found myself in a pub in Queens, New York on a cold March Friday afternoon. It was difficult to approach these large drinking groups of Irish construction workers as they celebrated the end of a working week with a few pints. I had to ‘intrude’ and ask them if they would mind ‘answering a few questions’; this was personally challenging and suggested that alongside knowledge and skill, there may be a ‘personality’ requirement for this kind of research: a characteristic which I would refer to as *chutzpah*⁶ (to borrow a term) - a characteristic that combines four elements; courage, confidence, cheek and charisma.

In each case, once the individuals had been approached and ‘chatted up’ the second challenge was to ascertain their profile to establish that they would match the profile

-
- A Upper middle class or higher managerial, administrative or professional
 - B Middle class or intermediate managerial, administrative or professional
 - C1 Lower middle class or supervisory or clerical and junior managerial, administrative or prof.
 - C2 Skilled working class or skilled manual workers
 - D Working class or unskilled manual workers
 - E Lowest subsistence levels or state pensioners or widows or casual workers

⁶ *chutzpah* or *chutzpah* or *chutzpa n* meaning boldness coupled with supreme self-confidence

of the planned group for that evening. Initially I had planned to distribute a selector questionnaire for them to complete and facilitate in assigning them to the appropriate session, however this seemed intrusive and I decided to retain the questionnaires for use within the focus group session instead in order to gain further demographic information and to give a two minute 'settling in' period for the respondents before the session began.

In Ireland ...

In Ireland four sessions were held in total. Two sessions were held in Dublin, one professional and one working class group; and two sessions were held in Tramore, Co. Waterford, one professional and one working class. In Dublin, the urban sessions were held at two different venues. The first was held in *The Clonsilla Inn*, which is predominantly a working class pub in North Dublin. I recruited from the pub itself but had also located volunteers in the afternoon by talking to sales assistants in local shops. I established a point of contact and asked them to invite one or two other friends or family members. The second session was held in South Dublin at *The Step Inn*. This group was recruited from amongst employees at *Microsoft Inc.* and all the respondents were professional. In both cases once I explained that I was a student 'doing research' the pub generously provided a quiet room in the lounge and I supplied the TV and video to show the video material from Irish and UK advertising campaigns. The two rural sessions were held in *The Grand Hotel* in Tramore, Co. Waterford and the respondents were recruited via friends and contacts, ensuring a clear profile for both the professional and working class sessions. Again, once I explained to management the nature of the session, the hotel offered me the use of a quiet room adjacent to the bar and I provided the TV and video.

In the UK ...

In London recruitment techniques were varied. In *The Parkway Inn*, Wood Green, North London I intended to hold a professional, first generation group session. I had used a friend's client list to locate professionals and invite them along to the session. Unfortunately while this group was intended to be professional only, because of

attrition, I then recruited further numbers for the group from amongst the customers in the pub. The result was a mixed group of working class and professional consumers. However despite initial concerns that one sector would feel silenced by the other sector the focus group session was successful, and the alternative insights and experiences gave the session a richer vein and triggered alternative debates suggesting that homogenous groups are not necessarily the best structure and that something can be gained by introducing elements of heterogeneity.

In *The Bedford Inn*, Tooting Broadway, South London, I held a second-generation working class group. I recruited this group 'through the grapevine' and through friends because it is harder to locate second-generation Irish. The advantage of this form of recruiting means that you can reconfirm people's intention to attend the session beforehand. On both occasions the publicans offered quiet space for the group interviews and loaned TV and video to view the adverts.

The remaining two groups in London were recruited from the staff telephone directory at the *Institute of Education*, University of London. I located a group of professional first-generation consumers for one session and a group of professional second-generation consumers for the second session. These were the only groups not held in an authentic pub space but as mentioned above, I did ensure that the student bar provided pints of Guinness, (and other drinks if preferred) so the respondents could 'touch' the product.

In the USA ...

In New York I held several types of interview; focus group interviews similar to those held in Ireland and the UK, individual interviews with consuming audiences, interviews with prominent people in the city involved in Irish business development and with immigration, and a 'vox-pop'⁷ in New Jersey with a large group of second generation audiences. I also asked respondents in one setting to 'write' for me if they didn't have time to stay for a brief interview (see below).

⁷ *vox pop* derived from Latin *vox populi* or voice of the people. This is a series of short interviews carried out amongst a large group or in a shopping mall or busy street where respondents are randomly selected.

To set up the focus group interviews I selected pubs according to their client profile and built on that. For example in New York I went to *McCormacks*, a pub in Manhattan, which is frequented by professional consumers working in the city in banks, insurance, the UN etc. I spoke to the owner and ask him to point out some regulars who satisfied the profile for that group. I then approached a couple of these customers and asked them to bring along at least two other colleagues or friends, ensuring that respondents with a similar profile were recruited. They were invited to return the next day for a lunch time session.

To locate working class consumers I went to Queens⁸. I had also travelled to Queens to interview Fr. Colm Campbell, Director of the Irish Immigration Centre, and on completion of our interview I asked him to direct me to the 'best' pubs for my requirements, that is, the pubs most likely to facilitate my research. I went to *The Starting Gate* pub on a Friday afternoon. It was payday and an 'early finish' day and that ensured that the pub would be full of consumers in relatively good spirits and unwinding after a hard week. In this pub I approached customers myself and asked for volunteers in exchange for a pint of Guinness⁹

In New York it was very difficult to locate second-generation Irish consumers. However I was fortunate to identify and visit *Cryann's Bar* in New Jersey on the same evening that the Annual General Meeting for the Irish Festival Committee was being held. I had already interviewed the pub owner, Michael Cryann and he introduced me to the chairperson who subsequently invited me to attend the meeting and address the audience of approximately 40 members. I did this and asked people if they could a) give me 3-4 minutes of their time for a brief interview (*vox pop*), or b) longer to sit in groups and talk at length, or c) to write on a piece of paper what they did to make themselves feel Irish as second-generation Irish in New York. Most people were very keen to talk and stayed after the meeting to do just that. This session, where all respondents were second-generation middle class and mainly professional Irish, resulted in several individual interviews, a *vox pop*, three group interviews and some respondents' written notes. The session impressed on me the

⁸ Recognised as an Irish residential area for construction workers.

⁹ A pint of Guinness was always offered as an incentive in all groups although respondents did not always accept. On some occasions they selected an alternative drink.

need to be flexible and creative when researching. I had not 'planned' to meet this group in the first instance, and when the opportunity arose, and realising that I would not be able to hold focus group sessions similar to the others, I had to adapt to the situation. This event reinforced for me the fact that research can be an amalgamation of *planning* and *opportunity* and the researcher has to be ready for both.

The focus group sessions

The focus groups were held in pubs when possible and the aim of this, as mentioned above, was to generate the most authentic environment for the consumption of the product. All pubs were contacted prior to the sessions and some even had 'quiet rooms', often with video facilities that were made available to me. Otherwise I brought a video player and a portable TV to the pub and the sessions were set up in a quiet corner. Each focus group session began with a brief description about the research and introduction of myself and then of each respondent. I explained how the data would be used and offered respondents the opportunity to choose an alias if they preferred to remain anonymous, which none did. During this introduction I asked for each respondent's consent to use the findings in my work.

The respondents were asked to fill in a questionnaire and this served two purposes. First it provided me with basic demographic data, which was useful when analysing the sessions later and second the process enabled people to relax, learn each other's names, and gently enter into the mental framework for the focus group. Once the questionnaire had been completed I asked people to use the other side of the document in order to write down words they would use to describe the product, and what the product meant to them. They were also asked to note down any of the slogans they could remember associated with the product's advertising campaigns. The strategy behind this borrowed psychoanalytical approach of *free association* was two-fold. It allowed people to relax, get into the group atmosphere, focus on the notion of the product, and reduce nervousness. It was interesting to see how worried people became about 'performance' and 'getting it right'. I did reassure people at the beginning that there were no 'right or wrong' answers. I was just interested in what they had to say. Secondly the exercise produced very interesting data linked with

product association, slogan recall and the consumer's linguistic linkage and personal identification with the product and the advertising texts (see Chapters 5, 8 and 9).

By focusing on the list, people were given time to settle into the session and to begin to focus on the product and their associations with it. Once respondents completed this, the session then focused on three phases. First the respondents were asked to read their list of free associations and elaborate on the words. They all began with descriptive words about the product and then moved on to affective words with richer connotative value (see Chapters 8 and 9). From this list deeper conversations began, which allowed the respondents to shift into a more personal discussion about their relationship with the product.

The second phase was a textual analysis session, where I showed the groups a selection of adverts from various Guinness advertising campaigns used in Ireland and the UK and asked them to comment on the advertising texts. In Ireland I showed each group specific adverts from the Irish advertising campaign spanning 1969 to 1997 and from the UK advertising campaigns from 1928 to 1997. I showed the same adverts in the UK focus groups. In most cases people were familiar with the content of all contemporary texts due to the fact that UK and Irish TV is easily available. The only group not familiar with the Irish campaign was the second-generation UK group. In the USA however it was not so straightforward. As explained above, there had not been an electronic campaign to date for the US market, so I could not refer to US Guinness campaigns. For the first-generation groups I did show the classic Irish and UK material with which most were familiar, but second-generation respondents would not have been exposed to any of this material so I opted to eliminate these texts from those interviews. Furthermore, I could not draw on US campaign material because no material existed until late 1997 and so for those groups I limited myself to references to the product only.

Where adverts were shown, I invited the groups to comment and share their own readings of the advertising texts. These 'armies of semioticians' were fully engaged in this exercise and analysed the texts in an insightful manner. They then went beyond the text, offering contextual information from a historical perspective for the

older adverts that they could remember, elaborating on issues that arose and giving their personal 'stories' about the product, judging the advertising texts from a creative perspective, and marketing strategy perspective, and from their own personal perspectives. Once judged, they then went on to make offers and suggestions as to how the marketing people may have got it wrong, and how they thought it might be 'put right'.

These glimpses of consumer sovereignty, (Curran 1991, p. 96) continued to shine through despite the position Golding and Murdock (1991, p. 28) take when they argue that "consumer sovereignty is in any total sense clearly impossible - [since] nobody has access to a complete range of cultural goods as and when they might wish, without restriction". However these respondents clearly exhibited evidence of consumer sovereignty and consumer 'intelligence'¹⁰ (see Chapters 4, 5, 8 and 9). In the third phase of the focus group sessions, the respondents were ready to talk in a different way; they were now prepared to talk about their own experiences as migrants and about their lived experiences as minority groups in London and New York. The discussion moved away from the product and the text and centred completely on the audience. People spoke in general about links between 'Ireland and Guinness', 'Irishness, Guinness and 'home'', pubs and pub life for the Irish, and the social and cultural, and socio-political issues arising. They were asked about their national identity, what it meant to be Irish in Ireland and abroad, what the pub meant to them, and what Guinness meant to them.

Finally, I would like to note that Guinness (Ireland) provided me with merchandise to offer as a gift in a gesture of thanks for the Irish and UK focus group participants. At the end of each session they were invited to choose either a baseball hat or a spirit measure. They were not informed before that these items were to be offered. The only incentive I offered when I invited people to join the group was a pint of Guinness or another preferred drink.

¹⁰ I use the term 'intelligence' in the same way as the military do. That is 'a process of knowing', 'gathering information' and 'lateral thinking and creative problem solving'. At no time is the term used as a 'judgement'.

Qualitative versus quantitative

or

'The trouble with numbers' vs. 'the stories they tell'!

Audience measurement is not audience research

Wober 1981 (cited in Morley and Silverstone, 1991, p. 149)

"If a guy brought an elephant through that door and one of us said 'that's an elephant', some of the doubters would say 'that's an inference - that could be a mouse with a glandular condition'". Lang and Engel Lang (1991, p. 193) cite William Hungate, the speaker at the House Judiciary Committee debate for the impeachment of Richard Nixon, and go on to ask "how do we tell the difference between an elephant and an oversized mouse?" Not by just taking measurements, or by examining hundreds of mice to rule out that a particular elephant was a highly improbable aberration of a diminutive mammal. Rather, our determination follows from what we already know, from what we take for granted within our universe of discourse. It depends, in short, on context.

The trouble with numbers

Getting a clear picture of the consuming audience has been a challenge to researchers and theorists since the academic discipline first known as communication studies was born at the turn of the 20th Century. Consumption of television (and other media) is a complex activity and its interrogation has been met with various approaches; from statistically based quantitative survey techniques coming out of the American School of Communication Studies (ASCS)¹¹, and influenced by the Frankfurt School, to qualitative ethnographic techniques coming out of the British Cultural Studies School (BCS)¹², and the subsequent influences of other disciplines such as anthropology, literary criticism, linguistics, sociology and psychology.

¹¹ For example, Schramm, Laswell, Lazarsfeld, Katz, Cantril, and Klapper.

¹² For example, Williams, Hoggart, Thompson, Hall, and the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies.

The positivist tradition in the US focused on the cause and effect of media products on specific members of the audience, and in the first 50 years of the life of Communication Studies and its theoretical development, we can trace a rooted-ness in “clinical empiricism which substantially involves processes of methodological isolation and abstraction ... which has led media research up too many blind alleys” (Morley 1992, p. 174). Further to this, Ang (cited in Morley 1992, p 175) argues that even the contemporary methods of quantitative analysis (including ratings measurement and its discourse) reduces the viewers to standardised variables of viewing behaviour, excluding any other bases of identity and difference.

Hearing the stories

The limitations of quantitative techniques in research of this kind has been well documented and Morley & Silverstone (1991, p. 149) put it succinctly when they say that “statistical techniques are by their very nature disaggregating, inevitably isolating units of action from the contexts that make them meaningful”. In order to proceed then, with my analysis of the consumption of broadcasting and consumption of product, the very nature of the questions I am asking required me to take into account the “inscriptions of everyday life and the interweaving of domestic and public discourses” (1991, p. 151). Only qualitative techniques can support such a line of enquiry.

Silverstone (1990) argues that the consumption of television “is inevitably enmeshed with a range of other domestic practices and can only be properly understood in this context” (cited in Morley 1992, p.173). While I am looking at the consumption of a media product in the form of advertising and at the consumption of a brand, as opposed to the consumption of television, I support Morley and Silverstone’s principle that the ‘act of consumption’ needs to be understood in context.

My research demands a description of the audience’s experiences; from the moment they engage with the product and its media message, to the retelling, in everyday life, of the meanings surrounding it. In order to attain this description, and understand and treat the material in all its complexity, the prime requirement is to draw on the qualitative, anthropological and broadly ethnographic approaches from

the varied disciplines out of which they have evolved. Morley (1992, p. 173) suggests that “such anthropological perspectives allow us to re-focus television viewing in the broader context of studies of consumption as a symbolic as well as material process” and while he refers specifically to television this can be argued to hold across media consumption and to include advertising in all its forms.

By observing the dynamics and meaning making surrounding the act of consumption of the text and product, it was possible to see if the producers and audience differed (or not) in those readings. Additionally, it was also possible to observe how the audience use the product and text to shape their “local” environments and their lived histories. In order to do this, I traced the rituals and myths surrounding the text and product in order to map and understand the rich narrative that supports and carries the product and its consumers (see Chapter 4).

Finally, if, as Morley and Silverstone (1991, p. 152) suggest, there is a *rule-governed process* in operation then in order to locate those sets of rules and determine their point of origin; (the producer, the audience, or somewhere else,) then the approach that I have used is the most appropriate. Linking with this observation, Anderson (1987a, p. 164 cited in Morley 1992, p. 184) when discussing the consumption of television, suggests that “family viewing, for example, is no more casual and spontaneous than the family dinner. It is accomplished by the competent actors with great improvisational skill”. This suggests that the rules governing the organisation of food preparation, organisation of the table and serving sequence, the formalities of seating, the utensils used etc. are all part of a social script. In this research I strive to understand the nature of the social script or ideology that has been set in motion amongst the consumers of Guinness and the consumers of its advertising. If I were to analyse ‘the family eating a meal’ I would need to be *aware* of the rules that exist if I am to understand the family functioning. Similarly, if Guinness is consumed according to a rule-governed process then I need to locate the rules themselves, and I need to identify the writer of the rules; the consumer? the producer? or some other? (see the discussion in Chapter 3, around the question “who is inscribing the text?”).

Qualitative weakness

When using any methodology, it is essential to be aware of the strengths *and* the weakness of the approach and one of the problems with qualitative research is that we can not see the gap between the audience's thought processes and their utterances. Admittedly this is also a weakness in quantitative research, but as the approach in this research is wholly qualitative, it needs to be noted. Lewis (1991, p. 73) reminds us that

we cannot ... watch meanings as they are being made or transformed in someone's brain: we are forced to rely on the account people are prepared to give us. There is, as psychoanalysts testify, a gap between what people think and what people tell us about those thoughts.

Lewis goes on to remind us that we cannot “*see* the connection between people's thoughts and their social history, we can only surmise” (1991, p. 73). He warns the researcher that she will need to “rummage through the tangled and confusing social and semiotic worlds that make up people's environment in the search for clues. Like a jury in a murder trial, since we did not witness the event we are examining, the best we can do is interpret the evidence in an attempt to reconstruct it. A vital part of that evidence will be what people choose to tell us” (1991, p. 73).

Morley and Silverstone (1991, p. 154) caution us that self consciousness or reflexivity is needed regarding the inevitable partiality of any analysis and they cite Lull, who warns that rigorous and *systematic forms of data collection* and interpretation are just as necessary in qualitative as in quantitative research.

As with the collection of data, there is cause for concern during the analysis process too. Geertz (1973, p. 15) suggests that when we approach analysis “we begin with our own interpretations of what our informants are up to, or think they are up to, and then systematize those”. However Geertz (1973) also suggests that rather than giving up, the researcher must consider the structures of inference and implication which constitute the discourse of everyday exchange. The researcher is in an *Alice in Wonderland* world, where communication is vague and meanings are implicit. Morley and Silverstone (1991, p. 157) summarise on a similar note when they point

out that “ethnographic accounts are essentially contestable, just as cultural analysis is a necessarily incomplete business of guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses.” Triangulation is often suggested as a solution to the problem. It is suggested that by involving various data relating to the same phenomenon gleaned from different points in the fieldwork and in different settings we can avoid the limitations of ethnography vagueness and second-guessing.

I argue that my research has been designed with these concerns in mind. The use of expert interviews with the producers, structuralist analysis of the text itself, (initially without the influence of the readers) individual interviews and focus group interviews with the consumers, where they carried out word association exercises and textual analysis of the adverts, and continuous observation in each pub setting, are in themselves a *system of checking*. The methodological tools are so varied and diverse in nature that while each will have its own innate weakness, the combined strengths ensure the limiting of flawed practice.

As the research draws heavily on many sites the multidisciplinary approach seems to act as the most useful term to collectively describe my actions, and this philosophy embraces all the concerns of the research. I have been able to situate and examine the producers, text and audiences in their appropriate space and I have considered various methods of engagement. In its essence the qualitative approaches support my concerns with production and the text itself, as well as supporting the interaction between the audience and its environment.

The Irish, migrant, female researcher

Before I conclude, I must describe the ethical questions that engaged me and occupied me during the process of this research, and the main questions recurring were about my place and my role in the research process. In Chapter 1, I describe how my experiential moments and academic moments combined to help me formulate my interest in the relationship between ‘the consumption of goods’, ‘Guinness’, ‘migration’, and ‘national identity’. At this point I need to say

something about being an Irish female emigrant investigating Irishness in Dublin, London and New York.

As I said in Chapter 1, the research question developed due to the fact that as the researcher, I am inextricably bound with the lived experience that I am researching, and I am researching this *because* of my lived experiences as well as my academic interest in the subject. Who is more likely to be driven to explore the spaces of ethnicity, gay and lesbian sexuality, post colonialism etc. than members of those spaces? However, I am not concerned with a 'justification of the right to research' nor do I wish to open up a debate about 'the 'authenticity' of the researcher'. Rather I am acknowledging that as a researcher, I must constantly *ask* questions about my place in the research. And while I cannot give answers to all the questions, the questions themselves are significant.

The recurring and most pertinent questions were:

- i) Does my profile as an Irish female emigrant investigating Irishness make a difference to me, to my interviews with Irish consumers, and to my interviews with the producers?
- ii) Does 'being Irish, female and a migrant' effect the way I engaged with the research questions.
- iii) Do I experience *difference* when interviewing consumers as opposed to producers?
- iv) Are there any ethical problems or dilemmas as a result of my profile?
- v) Did respondents return specific sets of information because the researcher, was 'Irish, female, migrant'?
- vi) Does my profile give me an advantage or a disadvantage in the research process?
- vii) Do I exploit or benefit from 'insider knowledge'? (It can be an advantage or disadvantage).
- viii) In general, was I likely to feed respondents specific sets of information – leading them to specific sets of answers?
- ix) When I carried out the specialist readings of the advertising texts, was it independent of the influence of audience readings?

x) When the audiences were deconstructing the texts, did I lead them in any way?

By raising this series of questions I am reminded about the complexity of the role of researcher. These issues are prevalent in all aspects of research and should engage the researcher throughout the process. I have been conscious of the questions above and I have attempted to answer some below.

My profile as an Irish female migrant investigating Irishness *did*, and *did not*, make a difference to me, to my interviews with Irish consumers, and to my interviews with the producers. As an Irish female migrant, I had access and insight to issues, but I also had bias and subjectivity (which cyclically gave me access and insight). When I interviewed Irish consumers, I was more sensitive to some issues than ‘an outsider’ would have been, and I was, through shared experience, able to communicate an understanding of their experiences, thus facilitating a more communicative session. Also, through shared history, I was able to tap into and identify with references and nuances without stopping to ask for explanations.

When I interviewed the producers I did experience a mixture of scenarios. In general, the marketing managers at Guinness Ireland and Guinness UK engaged with me at a highly professional level, and I felt that I was perceived as a professional researcher, and the discourse retained a ‘marketing’ element throughout. However in the US, when I interviewed the Guinness marketing manager, I felt that I was ‘gushed at’, because I was Irish – a wee *colleen*¹³ all the way from Ireland. The discourse remained professional, from a marketing perspective, but a sense of ‘stereotyping’ prevailed. In the US, I also interviewed the advertising agency’s accounts manager. He was a cockney English man and I found myself questioning his credentials for dealing with an Irish product such as Guinness, because he was ‘English’ – I did not encounter this reaction in myself when I spoke to the ‘English’ marketing managers in the UK. So the bias I was feeling was thankfully limited to one very specific moment.

¹³ *Colleen* Gaelic for ‘girl’. Sometimes used as a girl’s first name - in the US only.

When I interviewed consumers, I found that the second-generation Irish in the US behaved similarly to the US Guinness marketing manager. They were 'delighted' to help, because I was an Irish girl needing help! Additionally, however, they were very pleased that I was interested in them, and in their experiences as second-generation Irish. Interestingly, I did not encounter 'gushing attitudes' amongst the second-generation Irish in the UK similar to those I encountered in the US, but the reasons for these differences become clearer throughout the thesis. In London first-generation males were happy to help because I was female, (and Irish), and my interaction with female respondents in London was not marked in any particular way. In Ireland, all groups engaged at a different level to their UK and USA counterparts. They seemed to *really* enjoy the opportunity to engage with and discuss the product and the adverts, and to talk about their relationship with the product, and in Ireland males and females expressed how they 'wanted to help me' by taking part in the focus group sessions and were very concerned that I was buying them pints of Guinness because I was "a student with no money"!

I was conscious of my subjectivity, and my profile as a female, Irish emigrant, throughout this work. This was especially so in chapter 7, where I struggled with the theory around racism, and inclusions and subsequent exclusions. I struggled because I realised that by arguing that the pub space, to support Irish migrants and their community, must be an 'excluding' space, I was arguing that the Irish pub is also a racist space. I had great difficulty writing this chapter and it wasn't until I identified my subjectivity and stepped away from it that I could approach it objectively (see Chapter 7).

While I touched this research by being 'female, Irish and a migrant', this research also touched me. I saw second-generation Irish men in London who were lonely for a family life, but found only 'a pub and drink' as a substitute, and it saddened me deeply. One man in Ireland spoke about his alcoholic father and his shattered childhood, and I cried when I re-read the transcript. I met Irish women in the US who were using crystal glass, Irish linen and their mother's recipe for Irish stew, as bridges to an imagined space called 'home', and it reminded me of my own aches for 'home'.

I asked myself if it was ethical to use someone else's personal moments of joy and pain, in order to describe an academic issue that they are unaware of and probably not interested in. Listening to men and women my own age talking about strategies they would use to 'make their British- or American-born children Irish', I was reminded me that while I theorise about the condition of 'being a migrant', I must remember that there are *real people* in the story.

Conclusion

This chapter has described the empirical approaches used in this research, and reminds the reader that the research is multidisciplinary, combining traditional qualitative methodology together with contemporary market research techniques, giving the work a large element of originality. Consequently, the wealth of findings that the methods generated is only partially presented in this work. The approach generated such rich data, that numerous papers will follow based on the material that I could not use due to limitations of space (see Chapter 11, where I discuss future work).

Due to the nature of product and the differentiated audience, the circuit of culture enabled me to develop this broad empirical base and generate a *richer* text than would have been otherwise possible. For example, the research showed that audiences in Ireland, and in the UK and USA, use Guinness as a metaphor for *Irishness, Community and Irish Identity*. An exploration of the product and its signifiers unlocked myths and rituals surrounding it and demonstrated the role of the product and its consumption in the lived experiences of the consumer. In the UK and USA, the exploration of this act of consumption uncovered issues such as racism, intra-racism, hybridity and authenticity. In the course of the focus group interviews and their analysis the issues that emerged were inextricably linked with the overall research.

Most significantly, the empirical process enabled me to not only uncover a rich tapestry of data but it facilitated me in discovering issues that had previously not

been considered. I entered the fieldwork phase of this research with a set of questions in mind. However, given the nature of the empirical approach, new and unconsidered questions and answers were returned. For example the analysis of the transcripts raised many issues that I had not originally associated with the research area; however on further analysis I realised that they are integral issues that could not be excluded from the picture. I argue that the empirical process has moulded the thesis. Its form has been determined by the research apparatus and has metamorphosed into a story that deals with issues previously not considered.

Secondly, the methodological approach has had 'added-value' injected into it. While basing the work on Johnson's circuit of culture, it was crucial, in places, to develop the approach further. For example, building on Johnson's model of specialist readings in the text site, I included Cook's (1992) wider approaches to consider text *and* context. Moreover, I extended Johnson's model to include non-specialist readings too, and the audience's deconstructions of the advertising texts are rich, varied, critical and intelligent.

Finally, the innovative empirical methodological approach will be of great value for market researchers, and it is timely, as traditional market research techniques are at a point at which research strategies, which have been developed to the n^{th} degree, are in need of a rethink. The combination of academic and market research techniques that I used contributes significantly to the market research industry. It offers a fresh new model that allows for a more thorough understanding of the relationship between the product and the target audience, which in turn allows marketing departments and advertisers to cement the relationship between the brand and its consumers. The project has enabled me to extend the theoretical framework of the circuit of culture and develop an extended empirical framework for other researchers to build on and use when investigating products with a strong brand identity.

By understanding the structure, process and dynamics involving the producer, the consumer, the text and the product, and the pub space I could identify systems at work. The ideological systems of emigration, production and marketing and consumption could be excavated. I have found that Guinness is sometimes used to bridge a link between Ireland and diasporic spaces, family members or peer groups.

It can also be found bridging a link between the consumer and the wider social circle. This thesis contains a rich description and interpretative account of the lives, values, and processes of the producers and the consuming audience and the following sections and their respective chapters will tell the story of migration, production, consumption, moments of remembering, and imaginings of home.

Section 1 – *Product and Text*

In this section, I explore the first two sites on Johnson's circuit of culture (1983). The following three chapters are dedicated to my investigations into the sites of production and text. In Chapter Three *Producing Guinness, Producing Irishness*, I investigate the marketing departments and advertising agencies that carry out Guinness's market research, strategising and campaigns. Here I locate the varied attitudes and perceptions of the campaigns, the product, and the consumers from the marketing perspective. In this chapter I highlight the core differences in the marketing attitudes found in the three geographic locations, and look at issues surrounding these differences in attitude and approach.

In Chapter Four *Producing Guinness, Rituals, Myths & Histories*, I document and describe the rituals and myths that surround the product and locate not one but two sites for such production. The producers themselves have generated some rituals and myths surrounding the product and there are certain rituals that are determined by the nature of the product and its behaviour. However there is another set of 'producers', and they are the consuming and non-consuming audiences. They too have generated rituals, myths and social histories around the product and the extent of this finding is noteworthy.

The final chapter in this section is Chapter Five *Reading Irishness*. Here I carry out a specialist reading of selected adverts from Ireland and the UK. This is key to locating Irishness, or its absence, in the advertising texts. In this chapter I extend the methodological approach and marry semiological tools with Cook's (1992) 'hierarchy of discourse analysis'. Coupled with this I include audience deconstructions of the texts and comments from the producers where relevant.



Chapter 3

Producing Guinness, Producing Irishness

Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the relationship between product and consumer by examining it from the perspective of 'production'. Also in this chapter, and in Chapter 4, I consider the site of production and examine the behaviour of the marketing machinery in operation in Guinness' marketing departments and in Guinness' advertising agencies in the Ireland, the UK and the USA. The chapter is divided into two sections. Section One explores the practices of production and here I document the histories and strategies of each respective country's marketing and advertising philosophy. As a result, I was able to identify the differences between countries regarding their perception of their campaigns, their perception of each other's campaigns and their perception of their consuming audiences. For example, the chapter examines the production of the advertising campaigns and finds that the strategies implemented by the agencies in Ireland are in sharp contrast with the campaign strategies in the UK and elsewhere. In those campaigns, *Irishness* is not necessarily a key component of the product, and the 'Irish migrant as consumer' is not necessarily an interpellated market segment. From this exploration, I identify the extent to which each campaign evokes *Irishness*, and theorise why exclusion occurs.

Section Two in this chapter raises important issues about a) the audience as 'independent readers', b) the commodification of ethnic identity, c) absorption into new diasporic spaces, and d) the underlying control of the marketing machinery by the dominant consumer. In my empirical exploration, I demonstrate that the site of production is an essential point in the circuit in the first instance. By focusing on the site of production, I was able to locate and identify issues such as the exclusion of women and gay men, symbolic usage of the product despite exclusion, absorption

into 'white social groups' and the globalisation and commodification of ethnicity. Finally the methodological approach afforded me the opportunity to make connections within the data that may not have been previously considered.

Furthermore this chapter demonstrates the need to inspect and give importance to the site of 'production' even when traditional perspectives would prescribe a focus on 'audience' and/or on 'text'. It is an empirical demonstration of the value of 'production' as a site on the circuit of culture.

Section 1 - Practices of Production

For both Richard Johnson (1983) and Paul du Gay *et al.* (1997), the exploration of the site of 'production' allows the researcher to examine 'culture' and 'economy' as distinct and separate, and to examine the 'cultural' dimensions of life as largely 'superstructural' phenomena (1997, p.2). For du Gay, production is "one of the central processes and practices through which meaning is made and a key moment in what has been termed the 'circuit of culture'" (1997, p. 1). This is the only site that du Gay *et al.* retained and left unchanged when they built on Johnson's original circuit.

The process of production plays a large part in the construction of an ideological construct such as nationalism or nationalistic imagery. I argue that Guinness, as a product, carries *Irishness* embedded in the essence of the artefact and this *Irishness* is both lauded and denied, depending on the marketing context. To ascertain the role and impact of marketing on the overall process I draw on interviews carried out with marketing managers and advertising executives working for Guinness in Ireland, the UK, and the USA. To delve further still, and to avoid 'politically correct' company 'mission statements', I also spoke to executives at the advertising agencies appointed by Guinness in Dublin, London and New York in an effort to generate a balanced picture.

Producing Guinness and its Irishness

The role of the marketers in the production of Irishness.

In this section I describe the marketing strategies and attitudes of Guinness marketing in Ireland, UK, and USA. As discussed in the previous chapter, in Ireland I interviewed Donagh Lane, marketing manager at Guinness, and their advertising agency's brand manager Trevor Jacobs at Arks Dublin. In the UK I interviewed brand marketing executive John Hosking at Guinness UK and account executive Neil Quick at the London advertising agency Ogilvy and Mather. In the USA I interviewed sales and marketing manager Connie Doolan at Guinness and Neil Cotton at the Manhattan based advertising agency Weiss Whitten Staglione. I was impressed by the marked differences in how each marketing department approached the brand and its differentiated audiences in the three countries.

Below I compare, contrast and comment on the very different strategies and attitudes of the marketing departments in Dublin, London, and New York. However, while speaking to those involved in 'production', that is the marketing executives at Guinness and their advertising agencies, I was cautioned by Graeme Salaman's (cited in du Gay 1997, p. 9) observations, when he comments that companies nurture a 'culture of production' within a production system. In other words, they nurture their own 'culture' within an organisation; for example, a 'Guinness philosophy' could be in place for the employees to buy into, so that 'production' will conform to the 'correct' ideology, practice and outcome. I remained conscious of this and tried to be vigilant so as to retain the 'true story' and where possible to counter the veil of 'corporate philosophy'. And although realistically this was difficult to police it was useful to be aware of its possible presence.

The Irish Story

When speaking to the Irish marketing arm of Guinness, (Donagh Lane at Guinness, Trevor Jacobs at Arks Ireland) the looming question, prompted by empirical data from the *audience* focus groups (see Section Three *Audience*) was "do your consumers link 'Ireland' and 'Guinness'?" Followed by a second question, "How do they forge this link?" This raised further questions, "Is the link between 'Ireland'

and ‘Guinness’ driven by the economy-focused production engine, in the guise of the marketing and advertising strategies utilised by Guinness?” or, and this raises a theoretically interesting question, “Is ‘meaning’ being generated from the audience’s side of the fence?” This would challenge the production theory that the producers are the inscribers of the ideological and other meanings into the advertising text and product. In all, these questions reiterate the importance of making ‘production’ a site of interrogation, and emphasise the usefulness of the interviews with the marketing executives.

Irishness as ‘Core Essence’ of the Brand

During a lengthy interview at Guinness Ireland, Donagh Lane spoke about the ‘core essence of Guinness’. He described how the marketing department, in their search for a model which described ‘the kind of core talk for the Guinness brand’, were working with an earlier idea from focus group research that pointed to the idea that ‘Guinness is the spirit of Ireland’. They felt that this was too broad, and were looking for a more tangible meaning; they found a “set of words to describe those at the heart of Guinness and ... would probably also be something you could say ... was Ireland’s as well”. In other words, they looked to consumer data and found from these respondents that the core values that were Guinness were also the perceived core values of Ireland. As far as the audience was concerned, they were mutually interchangeable values.

This form of branding allowed the product to fall into one of two categories, a brand that people ‘associate’ with Ireland, or a brand ‘associated with and intrinsic to living in’ Ireland. Lane likened *Coke*, *Marlboro*, and *Budweiser* to brands that one associates with the country of origin. These “are obviously American brands and very much a part of popular culture”, [Likewise] “*Waterford Glass* is very obviously Irish, but not necessarily intrinsic to the day to day.” However unlike other brands which carry the country of origin as part of the brand image, Guinness is described as behaving differently; and is reportedly ‘associated with’ and ‘intrinsic to living in’ Ireland. For the consumers, “Guinness seemed to be more intrinsically Irish than any of the other brands ... and more integral to daily life” (Lane 1998). More

interesting still, this attitude is found amongst Guinness consumers and non-consumers alike.

Given that non-consumers also have an 'attitude' towards the product, it strongly suggests that the brand reaches beyond the imagination of the consumer alone; it also has a place in the daily life of non-Guinness drinkers and non-drinkers. This was reinforced by Lane at Guinness Ireland, and by my own consumer data (where respondents described Mothers, or Grandmothers, who did not drink Guinness themselves but had strong beliefs and attitudes about the product (see Chapter Four). Lane also describes this interesting phenomenon saying "everybody in Ireland believes the Guinness brand is theirs ... not everybody drinks the product, but there is a strong sense of ownership, even amongst people who don't drink Guinness". Lane went on to demonstrate this by describing an engaging scenario whereby the marketing department regularly receive feedback from non-consumers who wish to express dislike or objection to a new campaign.

DL - You find in research, that advertising is taking the brand in a new direction, and some of the most vocal critics of change would be from people who don't drink Guinness, but they're acting like 'product loyals'.

I was aware of this 'ownership' and 'identification' that exists amongst non-Guinness consumers and non-drinkers from my 'consumer data'. I think it is a remarkable issue, and possibly unique to this product. A possible explanation for this phenomenon could be found in 'cult following'. Here marketers utilise strategies intentionally, and sometimes unintentionally, to generate cult status for their product, but this doesn't explain the Guinness phenomenon fully. Cult following is found around products and services where the consumer perceives herself as 'special' and 'belonging to a sub culture' because she buys this product or service. For example teenagers are currently accessing *Bolt Inc*, or *Bolt.com* as they know it. The cult site is a platform where young adults discuss and criticise popular culture, from cars and clothes to *Backstreet Boys* and *Britney Spears*¹. Other cult

¹ http://www.entrepreneur.com/Your_Business/YB_SegArticle/0,4621,287125----2-,00.html Accessed 23rd Nov. 2001

products include the *Vespa*², *Starbucks Coffee* and *Coors Beer*³ (before it went national it would sell for \$50.00 a case in US States where it wasn't available); and the 1975 film, *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*, and *Star Trek*, with its long serving TV series and spin-off films, are good examples of cult media products. However, cult following does not normally overflow beyond its 'cult loyal' followers and influence non-consumers. On the contrary, when we examine Guinness, we see that there is an overflow and impact on Irish non-consumers too.

Custodians of Guinness

The best way to explain and understand this is to posit that not only are there strong associations in which the brand is perceived as synonymous with Ireland and Irishness, but that the audience, made up of consumers and non-consumers, perceives the product as theirs. It belongs to them. Donagh Lane confirms this when he comments that "we don't really own the Guinness brand in this company, we are kind of custodians of it, for the Irish people, it's like we're the national museum or something, it's not ours...". Here Lane spoke like a curator talking about a national treasure. It prompted me to ask the following questions; "Is this how Guinness is perceived by the nation?", "Is it 'a national treasure' or highly valuable artefact, belonging to the nation-wide audience?". In keeping with this line of thinking, Lane went on to talk about nationalistic tendencies surrounding Guinness.

DL - I think that people tend to be intensely nationalistic when it comes to Guinness ... [for example] there is a very fundamental belief that English people do not understand Guinness and you can't get a decent pint or bar staff [in England].

Extending the argument that the Irish nation considers the product to be *theirs*, the same attitude can be located outside the boardroom's marketing reports. Attitudes of *ownership* and *protectionism* continue to present themselves as real attitudes with real ramifications. For example during a threat of strike action at Guinness Ireland in

² http://www.ginkopress.com/_cata/_artd/vespa1.htm Accessed 23rd Nov. 2001

³ http://www.entrepreneur.com/Your_Business/YB_SegArticle/0,4621,287125----3-,00.html Accessed 23rd Nov. 2001

2001 it was announced via the media that as a result of the strike action, there would be a shortage of Guinness in Irish pubs. The *Irish Independent* carried the headline “We can cope with plagues and strikes, but hands off our pints” (O’Connor 2001). The use of the possessive ‘our pints’ suggests that the journalist is speaking for himself and the readers when he issues the warning. Furthermore, it could be described as a devious management strategy to put nationwide pressure on the striking workers by evoking the collective sense of ownership of the product to offend the public, a public whose lack of support would greatly damage the striker’s image.

This fact, that non-consumers, like consumers, feel that the product is theirs, reinforces for me the theory that Guinness is not simply a product. It is a cultural anchor for Irish identity. It has a place in the lived experience of many. If it were any other product, it would not sustain this ‘life’. But because the audience have breathed life into it, animated it, and given it a place in the narrative of their daily lives, it has a persona, role and function that is unique. This is important for the product and for the consumers and producers in Ireland, but it becomes even more interesting, significant and meaningful when we take this knowledge and use it to explore the diasporic spaces in London and New York (see below).

When I asked Lane if this was unusual behaviour for a product, in Ireland or elsewhere he replied that in Ireland it was unique. In America, *Coke*, *Marlboro* and *Budweiser* do evoke ‘Americanness’ but, he pointed out, when you think ‘America’ you don’t necessarily think ‘Coke’, whereas with Guinness, “when you say one, you think of the other and they are ... fundamentally linked”.

DL - The conclusion we came to was that Guinness and Ireland seem to be interchangeable and that seems to be the case more than any other brand in any other country.

And so, if Guinness and Ireland are interchangeable images and signifiers, then it is understandable that consumers AND non-consumers would identify with the product. Marketing can target a differentiated audience, but nationhood transverses demographic fragmentors and market led boundaries, and so any individual, male or

female, young or old, drinker of Guinness or not, who describes themselves as Irish, will consequently identify with a symbolic image of Irishness. The fact that this symbol happens to be a commodity and an alcoholic drink does not discourage Grandmothers, Aunts, Mothers, holders of the Pledge⁴ etc. from identifying with 'Guinness' as a symbol of Ireland, and 'nationhood'. As anticipated, national identity and community membership pre-exist and override marketing campaigns.

The 'dueling' audience and producer

In this section, I explore the relationship between the consumer (and non-consumer), and the producer, in order to locate 'who is driving the content of the advertising text?' and 'who is embedding 'Irishness' into that text?' In contemporary literary theory there are polemic positions regarding the role of the producer or the encoder, and the role of the reader/audience/consumer or decoder. The ideological meaning in the text is believed by some⁵ to be embedded by the producer, and by others⁶, it is thought to be injected by the consumer or audience when reading or decoding the text.

Like a pair of duelling banjos, the consumer and producer in the Guinness picture both play an important part. The relationship between the two seems to be similar to a complex dance that requires a leader, and a follower, who then change places, the follower becoming the leader and vice versa. The relationship between the consumer and the company seem similar. Before Guinness had a formalised advertising presence, there was already an attitude and relationship in existence between the consumer and the product. According to Sibley (1985, p. 29) "long before the Brewery ever thought of advertising - in fact, long before advertising as we now know it even existed - writers and artists were merrily promoting Guinness for no charge whatsoever". The product already occupied a place in the lore and daily lives of the audience as it was reflected in stories, songs, rhymes and illustrations. Prior to

⁴ The *Pledge* or Vow of Abstinence, is an oath commonly sworn during an Irish Catholic's Confirmation Ceremony at the age of 12 or 13. The individual 'pledges' to abstain from alcohol. This vow was introduced by the Pioneer Association in 1898, in order to address increasing alcohol abuse. <http://www.pioneertotal.ie/news.html> accessed on 23/10/2001

⁵ E.g. Gramsci, Althusser, Barthes etc.

⁶ E.g. Hall, Ang, Morley etc.

any formal advertising, artists were writing Guinness into popular culture and reflecting what was already in the nation's imagination and social history.

This does raise the question 'why?' "Why was 'Guinness' such a compelling product for the audience's imagination?" I can only offer supposition in answer to this question, and here it is worth considering a comment made by Donagh Lane when he described Guinness (the company) as being one of the "guardians of the spirit of the nation". Lane describes several national movements who "saw themselves as being guardians of the spirit of the nation", the Church, the State, the GAA⁷, and the *Fianna Fail* political party.

DL - Even today there is a sense that Guinness and the Church and the State, the G.A.A. and *Fianna Fail*, are kind of the pillars of Irish Society

Perhaps we could suggest that the role Guinness played in the structure of Irish society was so important to the collective nation that an absence of 'interaction', 'lore', 'song' and 'rhyme' surrounding the product and company would have been even more unusual. Anderson, in his discussions around nationhood (1991, p. 133) reminds us that 'language' is an important means of communication but he cautions us that "it is always a mistake to treat languages in the way that certain nationalist ideologues treat them – as *emblems* of nation-ness, like flags, costumes, folk-dances, and the rest". He argues that language has the capacity for generating imagined communities, and building particular solidarities. However, in Ireland, 'language' is not a readily available device for "building solidarities" as the administrative vernacular during British rule was 'English' and the use of Gaeilge⁸ was prohibited (see Chapter 9). As a result, "English elbowed Gaelic out of most of Ireland" (1991, p.78), and now the *Irish* language is only spoken fluently by 3% of the population. In its absence, other emblems of nation-ness have had to 'do the work', and so alongside "flags, folk dances and the rest", I argue that Guinness has played a part in helping to generate imagined communities and imaginings of nationhood.

⁷ Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) A sports organisation that features in most Irish towns and cities. It controls Irish football and hurling, and is usually an important social feature in the community.

⁸ Gaeilge – the Irish Language

The First Advert

Before Guinness advertising launched its first advert, there was already a set of attitudes and beliefs surrounding the product. Consumers believed that Guinness was a source of nourishment and the product carried a value of 'being good for you' and 'giving you strength'. According to Donagh Lane, this association "came from the consumer, and it came from the time when Guinness was the drink of choice for the working man. Diet was pretty poor, people didn't have a huge amount of money, and at the end of the day Stout is a type of 'food'".

DL - These men carried out physically arduous work and they were the dockers, the drovers, the guys who worked ten hours a day, six days a week, sweating and so on, and they would also be the best pint men and they would go to the pub in the evening and drink 10 or 12 pints

The first Guinness advert finally appeared in several press adverts on 7th February 1929 and carried the already believed sentiment that 'Guinness was good for you', it was pure, health giving and possessed nourishing properties. Ten years later Gilroy picked up on this and reflected it in his now famous 1939 'Guinness for strength' and 'Guinness is good for you' posters. The audiences' beliefs were given back to them, and I would argue that this is an example of the audience driving the campaign. To continue the duelling banjo metaphor, the consumer seem to have played the first riff and Guinness responded to it, by reflecting it back to the audience with some additional creative twists.

Who is writing Irishness into Guinness?

Writing Ireland on the Bottle

It could thus be argued, based on the description above, that the advertising campaign and advertising text was, on inception, led by the audience. The consumer associated the product with a value, and the marketing machinery reflected that back. This gives rise to the next question, 'who is inscribing the product with its Irish symbolism?' and 'who is injecting this reading into the text?' The product and its advertising text seem to occupy an unusual place. It has a reader-base of brand

loyals and brand switchers and it has non-consumers. But unlike other products, the Irish non-consumer has a loud voice and she too feels a sense of ownership towards the product. I argue that this product was given much of its identity and Irishness by the consumer and non-consumer, and Guinness Ireland is reflecting that identity directly back to the consumer.

In Ireland, before Guinness had developed into a commodity with a sophisticated marketing arm, there was not only a set of associations with 'health' and 'goodness' surrounding the product, there was also a system of rituals and acts. Indeed Lane, at Guinness Ireland, agrees that the link between Guinness and every day life in Ireland can be found in the 'pub-lives of the consumer' and may have originated there. For Lane "the pub life is fundamental to Irish popular culture and Guinness became the primary drink in pub life. It was through 'the pub' and the 'Guinness association of the pub', that the mental linking occurred for the consumer. To emphasise this point we can look to Kearns (1997) who describes 1940's research into the social importance of the pub. The study comments that "there is a close relationship between the pub and the drinker - a state of affairs in which they are part of an institution to which they belong" (1997, p. 27). Kearns likens this to the relationship of members of a political organisation to their party or a congregation to its church.⁹ Lane takes this further and suggests that some of the values that would have been found in Irish society such as 'a strong sense of community, and 'everything done in communities' was key. He suggests that alcohol "is basically the lubricating oil of these kind of community events" and "Guinness is in pole position as a particular brand of alcohol" for these events and occasions. In the key moments in life in Ireland, drink is traditional and plays a strong part at births, weddings and funerals.

DL - any time there's any occasion for it, it's sort of a landmark ... it's a life ... everybody goes to the pub and has a few drinks and I think that's part of what makes us intrinsic.

This is how the cycle of associations between the product and Irishness began. Long before Guinness and its marketing arm were concerned with issues such as the

⁹ Mass-Observation (Study Group), *The Pub and the People* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1945) p.18 in Kearns K *Dublin Pub Life and Lore An Oral History* Dublin: Gill & Macmillan 1997, p. 27

brand's essence, the essence of the brand had already been born in the social lives of the Irish community. I would therefore argue that the brand's essence originates in the pub space and in the lives of the people who used that space as their community. The consumer or reader has inscribed the product and text with its meaning; and, as mentioned above, this becomes even more interesting and significant when we explore the Irish community in London and New York (see below). There, I argue that the Irish in Ireland, and as a diasporic community in London or New York, depend on the pub as a site of community and a site for celebration, memorial, and marking life's significant moments of passage. And it is here that the product exemplifies the rituals and myths that are injected into the product.

And who is inscribing the Text?

We can see from the outline above that the consumers or audience seem to be the actors who created the link between Guinness and Ireland; and then went on to write that value on to the product. We have even seen examples of the consumer writing the text. However I did suggest that this was a game of duelling banjos, and if the audience is active, then we have to ask 'what is the producer doing?'

In establishing the essence of Irishness in the product, and audiences associations with the symbolism of the product, it is now necessary to explore the process of injecting Irishness into the contemporary textual campaigns in Ireland. I asked Donagh Lane if 'injecting the product's advertising text with Irishness' was a conscious premeditated act on the production side of the fence. Was the inscription of Irishness and Ireland an active inscription? He replied that it is something they are doing, but not necessarily in a direct way. He explained that the conclusion they had come to was that Guinness marketing had embedded some values in the campaign and therefore possibly into the product too. However, there was a large part of the campaign that has been built up by the consumer, the general public.

DL - and this seems to be a feature of Guinness again and again, consumers would take the brand and will build it further themselves.

Lane proposes that this is a feature of Irishness. He suggests that there is “an element of ‘taking something and personalising it’ that seems to be a feature of Ireland and I think that’s what happens with Guinness ... there’s such a strong sense of ownership that consumers take it and play with it.” Lane raises an interesting point and there are many examples in my data of consumers ‘taking the product’ and it’s advertising text and playing with it. For example, in Ireland, throughout the summer of 1994 consumers danced the dance from the *Anticipation*¹⁰ advert at weddings, BBQ’s, etc. and made reference to this in conversations in the focus groups. Donagh Lane and Trevor Jacobs at Arks Advertising (Guinness’s Advertising agency) both expressed their surprise at, and commented about, the widespread public response to that advert. This surprised me as I would have expected the marketing arm to have forecast audience responses, but they seemed to be surprisingly passive in their attitude.

Another example of how the audience may hijack the advertising campaign and use it to say more, or use it to say something different, can be seen on the west coast of Ireland. Here, a campaigner for the legislation of cannabis, known as ‘Ming the Merciless’¹¹, (and similar in image to Screaming Lord Sutch), was, according to Lane, “going round Galway, ... sticking up posters on billboards. He was [using a] character drawn in the same style as the Guinness Black and White campaign; but instead of a pint [the character is holding] a gigantic spliff” (See Figure 3A for Ming’s inspiration.)

¹⁰ *Anticipation* was the name of the TV and poster campaign launched in Ireland in 1994. It featured actor Joe McKinney dancing around a pint of Guinness to the tune of Perez Prado’s *Guaglione*. The advert won cult status for the summer and the big band tune returned to the charts as a result.

¹¹ Ming the Merciless, aka Luke Flannagain. <http://www.connemara.net/news/1997/june/elections.htm> accessed 23/10/01



Figure 3A: Three of the adverts that inspired Ming. (Davies 1998, p. 223)

However, there may be more to the picture than simply the trite explanation that Lane offers, that is, that the Irish like to be different and hence are more active in their inscriptions on the product. If this were so, they would be actively inscribing every product and advertising text that they encounter in this manner. The examples above could push the researcher back into categorising the product as ‘cult’ and that might be useful in explaining the behaviour of the consumers. If the product IS operating within the parameters of ‘cult’ then finding the consumer ‘playing with’ and ‘borrowing for other uses’ would be plausible. However, since there is also a ‘non-consumer’ in Ireland, who is also ‘playing with’ and ‘borrowing’ the product to make other meaningful texts, then it suggests that the product is not behaving according to a typical ‘marketing formula.’ Lane suggests that ‘taking something and personalising it’ seems to be ‘a feature of Ireland’. Does he mean that this attribute is only found amongst Irish audiences? If so, is this a nation-wide psychosis? Can we push this to its furthest and suggest that the nation is suffering from some form of post-colonial syndrome? Can we suggest that the Irish nation is suffering from collective need to take the product cum national icon and control it, thereby demonstrating a nationwide reaction to the experience of being governed

and dominated by an external force. This is difficult to prove, but is certainly an interesting consideration.

Producing Irishness

I asked Donagh Lane the direct question “are you actively inscribing Irishness and Ireland into the texts?” He replied “I think that is what we are doing, but we do not necessarily do it in a direct way.”

DL - We’re conscious of the importance of Irishness, but it’s kind of like if these elements were in the advertising then we feel confident that it was resonate. You know it’s kind of like if Ireland do well in the World Cup more people drink Guinness, that’s an ad for Guinness, there’s a sort of a resonance there ... and that’s I think how it works.

He went on to talk about a campaign that Guinness was working on at the time of the interview and he described the elements that were going to feature in the advert. One of the elements was ‘communion’ and Donagh explained the rationale as one where “communion has religious connotations but it also has this sense of coming together, this sense of fundamental bonding between people”. He explained that the market research people had looked at words like ‘bonding’ and ‘sociability’, but these are generic alcohol words, “whereas ‘communion’ suggests something more deep and fundamental”. For Lane, this reinforces the sense of being in a group while maintaining your individuality. He suggests that the group is a single entity as well and that “seems to be a pretty Guinnessy thing ... that probably grew from the pub”

Again, we are given an example of a consumer driven advert. A fundamental textual sign has made its way into the advertising text because the audience already think it to be fact. Is the Guinness model an example of consumer sovereignty and an example of an audience-led text? Are we seeing an example of textual production that actively reflects the audience’s agenda? Or is it that Guinness is a significant symbolic player in the imagined community that constitutes Irishness? We are certainly seeing a situation where the audience’s ‘meaning’ is being reflected in the campaigns, we are also seeing that the producers do inject meaning into the text, but

seem to be constrained by the audience's particularly strong belief systems. And finally we see that the readers or consumers are 'active' at the point of reception of the advertising texts.

The UK, USA and Worldwide Strategies

In the UK and USA a different set of strategies is utilised for marketing Guinness. In Ireland, Irishness is perceived to be the product's core value and this is reflected in the advertising texts. However in the UK there seems to be an attempt to strip the product of its Irishness and remove reference of it in the texts¹². And in the USA references can be found to Irishness in early campaigns but not so in contemporary ones.

First, let me offer a brief history lesson regarding the UK Guinness campaign in order to situate the reader. In the UK, from the onset of print advertising for Guinness in 1929 (see Figure 3B: The First Ever Guinness Advert) until 2001, there has never been an advert that makes direct reference to Ireland or Irishness with one exception (see Chapter 11 *Conclusions*).

¹² In 2002, major changes occurred in Guinness UK's advertising strategy and this is discussed in Chapter 11 *Conclusions*.



Figure 3B: The First Ever Guinness Advert
 First Press advertisement 7th February 1929
 Agency - S. H. Benson, in Davies (1998, p. 7)

In the 1930's, the 'Guinness is good for you' campaign depicted text adverts, and later S. H. Benson posters designed by Gilroy depicted the famous Girder man, the folklore characters, Lewis Carroll's Looking-Glass characters and other illustrations, but none drew on 'Irishness' for reference. In the UK, it was sold as the drink of kings, and a drink for the worker. Adverts made reference to Disraeli, Dickens and Robert Louis Stevenson all enjoying the product. In one 1950's TV advert, there was a character named 'Second-Hand Spud Murphy' but despite the allusion to Irishness in his name, he spoke with an English cockney accent. ['Ave a Guinness and you'll know you've 'ad summit worth drinking! (Sibley 1985, p. 143)]

Changes in Places

The Guinness marketing scene in the UK has undergone many changes since the 1930's that are reflected in the changes in the advertising agencies, to whom Guinness have awarded their sought-after account. However, it seems that irrespective of which company holds the account, [Bensons (1929-1969), J. Walter Thompson (1969-1982), Allen, Brady, Marsh, (1982-1984) Ogilvy & Mather (1984-present),] the *modus operandi* of 'not addressing the Irish consumer living in the UK' and 'not alluding to Ireland or Irishness in the advertising text' has remained. In the 1940's and 50's, Guinness was associated with working class consumers and Irish migrants fell into that category by default. It was perceived as a 'working man's drink' and one could argue that this included the Irish working man but as I said this was a default category, and not an intended target audience. In the 70's the campaigns began to distance themselves from the 'working class' label and in the 1980's the *Pure Genius* campaign featuring Dutch born ex-*Bladerunner* actor Rutger Hauer was launched. This campaign's strategy was to appeal to the alternative consumer and some would argue, to distance itself from the Irish navy and 'the thick Irish' associations.

This shift coincided with, and could have been a response to, a tense political phase in Anglo-Irish history. The 1970's had seen some of the most aggressive terrorist activities and activities were no longer limited to Northern Ireland but had crossed the water to London and other locations. The need to disassociate even more from 'Irishness' and the stereotypical 'Paddy' were crucial marketing moves. However, it was also a period of political tension from other quarters, with shifts in Labour politics, the rise of Thatcherism, and conflicts with trade unionism philosophy also occurring at this time. The campaign may also have been trying to distance itself, not just from the Irish navy, but also from the 'working class-British' image too.

The *Pure Genius* campaign ran for a decade from 1985 to 1995. In 1996 the '*Not everything in Black and White makes sense*' campaign followed, reiterating the message that you have to be witty, clever and 'just a bit different' to enjoy Guinness - or at least aspire to be.

I carried out an elementary content analysis exercise and confirmed that the advertising campaigns in the UK (Print and TV) did not carry any Irish signifiers in the texts and so in stark contrast to the Irish campaigns, the UK did not suggest that the product's core essence was Ireland or Irishness. In light of this absence, I ask a second question, regarding the audience rather than the text. What about the Irish consumer? Does the contemporary campaign target the Irish residing in the UK?

Irish drinkers

During an interview in April 1998 with John Hosking, marketing manager at Guinness Park Royal, he described the main strategy utilised by Guinness UK as one that aims to talk widely to a large but differentiated audience. He explains that while careful not to insult them, the Irish consumer is not targeted in any contemporary campaigns. In Dublin, at separate interviews, Donagh Lane (Guinness Ireland) and Trevor Jacobs (Arks Advertising, Ireland) concur that the UK approach to its audience is complex. They acknowledge that the UK campaigns never "talk to Irish people" (Jacobs). But, as we shall see, the ignored Irish Guinness consumer residing in the UK does have a role to play in helping Guinness UK to market the product.

Lane, describing the difference in product reach¹³, explains that while Guinness Ireland enjoys 50% of the market share, in the UK it is 5%, making the UK marketing project a very different task. Lane explains that drinking Guinness in the UK is 'far more exclusive and almost elitist' whereas in Ireland it has a 'premiumness' and 'there's a sense of joining a club'.

DL - In Ireland it is seen as an achievement when you start drinking Guinness, but it is more of an egalitarian kind of exclusivity. It's a club that anybody can join, whereas [in] the UK, people are more conscious about the statements they are making to other people. And drinking Guinness is a statement that 'I'm an individual' and 'discerning'. Whereas in Ireland, people feel that they are individuals when they're drinking Guinness and the

¹³ Product reach - borrowed from the advertising term 'reach' meaning number of people your advertising message would be seen by per 1000. In this case, the number of consumers per population purchasing the product.

fact that half the country is doing the same thing doesn't bother them whereas it would bother people in the UK, and I think part of that is individualist culture versus community culture.

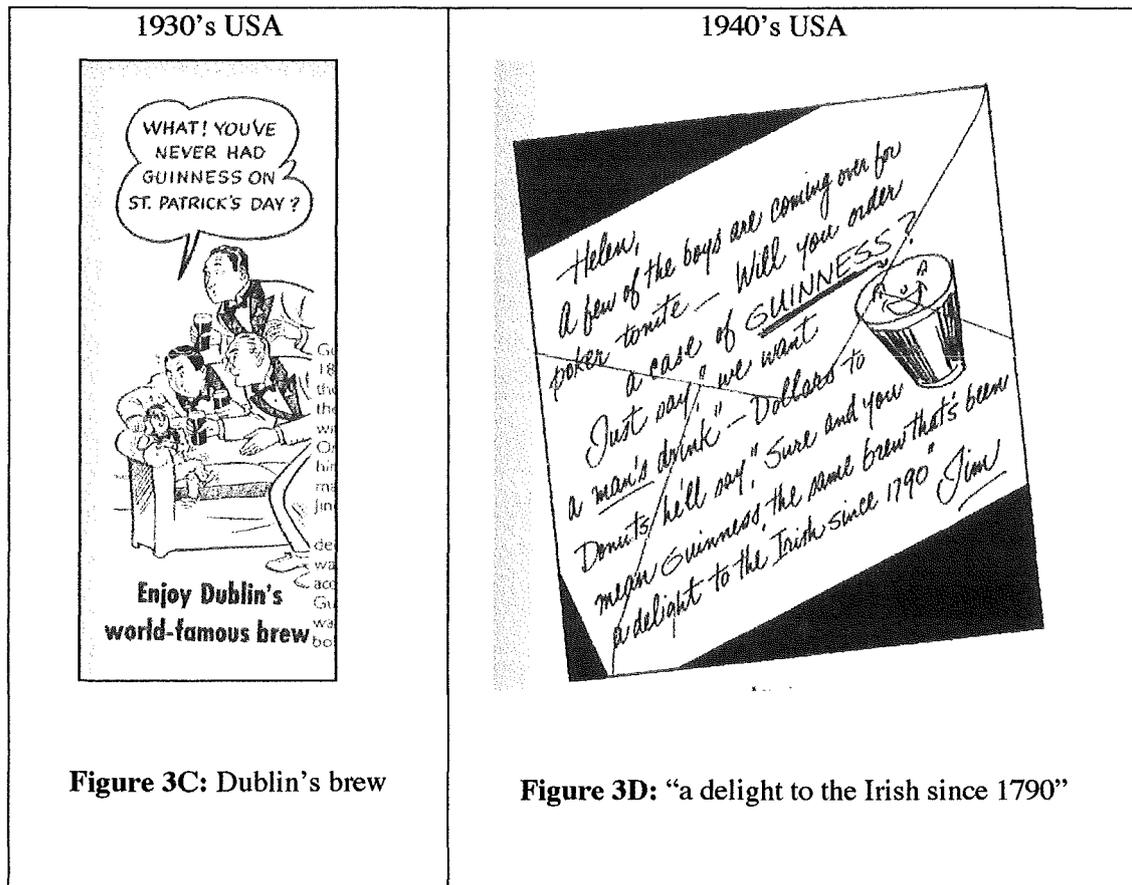
Lane reiterates that the Irish are not a target audience in the UK campaigns but they do have their use. "Irish people are important ...they are like the old guy who sits in the bar, and he's the bar expert. He's the guy who could judge between good Guinness and bad Guinness. I think that that's the role Irish people have there [in the UK], they are brand ambassadors". This is a very interesting observation. It suggests that while the campaigns do not address her or him, the Irish migrant in the UK has a function that Guinness would like to utilise. The Irish migrant is the 'role model' for product engagement. S/he is useful for demonstrations on 'how to drink a pint of Guinness' and 'how to engage in this complex product correctly.'

The uninitiated new customer is unaware of the 'two pour', the surge, the importance of a 'good head', the acceptable size of the head, the ritual of waiting, and the quality control commentary of 'it's a good pint' or 'it's a bad pint'. (See Chapter 4 and Chapter 8) Here Paddy or Patricia step in and liaise on behalf of the product and the company. The role of ambassador is unrequested, unrewarded and unacknowledged and the Irish consumer is unaware of his or her role in the grand scheme of things; she or he could be described as 'an unwitting pawn in the marketing game of chess'. This raises interesting questions surrounding 'commodification' and 'absorption'. These are addressed in this chapter in Section 2 - Empirical Applause.

The USA Campaign - less Genius, more Genuine-ness

The USA campaign, like the overall USA experience for Irish migrants, is very different from the UK one. Guinness was exported to the USA as early as 1849, and following the repeal of prohibition, Guinness began advertising with lines such as '*The Return of an Exile!*' and '*The One Drink the Bootleggers couldn't copy*'. In post prohibition years (1920-33) another advert placed importance on the drink's Irish heritage with the line '*4,000,000 Irishmen can't be wrong*'. (1985, p. 57). In the early years, many references to 'things Irish' could be found in print such as St.

Patrick's Day in 1939 (see Figure 3C) and in 1941 another advert used the line 'the same brew that's been a delight to the Irish since 1790' (Sibley 1985, p. 57) (see Figure 3D).



Writing in the Eighties, Sibley noted the differences between the two countries' campaigns too. "In the Irish bars of New York, Guinness is drunk, if not in staggering quantities, then certainly with nostalgic enthusiasm. What Guinness advertising for the American market has tended to do in the past is to concentrate on Guinness's Irishness (an aspect which has always been underplayed in the UK). Its view of Ireland, however, is pure whimsy with leprechauns, shamrocks and shillelaghs" (1985, p. 199). I wondered if the same attitude prevailed in the Nineties and during an interview in the late Nineties, with Neil Cotton, at Weiss, Whitten and Staglione, New York, Guinness's Advertising agency in the US I asked him if these images of Ireland were still portrayed. He was cautious about the 'green shamrock' images and talked about strategies behind the campaign being worked on at that time. He commented that mainstream advertising for Guinness had never

really occurred in the US as it has in the UK but that this changed in 1991, and in 1997 the first TV advert was in the process of being produced as we spoke! Neil Cotton's marketing brief was to target new, non-Irish consumers, and the task was to demonstrate the product, and how the product should be experienced.

NC - It really is a product story, the wait, it can't be rushed, the idea that it's not just poured, it's actually built, it's some craft, and the tag line '*the nature of Guinness*' ... it was very much trading on characteristics of the Guinness experience which we have seen is wider than just taste, it's the ordering, ... the whole ritual - down to the empty glass with the rings - it's still part of the Guinness experience (see Figure 3E: 1997 Print Advert).

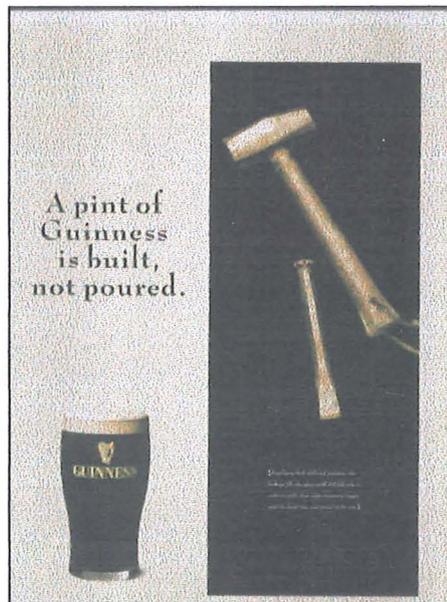


Figure 3E: '...built, not poured' 1997 US print advert.
Courtesy of Weiss Whitten Staglione (Agency)

I asked Cotton if the campaign was going to carry any Irish imagery. He explained that they shot the advert in a pub in Ireland, but didn't want the advert to say 'Irish' in any obvious way.

NC - we shot it in a pub in Ireland ... without being overtly Irish, or trading on 'Irish', but it was clear that it wasn't in America which was as far as we wanted to go.

But the reasons for occluding Irishness from the campaign seem different to the possible reasons found in the UK. Neil Cotton goes on to explain that with other Guinness products such as Harp lager, the campaign does "trade a lot heavier on Irish heritage and Irish culture" as "it's the nature of the product". 'You almost need that to make it distinct'. However, with Guinness, its presence in the US is already established. It is very distinct without pointing to Irishness, and so the agency doesn't see 'a need to be overtly Irish'. I asked Cotton if he thought it would be 'a negative' to include it. He did not see it as a 'negative' but felt that it was 'limiting' from a marketing perspective. Here he compared the *Murphy's*¹⁴ campaign, whose strategy is to add 'Irish', but again commented that this was limiting the product to only one target audience, something Guinness didn't want to do.

While not drawing heavily on Irish imagery for the *content* in contemporary adverts, Guinness USA, in strong contrast to Guinness UK, has not excluded 'Irishness' completely from the text in either historical or contemporary campaigns. However, when it comes to *targeting* and *addressing* audiences it was interesting to ask if the USA strategies were similar to the UK's. Do they address the Irish consumer who is residing and consuming the product in New York, or do they fail to target and recognise this significant and brand loyal market. John Hosking was categorical that the Irish consumer was not addressed in the UK campaigns, and Neil Cotton described a similar strategy [and in an interesting aside, refers to the Irish market as 'ethnic', suggesting that this group is constructed in a different and particular North American discourse].

NC - In terms of advertising to the ethnic market we really didn't do very much. The Irish are not going to stop drinking it so why bother advertise? ... Irish communities are ... already a captive audience.

¹⁴ *Murphy's* is Guinness's main competitor.

However, Guinness USA are pragmatic in their attitude towards the Irish consumer. They don't ignore them completely. On the contrary, the St Patrick's Day campaign is 'theirs', and in 1997, for the first time, Guinness sponsored the St. Patrick's Day Parade in New York. He described a strategy that has been utilised for several years.

NC - The biggest thing ... around St. Patrick's day [is] a pub competition, ...you write in and you can win your own Pub in Ireland, and we have it every year to give away, so that appeals a lot to the ethnic market as well.

Connie Doolan, also at Guinness USA, described how the relationship between Guinness and the Irish-owned pubs in Manhattan is nurtured throughout the year. Point of sale advertising in Irish owned pubs, radio advertising, give-aways, promotions and sponsorship for the *Fleadh*¹⁵, Golf and Irish football make up for the absence of direct advertising to the Irish consumer in New York. Doolan also talks about something that he describes as "very successful". The marketing department developed 'The Guinness Toast' and the principle behind this is that at a specific time, across the country, every pub selling Guinness encourages all its clients to raise a Pint of Guinness. In a nation-wide gesture, the toast brings together all Guinness drinkers, and those who want to 'be a part of' this symbolic community.

The fact that neither the UK nor US agencies actively target the Irish audience to a large degree, is not so unusual. Although it is noted that the Irish consumer in the US seems to get addressed in 'aside' campaigns as opposed to mainstream campaigns. Marketing executives for Guinness UK and US are confident that this brand loyal market will not erode. Despite the lack of interpellation from the mainstream campaigns, Irish migrants and their descendents in London and New York continue to use the product in order to locate their community. See Section 2 for further discussion.

¹⁵ *Fleadh* – a generic word to describe any Irish Music Festival

Section 2 - Empirical Applause

My exploration of the site of production on the circuit was particularly productive in raising new themes and issues. In this section I explore four such areas from the point of view of production and marketing. Here I examine the similarities and differences between the Irish and UK/USA campaigns with regard to:

1. the gendered pint and the queer pint,
2. Irish audiences continued use of the product as a symbolic good, despite occlusion,
3. issues of commodification and absorption into 'white' social groups; and
4. the globalisation and commodification of a national identity.

1. Producing the Gendered Pint (or)

Other Absences - Women, gay and other

While Guinness Ireland and Guinness UK & USA differ somewhat in how they interpellate the Irish consumer, they do share one similar marketing approach. All agencies agree that in contemporary campaigns they address a male audience. That 'male' audience is differentiated in nature, originally a primarily working class creature, but of late, he can be any shape, size, social position or profession. Irrespective of these internal shifts in the profile of those male consumers, men remain the main target audience. Those absent from the campaign, despite the fact that they are consumers and are acknowledged as consumers by Guinness themselves, are the 'disenfranchised audience'. This 'disenfranchised audience' is primarily made up of female consumers. However it also includes the diasporic Irish consumers in London and New York (as seen above), and gay men. There is no place in the marketing campaign for the 'female pint', the 'Other's pint' or the 'Queer pint'. The pint of Guinness is a 'gendered' pint. Later in this thesis (see Chapter 6 and Chapter 10) I show that the point of consumption of Guinness, (that is the pub) can, under certain circumstances, be a heterogeneous place and space, but from a marketing perspective, it is a very different picture.

In Ireland, Guinness's marketing executives confirmed that they do not actively talk to female consumers in their campaigns. Both Donagh Lane and Trevor Jacobs talked in an ambiguous way about the female consumer as *being part of, but not part of*, the campaigns. In their defence, Trevor Jacobs, insisted that women have been acknowledged by Guinness in past campaigns and he described examples of advertising texts from the 1980's which featured popular female singers etc. He suggested that while women are not overtly targeted, some adverts have *featured* women prominently in their advertising texts. However while Jacobs reassured me that women are not excluded from the advertising text, both managers acknowledged that the campaigns specifically target male consumers thus confirming that women are, in fact, not addressed at all. Both managers were aware that female consumers exist and they acknowledged the bias towards the male consumer. Donagh Lane explained that it is a challenge for the company to address this market while retaining the male market, and retaining the 'essence' of the product. In other words, Guinness thinks that if they overtly address female audiences they may contaminate the symbolic maleness of the product and risk losing their male consumers. Perhaps they were also concerned that such an action would somehow contaminate the symbolic Irishness of the product too (see Chapter 11).

DL - There are a couple of elements to it. The brand is quite masculine and there is a lot of masculinity wrapped up in this power. It's a very masculine power.

Lane's marketing department is conscious of the challenge and "make sure that their advertising is not so male oriented that it is actually off-putting [for] women". They aim to "strike a balance between being masculine in a way that is also appealing to women". However, he cautioned, "we must be careful because there is a danger in overtly marketing to women". Nevertheless, paradoxically, Donagh Lane went on to talk about how women are becoming more involved in the beer market and changing attitudes. He noted that with the increase in the number of women working, and their demands for equality, "the pub has become a unisex environment". Yet despite this recognised shift in female consumers' attitude, disposable income and leisure

activities, Guinness Ireland continues to be cautious about overtly addressing the female market for fear of losing male volume.

The female pint

Donagh Lane discussed in detail how female consumers tend to look at Guinness differently to men. Indeed he seemed to be suggesting that the product possesses masculine and feminine qualities that appeal to both audiences. For example, he suggests that women are more aware of “the aesthetics of the product” than men and he reported that they comment on the fact that it is a “beautiful looking pint”. “The creaminess of it is appealing and they [female consumers] are also particularly conscious of a sort of sensuality, like *Hagen Daz* and *Galaxy* chocolate ... that sort of luxurious feel. That’s something that women pick up on.”

Talking to women and others, the UK and USA way.

Despite the fact that the product has feminine qualities, as described above by Lane, and despite the fact that many women are consumers of the product, the pattern of ignoring the female consumer is repeated in the UK and the USA. Like their Irish counterparts, marketing approaches at Guinness UK and USA favour addressing the male consumer, with few exceptions (for example, the high-end of the market, glossy, women’s magazines have, in the past, carried glamorous adverts depicting a woman holding an elegant half pint glass (Vogue 1977)). According to John Hosking at Guinness Park Royal “women are not targeted by their advertising”. In fact in the UK, the marketing department and advertising agency ignore the female consumer completely. They do not interpellate them in the advertising text in either a manifest or latent manner. Like the Dublin office, London was busy considering their main, male audience, although from a market research position, they acknowledge the presence of the potential female consumer and seek to ensure that the adverts do not insult her or risk being found negative in any way by her.

The New York office was a little more diplomatic in the way they explained the absence of a female target audience.

NC - we would never place advertising that would in any way alienate a female audience.

Female consumers in Dublin, London and New York, like the Irish migrant consumer in the UK and to a lesser extent in the USA, are acknowledged by the marketing team, and texts are always tested to ensure they do not insult the 'disregarded reader'¹⁶. But at the end of the day, none of these marketing executives consider the female audience as a target.

Other exclusions - Gay consumers, gay readers

Gay consumers are also actively denied space and interpellation by Guinness marketing. Apart from one marketing debacle in 1995, when the London based advertising agency, Ogilvy and Mather Worldwide did attempt to 'break the rules', no other attempts to target a gay audience have occurred. In an attempt to 'get out of the box', Ogilvy and Mather developed a 'gay' advert for the 'Not everything in Black and White makes sense' series, the campaign that replaced Rutger Hauer's *Pure Genius* series.

In June 1995 Guinness announced its intention of airing a television advertisement featuring a male couple and the song Stand By Your Man. Subsequently, Guinness denied that it had planned a gay television advertisement.¹⁷

The advert featured "a hunky, young guy [getting] ready for work, making a mess all along the way. ... Meanwhile, a rubber-gloved hand picks up after him. As he runs out the front door, coffee cup in hand, he passes his boyfriend, whom we see for the first time, and the Tammy Wynette tune "Stand by Your Man" swells. He puts the mug atop his car and gets in as his boyfriend wearily waves goodbye, the

¹⁶ Disregarded audience or reader is the opposite to 'preferred audience'. I coined the term 'preferred audience' in response to Stuart Hall's term 'preferred reading' (Hall 1980, pp. 128-38)

¹⁷ <http://www.browneyedsheep.com/brewing.htm>

mug clunks to the ground, and the advert closes with a glass of Guinness beer".¹⁸
(see Figure 3F for a selection of stills from the advert storyboard.)

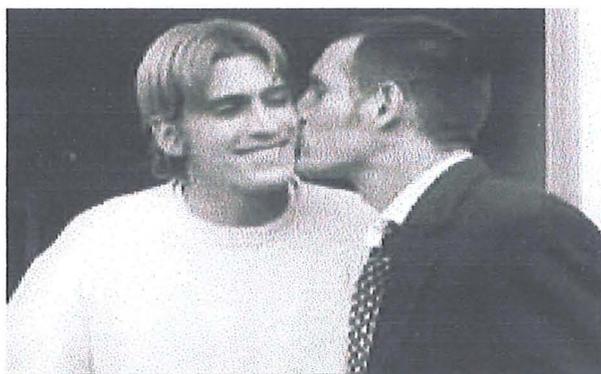
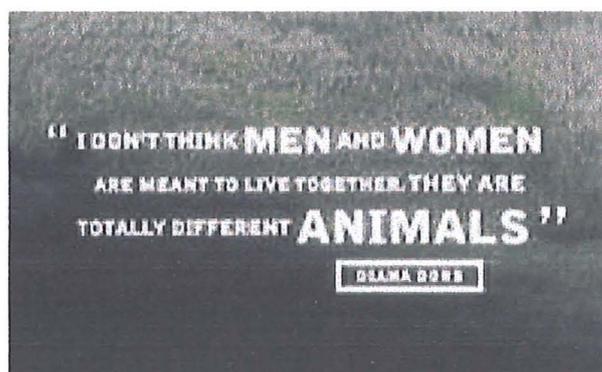
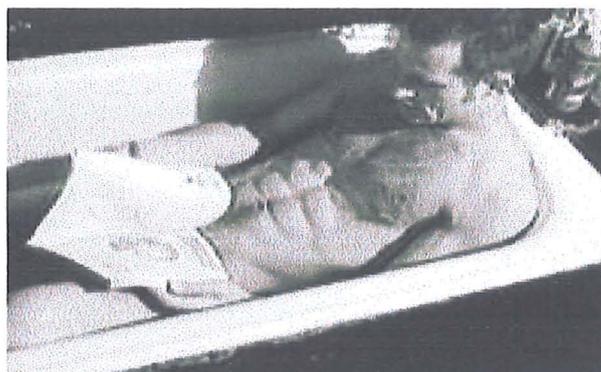


Figure 3F: A selection of stills from the advert storyboard.¹⁹

Information about the advert and about public and other reactions to it are difficult to trace. One website however, www.commercialcloset.org, provides detailed

¹⁸ <http://www.commercialcloset.org/cgi-bin/iowa/portrayals.html?record=153>

¹⁹ <http://www.commercialcloset.org/cgi-bin/iowa/portrayals.html?record=153>

reporting around the production and subsequent backlash. They describe the advert as “artfully shot with the help of maverick California-based producer Tony Kaye” and go on to comment on the reactions of the British tabloid press, who, in advance of the advert being aired, reported that “pubs and consumers were shocked that the traditional brand would air a gay ad”.

According to Commercial Closet, “the TV spot was ultimately dropped by Guinness who feared greater backlash from straight consumers. Later, the company tried to deny that this spot even existed”. During an interview in 1997, producer Tony Kaye was asked why the company denied the existence of the advert he shot. He told the Canadian Broadcasting Corp., “most of them [Guinness marketing] have the vision of a dead rat. I think it was charming and it was very funny and would sell a hell of a lot of beer.” Guinness UK thought otherwise.

Jane Thynne, in an article entitled *TV advert campaign may say Guinness is good for gay* (*Electronic Telegraph* 22 June 1995), confirmed Guinness UK’s fears regarding the consumers. The fundamental fear was that people would associate Guinness with ‘the other’ and they would ultimately lose customers. Referring to the advert as “the first commercial to feature a homosexual couple”, Thynne describe the advert as “being secretly prepared for screening” and went on to report that “according to insiders, a debate is raging over the controversial nature of the commercial and whether to show the lovers kissing”. The launch of the advert coincided with “increased media interest in homosexual lifestyles”. Thynne described the fact that BBC and Channel 4 were actively widening their programming at the same time with “the BBC launch[ing] Gaytime TV, its first magazine show for lesbians and homosexual men, [and] Channel 4 recently unveil[ing] plans for Dyke TV - 15 hours of programming aimed at lesbians”.

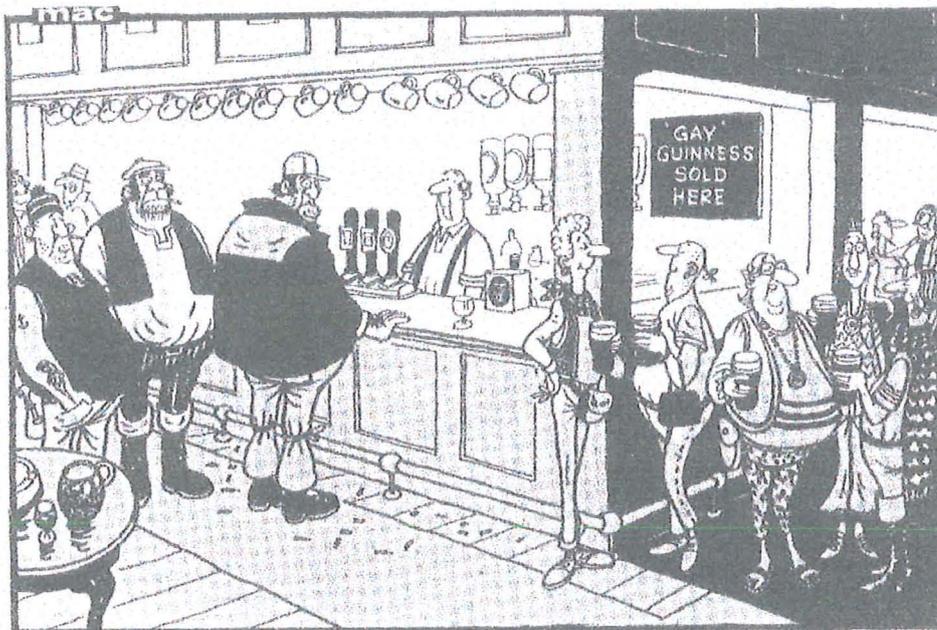
At the time of the media speculation, Guinness were very elusive regarding the advert and its content. Jeremy Probert, a spokesman for Guinness, was reported in the *Electronic Telegraph* as saying “There is a new ad campaign out at the end of July but it is a question of wait and see.” Ogilvy & Mather also declined to comment to the press but the *Telegraph* quoted ‘an insider’ who commented “On one hand it could get people to question their prejudices and spark off a serious debate about

advertising. On the other hand it could be a wild and risky thing to do which could upset a lot of customers.”

The ‘other hand’ won the day. In fear of fuelling the tabloid howls of objection and possibly out of fear of ‘upsetting a lot of [male] customers’, Guinness UK denied the advert existed and did in fact pull the advert, it was never aired in the UK. When I asked John Hosking about this advert in 1998 he did acknowledge the making of it but he did not comment further. Commercial Closet commented that “it is deeply unfortunate that the spot never aired, as it regularly gets standing ovations at live Commercial Closet screenings to gay audiences.”

Lance Pettitt, (1996, p. 211) described the advert, and the repercussions, in a slightly different way. The advert, which featured a

dark-haired guy and his blonde ‘housewife’ boyfriend (black and white ...), had been shot in two versions, one with the men kissing. Although it features male partners, the commercial’s narrative is normative and ‘straight’. Yet its monochrome iconography (more black and white!), along with the voiceover of a Diana Dors line (“Men and women were not meant to live together. They are totally different animals”) and the lyrics of ‘*Stand by Your Man*’, clearly generates a homoerotic *frisson* that Guinness intends, but does not want to overplay. To do so would narrow the target audience and potentially reduce profits. “Instead of saying, Guinness is for gays, the ad is saying, Guinness isn’t only for Irish navvies [*sic*] and little old ladies, it’s for everyone” (Smith and Richardson *Gay Times* 1995, p. 57). Guinness’s attempts to exploit but limit the meanings of this commercial highlight an Anglo/Irish context in which national and sexual politics continue to serve as a potentially productive destabilising force.



'Er ... two small sheries and a port and lemon, please.'

Figure 3G : 'Er ... two small sheries and a port and lemon please'

The media dedicated a lot of space to the issue, and Stan McMurtry (MAC) (see Figure 3G) provided the visual commentary in the *Daily Mail*, on 23 June 1995, (Pettitt, 1996, p. 211). I argue that the tabloid newspapers and subsequent public reactions around the advert were in keeping with, and a reflection of, the existing attitudes towards any 'other' residing in the UK and they played an important part in generating public reaction to Guinness's attempt at 'getting out of the box'.

The advert may have been striving to say 'Guinness isn't only for Irish navvies and old ladies' but apparently it didn't succeed, or it would not have been pulled. The advert, which was presumably tested on a cross section of Guinness's target audience and approved, was unfortunately like Icarus, and flew too close to the sun. The homophobic reaction to it, arguably generated by tabloid press, was exactly the reaction Guinness must have feared most. It may even have been a reaction that was driven by non-consumers. Nonetheless it certainly explains why Guinness do not overtly interpellate gay men. The risk of alienating the typically profiled male consumer is too much of a risk to take from a sales perspective.

One could argue that Guinness' marketing philosophy reflects, in this case, the UK's dominant patriarchal and homophobic attitudes and politics towards the disenfranchised and the marginal. The female audience, the Irish audience, and the gay audience are actively denied.

Guinness could argue in their own defence, that their marketing machinery is 'strait-jacketed' and controlled in respect to 'who it targets' and 'how it talks to them'. It is controlled by, and driven by the market research carried out by Guinness - and that feedback must make them fearful of stepping outside the 'clearly defined attitudes' found amongst non-Irish consumers. Consequently, Guinness cannot actively inject 'gayness', 'Irishness' or 'women' into the product. Nor can they be seen to overtly address the gay, Irish or female consumers in the UK. Ironically, the marketing approach and corporate philosophy for Guinness in the UK is described as one striving to appeal to consumers who consider themselves to be 'different' (hence the 'Pure Genius' campaign) for example, the intelligentsia, the alternative thinkers, the *Guardian* reader, the 'marginal'. It does not, however, target these 'marginal' groups described above.

2. 'Absences' in London and New York

As I have shown above, agencies in the UK and USA do not actively target the Irish audience, although the Irish consumer in the US seems to be addressed in 'aside' campaigns as opposed to mainstream campaigns. Nonetheless, it would seem that the UK and USA agencies are confident that this brand loyal market will not erode. This absence of an Irish target audience gives rise to the question 'If the UK and USA marketing approach does not interpellate the Irish diasporic community, does the Irish community continue to utilise the product and its text as part of the scaffolding of their ethnic community and subsequently their ethnic identity?'

The noteworthy issue is not so much "why are they not addressing the Irish consumer" but the fact that despite the lack of interpellation from the mainstream campaigns, the Irish communities in London and New York appear to continue to use the product in order to locate their community.

In Sections Two and Three of this thesis, I show that the consumers in London and New York continue to inject the product with Irishness themselves and use it to support their identity. They may not be Guinness' advertising texts' preferred readers, but they are very industriously making-meaning, and inscribing the text and the product. They continue to use the product in the pub space in order to build a signifying bridge between their diasporic space and 'home'.

The text and product seem to behave like a language. For example where other migrant communities have their own national language, which they can use in order to mark themselves, the Irish community (apart from a tiny minority who use Gaelige) do not have access to such an effective device as language for badging their community. I argue (see above) that the language of the pub space and the language surrounding the consumption of the product and text are a substitute for a language. And so, while other communities have a language that marks them according to their ethnic identity, the Irish have the pub space and consumption of Guinness. Irrespective of whether there is, or is not, a sub-language supporting the product, it is clear that Guinness has a community-driven life, which apparently can exist independently of the marketing machinery.

3. When in Rome ... commodification and absorption

The third issue that emerged as a result of the empirical approach was the issue of commodification and absorption. The tensions surrounding the new diasporic space, can, for the migrant, be anywhere on the continuum between 'hostile' and 'welcoming' and it is always a complex and negotiated relationship (see Chapter 6). This research uncovers a manifestation that was located in the site of production, but could arguably be a reflection of the host-society's attitudes. Above, I demonstrate that the UK campaign does not target an Irish audience, nor do they allude to the product's Irishness in either contemporary or historical advertising campaigns. However, there are a few exceptions to this rule.

In very recent years, since the Black and White campaign was launched in 1996, the UK have had adverts on and around 17th March, announcing to their target audience

that St Patrick's Day is approaching. In fact, according to Davies (1998, p. 110) in recent years, Guinness has launched intensive world-wide promotions in the run up to St Patrick's Day. "In 1997, in the UK alone, 17,500 on-trade promotions took place, with a phenomenal 9.5 million items of pub-based promotional material produced to support specially organised events such as 'St. Patrick's Party Nights'"

I asked John Hosking (UK) about this relatively new departure in marketing strategy, where now, in an almost contradictory move, the marketing team are 'buying in' Irishness for the product. They do this by celebrating a day that is saturated with Irish symbolism and ethnic identity, something they seem to have actively avoided throughout the rest of the year. Hosking described Patrick's Day as "a reason to celebrate, and you don't have to be Irish to get involved".

JH - there is a general invitation to get out and have a good time. I suppose, in a way, it's using the Irish heritage and the Irish celebration to pull people into the brand and to understand what the brand is really about.

Hosking clearly states that Guinness UK use 'Irishness', an Irish event, and the product's invocation of Irishness, to increase sales; the commodification of 'Irishness' is official.

Commodification and other possibilities

This shift from *avoiding* to *including* Irishness, raises some interesting questions. Not just about Guinness's marketing strategy, where, in the UK and USA they reportedly strive for the other 364 days of the year to ignore the Irishness of the product, and ignore their 'brand loyal' first- and other-generation Irish consumers. It also raises questions about the location of the Irish consumer and audience in the bigger national, socio-political picture.

In contemporary campaigns up to and including 2001, and specifically the Guinness UK approach, they seem to walk a very fine line between NOT talking to the Irish consumer and NOT alluding overtly to 'Irishness' in case other consumers are put off. At the same time they seem to be striving to retain, and not deny the products

core 'essence' - Irishness - at opportune times. One could parallel this attitude and approach with attitudes and approaches found nationwide. The Irish, as part of colonial history, continue to reside in a complex space for the British. They are different but same; white, but not white; part of, and marginal - all in the same moment. One could argue that the Irish, like Guinness, are acceptable if the consumer is not reminded of their Irish origin (see Chapter 7).

For Guinness UK, it appears that the golden rule for survival is to avoid reminding the consumer or audience of the Irishness of the product. Are they buying into the 'you are one of us' philosophy? In the bigger picture, do the Irish in the UK find themselves avoiding reminding others of their Irishness? Are they more likely to be accepted if they remake themselves as British or at the very least 'not Irish', just as Guinness does? Do they encounter the binary oppositions often encountered by Irish and other migrants - 'you are one of us': 'you are not one of us'. This process of 'absorption' into the culture is a useful device and allows the dominant culture to ignore its own racist tendencies. When it suits, the 'Irish' label is stuck on the Guinness Bottle, just as, when it suits, the successful Irish athlete, singer, playwright, etc. is not Irish but British. Mainstream British media carry off this mental flip on a regular basis and why shouldn't Guinness UK do the same?

More commodification - or national identity hijacks

Not content with 'borrowing' Irish heritage and identity on St Patrick's Day, in 1994 Guinness UK offered 'Irishness' to all football supporters in the UK. England had failed to qualify for the World Cup and Guinness UK adopted the Irish team as its marketing icon for the duration. Broadsheet newspapers distributed an Honorary Irish Passport, which was similar in size and colour to a 'real' Irish Passport. Inside, it carried information about the team and Guinness advertising (see Chapter 9). For the four weeks that Ireland was in the US hosted competition, the population of the UK was urged to be Irish through adverts in the print media (see Figure 3H) and through overt sponsorship in pubs and on TV.



Figure 3H: 'Are you Irish? Would you like to be?'

The Guardian June 1994

This event can be viewed from many perspectives. One could argue that it was a brave and daring move on the part of Guinness, as they risked alienating the non-Irish target audience that they were chasing. John Hosking reiterated that that “making the product exclusively Irish doesn’t make a lot of sense but if you pitch it as an Irish brand” that involves and invites others, then the “sociable, very good, grounded feel” that Irishness is evocative of, will work.

One could also view the event as an example of post-colonial colonisation - a subtle effort to make claim to an ethnic group that you wouldn’t normally wish your consumers to identify with, for fear of negative publicity. Now, because of the absence of a successful national icon, the nation-wide audience seems happy to accept an ethnic association that they would normally actively resist. The act of ‘borrowing Irishness’ and turning it into ‘acceptable Britishness’ through absorption, while at the same time ‘commodifying Irishness’ for profit, resonates of old colonialism.

4. Globalisation, the commodification of Irishness vs. colonial marketing

As suggested in the previous section, the question of commodification of culture and identity seems to be an issue. This can be explored further if we run a parallel between Guinness's earlier mode of distribution of the product on the one hand, and contemporary marketing and advertising on the other. I would argue that there has been a shift but at the same time, a repeat, of colonial philosophies.

Guinness was and is a widely distributed product world-wide. It has enjoyed its own form of globalisation since 1769, first to Britain and to the Continents. Historically it has enjoyed markets in America, Africa, Asia, and the West Indies. In Africa, in countries such as Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, and Ghana, where the product is sold as Foreign Extra Stout (FES) has a high level of bitterness and 7.5% alcohol, the product carries with it associations of strength, virility, and masculinity. In Asia, it is found in Malaysia (where its main market and target audience are the migrant Chinese and Tamil²⁰ (similar to early UK campaigns, it is marketed to a working class segment of the audience) and in the Caribbean it is marketed with additional aphrodisiac properties.

Old Colonialism - Marketing via the Empire

Pre-1900's, the marketing of Guinness was rudimentary and instead the globalisation of the product was dependent on trade routes, easy distribution, and ownership and the early distribution of Guinness can be traced by closely following the British Colonial flag around the world. Not much allusion was made to Ireland or Irishness in order to distribute and sell to the audiences in these locations. For most of the 1900's too, this philosophy continued with rare exceptions. One exception can be found in Sibley's work where he describes how, in 1966,

Guinness began producing Leprechaun Charms as *give-aways* to drinkers in Africa and Asia. Just 1 1/8th inches high, he might have been mistaken for

²⁰ Phone Interview with Robert Bing, Marketing Dept. Guinness Worldwide 25th May 1994.

Enid Blyton's Big Ears, had it not been for the fact that he was clutching an Irish harp in his left hand. He came pinned to a card with a replica of the Guinness label on it and the words 'Irish Luck from GUINNESS'. A short explanation told recipients that leprechauns were 'renowned in folklore for their impish good influence on the larger species of the human race, being harbingers of good fortune, health and prosperity'. (1985, p. 199)

This was a clever marketing ploy where it could be said that Guinness were carefully mapping 'Irish leprechauns' onto a culture that would espouse symbolic luck charms.

In Dublin, Donagh Lane commented on the different 'marketing approaches' utilised in Africa and Asia under the old colonial mechanism.

DL - It's very different in the Far East and Africa, because in certain countries their Guinness is very strong and it's been strong for a hundred years. Places like Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroon, Kenya, and places like Malaysia, Singapore, most of whom were English colonies before. Irishness is not significant to these markets but the values are by and large the same. These values hold through all over the world, particularly 'goodness' and 'power'. For example, in Africa, Guinness is seen as this an elixir of power, juju juice, which makes men potent; and in parts of the Far East it is seen almost like a health drink, ... 'when you are run-down at the end of the day' drink. It's the same set of values, but they are not intrinsically Irish.

In this 'old colonial globalisation' across British Africa etc., Guinness was marketed, not as an Irish product, but as a product that was 'healthy', 'good for you', and 'a reaffirmation of your masculinity'.

In the Far East, "*Guinness puts back what the day takes out*" was built on the UK Guinness is good for you campaign. In Cameroon the simple message 'It's the Best!' was accompanied by an image of a hard-working man, and in Malaysia adverts depicted working men such as truck drivers, bridge builders, loggers and miners, overcoming the difficulties and challenges of their job and enjoying the

reward of Guinness after work. In Singapore, the masculinity of the drink was reinforced via an emotive advert and the language of that advert speaks volumes:

He's a man who knows the feeling, he's a man who knows the score. Who'd never dream of giving up, no matter what's in store. ... He's a man who's never lonely. Any man would call him 'friend'. He'll never change - he'll never change, he's a real man among men. (Sibley 1995, p. 198)

New Colonialism and commodification

From the 1990's onwards, the world picture changed dramatically, and now Guinness marketing departments world-wide adjust their strategies to suit the location, the target audience and optimum demographics, psychographics and lifestyle fragmentors with one goal and objective; to ensure increased volume and maintain their market share. A case in point can be found in South Africa for example, where, in 1997, I had the opportunity to interview Jim Doyle²¹ at Guinness SA. The South African market was until very recently, very different and Doyle described it as informal in nature - and instead of pubs, *sheebens*²² are the main outlets for distribution. However, one new strategy for Guinness SA is to target 'black aspirants' who are emerging in the new South Africa. Jim Doyle described their profile:

they have cars, jobs, are moving into white areas, building their own homes, wearing expensive clothes. They are looking for a point of difference, and this can apply to beer or pair of shoes. They are moving out of townships and [away from] the sharing of a quart bottle of *Castle*²³.

²¹ Jim Doyle, Marketing Manager in Guinness SA Johannesburg 5th June 1997 describes the diverse regional distribution that Guinness has in Africa. E.g. Swaziland, Asutu, Zimbabwe, and Botswana, are all linked into South Africa's marketing division but other regions along the East and West coast e.g. Nigeria, Ghana, the Ivory Coast etc have their own regional marketing and distribution.

²² I asked Jim Doyle if the African '*sheeben*' was derivative from the Irish word and meaning (illegal bar). "Categorically yes", was his reply. For more information he advised a visit to South African Breweries (SAB) Museum to see some slides. He reported 40,000 to 50,000 sheebens in South Africa's townships. The concept of drinking in a bar, hotel lounge, or Ladies Bar is post-apartheid and not yet widespread.

²³ *Castle*, a South African Breweries product that enjoys the biggest market share for beer in Southern Africa.

This change is corroborated by Davies (1998, p. 174) who comments that, with worldwide advertising, “the emphasis has become more sophisticated and aspirational, shifting away from the original base of manual workers”. Here, there is an interesting parallel between the ‘new black audience’ that Guinness SA is chasing, and the profile of many consumers in the UK and other sites, as they seem to be targeting audiences who wish to mark themselves as different.

In South Africa, there are people who were living in the margins and striving to shift into the mainstream, making themselves ‘different’ from their black township peers. In Johannesburg, this group of ‘new black’ are using consumption in order to make that shift. By the act of conspicuous consumption, using expensive shoes, clothes or imported Guinness, they are signifying themselves as ‘shifting into a new social and political space’; but, laments Jim Doyle, “at the expense of their own!” Here, like the ‘marginal’ in the UK’s 1990’s target audience, the product appeals to and is utilised by consumers and audiences who want to make a statement about their ‘difference’.

The South African strategy is changing and Doyle told me that Guinness SA were due to relaunch the product at that time, using the aspirational card. However, interestingly, in the first instance they intended “to use the Ireland card” in order to develop an association between Ireland and the product. In the first instance they would also target the Irish in South Africa²⁴. Once they have attained the “high ground on the genuine Irishness of Irish Stout and ale” and “established the authenticity of the original” they will roll-out to other target audiences. Here we see another shift, and a significant one too; the Irishness of the product is being utilised here, just as it is in other worldwide locations outside Ireland, the UK and the USA. Now the new colonialisation machinery is in action and is being driven by private economic force. Instead of using Irish labour, or Irish land, or Irish skills, the colonialisation is occurring through the act of commodifying Irishness and Irish identity.

²⁴ 40,000 First Generation Irish passport holders, and 300,000 passports held by second, third and fourth generation Irish. They are primarily located in Durban, Capetown and Jo'burg. Jim Doyle cites these figures, supplied by the Irish Embassy in SA.

New Colonialisation, cultural abduction & the commodification of Irishness as a global product

As mentioned above, in the past the old colonial routes and colonial land ownership were the vehicles for distribution of the product; and the product was sold without alluding to Ireland, or Irishness, or Green Shamrocks²⁵. Following the decline of all empires, the dawn of a new era of marketing and the advent of Globalisation, the same markets are being targeted, the same product is being sold, but now there is a 'marketing' strategy. Selling Guinness in these old/new locations is shifting dramatically as shown in South Africa. In the late 1990's, the approach seemed to utilise Irishness and one of the ways it did so was via 'the Irish Pub'.

The Irish Pub has become a commodity in its own right and with the advent of the cleverly named *Irish Pub Company* (IPC) the process of commodification has been fuelled. The IPC, which was established in 1991, was originally commissioned by Guinness to create Irish Pubs throughout the world²⁶. In fact, the IPC has designed and built 400 'authentic' Irish pubs throughout the world²⁷ and in recent years, Guinness are utilising the emergence of their own IPC pubs and other copycat Irish theme pubs in order to market the product. Guinness is riding the wave of 'new colonial globalisation'. This new colonialism is market driven too, but instead of a takeover of one nation by another, it is the selling of, and commodifying of a national identity that drives it. This new wave of marketing, which uses the strategy of 'hijacking a particular ethnic identity' in order to make sales, is the new colonial globalisation in action.

This marketing strategy can be challenged as being a repackaging of the *colonial project*. Dressed up in a new suit, the colonial project may look different, but it utilises a set of principles that smack of 'cultural abduction'. Instead of harvesting rubber, tobacco or cotton, the harvesting of a less tangible but equally profitable commodity is occurring - the harvesting of cultural and ethnic identity. While the old image of Guinness was sold to overseas consumers as a product without

²⁵ With the exception of the Leprechaun Key Chains in Africa in 1966 - see above

²⁶ <http://www.fortunecity.com/business/waitt/205/> - accessed 3rd November 2001

²⁷ <http://www.irishpubcompany.com/welcome.html> - accessed 3rd November 2001

Irishness embedded in it, in the new international form of marketing the product is sold via the act of commodifying Irishness.

The Irish Pub Company (IPC) and other independent Irish-themed pubs are an example of a new version of globalisation - globalisation based on elevating nationalism to a point that it is a part of a brand's 'essence'. In contemporary globalisation via the IPC and similar, places like UK, USA, Scandinavia, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Asia now boast an *O'Flaherty's*, *O'Neills*, *O'Sullivan's*, or *Murphy's* as new residents with interiors designed to simulate a supposedly 'authentic' Irish pub. Apart from supplying fodder for stand-up comedians' material ('*I didn't know we kept our bicycles on the ceiling till I went to an Irish theme pub!*') the theme pub, with its shamrocked pints²⁸ (literally) elicits mixed reactions from Irish consumers. Most Irish consumers resist the 'plastic-ness' of the imagery although in the absence of any other Irish pub they will frequent an IPC or similar. The commodifying of an ethnic identity in order to generate sales is increasing. How else could we explain away the success of *Riverdance*, *Lord of the Dance*, and other 'entertainment products' that are 'buying into' and 'extracting out of' a specific culture and identity.

Positive consequences?

We could argue that this Irish renaissance has eased the load of the Irish migrant, specifically in the UK. Now, Irish music, food, and images are more acceptable, sought after, mainstream commodities and as such, by consequence, this development has raised the profile and (it could be argued) the acceptability of the Irish in Britain. However, I am not convinced. The 'renaissance' has certainly raised the profile of the Irish, not just in Britain but in the US, Australia etc. too. This perceived *acceptability* and embracing of all things Irish may inform, educate and even change attitudes, but has not triggered a reassessment of the fundamental

²⁸ Susan Hoban, author of *Irish Pubs Across America* - A guide to over 300 Irish pubs in the U.S., writes: "In fact, one will encounter many a shamrock atop a pint of Guinness in America, made by the bartender 'drawing' the shamrock at the end of 'drawing' the pint." One legend has it that in Irish Centres, the Shamrock was drawn into the head and the supporter was required to pay an extra small fee "for the cause".

structures in place that continue to discriminate, and as with all 'fashions' and 'trends' what is acceptable today, may not be 'street cred' tomorrow.

Conclusion

This chapter has documented the histories and the practices of the production of Guinness, and Guinness marketing in Ireland, the UK and the USA. It has also highlighted the differences in the production strategies utilised by the marketing machinery in each country. One would expect to find differences. Any marketing agency that doesn't customise its marketing campaign for its own locations' cultural and social profiles is a poor marketing agency. However that scrutiny gives rise to a series of questions about gender, racism, and national identity.

The fact Guinness does not overtly target women, or gay men, is understandable if you happen to be a marketing or advertising executive. In this role you are constrained and driven by aims and objectives that are determined and evaluated for results at every turn. However, in the broader picture, the very fact that a product cannot be seen to be targeting such groups as 'women', 'gay men', or a diasporic group such as 'the Irish', is a reflection of the wider society's attitudes and sites of resistance. The task of this thesis is to unsettle traditional thinking about advertising and consumption by scrutinising the practices and attitudes around the process.

Ironically, on the other side of the coin, I have identified the fact that the marketing machinery is utilising a national or ethnic identity and all the signifiers that that encapsulates, in order to increase distribution and profit. This demonstrates the ideological practices and their inconsistencies, and the power of the economy. It also suggests that the machinery manipulating ownership and control of a 'nation's identity' can come in many guises.

Finally in Section 2 – *Empirical Applause* - I demonstrated how essential it is to address the research question from the site of production. The focus on this site facilitated me in locating and identifying issues previously not considered and it afforded me the opportunity to make connections within the data that may not have

been previously dealt with. Consequently, in its sum and substance, this site on the circuit facilitated the generation of new themes and issues that would not have been considered without this 'space of contemplation'.

In the chapters that follow I uphold the argument that the consumption of a product can support, sustain and reinforce ethnic identity amongst Irish migrants in London and New York, and amongst Irish consumers in Ireland. In this chapter, and the next, I have explored the artefact from the perspective of production, from both the producer's, and consumer's point of view.

Chapter 4

Producing Guinness, Rituals, Myths & Histories

we don't really own the Guinness brand in this company, we are kind of custodians of it for the Irish people, it's like we're the national museum or something, it's not ours ...

Donagh Lane, Guinness Marketing, Dublin 1998

... the informed sense of a 'tradition' also works in a more 'mythical' mode to produce a collective identity and a shared sense of purpose.

Richard Johnson (1983, p. 8)

Introduction

In this chapter I trace and document the myriad of rituals and myths surrounding Guinness and so the collection and collation of the data was primarily anthropological in approach. In Chapter Three I described how the issues surrounding 'production' are traditionally addressed in the site of production via intermediaries such as marketing, design and advertising. In this chapter I explore 'production' from the consumer's perspective. I identify how the audience, independent to the traditional process of production, is producing their own narratives for consumption and I reveal how the consumer uses the product in a functional way, as a *marking good*. In these moments of use, the consumer and non-consumer inject life and meaning into the product giving it its power to be a reinforcer of 'Irishness' and 'community' and 'home'. And by exploring these moments is it possible to locate the different ways in which Guinness invents itself, allowing for different versions of Irishness.

In this chapter I consider consumers and non-consumers and examine their personal and sometimes intimate relationships with the product; the stories they have heard,

the stories they tell about the product, and the product's role in their lived experiences or in their memories.

I demonstrate that the 'audience productivity' revealed through rituals and myths, is something that the producers may not always credit, but may tap into nonetheless. And I examine the moments when the producer has selectively drawn on some of these myths and rituals that surround the product, the product's advertising text and the process of consumption of the product.

Describing Rituals and Myths

In this section I narrate the descriptions surrounding rituals and myths in the lived experiences of the consumer and the non-consumer. Here I describe the rituals surrounding the actual consumption of the product, the waiting, the anticipation, and the process of consumption. Respondents in all focus groups gave vivid descriptions of these rituals and myths that were part of their lived experiences, and their rich description indicated the significance of these stories to them. The rituals and myths seemed to intertwine and support each other in their role of *supporting the validation of the product* for consumers and non-consumers. The stories give the product its validation as 'something special' that is, a 'good' behaving in a manner that was not intended at the point of production. I argue that the moments where these myths and rituals reside, are the moments when the 'core essence', that marketing manager, Donagh Lane refers to in Chapter Three, is generated.

To understand the function of the rituals and myths, it is useful to draw on Douglas and Isherwood's *Anthropology of Consumption*. For them, "the main problem of social life is to pin down meanings so that they stay still for a little time. Without some conventional ways of selecting and fixing agreed meanings, the minimum consensual basis of society is missing" (1996, p. 43). They suggest that just like tribal society, we too need rituals, as they "serve to contain the drift of meanings". Douglas and Isherwood clarify the concept by explaining that "rituals are conventions that set up visible public definitions". For example "before the initiation there was a boy, after it a man; before the marriage rite there were two free persons,

after it two joined as one". For them, ritual is an essential element in our lives, and they warn that to manage without rituals is to manage without clear meanings and possibly without memories. And while some rituals are "purely verbal" hardly helping to "limit the interpretative scope" the most effective rituals "use material things", and "the more costly the ritual trappings, the stronger we can assume the intention to fix the meanings to be". For Douglas and Isherwood, "goods, in this perspective, are ritual adjuncts" and "consumption is a ritual process whose primary function is to make sense of the inchoate flux of events."

They suggest that "instead of supposing that goods are primarily needed for subsistence plus competitive display, let us assume that they are needed for making visible and stable the categories of culture. It is standard ethnographic practice to assume that all material possessions carry social meanings and to concentrate a main part of cultural analysis upon their use as communicators" (1996, p. 38). Douglas & Isherwood suggest that we might also find it useful to rethink 'goods' and 'commodities' and they urge us to forget that commodities are good for eating, clothing, and shelter – "forget their usefulness and try instead the idea that commodities are good for thinking; treat them as a nonverbal medium for the human creative faculty" (1996, pp. 40-41). The usefulness of Guinness as a product is obvious, but the moment we think, like Douglas and Isherwood, that the good might also be useful for thinking, then we can unlock the box and understand how the product boasts such a strong and enduring 'core essence'. Consumers and non-consumers use Guinness to think and create within their own lived experiences. They generate their own unique family stories around the product, and they generate their own social history around it too. Children remember grandparents through the product, families celebrate significant moments, and subsequently, the community too, becomes a part of these creative interludes with this good. Guinness is used to mark off intervals of time - for dying, loving, living etc. – and through these marking off moments it becomes a visible part of culture. The rituals and myths build on each other and support the extended value of the good while the rituals perform the function of 'marking'. Guinness provides a *marking service* in these *consumption rituals*. The marking services, such as the baptism, the wedding, the funeral, and Sunday meal or Passover supper, breaking fast, or Easter lunch, are all events where consumption is a system of reciprocal rituals.

In the broadest picture, rituals can be located around the consumption of Guinness and are a key aspect of the 'success' of the product, enabling it to enrich the daily lives and the lived experiences of consumers in Ireland, and more so, consumers in a diasporic space. Marking rituals can be found in the 'regularity' of attendance to the pub to meet, socialise and consume, for daily meeting and for special occasions of celebration. These marking rituals support and regulate the 'community' who consume the product, and the consumption of the product is a marking ritual for many events; the end of a working day, the meeting point for community, the end of a working week, the weekend, the local team winning the game, and the celebration of births, marriages and deaths.

On closer examination, it is possible to see that "consumption rituals are the normal marks of friendship" and especially so in drinking groups, where rituals of consumption regulate turn taking, rounds, and reciprocity¹. Ritual marking can also be seen in the way consumers repeatedly return to the same pub as 'regulars': returning to the same chair (their chair), at the same time, to meet the same people. In this context, the pub and the act of consumption may also act as a 'memorial rite', where consumers remember regulars who once sat with them, where children remember parents and grandparents, and where communities remember the lived and social history of that community.

In this research I have also located external rituals, such as rites of passage, which are then tied in with the imparting of the knowledge of the specific 'rituals of consumption'. A young man, going for his first pint with his father, is not only moving from boy to man, he is also learning the inherent rituals that surround the consumption of this now symbolic product. The son learns how to order, wait and test the product and in this case, the product has a primary ritual role and a secondary ritual role to play.

¹ Douglas and Isherwood (1996, p. 24) explore 'normal rituals' around drink, and they describe drinking beer as an aspect of public feasting; They describe a sociological study of miners (Dennis, N, Henriques, F. and Slaughter C *Coal is Our Life* Tavistock 1969) where "the drinking of beer is always shared drinking with friends". It is organised on strict rules of reciprocity. Therefore, "if a man is temporarily short of cash, he will accept drinks from a friend, but he will be honour-bound to repay. Ordinarily each stands his turn."

Guinness's Rituals

Growing up in Ireland, I was aware of some of the rituals surrounding the product, but during the focus group sessions with consumers I encountered a rich description of 'ritual' through their stories, and it was through their eyes that the picture developed. With further investigation I decided to divide 'ritual' into two categories. The first set of rituals is product based and are acknowledged and utilised by the marketing departments and by the consumers; the second set of rituals are consumer driven and remain in that domain. I begin with the product rituals, as they are the core rituals that reflect specific product behaviour.

Product Rituals

I asked Donagh Lane about the rituals around Guinness and he noted enthusiastically that there were "loads of rituals around Guinness". He theorised that "as formal rites and rituals break down" in society, "people look for new ones" such as, for example, "meeting on a Friday night" in the same pub, with the same people. He suggested that there is "a search for rooted-ness and substance for modern life, and a lot of the safety net of formal rites and rituals and structure in society" are breaking down. However, "the need is still there, and people will look for it and find it in other places". In response to this, the marketing department in Ireland recognise the value of the product rituals, and utilise them as an important strategy for engaging the consumer at a more involved level than other products might do.

DL - The fact that there are product rituals tends to require you to engage in a more active level, like the rituals of cooking meals [where one can cook a meal from fresh ingredients] rather than pressing a button and the food is ready.

The Guinness Moment

The most significant ritual or set of rituals can be located in what Guinness's marketing manager refers to as 'the Guinness Moment'. This encapsulates the experience from the moment the consumer orders her or his pint; to the moment she

receives the pint and waits for it to finally settle. The Guinness Moment is much longer than 'a moment' and is a rich site for rituals to reside. The first element in the Guinness Moment is the '*Two-Part Pull*'² and it is the primary moment, generating what consumers refer to as 'the Wait'.

The 'Wait' occurs due to the fact that the product is at its best if it is allowed to settle when the glass is partially filled, and then topped up when some of the gas has gone. The technical term given by Guinness to this action is 'the *Two-Part Pull*' and it is recognised by the company as being a vital site for the enactment of rituals surrounding the product (Lane, 1998). In fact various respondents described 'training videos' created for pubs in the USA, and in one case, for Americans who were travelling to Ireland for management training. The pub videos demonstrated how to execute the *Two-Part Pull* for the 'perfect pint', and the video preparing the management trainees included a section on 'how to order a pint of Guinness' as part of their orientation so they would not feel out of place in a Dublin pub. There are also web sites dedicated to teaching novices how to order Guinness e.g. *A Guide for the Un-Initiated To Buying Guinness in an Irish Pub* can be found at <http://www.ivo.se/guinness/beginner.html>.

The Wait

Everyone talks about it, but few describe it in negative way. Waiting at the bar for your pint is not perceived as a negative aspect of Guinness according to all respondents; rather it is described as 'the embodiment of ordering a pint of Guinness'. Both the consumers and the marketing people agree.

Mary - You can't rush a pint, it has to sit there,
and you have to wait for it to be pulled.

*The Clonsilla Inn,
Dublin, Working Group 1996*

² Also known as the 'Two-Part Pour' and the 'Two Pull'.

... people watch their pint in pubs, they wait for it,
and it adds to the satisfaction.

*Trevor Jacobs ARKS,
Dublin 1997*

Sf.³ - I think that's part of the thing, you know you have to wait for it, ... it's
sort of part of the whole selling thing, to build up to it - in a nice way

Sm⁴ - if it was just there in front of you, you wouldn't be - there's
anticipation I suppose, it's like looking for diamonds

*The Bedford Hotel,
London, Second-Generation Working Group 1998*

I also found that consumers would rather wait longer, even if the bar was busy. Here I propose that one of the functions of 'the Wait' may be that it marks the product as different and sets it apart from other drinks, making it unique. This uniqueness is valued by the consumer, and is possibly making the consumer feel 'set apart and unique too'. The Wait "appeals to loyals, and it also appeals to non-drinkers as well" according to John Hosking at Guinness UK. He suggests that this may be due to the fact that pubs "are quite faceless" and "lack[ing] personality", so there is a "huge appreciation", and "an extraordinary reaction when it's poured right". In fact it "really disturbs people when it's not served right".

In the US, the whole ritual surrounding the Wait was incorporated into their advertising campaign, when they launched a 'product story' demonstrating to consumers that a pint of Guinness has to 'happen' in its own time. Neil Cotton at Weiss Whitten Staglione, NY described the strategic focus of their advertising.

NC - It really is a product story, the wait, it can't be rushed, the idea that it's not just poured, it's actually built, it's some craft, and the tag line 'the nature of Guinness'. ... it was trading on characteristics of 'the Guinness experience' which we have seen is wider than just taste, it's actually the

³ Sf. – some female respondent – difficult to identify on tape due to background noise.

⁴ Sm. – some male respondent – difficult to identify on tape due to background noise.

ordering, ... the whole ritual - down to the empty glass with the rings. It's still part of the Guinness experience ... it's more than just a drink.

Adding another dimension, Connie Doolan, Guinness USA attributes the retention and imparting of the 'Guinness knowledge' in some part to the bar owners who support the rituals. In New York, bar owners, who had come from Ireland, were very knowledgeable with respect to Guinness. They "grew up with it, and enjoyed the pride of Guinness" themselves. Through their influence, the marketing programmes that Guinness developed were successful.

While respondents did not object to 'the Wait' and the subsequent delay in receiving their pint, they did object to receiving a pint that was 'set-up' or 'stacked'. The 'stacking' of pints sometimes occurs when pubs are busy and the bar person may pull a few pints of Guinness before they are actually ordered so as to move through customers quickly. Many respondents reported disliking 'the set-up' or 'stacking' immensely; complaining that "it just wasn't the same". Whether they meant that the pint was not the same in taste because it had been standing for a while, or that they had been excluded from their role in the ritual of 'the Wait' is unclear.

Mike - ... if I go into a pub and get handed a pint immediately it drives me mad, I hate it. I prefer to have a pint of Guinness and be waiting ten minutes, and just leave it there to settle.

*Grand Hotel, Tramore, Ireland
Professional Group 1996*

Interestingly, while in Ireland it was unacceptable to stack the pints, amongst second-generation Irish in London it was acceptable.

The 'Pour' or the 'Surge'

One specific element found within the process of ordering and receiving a pint is 'the pour' or 'the surge'⁵ and this product ritual is an example of how the physical

⁵ Donagh Lane – The visual movement in the glass when the pint starts to settle

qualities of the product lend opportunities to the marketing department, who in turn generate a campaign around it. For Lane, “in terms of some of the rituals, the surge is probably the crucial thing”.

One female first generation migrant in New York described the pleasure she derives from her own ritual of ‘watching the pour’. “I’d be sitting at the bar and I’d just become consumed with the way they used to pour it”. And in London second-generation respondents described the moment, as “tantalising, watching it settle”.

Building on the pleasure derived from the overall ritual generated by ‘the Wait’, one male respondent in New York suggested that the entire experience of ordering and drinking a pint of Guinness requires *time*.

Sm. - Guinness needs time - if you go drinking Guinness you don’t want to be served in a hurry and rushed and have a two-minute pint and then out the door.

*McCormack’s, New York
Professional Group.*

From a production perspective, Trevor Jacobs notes that the two most successful adverts in the Irish campaign, namely ‘*Island*’ (see Chapter 5) and ‘*Anticipation*’, (see Chapter 8) both demonstrate the ritual of waiting. He later comments that other brands like *Caffreys* and *Kilkenny* have recently built in ‘the Guinness delay’ into their own products.

The pleasure and importance surrounding ‘the Wait’ did raise one question for me. “Is ‘the Wait’ linked somehow to religion?” There may be a correlation between the delayed gratification found in the ritual of waiting and the principle of delayed gratification that is found in the Catholic church’s ethos. I did raise the religious aspect of it with Lane, Jacobs and Hosking and asked them if Guinness had researched the notion, or come across it in focus groups. They found the idea ‘powerful’, but none of them had considered this aspect of ‘the Wait’. This is obviously a question that would require further consumer research.

*After the Wait ... The Rings of Saturn, Personalisation & Quality**Control*

Building on the Waiting and Anticipation of the pint, the next product driven 'ritual' is found in the actual consumption of the product. The 'trace', 'lacing' or 'rings', or as Guinness romantically refer to it, the 'Rings of Saturn', is seen by consumers as the 'quality mark' of a good pint. The Rings of Saturn are the patterns of 'lacing' that the froth leaves as the glass empties. Proof of a good pint is if the lacing continues down the full length of the glass. Interestingly, the proof of a good pint, just like the ordering of the pint, requires more patience, you have to *wait* to find out. According to Donagh Lane at Guinness, the Rings of Saturn are "the proof of a good pint".

DL - there's the idea of the Rings of Saturn, the heavenly drink, if it's a good pint and also this idea because you have to wait for it.

For first generation migrants in the UK, the 'lacing' was a signifier, not just of a 'good' pint, but also of 'an Irish pint'. One respondent described how his uncle would complain bitterly about the inferior quality of his UK pint "because in Ireland you get a trace in the glass when you drink it". This was perceived as a mark of quality that was notably absent in his London pint.

Interestingly, when consumers talked about the product, they talked about 'their' pint and this leads us to another aspect of the product, the element of ownership. Once the 'Two-Pull' ritual is over and the pint has been handed over to the consumer, and sometimes even before it has been handed over, there is an element of 'personalisation'. 'Ownership bonds' can be located in the site of the 'Guinness Moment', when the consumer is allocated 'his or her' glass. Donagh Lane describes it further.

DL - the bar man calls 'it's your pint' and there might be ten pints, but you'd know that was yours.

At this point, the consumer has already identified which pint is his and in addition to this moment of establishing ownership, the pint entrenches its ownership bonds

when the consumer receives the pint from the barperson. At this moment, experienced Guinness drinkers will check the pint the way a midwife checks a newborn for all its fingers and toes. The pint will be scrutinised starting at the top as the head of the pint has the first quality check moment. It should be “smooth and slightly off white”. For Lane, the head is “the arbiter for product quality”, and he suggests that “you could give people a great tasting liquid, but if the head doesn’t look good, people will think the beer tastes awful”. As an arbiter of quality, the head is closely examined, and consumers reported ownership feelings around it. They did not like anyone ‘messing’ with the head. Drawing a shamrock in the Pint’s head (as seen in IPC pubs, in Chapter 3) was one example of ‘uncalled for’ interference, having too big a head (bishops collar) is another, and generally poking your finger in someone else’s head, even if it is just to ‘draw a smiley face’, could lead to trouble (as would poking one’s finger into anything!).

A USA product ritual

In the US, I identified one ‘marketing driven’, ‘invented’ product ritual in New York, when I interviewed Connie Doolan at Guinness Marketing. He described the ‘Guinness Toast’ where on a particular night in the month of March, at eleven o’clock at night, across the US thousands and thousands of bars and all its customers, raise their glasses with a pint of Guinness in a toast. This marketing strategy reminded me of Donagh Lane’s emphasis on the aspect of ‘communion’ that he felt the product embodied. And while it was clearly a promotional exercise, driven by the marketing department, it was utilising an aspect of the product that was less than tangible and dependent on the ‘belonging’ and ‘community’ connotations that are associated with the product; a set of meanings that are brought to it by the audience or consumers.

Consumer Rituals

Above I revealed descriptions of specific rituals that are that driven by innate characteristics of the product itself and when appropriate, Guinness’s marketing

reinforced these elements in their campaigns. However, there is another category of rituals to document, and they originate wholly from the consumer. In this category, I explored stories of consumers 'doing things' to their pint such as 'adding' blackcurrant cordial to the product. I also discovered that they have developed elaborate intelligence rituals for quality checks. And I found that the pint is also ritualised and used by the consumer in 'rites of passage', and for 'initiation and membership rituals'. The active and productive consumer has also developed ways of personalising, and of stamping 'ownership marking' on the product and by doing this they often extend the product and ritual into another more private and personal space, a space un-harnessed by the marketing campaigns. For example the father/son relationship was described as a site where Guinness played a ritualistic role, using the product to remember deceased loved ones, and tapping into the religious rituals of Lent and abstinence, were some examples of private and personal ritual usages - Guinness has not used such images and moments in its advertising to date.

Consumers 'doing things' to the Pint

It is interesting to note that as far as consumers and non-consumers are concerned, it was admissible for consumers to 'play around' with the product, but the company, Guinness, could not. In Chapter 3 I described how consumers perceive the product as *theirs*, and I cited Donagh Lane's comments that they (Guinness) were simply the curators of the product. Lane described consumer *and non-consumer* reactions when they thought the company was stepping outside its brief and doing something with the product that was 'unacceptable'. However, while Guinness feel 'policed' by their consumers in Ireland, the consumers seem to have given themselves *carte blanche* to 'do things' to the pint. For example, some people add blackcurrant cordial to Guinness, (especially new drinkers, because the product is bitter) and while amongst themselves consumers would have mixed feelings about this, (real men don't add cordial), if Guinness were to market the product with added cordial it would 'be seen as sacrilege'. According to Lane, "we are relied on to keep the thing pure and if they want to personalise it, that's up to them".

In my interviews with respondents I found that adding blackcurrant "made it drinkable, and less bitter" especially for those learning to drink Guinness. Some men

serving their Guinness apprenticeship were 'allowed' to add the cordial, but it is a practice found mostly amongst female drinkers (see Chapter Six). Interestingly, while participating in the focus groups, the masculinity police were on alert, and when some men in the groups did admit to adding cordial, the other men reacted strongly, as if to reinforce their own masculinity. They informed me that they *knew* some men who did it, but generally, it was considered to be sacrilegious "to do such a thing to a pint". Apart from blackcurrant cordial, other additives have been noted and one offended first-generation respondent and ex-barman from Dublin described seeing some people in the US "putting sugar" in their Guinness.

Consumer intelligence ... maintaining standards

During each focus group session I heard repeated stories about Guinness and the fact that it was a difficult product to drink, and this was made more complex because it was difficult to guarantee good standards of quality (see Chapter Eight). While a 'good' pint was hard enough to consume, especially for beginners, a 'bad' pint was impossible. When I began to discuss aspects of 'quality' and ensuring consistency in standards of quality around the pint, the level of consumer 'intelligence' surprised me. I liken their engagement and problem solving to military intelligence, where 'gathering information' and 'lateral thinking' are key elements for problem solving. The consumers talked about the considerations and strategies they used in order to ascertain the quality of a pint. As they talked, their depth of knowledge and the all-consuming interest was palpable. Consumers intelligence operations, on par with military intelligence operations, begin as soon as they walk into a pub, especially if the pub is new to them. Dublin respondents, Tina and Antoinette described how, on arrival in a new pub, they would visually check the standards by seeing how many people were actually 'drinking' Guinness. If the numbers were low and only a few were drinking Guinness, they would note the 'early warning' and assume that the Guinness is not good. They explained that if there "isn't a run on the barrel," that is, the keg of Guinness was not in constant demand, then the product would be lying in the line and would taste bad. Tina and Antoinette were not prepared to risk purchasing 'a stagnant pint'. A second strategy devised by the consumer was to visually assess actual pints as other drinkers were consuming them, to ascertain if the pint 'looks' good, that is, did the pint have a good head, a good colour, and was

there ‘tracing’ or ‘Rings of Saturn’ on the glass (see above). Finally if they were still in doubt, they would approach others who were drinking Guinness and ask if the pint is okay.

Other methods of ‘assessment’ were also discussed and the conversation became quite technical. Interestingly, this exhibition of extensive and in depth knowledge regarding the physics of the product was not gender specific: female consumers were as knowledgeable and motivated as their male counterparts. They talked about the ‘length of line’, the ‘standard of the line’, the preferable ‘temperature of the ‘cool room’’, and issues of ‘seasonality’. The ‘ideal’ was described by Tommy, who explained that “the smaller the pub the better the Guinness, as it wouldn’t have travelled so far and it wouldn’t be sitting in ‘the line’ during the times that there wasn’t a ‘run’ on the keg”. In English or ‘non-Guinness speak’, Tommy was explaining that if the distance between the keg and the tap is excessive, then the measure of one whole pint could be lying in the line, under less than ideal conditions. And if the bar was not busy, then that measure of a pint could be lying in the line for some time. This would result in a very unpleasant pint. In keeping with this, the ‘standard of the line’ was another great concern, because, I was told, if the line was not clean, or if the cleaning fluid was not well flushed out, the next pint could be tainted. The other great concern was voiced with regard to the temperature of the ‘cool room’. Storage at an incorrect temperature was often the reason put forward by consumers if they received a less than perfect pint, And if they wanted to identify a ‘good’ Guinness pub versus a ‘bad’ one, the temperature of the cool room was the first consideration. The issue of ‘the correct temperature’ is recorded in my own family history – one of my aunts retells a story about my own Grandfather who ordered a pint of Guinness in a pub in Galway in the Sixties. Apparently he was unimpressed when he noticed that the landlady was in the back room with two jugs, ‘mixing’ the temperature of the pint. He left in disgust announcing that they were “messaging with his pint”.

In conjunction with the physical requirements of ‘line length’, the condition of that ‘line’ and the temperature in the storage area, there were two other factors surrounding the maintenance of standards. For Mike, in Waterford, the way the pint

was pulled was crucial. “There’s an art to pulling the pint” and anything less than the most talented or well-trained bar person may jeopardise the perfection.” And finally, for a true and authentic pint of Guinness, all first-generation migrants in London and New York reported that Ireland was “the only place to go”. Regardless of the skill of the bar person, the good condition of the line, the regulated temperature of the cool room etc, in the London or New York bar, the perfect pint of Guinness resides in Ireland.

Dennis – it’s all right here, but it’s always much better at home.

*McCormack’s, New York
Professional Group.*

I asked if it would help if the product had at least been ‘shipped from Dublin’ and most respondents idealised the point of origin as important. They all held the belief that somehow, it’s a better product if it comes from Dublin. The origin of the product seemed to inscribe the product with ‘authenticity’ and this link with Dublin, and Ireland, and Home was a crucial living myth for the Irish residing in London and New York. I found this poignantly expressed in London amongst first-generation respondents who said that while they were not brand loyal Guinness drinkers they *did* drink Guinness when they were in Ireland because “it [was] a marker of being back in Ireland”.

The product’s myths and rituals seem to generate a high level of interest and engagement amongst male and female consumers and non-consumers and when I discovered the degree of consumer intelligence it impressed on me just how complex the relationship was between the consumer and the product. The rituals described above are strongly linked with the product and its quality, but there are other ritualistic elements surrounding the product that emerged through the consumers’ stories.

Rites of Passage

I found one evocative ritual that was not as overt as those described above, and this is due to the fact that rituals of passage are not normally labelled as such by those

who use them. The ritual of passage was indirectly pointed to by some male respondents when they mentioned, in passing, that they 'drink Guinness with their father' when they visit Ireland, or they reminisce how they became 'one of the gang' when they had their first pint. In fact, the first pint, and the perseverance around acquiring 'a taste' for Guinness could be described as being driven by the need to cross over from boy to man and become members of the 'big boys Club' (see Chapter 8).

The ritual of passage from boy to man is a widespread ritual found in many cultures, both ancient and modern, and one of the recurring themes that Guinness has located in current market research around 'mythology' is located around 'the rites of passage and rituals.' Lane described these market research findings and commented that "the male rite of passage is a motif you find in many, many cultures, all over the world". Here he cited Nelson Mandela's autobiography where he talked about rites of passage in South Africa and the role Guinness played in that rite. In South Africa, Guinness has a strong association with 'marking rituals' and there is a sense of "when you take Guinness, you're kind of becoming a man" (Lane 1998).

Lane suggests that as societies become more affluent, and modern formal rites of passage such as bar mitzvahs etc. break down, "... there is still a fundamental human need for rites of passage and rituals". And so I argue that new markers are invented, and need to be invented. For example, drinking in a pub is a marker of legally coming of age in most western countries where regulations determine the age that a young man or woman can legally enter a pub and order alcohol. However it is more than a marker of attainment of new legal status. I argue that having your first pint, with or without family members, can replace the more traditional rite of passage. Here the act of consumption can mark time, and be the transitional moment for any male or female to move out of adolescence, or to move into a new in-group. Furthermore, the act of consumption can also mark time and be a transitional moment when one *returns* to an old in-group. One male first generation respondent in London described how when "back in Ireland" he would drink Guinness because his father and brother did - it wasn't his normal drink, but he wanted to "fit in". Here the act of consumption behaved not so much a rite of passage, but as a route 'back' to a place where the respondent wanted to belong.

Using the 'knowledge of Ritual' for exclusion purposes

However, just as rituals can mark membership, received knowledge and inclusion, they can also mark exclusion. One first generation Irish migrant in New York was very critical when he described Irish-Americans ordering Guinness just because they were “in the company of ‘Irish’ people”. He was critical of the fact that they didn’t have any understanding of the rituals surrounding the Guinness moment. He commented they “can’t wait till it settles – they haven’t a clue”. The implication was that the Irish-Americans were trying to fit in, and be as authentic as possible in the company of ‘real’ Irish consumers, but they failed to do so because they did not ‘know’ the rituals of the product.

I argue that the *knowledge* of the rituals and myths is used by the Irish migrant in London and New York to further mark themselves as ‘authentic’ first-generation Irish, as opposed to second or other generation Irish (see Chapter Seven). And in other efforts to ‘personalise the pint’ and make it ‘mine’, the Irish consumer in Ireland and abroad, has generated other ways of marking the pint of Guinness.

Personalising the pint ... making it mine

I have already described the consumer’s claim that they have formed a bond with their pint before the barperson has even completed the Two-Part-Pull. But this gesture of ownership is extended further and there are other examples of strategies devised by consumers for ‘personalising’ their pint. For example, in the UK and USA, alternative names are given to the product such as ‘*muck*’, ‘*diesel*’, ‘*liquid engineering*’, and ‘*holy water*’. These alternative names are material for a study in their own right and I do examine them further in Chapter 8 and 9). In the focus groups held in Ireland, I did not encounter many descriptions of consumers giving alternative names to the product, but there were a couple of examples that Donagh Lane had encountered and he suggested that the act of renaming was linked with the desire to personalise the drink. Lane described some of the references found in Ireland and they included ‘*Porter*’ (although according to Lane, Guinness isn’t actually porter), ‘*Uncle Arthur’s*’, after the founder of the company Arthur Guinness, a ‘*pint of plain*’, which is a literary reference to novels by Irish author

Flann O'Brian; and in bottle cultures⁶ such as Limerick, people ask for 'danos' (a dano is a pint bottle of Guinness).

Rituals of Religion

The final example of ritualistic gestures around the product were linked with religion and within this thematic subject I heard stories from Irish male consumers in rural Ireland who recalled "men giving up drink for Lent"⁷. Mike talked about men giving up drink for Lent and Jim, whose father was an alcoholic, described the memory of his father as one who never drank during Lent. "It was the only time he used to [stop]. He used to spend [the time] in the garden. One summer he stayed off 'till Summer. Probably the best summer I had as a youngster. ... I'd say the Church influence was a good one." Prompted by Jim's moving description of tangible changes in the quality of family life, due to the ritual of abstinence, I wondered if Guinness marketing had ever taken such 'seasonality issues' into account when planning their campaigns. I asked Trevor Jacobs at Arks Advertising if Guinness had ever considered seasonal issues such as Lent, when planning their advertising. Jacobs could not recall a time when adverts for alcohol were scheduled to avoid Lent or other religious periods of abstinence.

Myths & Histories ...

The descriptions of the rituals surrounding the product (above), serve to underline the strength and value of the consumer's inscriptions onto the product. Without these marking rituals the product would be simply 'another product', but when it is used as a marker of celebration, memorial, membership, transition and religiosity, the product is given an important role in the lives and histories of the consumer and non-consumer. (The non-consumer is touched by the rituals too. For example a mother or grandmother would acknowledge the importance of the moment when her son, or grandson joins his father or grandfather for his first pint. Or a non-Guinness drinker,

⁶ In some parts of Ireland bottles are preferred to draught.

⁷ Lent *n.* the 40 weekdays from Ash Wednesday to Easter observed by the Roman Catholic, Eastern, and some Protestant churches as a period of penitence and fasting (<http://www.m-w.com/cgi-bin/dictionary>)

occupying the pub space, would be aware and involved in marking rituals etc.) This usage demonstrates the value of the product's 'core essence', as it is used to write onto the cultural backdrop of Irish consumer's lived experiences. Hand in hand with those rituals, several myths reside around the artefact and through consumer's stories I have located these myths and described them below.

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines a *myth* as

a usually traditional story of ostensibly historical events that serves to unfold part of the world view of a people or explain a practice, belief, or natural phenomenon

or as a

popular belief or tradition that has grown up around something or someone; *especially* : one embodying the ideals and institutions of a society or segment of society

(<http://www.m-w.com/cgi-bin/dictionary>)

Certainly, the myths that I located surrounding the product appear to be *a world view of a certain group of people* and these myths derive their life from a set of popular beliefs that have grown up around the product. And they *appear* to embody the ideals of the society that subscribes to them.

Guinness is GOOD for you

A whole mythology exists around the 'goodness' of Guinness. Consumers and non-consumers share in this belief, and despite strict advertising regulations and an absence of such references in contemporary campaigns, the belief that Guinness is innately good for you is continually expressed across all locations, classes, ages and genders. In the focus group sessions in Ireland, all the female respondents described the value of the product when pregnant.

Mary my mother brought it in to me in the maternity hospital

Tina the doctors recommend it when you're pregnant and they don't recommend any other spirits

Repeatedly, I was told by female respondents that “there’s iron in it”, and the male respondents also believed in the nutritious value of a pint for women’s general good health ...

Jack women should get a free pint of Guinness every day

... and for themselves

Gillie it’s a known fact that Guinness is good for you

(Yeahs of agreement all round)

Jim people who’ve had a heart attack are actually encouraged to have a glass or a pint of it.

Interestingly, one male respondent, who was a painter/decorator described a myth that painters subscribed to. He and his colleagues believed that they should drink “milk during the day and Guinness at night”, to minimise the effect of “the lead in the paint”. John “wasn’t sure if it did any good”, but continued with the practice nonetheless. In fact, the link between Milk and Guinness is a link that was made on numerous occasions. The less tenuous link of ‘nursing mothers’ and ‘nutrition’ is the main one, and the signification between the goodness of milk and the goodness of Guinness is eloquently communicated by artist Dorothy Cross, whose work depicts a bottle of Guinness with a cow’s udder to signify a baby’s bottle (see Figure 4A).

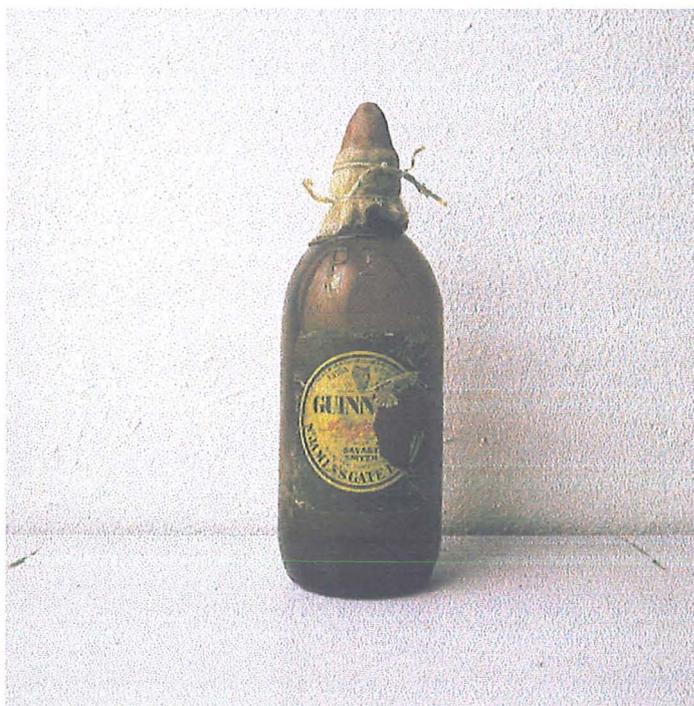


Figure 4A: *Pap I* 1993⁸, Guinness bottle and cows teat.

Courtesy of the artist, Dorothy Cross.

In the UK and USA, first and second generation migrants carried the expression of beliefs into the diasporic space, as they too described their conviction of the ‘goodness’ surrounding the product. Tom described “learning” that Guinness is good for you, and a tonic, “not from the ads” but from his grandmother, and, interestingly, from his Jamaican friends. In fact, in Chapter Three, I did describe how the product is well established in the Caribbean and West Indies, and there, it is sold under the signifier that it is a power-giving drink; and in Africa the myth extends further and the product is thought to restore a man’s ‘power’ and make him strong, and there are also allusions to the product’s aphrodisiac properties. Guinness advertising continues to reinforce these myths in Africa today.

In the UK and USA, it was again associated with “pregnancy”, “breastfeeding mothers”, and “a source of iron”. It was generally described as “rich” “good nourishment” and “full of protein”. Although one respondent was sceptical,

⁸ By Irish artist, Dorothy Cross, from the catalogue *‘Even’*, and reproduced with kind permission of the artist. Image supplied by Kerlin Gallery, Dublin. Also available from the Arnolfini Gallery.

describing it as a “bit of a brain wash”, he quickly followed with a retraction arguing that nonetheless, “Guinness is good for you ... there’s iron in it, and it has less chemicals than lager”.

Interestingly, the endorsement for the ‘goodness’ is often reported as coming from the medical profession. One respondent in London explained that the Doctor had told his mother to drink Guinness everyday when pregnant; another described how, “when you [donate] blood in Dublin they give you a pint of Guinness”. A first generation respondent in New York was told to drink Guinness because he had an ulcer and Guinness “wouldn’t irritate like other alcohols” and a female New York respondent described how her father, while seriously ill in hospital, was sent, along with other patients, to the local bar near the hospital, to drink Guinness - “for iron, and that kind of thing”.

In contrast to the health myths that surround the product, the official line, from Guinness is obviously based on facts. Donagh Lane reported that Guinness is good for you because it does contain nutrients; it’s a good source for folic acid, and it is made up entirely of natural ingredients. However, Lane and Hosking both insist that their marketing departments in Dublin and London would never make a claim that Guinness is good for you in any contemporary advertising campaign, as regulations would not allow it. Lane concluded by noting that while the product was *natural*, it was alcoholic and so claims of health-giving qualities would be unfounded.

The ‘natural’ debate

The dictionary also defines myths as “an unfounded or false notion” and a “... thing having only an imaginary or unverifiable existence”. These definitions smack of a Barthesian approach, where he would urge us to *interrogate the obvious* in order to locate ideological shenanigans. I think the success of this particular Guinness myth is something Barthes would have enjoyed exploring. The use of the word ‘natural’ is connotative of ‘good’ and ‘health giving’. However the resonance of ‘goodness’ and ‘healthiness’ that surrounds the term ‘natural’ is not accurate. In fact ‘natural’ is probably one of the most dangerous and *unhealthy* words in the English language. History affords us twenty-twenty hindsight vision and we can locate moments when

we were, and in some cases still are, sold dominant ideological beliefs via this term. For example, we were and are still told that it is *natural* for women to be mothers and *natural* for women to stay home as the main child-carer, and we are also taught that it is 'natural' for women to be physically weaker than men. The consequences of this 'natural' argument seem to result in the further subjugation of women in economic, social, cultural and political life.

Another example of the misleading logic that natural=good can be seen when we explore 'natural' remedies for illness. Uninformed users of alternative medicine argue that 'natural' remedies are somehow safer and better and they often ignore the fact that if misused or misdiagnosed these 'natural' remedies can poison and kill.

The 'logical' link between *Natural* and *Goodness* and the subsequent associations and meanings around this binary could be explored further. Barthes, (1967) in *Writing Degree Zero* describes the idea of dominant groups utilising structures in order to ensure control. He describes the role played by classic French style of writing as being a characteristic act of bourgeois expropriation, part of a grand design whereby all aspects of bourgeois life silently acquire the same air of naturalness, of rightness, of universality and inevitability. "Bourgeois writing is not innocent", he continues, "it does not simply reflect reality. In fact, it *shapes* reality in its own image, acting as the institutionalised carrier, transmitter or encoder of the bourgeois way of life and its values. To respond to such writing is to accede to those values, to confirm and to reinforce the nature of that way of life"(1967).

For Barthes, myths serve the ideological function of *naturalisation* (Barthes 1977, pp. 45-6). Their function is to naturalise the cultural - in other words, to make dominant cultural and historical values, attitudes and beliefs seem entirely 'natural', 'normal', self-evident, timeless, obvious 'common-sense' - and thus objective and 'true' reflections of 'the way things are'. Contemporary sociologists argue that social groups tend to regard as 'natural' whatever confers privilege and power upon themselves. Barthes saw myth as serving the ideological interests of the bourgeoisie. "Bourgeois ideology... turns culture into nature", he declares (Barthes 1974, p. 206).

Likewise, the myths of *naturalness* and *goodness* surrounding Guinness play their part in encouraging consumers to drink a product that is *not* good for them and does not possess magical health-giving qualities. These myths also play a part in shaping reality in their own image. Moreover, in keeping with Althusser's position that the media is an ideological state apparatus supporting a dominant ideology, I would argue that marketing, and its media spin-off, advertising, must also be considered as forms of Ideological State Apparatuses, (ISA's) and consequently should be regarded as suspect. The function of these apparatuses, alongside the use of myths that function as natural belief systems, suggest that we should approach the myth as something so obvious that it warrants interrogation. We must remember that under the super-ordinate slogan '*Guinness is good for you*', which was heavily used by Guinness in its earlier, pre-regulation campaigns, a whole mythology exists – for a reason.

Other myths – gender issues and 'a job for life'

Compared with 'the goodness myth' the other myths mentioned by respondents and producers were less widespread in their subscription. Many respondents talked about the gendered aspects of drinking the product, and the myth that women should not go to pubs, or should not go in alone was found when discussions about the pub as a male versus female space occurred. The most tangible gender myth was that women should not drink pints and the predominant myth surrounding measures and gender was reportedly the fact that it was "unladylike to drink pints" and ideally 'women should drink glasses'⁹ although one male respondent suggested that "women shouldn't go into pubs at all"! (see Chapter Six).

Another myth around the product was a myth that linked the 'Company as an institution', with the product. In Ireland, and especially in Dublin, respondents talked about the Guinness Brewery as a site for employment. Many described it as a very good place to work because it was perceived as secure employment or "a job for life", and Guinness was described as "very good employers". The Company, and the Guinness Family, were seen as benevolent benefactors who contributed

⁹ i.e. half pint glasses.

economically and philanthropically to Dublin city, and to the working class and impoverished community at large. Byrne 2001 describes the company as “woven into the fabric of family life” in Dublin. Due to a ‘son of employee’ policy that guaranteed employment to the sons of employees, three generations from one family could be working at Guinness at the same time. Whole families, grandfathers, fathers, sons, uncles and nephews were known to work for the company in family tradition. Interestingly, the company seems to have deserved the reputation of ‘a good employer’. It pioneered practices such as free medical care for its employees and their families, and in 1870 opened the first dispensary on the premises. In 1893, it opened a Welfare Department, and in 1901 a building society was launched so that employees could buy their own homes. If an employee died, his widow received half his salary and was offered the option to work at the Brewery to supplement her income. The company has changed since the turn of the century, and is now owned by *Diageo*¹⁰. And no member of the original Guinness family sit on a board or are involved in the company in any way. However in Dublin the attitude towards the company is still reported to be a place where “you’re made for life” if you get a job there, and once employed there, “they [would] look after you from the womb to the tomb” (Byrne 2001).

Market Research - tapping into rituals myths & histories

The myths above serve to underline the status of the product, and the company, in the family histories of Irish consumers and non-consumers. And the reason why non-consumers relate so strongly to the product and the company are now a little clearer. Here is a product that has been woven, not just into the lives of consumers who locate the product as a player in their social pub lives – but into the lives of non-consumers too. For both groups, the product, and the company, have played a role in the various moments that make up their own unique family, social and cultural histories and the myths and rituals that surround them reinforce and carry forward the various significant memories for them.

¹⁰ On the 15 October 1997 a European merger task force approved a *Guinness/GrandMet* merger. The new company was named *Diageo*.

Guinness marketing is aware of some of the consumer's rituals and myths. But there seems to be an ambiguous relationship between them with regard to this because while the marketing departments at Guinness do not always credit the audience's productivity, they do tap into and utilise some of the myths and rituals that have been written by the consumer and non-consumer. Donagh Lane talked at length about Guinness's myths and at the time of the interview, the marketing department was working with a consultant on folk culture where they were examining myths and legends. The researchers were tracing the fact that certain characters in myths and legends reoccur in different cultures but the research was focusing on classical myth, not the myths that have been produced and enriched by the consumer.

However, while Guinness have not researched consumer's myths in great depth, they have been overtly tapping into the 'product rituals' and they have been incorporating them into their advertising over the years. The *Wait* and the *Guinness Moment* are demonstrated themes in Ireland in adverts such as *Island* and *Anticipation* and the *Rings of Saturn* and the *surge* have been depicted in numerous adverts where keen camera work captured the lacing on the glass and the motion of the surge. However they have not actively engaged in reproducing the rituals that are consumer driven. The only exception to this is the ritual of 'passage'. In the marketing department at Guinness Ireland, this is one of aspect of the brand, and one consumer based ritual, that the company would like to build on and link the product too. Not, Lane warned, in a formal way, but as "a subtle substitute to traditional rites of passage".

Conclusion

In this chapter I documented the rituals and myths surrounding the product through the stories told by consumers, and in doing so, I identified the productivity of the audience. I have revealed that audiences produce independently of other 'production forces' and this can be located around the rituals and myths described above. I argue that the audience, by actively producing myths and rituals, independently of the producers marketing and advertising campaigns, is an independently active

audience. Consequently, this chapter addressed 'production', not from the traditional positions of production, but from the audience's perspective.

I also explained why the product is significant to consumers and non-consumers in Ireland. I demonstrated that the product behaves as a marker of ritual and myth for the wider community and is woven into the lives of whole families whose sons, husbands and fathers worked for the company, and into the lives of families who have used the product in their daily lives, as a functional product, as a marker of transition and as a celebration.

And finally, I considered the fact that Guinness marketing does not credit, but often tap into the productivity of the consumer. I excavated incidents when the producer acknowledged the consumer and identified some moments when the producer is lead by consumer's attitudes and beliefs. Donagh Lane confirmed that Guinness is sometimes led by the audience, through feedback and through their productive extensions to the product, and this demonstrates that sometimes the audience is the power-holder and the source of inspiration for the advertising content.

In the following chapter, Chapter Five *Reading Irishness*, I examine how Irishness is written into the advertising text in Ireland and how 'Otherness' is written into the texts in the UK campaigns.

Chapter 5

Reading Irishness, Reading Guinness

semiotic analysis can open new depths of awareness and raise new theoretical questions

Douglas (1982, p. 199)

semiotics offers the promise of a systematic, comprehensive and coherent study of communications phenomena as a whole, not just instances of it

Hodge & Kress (1988, p. 1).

Introduction

In this final chapter in Section 1, I present an investigation of the advertising texts found in the marketing campaigns for Guinness in Ireland and the UK. Although the product *Guinness* can be regarded as a cultural product and could therefore be treated as 'text' in itself, I am addressing the secondary text, that is, the spin-off of the core 'text' – the advertising text. Concentrating on the advertising text enables me to explore meanings and readings embedded in the product, and permits me to tap into the 'core essence' of the product as constructed by the producer and as deconstructed by the consumer or audience.

I have divided the chapter into three sections: In Section 1, Part 1, I deconstruct the Irish advert *Island*, occupying the role of the specialist or expert reader (Johnson 1986, p. 31) and in Part 2, I extend the specialist reading by drawing in Cook's model of discourse analysis (1992). In Section 2, Part 1, I deconstruct the British advert *Games*, and in part 2, I extend the specialist reading by using discourse analysis.

In Sections 1 and 2, Part 1, I draw on classic and contemporary structuralists in order to execute a traditional interrogation of the texts. As the specialist reader, I excavate the texts and demonstrate how deconstruction can expose elements such as 'inclusion and exclusion of Irishness,' 'community', 'masculinity', 'difference', 'other', 'naturalness', and 'product loyalty', and I unveil the differences that exist between Irish and UK marketing strategies.

In Sections 1 and 2, Part 2, I extend the specialist reading and I add on to traditional structuralist approaches by adopting elements of discourse analysis (Cook 1992). The specialist reading of the text is essential to look beyond the manifest content of the texts and "to denaturalise the text, demonstrating that its commonsense meanings are not givens, but the product of ideological coding" (Thwaites et al. 1994, p. 161 cited in Chandler 2002). However, the traditional structuralist approach deconstructs the text in isolation, and consequently excludes other elements that contribute to meaning, but are residing in the *context*. I draw on Cook's *Hierarchy of Discourse* (1992, p. 13) (see Figure 5G) to go some way towards addressing the gaps in the traditional structuralist approach. In keeping with my position, he argues that it is impossible to adequately address the text as an isolated entity and so context should be considered too. I found that by widening the reading of the text I located and considered interesting textual elements that had not have been identified in the traditional deconstruction. I explored from three places, *Materials*, *Text* and *People* and I developed a richer reading of the texts by considering elements such as paralanguage, grammar and prosody, connected text, etc.

Finally, in Section 3 I incorporate an audience deconstruction of both texts, which I assembled during focus group sessions. In this section I develop an empirical extension to the circuit of culture, and I identify and address an inherent weakness in the model with regard to the site that explores *texts*. I argue that limiting the decoding and deconstruction of the texts to the specialist reader results in a limited deconstruction of the text and I argue that while isolated textual deconstructions are useful in themselves, to rely on them completely would be a disservice to the task of generating a thorough investigation of a text. I consider the audience or consumer capable of intelligent deconstruction, and I argue that their deconstructions of the text contribute significantly, and extend the meanings located in the text. I present a

new and valuable addition to Johnson's model whereby I extend that model to incorporate specialist and audience readings of the texts. I do this by collecting readings and decoding of the advertising texts - from participants in the focus groups in Dublin, London and New York - readers who were not 'specialist' or expert readers. As a result of this exercise, I expand my data to incorporate rich and alternative readings and meanings that the consumers located in the text.

Selecting the Texts

According to Chandler 2002, it is important to identify the text and describe the medium used and the genre to which the text belongs. From the Irish campaign, the television advert, *Island*, produced by Arks Advertising Agency, Dublin, (1977), was selected, and from the UK campaign, *Games*, produced by Ogilvy & Mather, London, (1991) was selected. Selection criteria for the texts were based on several factors. Firstly, I selected adverts that were reflective of changes in Guinness's advertising campaigns in each country over time, and secondly, where possible, I sampled adverts from each advertising agency that had acted on behalf of Guinness. The approach to this point on the circuit of culture is to generate a closed reading or decoding of the text. In this case, I have selected one significant advert from the Irish and UK campaigns.

Section 1 - Reading the Advert - *Island*

Part 1 Specialist Reading: *Island*

I selected *Island* as the text for deconstruction because the audiences I interviewed, and the producers of the advert (Arks) and Guinness marketing, all described it as a 'much loved' and a 'well remembered' advert. Not many texts, never mind adverts, can make such claims of memorability, however this text was to be remembered by audiences 20 years after airing. The advert has won several international awards "including a Silver Lion at the blue-riband Cannes International Advertising Festival and a highly prestigious Clio in New York" (Davies 1998, p. 212). This advert was described by the marketing department, and by consumers, as 'a classic' advert. Directed by John Davies, *Island* featured a rural bar crowded with people, yet totally

silent. The only sound to be heard is the ticking of a clock. The film cuts to a traditional Irish '*currach*' or leather boat, making its way to the shore. One of the waiting drinkers rushes into the pub and announces '*Ta said at teacht*' (They are coming.) The rowers get out and begin to carry a keg of Guinness to the pub. They enter and deliver the beer. The publican pours the beer and the crowd comes to life, everyone excitedly talking in Irish. The camera cuts to a shot of a man draining his glass, and saying '*Aris!*' (Again!) The closing caption is also in Irish '*Bionn tu sona sasta le Guinness*' (You will be very satisfied with Guinness).

According to Jacobs, at Arks Advertising Agency, *Island* was designed to be a part of a five-advert campaign. It was launched in 1977 and was part of a series which included *In the City*, which portrayed country people in the city, *In the Country* which portrayed city people in the country, *Ahh* depicting an Irish tourist abroad, *Visitor* which depicted a lost tourist in Ireland and *Island*. The aim of the series was to portray different aspects, or scenarios, for Guinness that fitted in with Irish identity at the time and according to Jacobs, cultural identity was not an issue. He insisted that the advert struck a chord above and beyond the 'Irish' nature of the advert, and said that the production team's objective was to communicate the ritual of 'waiting' - Irishness was not an element they were concerned with. However, irrespective of the producer's intentions, the consumers and readers were constructing other sets of meanings. Chandler (2002) observes that semiotics helps us to realise that meaning is not passively absorbed but arises only in the active process of interpretation. In relation to printed advertisements, Leiss et al. note that the semiological approach suggests that

the meaning of an ad does not float on the surface just waiting to be internalized by the viewer, but is built up out of the ways that different signs are organized and related to each other, both within the ad and through external references to wider belief systems. More specifically, for advertising to create meaning, the reader or the viewer has to do some 'work'. Because the meaning is not lying there on the page, one has to make an effort to grasp it.

Leiss et al. (1990, pp. 201-2)

In the adverts below, *Island* and *Games*, the rich texts are deconstructed by examining the organisation of the various signs in the adverts themselves and ‘through external references to wider belief systems’. And while every effort has been made to ‘grasp’ the multilayered system of signs, I, as the specialist reader, would like to remind you, the reader, that all semiotic readings are subjective, as this is an inherent weakness (and strength) of semiotic analysis.

Semiotic Analysis – Island

<p>1. opening shot long shot of an island</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The Island, which is also the name of the advert, appears to be small and sparsely inhabited. This can be seen from the aerial shot. This image of an isolated island sets the tone and holds the attention.</p>
<p>2. cut to zoom-in on island featuring traditional cottage with thatched roof and whitewashed walls. The building is in an isolated and barren landscape. The camera, still using bird’s eye view, dolly’s to the other side of cottage, and shows front of cottage, with a sign outside, indicating that it is a shop or pub or some other business.</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> This is a familiar sight. The thatched roof cottage is ‘postcard Ireland’. It is the image that is used for marketing Ireland to tourists, especially American markets; and is recognisable by any Irish reader or a reader who is familiar with Ireland.</p> <p>The Cottage is a metaphor for <i>rural Ireland</i>, and the fact that it is on an Island, rather than mainland Ireland underlines the ‘ruralness’ of the image.</p>



Figure 5A: still from *Island 1977*
Sibley (1985, p. 192)

<p>3. cut to interior of pub. Scene of men standing around. Not talking. Bar man polishes</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The interior of the pub is familiar. Perhaps not a scene found in contemporary pubs, but certainly found in rural Irish pubs, and elements of it can be seen in Irish Pub Company pubs - roughly finished furniture, and flag-stone floors.</p>
<p>4. cut to wall clock (ticking)</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The sound of the ticking, an indexical sign for a clock, and the shot of the clock itself reinforce the sense of 'time passing' or 'waiting'</p>
<p>5. cut to black dog under stool, awake, bored, waiting.</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The black dog lying under the stool reinforces the 'time' aspect of the advert. The dog, man's best friend, is permitted to stay in the male dominated space - there are no women in this advert. The dog communicates the sense of 'waiting for something' too.</p>

<p>6. cut to men rowing a currach, a bird's eye view.</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> A bird's eye view of a boat suggests <i>arrival</i>. The boat is moving across the screen and is clearly 'going somewhere'. The currach is 'traditional', and 'familiar', and it is operating on the same lines as the cottage, as both are signifying 'ruralness', and 'Irishness'. However, it is not just signifying Ireland or Irishness, or ruralness as the cottage is; it also signifies 'tradition', 'craft' and 'inheritance' as the boat is 'hand-built' and it is a craft that is passed on from father to son.</p>
<p>7. cut to interior of pub. 'Portrait' of an old man. He sits upright, hands on walking stick, and staring ahead.</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The image of the old man is reminiscent of Hemmingway's <i>Old Man and the Sea</i>. The elderly man signifies the historical rootedness of the product. He is a metonym for historicity. The pose and posture of the man signifies 'waiting', and the two hands resting on the walking stick suggest 'patience'.</p>
<p>8. cut to currach and the three men rowing</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The sounds of the waves, oars on the sea, and the squawking of the seagulls, plus the action of the oarsmen, and the speed of the movement, come together to signify 'urgency' and speed.</p>



Figure 5B: still from *Island* 1977
Sibley (1985, p. 192)

<p>9. cut to same black dog under stool, moves head and reacts as if it has heard something</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The movement of the dog's head suggests that something has alerted him; reacting perhaps to a sound or scent that an animal would hear before a human would. The function of this shot is to indicate to the reader that something is about to happen.</p>
<p>10. cut to wall clock, second hand moving, sound of ticking</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> This close up, and repeated shot, of the wall clock underlines the issue of 'waiting' and 'time passing' and heightens the tension and expectation for the viewer.</p>
<p>11. cut to currach, still bird's eye view but now camera zooms in closer, giving impression of 'arrival'</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The use of repetition, showing the boat in a series of shots where first the camera is far away, but in subsequent shots the camera is progressively closer to the boat. This camera action signifies that the vehicle or individual, or in this case, a boat, is</p>

	<p>arriving somewhere.</p> <p>We, as audience, have learnt to read such mechanical and editorial signs through TV and Cinema.</p>
<p>12. cut to interior of pub, same waiting man, with clock in background. He reaches for his fob watch, at the same time the wall clock chimes. He checks his watch against the wall clock. A familiar gesture when someone is waiting and is conscious of 'time' and accuracy of the time.</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The gesture of 'checking one's watch' against another clock is a 'double-checking' action. It is usually done to confirm that your own timepiece is accurate, and secondly, it indicates that you are aware of the time, or that the issue of 'time' is important to you. This gesture signifies that the man is 'waiting', and as the camera moves from shots of the boat and shots of the interior of the pub, the connection between the two is created. The reader can now tell that the man is waiting for whoever or whatever is on the boat.</p>
<p>13. cut to currach and three men rowing, camera zooms closer still</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The closer shot of the boat and the men signifies that they are getting closer to their destination.</p>
<p>14. cut to close up of old man's hands resting on walking stick in a 'patient' but 'impatient' manner.</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> This shot reinforces the earlier one, where the entire subject was shown. In this shot, the camera has zoomed in to a close-up of the same old man, in the same position as before, hands crossed and resting on his walking stick. The gesture still signifies 'patient</p>

	<p>waiting', and the use of repetition, and the close-up, shot reinforces the signified message of 'waiting' or 'anticipation'.</p>
<p>15. cut to currach, camera zooms even closer. Detail of boat, the three oars men and keg of Guinness can now be seen.</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> This shot discloses the secret. We can now see what the boat contains. It is an unmarked keg or barrel of Guinness. However the reader knows it is Guinness because we have seen the adverts in the pub, and the placement of the products name. The keg is a sign for Guinness. The solidity of the metal keg acts like an anchor for the message. This heavy item is the reason for the entire series of images.</p>
<p>16 cut to a man stands at door of pub, looking out. He turns back to the pub and says '<i>Ta siad at teacht</i>' (They are coming). These are the first spoken words and the words are in Irish.</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> To confirm the fact that the 'waiting' and 'anticipation' are connected to the content of the boat, the man at the door of the pub, who has been looking out or 'keeping watch' announces "<i>They are coming.</i>" This vector links the interior of the pub with the activity outside, and announces to the reader that the 'waiting' is over. The use of language is important for several reasons. Firstly the words <i>Tá siad at teacht</i> (They are coming) are the <u>first</u> spoken words in the entire advert. Secondly, the choice of language type is important as the words are in Irish (Gaeilge), which signifies that the</p>

	<p>location of the island is a <i>gealteacht</i>¹ area in Ireland. This reinforces the signification of ‘the ruralness of the location’, as does the accent that is used, as the words are spoken in a strong ‘west coast accent’. According to Ó Dubhghaill, Irish was spoken in Ireland from 300-350 B.C., it was standardised as aristocratic Gaelic society flourished, but Elizabethan conquest of Ireland (c. 1600) ended that aristocracy and the institutions that supported the language. Several contemporary organisations have striven to revive the language; The Gaelic League (1893), supported by W. B. Yeats, Lady Gregory and John Millington Synge, saved the language from total death and following the establishment of the Irish Free State (1922), Government worked to revive it via policy changes, incentives and through sport i.e. Irish football and hurling and organisations such as the G.A.A.²</p> <p>The importance of the symbolism of the use of the language, which features in this advert, is echoed in Parliament Debates in 1958 when Mr Corish TD³ said “a generation ago there were high</p>
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¹ *Gealteacht*. Refers to any Irish-speaking region in Ireland.

² G.A.A. – Gaelic Athletic Association is a sports, cultural and social organisation. Members play Gaelic football and hurling. The teams in Ireland are based on county boundaries and play in a league for an annual National Cup title.

³ T.D. *Teachta Dála* – Member of Parliament similar to British M.P.

hopes for the revival of the language. Why? Because, as Deputy Dr Browne said, it was a symbol of something. It was a badge of nationality. People were determined to restore the language because the authorities then insisted that we should not speak it, there was a strong national spirit abroad and the people felt it was their bounden duty to learn Irish as a badge of patriotism and nationality." (*Dail Eireann*, Vol 168 04 June, 1958 Committee on Finance)

In 1977, when this advert was made, Guinness used a language that was, at that time, spoken fluently and as a first language, by only 3% of the population. However all consumers who read the text and were Irish, would have understood the words used. The use of Gaelge signifies Irishness in a way that no other signifier could. It is an evocative 'Irish' motif, which has strong links with images of Irish identity. This may have been done to attain a unifying effect on the consuming audience. This use of 'old Irish imagery', for adverts such as Island, strives to make strong associations with traditional Irish life, now long past. And finally, the actor delivers the words in an excited tone, signifying that something good or pleasant is about to happen.

<p>17. cut to there is an eruption of movement inside the pub. Men are running to the door</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The sense of excitement that was suggested in the previous shot is reinforced in this shot. The sudden activity and motion of the actors, and the motion of running out of the pub, signify that something exciting is occurring outside.</p>
<p>18. cut to the dog moves</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> This 'movement' reinforces the previous signifier. The dog moves along with everyone else. The air of excitement and anticipation is increasing.</p>
<p>19. cut to outside the pub. The men who had been inside are streaming out the door.</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The movement from the interior of the pub, to the outside world is marked by a camera shift. This second camera, placed in front of the door and at a height, captures the men flowing from the pub. The excitement is tangible in their expressions and the general speed of movement reinforces the sense of some imminent happening.</p>
<p>20. cut to a close up of the keg in the boat</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The image of the keg in the boat links the 'excitement' generated by the men in the previous clip. Now we see the connection. They have been waiting for this keg, and now it has arrived.</p>

<p>21 cut to men on shore helping the currach to land</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> All the men, together, working to ‘land’ the keg. It is a unified activity. There is team-work, they are helping ‘deliver’ this precious object. The composition of the image is reminiscent of a painting by Irish Artist Paul Henry c 1920-1930, (below Figure 5C).</p>  <p>Figure 5C: Launching the Currach (1920-30's)</p>
<p>22 cut to close up of arms moving to lift keg from boat, with oar in foreground</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> This image, of hands reaching in to lift the keg from the boat, suggests ‘urgency’ and ‘teamwork’. Just as it took teamwork to row the currach to the island, it also takes teamwork, ‘effort’ and ‘energy’ to transport the keg the final furlong to the pub and there are many ‘powerful’ ‘strong’ men willing to volunteer to help. The symbols of ‘teamwork’, ‘masculinity’, ‘power’, and ‘physical strength’ and ‘membership’ are communicated in this frame.</p>

<p>23 cut to close up of a pint of Guinness 'being pulled'. Pint glass (old Waterford Tankard) with GUINNESS logo on it – the glass is 3/4 full.</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The camera cuts to a pint of Guinness almost completely poured. This sign inscribes the advert with the 'totality of meaning' of the entire advert. Here the sign communicates why people have been waiting, why men have been rowing, and why people greeted the boats arrival with excitement. The use of the pint of Guinness, and the word 'Guinness' on the side of the Waterford Tankard, signify the <i>raison d'être</i> for the entire series of images that preceded it.</p>
<p>24 cut to bar man handing two pints to customers</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The barman delivers two glasses to waiting consumers. There is a sense of 'delivery' and 'arrival'. The 'waiting' has a payoff. This is a message the advertiser wants to communicate to the consumer. The 'wait' is determined by product behaviour, so the marketing department has to communicate to the consumer, that it is part of a product ritual to 'wait' for the pint. But, and it is demonstrated throughout this advert, 'the wait' is worth it.</p>
<p>25 cut to close up of face smiling and looking down and raising glass to drink</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The message, that 'the wait' is 'worth it', is confirmed in this shot, when the camera cuts to a series of close-ups of happy faces. The happiness is directly linked with the product, as the consumers are smiling and looking at</p>

	<p>their pints, and raising their glasses to drink.</p>
<p>26 cut to old man drinking deeply, ends with a satisfied 'ahhh'</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The element of satisfaction is communicated by one image – the old man with walking stick – he is depicted 'drinking deeply' from his glass. This is punctuated with a very satisfied utterance 'Ahhhh', signifying and reinforcing the message of 'satisfaction' and 'contentment'.</p>
<p>27 cut to another glass being filled by the barman</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The general message of consumption is reinforced in the next shot, as the image depicts the barman pulling another pint, and filling another glass of Guinness.</p>
<p>28 cut to a series of fast cuts of men drinking and talking</p>  <p>Figure 5D: still from <i>Island</i> 1977 Sibley (1985, p. 192)</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> Product use, and product reward are communicated in the next image. This consists of a series of fast cuts of men consuming the product and socialising. This is a demonstration of product usage, and a demonstration of the reward (social contact and enjoyment). These elements are signified in this shot.</p>

<p>29 cut to man bending over keg, shaking it, it sounds empty. He looks at another man and says 'Aris?' (Again?)</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The gesture of shaking the keg, and the accompanying sound, signify that the keg is empty. There is no more Guinness. The main character looks at another man and says 'Aris?' (Again?) This is the second incidence of speech in this advert. Accompanying the language, the facial expression of the speaker signifies 'the same again?' An expression and gesture often seen in pubs when there are two or more drinking. It implies that there is a 'round' in action, and in this case, 'the same again?' expression, signifying that its time to 'get another' is a more complicated act than a simple walk to the bar. This suggestion, and invitation 'for another' involves effort and energy - rowing back to the mainland for another keg.</p>
<p>30 cut to beach and three men, carrying the currach toward the sea.</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> This shot depicts a classic image. The shot consists of three men carrying the currach on their heads, in the traditional way. This is a strong image and it reoccurs in other visual work. For example it is replicated in the painting <i>Big Currach, Aran</i> by Irish artist John Skelton⁴.</p>

⁴ In conversation with the artist, John Skelton, (March 23rd 2002) the closest date he could give for this painting was 1986-87



Figure 5E: still from *Island* 1977
Sibley (1985, p. 192)



Figure 5F: Big Currach, Aran (1986-7).

This is an example of intertextuality, and it functions to draw the reader into the image and allows her to engage at other levels. Now she can bring the myth that is signified by the previous sign along with her, to other moments in her lived experience.

31 the words 'bionn tu sona sasta le Guinness' cuts in on this scene.

Comments: The words 'You are satisfied with Guinness' drops on to the bottom of the screen, giving the advert a sense of completeness. It is reminiscent of the rolling credits at the end of a film, or the more familiar and congruous use of a slogan at the end of an advert, to signify and punctuate 'the end'.

32 the scene fades out to black and the words remain.

Comments: To continue using of the words as signifiers of 'the end', the picture fades, but the words remain on a black screen for a couple of seconds. The words, still in Irish, are written in *Cló Gaelach* (Gaelic script). This script was replaced by *Cló Romhánach* (Roman

	<p>script) in 1945 under the 'spelling reform' in an effort to simplify the language, but the script has seen a revival, not in technical or report writing, but in branding. Adverts, websites, new products and 'Irish' outlets, where designers and marketing executives are utilising the <i>Cló Gaelach</i> in order to inject 'Irishness' into their product or service and to anchor their product or service in an Irish discourse. This is beneficial for the producer, as it enables them to 'ride' on the positive associations with Irishness in the global market.</p>
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Part 2 – Extending the reading

Discourse analysis – Island

The specialist reading of the text is essential in order to locate manifest and latent content in the texts. Through semiotic analysis, we can become aware of what we take for granted and we can unsettle our traditional thinking about a system. It also reminds us that we are always dealing with signs, not with an unmediated objective reality, and that sign systems are involved in the construction of meaning. However, I argue that while isolated textual deconstructions are valuable in themselves, I believe that if I were to rely on them completely I would be doing a disservice to the task of generating a thorough investigation of these complex texts. The traditional structuralist approach deconstructs the text in isolation, and consequently excludes other elements that contribute to meaning, but are residing in the *context*. To redress this, I extended the specialist reading by adopting elements of discourse analysis. I draw on Cook's *Hierarchy of Discourse* (see Figure 5G) in order to go some way towards addressing the gaps in the traditional structuralist approach. In keeping with my position, he argues that it is impossible to adequately address the text as an isolated entity and so context should be considered too. I found that by widening the

reading of the text, I located and considered interesting textual elements that had not have been identified in the traditional deconstruction. I used the three strata in the model in order to explore *substance, music and pictures, and paralanguage; words and phrases, grammar and prosody, and connected text; and senders and narrators, observers and addressees, and social/psychological function*. I discuss the theory in conjunction with the practical analysis to demonstrate how the hierarchy operates.

Part III

People	3 social/psychological function	[TOP]
	2 observers and addressees	
	1 senders and narrators	

Part II

Text	3 connected text
	2 grammar and prosody
	1 words and phrases

Part I

Materials	3 paralanguage	[BOTTOM]
	2 music and pictures	
	1 substance	

Figure 5G: Hierarchy of Discourse (Cook 1992, p. 13)

Cook insists that it is essential to consider and address all strata, that is, *Materials, Text and People*. In keeping with Johnson's philosophy, Cook suggests that 'close focus' alone will not excavate 'meaning' in language, while Johnson argues that a close focus of just one 'producer of cultural meaning' alone, will not return a full and holistic picture to the researcher.

In this chapter, I examine the '*text*', (Johnson) or the '*materials & text*' (Cook). However, due to the empirical design of this research, I have also asked the 'senders and receivers' (Cook's third stratum) to read and comment on the texts and due to the model described in the Circuit of Culture, I have, in the course of this research, located Cook's 'senders & narrators' and 'observers & addressees' while exploring Johnson's sites of 'production' and 'audience'. Due to the design of my research, I

am also able to add their readings of the advertising texts, making, what is primarily a closed or specialist reading, a richer and holistic exploration of the advertising texts. Their contributions and comments can be found in Section 3 of this chapter.

MATERIALS:- In this first strata, *Substance*, *Music & Pictures*, and *Paralanguage* are explored.

1 Substance - Cook notes that without physical substance, e.g. primary substances such as spoken language, written language and sign language, and secondary substances such as radio waves, paper and electric cable, communication could not occur. In the advertising texts selected the main substance is spoken language and written language in the form of voice-overs, dialogue, singing, and slogans, as found in electronic media namely TV and the secondary substance incorporate all of the above, i.e. radio waves and electric cable. This first step is similar to Chandler's (2002) advice regarding situating the media as this can add meaning to the text. Cook too argues that the choice of substance is important because in a broad sense they effect the 'meaning' of the discourse. He describes adverts as parasitic (rather than symbiotic) upon their situation, as they appear with and are embedded in other discourses or text. This leads to interesting situations when, through the interaction of an advert, and its 'accompanying discourse', meaning can be changed positively or negatively, by accident or through manipulation. For example on 25th April 1993, the *Independent on Sunday* (UK) carried a full, front page story reporting the IRA terrorist bombing of the Nat West building in the City (London). Beneath the story, an advert for *Jameson* Irish whisky was emblazoned along the bottom of the page, across all eight columns - with the copy "There's no such thing as strangers. Just friends you haven't met yet!" - definitely an example of meaning changing due to accidental association with accompanying discourses, (Murphy 1993). Finally, the adverts decoded in this exercise occurred within the 'normal' discourse of 'positioning' i.e. they appeared during scheduled ad breaks which intersperse television programming approximately every 20 minutes.

2 Music & Pictures - In most television adverts pictures/graphics tend to be the main mode of communication. Music may overlap to a greater or lesser extent, with the possibility of language being sung, giving further overlap. While Cook

acknowledges the difficulty of incorporating all the modes (music, pictures & language) into a study, he emphasises that they should not be ignored, since whether standing alone, or juxtapositioned with each other, each mode can give rise to different meaning. This is seen above in the semiotic analysis of *Island*, where the use of sound and spoken word with accent are the main forms of music. In fact, in *Island*, there is no music, but there is a constant patterning of sound, which is similar to music - the cry of the seagulls, the sound of the sea, the ticking of the clock and the chimes of the clock are comparable to Italian neo-realism director Visconti's use of natural sound in his work, where music was substituted by sounds of nature. Tudor A. (1974) notes that "he (Visconti) uses the sea, birds and church bells as musical instruments". In this stratum, Cook also gives attention to language in the service of pictures and observes the value of visual puns and metaphors.

3 Paralanguage - This is the final element of the first strata of the hierarchy and it refers to the meaningful behaviour accompanying language, eg. gestures, facial expressions, etc., in speech and typeface, letter size, etc., in writing. According to Cook, paralanguage conveys a different kind of meaning than language, but its importance was neglected in 20th Century linguistics mainly due to deSaussure and his focus on semiology. The study of the message involves three areas; the psychological, the textual and the physical and Cook suggests that deSaussure deals well with the textual area, but neglects the other two. Due to this neglect, paralanguage, which interacts with language (and on occasions outweighs it) fails to be recognised for the part it plays regarding meaning. However, cultural semioticians do address nonverbal signs in the text. For example, American philosopher and semiotician, Peirce (cited in Fiske 1982) provided categories that supplemented Saussures' and he proposed different types of sign - symbol, icon, and index - and these facilitate a deeper semiotic study of adverts. An index is a sign that points to something else by virtue of a causal relationship. In Peircian terms, expensive clothes, which are a form of paralanguage, are an index of wealth, and slurring words are an index of drunkenness. An icon, on the other hand, is a sign which *resembles* or imitates the signified (recognisably looking, sounding, feeling, tasting or smelling like it) - being similar in possessing some of its qualities: e.g. a portrait, a cartoon, a scale-model, onomatopoeia, metaphors, 'realistic' sounds in 'programme music', sound effects in radio drama, a dubbed film soundtrack,

imitative gestures. A symbol is a signifier that does not resemble the signified but that is fundamentally *arbitrary* or purely conventional - so that the relationship must be learnt, for example, alphabetical letters, punctuation marks, numbers, Morse code, traffic lights, and national flags.

TEXT:- On the second stratum of the hierarchy we encounter Text, which is made up of *words and phrases, grammar and prosody and connected text*.

4 Words and Phrases - Cook warns about the ease with which the meaning of language can change or be manipulated by strategic use and there has been an ongoing debate as to how we can strive for objective fact. Language can be manipulated to play games; by use of passive structures it can seem to mean something. He refers to the dichotomy between magic and science and views these linguistic devices as an attempt to imply belief in the fact that “a particular form of words somehow alters what happened, deleting the real agent as well as the grammatical one”.

This striving for objective fact, intertwined with a faith in objective language, has been widely challenged in recent years, most notably by the philosophical movements of hermeneutics and deconstruction, although paradoxically the discourse of the challenge is also very often similar to that of its target. This, however, only reinforces the deconstructionist point that there is no neutral discourse.

(Cook 1992, p. 98)

According to Cook, who cites Holbrook (1987), the potential for discourse is threefold; i) scientific discourse which is cognitive, descriptive and informative ii) poetic discourse which is affective, appraisive and valuative and iii) religious discourse which is conative, prescriptive and incitive. Advertising, Cook argues, appears to be a combination of all three; and in the sample of adverts presented it is clear that they cross the ‘scientific’, ‘poetic’, and ‘religious’ discourses when viewed in a holistic fashion. Interpretation by the average reader requires cognitive ability due to the use of pun and metaphor, to deconstruct the texts, and the texts are evocative of many socio-cultural elements in the Irish psyche (eg. a sense of

belonging, doing things together, outdoor activities, nature) which are all high on the affective scale. (Murphy 1993)

According to Cook (1992, p. 99) the current general view of meaning comprises of semantic meaning and pragmatic meaning where pragmatic meaning⁵ is usually perceived as a dependent, deriving from the interaction of semantic meaning with context. However, a word has many aspects and can generate numerous meanings for the user apart from its denotation, which supposedly persists across different contexts, and its pragmatic function, which varies systematically across contexts. This can also be described using terms taken from semiology and cultural studies, where the possibilities of *a sign having multiple meaning* is described as polysemic or multi-discursive:

a word has an etymology, a diachronic history, connotations, collocations, translation equivalents, personal associations, metonymic and metaphorical uses (both standard and original) echoes of homonyms exploited in puns, associations with certain discourse types, with images, with encyclopaedic knowledge and meanings which derive from patterns it forms when taken with the words around it.

Cook 1992, p. 99

Advertisers exploit meaning by extending denotational meanings to connotational ones. For example the November 1990 issue of *Cosmopolitan* (On behalf of *Eau Perrier Water*) became *Cosmeau, Neauvember 1990* by changing a morpheme. This can also be achieved by extending the connotation of a word into an entire speech community or to a group or individual. (Murphy 1993) Guinness does this on a regular basis in its campaigns by connotatively linking Guinness with other sets of values such as: Guinness/Genius, or Guinness = 'natural', 'traditional', 'good for you', 'something to be anticipated' and 'synonymous with Ireland and Irishness.'

5 Grammar and Prosody - Cook defines *prosody* as the patterning of sound that gives a piece of text an extra dimension. It is a universal and highly valued element

⁵ Pragmatic meaning = what a word or utterance means and does in a particular context.

of language that can be found in all societies and it, like paralanguage, is difficult to measure for effects. Cook cites Langer (1967, p. 324) who suggests that prosodic patterns recall the neonatal heartbeat and Olson (1950) who sees a correlation between such patterns and the dances of ritual magic:

they have a powerful emotional and mnemonic effect, yet descriptions of this power are commoner than explanations, and explanations all remain highly speculative.

Cook 1992, p. 120

However while “all discourse uses prosody to some extent”, in advertising, prosodic patterning is extensive, occurring in the shape of poems, borrowed poems, jingles and borrowed songs. In *Island* the examples of prosody in use is interesting. The advert opens with the sound of seagulls, cuts to the beat of the oar on the sea, cuts to the tick of the clock and its rhythmic chiming, and it closes with the sound of walking on wet sand and pebbles - all the sounds produce a musical ‘four/four time’ beat. Here I find Cook’s model a useful and enriching addition to a pure semiotic approach, as it facilitates the reader to comment on such aspects of the text as ‘rhythmic sound’, an aspect that may otherwise have gone unnoticed. In semiotic terms, the prosodic sounds could be said to be reminiscent of ‘marking out a timed beat’ and could be described as a metaphor for ‘waiting’.

6 Connected text: Cohesive devices and coherence - Coherence is the overall quality and meaning perceived in discourse. When we speak of coherence we normally refer to devices such as:

- the repetition of lexical items
- lexical items or phrases with some sense relation, e.g. hyponymy, synonymy, antonymy etc.
- referring expressions (especially pronouns) understood by reference to a unit in another sentence
- ellipsis, in which an omitted unit is recoverable from a previous sentence
- conjunctions, (words and phrases which indicate a logical, temporal, causal or exemplifying relationship)

In *Island* there is no examples of spoken text that offers 'connection', but the sounds of the oars and the ticking of the clock, both in the same 4/4 time beat, behave in the same way as connected text might. The two sets of sound are *wordless* 'referring expressions' because they both point to a 'timed-beat' as mentioned above. The beat connects each shot and links to the next. The same elements also function as 'conjunctions' as they relay a relationship about the final message, which is 'anticipation' and 'waiting'. Examples of more traditional understandings of connected text can be found in the *Games* (Figure 5I)

PEOPLE:- The third stratum in Cook's hierarchy looks at PEOPLE, and includes *senders and narrators, observers and addressees and social and psychological functions*. In this section I look at the producers of the adverts, that is, the marketing departments and advertising agencies, and the people who receive them, that is, the consumers and non-consumers of the product.

7 Senders and Narrators - It is important to remember that the three areas that Cook differentiates between - materials, text and people - are not discrete and each one is understood better in conjunction with the others. It is also important to note that the 'sender' and the 'narrator' need not be the same person. The sender can be the advertiser, the producer of a product, the health education officer with a health message, or the politician with an ideological message. But the narrator may be a different person, an actor, an image, a talking head or politician or health education officer herself.

Barthes (1977 cited in Cook 1992. p. 179) in *The Death of the Author* quotes a passage from Balzac's *Sarrasine* which describes a castrato disguised as a woman - This was a woman herself, with her sudden fears, her irrational whims, her instinctive worries, her impetuous boldness, her fussings and her delicious sensibility. (Balzac) Barthes asks

Who is speaking thus? Is it the hero of the story bent on remaining ignorant of the castrate hidden beneath the woman? Is it Balzac the individual furnished by his personal experience with a philosophy of woman? Is it

Balzac the author professing 'literary' ideas on femininity? Is it universal wisdom? Romantic psychology? We shall never know, for the good reason that writing is the deconstruction of every voice, of every point of origin. Writing is that neutral, composite, oblique space where our subject slips away, the negative where all identity is lost, starting with the very identity of the body writing.

Although Barthes is asking this question of novels, it is equally valid to ask it of adverts. The sender of the message in the Guinness Ireland campaign can be several people. Possibly the copywriter following a brief from the creative director, the reflected voice of the audience through market research focus group feedback, or individuals in the marketing department at Guinness Ireland who have definite ideas about how the campaign should be delivered based on their own aims and objectives for the products performance. And Cook comments that being told that 'lager X' is the best lager by the manufacturer is completely different to being told it by a celebrity and yet another being told it by a friend or a member of one's peer group.

Bakhtin, unlike Saussure whose semiotics treats all speakers as homogenous, deals with the role of language in this complex interplay between people and worlds and he considers the effect the sender can have on the message. He developed several theories which are helpful in understanding how one's identity as sender forms an integral part of the message. In his view no meaning can be divorced from people and the study of a text must always be of both the words and participants together. To treat language as an impersonal object is to simplify and misrepresent. Further, in a critique of Saussure, Bakhtin disputes the view of individual identity and thought as self-contained and separate from language. The self, individual and participant are found IN discourse, not outside it.

Meaning does not reside in the word or the soul of the speaker or in the soul of the listener. Meaning is the *effect of interaction between the listener produced via the material of a particular sound complex*. It is like an electric spark that occurs only when two different terminals are hooked together. Those who ... in attempting to define the meaning of a word, approach its lower, stable, self-identical limit, want, in effect, to turn on a light bulb after

having switched off the current. Only the current of verbal intercourse endows a word with the light of meaning.

(Original emphasis Bakhtin – Volosinov [1929]1988, p. 103)
in Cook 1992, p. 182)

The semiotic approach divorces text from both senders and receivers, viewing analyst and text as quite separate from each other, whereas in a Bakhtinian view the identity of the receiver is so bound up with the discourse types which dominate the society through which he/she exists that this neat and secure separation is no longer possible. This would clearly support the theory that the consumer is bound up in the consumption of the product and in the consumption of the media images, and consequently whose identity is bound up with the national imagery present in the texts, as is proposed in this work.

8 Observers and Addressees - Having looked briefly at the role of the 'senders and narrators' it is important to combine that with a consideration of the 'receivers and observers' as both are, for Cook, interactive with the text when it comes to the construction of meaning. While agreeing completely with the point that the text and reader are inextricably bound when striving to understand meaning, it is necessary to clarify a point. This stratum is essential for a holistic understanding of the text and context and reflects the philosophy of 'a holistic approach' as developed by Johnson. In earlier research, (Murphy 1993) I had to limit the focus of the study to 'text' when I explored the Ireland and UK Campaigns and limited myself to a textual analysis approach only. At that time, not being able to widen the study to examine the role of 'producer' and 'consumer' due to the constraints of the project, reinforced for me the need to approach such explorations in a holistic manner in future work. The early research, while useful in its findings, was hollow without the inclusion of the readers or consumers voice. Cook and Johnson both reinforce the need for inclusion of these voices in their work, although one is primarily concerned with 'complete readings' and the other is concerned with 'cultural holism' both see the limitations of restricting a study to a textual analysis only.

Research into the role of the receiver had, from the birth of communications studies as a discipline in 1927 with Schramm, been dominated by effects research in the two influencing disciplines, namely the American School of Communication Studies and Sociology. Until the 1960's the role of the receiver had been neglected, giving little autonomy to the audience, seeing it as an amorphous mass, which absorbs all messages in a uniform manner. The study of language, and later, the specific approaches to advertising as a cultural phenomenon, received little attention. However, input from theorists such as Goffman (1979), Williamson (1988), Vestergaard and Schroder (1989), Leiss et al. (1990), Cook (1992) and Dyer (1992) have addressed this lacuna by addressing the relationship between 'advertising' and 'language' in various ways. And broader explorations of advertising as a cultural phenomenon were carried out by Schudson (1984), Myers (1986), Jhally (1990), Davidson (1992), Dyer (1992), and Lury (1996).

Morley (1992, p. 84) notes that TV presenters (and advertisers) aim to secure a kind of identification between themselves and the audience in order to gain the audience's complicity or assent to the preferred reading which is suggested by the framing and linking discourse of the programme. "However, we must not assume that these strategies of closure are necessarily effective. It is always possible to read against the grain and to produce an interpretation which goes against the grain of that preferred by the programme discourse". As Hall, and later Morley would agree, some of the readers will take a 'dominant-hegemonic position', others may take the 'negotiated position', others still may operate with in an 'oppositional position'. In fact decoding the message is a complex affair, since the message always contains more than one potential 'reading'. "Messages propose and prefer certain readings over others, but they can never become wholly closed around one reading" and messages remain polysemic. Understanding the message can be a problematic practice too no matter how transparent or natural it may seem. Messages encoded one way can always be read in a different way and furthermore for Morley "misunderstanding is the biggest effect of communication".

The meaning of the text will be constructed differently according to the discourses (knowledge, prejudices, resistances, etc.) brought to bear on the text by the reader and the crucial factor in the encounter of the

audience/subject and text will be the range of discourses at the disposal of the audience.

Morley (1992, p. 57)

In the selected text, *Island*, it must therefore be acknowledged that several readings can be made of the texts, depending on the discourses available. On reading *Island*, it is possible to make an oppositional reading and denounce the advert as 'kitsch' and 'non representative of modern life in Ireland', where the currach is little used and the language even less. However, while construction of meaning will vary depending on discourses available, the resultant interpretations are fundamentally based in a deconstruction pattern that is primarily one of national association. And that is why it is essential to explore these aspects of 'meaning making' in a wider study.

9 Social and psychological function - The final stratum of the hierarchy, the interactive 'people' section, deals with aspects of social and psychological functions of the text and Shotter and Gergen (1992) emphasise that senders and receivers gain identity through interaction with text and that identities are created in linguistic and textual activities, both in our own discourses and in the discourses of others. This further emphasises the need to examine the discourses in greater depth.

Advertising has an important function as a discourse type since the senders and receivers, through their own and other's discourses, are creating their own social, psychological, cultural and gendered identities. Therefore arguably the social and psychological function of advertising is grounded in the discourse itself.

Section 2 - Reading the Advert - *Games*

There are stark contrasts between the Irish advert and the UK advert. Guinness UK ran what was to become a significant campaign in 1987. Their advertising agency, Ogilvy and Mather, had launched the *Pure Genius* campaign in 1985 but "quickly realised it required a cipher potent enough to signify *Guinness*' product value and

user imagery simultaneously. Some sort of spokesperson seemed the most logical route ... [and so] [T]he Dutch born Rutger Hauer became a “walking piece of brand identity” for Guinness in the late 1980’s. At its height, awareness of the campaign was double that of most other beers”. (Davies 1998, p. 188-9) The *Hauer* campaign ran from 1987 to 1994 campaign.

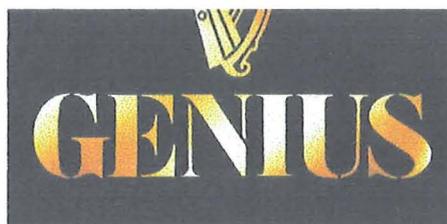


Figure 5H: The first teaser advert for the *Pure Genius* campaign 1985
Davies (1998, p. 161)

The first teaser advert for the *Pure Genius* campaign was visually simple, but packed full of meanings nonetheless. The typeface used for G-E-N-I-U-S, was the same as the well known G-U-I-N-N-E-S-S face, and the colouring was identical. The only other graphic in the advert was a truncated harp. In 1851 Benjamin Lee Guinness, grandson of the founder, Arthur Guinness, adopted the ‘O’Neil’ harp as the logo for Guinness. The harp is a strong symbol of ‘Ireland’ and ‘Irishness’ and the Guinness harp pre-dated the official logo for the Irish Government and State. (To differentiate between the two, the Guinness harp faces right, and the State harp faces left). In this teaser advert, the harp is cut off, with only the bottom third showing. In its first reading, this advert hosts all the classic ‘teaser’ elements, however a second reading could suggest that, as in other UK campaigns, the advert is avoiding a direct and overt reference to Irishness in the British market. The use of the word *genius* is also interesting, and some respondents suggested that the campaign was playing on the word and its meaning in order to distance the product for any associations between ‘Irishness’ and ‘stupid’.

Part 1 Specialist Reading - *Games*

A precursory deconstruction of the teaser above has already revealed interesting aspects of the British marketing philosophy. I selected *Games*, also known as *Games*

Room, (Agency: Ogilvy & Mather 1991) from the UK campaigns selection because it encapsulates all of the strategic marketing messages utilised by *Guinness* for many years. Quirky, clever, and mysterious, it demands decoding and utilises a theme of wry humour. Interestingly, this very short advert, which is only 10 seconds in length, succeeds in communicating all of those values. This is achieved mainly due to the fact that it is part of a bigger campaign, which could be described as a *Guinness genre*. Consequently audiences learned to read the adverts over the course of the eight years that they ran. The advert features actor Rutger Hauer as ‘the man with the Guinness’ and was directed by famed film-director, Ridley Scott. In fact many successful film directors have worked on Guinness adverts, and the careers of Hugh Hudson, Tony Kaye, and Alan Parker were also enriched by the opportunity to work with Guinness in the UK. The deconstruction of the advert, in parallel with the earlier deconstruction of *Island*, strips away the manifest messages and explores connotation, and ideology where “denotation and connotation combine to produce ideology” (O’Sullivan *et al.* 1994, p. 287).

In *Games* Hauer is shot in a stately room, in an elaborate games-room with board games, a can of *Guinness* and a pint on the table. According to Davies it was “one of the more obscure offerings from the long-running campaign” (p. 195) Hauer’s one line is “*It’s hard to put value to things. This, however, is 42*”.

<p>1. Opening shot a stately room, with wide stairs in the foreground. A character, dressed like a butler, walks up the stairs carrying a tray. The camera pans left to right, and shows a room in the middle distance. Rutger Hauer is in this room, standing next to a table; he is looking at the camera.</p>	<p><i>Speech/sounds/music</i> Hauer looks at the camera and says “It’s hard to put values to things”</p> <p><i>Comments:</i> The stately room signifies ‘wealth’. This is reinforced by the presence of the ‘butler’, who is congruous with this setting of ‘estate house’. His presence is also useful in reinforcing the message of ‘wealth’. This visual, accompanied by the spoken words “its hard to put</p>
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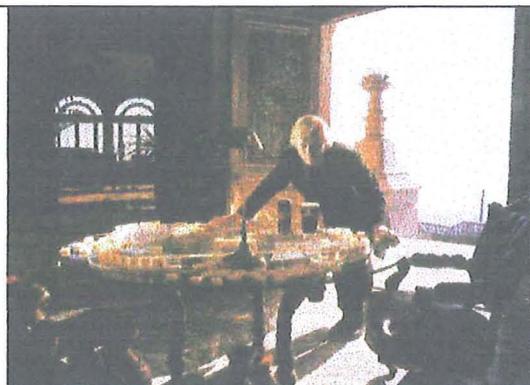


Figure 5I: *Games* Ogilvy & Mather
1991
Davies (1998, p. 195)

values on things” suggests some monetary connection between objects and value.

The camera pans left to right, allowing the reader to view the sumptuous and rich decoration of the interior. In the middle distance, the ‘games room’ is in view. Hauer stands next to the games table, and by a large window. There is a sharp contrast between the darkness of the interior of the house and the bright glare from the window. The ‘light’ and ‘dark’ may be the director’s metaphor for the ‘black and white’ of the product.

This black and white metaphor is used throughout the eight year campaign, as Hauer is always dressed in black, and with his characteristic blond hair, he is a metaphor for a pint of *Guinness*. He is the embodiment of the product. He is described in various marketing journals as the “enigmatic man in black” or “the man with the Guinness”. The same *black and white* metaphor is also used in the following campaign carried out by Ogilvy and Mather in 1996 when they launched their *‘not everything in black and white makes sense. Guinness’* campaign.

<p>2. cut to close up of pint of Guinness and can of Draught Guinness which are sitting on a table. The table is a games table and has a scrabble board on it with a game in progress</p>	<p><i>Speech/sounds/music</i> “this however”</p> <p><i>Comments:</i> In order to clarify the message in the first shot, this shot consists of a close up of the product, in the form of a full pint glass with the name <i>Guinness</i> printed on it, and a can of <i>Draught Guinness</i>. The word ‘Guinness’ is readable on both items. The link between the first shot where the word ‘value’ is used, and the second shot, where the word ‘Guinness’ is depicted, works as a vector for meaning and encouraging the reader to link the two.</p>
<p>3. cut to a zoom out shot, of Hauer, who is standing over the table, with both hands resting on it, and looking at the camera.</p>	<p><i>Speech/sounds/music</i> “is 42”</p> <p><i>Comments:</i> In the previous shot, the product was resting on a scrabble board. This image, accompanied by the word ‘value’ from the previous shot, suggests that there may be a scrabble value for the product. Could the tiles that spell G-U-I-N-N-E-S-S add up to 42? (They don’t, irrespective of where you place them on the board!)</p> <p>Another interpretation, and the one that came to mind when I first viewed the advert, is the reference, in the final frame to 42. The reader</p>

	<p>hears these words while seeing the product on the scrabble table. The spoken word seems to have more impact on the meaning; when I heard '42' I immediately recalled the words 'the meaning of life'. Seconds later, I connected the reference. In Douglas Adams' <i>Hitch Hiker's Guide to the Galaxy</i> the main protagonist is searching for the meaning of life. The answer to the question "what is the meaning of life, the universe and everything?" is '42'.</p> <p>The use of this number is a sign for 'the meaning of life, the universe and everything' and metaphoric link between <i>Guinness</i> and 42 suggests that <u>both</u> are 'the meaning of life', the signs '42' and 'Guinness' are metaphors for 'the meaning of life'. This is reminiscent of Barthes' development of the sign into 'myth'. For him, myths can be seen as extended metaphors, as they help us make sense of our experiences within a culture (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, pp. 158-6) then the myth that 'Guinness is so central to our culture, that it is a part of our meaningful existence' is reinforced.</p>
<p>4. the words <i>Pure Genius</i> appear at the bottom of the screen.</p>	<p><i>Comments:</i> The written words 'Pure Genius' are written in the same font as the familiar <i>Guinness</i> logo. The</p>

	<p>use of, not 'connected text' in Cook's terms but 'connected type', serves the same function. The typeface or font (<i>RubberStamp</i>) links the product <i>Guinness</i> with the inscribed preferred reading 'Pure Genius'. The meaning-message is, 'if you drink this you are special/different, a genius!' - this is in keeping with the marketing strategy which was to target the 'intelligentsia' or A/B1, male, target audience; a departure from earlier strategies, when target audiences were primarily working class and male (see Chapter Three).</p>
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Wider Contextual Readings

As I have already suggested, a closed reading is essential in order to explore the text in its purest form, but I have also argued that in order to have a complete and holistic understanding, the wider context needs to be taken into account. A good example of this can be seen surrounding the *Games* advert. *Games* can be linked with a print advert that also appeared in 1991. At this time Ogilvy & Mather ran a print campaign called "Fractionals" which were carried as posters, bill boards and press adverts. The adverts were black and white, and therefore continuing to use that metaphor, and they used a cartoon or pen and ink style. *Subliminal Advertising* (see Figures 5J) was one such press advert and the advert went to press with 42 as the bar code value for the pint of Guinness. However, interestingly, when I visited Ogilvy & Mather and was given print material for my data collection, the original art work (see Figure 5K) had 41 against the illustration of a pint.

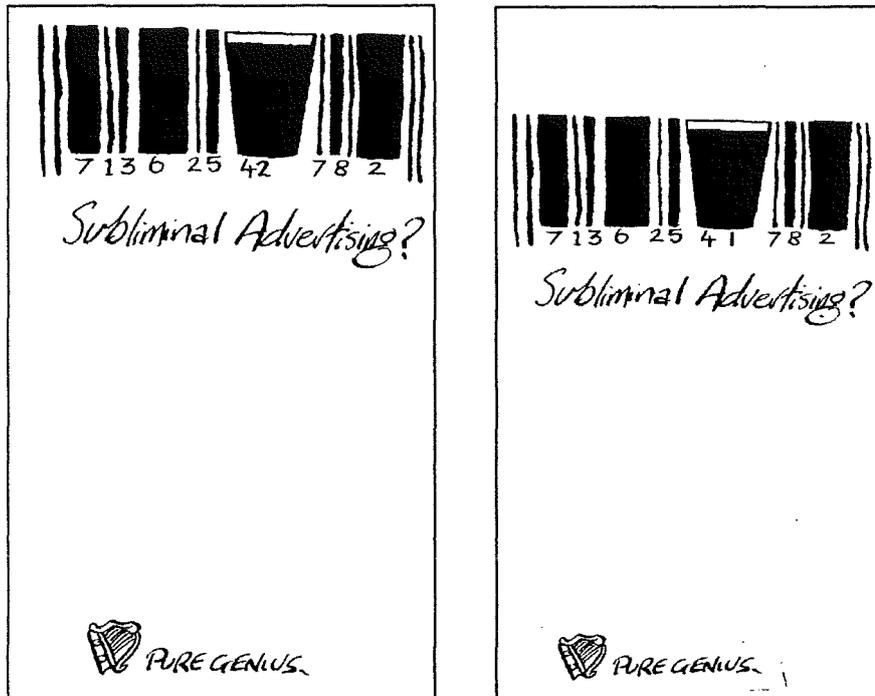


Figure 5J: *Subliminal* as it appeared in print (42)

& **Figure 5K:** the earlier version (41)

Ogilvy & Mather 1991

Was the 'play' on 42 incidental or an afterthought? or was it part of an intentional strategy? This raises more questions about the 'intentions' of the producer versus the accidental inclusion of elements that can later be read as significant and intentional but in fact were not? However, the issue of 'intention' becomes clear when Guinness then ran another '42' print advert that year, which featured *Matching Pair* an auctioneer's lot, *Lot 42*. The two cans of Guinness were again assigned the value '42' (see Figure 5L).



Figure 5L: Matching Pair
Ogilvy & Mather 1991

The use of the number 42, and the thematic reoccurrence suggests that it is an intentional strategy on the part of Ogilvy and Mather. It proves to be a successful thematic reference, and audience's readings inject further value into the product (see below).

Part 2 – Extending the reading

Discourse analysis – Games

MATERIALS:- 1 Substance - The primary substances in *Games* were 'spoken language' in the form of the actors voice, and 'written language' in the form of the logo *Guinness* on the glass and can, and the slogan *Pure Genius*. The secondary substances i.e. 'radio waves', and 'electric cable' are used for this advert. In Part 1, Section 2 in this chapter, Cook describes adverts as parasitic upon their situation, appearing with, and embedded in, other discourses or text, and this leads to interesting situations when, through the interaction of an advert and its 'accompanying discourse', meaning can be changed or added to. In *Games* the interaction with other adverts in the campaign give additional meaning to the text. The reader makes sense of the signs in the advert, because she has had earlier

opportunities to 'learn' the *Guinness* discourse. In this way, the text may be described as parasitic on previous *Guinness* adverts.

2 Music and Pictures – Cook talks about 'pictures' and 'graphics' and describes them as the main mode of communication. In Section 1, I describe Cook's position regarding pictures and graphics and he reminds us that music may overlap, and language may be sung, and incorporating music, pictures & language for analysis can be difficult. But he emphasises that they should not be ignored, as they can add meaning or change meaning. In this text, Cook's observations regarding the value of visual puns and metaphors are demonstrated. Cook's visual 'puns' could also be described as Barthes' visual 'signs'. For example, Hauer, as *the Man in Black* or *the personification of a pint of Guinness*, is, in semiotic terms, a sign that is a myth (or extended metaphor); whereas Cook, using his paradigm, would describe him as a visual pun. What Cook would miss, or lose, by using his approach, is the opportunity to question the second order signification or connotation that lies behind the sign and so may miss the opportunity to excavate the intentions of the producer when she or he 'created' this myth or pun. In fact, at this point, by referring to a myth as a pun, the reader runs the risk of burying any evidence of 'tampering with meaning'.

For Cook *pictures* have a stronger communicative power over the written or spoken word, due to our preference for visual communication and so the print adverts, that are part of the campaign's wider context, are worth comment. Examples of paralanguage-through-visuals can be seen when Ogilvy and Mather ran their Fractional campaign in national newspapers from March 1991 onwards. These consisted of single column space adverts featuring 'pen and ink' black and white graphics. The examples chosen are interesting as they demonstrate a consistency in style and always feature a roughly executed sketch of a glass of *Guinness*. In *Subliminal* (Figure 5J) we see a graphic of a bar code with a glass of *Guinness* incorporated as a supposedly subliminal message. This is a typical example of the brain-teaser type of advert that Ogilvy and Mather produced for the Pure Genius campaign. While being a strong graphic in its own right, it is increasingly interesting when a link can be made between it and the television advert 42 where Rutger Hauer says "it's hard to put values on things, - this however [close-up of pint of Guinness]

is 42". The interpretation of this could be, as I suggested above, that '42', according to Douglas Adams' *Hitchhikers Guide to the Galaxy*, is the meaning of life. Hitchhiker's Guide was the first book in a five-part trilogy. It achieved cult status and was produced as a radio programme for *BBC Radio Four*, a TV series and video. Again, Guinness appears to be brushing alongside 'cult', whether intentionally or not, and this gives the product so much more meaning (see Chapter Three).

The agency continue to play on the number 42, and this can be seen in *Subliminal* (Figure 5J) where the bar code number below the pint of Guinness is 42. This is featured again in *Matching Pair* (Figure 5L) with reference to 'Lot 42'. The use of this obscure message and the subsequent linking games with other adverts is very interesting and possibly risky for the advertiser. This strategy demands an active 'following and interpretation' from the readers of the text. This enriches the text, and keeps the consumer engaged at a different level than one could normally hope for with an advertising text. However it is also risky as the reader may not decode the text accurately and consequently the 'added-value' of this strategy is lost.

The use of the strategy above leads to certain conclusions regarding the philosophy of the marketing techniques and the demographic and psychographic decisions that were taken by the advertisers. The adverts are targeting a very specific audience: one that could be described as 'intellectual', 'other', and 'marginal', (although we know that the campaign is not addressing marginals such as the Irish migrant, women, or gay consumers). Furthermore, the message of 'intellectual' and 'different' is reinforced in the use of the 'Pure Genius' slogo¹. This theme of intellectualisation can be seen in other *Fractional* adverts during this period, for example, in *Rorschach* another print advert (Figure 5M), the Rorschach *Ink Blot* Psychological Test graphic is used.

¹ *slogo* used when a word is acting as a logo - a mix of slogan and logo.

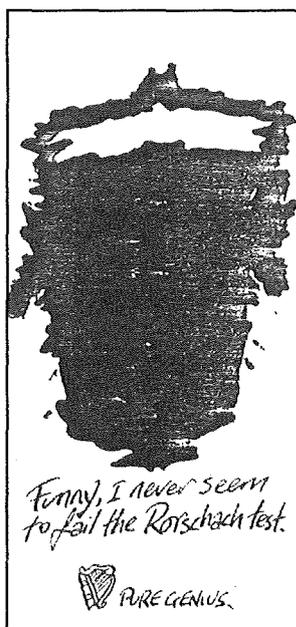


Figure 5M: Rorschach Test
Ogilvy & Mather 1991

This is a reference that would not be particularly well known outside a certain group of readers. The ink blot is recognisable as a pint of Guinness, and it is also recognisable as a classic ink blot test. The advert is clever and is clearly targeting a specific target audience. In a similar strategy of intellectualisation, a TV advert plays the ‘clever card’ and in this 30 second commercial Hauer states “On the subject of colour - I’m with Henry Ford” - which works very well, but only if the audience is aware of Henry Ford’s famous quote when he started mass production of the Ford car - “any colour as long as it’s black”. If they are not familiar with this they cannot deconstruct the advert. The adverts are very clearly addressing a specific target audience and those preferred readers are the only ones that Guinness wish to interpellate, it does not matter if others do not understand the adverts.

3 Paralanguage - As described above, paralanguage refers to non-verbal communications, i.e. in speech it refers to gestures, facial expressions etc. and in writing it refers to typeface, letter size etc. (see Section 1 Part 2). According to Cook’s paradigm, paralanguage (which was neglected as an area of study during the 20th Century, due to the popularity of semiotics) conveys a different kind of meaning than language, and in *Games*, the paralanguage is noted in the nonverbal

language surrounding Hauer. He is communicating 'mystery' through nonverbal actions such as his stance, his tone of his voice, his expression, and his 'direct look' at the camera, which was used in all his adverts for *Guinness*. The function of the paralanguage in this text is to reinforce the overriding message of 'difference' and 'unusual' in a marketing attempt to appeal to a different audience.

The marketing journal *Campaign*, suggested that the advertising agency had developed the image of actor Rutger Hauer, with his black clothes and blonde hair, 'the enigmatic man in black' to be the personification of a pint of *Guinness* and comparable to a pint. In Peircian semiotics, Hauer could be said to be an indexical sign for pint of *Guinness*. Interestingly, in 1987 Ogilvy and Mather are quoted as saying "the 'Man with the Guinness' campaign is designed to allow consumers to access their personal individualism via the commentary provided by a man who is an embodiment of Guinness itself" and they go on to describe how "the Man is black, blonde, enigmatic, mysterious, powerful, redolent of inner depth - all the classic attributes of Draught Guinness".

The distinct overall graphic style that was utilised in the *Fractional* campaign, where the advert always appeared in a single column space or as a banner advert, was always black and white, and always featured the graphic of a pint. This 'pen and ink' style could, as a collective image, be described as an iconic sign for the product.

Topography is seen as the paralanguage of written language, a good example can be seen in the use of the *Guinness* typeface where the same type is used for the words 'PURE GENIUS', creating a paralinguistic link between the product and the slogan. Finally the harp logo is used in conjunction with the words 'Pure Genius' to give further association but, as discussed above, it is interesting to note that the harp does not get prominence within the UK campaign to the same extent that it is used as an image in Irish campaigns.

TEXT:- The second strata is made up of 'words and phrases', 'grammar and prosody' and 'connected text'.

4 Words and Phrases: Holbrook (1987) divides discourse into *scientific discourse*, which includes cognitive, descriptive and informative, and *poetic discourse* which includes affective, appraisive and valuative, and *religious discourse* which is conative, prescriptive and incitive. The UK campaign appears to be a combination of all three. The adverts cross the 'scientific', 'poetic' and 'religious' discourses when viewed in a holistic fashion. The act of interpretation by the audience requires cognitive ability in order to deconstruct the puns and metaphors in the texts in the fashion of Williamson's unsung army of semioticians. The texts are clever in their construction and there is a cross referencing of elements (as in *Subliminal* (Figure 5J)) which had an effect similar to that of following a soap opera. The audiences had to retain elements from the previous advert in order to connect with the next episode, further integrating the audience with the discourse.

Semantically, Guinness refers to a beverage, however connotative interpretation can lead the reader to other associations:

Guinness = natural

Guinness = strength

Guinness = good for me

Guinness = clever/smart/witty

Guinness = different

Guinness = standing out in the crowd

An example of linguistic pun can be seen in another UK/Hauer advert, directed by Ridley Scott (see Figure 5M). It featured Hauer, on a very hot day, surrounded by girls in black and white swim suits. The text consists of three lines and six words

Blue skies,

Blazing sun,

Dark Glasses!

The audience sees a shot of all the girls wearing dark sun-glasses, which is juxtapositioned with a dark glass of Guinness.

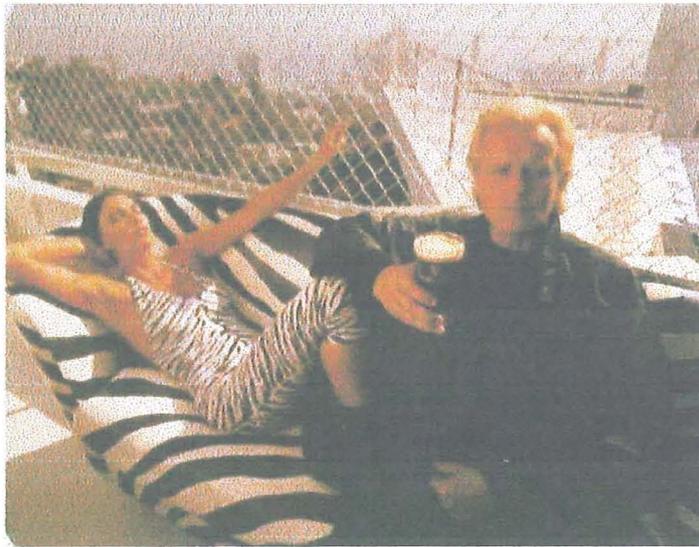


Figure 5N: Dark Glasses

Davies (1998, p. 195)

5 Grammar and Prosody: Examples of the element of prosody (the patterning of sound) in *Games* is limited. However it can be seen in another ‘Pure Genius’ advert, *Medallion Man* (1985-6) which depicts a ‘wide-boy’, cockney character, “with a blonde woman draped on his arm, ordering a totally over-the-top cocktail in a wine bar. An elegant young man goes to the bar to order a *Guinness*, winning an admiring glance from the blonde” (Davies 1998, p. 162).

The script was as follows:

Cockney customer:	Ok babes, I’ll do the talking
[to barman]	conjure me up one ...
	one ‘in between the sheets’
	and for <i>moi</i> , a ‘Low Slung Mega Zombie’
	with positively all the trimmings,
	cherry on a little stick, umbrellas, pineapple chunks
	know what I mean!
Other Customer:	Packet of crisps please an make mine
	a straight talking, -----
	midnight lining,
	black I.Q. brew,
	with a velvet body,

	cool head up top,		most rhythmic section
	a touch of [whistle]		
	no trimmings,		
	no ice		
	no umbrella, -----		
Cockney customer:	You what		
Blonde female with Cockney:	[sighs at other man admiringly and says]		
	'Pure Genius'		
Narrator:	It's the strong dark body		
	and the deep inspiring taste		
	that makes Guinness [pause]		
	'Pure Genius'		

Murphy (1993)

While the text has some rhythm inherent in it, it is more interesting to note the content of the dialogue and the message of the subtext. There is a strong sense of 'competition' and 'one-up-man-ship' between the two male characters, and the exchange clearly places the product, not in the 'glitzy,' or 'fake' category, but in the 'smooth', 'clever' (see reference to 'I.Q. Brew') and 'different' category. The text urges the consumer to be a member of the 'other', or as Hebdige (1985, p. 102) notes, to use the commodity differently, as a member of a subculture.

6 Connected Text: Advertising attempts to share some of these qualities of conversational principles in order to relate more closely with the addressee and this can be noted in the Rutger Hauer series of Pure Genius adverts. Unlike other adverts in the history of UK Guinness advertising, Hauer always addresses the audience directly. He always looks directly at the camera when speaking and the text often contains a question which is directed at the audience.

PEOPLE:- The third stratum, PEOPLE - which incorporates 7 *senders and narrators* and 8 *observers and addressees* and 9 *social and psychological functions* – is addressed throughout this thesis when I explore the sites occupied by producers, consumers, and their lived experiences. However in Section 3 in this chapter, the

audience' readings, comments, observations and decodings, of both the Irish and UK adverts, *Island* and *Games*, are described.

Section 3 - Audience readings - Ireland and UK adverts

In this section, I present a valuable addition to Johnson's model. I develop an empirical extension to the circuit and I identify and address an inherent weakness in the model. I argue that limiting the decoding and deconstruction of the texts to the specialist reader results in a limited deconstruction of the text and I argue that while isolated textual deconstructions are valuable in themselves, relying on one single reading can result in a *limited* reading of the text. Subjectivity is an identified weakness of the approach, and by extending the process of deconstruction to the audience, this approach allows the researcher to collect a more exhaustive and possibly richer set of meanings around the artefact. And so in this section, I extend that model in order to incorporate *audience reading* of the texts.

I consider the audience or consumer capable of intelligent deconstruction, and I argue that their deconstructions of the text are a significant contribution, and they extend the meanings located in the text. Messaris disputes that we need to learn to 'read' the formal codes of photographic and audio-visual media, and he argues that the resemblance of their images to observable reality is not merely a matter of cultural convention, "to a substantial degree the formal conventions encountered in still or motion pictures should make a good deal of sense even to a first-time viewer" (Messaris 1994, p. 7).

In some cases, semiotics stands accused as being an elitist approach that depends on technical jargon and excludes most people from participation and in practice, semiotic analysis invariably consists of individual readings. It is rare to encounter a study that incorporates the commentaries of several analysts on the same text, and even rarer to encounter any kind of consensus amongst different semioticians with regard to a particular text. In fact structuralist semioticians tend to make no allowance for alternative readings, assuming either that their own interpretations reflect a general consensus or that "their text interpretations are immanent in the sign

structure and need no cross-validation” (McQuarrie & Mick 1992, 194).

Semioticians who reject the investigation of other people’s interpretations privilege what has been called the ‘élite interpreter’ - though socially-oriented semioticians would insist that the exploration of people’s interpretive practices is fundamental to semiotics.

I encouraged the consuming audience to decode the advertising texts during the focus group sessions in Dublin, London and New York. The strategy was two-fold. In the first instance, the audiences could focus on the advertising ‘texts’, and while discussing them, they would relax and be more involved in the session. Additionally, the exercise presented me with opportunities to raise discussion topics by using the viewing of the text as a springboard. Secondly, and more significantly, the exercise allowed me to hear readings and decodings of the texts from readers who were not ‘specialist’ or expert readers. I did not construct them as ‘specialist’ readers, and I did not expect them to use the technical jargon – but I did anticipate that they would deconstruct the adverts, and I expected alternative readings (at times) from the readings I had generated above. As a result of this exercise, I expanded my data to incorporate rich and alternative readings and meanings that the consumers located in the text.

The groups in Ireland, the UK and the USA engaged with the adverts and clearly enjoyed the challenge of decoding and interpretation. Participants viewed a relevant selection of adverts from the Ireland and UK campaigns, but in this chapter I only include their discussions around the two relevant adverts *Island*, and *Games*.

The audience readings go some way to meet Cook’s suggestion that senders and receivers should be considered when addressing a text. Secondly, Cook, in his own way, utilises the principle that Johnson advocates. Both wish to take a holistic approach when exploring ‘meaning’. Cook places the text as central, but insists that the context be incorporated, whereas Johnson gives equal importance to every site. And while Cook’s textual approach and Johnson’s cultural approach differ in their theoretical underpinnings, both are concerned with a whole, or gestalt view of their subject.

Reading *Island*

When viewing *Island*, the groups demonstrated immense ‘consumer intelligence’ in the contextual reading of this advert. They noted the advertisers inclusion of *Gaeilge* in the text and some tentatively suggested that the advert coincided with a time when there was a promotion of the Irish language in Ireland. Other groups were less tentative and proceeded to confidently link the date of the advert with an ongoing language revival; and one first generation, working-group respondent in London asked “was there an Irish [language] revival at the time of the advert?” He further commented that the use of Irish made the advert more appealing to him.

The readers were correct, and as I have already discussed above, there was government pressure to revive the use of Irish at this time. This was ‘intelligently’ noted by the readers. They were very adept at locating a ‘preferred reading’ or a dominant ideological message and commenting on it. I mentioned to Trevor Jacobs at Arks Agency that audiences tend to read this advert and link it with archetypal and evocative readings of ‘national identity’. I asked if this message content was the result of a conscious decision or strategy at Arks. “Had the inclusion of this ‘dominant’ message been intentional?” According to Jacobs, Arks was not trying to portray Irishness in this advert; “it wasn’t about ‘Irish’ or ‘Gaelic tradition’ it was more to do with the ubiquity of the brand”.

This reply raised some important questions for me, which remain unanswered. Here was a text that was clearly situated by time and space, having a definite message link with external political strategies. The audience were adamant that this was the case, but the production people were claiming that such a message had not been included in the text. Could we conclude that the inscribing of this dominant message was done at a subconscious or unconscious level by the design and creative team? Were they simply responding and incorporating elements from the contemporary context? Was the agency not giving a straight answer? or Was the audience actively producing meaning independently of the producer’s intentions?

For many readers this advert was bound over with nostalgia, and it was linked with traditional values, which were read positively. All groups noted that the strong message of ‘waiting’ was carried across in the text and was clearly a referent to the

product's inherent ritualistic aspect of waiting. And one male respondent astutely noted that the advert was devoid of any female representation. In another group, a second-generation UK reader noted that it was appealing to 'history' and in an example of 'complex readings' one respondent in New York observed that "you have to appreciate it – you know that it's the Island with the *currach* – it's very traditional".

A male respondent in Ireland noted "I don't think that would be an appropriate commercial outside Ireland. It depicts the prototype Irish man sitting around waiting for the beer to arrive". This 'censoring reader'² did not want a specific image of Irishness to be communicated outside Ireland, for fear that it would have negative repercussions or give non-Irish readers 'the wrong impression' of Irish men. Finally, Louise in New York noted that this advert wouldn't be "remote control proof" as it was "a bit slow and long". This demonstrated to me that the audience or reader awareness of audience behaviours goes further than practitioners may imagine.

Reading Games

When the same groups viewed and commented on *Games* they noted that the adverts were more 'upmarket' than the Irish campaigns in general, and more 'upmarket' than previous UK campaigns. They noted that the advert was targeting the 'upper class', and respondents enjoyed the variety of readings that the group was generating. Although they did agree that the advert didn't necessarily 'say *Guinness*' whereas *Island* did.

When viewing *Games*, one respondent suggested that the value of the 'Guinness' when placed on the scrabble board earned the player 42. However, this was only the first step in meaning making, because immediately after this comment, others excitedly wanted to add their own interpretations. Several respondents mentioned "the meaning of life, Douglas Adams - at the end of the book, the meaning of life was 42" and the readers who made the connection were very excited and seemed to

² I coined the term 'censoring reader' in order to describe how some readers felt about communicating images that they did not approve of. The disapproval was not based on personal values, it was more a case of 'don't communicate a negative image that would do us an injustice'.

be more engaged as a result. The groups liked the obscurity even though not every one was familiar with the Douglas Adams reference, however they did express concern that not every reader would be able to understand the subtleties of the advert.

One group in the UK noticed the advertising agencies use of 'recall strategies' in different adverts and one commented, "It's an old ploy, instead of just sitting watching a silly commercial that goes straight out of your head, you actually remember, I mean every single Guinness commercial sticks in your head". Other examples of consumer intelligence were also noted during the viewing. Readers commented on the similarities between *Island* and another advert shot in 1994, *Anticipation*. They noted that both adverts depicted messages of 'waiting' and 'time' even though the adverts used very different styles. The respondent's reading skills and ability to draw conclusions through examples of intertextuality was exciting for them and me.

Interestingly, from a methodological perspective, I noted that while the readers in various groups spoke, and were commenting on the adverts, they set themselves apart, as if the adverts were not targeting them. They used 'they' to refer to the target or intended audience and they, in distancing themselves from 'the audience', seemed to be setting themselves up as 'specialist readers'.

Other aspects of Games

All groups commented on Hauer as the 'Man with the Guinness', and from quotes from Ogilvy and Mather we know that he was intentionally cast as the personification of a pint of Guinness. His uniform for every advert was black clothing and this combination of all black, with blonde hair, produced a living sign for Guinness. Across all focus groups, the readings for this advert were similar, and this generation of meaning convinced me that the 'ordinary' readers are an 'army of semioticians'. In every group, when readers first encountered Rutger Hauer, one respondent would always note that he was a metaphor for Guinness. They did not use the technical language but they read the text accurately nonetheless.

'I think he looks like a pint of Guinness, he's wearing black and he has blonde hair'

Mary - Dublin

'a walking pint'

Sf - Dublin

'Black and white ... they are trying to make Rutger Hauer equal Guinness'

Gillie - Waterford

'... and the fact that he wore black and had blonde hair, is that supposed to be a pint of Guinness?'

Mick - Waterford

In London, the first comment when the advert was viewed was "interestingly, he wears black and his hair is white!" However, it was quickly followed by critical comments of "surreal, isn't it?" and "off the wall". Despite the astute readings, the advert was not particularly appealing to the Irish audiences in Ireland or in the UK. Rutger Hauer was perceived as "too cool", while another respondent described the advert as "crap, blond hair, black suit, he's a cool geezer". In London, one respondent in The Parkway Inn, North London noted "the whole concept is too cold, I mean I would think an Irish drinker would want something more". Many consumers commented that in general, the advert would not appeal to Irish drinkers. Their readings reveal what we already know about Guinness UK's strategies regarding 'not directly targeting Irish consumers in the UK' (see Chapter 3 – interview with Hosking at Guinness UK).

However, while the advert was not received positively, the demonstrations of consumer intelligence continued. Some noted that the new image was being introduced in order to appeal to the new audience that Guinness was now chasing. This strategy shift has been confirmed in my interview with John Hosking at Guinness Park Royal. The respondents noted that Guinness was "trying to make it sophisticated, kind of clever". One London respondent noted that Hauer was "unusual, like space age", and suggested that the target audience was not a working class male one. He went on to use technical marketing terms, and suggested that the campaign was targeting a specific new group - "it's the *Generation X* isn't it?" He

also suggested that the new image, “the cynical touch” would have more appeal to this new target audience, which he had adeptly identified.

Those intelligent readers...

Some generic comments made by the respondents also warrant comment. In Dublin, consumer intelligence was displayed, not just around a specific text, but in general. They noted that the consumer base for Guinness had shifted, it was no longer an *old man's drink* or a *working man's drink*. “In the past there was a ‘typical’ Guinness drinker. Now you’d see a managing director of a firm and a professor in a college drinking Guinness”. Fiona, in Dublin, noted that the Ireland and UK campaigns differed greatly, because the UK campaigns “leave the social and traditional elements of Guinness out of their ads”. And in The Parkway Inn, in North London, respondents were very knowledgeable about Guinness’s worldwide portfolio; where it was brewed, where its sales are dominant etc., and one respondent commented on how important ‘live music’ is in a pub to keep it in good business.

In the first-generation, professional groups in London, they were noteworthy because they did not comment in any detail on any of the adverts shown to them, however their general comments included some interesting observations. For example Margaret referred to the post 1990 Pure Genius adverts as “the smart ads” without knowing that the new UK strategy was to produce adverts to target A and B1 socio-economic consumers. The group did not know that the campaigns were no longer “targeting the pub set, the normal drinker” when they noted that with reference to the content of the later campaigns, “it’s not about class anymore”.

The audience awareness of such detail, and the recognition of marketing strategies embedded in the advertising campaigns, reinforced for me the theory that the audience, or consumer, or reader, is “not a moron” and just as David Ogilvy (1990³) prophetically warned his fellow advertising managers in the 60’s, the audience needs to be treated as ‘intelligent’. Indeed, in rich and stark comparison of audience theory and reception theory, this research has demonstrated that the consumer, or audience

³ TV documentary *Washes Whiter: history of British TV Advertising 1990*

or reader is aware, intelligent, critical, and sophisticated; nothing resembling the amorphous mass as imagined by the *effects* school of thought. The reader's observations, their awareness of shifts in the text, which were intended to generate new appeal, and their awareness of complex audience segmentation issues, astounded me. I had not anticipated such enlivened, enriching and intellectual readings from what I had originally constructed as 'untrained readers'.

Conclusion

I divided this chapter into three sections - In Section One, Part One, I decoded *Island* from the Irish Campaigns, and as the specialist reader, I deconstructed the text. This enabled me to explore meanings and readings embedded in the product's secondary text, and to tap into the 'core essence' of the product. I exposed elements such as 'inclusion and exclusion of Irishness,' 'community', 'masculinity', 'difference', 'other', 'naturalness', and 'product loyalty' and I laid open the differences that exist between Irish and UK marketing strategies. In Section One, Part Two, I extended the approach and used Cook's 'hierarchy of discourse' to consider the text in relation to context, where I addressed elements such as paralanguage, grammar and prosody, connected text etc.

In Section, Two, Part One, I decoded *Games* from the UK Campaigns, and again, as the specialist reader, I deconstructed the text. In Part Two, I extend this and carried out wider contextual readings incorporating other adverts that added further meaning to the initial reading. I excavated the texts to a wider degree and developed a richer reading of the texts in context.

In Section Three I presented a compelling new approach and a valuable addition to Johnson's model. In his *circuit of culture* the researcher is required to execute a specialist deconstruction of the texts. However in order to address the inherent weakness of limiting the process of deconstruction to a singular closed reading, I developed an empirical extension to the circuit, and extended the model in order to incorporate specialist and audience readings of the texts. This enabled me to collect readings and decodings of the advertising texts - from readers who were not

'specialist' or expert readers - but consumers who were capable of intelligent deconstruction. Their deconstructions of the text contributed significantly, and extended the meanings located in the text by generating rich and alternative readings.

In the following two chapters that make up Section 2 of this thesis, I focus on 'the pub space' and examine issues arising in that space around gender, masculinities, inclusion, exclusion, racism, authenticity and hybridity. Chapter Six *Gendered Places, Pub Spaces* addresses 'gender' as a core issue, and Chapter Seven *The Pub, a complex space of Other, Hybridity, Authenticity & Racism* investigates the pub as the site where inclusion, exclusion and racism occur.

Section 2 – *The Pub Space*

In this section I describe the pub space and reveal it as a complex site for consumers in Ireland and abroad. It is a site that is boundaried by gender, a site for ritual expression of membership and family, and a site for inclusion and exclusion.

The pub space supports structures such as social relationships, group membership, community, and expressions of masculinities. It also supports functional needs such as recruitment, economic exchange, and political exchange. Conversely, however, the pub is also a site for exclusion. This exclusion can be seen when I explore the gendered aspects of the pub and document female expressions and experience in that space. The pub also excludes out-groups based on factors such as *class* and *race*, and so, while it is a space that reinforces community, it is also a space that reinforces ‘other’.

The following two chapters are dedicated to my investigations into the sites of audience and lived experiences as the Irish consumer in Ireland, and the Irish migrant in the UK and the USA occupy the pub space. In Chapter Six *Gendered Places, Pub Spaces*, I draw on a range of evidence and argue that the pub space is masculine and women occupy this space as marginal and ‘other’. I also demonstrate that the strength of the pub space is underlined by the fact that Guinness and the Pub are inextricably bound.

In Chapter Seven *The Pub, a complex space of ‘Other’, Hybridity, Authenticity & Racism*, I examine the pub as a site for demonstrations of authenticity, inclusion and exclusion in pubs in London and New York, and I identify types of exclusion and moments of exclusion that occur within the pub space.

Chapter 6

Gendered places, Pub spaces

Introduction

In this chapter, I argue that the pub space is masculine and women are still occupying this space as marginal and 'other'. I demonstrate this by drawing on a range of evidence – historical studies, expert reports, focus groups and personal experience – that coalesce to form a story about masculinities, different constructions of femininity, and moments of inclusion and exclusion. I explore the pub as a patriarchal space, and a space that supports 'masculinities' and 'male community'. I identify that the strength of the pub space is underlined by the fact that Guinness and the Pub are inextricably bound.

I also look at the pub as a site for exclusion and comment on class membership. Specifically, I investigate the functioning of the pub as an excluding space for women, especially for migrant women in the UK and the USA, and explore the significance of this.

Finally I highlight the moments when the pub space is including, but only if women follow certain rules – and I show moments when, under certain conditions, and within certain contexts, the consumption of Guinness can liberate the female consumer in the pub space.

Situating the Pub – An Historical Entity

Understanding the pub space - pub architecture, the male space, and the social

The pub has occupied a dominant place in the architecture of the city, town and village in Ireland. In the cities the concentration of pubs was so high in the 1600's that Barnaby Rich in *A New Description of Ireland* wrote "in Dublin the whole profit of the towne stands upon alehouses ... there are whole streets of taverns" (Rich, in Kearns 1996, p. 1). In the 18th century, according to Kearns, in some city parishes nearly one out of every four dwellings was a tipling house. By 1760 there were 2,300 alehouses and taverns in Dublin City alone. Even contemporary literature documents this, as we see in the Dublin that James Joyce's describes in *Ulysses* (1996, p. 1). We can also get a glimpse of this image of endless pubs when we hear the character Stephen Dedalus in Joyce's *Ulysses* muse how challenging it would be to try and get from one side of the city to the other without passing the doors of a pub. Such descriptions indicate that the pub was, and still is, a dominant part of the city geography and occupies a considerable place in the daily social lives of the inhabitants of the city.

Throughout the 1600 and 1700's the cities of Ireland were marked not only with the 'public house landscape' but also with their effect. Kearns describes the sight of people staggering out of drinking houses in a pathetically sodden state that "alarmed 'respectable' citizens". The custom of drinking was not limited to working class men. Drunken working class women were also visible, and it was not only the working classes who were drinking. Winskill, in Kearns, documents that by the end of the 18th century "compulsory drinking customs among all classes had firmly established a drunken tyranny" (1996, p. 2).

Working class men however, primarily occupied the pubs. Other classes consumed alcohol in the domestic space or in private clubs. Many individuals voiced their objections and concerns regarding the intemperance that was evident at this time and in 1876 a Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance was appointed to look into excessive drinking in Dublin.

After gathering a plethora of testimony from experts and commoners alike, much enlightened sociological evidence was forthcoming. There clearly emerged a link between the poverty and hardship of the lower classes and their need to use the public house as an “escape” from their plight. The pub was recognised as an emotional and psychological ‘safety valve’ and refuge for the impoverished masses.

Kearns (1996, p. 2)

The pub was likened to the rich man’s club and it was acknowledged that the drinker’s home is “rarely a comfortable one and in the winter the bright light, the warm fire and the gaiety of the public house [were] attractions ... difficult to resist” (Cameron, 1905, p. 14 cited in Kearns 1996, p. 3). The dominance of the pub in the architectural and social experience was not limited to the cities. In rural parts of the country, the pub was often the only business in the village. It served as a grocer, post office, funeral parlour and public house. By day it served the daily needs of the village where anyone could access the space without alienation, and by night it became a bona fide pub with all its cultural norms and boundaries. However, the alternative to the pub was the disreputable ‘drinking dens’ such as the spirit grocer who had a licence to sell “a quantity of spirits not exceeding two quarts at a time for consumption *off* the premises” (Kearns 1996, p. 15). This is where women consumers purchased their alcohol. Women were more likely to buy their alcohol from the ‘spirit grocers’ and drink at home or “sip away contentedly behind high stacks of biscuit tins”. These women were marginal consumers. They could not risk being seen in a public house because the women who did frequent the pub space were socially marked as either ‘old women’ or as ‘prostitutes’.

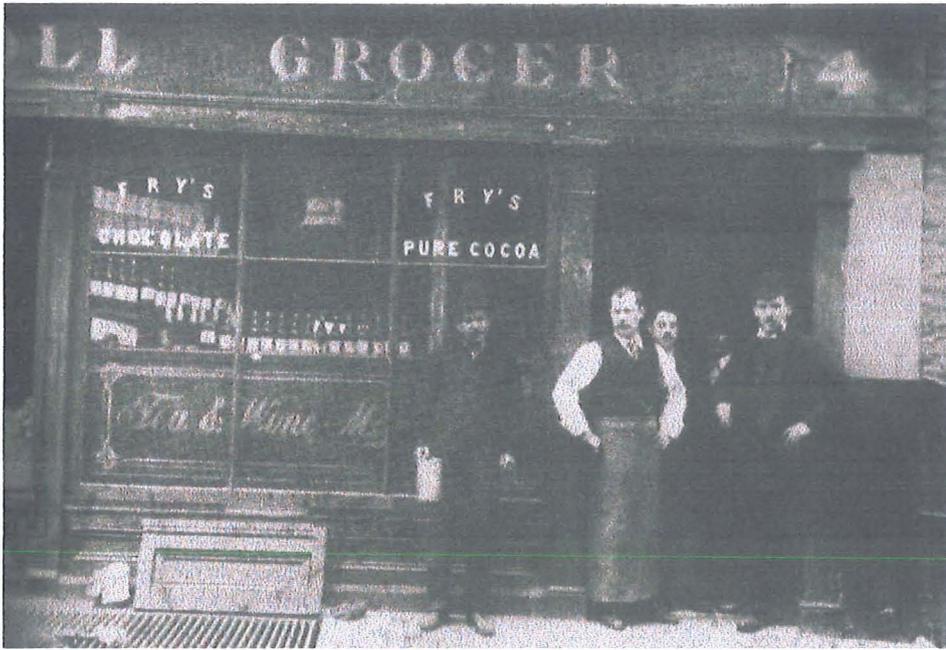


Figure 6A: One of Dublin's notorious spirit grocers that enticed women as well as men to drink illegally on the premises.

Kearns (1996, Figure 9).

The other alternative to the pub was the shebeen. Shebeens were the lowest form of drinking den in Ireland. They were illegal drinking quarters usually found in tenements. In 1877 there were 117 documented shebeens in Dublin alone and owing to their underground nature they survived until the 1950s. Interestingly, shebeens can be found in parts of south and east Africa today (see Chapter Three - interview with Jim Nolan, Guinness S.A.) - a remnant of colonial influence where the Irish would have served as indentured servants, labourers or foot soldiers.

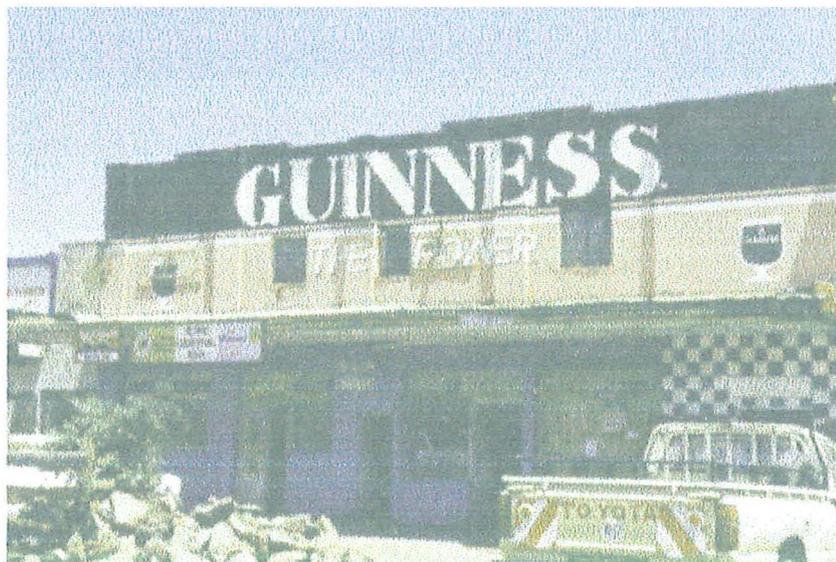


Figure 6B: A shebeen in Nairobi with prominent Guinness Advertising!
(Adrian Mamo, January 1999.)

The Pub Space, Men's Space, Home From Home

'Pubs' 'masculinities' 'membership' 'community' 'Guinness'

They seem like an illogical set of words to place together; to go further and suggest that there might be a link between them is even more challenging. However the pub is repeatedly described by both male and female Irish respondents in Ireland, and to a lesser degree in the UK and the USA, as being 'a male space', the place where 'community' resides for men. The narrators go further; not only do they determine the pub as male and a place where you strive for membership, they also suggest that 'the pub' and 'Guinness' are synonymous. In fact audiences continuously report the pub space as the only space to consume Guinness. They often talk of 'going for a Guinness' instead of 'going to the pub'. 'To go to the pub' is synonymous with 'to go for a pint' and 'to go for a pint' is synonymous with 'to go for a Guinness'. I argue that the pub is synonymous with 'Guinness', and the pub is synonymous with 'community'. Therefore the consumer who is actually drinking Guinness is also taking *his* place in a community, and drinking Guinness gives him membership into a club called 'men'.

The Pub's Social Function.

In the late 19th and early 20th century the Irish pub in Ireland was multifunctional. It was traditionally “the epicentre of social life, local news, companionship and even entertainment since every neighbourhood was blessed with its own local talent of singers, musicians, dancers, comedians and storytellers” (Kearns 1996, p. 3). Pubs achieved notoriety for the clientele such as *McDaid's* in Harry St, Dublin. This was the archetypal literary pub with regulars such as Brendan Behan, Patrick Kavanagh, Brian O’Nolan, Gaijin Crist, Austin Clarke, A. J. Cronin, Brian Donleavy, Liam O’Flaherty, W. B. Yeats and others. This pub was described as the dreariest pub, with sawdust and spittoons, with 90% of its clients working class. For Kearns, these literary writers didn’t have to travel far to find the characters they wrote about; they were drinking amongst them.

Pubs were also notable for the type of entertainment they offered and between the 1930’s and 1960’s Dublin was renowned for its gala singing pubs that “evolved from the old-fashioned music hall” (Sheridan 1962, p. 29, cited in Kearns). *Lawlors* in Wexford Street, Dublin was renowned and like most singing pubs, “all social ranks were in evidence, from working class to professional” (Kearns 1996, p. 61). Music and singing has been an important element in the social life of the pub and while in the earlier part of the century it was mainly singing, such as light opera, ballad and folk singing, with the audience providing most if not all of the entertainment, today musical events are more likely to be traditional musicians coming together to play impromptu sessions or else you will find organised soloists or groups hired by the publican.



Figure 6C: *Lawlors of Wexford Street*

From the late 1930's to the 1950's Dublin was famed for its singing pubs such as *Lawlors of Wexford Street*. Kearns (1996, Figure 23).

However the pub wasn't just a place to go to view the 'literary-set' at work, or for a singsong on a Saturday night, the pub space also offered a refuge from a domestic space which may have been impoverished and therefore a stressful, and possibly squalid place. The pub with its light, heat and 'good' company, was a seductive alternative.

On par with Irish pubs, Hey describes the Victorian pub in London as a place where

customers had access to newspapers, betting games, cock fighting arenas, political meeting places, debating societies, sporting venues and transport centres all in the context of company, social networks, and street and community gossip.

Hey (1986, p. 13)

The function of the pub in the 19th Century and the function of the pub today has seen little change. The pub in the 21st Century may have changed cosmetically from the Victorian pub but it is still providing similar social support. The contemporary

pub still provides access to the media (not just newspapers but also TV and specific services such as sports events on satellite TV), an arena for betting on horses, dogs, cockfighting etc., and a place to sit and exchange work and social news.

Men use the pub for leisure. They use it for seeking out social company, for seeking employment (it is still a place to network for the latest labouring job, especially if you are a recent emigrant in London or New York, see Chapter 7), for business negotiations, and as a place to go to spend time away from the domestic space.

However, unlike Hey, I would argue that the pub provides a lot more than the creature comforts of a home from home. It is not just the place to go for the 'escape from the domestic' or the place to go to close the deal on a sale of land or other business, find employment, or the place to go to take voyeuristic pleasure from bar staff.¹ It is a place for men to go to spend time with other men in an environment that supports male-to-male discourse without prejudice; the pub has offered men membership, a place to bond with other men and a place to go to find emotional and social support.

Rutherford in his work *Men's Silences* (1992) describes how *Men against Sexism*, a movement that developed in response to the growth of feminism, was one of the first men's groups to begin raising awareness about "predicaments in masculinity". They talked about men "having to retrace their steps and rediscover ... those traits that we have called 'feminine' ... passivity, warmth, intuition, love, emotion" (Rutherford 1992, p. 6). Rutherford also comments on the fact that "the language of affective relations: expressions of comfort, pleasure, pain and vulnerability" had not been given space in the world of 'men' (1992, p.6).

Rutherford and others address a very valid aspect of masculinity; the 'affective' silence of men. However as we will see below, the pub space was and is extremely significant because it DID, and does, offer a space for men to act out the display of community and all that that entails; such as concern for each other, support, and companionship. They may, as Rutherford suggests, not have the language for

¹ According to Valerie Hey (1986), bar staff were often women, and they were employed to enhance the surroundings of the pub.

affective discourse but that, in itself, makes the pub space even more important. It facilitates affective functioning without perhaps, the support of an overt discourse.

The Pub as Social, as Male, as a *Gendered Space*

The pub has always been an important entity in the landscape of the city and rural life for the Irish consumer. The pub has also been an important space; not only in the architectural landscape of the city, town and village, it has also been an integral part of people's lived experiences. In order to understand the link between the *pub space* and *gendered identity* it is useful to look at how the pub operates as a social site for its male users.

Men-Only - No women allowed.

Cameo

Have you ever walked into a room and realised that your very presence was amounting to a social faux pas? That you were the wrong gender in the wrong place?

When I walked into a pub in Llanelli, while on holiday in South Wales recently, the room hushed and a silence descended. It wasn't a menacing silence, it was more likely to be described as an 'awkward' silence.

I realised my error; I had not noticed the two doors leading off the pub's porch; one leading to the lounge and the other to the bar; and I was standing in the bar.

It was full of men; some were at the bar counter, reading the racing page of the paper, playing darts and generally chatting. The decoration was minimal, the floors uncarpeted and the seating was wooden. This was a 'men only' space.

I place my order, (a pint of Guinness) and moved into the lounge as quickly as possible. Once I left the bar and travelled the six paces to the lounge, I could hear the chat resume in the bar.

Sitting in the lounge, which had fitted carpet, comfortably upholstered seats, and featured a fireplace, ornaments, and pictures, I felt relieved that I was now 'in the right place'.

I smiled at the realisation of what had happened. It's a long time since I have been in a pub that was segregated in this manner. There are certainly not many in Dublin, London or New York but in Wales and in rural places in Ireland and elsewhere, the 'pub' and 'lounge' demarcation is still the main architecture of the pub space.

New pubs, built for city consumers or a younger target audience, are open-plan by design. But the 'traditional' pub, which still outnumbers the modern design, is a perfect place to look, in order to begin to understand how the pub space functions and how 'gender' is marked in this space.

We all say 'men only'

Pubs have always been recognised as a male domain. From the earliest example of the modern pub the main consumer has been men. The pub has been the place where men have gone to spend their leisure time, seek social contact and occupy a gender-exclusive social space.

It is an easy task to establish the pub as male. The traditional image of the pub has been one of a male space. The architecture was masculine (see above) rough decor, limited amenities and an unwritten rule that women cannot enter. The only exception to this rule was the evidence of elderly women who had permission to 'belong' because they were sitting in the snug and were drinking Guinness or a spirit, which was being consumed under the guise of 'medicinal'. The other exception to the rule was what Valerie Hey describes as the place where 'working women' could go.

Until recent years, the only times women have been admitted into the pub space is if they are serving drinks (and visually adding to the ambience), selling sex, or elderly. The pub may have become a little more accessible to women in more recent times. The development of a 'lounge' designed to look like someone's living room,

complete with coffee table; lamps, pictures and plastic flowers can be seen in such pubs today. As we will see later in this chapter, women ARE taking up more of the male space, but often this is done by relying on other culturally and socially acceptable devices.

The 'men-only' pub in its 'purest form' is disappearing from the landscape. Few die-hards remain; one example of such tenacity is 'Tom Mahers' in Waterford, Ireland (see Figure 6D). In one focus group session two female respondents discussed the existence of 'men only' pubs quite candidly and seem to lament their demise.

Sharon - ... how many 'male only' pubs are left - there is only one that I can think of now?

Niamh - ... that's *Tom Mahers* - inside in Waterford

Sharon - I mean even *Crookes* here [in Tramore is] a typical mans pub - even now when you go in you'll see the few women in there - you know - but *Tom Mahers* is the only one that has managed to keep it a 'mans [sic] only' pub.

*Working Class Group, The Grand Hotel,
Waterford, Ireland. August 1996*

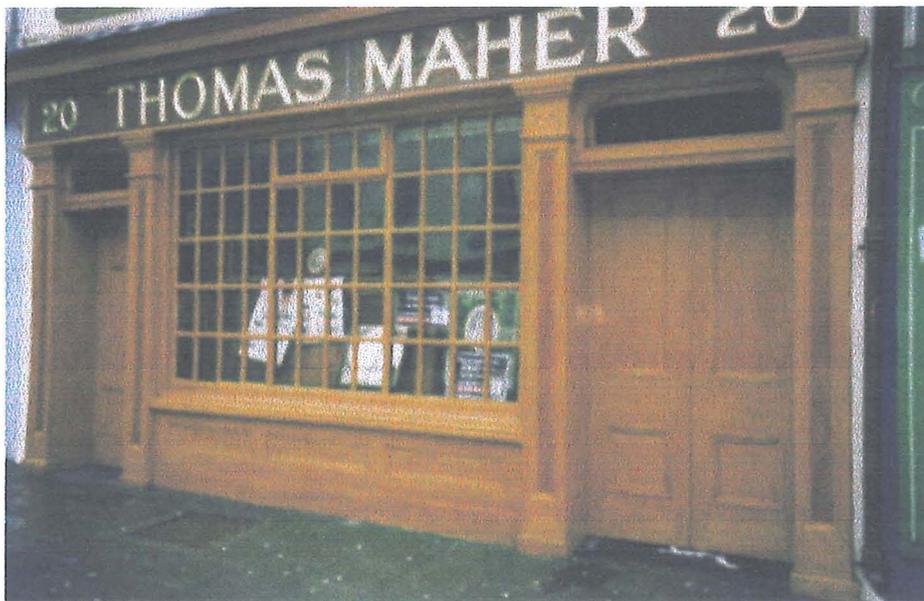


Figure 6D: *Thomas Maher, Waterford City.*
One of the few remaining 'men only' pubs in Ireland.

Even when the pub is no longer a 'male only' pub, male respondents were very clear that the pub was a sacrosanct place they could go to relax.

Gillie - ... it's space where you go after your day's work - place just where you unwind - it's your space

*Working Class Group, The Grand Hotel,
Waterford, Ireland. August 1996*

And so we are beginning to see a picture of the role and function of the pub specifically for male consumers. The pub is offering the male consumer a space. But what is this space being used for? I would like to show in this next section how the pub offers membership and community to men. It offers them membership into a club which I have coined the *masculinity movement*.

Membership and Community *The Pub as Community*

In order to understand how the pub space facilitates the 'masculinity movement' and in order to understand how male community is supported through membership in the pub 'club' we must begin by listening to the consumers' stories in Ireland, the UK and the US. The respondents repeatedly describe the pub as a place that provides social support and emotional support; and in Chapter 7 it is described as a substitute 'home' and 'family' by male emigrants in London and New York.

'Bonding' & 'being a Regular' - social and emotional support

The descriptions of 'social and 'emotional' support came across in a variety of different ways. In Ireland for instance, the respondents talked about how some men may not have a home life. The pub was described as being the surrogate home. An example of this can be found in Kearns (1996, p. 34) where he quotes Tony Morris (52) who has gone to *O'Dowd's* pub in Stoneybatter, Dublin, for the last 30 years and is an example of a typical regular.

I come in normally twice a day, fourteen times a week. It would be fair to say that I spend a good portion of my life here. Some days there could be fifteen of us together. We discuss our problems.

This pub space that he describes, which is his second, if not his first home, is the place where he connects with other men. They 'discuss their problems'. This is one of the few spaces where men can come together and talk. Talk about their problems or simply the events and concerns of the day. They talk on an affective level, in a space that is non-threatening. It suggests that the pub space facilitates men in breaking free from what Rutherford describes as 'men's silences'; here they have the opportunity to voice their inner lives. By being a regular in a pub the consumer had invested time and emotional energy into the relationships with the bar owners and staff, the other regulars and the place itself. And when these regulars become elderly, infirm and ill, or die, the demonstration of 'family concern' from the other regulars is on par if not exceeding the recognised familial responsibilities. They 'watch out' for each other; if one is missing from the evening's drinking, another will 'check' that he is okay; they visit the home or hospital if one of the 'club' becomes ill and when one dies, the pub plays a significant part in the funereal rituals.

One respondent in Ireland, who was vehemently anti-drinking and anti-pubs could still see the importance of its role in the daily lives of the men who frequented them. Jim empathises with the men who go to the pub as a warmer option of "a cold house"

Jim - I go into pubs and I see - fantastic, the quality of the stuff [traditional music] is second to none - and I'm saying some of these guys are probably going home - to a cold house - you know, the conditions that they go home to are actually inferior conditions.

*Professional Class Group
Waterford Ireland, August 1996*

Kearns cites an empathic ninety-year-old May Hanaphy who describes the pubs around the 'Golden Lane', Dublin, (known for its rough pubs). She observed how

local men folk, including her brothers, found not only friendship but also brotherly love in their local pub:

The pub was a way of life for them, their friendship. It was their *whole* world. In the pub they could have love, in a fashion, among the men themselves.

Kearns (1996, p. 35)

In London and New York the story is no different. The pub plays an important role in the daily lives of the Irish migrant. In fact it seems to be even more critical that the pub space exists for this group because it seems to substitute for many social and cultural structures that the consumer has left behind. The pub was repeatedly reported as being a site where these men could find a sense of family and a place where they could locate a community.

The home life of the male Irish migrant is described here. Eddie, a 50+ construction worker, living and working in North London, described how the pub is the only place for some men to go for company following a hard day of manual labour.

Eddie - It is definitely ... the social ... some of the old boys that you see ... their only escape in life is to come in and it's not for the drink ... obviously the drink ... but it is actually for the company ... you know what I mean ... we'd all agree on that one.

John - when you have a good local ... it's like being in a little village ... it's like being in Ireland ... you know everybody and you go out and you have a crack and it helps you wind down ... and if the Guinness is good ...

*First Generation - Mixed Class Group
North London, UK. April 1998*

His friend, John, describes it eloquently when he says "it's like being in a little village". The evocative allusion to 'the village', that is, the place most respondents have come from, is reminiscent of a society where community would have been the

key to the mental well-being of the population. The first speaker went on to describe the loneliness of the working life of the Irish migrant in London. Men working a full day opt for the company of the pub rather than facing an empty bed-sit or flat at the end of the day.

In New York I spoke to Fr. Colm Campbell, at the Irish Immigrants Centre in Woodside and he described how wave after wave of young Irish men come to Woodside looking for work, and found community in the Irish pubs in the area. He was unjudging when he described the lifestyles of the younger migrants who arrived in Queens, post 1980.

Fr. C - I don't think that the only criteria for being a good Catholic is going to mass ... [and] the young herring [here in Queens] certainly lived the gospel ... some of them were sick, there was no money coming in, but they socialised in bars, the bars were the places where you heard about jobs and were ... connected if you had an accident so they could pay your rent. I mean the support for each other was incredible and still is.

*Fr. Colm Campbell - Irish Immigration Centre
Queens NY. 21-03-97*

He went on to give a specific example of this 'community' in action when he described how a young migrant "died suddenly while watching TV on Thursday night". His sister travelled from Ireland to escort the remains back to Ireland.

Fr. C - she arrived on Saturday at 5:00 o'clock, and at the bar where he socialised at 10:00 o'clock on that next Sunday, less than 24 hours later, they started lifting money; and the total reached \$10,000 to help pay for his funeral ... I can give you example after example ... I mean that is the great thing about it possibly because they're in a situation where there is no support so they are really there for each other.

*Fr. Colm Campbell - Irish Immigration Centre
Queens NY. 21-03-97*

Fr. Campbell recognised that the conventional church was not necessarily going to

be the backbone for this group of people. He acknowledged that the pub was the community which supported these migrant men.

Fr. C - Oh! When they came out here the parish and the church wasn't the community. The community was the pubs that you collect in and socialised in. They lived in very basic sort of apartments, slightly over crowded, it didn't really matter cause they only slept there a couple of nights a week, pubs were open till 4:00 in the morning; very often they went straight from the pub to the diner and had their breakfast and went from there to work until they could not help it any longer and had a good sleep really. They had good money.

*Fr. Colm Campbell - Irish Immigration Centre -
Queens NY. 21-03-97*

When we explore the functions of the pub for the Irish male migrant, we can clearly see a tremendous support system in operation. An employment system, an economic system and an affective system. Working class migrant Irish men had and have a support mechanism that migrant Irish women have not had access to.

Historically Irish women in the US were primarily employed in domestic service and here they had a mixed experience. They enjoyed improved basic living conditions, that is, they had more personal private space, better nutrition, independent income etc. A few took advantage of more accessible education and trained as nurses or teachers, giving themselves the opportunity of upwardly mobility. But for most, their lives consisted of reduced opportunities of marriage and family-life due to the low percentage of available Irish males, although it is documented that some married African-Americans despite racial tension in New York at this time. These women also sent large percentages of their income back to Ireland to, for example, help stabilise family farms and ensure that a brother would not lose his inheritance, or they would contribute towards a dowry so a younger sister could marry.

Hasia Diner², an historian at New York University explains that in the 1870's one third of all money circulating in Ireland was coming from Irish migrant women in the US. Some would argue that the development of Ireland occurred on the backs of these migrant women who in turn lived their lives in domestic employment, without structured support and without the comfort of children to take care of them as they aged.

For those who did not marry, illness and old age presented problems of support. Lacking children to look after them, cut off from their communities and support networks, the single Irish [and black] women who inhabited the prisons, asylums, and the poorhouses were invariably spent domestics.

Diner, (cited in Bayor and Meagher 1996, p. 121).

When these women did marry, they sometimes married 'others' such as African American men in the US, (as mentioned above) or English Catholics or Protestants in the UK. This act would further alienate them from the Irish community that they were missing.

The women of this era did not develop strategies similar to men for their social support. Their tentative networks were born out of chance meetings with other Irish women in domestic service and through participation in Church activities. These women did not set up structured support groups and they did not have access to the male pub space which was still taboo for the female consumer. It was still taboo because these women carried the social and cultural mores from Ireland. Further limitations would be placed on them, for example by their employers, who, in Presbyterian America would have frowned on such activity.

The contemporary picture for migrant Irish women is slightly different. As we will see below, my data suggests that there is still a discomfort amongst women in general, when it comes to using the pub space for social activity. This suggests that for the migrant communities in the UK and the USA, the pub has continued to be a

² from Episode 3, 'A World Apart' in *The Irish Empire* Five part documentary series about the Irish world-wide. Producer RTE *et al.* 1999

life line for migrant men but migrant women sometimes locate support in other spaces and places (see Chapter Ten, for further discussion).

Working-Class Identity and Membership

The pub space can be a levelling space for classes but it can also be a marked space that defines the consumers class. Historically, the migrating class leaving Ireland was a working class. Hickman (1995, p. 64) cites Holmes (1988) and they note that Irish migration is acknowledged as the largest labour migration into Britain in the last 200 years. Hickman clarifies the migrant labourers into clearer categories

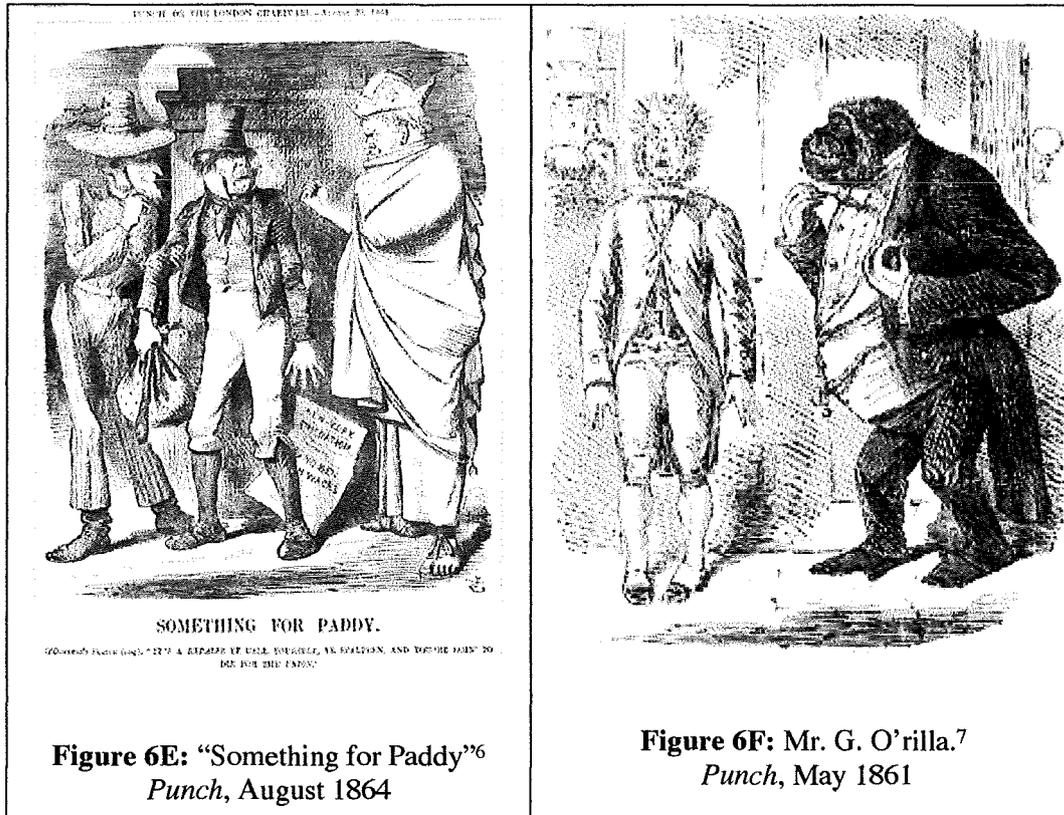
In the first half of the 19th century the Irish migrants fell into three broad categories: seasonal agriculture workers; temporary migrants in Britain for an unspecified period, often en-route for America (navvies were often, though not necessarily in this category); and longer term migrants who mostly headed for the urban areas in the hope of steady work (1995, p. 66).

The struggle with the sense of 'otherness' that these Irish migrant groups felt in Britain and to a lesser extent in the USA, was, and to a degree still is, one of the biggest hurdles that Irish migrants encounter (see Chapter 7). Racism in general, and racism fuelled by classism, is documented by Hickman. She describes how the Irish migrant in the UK encountered negative mind sets due to the fact that for centuries British society had constructed them as 'other'. To get a picture of the strength of feeling Piaras Mac Einri (Irish Centre for Migration, University of Cork) describes how in the 19th century, "being Roman Catholic in English society was almost tantamount to being a traitor"³, and Don Mac Raild⁴, an historian at University of Sunderland, describes how a hatred of Catholics and Catholicism was one of the features of Protestant identity and it was a defining feature of British national identity in the 19th century. This strong binary opposition was further supported by

³ From Episode 4, 'A World Apart' in *The Irish Empire*, Five part documentary series about the Irish world-wide. Producer RTE *et al.* 1999

⁴ From Episode 4, 'A World Apart' in *The Irish Empire*, Five part documentary series about the Irish world-wide. Producer RTE *et al.* 1999

the influence of social Darwinism. Adopting the theory that there is a hierarchy of species in the animal world with man on the top, it was therefore believed to be a logical step, that likewise, there was a hierarchy of races as well and the Anglo type was on the top. For example Catholics were believed to be inferior, child like and incapable of governing themselves⁵, and the Irish were depicted with simian features in cartoons (see Figures 6E and 6F).



This constructed sense of 'other' leads to a more complex scenario. The Irish migrant in the UK and USA was largely perceived as 'Catholic', as 'working class' and as 'other'. These elements became an integral part of a 'national identity'. To be Irish in the UK and USA, was to be all of the above. This complex construct of

⁵ From Episode 4, 'A World Apart' in *The Irish Empire*, Five part documentary series about the Irish world-wide. Producer RTE *et al.* 1999

⁶ Punch cartoon by artist John Tenniel <http://victorianstudies.vassar.edu/mattera.html> Accessed July 30th, 2002

⁷ 'The Lion of the Season', in *Punch* of May 25, 1861, refers specifically to the French-American explorer, Paul du Chaillu (1835-1903) but the cartoon is a jab at the Irish. In a later *Punch* cartoon, Mr. Gorilla's name was written even more explicitly as Mr. G. O'rilla.

<http://victorianstudies.vassar.edu/harding2.html> Accessed July 30th, 2002

identity and membership can be seen today when we talk to Irish migrants. There is a struggle for those who fall outside the defining parameters of 'catholic' and working class' identity.

A respondent in Dublin captured this struggle when he described how he visited an Irish friend who had moved to New York several years earlier. The migrant friend was a professional man, holding a senior managerial position in a multinational company in Manhattan. He had arranged to meet his friend at his office and from there they were going on to this man's 'local' Irish pub for a pint. On meeting, the New York friend excused himself to go and change out of his business suit. He returned, having 'dressed down' and was now wearing 'very casual, almost scruffy jeans and jumper'. The respondent asked him why had he changed his clothes; "because I would never live it down if I arrived in the pub in a suit. I could never drink in there again. They would think I was a snob." The respondent was outraged that this man was hiding his success and wondered why the Irish have difficulty with their own success.

I argue that this respondent was struggling with a fundamental element found in the Irish collective consciousness. For many Irish, I believe that there is a struggle with 'success' and what that success symbolises. I suggest that to be 'Irish' and 'successful' is to induce discomfort with one's Irish identity because if you climb to a certain point on the social scale then you may find yourself subscribing to the values of a British ruling class. I suggest that the Irish have had difficulty with 'success' and the 'upward mobility' in class structure that professional and financial success brings, because Ireland has, throughout its history, been a proletariat society. Historically, to be anything higher than middle class in Ireland was to be aspirational and was seen as striving to develop connections with the ruling class, that is, the British ruling class. The expression 'West Brit' is currently used in Ireland to describe anyone displaying characteristics of upward mobility. In the extreme, such a demonstration would be seen as alignment with the ruling class and therefore a betrayal of your own country, identity, and nationality. The story told by the respondent suggests to me that the New York migrant was buying his membership, not only into a specific class and therefore national identity, he was also buying membership into the pub space, the space which supports that identity. By dressing

'down', and wearing the 'working man's uniform', he was ensuring acceptance into this desired community. The membership into the *pub club* was important for this migrant and he was not prepared to jeopardise his membership. For many, (Cameron 1904⁸, Hey 1986, Kearns 1996), the pub space is a working-class space.

The Quest For Membership

So we have established that the pub is an important social and emotional space for male Irish consumers; both for those consumers residing in Ireland and the migrant groups who spoke in London and New York. However the picture is more complex, the membership into these spaces which offer 'community' and 'affective support' is not always automatic. Often it has to be negotiated. One of the ways membership can be secured is to subscribe to the 'Guinness club'. The product carries with it a phenomenal amount of social script. One of the axioms seems to be that the pub and Guinness are, for Irish consumers, inextricably bound. They describe going to the pub, and going for a 'pint' as being the same activity. The same activity of seeking companionship, male space etc. is sustained by both occupation of the pub space, and by the ritual of the consumption of Guinness. Now we need to ask "how do consumers achieve membership?"

The masculinity movement - can I join?

Masculinities are especially supported through the process of consumption in the pub space. Roddy Doyle captures this in an excerpt from his novel *The Van* when he describes one of the characters' love of the pub, the pints and the community.

It wasn't the pints Jimmy Snr. loved; that wasn't it. He liked his pint - he fucking loved his pint - but that wasn't why he was here. He could do without it. He was doing without it. He only came up about two times a week these days, since he'd been laid off, and he never missed the drink, not really. Every night at about nine o'clock - when he heard the News music - he started getting itchy and he had to concentrate on staying sitting there and

⁸ See above where Cameron likened the pub to the poor mans 'rich man's club'.

watching the news and being interested in it. But it wasn't the gargle he was dying for: it was this (He sat back and smiled at Bimbo;) the lads here, the crack, the laughing. This was what he loved.

Doyle (1993, p. 178)

But men do not automatically 'belong' to the patriarchal pub space simply because of their gender. And this is where the link between the *pub club* & Guinness occurs.

One respondent described how her father, in an effort to gain access to and not to feel out of place in a specific pub in a rural part of Galway, bought a pair of Wellingtons, which he wore whenever he visited this pub. He even muddied them up for authenticity because while he is NOT a farmer, the pub is primarily frequented by farmers in the region. The need for authenticated access to this pub was further driven by the fact this was a pub which serves particularly good Guinness and that played an important part in this man's quest for acceptance in this pub space.

The quest for membership often requires a hasting, or a ritual of its own. One respondent described how he was pressurised to wear a specific badge if he wanted to 'play in the group'. The badge of membership in this case was 'Guinness'.

Paul 2⁹ - I actually started drinking Guinness when I went down the country ... on that particular day we were there with a lot of the family and we went in [to the pub], all the young fellas, and there was about 4 choices there and six of them ordered Guinness - they told me I wasn't allowed to drink a pint of jungle juice [lager] in their company ... 'you're having a pint of Guinness' - so I started drinking Guinness - about 4 - 5 years ago

*Professional Group, The Step Inn,
Dublin, Ireland. August, 1996*

Once membership into the pub club is established, some variations in membership can occur. Kearns describes elite forms of membership which regulars often enjoy.

⁹ There were two respondents named Paul in this group and they proposed that they should be referred to as Paul 1 and Paul 2.

The 'Holy Hour', from 2.30 to 3.30, was a period of time when the Publican was, by law, expected to close their doors to the public so staff could air the bar, tidy and sweep and have a break. However while most publicans would coax their customers out some allowed an elite fraternity of regulars to stay inside.

... the Holy Hour. ... Full of nods and winks and whispers. Credentials were checked ... The privileged ones. They would stay behind. ... Soon the shutters went into place and the doors were locked. The inner sanctum brotherhood of drinkers reigned incarnate. To the drink. To thinking.

St. John (cited in Kearns 1996, p. 50)

Markers Of Masculinity & Rites Of Passage

The prominence of the importance of 'going for a pint,' and 'going to the pub' emerged in another interesting context. It seems that the pub space is often a place where the ritualised expression of 'growing up' can be acted out. The formal marking of a boy entering 'manhood' is usually accompanied by a rite of passage. In the pub space, with the consumption of the all-important 'pint of Guinness', boys have become men. They have engaged in a ritual that marks them as men; acknowledges them as men, and enables their fathers to bequeath to them their masculinity. Various descriptions of this rite of passage have emerged during this research.

Respondents and other references, describe the role of 'going to the pub for your first pint'. This ritual was seen by many as a marker of the shift from boyhood to adulthood. Several sons described how they were taken by their fathers for their first pint [of Guinness].

Harrison, (cited in Hey 1986, p. 28) describes how in the UK, "working men marked their son's maturity by making them publicly drunk at a 'rearing'".

Kearns, (1997, p. 33) quotes Corkery,

We get three generations of customers in here ... possibly *four*. In such traditional pubs it has been customary that when a lad comes of age his father will bring him in for his first pint. It is a rite of passage into manhood, often as memorable as one's first Holy Communion.

Tom Corkery's Dublin (1980, p. 16 cited in Kearns)

Frank McCourt remembers a similar moment in his memoirs *Angela's Ashes*. He draws a graphic picture of his first pint of Guinness. His surrogate father, Uncle Pa, takes him for his first pint, and McCourt acknowledges that "now he is a man".

And what is it you'd like? Says the barman.

I'm here to meet Uncle Pa Keating and have my first pint.

Oh, begod, is that a fact? He'll be here in a minute and sure there's no reason why I shouldn't draw his pint and maybe draw your first pint, is there now?

There isn't sir.

Uncle Pa comes in and tells me sit next to him against the wall. The barman brings the pints, Uncle Pa pays, lifts his glass, tells the men in the pub, This is my nephew, Frankie McCourt, son of Angela Sheehan, the sister of my wife, having his first pint, here's to your health and long life, Frankie, may you live to enjoy the pint but not too much.

The men lift their pints, nod, drink, and there are creamy lines on their lips and moustaches. I take a great gulp of my pint and Uncle Pa tells me, Slow down for the love o'Jasus, don't drink it all, there's more where that came from as long as the Guinness family stays strong and healthy.

McCourt (1996, pp. 397-8)

These ritualised moments and these rites of passage leads us to explore the father and son bond. The pub, and the ritualised consumption of Guinness supports this fragile relationship too.

Men and their Fathers

One respondent in London described how he changes his drinking preference when he goes back to Ireland to visit family. In order to 'fit in' with his father's drinking preferences he switches from lager to Guinness (see Chapter Four).

John - I'm more a lager man [but] when I go back home my dad and my brother want me to have a pint of Guinness ... I must get on to it [Guinness] because my dad always drinks Guinness, bottles of Guinness.

*First Generation - Mixed Class Group
London, UK. April 1998*

This son described how he reverts to Guinness whenever he goes drinking with his father. I argue that by consuming the same drink as his father he is actively constructing a sense of a shared moment. Bocoock (1993, p. 67) cites French structuralist, Jean Baudrillard, who argued that consumption is conceptualised as a process in which a purchaser is actively engaged in trying to create and maintain a sense of identity through the display of purchased goods. Here I would argue, the consumer is involved in an active process involving the symbolic construction of a sense of both collective and individual identities. According to Bocoock (1993, p. 67), identities are not limited to membership of a specific class, or social status group. In this story, the process of consumption gave the son a sense of common and shared father/son identity, and it also gave him a sense of 'coming home'.

All this to the exclusion of women – or is it?

The descriptions above strongly support the statement that the pub space is a patriarchal space. Some would argue that this is changing. With the increasing numbers of women taking their place in the public economic sphere a corresponding percentage must be taking their place in the social space known as the pub. Growing awareness amongst women shows that the modern female does enter the pub and use it for social functions.

In the 70's a feminist journal, *Banshee*¹⁰ used to publish a regular section listing the pubs that were 'men only' in an effort to raise awareness amongst the emerging liberated female readers. However the occupation of the pub space by women has always been a negotiated one. In historical accounts of pubs, women occupied the space in a specific capacity. The profile of one type of female who had permission of access was the typical elderly woman, possibly widowed, perhaps drinking for medicinal purposes, usually in the company of similar women from the neighbourhood. This type of woman did use the pub space, but she was delegated to the 'snug' or the 'lounge', with carpeting and plastic flowers, replicating the home from home, the 'appropriate' space for such women. The second type of women with permission to access the pub space were prostitutes. Prostitutes would frequent pubs to do business and their presence was only accepted in certain pubs of specific reputation.

When the social rules did relax a little, women were slowly finding a space in the pub, but this was negotiated too. Hey suggests that "there is ... evidence of women's presence in pubs but we should note that their relation to this institution was ambivalent and tangential and their 'toleration' as customers found expression in their physical occupation of quiet, unobtrusive, and separated bars". We are told that "women gossiped and drank in little one-sex groups in the 'private' bars" (Girouard 1975, p. 11 in Hey 1986, p. 33)

For some respondents, the arrival of women in the pub was not something of 'our mother's generation', it is a much more recent event.

John - ... it isn't that long since women started going to the bar, like, my mother now and all yer mothers all, never went to the bar. So women hadn't been going to the pubs ...

Sharon - well there was a few pubs that did, there was a few pubs that had a snug.

¹⁰ This journal was described following a paper I delivered at an ACIS conference in Limerick in 2000. However I have been unable to find a bibliographic source to reference.

John - Ah yeah yeah ... and their husbands brought home the bottle of 'Baby Power'¹¹ or the bottle of stout home to them.

*Working Class Group, 'The Grand Hotel'
Waterford, Ireland. August 1996*

Women today do consume alcohol and they do consume it in the pub. But in the focus groups in Ireland, respondents repeatedly described a discomfort about going into the pub alone. Hey (1986, p. 30) attributes this discomfort to the fact that the presence of women in the pub is still read as a statement of sexual availability. She argues that the sexual servicing that the pub offered in its historical role permeates popular, modern consciousness in a way that she recognises but cannot fully explain. She goes on to suggest that it is still practically impossible for single women to consume pints of beer in a pub without their activity being read as a sexually deviant or defiant action. "I would like to meet the woman who can unselfconsciously enter a strange public house alone. It is one of the consequences of a patriarchal control of female sexuality that we are prevented from 'popping into the local' for a social drink, unaccompanied."

In my fieldwork I heard many stories from women who described this discomfort of entering the pub space alone. One male respondent, while reiterating that the pub space was a male space went on to say that "women are usually brought into a pub rather than go into a pub". In response to this, the women in the group did not object to the patriarchal sentiment of the statement, instead, they went on to describe the strategies they would use in order to avoid sitting alone in the bar. They would arrange to meet friends outside the pub or they would wait in their car until the rest of the party arrived. When I asked this group why this was the practice the responses were vague. One man simply said "my wife says that she wouldn't dream of it". Another woman suggested that "there was a stigma attached to it". All the females agreed with this statement. All female respondents chorused that for a woman to go to the pub alone "was not the 'done' thing". The stigma attached to it is the prevailing stigma of the sexual worker. According to this group's stories, no self-respecting woman would go into a pub alone.

¹¹ A baby *Power* is a small bottle of *Power's* Whiskey.

With regard to the pub, many male and female respondents felt that it was not the place for a woman, especially a woman alone. The unsaid accusations rang loudly. To go to the pub alone is to be a prostitute, or to be mistaken for one - *"It's not the done thing!"*

One female respondent in this group described a situation where this rule was broken. She described a pub in Waterford where a woman came every day at the same time. She would go to the bar, buy a large bottle of Guinness, drink it, pick up her bag of shopping and leave - same time every day she always goes in - the same place for one drink. The reason this woman was not marked as sexually available was because she came in for a bottle of Guinness. The consumption of this particular product gave her permission to be in the male space.

Another stigma surrounding women in the pub space is *how* they consume their alcohol. Many male and female respondents from all groups, describe how it was "not the done thing" to drink a pint. It was "nicer" for women to drink half-pints. One young male respondent in New York said he would not like his girlfriend to drink a pint of Guinness, he would rather she drank a half-pint as "it was more ladylike". A female respondent described some pubs in Ireland where the publican will refuse to serve a pint to a woman and will only serve her half-pints, she also described how some pubs will differentiate between the style of pint glass that they serve to male and female consumers.

Interestingly, even when a woman does venture into the sanctified ground of the patriarchal pub, more rules apply. Ideally, she shouldn't be drinking Guinness because *"... it's a man's drink"*, and she certainly shouldn't be drinking pints.

Sharon - well I think, that's me personally, I still would associate Guinness with as a mans drink even though its a ... (inaudible) ... who are drinking it now, and I would have a glass of Guinness now, I still couldn't, I still associate Guinness as a man's drink

Working Class Group, 'The Grand Hotel'

Waterford, Ireland. August 1996

One female respondent in Dublin described how she would negotiate with her father whenever she went out with him for a drink. He did not like her drinking pints of Guinness, so she struck a deal with him. For every pint he bought for himself he had to buy three half pints for her. He agreed to this. He would rather she drank more alcohol, than be seen drinking from a pint glass because, again, it was unladylike!

I would like to conclude with a final story from a respondent in Ireland. Fiona is a 24-year-old confident and intelligent professional living and working in Dublin. She describes how she has learnt to negotiate for her space in the patriarchal pub.

Fiona - The only pub that I go to have a drink on my own is *Mulligans*¹² – 'cos of the good Guinness. For a pint of Guinness on my own ... cos *Mulligans* is renowned for its Guinness - so I can go and have a pint of Guinness -

BM - do you feel you have a right to be in there:

Fiona - I'm not known, barman don't come near me - I'm doing my crossword - [he won't] come up with "so you've been stood up" whereas if it was another pub that wasn't so renowned for Guinness I'd feel they were thinking you have been stood up -

*Professional Class Group,
The Step Inn - Stepside, Co. Dublin*

Fiona did something very interesting. She selected a specific drink, and a pub renowned for serving it well, in order to justify her occupation of the pub space - the public space and the masculine space. Wearing the product as a 'badge of identity' she felt comfortable enough to sit alone, doing the crossword - reassured that no one would make assumptions about her use of the space. She had not been stood up, she was not waiting for a boyfriend, she was not a prostitute. She felt justified in being there, in this famous Guinness pub, because she was drinking Guinness. The consumption of the product enabled her to generate her own gendered identity and resist ideological constructs of what it is to be female in the pub space.

¹² A famous 'Guinness' pub in Dublin renowned as one of the few remaining historical pubs and its high standards surrounding the storing and serving of Guinness.

Like Fiona, her female Irish counterparts in Ireland, the UK and the USA are striving to overcome the social mores and taboos which earlier generations of females would have been marked by. More Irish females are using the pub space than before, but in Ireland they report that they still struggle with the traditional values of the pub space and still have to negotiate in order to occupy that space. However, for Fiona's counterparts in the UK and USA, there is much more to gain than a feminist 'take-back' of a male space. For the Irish female migrant in London and New York, exclusion from the pub space is not only a gendered exclusion, it is also an exclusion from their 'surrogate Irish community' and exclusion from their 'home from home'. It is critical that women are not excluded from this community of support, at a time and place when *support* is an absolute requirement. In Chapter Ten I focus on this complex picture in more detail and highlight some of the differences surrounding Irish migrant women's experiences as female in Irish pubs in London and New York.

Conclusion

In this chapter I presented some of the gendered issues that arise out of an exploration of the patriarchy of the pub space. I examined the social function of the pub and described some of the ways the consumer uses the pub space. I addressed the emerging elements of masculinity, that is, 'brotherhood', 'fatherhood', 'manhood', 'membership' and 'community' that the pub space, and the consumption of Guinness can offer the consumer. And I described the historical and contemporary relationship women have with this pub space.

For the people I spoke to, the pub space is patriarchal. However I revealed that the space does support an affective discourse, both verbal and non-verbal, for male consumers to tap into. And while the pub space is constructed as excluding to female consumers, we have seen that it is possible to negotiate this space.

In the following chapter I examine the pub as a site for demonstrations of authenticity, inclusion and exclusion in pubs in London and New York and I identify

different types of exclusion, and describe various moments of exclusion, that occur within the pub space.

Chapter 7

The pub, a complex space for the 'Other', *Racism, Authenticity & Hybridity*

Introduction

In this chapter, I describe how the pub space in the UK and USA operates as a site for inclusion and exclusion and racism. I identify how the pub functions as a site for cultural exchange, and I analyse this space and reveal how it reflects the complex issue of 'racism'. In its existence, the concept of 'pub' exemplifies the complex picture of inclusion and exclusion. Respondents residing in this space told personal stories and described moments when they were touched by inclusion and exclusion. Through the exploration of this space I show that to challenge sites of inclusion:exclusion is to challenge the pub site and possibly jeopardise a site of support for Irish migrants.

The pub as a site for 'inclusion' and 'exclusion'

In the previous chapter I described how the pub in Ireland functions as a bounded space from a gendered perspective. In this chapter I examine the pub space specifically in London and New York and I describe boundaries other than gender that operate in these different spaces. The pub space facilitates the migrant by offering a site for the consumption of *Guinness* and subsequently offering a site to express a form of national identity (see Chapters 9 & 10). The stories told by respondents in focus groups described 'affective support' and 'positive solutions to tangible problems' faced by migrants in London and New York. They described the

relationship between the consumption of alcohol and the consumption of Irishness and described the importance of the pub as the space for expressing ethnicity and difference. However there is another dimension to view and another set of stories to be told, which I present in this chapter.

When we talk about 'community' we talk about *membership* and *inclusion* but by virtue of that fact, there has also got to be an antithetic position; for an in-group to exist there must be an out-group. Bell and Valentine highlight this when they explore the various aspects of the 'community'. They comment:

We can instantly think of places where sharing food and drink helps bond us into a community - the local pub, or a street party, for example. But we must always be mindful of the fact that communities are about exclusion as well as inclusion ...

Bell and Valentine (1997, p.91)

Brah (2000, p. 281) further exemplifies inclusion and exclusion, when she cites a respondent in *Hybridity and its Discontents*. The respondent talks about 'who' drinks 'where' in Southall -

You don't find the white people going into the Victory. The Victory is for the Asians, the Black Dog is for the Jamaicans. We wouldn't dream of walking into the Victory or the Black Dog. That's just not on - we don't do that. We used to go to the White Swan - now it is mixed. We go to the White Hart over the bridge, which is ours, and the George is Irish. It's all segregated.

The pub space, in London and New York, is marked by ethnicity, and in very rare examples, some are willing to demarcate this space to accommodate more than one ethnic group. For example, Brixton's Atlantic Bar (Brady's) was split into two halves, the Jamaican half, with one of its walls decorated with a mural of palm trees and parrots, and patrons heavily involved in games of dominoes; this contrasted with the Irish side, which had nightly sessions of live Irish music, and its patrons were heavily involved with discussions about horseracing and watching Irish football

games brought to them via *Tara*, the Irish satellite TV channel. There was a linking door between the two spaces but it was rarely used.

These marked spaces of ethnicity underline one of the roles of the pub space and the site for community, in-group membership and inclusion is also the site for exclusion. Inclusion and exclusion are complex sites of exploration and discussion, and this research demonstrates that there are many varieties of inclusion and exclusion or 'varieties of racism'. For example, this research shows in the first instance, that racism is not merely a discussion about white and non-white people residing in London or New York. It is also about white and white, non-white and non-white, and intra-group expressions of in- and exclusion.

When discussions about racism in the focus groups occurred, I asked the respondents if they had experienced racist attitudes. I felt it was essential to start with their own experiences of racism and exclusion, where they were 'the excluded' party. Building on that I could then ask them about their own attitudes and acts of exclusion towards others. Below, I begin unfolding the multi-layered episodes of racism by describing Irish migrants own experiences of exclusion and their own accounts of some of their differing experiences in London and New York.

Varieties of racism (I)

The Irish as the excluded 'Other'

A discussion about racism is inevitable when we explore 'community' and in fact, the very structure of 'community' demands an exploration of not just the members of the community but also of the non-members. Without exclusion, there would be no defined 'community' in the first instance. In migrant communities, 'community' is even more important, because the members can be constructed as 'the excluded' – within the wider context, i.e. within the new-host community.

Class antagonisms, sexism, racism, homophobia are all features that David Crouch (1989,1991) would describe as 'expression[s] of local culture' as

they crop up in the pubs, shops, and 'local festivals' that embody food consumption practices at the scale of the community.

Bell and Valentine (1997, pp. 15-16)

In the course of my data collection and gathering the stories from the respondents in London and New York, I realised that racism was an issue on the agenda for these men and women. And that the 'racism' that they were describing were not simple acts of exclusion based on colour, but more likely to be what Mac an Ghail (1999, p. 4) describes as "complex processes of social exclusion".

Anti-Irish expressions of exclusion *No Dogs, Blacks or Irish*

Many Irish respondents in London and New York described situations where they were discriminated against or experienced derogatory comments. The respondents described experiences of racist comment and behaviour, and those who had had the opportunity to live in both London and New York commented that their London experience was more marked by such episodes.

The London respondents described varied experiences; experiences which varied depending on which decade they arrived in London, as the expressions of hostility towards the Irish seems proportionate to the level of political activity in Northern Ireland and specifically around the activity of the IRA in mainland Britain. Eddie, a construction worker in North London described London in the Seventies as a hostile place for him. Any effort to secure accommodation was a nightmare because most landlords and landladies had notices citing their policy of 'No Irish, Blacks or dogs'. Another London respondent in the 'professional group' also described the experience of 'closed doors' when she first arrived in London in the early Seventies. Her search for accommodation was hindered further because she was Irish and her husband was Mauritian. But while the sign 'no Black, no Irish, no dogs' was still hanging on doors, she describes the changes brought about through legislation at that time.

MA - Towards the Seventies there was the Commission for Racial Equality that was brought in. The rule to actually make it illegal ... when I actually

came here ... I don't know when you came or anybody else came but I married a Mauritian so he was, you know, black ... and when we were looking for accommodation there was, seriously on the door 'no blacks, no Irish, no dogs' and that was a major shock ... The commission of racial equality act came in and changed all that. It was illegal to actually mention that.

*IoE Professional Group
London*

Legislation can always prevent overt racism occurring, but it does not remove attitudes from individuals.

What was interesting about these acts of exclusion was that they were occurring between white and white: the white majority London residents, positioned against white minority Irish migrants. Mac an Ghaill (1999) talks about the development of theory in this area and comments on the lack of awareness and addressing racist acts. For him, understandings of 'race', 'ethnicity' and 'racism' have been neglected areas of exploration in the social sciences and when they are addressed, for example in post modernist accounts, these groups are absent, resulting in a failure to address issues of migration, social marginality, cultural belonging and a sense of home (Massey (1994)) cited in Mac an Ghaill (1999, p. 5). Mac an Ghaill describes how different theoretical positions on racism are, ironically inclusive and exclusive themselves and he notes that it is only the Post Colonial site that looks at white-white racism. The descriptions of exclusion from respondents above, demonstrates how the Irish in the UK experience white on white racism, where they are a white minority in a white majority country (see Chapter 10).

Respondents in London also described other moments of exclusion. Two decades later, and in an equally complex political world in the 1990's, a building labourer in North London described his experience when he arrived in London in the early 90's when the IRA bombing campaign had resumed.

... it's not that you are afraid to talk, it was just you - you thought it better not to talk. I mean I'm a truck driver and I'm driving around the city of

London and during the bombing times I was booked twice and I was taken at gun point three times ... and obviously there was a bomb set and as soon as they got the Irish accents, and I mean I can understand the English side of it ...

Parkway Inn - Mixed Group, London

The prevailing attitude was expressed in other subtle ways too. One respondent describes the culture shock when she came to London and encountered anti-Irish attitudes.

MA - I came here in the 60's and there certainly was a very 'anti' attitude towards Irish people

BM - how was that expressed?

MA - through jokes, when I came I didn't understand half the jokes. I'd never heard them in Ireland, so when I came here I encountered a very serious culture shock due to the fact that I had to be subjected to Irish jokes all the time ... everywhere, work, pubs, you know where ever you ended up [hearing] Irish jokes.

IoE Professional Group

London

Some respondents in London described the complete shock that such attitudes existed towards them; in Ireland they had not been aware of the 'anti-Irish' sentiment in the UK.

M - lots of Irish people ... came abroad and [got a] serious shock ... continuously being reminded not only of the IRA but that Irish people were drunk and disorderly and that they're thick ... at the time I was 17, I really had a very serious identity crisis ...

IoE Professional Group

London

The Irish experience in London is always going to be different to the Irish experience in New York. The political scenario and ensuing tensions cannot be removed from the equation when we examine the Irish experience in the UK and this is reflected in the reactions of both the Irish migrant and the British hosts. In

fact, it was interesting to hear from respondents interviewed in New York, who lived in both London and New York. They commented that they were more likely to experience anti-Irish comments in London.

Sm. - I've actually had negativity in London ... well that doesn't surprise me at all ... [on one occasion I was told] "go home you dumb Mick", ... I felt a bit offended by that time and they knew that they were getting at me ...

McCormacks, Manhattan

Professional Group

Exclusion is not limited to the search for rented accommodation, and respondents also described experiences where it occurred in organisations. The occupation of minorities, including the Irish in the UK in high-ranking positions within organisations is not largely documented. However Irish and others do experience the glass ceiling in the professional sphere. The glass ceiling is identified as "an intangible barrier within the hierarchy of a company that prevents women or minorities from obtaining upper-level positions" (Merriam-Webster). The glass ceiling discriminates against minorities, the disabled and women and in 1990, financial Women International surveyed male CEOs and female vice presidents on the existence of a glass ceiling. "73 percent of the male CEOs didn't think there was a ceiling; 71 percent of the women did" (Redwood 1996).

In general, respondents in New York reported a very different experience as migrants in general. They felt that there was a positive attitude towards them, and to be Irish was not an obvious impediment. They did not experience overt incidents of aggression like the respondent above, but some commented on the more subtle forms of exclusion that occur in amongst the professional group in Manhattan about the lack of upward mobility within large organisations.

Louise - There is, it's still the WASP's¹, there's a glass ceiling for every minority here, if you're not a WASP - right across the board - you go to any top level executive ...

*McCormacks, Professional Group
Manhattan*

And so, despite descriptions from some respondents that it was *almost* an advantage to be Irish in New York, the same groups also described moments when they experienced racism directed towards them too - one respondent described his experience.

Sm. - [I worked in] Boston for four and a half years. I was working with Americans - they did treat you kind of funny - it's offensive to Irish born people - you know "all the Irish can do is drink" and "what horse did you back?" Americans are very racist in general because most of them have never been outside their own country, so they never experienced anything else except America. Most of them are kind of ignorant towards the people. They're very racist, they're very ignorant - they don't realise - I mean you might joke around, but it might be offensive to an Irish person.

However, despite such experiences, the general consensus amongst the Irish in New York was that there was very little negative attitude towards them and incidents of exclusion were limited. However, racism comes in many guises and below I reveal some other forms as they were described and as they emerged from my data.

The absence of theory around white on white racism has been widely ignored in theory until recently, and Mac an Ghail (1999, p. 57) identifies post-colonial writers (Bhabha 1990a, Gilroy 1993, Spivak 1988a and b) as making an important contribution to our understanding of emerging forms of identity, subjectivity and forms of belonging at a time of rapid social and cultural change specifically in Britain. He cites them, and their suggestions, that "in constructing human identity,

¹ WASP, White Anglo-Saxon Protestant. *sometimes disparaging*: an American of Northern European and especially British ancestry and of Protestant background; *especially*: a member of the dominant and the most privileged class of people in the U.S. (Merriam-Webster Online www.m-w.com)

we cannot appeal to any fixed or essential characteristics that exist for all time"; and furthermore they have led arguments that we need to rethink theories that suggest that racial and ethnic relations are shaped by a single overarching factor, that is colour racism. Rather, they maintain that these relations are better understood in the specific contexts in which they are played out. "Terms such as hybridity, diaspora and syncretism, which are associated with the new politics of cultural difference (Differentialism), have become key conceptual tools in understanding the cultural conditions of later modernity in Britain". For example, Brah (1996, p. 16) illustrates the shift from earlier meanings of diaspora, which referred to the movement of Jewish people, to contemporary meanings and the use of the term in new cultural theory (see Chapter 9). Roediger (1991) develops the white debate further, and talks about race specifically in America where the debate about the 'invention of whiteness' is ongoing, and about what Roediger calls the 'abolition of whiteness'. "From this perspective, the end of racism will not come when America grants equal rights to minorities. Racism will end only with the abolition of whiteness, when the white whale that has been the source of so many delusions is finally left to disappear beneath the sea of time forever" (*Who Invented White People?* 1998 citing Roediger).

Daiya (nd. pp. 7-8) cites Kazal and argues that while the concept of assimilation has been seriously challenged in the past, it has not altogether disappeared and three of the most interesting areas of immigration scholarship have revisited 'assimilation'. "Labour historians, for example, have looked at how labour activism and industrial unionism created a more unified working class out of diverse ethnic and racial base". Daiya observes that this process of 'trans-ethnic homogenisation' has been tackled in a different way by scholars like Roediger, who places 'whiteness' and its attendant privileges, at the centre of the inquiry. In doing so, he has opened up a field, which had not adequately addressed questions of racial identity in the assimilation process. The fact remains that 'white' ethnics have more readily assimilated into the category American than have people of colour. As Roediger remarks, "becoming white and becoming 'American' were intertwined at every turn."

Varieties of racism (II)

Them and Us - We, the Irish/You, the Other.

The Irish as 'excluders'

While the Irish in London and New York experienced 'exclusion' to varying degrees they were also aware of prevailing attitudes and sentiments amongst the Irish towards other ethnic groups. They describe their own attitudes and the attitude of other Irish migrants in London and New York. In New York the quest for cheap labour is the main site for 'them' and 'us' scenarios as different minority groups, usually illegal, that is, without a green card and work permit (see Chapter 10). One respondent, when asked about his experiences of discrimination went on to say that the Irish, in his experience, were as bad if not worse than others for expressing racist sentiment.

Sm. - Especially on the business scene, you see Mexicans on the job because they work for nothing and I'd be racist except, I'm not racist, but still, [I'm] frustrated because you know they are threatening your work place.

For this respondent, Mexicans, Sikhs and others are the threatening groups because "they can take your job..." and with "cheap labour ... they are undermining our rate of pay". When I asked how that was happening one described the situation with a pragmatic understanding of events.

Sm. - because they'd work for 15 dollars a day - but I suppose that's the way the Americans treat blacks, and when they came here the Irish would work for nothing and the local Americans were mad [angry] ... it was all a cycle.

The Starting Gate, Queens Working Group

First Generation New York March 1997

During an interview with Fr. Colm Campbell at the Irish Immigration Centre he too described moments when he witnessed racist sentiment amongst the Irish living in Queens.

Queens, in the 60's was 90% Irish, now its 30%. The successful Irish have moved to the Islands². The Irish that remain have not enjoyed the same success or mobility. When the upwardly mobile Irish moved out of Queens, their places were filled by Blacks. Now we are experiencing anti-Black attitudes amongst the Irish [still living in Queens].

Exclusion is not limited in its expression and it seems that those who experience exclusion go on to exclude others in an unending cycle. Racism, as experienced in the examples above, is clearly linked with *difference of origin and ethnicity*. The British landlady rejected Blacks and Irish as they both occupied a similar space of 'difference in origin'; and the Irish excluded 'others' in London and New York for the same reasons. Below, however, I describe a very different form of exclusion.

Varieties of racism (III)

Us versus Us - We, the Irish; no dogs, blacks or Irish!

Here a very different form of exclusion is documented, which, it could be argued, is also based on 'difference of origin'. In order to proceed, I have coined the phrase *intra-racism* to describe what I consider to be racism, but here, it is presenting itself in a way that is very different to the 'traditional' paradigms. I encountered two examples of intra-racism, the first presented itself in the form of exclusion, discrimination and 'unfair' advantage, based on one's point of origin in Ireland i.e. which county you came from. The second example was found in New York where first-generation Irish constructed themselves as authentic, while other generations of Irish were constructed as 'other'. This was also 'difference' based on origin, as the second and other generations of Irish-Americans were described as 'narrowbacks' and 'not authentic', and were therefore part of another including:excluding binary.

² Staten Island and Long Island, Suburbs in New York.

Intra racism. (i) 'What part are you from'?

Respondents in New York reported situations where they experienced 'intra-racism' or 'exclusion' based on county of origin. One male respondent described an interview he attended in an Irish pub in Boston. He was very cautious and asked to remain anonymous if I used the story. He attended an interview for a construction job and on arrival in the pub, the respondent was greeted in Gaeilge³. He wasn't a fluent Irish speaker but he managed to understand and reply and the entire interview was conducted in Irish. He didn't get the job because the company had an unwritten policy, which meant that they only recruited men from Connemara (an area in Galway, on the west coast of Ireland). This is an Irish-speaking region in Ireland and so the interviews were conducted in Irish in order to eliminate 'outsiders'. This 'closed shop' hiring policy is an example of inclusion and exclusion operating amongst the migrant community and it occurred in the pub space. This form of intra-racism is reinforced by some of the strategies discussed (see Chapter 9) where membership of County clubs, organisations and football teams denote the ethnic origin of the migrant and reinforce such ethnic demarcation.

The main 'exclusion' the Irish in New York seem to experience is 'intra-racism' as reported by the respondent who 'wasn't from Connemara'. This use of county boundaries as the demarcation line for recruitment, social activities and organised societies is a main site for intra-racism and exclusion amongst the New York Irish.

Intra racism. (ii) 'Paddies' and 'Narrowbacks'- spot the difference,

New Migrants vs Other generations.

The most interesting form of inclusion and exclusion amongst the Irish community was found between first-generation Irish and other generations. This opposition takes the form of 'the new migrants' or first-generation vs. Irish-Americans or second/Other generations.

³ Using Irish Language

Sm. - The Irish-Americans are the worst ... they all consider themselves as Irish and then they see us, the real Irish, coming over ...

*The Starting Gate, Queens Working Group
First Generation New York March 1997*

The term 'narrowback' was used by first-generation speakers in order to describe second and other generations. The term is derogatory and is used for an Irish American in a similar way that 'Paddy' is used by English speakers, referring to all generations of Irish migrants.

In another example of 'hybridity marking' and exclusion, one first generation Irish respondent articulated the schism between the 'authentic' and the 'hybrid'.

Sm. - It's a different culture. They're still Americans even though they call themselves Irish-Americans. They're as American as an Italian-American, they are totally different from us. What annoys me is their stereotype[ical] view of Ireland ... half of them haven't been there

Sm. - [they are] *narrow backs*, like the *paddies* in London

Surrounding the discussion of Irish authenticity, first-generation speakers commented on and were dismissive of the validity of the claim to 'Irishness' by other generations. These comments, and later, reactions from second and other generations raises the issue of 'authenticity' and 'hybridity'.

Hybridity and miscegenation ...

Bhabha and others locate the discussion of hybridity and authenticity in the colonial discourses and they locate their examples to the colonised 'Other'. However it is also possible to locate this discussion within the space of migration. Indeed it is very useful to import these terms when looking at immigrants outside the simple colonisation scenario. Balkyr (nd.) insists that "culturally, Americans [are] not a Volk" they have no common racial or ethnic origin. Thus the 'grand narrative' of the United States is based on small group solidarity, giving rise to neo-ethnic, or

hybridised, groups. The Irish-American can be described as enjoying what Lockard (1997) describes as “the hegemony of the white ‘suburban’ class”.

For Bhabha (1994, p. 2 cited in Mac an Ghaill p. 58), “the social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, ongoing negotiation that seeks to authorise cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation”. Bhabha sees “cultural translation and hybrid identities of metropolitan immigrants and minorities as disrupting older binaries of power relations between dominant colonisers and dominated colonised”. Hybridity is represented as a new location of resistance to essentialist identities and associated political demands. In his work on ‘Narrating the Nation’ Bhabha (1990b), employs the concept of hybridity to challenge the assumption that the concept of the national interest is a meaningful analytical category. He develops an alternative position in the context of constantly changing boundaries of national imagined communities, in which he asks “what kind of cultural space is the nation with its transgressive boundaries and its ‘interruptive’ interiority?” (Bhabha 1990a, p. 5)

Mac an Ghaill (1999, p. 59) continues, “the popularity of the term new racism has raised critical questions about its distinctiveness as a new cultural form of racism”. He cites Young (1995) who raises similar questions about the use of the term hybridity which, as he points out has a longer history than is presently acknowledged. However generally the most recent popularity of the terms diaspora, hybridity and syncretism means that there has been less critical engagement with them. Mac an Ghaill argues that this is because writers such as Gilroy and Bhabha, as post colonial writers, are providing “important conceptual frameworks that resonate with the changing conditions of late modernity, which is opening up the question of the constitutive dynamics of subjectivity while at the same time offering an alternative to the limitations of the cultural essentialism of identity politics (materialism)”. Furthermore, he argues, “diasporic communities may seem to be a central signifier for the wider society’s sense of dislocation”. Mac an Ghaill (1999, p.59) cites Solomos and Back (1996, p. 145) who have produced an early critique of this work raising important questions about the assumed progressive outcomes of syncretic cultures of diaspora communities. They cite the work of Bhatt (1994) who has “challenged the assumption that contemporary forms of fundamentalism and

neo-traditionalism in minority communities are emerging through a return to pre-modern religious influences". However Mac an Ghaill maintains "that what he calls 'reactionary ethnic formations' are the result of hybridity and cultural syncretism. This is a particularly difficult area, conceptually and politically, for anti racist analysis, both in terms of its secular-based ideology and its exclusive focus on colour racism, which has underplayed the significance of cultural and religious influences in the formation of contemporary ethnic communities".

For Mac an Ghaill, 1999, p. 60)

terms such as hybridity, diaspora and syncretism that highlight a shift in racial semantics in Britain are key concepts for 'new times'. With reference to diasporic identities, which Connolly *et al.* (1995, p. 2) see as holding a promise for the future which breaks with the imagined binaries of the past, these concepts imply that identities have to be struggled over and constructed rather than assumed. Connolly *et al* add that the struggle focuses on a range of difficult questions around issues such as "essentialism, the claim for rights to certain national identities and the tensions internally within diasporic communities about what it means to belong where, and indeed to belong to several places".

Hybridity solutions

In response to the attitudes surrounding them in London, some respondents described the strategies they used to cope. One describes how she changed her accent in an effort to be less marked.

MA - I came when the IRA were very much in operation and every week I experienced a bomb scare ... I never got used to it, every week it happened and every week it was a nightmare ...

And naturally people will start making comments about Irish people, and rightly so, I mean that's just human nature and after a while I certainly went through the procedure of changing my accent because I thought that that was the only way I could survive in this.

IoE Professional Group

London

This draws on Bakhtin's definition of hybridisation where there is 'a mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance'. The principle being that the two social languages would merge under a colonial influence and the speaker would utilise this hybrid in an effort to integrate with the dominant power. While this example is not specifically about language and the emergence of creoles, the already English-speaking Irish migrant adjusts her language (accent, pronunciation, use of specific words etc) to blend into, and be less conspicuous, in her new space.

Binary Oppositions in action – *concluding*

When we talk about 'communities' we are talking about belonging and consequently exclusion. We talk about 'us' and consequently 'them' and the respondent's stories that I have described in this chapter reveal that there are many versions and variations of exclusion in operation. In order to look at 'inclusion' and 'exclusion', and 'in-groups' and 'out-groups', it is possible to trace a complex set of binary oppositions and several sets are immediately apparent from the data collected for this research. The first set of oppositions can be found in the pub space in Ireland, and in London and New York and it is the binary opposition that positions the regulars and non-regulars in any pub. Many implicit examples of inclusion and exclusion can be traced. For example, in Ireland, the status of 'regular' drinker suggests that there is an opposite group of 'non regulars'. To be a 'regular' brings with it benefits that non-regulars are not even aware of, such as being allowed to stay on drinking after official closing time (see Chapter 6). Regulars:Non-Regulars is a well-established binary and Kearns (1996) describes how regulars develop great loyalty not only to pub mates but to their local pub as well. They exhibit a strong sense of territoriality and possession. It is quite common for regulars to psychologically and emotionally regard the local pub as *theirs* (see Chapter 6). Kearns (1994, p. 34) cites one publican who found that when he bought an old neighbourhood pub in the Coombe⁴ some forty years ago the regulars treated him as an 'outsider' for nearly a year until they accepted him on their terms. He cites the publican Larry Ryan:

⁴ The Coombe is a famed inner city area in Dublin, which is perceived as holding the essence of 'real' Dublin from a historical and social perspective.

The pub is the centre of their life and *every* day they were there as regular as clockwork. Oh, the local is *their* pub. In their mind it *is* their pub and you daren't interfere with it.

Kearns describes how the most coveted social niche in the lives of many Dubliners is their status as a 'regular' in their local pub and it is a position gained by trail and time. He describes pub regulars as "very clannish and do not casually admit newcomers. One must be 'accepted' into the tribe" (1996, p. 33).

Another binary that exists in Ireland and to a lesser extent in London and New York is the oppositional paradigm for Men:Women. In Chapter 6 I described in detail how the pub excludes women, and at best constructs boundaried and negotiated spaces for them to reside. In most if not all pubs 'men' are give the status of 'in-group membership' while 'women' occupy the negotiated margins. However there is also another level of gendered in- and exclusion within male groups and the binary of Regulars:Non-Regulars described above also occupies this space.

In London and New York, the excluding binary, 'One county in Ireland': 'the rest of Ireland' is described in Chapter 9 and in this opposition migrants from one county in Ireland can actively mark migrants from other counties in Ireland as 'other'. In-groups can be formed based on county borders, and so we find 'Galway' Vs. 'other counties', or 'Connemara' Vs 'rest of Ireland' or 'Irish speakers' Vs 'non-Irish speakers'. This intra-racism or exclusion is documented around recruitment for jobs in London and New York, and around sport, team identity, (especially in New York) and sporting events in general.

The final binary opposition can be described as Irish:Non-Irish, and this is a complex binary because within the category Non-Irish, second- and other generation Irish are located. An example of exclusion is found in Northern Ireland where it is not so much Irish:Non-Irish as Catholic Northern-Irish:Protestant Northern-Irish. During an ACIS⁵ conference in Virginia, USA, in 1999, one participant described the fact that in Northern Ireland Loyalists will not drink 'Harp' lager⁶ in pubs

⁵ Annual Conference of Irish Studies, Roanoke, Virginia, USA 1999

⁶ Harp is owned by Guinness - <http://www.ivo.se/guinness/faq.html> August 2002

“because it is a ‘*Fenian*’⁷ drink”, but they will drink Guinness. This raises some interesting questions around the product and its identity. How do Northern Irish Catholics relate to Guinness? Does it occupy a similar role of ‘Irishness’ and ‘community’ for that group of consumers in Northern Ireland? Do Northern Irish Protestants strip the product of its Irishness or do they not consider the product to be ‘Irish’ in the first instance? Does the product’s Protestant ownership situate the product in a different place for Northern Irish Protestants, rendering it a primarily Protestant product? Does Guinness marketing address Northern Ireland using different strategies? As the product predates the recent history of division and terrorism, does this alter the myths surrounding the product for Protestant consumers? How do these audiences construct their ethnic identity? I argue that Guinness is a complex product, carrying different meanings in different spaces and in future research I would want to examine the relationship between the product, Northern Irish Catholics, and Northern Irish Protestants.

Bell and Valentine (1997, p. 98) cite Mars (1987) who examined the drinking cultures of longshoremen in Newfoundland and found examples of ‘cohesion and division’, ‘insiderness and outsidersness’, which became articulated through drinking practices. The evidence of inclusion and exclusion becomes more profound when the ultimate ‘them’ and ‘us’ is explored. The ultimate ‘them’ and ‘us’ residing within the pub space is found in under the umbrella of national identity; for the pub to successfully offer community to the migrant, it has to operate within this binary opposition. The value of ‘the Irish pub’ would be lost if the act of inclusion/exclusion did not occur. This is particularly observable in New York where respondents repeatedly describe their and others attitudes towards ‘other’ ethnic groups.

In arguing that inclusion can only occur if exclusions occur, I am faced with a personal dilemma that stems from my own subjectivity. The binary inclusions and exclusions that I have documented above, and that I argue ‘must be in place to support Irish community and Irish ethnic identity’ paralyses me, because I feel I am,

⁷ *Fenian* – 1: a member of a legendary band of warriors defending Ireland in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. 2: a member of a secret 19th century Irish and Irish-American organization dedicated to the overthrow of British rule in Ireland. In contemporary use, it is used by Ulster Loyalists to describe (generally) Irish Catholics.

in essence, arguing that for Irish community to exist, the Irish migrant must be racist (or excluding). This leaves a bitter taste with me, and I must force myself to step back into an objective place in order to proceed.

By stepping back into an objective space, I argue, as Bell and Valentine (1997, p.91) have, that "communities are about exclusion as well as inclusion". Exclusion is necessary if communities are to exist and perform their task. It is especially pertinent in the case of ethnic communities because these spaces support not just a sense of membership, but have a role and function to support ethnic identity and subsequently support migrant's core identity.

Furthermore, in Chapter 10, I argue that 'family' is a key site through which ethnicity is essentialised and eternalised, and I argue that 'ethnic culture' and 'family life' are mutually reducible to one another and the ethnic 'community' is represented as 'family'. The Irish ethnic community residing in the pub space in London and New York is the migrant's surrogate family and as such it must be a site where inclusion and exclusion occur.

Finally, in this chapter I theorise that instead of situating the binary sets of inclusion and exclusion in the space we call 'racism' it may be useful to search for alternative way of approaching inclusion and exclusion. I am prompted to ask if we should be discussing the events described above in terms of 'racism' or should we be searching for and using another term. I argue that we need a term that would incorporate the varied forms of exclusion that I have identified here. The examples of exclusion described by the respondents are often unconsidered because of the terminology and language surrounding the discussion of 'racism'. I propose that we readdress issues of inclusion and exclusion, and explore them under another set of constructs. Mac an Ghail (1999, pp. 6-7) describes the developments around theorising of race and he highlights the 'old times' texts that provide innovative understandings of racial conflict and social change and then describes the development of more recent theories in 'new times' and the particular influence of post-colonial cultural theorists (Spivak 1988a and b, Bhabba 1990a, Gilroy 1993, Said 1993). Mac an Ghail (1999, p. 12) proposes a differentialist account of racism to resist the "black-white oppositional binary structure of 'victims' and 'oppressors'" and he demonstrates that

there is a need to look at the wider occurrences of racism, not limiting the discussion to colour racism. By moving beyond the confines of colour racism and recognising the existence of white on white, black on black, and intra-racism, I argue that the term 'difference', or 'difference of origin' should be used and with this new construction we could re-examine and re-address the way we construct inclusion and exclusion. Consequently we would be in a position to piece together a more vivid, informative and complete picture.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the pub space and explored the various forms of racism that have touched consumers using the pub in Ireland, the UK and the USA. I have described the various expressions of inclusion and exclusion that respondents have encountered and I have demonstrated that the pub, by offering 'community' and in-group membership, is also a site for exclusion. With membership and inclusion the antithetic position of exclusion must occur too.

Here I have argued a discomfoting point; that to offer community and inclusion and a site for ethnicity, the other side of this coin means that the Irish pub is a racist construct. I develop this and position the pub space as essential for Irish ethnic identity and argue that it is the Irish migrant's surrogate family.

Finally I theorised that instead of using the term 'racism' it is useful to use another term so that we can construct the space for inclusion and exclusion under other conditions and consider them in terms of 'difference' instead.

In the third and final section, *Audience*, which consists of three chapters, I address the lived cultures and lived experiences of the Irish consumer in Ireland and Irish migrant consumer in the UK and the USA.

Section 3 – *The Consuming Audience*

In this final section, I explore the two remaining sites on the circuit: *readings* and *lived cultures*. I consider the two sites to be inextricably bound with each other as they both consider the artefact from the audience's position. Here I address 'readers in texts', and 'readers in society', and Johnson differentiates between the two - where 'readers in the text' is the analysis of forms, and is an abstract moment, and 'readers in society' is the actual readers "as they are constituted, socially, historically, culturally" (1983, p. 41). Ultimately the two remaining sites are about the 'audience'. Here the audience is seen as reading the text, where the text implies or constructs the reader's position, but it can also be seen as a moment of assimilation, reception and an act of production (see Chapter 4).

In symbiosis with the *readings* site, the fourth site addresses *lived culture*, and the audience, who are "not merely positioned by the stories we 'read'" but are also positioned by "constant internal story-telling, stories about ourselves, stories about others" and are constructed "through stories we tell about the past in the form of 'memory'" feature as the focus of the remaining chapters (1983, p. 43). While, as Johnson (1983, p. 44) warns, "the problem is how to grasp the more concrete and more private moments of cultural circulation", this section addresses the Irish audience in Ireland and the Irish migrant in London and New York.

In Chapter 8 *Pure Genius* I explore and describe how Irish people in Ireland use the pub and the consumption of Guinness to establish in-group membership. In Chapter 9 *Transporting Irishness*, I reveal how Irish migrants use a range of strategies to maintain diasporic identity through membership of organisations, consumption and production of cultural products and the pub. Finally, in Chapter 10 *You can never go home*, I examine food and alcohol as anchors for community identities, especially diasporic ones, and I argue that Irish ethnic communities in London and New York coalesce around the consumption of Guinness and the pub.

Chapter 8

Pure Genius, The Irish consuming in Ireland

Introduction

In this chapter I investigate the stories told by the Irish consumers in Ireland, and I explore the relationship and associations between the product and the Irish consumer in Ireland.

I examine how Irish people in Ireland use the pub, and the consumption of Guinness, to establish in-group male membership and investigate how the pub and the product signify membership and community for the Irish consumer.

Finally, borrowing methodologies from psychoanalysis I ask respondents to free associate and generate a list of personal associations that they carry with them in relation to the product. I explore and describe meaning surrounding the product and identify and examine consumers denotative and connotative associations with the product.

In this chapter I report findings and stories that exemplify the significance of the product in the lived cultures of consumer's lives in Ireland.

MEMBERSHIP: Ritual, Myth, and Tradition

Consumption and a little more

When I interviewed the Irish consumers living in Ireland, I wanted to hear their stories about the product, and what it means to them. I wanted to explore the role the product plays in their lived experiences and lived culture. I found that the

respondents engaged deeply with the product and as I mentioned in Chapter 2, they seemed to enjoy talking about the product, and seemed pleased to have the opportunity to do so. The high level of engagement that was apparent during the focus group sessions was already an indicator of how significant the product was to the respondents and indicated the degree to which it captured their individual and collective imaginations. The interaction between them and me, as interviewer, was significant, partly because I was Irish too, but also because they took on the roles of ‘experts’ on the subject, and played the role of ‘telling me’ and ‘educating me’ – something that didn’t happen in other groups in other locations. This may be because they were so engaged with the product that they consider themselves to be ‘experts’, or perhaps they perceived me as a migrant Irish person who ‘might not know’ and needed to be told.

One of the overwhelming observations, which was made by all groups in Ireland, was, that as a product, ‘Guinness’ is a challenging one. Drinkers described ‘Guinness’ as a difficult drink to acquire a taste for when first introduced to it. They also described the quest for the ‘perfect pint’. A quest which required immense discernment and army-like intelligence on the part of the consumer, to the point that certain pubs were described as being ‘earmarked as ‘good Guinness pubs’’, and the pubs earned this title only if they had the correct technical features in place that would ensure a ‘good pint’ (see Chapter 4).

These brand loyal drinkers described how they resorted to tactics such as checking how the product was stored, knowing the length of the lines from cool room to tap, and ensuring that the lines were regularly cleaned; And, they elaborated, if it was a new pub, they had other devices for quality checks (see Chapter 4). One respondent described how she would scan an unfamiliar pub to see if many were drinking pints of Guinness, if there were, she took it as a signal that the ‘pint’ was probably ‘a good one’. If there was not a high number of pints in evidence she would examine the pint itself from a distance and if still not reassured she would ask another drinker “is it a good pint in here?” The quality control test was not complete however and drinkers described being put off by how the pint was served and presented – for example the head must be the correct size, colour, consistency etc. In fact some drinkers were so

discerning that they had preferences as to *which* of the bar staff actually pulled the pint.

On receipt of a less than perfect pint, the majority of respondents agreed that they would not hesitate to return it to the bar. A bad pint could be a 'flat pint', or a pint with a 'bad' head, or a pint with a 'bishops collar' (too much head). They demonstrated a high level of consumer assertiveness indicating a strong sense of consumer sovereignty. (Whale 1977, Murdock 1982) The level of 'consumer intelligence' suggested a high degree of involvement and engagement with the product. This was recurring throughout all groups.

When I encountered descriptions that the product was, to say the least, a challenging product, that the product was one that required an apprenticeship to learn to drink it, a product that consumers had to learn to like, and a product that required military like manoeuvres in order to locate a pint of good quality, I challenged the drinkers and asked them why do they bother?

All this work - to ensure a good pint

"Why do they persevere with a product that, on first taste, is not always pleasant?"

"Why did they chase what is often perceived to be an elusive pint?" "Why did they work so hard at establishing when and where they would find this product acceptable?" "And why did they order a drink that takes several minutes to arrive, IF it is to be served properly?"

In Chapter 4 I discuss the significance of the rituals surrounding the product. In this chapter I argue that one of the main reasons for persevering with the consumption of the product is directly linked with the myths surrounding the product, the rituals which reinforce this myth and the ensuing sense of tradition and membership which results from all of these combining factors.

Each group gave tangible examples of situations where in-group membership was the overriding factor in their decision to consume the product. In the quote below

Peter described a scenario where the group he was with exerted overt pressure on him to persuade him to consume the product.

Peter - I actually started drinking Guinness when I went down the country. That's why I associate it with country pubs. One particular day we were there with a lot of the family, and we went in, all the young fellas, and there was about four choices there, and six of them ordered Guinness, and that was about it.

"You're having a pint of Guinness" [they said] so I started drinking Guinness. They told me I wasn't allowed to drink a pint of jungle juice¹ in their company'

Professional Group

Dublin, Ireland. August 1996

This was a very clear example of peer pressure and the respondent's response demonstrated the resultant desire to belong to the group. The story contrasts with the more subtle strategies, and knee jerk need-responses, that come into play when individuals described situations where their decision to drink Guinness was directly linked with the fact that they were away from home, either working or on holiday. Whether in France, Germany or Japan, all groups gave examples of situations when they, or someone they knew, was abroad and opted for Guinness in a pub; even though they knew they would not get the 'perfect pint' out of that particular can. In fact some of these overseas consumers were not particularly brand loyal in Ireland, but when they found themselves in Japan, or Germany, or France, they found themselves ordering Guinness. They ordered Guinness in order to feel closer to home, and to make statements about their ethnic identity by and wearing the product as a badge of identity and proclaiming 'I'm Irish'.

In a more complex situation, and one I described in Chapter 6, one respondent described her father's efforts to secure membership in a local pub in Ireland. This pub was recognised as one that served a particularly good pint and was mainly used

¹ Foreign or import lager.

by local farmers. In order to gain access and hide the fact that he was not a farmer he bought a pair of Wellington boots, which he then scuffed-up with mud so they would look authentic - dirty and 'fresh off the farm'.

These actions suggest that there is a great need for us to feel membership, or community, and we will go to great lengths to secure it, both consciously and unconsciously. It also suggests that the act of drinking Guinness almost demands that you be a member of a club before you start consuming it. Buckingham (1987) cites findings where children reported watching 'Eastenders' in order to avoid feeling left out of playground conversations. This peer group pressure and need for membership is instrumental in causing acts of consumption amongst all ages, gender and social groups. In the case of Guinness consumption, one of the reasons for the perseverance with the product may be explained by identifying a need held by the consumers to be members of a community or club that has been constructed and reconstructed over time, a community that has a history, a tradition, a set of rituals and myths to support it.

Another reason for persevering with this difficult product may be found when the respondent is constructed 'as consumer'. The product presents a challenge to the consumer on so many levels that again I hear myself asking the consumers the question again - 'why persevere with a product that is unpleasant on first and later trials, unstable as a product in itself, and cognitively demanding at every point of purchase'.

I'm drinking it 'cos it makes me 'ME'

The process of consumption of products to generate meaning has been recognised as a formalised and symbolic system of communication which societies have been using since we first learned to engage in basic communication (see Chapter 4). Douglas and Isherwood remind us that it is an important starting point to remember, "the essential function of consumption is its capacity to make sense. They urge us to forget our everyday relationship with commodities and think of them in terms of

objects that “are good for thinking” (1978, p. 62). The process of gift exchange and reciprocity has been observed and documented in primitive communities by anthropologists such as Marcel Mauss, and such studies have shown how goods can be invested with meaning and symbolism that goes beyond the object itself. In fact, long before the emergence of Fordism and the rise of production it has been recognised that goods have had various values which were significant for the production of meaning for different cultural and social groups.

... the creation and manipulation of things in order that they may be exchanged on the market is frequently described as production and activities that follow their purchase are typically described as consumption, the identification of consumer culture as a specific form of material culture, helps ensure that it is studied in relation to interlinking *cycles* of production and consumption or reappropriation. The consumption that is referenced via consumer culture can, through the lens of material culture, be seen as *conversion*, or, more precisely, ‘the manner in which people convert things to ends of their own’.

Strathern (1994, p. x, cited in Lury 1996, p. 3)

We traditionally think of symbolic goods with exchange value when we begin to address this process. Further to this, the understanding of the act of the consumption of goods, and their subsequent assigned cultural values, has been honed to a fine degree by research and development in marketing and consumer psychology in more recent years.

We are, both in academia, and as consumers, much more aware of the sophisticated devices used by the marketing and advertising industry to generate the ultimate response: to lure us into the act of consumption. We know people consume goods to make statements about themselves. These statements can be cultural statements, social statements, or political statements. We are, according to lifestyle marketing research, capable of reinventing ourselves on a daily basis. We are encouraged via strong marketing strategies to change our identities according to our social roles, special interest, leisure activity or selected sport. We can achieve this

communication of information by consuming goods that we can wear as badges of whatever identity we wish to project at that time. However the evidence located in this research suggests that while the consumers are cognitively engaged in the process of consumption on various levels, they do not seem to be conscious of the fact that they are utilising the product in order to make statements about themselves and their core sense of identity. The respondents I talked to were vague as to why they were persevering with the consumption of the product, despite their recognition of the fact that the product was problematic on various levels. When asked to articulate the answer to the question ‘WHY persevere?’ the responses of many revealed that they were not aware of their personal reasons for consumption. They did not seem to be making conscious links between ‘why they were persevering’ and ‘the rewarded sense of identity which is located in the use of the product’. The nearest they got to articulating this was when they described HOW they started consumption. For most, the initial tasting of the product was due to pressure from peer groups or familial groups. This did not however lead the respondents to see the WHY. They did not suggest that they were consuming in order to attain in-group membership or familial group membership. However it is strongly suggested from their replies that the initiation of the product was primarily based on a need to belong. The respondents were actively marking themselves as ‘one of the gang’ or ‘part of the traditional family’.

“I started to drink Guinness because the gang of lads I was with said I wasn’t allowed to drink jungle juice in their presence”

“I started to drink Guinness cos my Dad and Uncles do”

“I started to drink Guinness because I was working abroad”

“I started to drink Guinness because I was on holiday”

“I was on a training course abroad”

“I had just come back to Ireland for a holiday from Saudi”

Although it did not seem to be a conscious practice, they were engaging in this exercise of perseverance and consumption to make statements about themselves and to support their identities.

Unconscious Identities & Badges of Identity

This product is unique in that via its consumption it is proficient in supporting 'identity' on two levels. The first function of the product's consumption is when the consumer gets the opportunity to wear it as a badge. Like the lifestyle shopper who sports the correct gear to say 'I am 'x' or 'y' or 'z'', the consumption of this product, thanks to its inscribed sense of Irishness, through its advertising text, and through consumers associations, is reinforcing any message or statement for those who wish to subscribe to the in-group called 'Irish'. The producers of the message acknowledge that 'Irishness' is actively inscribed in the advertising text, and Lane, at Guinness Ireland, described the product as 'the spirit of Ireland' and described how they market the product with the philosophy that 'Guinness and 'Ireland' are interchangeable (see Chapter 3).

Rituals and Myths - supporting the product and telling a story

Two cogent themes emerged during the interviews. It became clear that surrounding the consumption of the product and sometimes in lieu of it, many 'rituals' and 'myths' were described and recognised by the consumers and non-consumers alike and were systematically repeated throughout the telling of people's stories.

I would argue that the rituals and myths surrounding the product provide it with a 'bedrock' which facilitates a sense of historicity and continuity, functioning in the same way as a Durkheimian 'collective consciousness.' This does two things. It provides the product with many extra dimensions giving it solidity and function in people's imaginations and secondly it gives the consumer a sense of ownership and tradition enabling the consumer to develop a deeper relationship with the product.

When it came to the re-telling of the myths surrounding the product each of the groups told similar stories 'about' the company and about the product. The company itself seemed to enjoy a tremendous sense of historical myth. It was reported as 'the biggest brewery in Ireland' with a great sense of pride accompanying the statement

as if someone in the family was responsible for this fact. It was described as ‘a great employer’, a place to go for ‘a solid career with a good pension’, ‘a job for life’. The non-professional groups primarily made these comments.

It is interesting to note that in Ireland, non-consumers of the product have a relationship to the text and a reading of their own (see Chapter 4). Like Guinness consumers, these non-consumers have a history of contact with the product and therefore it signifies certain things; signs of historicity, familial stories, Irishness etc..

Buckingham suggests that a media product can become “a part of the texture of many people’s daily lives, about whose ‘effects’ we can only begin to speculate” (1987, p. 117). I would maintain from the evidence above that Guinness is part of the texture of many people’s daily lives, even if they do not drink the product. They are aware of it, they have knowledge of it, and they know the myths and rituals and rules that surround it.

Another myth that carried a lot of belief was the one Guinness have exploited for a long time. ‘*Guinness is good for you*’ was reiterated by every group when asked to write a slogan linked with the advertising of the product (see Chapter 4). Despite reports² that Guinness is not allowed to make such claims as they are unsubstantiated, there is a whole reference library of myth which supported this belief. The respondents shared ‘beliefs’ about the intrinsic healthy aspect of Guinness as I have described in chapter 4 – they told personal stories about how, when ill, or in need of a tonic, as children, the family doctor would recommend Guinness; they described how Guinness was added to milk in a baby’s bottle (to enrich the milk); and they expressed vivid recollections of being “force fed” warmed Guinness as toddlers and young children; and many females described ‘old wives’ advice from an aunt or mother to drink a half pint a day during pregnancy. Even the most cynical agreed that it was “full of iron”, “made from natural ingredients and therefore good for you”, “full of nutrition”, and “low in calories”.

² *The Daily Mail* 1997

These myths, whether intentionally generated by the producer as Barthes (1970) would suggest, or generated by the consuming audience in the social space, or by a combination of the two, serve an invaluable purpose. They inject the product with a life. By assigning it a social history it has been assigned a value that no advertising campaign could achieve. It is woven into the fabric of the community and is embedded in the daily lives of the consumers and others. This can be seen below when respondents described how the tradition of 'Guinness' in their lives played a large part in the act of recollection of their 'family stories'. While the myths themselves do not necessarily talk of 'nationalism', national identity, or 'Ireland' they are functional in that they prop-up the product and its advertising imagery and give the product its varied and extra dimensions of meaning.

Tradition - owning the story

What is tradition? A higher authority which one obeys,
not because it commands what is useful to us but because it commands.

Fredrich Nietzsche *Daybreak* (cited in Hollingdale 1997, p. 87)

Aspects of the tradition surrounding the consumption of the product were communicated many times during the focus group sessions in Ireland. Respondents described how they used the product to connect with moments in their own family's history, and they describe how, when they think of the product they remembered a grandfather who drank a pint of Guinness every night, or a grandmother who always had a bottle of Guinness in a cupboard in case of illness. One respondent linked the product with childhood memories of going with a favourite uncle to a Dublin pub on a Sunday afternoon and being spoilt with lemonade and crisps, another when asked to free associate with the product said it reminded her of dead relatives - nothing macabre, just a nice link with a memory of a loved grandfather. These recollections indicated the part that the drinking of Guinness plays in the lived experience of the respondents. One group remarked that the product enjoyed such a place in the traditions of the country, and the people, that it could stand alone without the support of advertising.

John - I don't think that they [Guinness] need to spend too much on advertising on the Irish market

Mick - it sells itself

John - it's a drink that's handed down from generation to generation – it's inherited

Professional Group

Waterford, Ireland. August 1996

All of the above examples suggest a sense tradition, memory and inheritance of an imagined cultural value, which has been brought about through many factors such as knowledge, experience, social history and personal exposure. However, these are not the only elements in the story that contribute to making the product so significant in Ireland.

Text Effect: various positions

The text and the audience - engaging.

Combined with the product, and the rituals, myths and traditions surrounding and supporting it, the consumption of the product is inextricably linked with the consumption of the *adverts* of the product. To take this into consideration we must move into a different space to explore another side to the act of consumption in this story. The consumption of the advertising text and how the consumer reads, misreads, uses and plays with its meaning can be seen as an element which adds to the multifactorial status of the relationship between the product, the process of consumption, and the audience.

According to Buckingham (1987, p. 202) “the ways in which viewers makes sense of television are dependent, not merely upon texts, but also on the knowledge which they bring to them”. Similarly the respondents (when viewing the adverts) made sense of the advertising text in the same way; the adverts were read and made sense of, played with, ignored, misunderstood and so on. In each reading the audiences always brought more to the text than the textual meaning itself. No matter what the

audience did with the text they used this supplementary and textual ‘layer of meaning’ to add an extra dimension to the multifaceted entity that is ‘the product’. By layering up meanings taken from the text with activities surrounding the text, talk surrounding the text, and adding that to the other layers of personal memories, established myths, family traditions and beliefs surrounding the product - the audience was in possession of a holistic and complex entity that said ‘Guinness’ and so much more.

To explore what sense and meaning this specific audience made of the advertising texts I include excerpts from a discussion that surrounded a 1994 advert that was screened in Ireland. The TV advert consists of an actor dancing around a giant sized pint of Guinness that is being filled slowly by the barman and the music accompanying the advert was Perez Prado’s ‘Guaglione’³. The advert, *Anticipation*, was Ireland’s 1994 hit, and was produced by Guinness’s agency - Arks Advertising Agency (see Figure 8A).

One respondent described his reaction to this campaign and described the concern and energy he put into locating the meaning of this particular text:

Paul - well it created something - it created a sense of - it was something that was different, entirely unique - now it’s nothing to do with the image, it’s just that it was very unusual, and I remember at the time we were abroad and we came over to Ireland and we saw these ads - not on television, on the billboards - snap shots - and we hadn’t a clue what it was all about - not a clue and then you got a sense of ‘this has to stop’ - it was almost a real discussion that Guinness had created, something that everybody, everybody was wondering and talking about.

³ The advert and its accompanying music was so popular that the music re entered the pop charts.

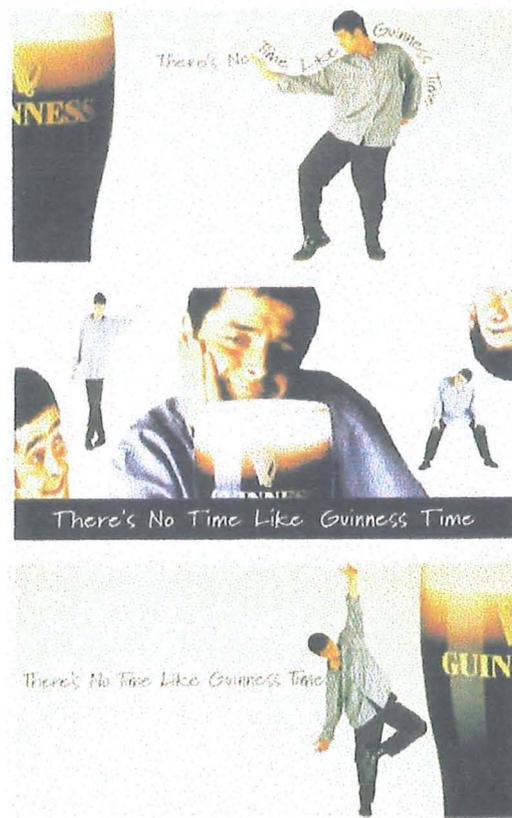


Figure 8A: *Anticipation*, Davies (1998, p. 219)

Clearly this advert had successfully interpellated the respondent. He was working and living abroad at the time and had returned to Ireland for a visit. He found himself engaging with this advert, wanting and needing to know more about it. It became part of his lived and real experience *“it was almost a real discussion”*. The conversation continued

Peter - yeah and on the screen savers and all the rest

Kate - yeah and on the 'net

Peter - yeah so it really took it out of being just an ad - into hey that's got something

Tommy - even in the night clubs, when the music came on ... stick the stool on the floor and dancing around - with the jar⁴

⁴ 'jar' is a reference to 'a pint', 'Are we going for a jar?' can be used instead of 'are we going for a pint?'

Peter - at barbecues ... there were competitions to see who could do the ad
dance the best - and there were prizes

*Professional Group,
Dublin, Ireland. August, 1996*

Media research places emphasis on the differential capabilities of audience factions to synthesise their own meanings from media texts (Bausinger 1984, Morley 1992, Ang 1996). And just as Ang (1985) and Bausinger (1984) describe the reader doing different things with and around the text, here too the consumers played with the text and, more interestingly, took it out of its preferred place of viewing. The advert went beyond being 'just an advert', it was talked about, mused over, used as other things (screen savers), and finally moved away from the electronic space completely and ritualised at night clubs and barbecues. It too became part of the consumers lived experience adding another layer of meaning to this already complex set of meanings.

Another, older advert, '*The Island*' (1977) (see Chapter 5) evoked different reactions. This advert, set on an island off the west coast of Ireland, like *Anticipation*, emphasises the act of anticipating (which the advertising agency explains is 'a signature of the product' (see Chapter 4 and the 'Guinness Moment'). In strong contrast to the imagery in *Anticipation*, *Island* is very traditional and uses Gaelige throughout. The Irish respondents readings and attitudes were disclosing.

Pat – it's brilliant

BM - what makes it so brilliant?

Pat - just the whole scene it's kind of timeless they are spending the afternoon in the pub and they are not under any pressure to do anything, it's very relaxed - just waiting for the Guinness to come over, and again what you [to Mike] were saying earlier, about waiting for the pint.

Mick - yeah

Pat - and they're actually waiting for the pint to come over

BM - and what about the use of 'Irish'?

Pat - yeah that's why I associate Guinness with Ireland, with Irish, an Irish product.

BM - do you think it's a risk, actually using Irish language for a nation-wide campaign?

Pat - no - I think it was nice to have Irish

Mick - yeah - everybody does

Pat - and it's humorous as well, the 'Aris!'⁵ at the end

Jim - I mean, every one'd know it, and people like to know Irish, I mean every person, every Irish person would like to, I'd love to. I don't know any Irish person who wouldn't like to know Irish.

*Professional Group,
Waterford, Ireland. August 1996*

The response to this advert encompasses everything I argue about the product's identity and the audiences' response to it. The respondents clearly like the advert and identified with the ritual surrounding the consumption of it, as portrayed in this text. They identified with the images of '*spending the afternoon in the pub*' and not being '*under any pressure to do anything*'. They also identified with the ritual of '*waiting*' for a pint which Guinness' advertising agency explain is the signature of the product.

... the behaviour of the product in particular and the expectation of the product is something that is particularly Irish The whole idea of waiting for your pint, the whole concept of the thing is about waiting for your pint.

*Trevor Jacobs, Advertising Manager,
Arks Advertising, Dublin Ireland September 1997*

Respondents revisited the ritual of the pause between ordering and receiving your pint and commented on the importance of that in the advert. They also expressed very strong feelings about the use of the Irish language in the text. Despite the fact that Irish is only spoken by 3% of the population as a first language, the group expressed a common feeling, "people like to know 'Irish' ... I don't know any person who wouldn't like to know 'Irish'" and the group actively linked 'Guinness'

⁵Aris! - Again!

with 'Ireland', "it's an Irish product". To follow up on this link between the product and 'Ireland' I asked respondents from these focus groups a typical market research question – "If Guinness were a place, where would it be?" The responses showed a definite and strong 'imagining' of the product as a place people associate with 'Ireland' and 'Irishness'. They told me that the two were inextricably bound together.

BM - If Guinness were a place where would it be?

Linda - like the ad, the currach, in Connemara - yeah rural

John - I'd think of Dublin - the Liffey

BM - would you, why?

John - well it was always very very well associated with Dublin and eh the Liffey - like they used to say they take the water from the Liffey and that's what give it the flavour.

Laugh

Linda - well you say Dublin, I think it's Donegal or someplace like that you know with the, what is it? 'gorse'⁶.

*Working Class Group,
Waterford, Ireland. August 1996*

Other respondents from the same group continued:

Keith - somewhere isolated anyway - like you were saying, you go in and you have the first pint by yourself, and then you join the lads, it's something like, you would see that happen you know. It's the relaxation of being by yourself and having a pint of Guinness. I think a lot of the ad campaigns are trying to put across as well.

Gillie - it always give you the feeling that it's the answer to everything - Guinness ads - you know they are always inclined to - you'd think it was the answer to everything - it would sort all problems out - if you had a pint in front of you.

Yeah.

⁶ Gorse - thorny shrub with yellow flower - grows wild in mountainous areas.

These comments raised several points of value for this discussion. The overriding theme is that Guinness has a place in the imagination, to the point that it can even represent a place. A place people would go to which feels intrinsically Irish to them within Ireland itself. Whether it is the rural setting of Connemara in the west, or Dublin and it's River Liffey where the mythical water supply for the product originates or Donegal amongst the gorse, it is still most markedly a place in Ireland. I suggest that the way the consumer is describing and identifying with the product it is as if they are actually drinking or consuming the very essence of the country/nation.

Furthermore the excerpt above touches on an issue of membership of Irishness, which is also membership of male Irishness. One male respondent said "you go in and you have the first pint by yourself, and then you join the lads. ... it's the relaxation of being by yourself and having a pint of Guinness". This is a very masculine ritual, to have a pint alone, to have the freedom from domestic responsibilities and the freedom within the pub space, "to have a pint alone" and then, if you wish, to "join the lads". Freedom to join the club, the Irish Boy's Club and enjoy membership such a club or membership of a group is one of the main functions of consumption for Irish consumers in Ireland.

'I like it' - will you let me join - stories of in-group membership

I showed the participants in the focus groups in Ireland a TV advert which was shot in 1969 and was a text that depicted inclusion and exclusion in a very unsophisticated way. The black and white advert, *First Pint*, depicts a group of men standing at a bar drinking Guinness and they are encouraging one of the group to approach the 'nerd' in the snug, looking alienated and drinking something other than Guinness. He is approached, given a pint of Guinness and on the first sip announces "I like it", on the second sip a more vehement "I like it" and on the third sip a celebratory "I like it" – the advert ends with a final quip from the initiator who originally approached him "who knows Brendan maybe you'll be getting married next".

The advert depicted the ‘nerd’ as emasculated – he was in the snug, a place reserved for women, and he was clearly outside the ‘masculinity boundaries’ because he wasn’t drinking Guinness. The sum total of these signifiers was a sign that said ‘marginal’. However, once the ‘ring leader’ on the other side of the pub, in the Men’s section, encouraged our nerd to switch his drink and ‘have a pint of Guinness’ he was welcomed, slapped on the back and told he was now a *bona fide* ‘virile man’ to the extent that he would be ‘getting married’ soon. Now, he was a member of the in-group, and a fully endorsed man.

In the first instance each group resisted the preferred reading of the text, and they all insisted that it would be very unusual to enjoy your ‘first pint’, which was the message that this text was depicting. This observation raised again the question about the paradox of consuming a product that is not pleasant on initial consumption (see above). The same text, while primarily generating the response ‘you don’t enjoy your first pint’, did evoke another very different reading from one respondent. Jim read this text from Hall’s oppositional position.

Jim - I’d like to comment on that one, the last one, - haven’t seen that ad before and I’m disgusted, really.

BM - why

Jim - because he had his psychology, peer group pressure, ... that is a perfect example of the ‘membership theme’ of consumption.

I hate it, peer group [pressure], I hate it succeeding, and that advert was very negative ...

*Professional Group,
Waterford, Ireland. August 1996*

With this negative reading of the advert, Jim identified a very important element and device at work in this advert; the element of membership and the pressure to belong to the in-group instead of residing in the out-group or the marginal space.

In an interview with the advertising agency for Guinness, Jacobs insisted that the marketing and production process did not intentionally utilise such strategies as in-

group pressure when planning contemporary advertising campaigns. However, while they claim that they never consciously incorporate such elements of appeal into their campaigns the audience seems to be conscious of, and seem to buy into a social script that suggests that drinking Guinness supports the notion of membership of a group. And that group can also have badges of Irish identity stuck to it. Membership in this group guarantees that the member will feel 'included' and 'masculine'. Similarly the migrant audience, while striving to resist the new space that migrants occupy in the margins of their host society, can be found to use the consumption of Guinness and the pub space as a membership label and club which nurtures and protects their fragile identity in their new diasporic space (see Chapter 9 & 10).

Billig (1995, p. 77) cites Sheffer (1988), who suggests that the sense of a link between the people and the homeland can be seen clearly in the diaspora consciousness of peoples; it claims the need to be situated within, and have control over, a special section of the globe. Billig argues that a mystical link between the people and their land is detectable and suggests that "though the imagination may become banally habitual, ... the mysticism which posits the special people in its special place does not disappear. The flags can be waved, and sacrifice offered in the cause of the nation's special identity" (1995, p. 77). Therefore we still witness the St Patrick's Day parade on 5th Avenue New York, the newly appointed Zulu mayor of Durban officiating at a local event, the flying of a country's flag during a state visit to another country. "The rhetoric is familiar, past sacrifices are invoked in the name of the present' and history is invoked in the name of the present" (1995, p. 77).

"Around the world, nation states use the same basic categories for their 'country' and their 'people'. This is part of the universal code of nationality: the particular nation is affirmed within a general code" (1995, p. 77). In light of this process it is important to ask the question does Guinness include rhetorical referencing in its advertising in order to interpellate the audience and allow them to utilise the text as a reinforcer of their 'imaginings' of a community or nation? (see Chapter 9 & 10). The answer to this question is that Guinness have not intentionally incorporated such rhetoric to communicate such appeal and so, contrary to traditional positions of text

effect on the audience, the audience is actively adding meaning to a text and reading meaning that has not been intentionally placed there.

It can be seen, via textual analysis, that rhetorical referencing does in fact feature in the advertising text (see Chapter 5 & Murphy 1993) but I am informed by the producers that this is not intentional interpellating of the audience according to a national identity and in-group membership framework. Nonetheless we shall see from the evidence below that the consumers do use those rhetorical references derived from the adverts and from other places to mark themselves as Irish and to link with 'home'.

Apart from the evidence of 'banal imagining' taking place amongst the groups it was evident from the research that the consumer's associations and identifications with the product were influenced by many factors. The respondents did make reference to imagery and language directly linked with Guinness campaigns, but they also used references that were not text based.

The text, as read by the people in the story

When I began each focus group session I asked people to write words they associated with Guinness followed by any advertising slogans they could remember. They remembered slogans for me, they listed words in association with the product and they discussed why they had written what they had. We watched the adverts. Irish adverts from 1969 to today. English adverts from 1928 to today. The respondents watched the adverts and some, the more recent, were remembered. They watched the adverts in various ways. In true keeping with theories offered by the British School of cultural studies the texts were read in many ways. The adverts were read according to their intended message - '*go out and have a Guinness*', they were read actively, and they were criticised, misread and opposed.

In Ireland, the UK and the USA, to open the sessions, relax people and give the session a starting point, I borrowed an approach from psychoanalysis practice, and I

asked all groups to 'free associate' and write the words they associated with Guinness without thinking too much about them. I thought this would be a useful exercise because it would open up the group to the notion of the product in the first instance, and it would give the group a task to concentrate on, allowing them to relax and lose their awkwardness. I also wanted to test the approach and see if I would derive an interesting set of data.

All groups returned similar associations of 'black', 'smooth', and 'creamy', but there were significant differences between the Ireland based groups and the UK and USA groups as the lists were developed (see Chapter 9, for UK and USA associations). In Ireland there were associations to Ireland, and these were simple direct references. In contrast, the groups in London and New York, produced lists that in the first instance were similar to their Irish counterpart's lists, but then went on to include references that were more elaborate and more likely to associate the product with Ireland. In the UK and USA respondents produced an extended list of associations there were connotative, symbolic and evocative.

In this free association exercise the groups in Ireland generated lists that included the following words:

'black'
'dark'
'creamy'
'rich'
'thick'
'smooth'
'cold',
'velvet'
'pint'

- all these words were used to describe the product and were among the first words to be written on each of the respondent's lists. The words that were used were not just descriptors of the product but were words that Guinness, the company and

advertiser, would very much want people to associate with the product as they were lexicons with positive values.

Interestingly, the later words on each respondents list moved from description of the product to the individual's associations with the product and their connotative or signified value of it as a sign. This pattern or sequence, whereby the lists began with denotative words and then moved on to connotative words, had not been suggested to the groups but almost all lists took this order, without prompting from me. These connotative associations included:

‘refreshing’
‘relaxing’
‘friends’
‘no hangover’
‘oysters’
‘food’
‘expensive’
‘fun’
‘chat’,
‘tradition’
‘black currant’
‘Rose of Tralee’
‘night life’
‘trendy people’
‘the time I have to wait’

It is interesting to note that some of the connotative associations are specifically to do with Irishness such as ‘The Rose of Tralee’ and ‘tradition’; and with the exception of ‘expensive’ which could be read as a negative OR a positive the other words on the list had positive values.

While the above listings and their sequencing were common to all groups the migrant groups in London and New York were unique in that their lists often

included alternative names for the product; they included graphic descriptors such as ‘quare-stuff’, ‘diesel’, ‘holy water’, ‘muck’, and ‘liquid engineering’ (see Chapter 9).

This exercise in ‘free association’ was very useful as it generated a clear picture of associations and connections the individuals made between the product and their daily social living. It was evident from this data that Guinness occupies a place in the imagination of all the respondents and is very much a part of their lived experience: It was remembered as a home tonic, first boiled and then given to a sickly child, and it was signifier to a cherished memory of a parent or relative, for whom Guinness was a valued part of their life and thus remembered by a son or daughter. Irish drinkers, male and female, professionals and working class, young and old, all linked Guinness with Ireland. Then they linked Guinness with ‘Home’. They remembered the traditions and rituals and myths of Guinness. When they drank Guinness, they enjoyed the moment and the space that the product occupied and drinking it gave them membership, Furthermore it was clear that there is a real link between the discourse surrounding the consumption of the product and the imagining of Ireland and a place called ‘home’.

Conclusion

In this chapter I explored the relationship and associations between the product and the Irish consumer in Ireland and found that the relationship between the two is complex and varied. It expresses itself in the in-depth knowledge exhibited by the consumers, and the expert position that they take when they discuss it.

I examined the pub space to see how the predominantly male Irish consumer uses it to establish membership, and I revealed how the pub and the product signify membership and community for the Irish consumer in Ireland.

The findings and stories that I reported in this chapter exemplify the significance of the product in the lived cultures of consumer’s lives in Ireland. In Chapter 9 and 10 I

build on this chapter and its exploration of the audience's lived experiences and lived cultures surrounding the product. In Chapter 9 and 10 I examine the audience's stories of migrant experience in London and New York. I investigate how Irishness is transported to a new diasporic space, and explore Irish migrants experiences as 'other'.

Chapter 9

Transporting Irishness *Being Irish in London and New York*

Introduction

In this chapter I identify the range of strategies that are utilised by Irish migrants in London and New York in order to maintain diasporic identity. I verify the role of formal and informal organisations in their lived experiences and I demonstrate how Irish migrants use membership of these groups to locate and consume signifiers of their ethnicity. I explore the membership and consumption of cultural spaces and practices such as dance, song and storytelling and I identify significant strategies of consumption and production that migrants use to connect with imagined home. I situate the reader with a historical description of Irish migration, and I defend the use of the term ‘diaspora’ in conjunction with Irish migration.

I trace the strategies used by first and second-generation migrants to support their sense of Irishness in their new space and I examine how strategies such as ‘the consumption of leisure’, ‘the consumption of space’ and ‘the consumption of goods’ can be used to anchor ethnic identities. I describe the consumption of societies, clubs and organisations, and the consumption of non-durable and durable goods, and I reveal how groups, spaces and goods are constructed and accessed in order to support Irish identity.

Irish flight – diaspora or ‘just roaming around’

The etymology of the word *diaspora* is Greek, meaning dispersion, and it originally referred to “the settling of scattered colonies of Jews outside Palestine after the

Babylonian exile”(Merriam-Webster) however it is also used to describe “the breaking up and scattering of a people” and can refer to migration. However, diaspora has become a pervasive theme in human history and while the focus in the past was on the Jewish and African migration experiences, I argue that diaspora can be a useful term to use when exploring population movements and areas of contention resulting from mass migration. The term tends to raise debate amongst scholars and at the closing plenary of *The Irish Diaspora Conference* in University of North London, November 2000, a discussion as to whether Irish migration qualified to use the term ‘diaspora’ or not, ensued. For some, migration is not a diaspora if the movement is not forced, if there is no yearning to return to a lost homeland, and if there is no discrimination. This discussion raised some questions for me. “Were the various waves of Irish migration really a diaspora that is, an exodus due to exile or persecution?” I also asked “if we were a diaspora, do we stop being a diaspora, and start being a transnational community?” And if so, “when, and under what conditions?” I argue that Irish migration was a diasporic movement and while destinations changed through the years, the factors prompting migration remained the same. In a very brief thumbnail sketch below, I show how political, religious and economic persecution were the recurring factors that spurred Irish migration.

Between 1300 and 1700, Europe was the main destination for early migration for the Irish and the motivation for migration was monastic and political. France and Spain were the main sites and Irish nobility, soldiers, and military, political and religious leaders fled to these places during early British rule. Persecution took various forms, for example in 1366 *Statutes of Kilkenny*, a subtle set of apartheid rules were in place which forbade Irish/English marriages and prevented English to use Irish language, custom or laws. By the time Henry VIII declared himself king of Ireland in 1541 anti-Irish sentiment was endemic, and throughout Elizabethan reign, wars on Ireland were common. By 1607 to escape persecution, O’Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and O’Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell had to flee to Spain and the moment in history became known as “The Flight of the Earls”. A year later counties in the north of

Ireland were confiscated and 'Planters' were introduced¹. In 1649, the English soldier and statesman, Oliver Cromwell, landed at Dublin. His troops killed 2,000 men and a great part of lands in Munster, Leinster and Ulster (Drogheda and Wexford) was confiscated and divided amongst the English soldiers. A year later, Cromwell exiled all Catholic landowners to the most barren and infertile area in Ireland, Connaught. Before Cromwell's reign, the population of Ireland was estimated at 1,500,000. This was reduced by two-thirds, to 500,000, at Cromwell's death in 1658. Apart from land confiscation, Irish Catholics were also sent abroad as slaves. In 1656 over 60,000 Irish Catholics were sent as slaves to Barbados, and other islands in the Caribbean and in 1672 over 6,000 Irish boys and women were sold as slaves when England gained control of Jamaica.

In 1685, there was an effort to regain Catholic control in Britain and Ireland when King James came to power. During his short reign King James II's Parliament restored all lands confiscated since 1641, restoring 22% of the land to Catholics. However he was struggling with the political forces in England and in 1690, James was defeated at the *Battle of the Boyne*, by William of Orange (William III). Following the defeat, King James's Irish army was granted two options – stay in Ireland, and swear allegiance to Parliament and the new king, or take his army and leave Ireland forever. He departed Ireland with 10,000 soldiers for service in France. The flight of the Wild Geese had begun. For the next hundred years, until the French Revolution, the Wild Geese and their descendants served France as the Irish Brigade. During the period 1690 to 1730, it is estimated that as many as 120,000 Irish sailed for the safe haven of mainland Europe.

Meanwhile, in Ireland, Catholics were excluded from Parliament and all professions, and in 1695, anti-Catholic Penal Laws were introduced. At this time, Catholics held 14% of land in Ireland and by 1714 they held only 7%. While some men fled to mainland Europe, other Irish men joined the colonial army, mostly as labourers and indentured servants, in order to escape poverty and lack of opportunity in Ireland. In the ranks of the colonial army those in positions of authority would have been Irish men who were part of the British ruling class and were likely to be Scot-Irish or

¹ Planters were British nobility who were given vast areas of fertile land, and placed in these counties to influence the county socially and politically.

Irish Presbyterian, whereas the labourers and servants were working class Irish and more likely to be Catholic. Serving in the colonial army brought Irish men to Asia, Australia, Canada, the US, Barbados and other colonial outposts and Irish communities can be found in most post-colonial countries today. For example, in Barbados today there is a working-class Irish community that has been there since the 16th Century when Irish labour was brought to the island colony where their incentive was the promise of a pocket of land on the island after seven years service. The circumstances surrounding Ireland's 'early migration period', up to the 1800's, indicates that the main reason for the exodus was political and economic persecution, which were inextricably bound with religions and ethnic identity.

Destination USA or Britain?

In the 1800's, patterns and figures of Irish migration were even more significant. During this time there was a shift in destination and instead of migrating to Europe, Irish migration looked to the US and Britain, with the US being the more popular site. But migration to the US from Ireland is a complex scenario. It was the most popular site for the Irish throughout the 19th century but for the majority of Irish Americans and others, the picture of Irish migration is somewhat skewed, and several myths have been generated around the identity of this diaspora. For example, most Americans claiming Irish ancestry believe their ancestors came to the US during the Famine years. However migration was not a single romanticised homogeneous moment in history. Mass migration from Ireland to the US began at the beginning of the 1800's and Paddy Fitzgerald, at the Centre of Migration Studies, Omagh explains that pre-1830 the majority of Irish migrants to America were in fact Ulster Scots who went to the new country as part of the Presbyterian movement (Fitzgerald 1999). The Catholic Irish were not the majority until later in that century. Despite the myth that all Irish migrants are and were Catholic, and the identity of the Irish migrant is one of 'working-class', 'Catholic'; there is in fact evidence of another silent Irish migrant; the Protestant/Presbyterian middle class Irish, who, like female migrants, is under documented and under researched. The entire ideology of the Irish diaspora is captured by a male, working class, Catholic whole. In fact the use of the term 'diaspora' tends to treat the Irish diaspora as a homogenous group, but in fact the diaspora is made up of black Irish, travelling Irish, women, and gay Irish migrants too.

However, while the Famine was not the homogeneous moment of Irish migration, it does mark one of the *major* moments in Irish diaspora, and records show that by 1860, due to the famine exodus, 1.7 million had arrived in the US. The first warnings of famine were seen in 1845, when the potato harvest showed signs of a fungal disease called *blight*. In response to this, Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister, imported Indian corn and a year later, in April, the depots were opened for sale of that corn, however they were closed again later that summer. In July 1846, Lord John Russell replaced Peel as Prime Minister and a month later, reports of a total failure of the potato harvest were official. In October the first deaths from starvation were reported and by 1857, fever spread through the country's poorest. The worst years of famine were 1848 and 1849 and in 1848 alone, through emigration and deaths by famine, Ireland's population decreased by more than 2 million people. The latter half of the 1800's saw mass migration to the US continue slowing down in the mid 1900's.

The Irish migration to the UK was a different scenario. Historically, Irish migrants travelled to the Britain for employment and were often seasonal labourers throughout Britain. "Before the famine, as many as one hundred thousand migrants annually plied back and forth across the Irish Sea" (Burton cited in Cowley 2001, p. 19). At the same time, Ireland's population was growing from 3 to 4 million in the fifty years between 1785 and 1841 and the growth was 'a Europe-wide phenomenon' with fewer famines, and declining death rates from epidemic diseases and the widespread use of early smallpox vaccination (Cowley 2001. p. 20). There was an absence of commercial cash crops, and small holders and labourers were dependent on wages – when wages weren't available locally, they had no choice but travel to the nearest economically strong point, Britain, to locate seasonal work.

Approaching the middle of the nineteenth century ... wherever poor soil and an absence of paid employment were prevalent, small holders and landless labourers were forced to depend on the potato for food and on seasonal migration for a significant income.

Cowley 2001, p. 22

Immense poverty existed due to high rents, that were deliberately pegged to English as opposed to Irish agriculture wage rates, and due to Irish Catholic's limited access to small pockets of poor and unyielding soil, as a result of the Cromwellian ban on Catholics owning land in certain fertile regions.

However, there was a drop in migration to Britain and an increase in migration to the USA and Cowley (2001, p. 29) reports "between 1876 and 1921, eighty-four per cent of Irish emigrants went to the United States while only eight per cent went to Britain. This drop was due to the fact that from 1879 onwards Britain experienced an economic recession and restructuring of British agriculture precipitated an overall decline in labour-intensive tillage in England. By this time, pressure was growing for children of poorer rural families in Ireland to opt for permanent emigration. The result was an increase in permanent emigration to the industrialised centres of population in Britain, in an attempt to secure unskilled but remunerative employment in construction and civil engineering, building railroads, canals, and roads. (Cowley 2001, p. 31) Nonetheless, the majority of those opting for permanent emigration went to the USA.

The Contemporary Picture - migrants today

From 1900 to 2000, migration slowed down, there were peaks at different points in time, but the reasons for the migration were mainly economic now. While there are figures available for Irish migration to the US during this period, it is difficult to ascertain figures to the UK. This is due to two factors. Firstly, on attaining home rule, and subsequent Free State status, the self ruling Irish Government did not keep records of Irish citizens leaving the country, and secondly, due to the special conditions for 'freedom of movement' British immigration authorities and the home office did not, and do not keep records of Irish citizen's immigration to the UK.

Nonetheless, despite the lack of state records, the current picture in the 21st Century is clear, and contemporary census figures from other countries confirm that the Irish diaspora is widespread. Statistics show that 70 million people in the US, New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the UK are of Irish descent (O'Toole 1999).

Returning to the earlier questions “Were the various waves of Irish migration really a diaspora that is, an exodus due to exile or persecution? “If we were a diaspora, do we stop being a diaspora, and start being a trans national community?” And if so, “when, and under what conditions?” I would argue, in response to the first question - “are we a diaspora?” - that both the early phase of Irish migration, (that is, up to the end of the 1700’s) and the middle phase of Irish migration, (from 1800’s to 1940’s) were prompted due to factors that would render them diasporic moments. The moments of migration, or ‘the breaking up and scattering’, were prompted by factors that include political, economic and religious persecution, which at times resulted in famine, and extreme poverty, which further exacerbated the situation. There is no doubt that Irish migration during these periods qualifies as diaspora.

The second set of questions - “If we were a diaspora, do we stop being a diaspora, and start being a transnational community?” And if so, “when, and under what conditions?” – is more complex. While contemporary moments of migration are not directly due to factors such as political or religious oppression (in the republic of Ireland) Irish migration to Britain and the USA during the 40’s, 50’s, 60’s 70’s and 80’s were spurred by economic factors. And there are other considerations too. Brah 2000 talks about the condition of being an insider and outsider at the same time, which for her “is what diaspora is about”. Diaspora can be viewed from the moment of departure to examine the factors that caused the migration in the first instance, but it also has to be viewed from the space of arrival too. If an ethnic group, residing in another country due to earlier generations’ migration, or due to their own recent migration, experience ‘being an insider and outsider at the same time’, due to their ethnicity, then, I argue, they too are part of a diaspora. Diaspora doesn’t seem to ‘stop’ at a specific point in time, for members to become a transnational community. Ethnicity is a process, not a pre-given package, it is relational and context specific. The question is not “is there an Irishness?” it is “what are the particular ways in which Irish groups experience difference?” and “what are the ways they construct themselves as different?”

Brah (2000) suggests that we focus on issues such as ‘home and belonging’, and ‘homing desire’ as distinct from ‘desire for a homeland’. But it would also be useful

to consider issues such as political and social representation and equality enjoyed by migrants in their new space.

I would further argue that the experience of the Irish migrant is very different depending on whether they travelled to the US or Britain. In focus groups in both locations, respondents described their various strategies for maintaining their national and ethnic identity, and there were interesting differences in their stories. For example in the US the migrant does experience moments of 'dissimilar' (see below), whereas the UK migrant is struggling with issues of 'similar' and 'dissimilar'. There, respondents report of moments of 'same but different'; and this issue of 'same but different' seems to haunt the Irish migrant in the UK. Unlike other 'Others' in the binary positioning of black:white, the Irish migrant is white but not white, and while whiteness is a modality of power (Brah 2000) Irish whiteness certainly does not give the Irish migrant in London automatic access to power. Here, the distinction between 'white' and 'whiteness', 'same' and 'different', 'similar' but 'dissimilar' widens and reflects the tensions and difference in experience for the Irish migrant in Britain. In contrast, Irish respondents in New York spoke less about 'being different' and their personal experiences of 'access to power' were different too.

The experience of migration to these two destinations was and is very different. Lloyd (2000), speaking at the Irish Diaspora conference, commented on how it is conceivable to have a publication called *The American-Irish*, but not a book with the title *The British-Irish*. He argues that the hyphenated identity of the American-Irish is a 'real' and 'accepted' identity in the political, social and cultural minds of all who encounter it, to the point that it is as tangible construct that is used for research. In Britain, he argues, there is no conceptual structure to support a group of people identifying with the description British-Irish. Irish migrants, especially second and subsequent generations, when asked 'what they are' become involved in a long description of where their parents were from, when they came to the UK etc. So while the American-Irish speaker can effortlessly draw on a social construct for her identity marker, the British-Irish speaker cannot.

In light of these differences, it is important to locate the strategies that Irish migrants in London and New York utilise to sustain ethnicity. In the UK and the USA, Irish migrants have had different experiences of 'other'. But in both locations, they have developed a range of strategies to maintain their diasporic identity. They do this through membership of organisations, consumption and production of cultural products and through the pub.

Consuming the Social and Cultural – Consuming Irishness

All ethnic identities coalesce around leisure activities.

Patrick O'Sullivan 2000

In both locations, one strategy used by migrant groups to support their identity was found in leisure activities and in the sites for these leisure activities. These are perceived as a pivotal area for identity support and are utilised by the respondents. The migrants in this story described membership in groups that reflected *Ireland*, and these groups included activities involving sports groups, cultural activities and religious activities. These seemed to offer the greatest sense of membership and belonging. The consumption of these activities and spaces reinforces and instils a sense of identity in first and other generations of migrants. But this is not a contemporary development, and Ridge (1996) documents evidence of this membership and belonging, as he describes the emergence of various cultural clubs and societies that emerged as early as the 1700's and 1800's in New York. In fact the first organisation founded by the Irish migrants was the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in 1784, and many other Irish societies were established at this time. According to Ridge (1996, p. 275) these societies were of numerous types and purposes. "The majority were purely social groups, some were of a fraternal nature, and others had a religious, benevolent and political orientation, political primarily in regard to Ireland's nationhood, but occasionally in the domestic sense as well".

Ridge describes how the large numbers of Irish arriving in Manhattan caused whole neighbourhoods to develop an Irish character. However these areas were seen as temporary areas of settlement and a high rate of mobility out of the city between

1850 and 1869 suggests that the city was constantly in flux. The ethnic character in these areas was maintained by the new arrivals. As a result, despite the high degree of mobility, New York's early Irish neighbourhoods remained intact until the close of the 19th century. Interestingly, according to Ridge, several Irish sections of the city were distinguished not by 'their Irishness' but by a distinctive stamp of Irishness. This occurred because migrants from specific counties in Ireland came to specific parts of New York. For example the Fourth Ward was where Kerry people came, the Seventh Ward was for Cork people. These Wards were known as 'Kerry' or 'Cork' and so for example, it was almost a certainty that the Fourth Ward saw the first Kerry Association in the 1850's.

Ridge (1996, p. 277) describes how important the immigrant's first neighbourhood was as it "often evoked a nostalgia similar to the pining felt for the old country itself. Manhattan, as the first place of settlement and geographic focus for so many immigrants, became a drawing card for the county organisations as older immigrants returned to their original neighbourhoods for their social gatherings. It was no accident that practically all these gatherings came to be described as 'reunions'". Interestingly, and contrary to the dominant stereotype of 'Irish migrant', one of the first organisations, the Sligo Young Men's Association, was formed not by struggling recent immigrants but by relatively comfortable middle-class members who wanted to mark themselves as "industrious, thrifty and well conducted"

In the 1850's these organisations could be divided into categories: the social, such as the Sligo Young Men and the Kerry Men's Association, the military societies like the Fermanagh Republican Guards and the Limerick Guards, the athletic clubs like the Meath Football Club and the special purpose organisations such as the Donegal Relief Fund founded in direct response to the threat of famine in parts of Donegal. In contrast to the county societies, the Ancient Order of the Hibernians (AOH) was organised by parish, neighbourhood and sometimes occupation but never by county of origin. It grew rapidly in the 1850's through to the 1870's. According to Ridge (1996, p. 278) it was encouraged "because its Irish nationalist approach erased divisive sectionalism among the Irish in labour competition". He described the AOH as a Catholic fraternal society that strongly linked ethnicity and Catholicism, and in essence was very different to the county societies.

It was a mass organisation of decidedly working-class background that had a social, political and religious agenda. Because of its broad appeal to Catholics, Irish nationalists, and labourers, membership in the Hibernians represented much more than just ethnic identity and old country nostalgia. The AOH made a point of being highly visible.

Ridge 1996

In New York I interviewed Jim Mulvihill, a committee member of the New York branch of the AOH, and he described his own experience as a new migrant growing up in 1940's and 1950's New York. He described the importance of attending a Catholic school as a marker of your Irishness and he also described how people identified themselves. "[They would] never say I come from 28th Street, 30th street, they [would] say I'm from Good Shepherd. They [would] identify with the parish. This was very common with the Irish." This use of connotative descriptors such as parish names, instead of civic street names, was very functional as it gave the speaker a richer 'origin identity' and such usage marked the speaker, as he or she wanted to be marked – as Catholic, as Irish, as a migrant etc.

Female 'county' membership

It is important to note that all these organisations, whether they were county organisations or national organisations, only had male membership. Right up to World War 1, the rhetoric of the county societies clearly defined them; members were addressed as "Meath Men", "Leitrim Men", "Tipperarymen" and so on. The language tells it all. There was no place for women. Ridge notes that membership of ladies organisations was usually temporary, as members "soon found their way into marriage and out of Irish organisational life" (1996, p. 294). When they did meet as a group, almost all "County Ladies organisations met on Thursday evenings, the so-called 'maid's night out'" (1996, p. 294) because many of the single young members worked as domestics and most members of the ladies societies remained with them until they were married. In 1910 there were 26 ladies' county organisations. The total number of officers was 271, of whom 238 (or 88%) were single women. Of the

33 married women, 20 served as senior officers, either as presidents, vice-presidents, or trustees.²

Membership in county societies is less prevalent amongst the Irish communities today, and second-generation and elderly first-generation migrants primarily support organisations of this type. In 1990's New York, first-generation male migrants join sports clubs such as the Gaelic Athletic Association (G.A.A.)³, and there are no formal groups for females.

Sports - playing, supporting, consuming.

The 'county' associations may have disappeared from the signified ethnic identities of new first generation Irish migrants but these men can be found locating their identities in sport and in membership in sport clubs. In fact almost all first-generation male respondents in New York were actively involved in the local branch of the Gaelic Athletic Association instead. Interestingly, however, the G.A.A. also uses a 'county' structure to form its teams. Similar to the structure used in Ireland, the G.A.A. in New York still forms teams with players who originate from that same county in Ireland. Eddie (24) from Co. Meath would only play for 'Meath' in the New York branch of the G.A.A.. Just like the county organisations described by Ridge (which fell into a decline in the 20th century), I found that today's migrants still make strong associations with the county they have come from; and while the formal organisations may no longer exist, the migrant is still drawing on his or her county to support ethnicity and 'national' identity.

In keeping with the sports theme, and the consumption of sport as a site for support, other respondents described how, rather than taking part in sports, they would consume Irish sport via *Satanta*, the Irish sports satellite service. To view G.A.A. football and hurling matches or Ireland playing in important Rugby matches, first-

² *Irish Advocate*, Feb. 5, 1910 The county ladies societies were consequently very dependent on a steady flow of young immigrants to replace those who were getting married. World War I cut off immigration from Ireland almost completely and as a consequence only nine of the ladies' societies survived by 1923: Cavan, Kilkenny, Offaly, Cork, Tipperary, Kerry, Galway, Sligo and Roscommon.

³ the G.A.A. is a sports, cultural and social organisation. Members would play Gaelic football and hurling. The teams in Ireland are based on each county. In New York, people from Mayo played on the New York 'Mayo' team, migrants from Dublin played on the New York 'Dublin' team.

generation Irish men gather in their local Irish pub to view the game. And for occasions such as Match Finals for G.A.A. or other games, Irish pub owners in New York buy the broadcast and offer it to all their customers. The viewing of the match is a major event and one pub owner in Manhattan, Barry McCormack, described how he has, on occasion, opened the pub very, very early in the morning, to facilitate the live broadcast of the match. He charges customers to view the match and serves an Irish breakfast⁴. The event becomes an occasion. The pub is hosting the community and the consumers are consuming.

The London scene is different. The ambivalent attitude towards Irish migrants can be seen in the way the Irish in London organise themselves. The sporting membership is not as strongly linked with Irishness as their American counterparts and they do not have 'county associations', or county representation in G.A.A. football and hurling. When G.A.A. matches are organised in London they are played by teams "called after Saints or dead rebels" rather than after Irish counties and the teams are not county specific in membership either (Wiley 2000). In London, it is possible to view Irish games via satellite in Irish pubs, but as there is no time difference for the live broadcast due to proximity, and the pub does not need to organise a special early opening like their Manhattan counterpart.

World Cup 1994

In 1994 however, there was an interesting shift in attitudes around sport, and in sport media in England, because Ireland qualified for the World Cup and England did not. British football supporters did not have a team to support and so to fill the lacuna, UK tabloids shifted radically in the language they use to talk about anything Irish and the media told the British nation that this team going to Los Angeles was as good as British and it was a team worthy of support. Suddenly, to be of Irish descent was a good thing, and through the media, the British nation was given permission to support Ireland in the World Cup. A new wave of national pride and confidence surrounding Irish ethnic identity emerged in London.

⁴ Traditional cooked breakfast; rashers of bacon, sausages, eggs, black and white pudding, tomatoes, brown bread and toast, and tea.

Contemporary writers such as Hargreaves (1986, 1995, 2000) and Cronin (1999) see sport as an unavoidable and culturally significant aspect of our modern world. Sociological and historical analyses of the relationship between sport, culture and nationhood are now beginning to emerge in contemporary debates. In fact, sport is now acknowledged as a site for nationalism and nationalistic ritual and demonstration as it contributes to expressions of nationalism and other identities. The place of sport in Irish nationalist politics in both historical and contemporary contexts is significant, just as it functioned to support notions of nationhood in South Africa in the apartheid era. Sport has been used as a tool for nation building, it marks moments of imperialism and nationalism in China, and in the West Indies cricket is drenched with debates of anti-colonialism and nationhood. Leading us to conclude that media, sport, and national identity, are inextricably bound.

The participation in sport, through play or consumption, can create various forms of communities and feelings of connection, and support systems of power and domination along national, class, racial, ethnic, and gender lines. And in London in 1994, the advertisers for Guinness stepped in and generated a remarkable moment in British-Irish relations, through sport and Guinness. In the British media, and especially in both broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, Guinness offered 'honorary Irish citizenship' in the form of an Irish passport (see Figure 9A) for all readers. The 'passport' - a perfect replica in size, colour etc. of a real Irish passport - carried information about all the matches, and it carried advertising for Guinness. The advertising message was, 'drink Guinness and be an honorary Irish man for the duration of the World Cup'.

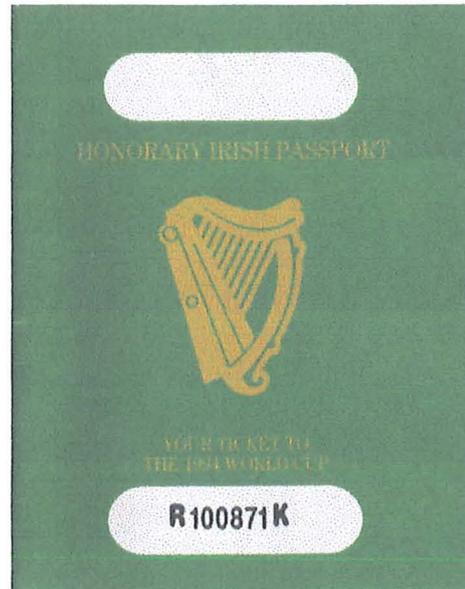


Figure 9A: The Honorary Irish Passport, Courtesy of Guinness UK

During this period, UK media promoted all things Irish, The *Telegraph* talked of “Irish Heroes”⁵, the *Daily Mirror* ran the headlines “Take the day off for our boys”⁶ and adverts for Irish products increased, albeit sporting ‘English’ connections. The transition from ‘other’ to ‘acceptable’ occupied an interesting space for me. Here the media, through sport, were subsuming Irishness by actively engaging in this event. In another post colonial moment of hijacking Irishness (see Chapter 3) the media, and the advertisers for Guinness, pulled off quite a coup. On the back of this new advertising space, generated by Guinness UK, other products stepped in to capitalise on the unusual marketing moment (see Figure 9B).

⁵ The *Telegraph* - Sport Section. Monday, June 20, 1994

⁶ *Daily Mirror* Front Page, Friday, June 24th 1994

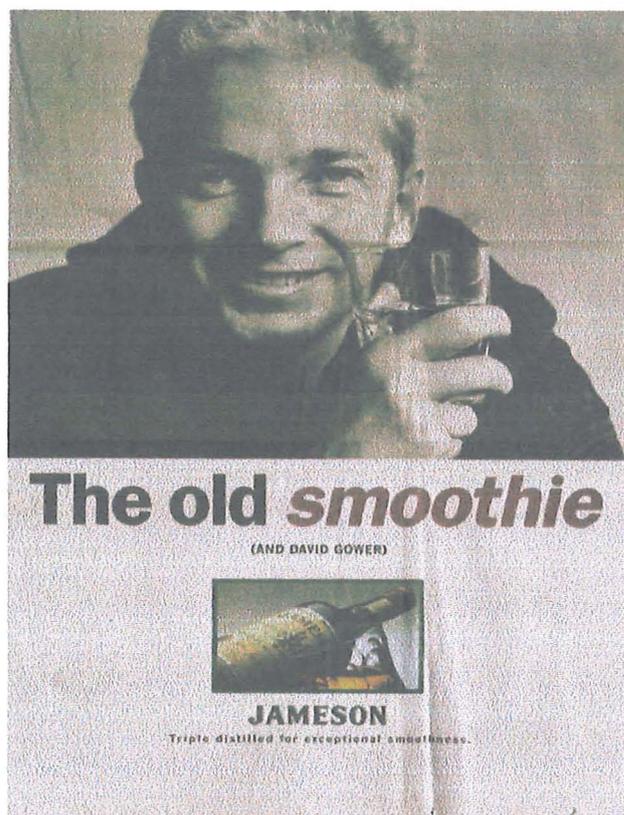


Figure 9B: “The old *smoothie* (and David Gower)”
Advert for *Jameson Whiskey Daily Telegraph* 1994

In this advert (Figure 9B) the advertiser depicts an English cricketer, David Gower, with ‘another smoothie’, namely a glass of *Jameson* Irish whiskey. Here are two signs coalescing to produce another set of meanings. Gower, an English Cricketer, is an archetypal sign of Englishness and colonial sport; and Irish whiskey is an archetypal sign for Ireland and Irishness and could inculcate negative stereotypes of drink and drunkenness. However by marrying the two signs, in this ‘subsuming’ cultural and social contextual moment, the advertiser proceeded with this advert. At this moment, I am prompted to ask “is Irishness is being subsumed by British imagery of nationalism through sport?” and I think the answer is yes.

In another press advert during this period, Guinness ran more “Fractional” adverts from the campaign discussed in Chapter 5. Prior to the Ireland v. Mexico match, Guinness reminded fans (English and Irish) that with a little help from Guinness, the community of football fans could come together and ‘*Mexican wave*’ in support of the Irish team. Interestingly, the advert uses ‘I’, and this encourages the reader to

identify and develop a ‘personal’ relationship, and the reader is encouraged to identify with the product/team as ‘ours’ while at the same time encouraging elements of ‘ownership’.



Figure 9C: Fractional Guinness Advert in the *Daily Telegraph*

And when the match result was returned, and Ireland was beaten by Mexico the *Sun* carried the following Guinness advert (Figure 9D) with a message of commiseration for Jack Charlton, Ireland’s manager.

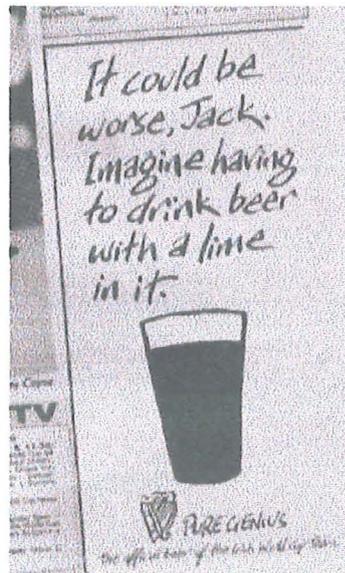


Figure 9D: A Guinness advert in *The Sun* the next day.

There was a sense of ‘sympathy’ echoing in this advert, and the nationalistic reference to Mexican beer was an interesting marker. Additionally, the advert played on the knowledge that Mexican beer usually has a slice of lime in it. And as we know from Chapter 4, loyal Guinness drinkers don’t like putting *anything* in their drink. “was this campaign going to alienate some loyal Guinness drinkers?”

The Irish media, in Ireland, in response to the British shift in attitude towards Irishness, and specifically towards the Irish team, commented on the support coming from the British media. The *Irish Press* (June 20, 1994) ran the headline “British generous in praise of Irish Win” when Ireland beat Italy on the 19th June. But, ironically, not every Englishman embraced the renaissance of Irishness or celebrated the new ethnic identity being offered to all Englishmen. In Northern Ireland “loyalist gunmen slaughtered six Catholics in a pub as they watched Ireland’s opening World Cup soccer match on television”⁷ on the same day that Ireland played Italy and won. This was the front page of *Today* newspaper on June 20th.



Figure 9E: Barney Green, shot while watching the match.

Today June 20th 1994

The ritualistic and symbolic aspects of sporting events and spectacles and the messages transmitted through media-produced images of sport normally culminate to reinforce national pride, and ethnic identity. However in London in 1994,

⁷*Cork Examiner* Front Page, Monday, June 20th 1994.

something different was happening. Sport was being used to make various and differing political points and this was sanctioned by the market-driven advertising machinery.

The tragic shooting, with which the terrorists/murders intended to reinforce the message of 'division', reinforced the fact that Irishness is expressed in a different way depending on location. Brah's (2000) comments that ethnicity is relational and context specific. She reminds us that ethnicity is a process, not a pre-given package and culture is a process too. Cultural baggage changes the moment we move to a new space, and so for the Irish migrant in London and the Irish migrant in New York, the experience and expressions of Irishness are going to be different to each other.

In addition to playing sport and consuming sport, the Irish migrant has developed other strategies to support notions of ethnicity. Through song, dance and story, first and second-generation Irish in both London and New York continue to bridge gaps in time and space, and pass on various and changing devices for supporting ethnic identity.

Formal and Informal Leisure⁸

Cultural groups, dancing, singing and

... storytelling, sociodrama, plays and skits, puppets, song, drawing, and painting, and other engaging activities encourage a social validation of "objective" data that cannot be obtained through the orthodox processes of survey and fieldwork. It is important for an oppressed group, which may be part of a culture of silence based on centuries of oppression, to find ways to tell and thus reclaim their own story.

Reason (1994, p. 329)

⁸ Other formal memberships can be found in less leisure-oriented and more political and professional organisations such as Trade Unions, political parties, societies such as the Brehon Law Society, The Irish American Labour Coalition IALC, The Irish Business Organization, and The Irish Chamber of Commerce and in religious organisations such as the Legion of Mary, the Knights of St Columbas, etc..

The examples of storytelling that emerged through the focus group sessions were varied, and other cultural communicators such as references to dance, and song, were numerous too. I have included examples of all forms of story, and have identified where and by whom these stories are used in order to bridge between 'here' and 'there'. For example, one type of storytelling, that is dance, "has always fulfilled a basic need in society, expressing happiness, sadness, fears, joys and wishes. As societies developed and organised, dividing into tribes, nations, and classes, the function of dance became much more complicated. Its language, steps, and movements no longer represented primitive classless tribes" (Janesick (1994, p. 217). For second-generation Irish in London and New York dance featured as a strategy for maintaining a sense of Irishness, and nurturing a sense of connection and history in their children. Second-generation Irish described how they were sent to Irish dancing classes by their first-generation Irish parents. This was seen as a way of bequeathing a traditional, cultural activity to their children. These second-generation children learnt Irish dancing, singing and playing an instrument, as part of their ritualised ethnic development. But these strategies are not limited to second-generation groups.

First-generation respondents had very clear visions as to how they would devise strategies for giving their children an Irish identity. I asked each of those groups the question "what about if you were settled here and had a couple of kids?" and the answers were similar.

R - well I guess you do the usual, ... send [them] to a Catholic school and send them to step dancing ...

BM - why do you think you'd do that?

R - I don't know, maybe a feeling ... maybe I figure when you lose your tradition you lose your identity I suppose ...

The Starting Gate, Queens Working Group

First Generation New York March 1997

"To lose your tradition is to lose your identity" is a powerful statement, and this respondent was trying to articulate links and strategies between remembering, maintaining ethnicity, and the concept of tradition. This may explain why young,

trendy, 'modern' first-generation men and women draw on established (some would say antiquated and redundant) sites of ethnic consumption and utilise similar strategies as their parents or grandparents would have, in the same situation. This raises an interesting aspect in the process of 'inventing tradition', the term utilised by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) in their work on the construction of traditions. Hobsbawm and Ranger define 'invented traditions' in a narrow sense as sets of practices (ceremonies, rituals, re-enactments etc), which explicitly reference the past and are governed by rules. However, they also see 'invented tradition' as referring more broadly to the processes by which a group, frequently a nation, constructs its origins and history through the selective remembering, forgetting and even active invention of the past. In future work I will be concerned with examining the invention of tradition in this broader sense as such invented traditions are often represented as 'natural' and self-evident by the group concerned, and apparently concerned with how the past led to the present, i.e. how the birth of the nation and its subsequent life history leading to its present state. However, it is important to be aware that present interests and identities often lead to the active manipulation of representations of the past and we need to be constantly aware of such processes and influences.

Traditional activities

However, despite the historical and contemporary evidence of the role of such activities for the Irish community, Snyder (1996) is concerned about the role of the more 'traditional' activities and their place in the next century. Snyder (1996, p. 477) describes "the new Irish community [as] potentially subversive of the ethnic culture, in that ethnic traditions (such as Irish dancing, the Irish language, and even Gaelic games) may no longer form part of every Irish immigrant's cultural repertoire."

In the 21st century, he warns that activities which will replace the 'traditional' sites will be the new culturally inscribed trends including trendy bars in Greenwich Village and Lower East Side, New Irish rock bands and Irish film festivals and theatrical ventures.

This trend may occur amongst young first generation migrants, and would be a positive move if it were to nurture and “highlight plurality rather than homogeneity of the Irish ethnic group” (1996, p. 478) and possibly reduce the occurrences of racism and negative stereotyping. However, I would argue that the decline of strategies such as Irish dancing and G.A.A. involvement will not occur while first generation migrants continue to live, and marry and settle and seek solutions for passing on ‘an Irish heritage’ to their sons and daughters. Young respondents described how they would ‘fall back on’ and utilise the same ‘traditional’ strategies as previous generations, such as dance, music and Catholic education. If new culturally inscribed trendy strategies do emerge, I argue that they will reside alongside the ‘traditional’. Brah (2000) reminds us that ethnic identity, and subsequently its expressions and strategies, are relational and context specific, as a process, it is constantly changing - reforming, reinventing, and adapting and even returning to older models. And so, declines may occur, but resurgences of even older models could emerge, just as likely as new ones.

Informal leisure ...

Activities of informal leisure are interesting sites of practice and parents play the most active role when it comes to ‘teaching’ their children ‘how’ to be Irish, ‘what it means’ to be Irish, and how to demonstrate that Irishness. Apart from sending their children to Catholic schools, parents in London and New York also used more informal devices to instil a sense of Irish identity in their children. For example Jim Mulvihill (Committee member of the AOH) described how his parents helped him maintain a sense of Irishness through letters from home and news from people there.

Storytelling is another device used by migrant parents to link their children with Ireland and many second-generation Irish in London and New York describe the ritual of storytelling which was a significant part of their childhood experience. There were stories about different people ‘back home’, the folklore of the village or town, and stories about the parents themselves when they lived when they lived, grew-up and played in some village or town in Ireland. Clandinin and Connelly (1994, p. 415) remind us that

when persons note something of their experience, either to themselves or to others, they do so not by the mere recording of experience over time, but in storied form. Story is, therefore, neither raw sensation nor cultural form; it is both and neither. In effect, stories are the closest we can come to experience as we and others tell of our experience. A story has a sense of being full, a sense of coming out of a personal and social history.

The literature on storytelling has developed in the last twenty years, and Plummer (1995, 2001) has seen shifts in thinking, from a time when biographical research such as oral histories and life histories represented a long but largely marginal tradition, to a point in time where there are numerous journals dedicated to qualitative and biographical research. To the point that Plummer can now differentiate between long and short life stories, ‘naturalistic’, ‘researched’ and ‘reflexive’ stories, oral histories, psychobiographies, collective (autobiographies), family stories, biographies, autoethnographies, and a host of other categories.

However, from the other side of the fence, I argue that while storytelling, in all its new classified forms, is useful as biographical research, it is also a functional strategy that is utilised amongst subjects, or audiences, in order to bridge space, and to keep connections with people and places in another space. Family stories and oral history support migrant’s memory, their links with home, links between parents and their children, and in the case of second-generation Irish, I found parents linking children with a ‘home’ they have never known, through storytelling (and song and dance.) Clandinin and Connelly (1994, p. 415) remind us that “experience is the stories people live. People live stories, and in the telling of them reaffirm them, modify them, and create new ones. Stories ... lived and told, educate the self and others, including the young and those, such as researchers, who are new to their communities”. As researchers, it is in this space that we can “pay tribute to human subjectivity and creativity” (Plummer 2001, p. 14, in Wedekind 2002)

In the same strategic functionality as storytelling, and dance, song and informal singing was another oral tradition that was described by respondents. They explained how their mothers and fathers to instil a sense of Irishness in their children by using songs. For example, in the UK, Tom Brosnan (second-generation,

professional) described how his father, a first-generation migrant from Kerry, told him stories and sang him songs. He reported this as being a significant memory of both his father and of his constructed memory of the village and people in Kerry, where his family were from. In the US, second-generation migrants told of either their father or mother retelling stories about Ireland, and teaching them Irish songs. Interestingly, this use of the oral tradition was only reported by second-generation respondents.

Irish bands and the revival of Irish music

I found that alongside the informal teaching of songs and ballads within the family space, the consumption of Irish music was a consistent element in the lives of the Irish migrant. The Irish who arrived in London or New York in the 1930's enjoyed Irish music in dance halls, *ceili*⁹, pub sessions, and informally in people's homes. Later migrants, in the 80's and 90's, could still draw on the pub sessions, *ceili*, and informal sites, but they also enjoyed the commercial resurgence of Irish music in the main. Since the 1960's significant commercial changes have been occurring around Irish traditional music. Musicians such as 'Clancy Brothers & Tommy Makem', 'The Chieftains', 'Clannad', (where both *The Chieftains* and *Clannad* featured in print and TV adverts for Guinness in Ireland in the 1980's,) and 'Christy Moore' began touring America and England. The popularity amongst Irish migrants and later amongst local audiences too, saw Irish music playing a significant part in the support of Irish identity. In the UK, Guinness has sponsored the *Fleadh*¹⁰ for several years and as a result, London has become the venue for young Irish and others to come to celebrate Irish music every summer. The renaissance of Irish music continued during the 80's with the success of bands such as *U2*, and *The Pogues*, and the 1990's saw Irish bands enter mainstream popular music in the UK and to a lesser extent in the USA, with groups such as *The Corrs*, *Boyzone*, *Westlife* and *B-witched*.

Firth (1996, p. 121) suggests that we absorb songs into our own lives and rhythm into our own bodies. "They have a looseness of reference that makes them

⁹ *Ceili* – Irish word for 'dance' - it refers to traditional 'set' dancing.

¹⁰ *Fleadh* - Irish music festival

immediately accessible” and at the same time, and just as significantly, “music is obviously collective.” Firth (p. 122) continues “if narrative is the basis of music pleasure ... it is also central to our sense of identity”. He argues that identity comes from the outside, not the inside and he cites Ree who argues that personal identity is therefore “the accomplishment of a storyteller, rather than the attribute of a character”. I argue that just as music supports and aids the inventions of personal identities and personal histories, it can also support inventions of national and ethnic identities.

The film industry's contribution

Film has proven to be another mainstream entertainment vehicle that has raised the profile of the Irish and constructed new signifiers for ‘Irishness’ in the main. There has been a plethora of Irish Cinema for mainstream audiences in recent years and respondents in New York and London all commented on how good they felt when they heard of “another new Irish film”, or “another film about Ireland”. Especially since the majority of global consumers seemed to be embracing this genre, and the attitudes surrounding the consumption of this genre is positive. Respondents described how the ‘new’ film revival seemed to help raise the image of the Irish in general and it also offered the Irish migrant something positive and ethnically embellished which they could consume. Over the last two decades, and rapidly accelerating since the full-fledged emergence of ‘The Celtic Tiger’ economy from the early to mid 1990s onward, an indigenous Irish cinema has emerged with a prolific extent of production. Refreshingly, recent work is beginning to explore a vast array of social and political issues (often quite ‘controversial’) that previous cinematic representations of Ireland and the Irish most frequently elided.

There have been varied cinematic representations of Ireland and the Irish from the 1910’s (from *Man of Aran* (1934) and *The Quiet Man* (1952)) through to the 1970’s. In the last two decades however, Irish cinema has entered the international market and had won considerable international respect for its style, insight, and accomplishment with significant productions such as *The Boxer* (Dir. Jim Sheridan 1997), Neil Jordan’s *The Butcher Boy* (1997), and *The Crying Game* (1992); *The Commitments* (Dir. Alan Parker 1991), *The Snapper* and *The Van* (Dir. Stephen Frears 1993, 1996), all based on novelist’s Roddy Doyle’s work’ and most recent

releases *The General*, (Dir. John Boorman 1998) and *Waking Ned* (Dir. Kirk Jones 1999) *Bloody Sunday* (2002) and *Borstal Boy* (2002). I argue that Irish cinema, taking its place in the global box office, has significantly altered the stereotypical images of Irishness, re-presenting and representing Irishness in a new historical, social, aesthetic, and political context. Cinema content can be seen dealing (to various degrees) with issues around social and political, race, class, gender, and sexual lines of identity and difference and can be found exploring complexities and heterogeneities across different kinds of Irish cultural communities, as contemporary Ireland confronts change.

The content of Irish cinema, the popular success of Irish cinema, and the new representations of Ireland and Irishness within Irish cinema, culminate to offer the migrant, and her new surrounding community, a new sets of signs for Ireland. The new signifier of Irishness has come a long way from the ‘americanised’ and problematic renditions of Irishness found in *The Quiet Man*. Nonetheless, all of these filmic signs of Irishness, which are received in different contexts depending on whether the migrant is in London or New York, continue to specific cinematic representations of Ireland and the Irish, and they continue to commodify Irishness, just like the Irish Pub Company and others do (see Chapter Three).

Newspapers and TV

Alongside the emergence of, and increased consumption of Irish cinema in the UK and the USA, Irish migrants report the pleasure derived from consuming other media. In New York, papers such as ‘*The Irish Voice*’ and the ‘*Irish Emigrant*’ are published for the Irish migrant, and in London ‘*The Irish Post*’ and the ‘*The Irish World*’ are widely read. Papers published in Ireland, such as ‘*The Independent*’, ‘*The Irish Times*’, and their Sunday equivalent, are available in London and New York. Other respondents in New York describe the pleasure they derive from tuning into TV stations such as *Channel 21*, a Public Broadcast Service that broadcasts Irish programmes and Irish news, and *BBC America* and *ITV* for news items from “across the Atlantic”. In London, there are no ‘Irish’ TV stations as such, but first and second generation audiences feel that there is very little difference between Irish and British TV programming, and they argue that the same programmes seen in the UK

are also broadcast in Ireland. This again underlined the differences between the migrant experience in London and New York. In the US, the migrant is clearly experiencing 'dissimilar' moments of engagement with Irish media, whereas the UK migrant is struggling with issues of 'similar' and 'dissimilar'. The engagement with the national media, and the respondent's reports of same but different, raises and reflected the bigger issue of 'same' but 'different' that haunts the Irish migrant in the UK. Unlike other 'Others' in the binary positioning of black:white, the Irish migrant is white but not white, and while whiteness is a modality of power (Brah 2000) Irish whiteness, certainly does not give her access to power in the same way. Here, the distinction between 'white' and 'whiteness', 'same' and 'different', 'similar' but 'dissimilar' widens and reflects the tensions and difference in experience for the Irish migrant in Britain.

All change for the Global Irish Village

In keeping with McLuhan's (1962, 1964, 1967) vision of a global village, respondents describe how the imagined distance between Dublin and New York has been sized down even further with new technology. The improved access to the Internet has contributed significantly to the daily lives of the migrant. This is especially true in New York, where the professional respondents commented on how much they enjoyed the immediate access to home and family via email, and easy access to online newspapers and news sites. This media, however, seems to be limited to the 'professional' groups as no working class group described having access to it.

Just like the films, the consumption of the TV programmes, newspapers, internet connectivity and email, are all modes of communication which can be consumed in these other spaces. They are all signs of Ireland and are consumed as such by the migrant in London and New York.

All of the above activities are sites of consumption of leisure. They are significant for the Irish migrant because they offer her the space to validate her ethnic identity. Here, she can add voice, albeit sometimes unspoken voice, in the new world she is occupying and say "I am Irish. This is me".

Consuming Goods – Consuming Irishness

Alongside the consumption and membership of cultural and social organisations, and the consumption of media products, I found another form of consumption accessed by the Irish migrant. I found that the Irish migrant uses the consumption of durable and non-durable goods to bridge the space between London or New York, and the imagined space called 'home'.

The first descriptions of conspicuous consumption were reported by second-generation, middle-aged, middle class, Irish-Americans. They described how, on visits to Ireland, they purchase *Waterford Crystal*, *Donegal China*, and Irish linen. The consumption of these durable goods were markers of the visit 'home' but they were also signifiers of Ireland and were cherished pieces that occupied their 'new home' and new space in New York. The middle class women who talked about these purchases, were clearly very proud of their collections, and even within the focus group sessions, they were using 'the ownership' of these items in order to make competitive statements to each other about the authenticity of their Irish ethnic identity. Additionally, they couldn't resist making subtle statements about their economic and class identity, too, as these items are expensive to purchase. I did not encounter similar acts of conspicuous consumption of such items amongst the Irish in London and this would suggest that the Irish migrant in the UK does not opt for similar demonstrations of consumption. This may be due to ambivalence or it may be that Irish migrants in the UK have different patterns of consumption.

In recent years there has been an outburst of ethnic marketing around many categories of goods and around goods from many different ethnic regions. Marketing phases and consumer fads have resulted in the consumption of African, Australian-Aboriginal, and Oriental objects for home use and home decoration, and the consumption of these items enables the consumer to make lifestyle statements about herself, her attitudes, her life philosophies, and her political and social conscience. This new wave of marketing has also influenced the way Irish-made products are sold. Now, any product made in Ireland or having an essence of 'Irishness' is heavily branded. This is especially applicable to quality Irish goods. And in the same way that consumers purchase other ethnically marked goods, the

conspicuous consumption of Irish-made products by Irish consumers, allows them to make statements about themselves. Woollen blankets from Avoca Mills¹¹, Aran sweaters¹² and Donegal tweed¹³ are all products that evoke 'space and place' and marketers market 'images of place' alongside the product. For the Irish consumer, to own an Avoca blanket, to wear an Aran sweater or a Donegal tweed suit is tantamount to standing in the main street of that town, island or city and experience the space and place, that, in essence, the product or good embodies. This strong association works because the marketing machinery has infused the product with a sense of place, and secondly, the Irish consumer, who is usually familiar with the town or island, can draw on her images and memories in order to infuse the product further with moments of remembering. In this moment the product acts as a bridge linking the consumer and her associations, back to the space and place where it was produced.

The consumption of durable products is found amongst all groups of migrants to some degree, however the consumption of non-durable goods, mainly food (and drink) are the most common moments, they are complex and they offer rich moments which can be harnessed for identity construction and maintenance.

Consuming Irish food [and drink]

Sherratt (in Goodman *et al.* 1995, p. 12) argues that "to consume a certain substance in a certain way embodies a statement" and consequently "acceptable practice" evolves through a constant network of negotiations. The process serves to define the identities of individuals and groups and it is the social, rather than the biological, interpretation that makes sense of Ludwig Feuerbach's old aphorism - *der Mensch ist was er ißt* ('man is what he eats'). Sherratt observes that "the choice of foods and drinks, therefore and their manner of preparation and serving, is fundamental to the definition - and, indeed, the creation - of social groups and classes" (1995, p. 14). In

¹¹ Avoca is a very picturesque small town in Wicklow.

¹² Aran sweaters are knitted from a pattern originating in the Aran Islands. The islands lie off the coast of Galway.

¹³ A woven fabric, made in Donegal.

keeping with this, Bell and Valentine (1997, p. 3) quote Appadurai (1981, p. 494) who says food is both “a highly condensed social fact” and a “marvellously plastic kind of collective representation” with the “capacity to mobilise strong emotions”.

In a world in which self-identity and place-identity are woven through webs of consumption, what we eat [and drink] (and where, and why) signals, as the aphorism says, who we are. Preparation of food, cooking, eating and drinking are commonplace practices which allow us to think about a wide range of social and cultural issues “from health to nationalism, from ethics to aesthetics, from local politics to the role of transnational corporations in global regimes of accumulation” (1997, p. 3). In this thesis, I argue that the food we should focus on in this case is Guinness, and the slightly altered aphorism ‘we are what we [drink]’, (and where and why) *does* demonstrate ‘who we are’. I discuss this in Chapter 4 and describe how respondents inscribe the product with values of ‘nutrition’, ‘tonic value’ and ‘food’ through lived rituals and myths.

Interest in the consumption of food was originally the domain of social anthropologists, but academic interest in food consumption has grown significantly and in various disciplines. Bell and Valentine assert that, by placing food and drink as key variables, we have gained valuable insight into history (e.g. Levenstein 1988, on America; Mennel 1985 on England and France,) and work on specific histories (e.g. Schwartz 1986 on diets and food fads or Elias on manners). Mennell, Murcott and van Otterloo (1992) review the literature on the sociological aspects of food and eating and anthropological work by Levi-Strauss (1964) and Douglas (e.g. 1984). Appadurai (1981) examines food habits, traditions and social meaning surrounding food rituals. Food was also given pivotal importance when theorists re-examined the body as social (Turner 1992). Feminist writings by Bordo (1993) see food as central and a useful point for departure. In media and communication studies, Fine and Leopold (1993) look at food advertising, and Sanjur (1982) looked at mass media’s influence on dietary patterns. Thanks to Bell and Valentine’s literature review, we can see how significant the focus on ‘food’ has become, and we see the extent of research on ‘food’ as a mediator of history, social practice, communication, the body and the economy.

Appadurai 1993 talks about the role of consumption in our daily lives and comments on how consumption itself becomes work. Where we are all

labouring daily to practice the disciplines of purchase, in a landscape whose temporal structures have become radically polyrhythmic. Learning these multiple rhythms (of bodies, products, fashions, interest rates, gifts, and styles) and how to interdigitate them is not just work, it is the hardest sort of work, the work of the imagination

Appadurai (1993, p. 31 in Bell and Valentine 1997, p. 4)

Appadurai concludes that contemporary consumption is governed by ephemerality, scopophilia and body manipulation linked in a systematic and generalised way into “a set of practices that involve a radically new relationship between wanting, remembering, being and buying” (1997, p. 4)

At a London conference (2000), Diner asked the very focused question “How did new emigrants to the US develop practices around food?” In a comparative study she looks at the practices of three groups: the Irish, European Jews, and Italians. She described how the Italian ethnic group strive to link their identity to particular foods and a vast culture of identity is generated through food. However, dishes such as macaroni cheese, and spaghetti and meatballs were not Italian dishes, they were invented for, and by, the American-Italian community. Despite this, there is a continued emphasis on the importance of the food being ‘authentic’, ‘pure’, and ‘genuine’. Foods such as pasta, wine, cheese, olive oil and meat were all sought out and inscribed as being anchors for Italian ethnic identity.

Challenging the need for authenticity, we know that while pasta was introduced to Italy from China by Marco Polo, “for most [Italians], the Chinese connection is today quite irrelevant for the cultural definition of spaghetti” (Friedman 1995, p. 83 quoted in Bell and Valentine 1997, p. 10). It is as if the authentic value is defined by those making the claim on the good. Only those purporting an item to be culturally significant can claim the authenticity of that item.

In her work, Diner argues that the Italians and the European Jews constructed their ethnic identity around food. There were a disproportionate number of female European Jewish migrants to America and Diner argues that they developed concepts of what 'good' food was, creating vast structures and organisations across the US to feed themselves. They created rituals around food and gave food a central role in the identity of Jewishness.

The Irish, however, depart from this pattern. Diner cites a pamphlet which was distributed in the US at the turn of the 20th Century by Mary Barker titled "*How to make your home more Irish, Fifteen ways to foster Irish ways*". This guide was directed at wives and mothers, and urged them to give Irish names to their children, teach their children Irish dancing, Irish music and Irish language. They were also advised to consistently withhold from anything unIrish. However, there is no mention of food. Diner points out that there is a silence on the subject of food on both sides of the Atlantic and commentary on food and its absence is missing.

As far as food was concerned the Irish had no positive influences to draw on. They did eat better and differently when they came to the US, but they didn't have a model to aspire to. They did not link food to identity and there was no cuisine or traditional food to draw on for ritual consumption. This may be explained by looking at the Irish experience of food; how economic and political factors influenced 'food', and how moments in Irish history, such as the famine, marked food as absent, rendering it a subject around which there was little to ritualise.

I argue that at the various points of emigration, food had no role in people's lives, and during the famine period the 'absence' of food was the most significant factor. People migrating from Ireland in the first waves of migration in the 1800 had few images of food as pleasure. For example, there was no banquet before they left Ireland, only a wake¹⁴ and the central product for consumption surrounding a wake was alcohol not food. However alongside the absence of positive images of food amongst the impoverished migrant class, there was the recurring image of those who did eat well. These were the images of the ruling class. The ruling class continued to

¹⁴ Irish Funeral.

eat well, even during the famine years, and in the eyes of the working class, the ruling class were responsible for their hunger, their oppression and their migration.

A revival of food culture

In recent years, some relationships between 'food' and 'Irishness' have been forged, mainly through marketing campaigns that harness 'Irishness' as a value to add to their commodity. In my research I found that the Irish migrant in New York and London will purchase 'Irish imports' at top prices. Ironically these products are not always 'Irish' made, but they are popular products in Ireland, and so carry the association nonetheless. Products such as *Lyons* and *Barrys* tea bags, *Kerrygold* butter, *Cadbury's* chocolate (esp. in the US) *Galtee* rashers and sausages or other brands, *Calvita* cheese, *Chivers* Marmalade and Jams, and *Tayto* crisps were the popular cited products. Interestingly, it was primarily female respondents who described moments of active consumption.

Louise - ... on my way home ... I can buy a 'Flake' or a 'Tayto' or a 'Crunchie'. ... Another thing I do if I have a guest staying over for the weekend ... I'll cook an Irish Breakfast ...

*McCormacks, Manhattan Professional Group
First Generation, New York, March 1997*

Another type of consumption can be found in the consumption of specific meals or 'homebaked' items. Irish soda bread, porter cake, potato cakes and brown bread will be baked, and breakfasts and suppers, which are 'typically Irish', will be cooked. For example breakfasts would include rashers, sausages, black and white pudding and eggs. For supper, bacon and cabbage and mashed potatoes or the American version of 'corned beef, cabbage and potato' would be on offer in homes, Irish pubs and restaurants, and would be consumed religiously on St. Patrick's Day. *Irish Stew* is given adulation and *Coddle*, a meal particular to the Dublin region in Ireland is revered by first generation Dubliners in London and New York. Each chef guards the recipe that Mammy, Nana or Auntie Mary gave her and again this is an area of consumption and production that is primarily a female zone. Here Duruz (nd.) provides a useful parallel between food, and daughters and mothers. Duruz talks

about daughters' desires to mediate stories of their mothers through food, and recipes; where those stories of the past resonate with meaning of 'present' and 'future' too. These Irish women hold on to moments of 'being cooked for', 'cooking', and 'eating', with their mother, grandmother and other family in Ireland. Here in this new space in London or New York, they re-enact and reconstruct recipes, and knowledge, and 'moments of being', to reproduce a 'past' and perhaps construct a sense of 'future' too. On a broader level, I also argue that female and male migrant's desires mediate stories of the country they no longer live in, and they do this through consumption of, not food, but drink (Guinness).

Returning to Diner's argument that there was little evidence of 'traditional Irish cuisine' between the 1800's and 1900's, I agree and support Diner's argument. There is clear evidence that 'traditional Irish cuisine' is a relatively new invention. It is largely constructed amongst first generation migrants who, post 1900's, would have left Ireland at a time when real hunger and starvation was not a variable. In fact even today, the concept of an Irish cuisine is a still very new, developing and some would argue, invented concept and here I argue that just as the community is imagined, then the structures that support it such as 'cuisine' can be imagined (and re-imagined) too. Nonetheless, at best, Irish cuisine is somewhat sparse in its repertoire, unlike Italian, Jewish or other ethnic groups who can draw on varied and rich menus for ritual consumption of ethnicity. Interestingly, in the last decade, we have witnessed a media revival of 'food'. In the UK, there has been a marked increase in programmes about cooking, cooking competitions, and programmes hosted by now famous chefs with superstar status. Food has become a media event, and a whole set of marketing strategies have occurred around this resurgence. Beginning in the 90's, and going from strength to strength in 2000's, we are encouraged to buy books, videos, and 'famous chef' endorsed ranges of products in supermarkets, in order to live a 'foodie' lifestyle. This marketing and media phenomenon can be found in Ireland too, and in the last ten years, Irish viewers have been treated to a media resurgence of Irish cuisine (which paralleled with the development of the Irish pub syndrome around the world). New star chefs like Darina Allen, and Paul Rankin display their culinary skills while they reinvent Irish cuisine for Irish TV audiences and for 'upmarket' restaurant menus around the world.

Consuming Guinness, consuming 'home'.

However, despite the relatively recent resurgence of 'Irish' food, I reiterate my position that it is the absence of food rather than its presence that has marked Irish social history and while Gofton (in Bell and Valentine 1993) suggests that food may carry less symbolic weight than in the past as it no longer marks new seasons, or the time of day or 'roles and relations between adults and children within formal meals' I argue that food and drink continue to engage us in our contemporary quest for belonging, acceptability and membership. We use food to mark ourselves as members of specific sub groups, sports groups, class groups and ethnic groups and the respondents in this story can identify a link (and many links) between a very specific consumable product and their ethnic identity.

In the absence of food as a signifier of nation, community and ethnicity, I argue that 'alcohol' has filled this lacuna for the Irish diaspora. Where pasta, olives and wine are signifiers of Italy for Italians, croissants and cheese are signifiers of France and sauerkraut is a signifier of Germany, I argue that alcohol, and specifically Guinness, is a signifier of Ireland for Irish migrants.

If we accept the principle that the history of any nation's diet is the history of the nation itself, then in Ireland's national history, alcohol has played a part in all social and cultural rituals (see Chapter 4). It is used to mark social occasions like births, marriages, deaths (wakes) and migration (American wakes). "Goods are the visible part of culture" (Douglas and Isherwood 1996, p. 44) and the consumption of this 'good' is useful for marking and differentiating social and cultural moments for the community. For Irish migrant groups in London and New York, alcohol became a way of consuming Irishness, especially amongst male Irish migrants. Images of the Harp, Shamrock, etc. can be seen in bars and pubs, across New York and London, and specific pubs became marked as Irish spaces.

The consumption of alcohol has been a key factor in the lived histories and experiences of Irish consumers residing in Ireland, and for migrant Irish living abroad. I argue that for the Irish in London and New York, alcohol and specifically Guinness is the 'food' around which the migrant can anchor his/her ethnic identity.

And the link between Guinness as a ritualised food for consumption and Guinness as a signifier for ‘home’ and ‘Ireland’ is an invaluable link. In fact, as discussed above in Chapter 4, Guinness was inscribed with ‘food’ status through lived rituals and myths amongst the consumers, where it was, and is, seen as a tonic. This message of ‘goodness’ and the reinforced connotation of the product as ‘food’, was reinforced in 1930 when John Gilroy, working at Bensons Advertising agency in the UK, designed the famous ‘*Guinness is good for you*’ campaign.

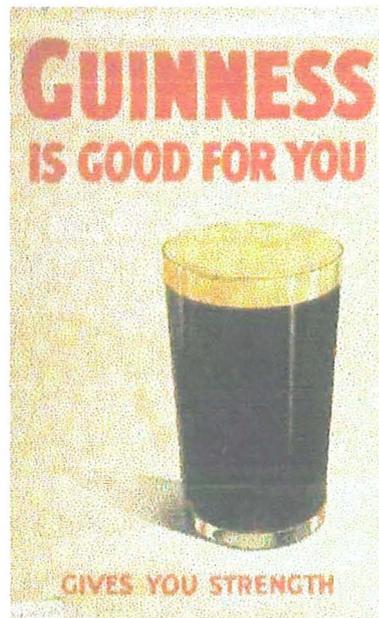


Figure 9F: Guinness is Good for You / Gives You Strength (c. 1930)
One of the many variations on the theme. (Sibley 1985, p. 40)

The advertising campaigns informed consumers that Guinness was ‘full of nutrition’, it was ‘good for you’, and it ‘gave you strength’. See Chapter 4 and Chapter 10 where labourers working on the docks survived on little other than Guinness for their calorific intake during a working day.

The food value of Guinness, and the absence of food as a sign for Irish ethnicity, within Irish culture means that Guinness takes on this role, plays the part as a ‘sign’ for Irishness, and imagined community. I argue that Guinness is a sign of lived experience and imagined experience for Irish audiences in Ireland, and more importantly, abroad. The consumption of Guinness, with its signification for

Irishness, food and community, anchors migrant consumers. Here Bell and Valentine (1997, p. 169) remind us that “if, as Benedict Anderson (1983) has famously proclaimed, the nation is an ‘imagined community’, then the nation’s diet [in this case, Guinness] is a feast of imagined commensality”. To locate associations around the product and its ethnic significance I asked a group of first generation migrants in Queens, New York about the link between Guinness and an imagined Ireland and imagined experience. I was told that Guinness was “national” and “part of our lives”.

Sm. - it’s our national drink

Sm. - like vodka to the Russians ... it’s part of our lives ...

BM - how is it part of our lives ?

Sm. - well even as a child you’re given a glass of Guinness and maybe a drop of milk in it ... if you’re sick or ... we’re brought up on it ...

The Starting Gate, Queens Working Group

First Generation New York March 1997

Interestingly, the same respondent went on to say that he wasn’t actually given Guinness, “with a drop of milk in it” as a child. What he was describing was an ‘imagined’ situation. This respondent’s statement suggests that much of the myth around Guinness (just like any artefact) is in fact not a personal lived experience at all. Rather they are myths that have been invented and reinvented to support notions of tradition, past and memories. A fictional or imagined mothering, or imagined nurturing did play a part in this respondents recall.

I asked the same group about their opinions regarding the *Guinness is good for you* advertising and they told me “everything is good for you in moderation”. Another respondent told me emphatically that it was “good nourishment” and that he “WAS (his emphasis) told to take one a day by the Doctor”. This respondent was countering the earlier comments by emphasising that while for some in the group, the goodness of Guinness may have been an imagined fiction, for him it is a factual memory, a part of his authentic personal history. Here the respondent is separating himself from the inauthentic ‘imagined’ fictions that his friend offered. He was keen

to demonstrate that his experiences and memories were authentic and ‘real’ moments of personal history.

I asked another group of first generation migrants in Manhattan what products they would consume to reinforce their sense of Irishness. One respondents’ reply was indisputable:

Sm. - specifically – Guinness ... in having a pint of Guinness [I am] celebrating my Irishness ... you know what I mean ... I’m certainly brought closer to home having a pint of Guinness

McCormacks, Manhattan Professional Group

First Generation, New York, March 1997

Louise, another respondent in the group, put it succinctly when she stated “Guinness is unique to Ireland”. Within this group it was also felt that the link between Ireland and Guinness was not limited to Irish consumers, the notion was also supported by non-Irish, non-Guinness drinkers. Denis spoke of his colleagues’ perceptions of the Irish and the link with Guinness.

Denis - they’re [Guinness and Ireland] synonymous with each other.

The people I work with ... they assume that [all] Irish people drink Guinness

McCormacks, Manhattan Professional Group

First Generation, New York, March 1997

Guinness is perceived as ‘text’ and as ‘sign’. It is a sign as well as a commodity. Overall, the link between Guinness and Irishness was overwhelming. As I described in Chapter 8, I borrowed an approach from psychoanalysis practice, and I asked all groups in Ireland, the UK and the USA, to ‘free associate’ and write the words they associated with Guinness without thinking too much about them. As I reported in Chapter 8, all groups returned similar general associations of ‘black’, ‘smooth’, and ‘creamy’. However there were significant differences between the Ireland based groups, and the UK and USA groups (described below) as the lists were developed. In Ireland there were associations with ‘Ireland’ in the form of simple direct references. However in London and New York, while all the groups associated the

product with Ireland, they also produced an extended list of associations there were connotative, symbolic and evocative. They made connections with the image of the harp, (the Guinness Logo) and Ireland, the shamrock (often placed on the head of a pint, especially in British pubs and 'Irish Pubs' in England) and Ireland. They also made reference to places in Ireland where they associated the product with their local pub in their hometown, or a famous pub in Dublin, specifically to their hometown by name, or quite simply they referred to 'home'. They made reference to "longing for a good pint at home", and they regularly used lexemes such as 'Irish' and 'Ireland' as associations. They also referred to pubs and Guinness as being linked, and from those associations they offered words such as "chat", "with friends", "*craic*"¹⁵ - all social connotations of the product.

Some consumers added that they did not list Ireland in their list because the link between Ireland and Guinness was already inherent, and in the same group another respondent associated the product with his hometown.

Brendan – black, white, smooth, creamy and good (comments that he didn't add Irish because it didn't need to be said! It was inherent)

Eddie – enjoyment, taste, smooth, Donegal (his home town)

The Parkway Nth London

Working group 1997

The link between 'Guinness' and 'food' was marked in another group where one consumer described Guinness and 'cake' as being linked for him. He was drawing on the memory of *Porter Cake*, a rich fruitcake made with Guinness. In the same group another respondent reminded the others that it was a tonic and gave you strength. Again the nutritional qualities of the product were identified. Another respondent in the group was even more specific, for her Guinness was connotative of Ireland and the harp (Guinness Logo)

Colin – black, creamy, the smell, cake.

¹⁵'*craic*' means 'fun' in Gaelic and has common usage in English language amongst Irish audiences.

Tom – white slimy head, the lacing on the glass, its good for you, strength, a tonic.

Mandy – colours, ivory, Ireland, harp (it represents Ireland), smell, smooth, creamy, iron, pregnancy, Irish coffee and macho ('cos it's a man's drink).

IoE London, Professional Group, 1998

In New York the same pattern repeated itself. Respondents linked the product with home and with being Irish. One expressed a desire to be back home so he could enjoy a 'good pint' and another expressed the relationship between Irish identity and Guinness in a vague but very evocative manner, '*you know about being Irish and Guinness and all that stuff*'.

Conor - Black, white, creamy, a rare good pint abroad, longing for a good pint at home.

Padraigh - it's a good quality drink, too strong at times, you know about being Irish and Guinness and all that stuff. Expensive, and it's not good over here (New York).

The Starting Gate, Queens.

For the London and New York groups the product carried a richer and more complex set of signifieds. They had alternative names for the product (see Chapter 4) and referred to a pint as:

'quare stuff'
and
'holy water'

These lexical items are loaded with Irishness. The phrase 'quare stuff'¹⁶ was coined by Irish playwright Brendan Behan and 'holy water'¹⁷ is a connotative sign for the majority of people in Ireland signifying the Catholic church and mass. Water fonts hang by the front door of many Irish homes and it was common practice to bless yourself or be blessed with the water on leaving the house.

¹⁶ Brendan Behan (1923 - 1964) 'The Quare Fellow'

¹⁷ It also refers to *Poitin*, which is an illegal spirit, often secreted in ' Lourdes bottles' - Plastic bottles shaped like the statue of 'Our Lady of Lourdes' originally intended to hold holy water from that pilgrimage spot.

Other alternative names for the product include graphic descriptors such as:

‘diesel’

‘muck’

and

‘liquid engineering’¹⁸

One respondent in New York described the product as “liquid engineering, Castrol GTX of the body”¹⁹ and this was a direct reference to an advert for car engine oil. In London, similar car references were made, suggesting that Guinness, like ‘diesel’ would get ‘the motor running’.

Talking ‘Irish’, talking ‘home’

When connections were made between the product and Ireland there was a marked difference in the language used by the two groups - the Irish consumers in Ireland and the Irish migrants. The respondents in Ireland used words like ‘home’, ‘Dublin’, ‘Irish’, and ‘Ireland’ and made factual statements like “*it was the biggest brewery in Ireland*” (See Chapter 3). The references to ‘Ireland’ were minimal – limited to an average of one person in each group – and in each case respondents only offered one word. However the Irish migrants in London and New York contrasted strongly with the groups in Ireland. Most respondents abroad included at least one reference to Ireland if not two or three associations on the subject. Words and expressions included:

‘Irish’, ‘Ireland’, ‘Liffey’, ‘Dublin’, ‘shamrock’, ‘*fleadh*’²⁰, Jack Charlton,’
 ‘home’, ‘*Mulligan’s* in Poolbeg St.’²¹, ‘national drink of Ireland’,
 ‘good publicity for Ireland worldwide’, ‘longing for a good pint at home’,
 ‘being Irish’, ‘Chieftains’²², ‘G.A.A.’,²³ ‘harp’ (the icon not the instrument),
 and ‘*ta siad ag teacht*’²⁴.

¹⁸ The slogan was “Castrol - liquid engineering” <http://www.winspiration.co.uk/slogans.htm> Accessed 22nd December 2001

¹⁹ Denis - McCormacks, professional group, Manhattan, New York 1997

²⁰ *fleadh* - a traditional Irish musical festival

²¹ ‘*Mulligan’s*, Poolbeg St.’ - famous pub in Dublin. It is mentioned in Irish literature and a monument for traditional Guinness drinkers. (see Chapter 6)

²² Irish traditional musicians.

'Home' was the most recurring word amongst these respondents.

Consuming the product helped them to develop a sense of belonging and drinking it bridged the space between the place they were living in and a place they called home.

Conclusion

In this chapter I identified the range of strategies used by the Irish migrant to maintain diasporic identity and I verified the role of formal and informal organisations in the lives of the Irish migrant. I demonstrated how membership to these groups offers the migrant a location for consumption of signifiers of their ethnicity.

I described 'membership' and 'consumption' of cultural spaces, and practices, such as dance, song and storytelling, and I identified significant strategies of consumption and production that migrants use to connect with imagined home.

I also examined how Irish migrants consume goods in order to locate and anchor their ethnic identity, and this is another strategy utilised in order to locate home and identity. I examined the consumption of durable and non-durable goods as a strategy, and I demonstrated the significance of the consumption of non-durable goods such as food (Guinness) as a marking good for community and ethnicity.

I have identified the strategy of 'consumption of societies, clubs and organisations', and 'consumption of non-durable and durable goods', and I have demonstrated how groups, goods and spaces are constructed to support Irish identity – and this chapter reveals how the act of consumption supports the identity of these groups.

²³Gaelic Athletic Association. A sports organisation that controls the playing of Irish football and hurling as well as being a 'social' organiser in Ireland.

²⁴'*ta siad ag teacht*' - 'they are coming' - was a slogan used in *Island* one of Guinness's 1970's adverts (see Chapter 5).

In the following chapter (Chapter 10 *You can never go home, New Communities, New Worlds*) I continue to describe the consuming audience's lived experiences in London and New York and in this concluding chapter, I extend the examination of 'food' and 'alcohol', and the discussion around them as anchors for community identities.

Chapter 10

You can never go home *New communities, New worlds*

Migration is a one way trip. There is no 'home' to go back to.

Hall, (1987, p. 4)

Introduction

In this chapter I examine the pub space and develop the point that while it's a gendered and bounded space, it is also a space for expressions of community and support. I expand on the stories that describe the migrant experience in London and New York and I identify the pub as a site of consumption of 'community'. I examine this 'community' to see how it plays a part in the daily lives of the predominately male, working class migrant. Alongside this, I further examine the role of food in the support of community, building on my argument in Chapter 9 where I state that food and alcohol are anchors for community identities. I explore how communities coalesce around rituals of food consumption and I argue that *alcohol is the food* supporting Irish ethnic communities in London and New York.

Parallel to the argued point that alcohol is the food supporting Irish ethnicity, I argue that the Irish ethnic community in London and New York coalesce specifically around the consumption of Guinness, and around the pub. Therefore the pub is a very significant space for Irish migrant communities. I show how the functions and norms that determine the use of the pub in Ireland are very different to the functions and norms determining the use of the pub in London and New York.

I argue that the pub is an important space for Irish migrants to have access to, to source employment, and social and emotional support. The pub becomes even more significant when the Irish migrant is feeling marginal, different, in need of membership of their ethnic community', and yearning for 'home'.

The pub space in London and New York is different to Ireland because while it is still a predominantly male space there *is* an increase in female access and usage. It is crucial that the gendered nature of the pub and its boundaries shift and become more inclusive for contemporary migrants, since it operates as a diasporic and 'home' space that Irish migrants can occupy to remake an Irish ethnic community. Due to the significance of the pub's role, gendered rules seem to take second place and so in London and New York, the pub is one of the approved sites for social celebration where not just men, but women and families can access the pub as a social space, and more importantly access a space that supports their ethnicity. Here they can coalesce to celebrate, commune and support.

Ethnic Identity by any other name

Ethnicity is not a stable term. Brah (2000) reminds us that it is relational and context specific (see Chapter 9). There are many things that constitute ethnic identity and many ways to look at ethnic identity. Hall, (1996) identifies two clearly discernible phases in the identification and characterisation of ethnic identity. In the first moment, the term 'black' was coined to reference the common experience of racism and marginalisation in Britain, and came to provide the organising category of a new politics of resistance among groups and communities with very different histories, traditions and ethnic identities. This moment of 'Black Experience' was a singular and unifying framework based on the construction of identity across ethnic and cultural difference between the different communities, and it became hegemonic over other ethnic/racial identities. Hall suggests that we are entering a new phase where the shift is best thought of in terms of a change from "a struggle over the relations of representation to a politics of representation itself" (1996, pp. 442-3).

In the last forty years shifts of meanings have occurred within the notion of ethnicity itself. 'Race' has gradually been resignified in terms of culture rather than skin colour within the new cultural racism, and the conflation of ethnicity with 'race' (namely in Britain) has privileged what Spivak calls "chromatism, the visible difference in skin colour" (1986, p. 235). This has fostered different categorisations such as 'invisible immigrants', in reference to Irish, Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese immigrants in Britain, the revival of 'white ethnics' in the United States, and its appropriation by migrant European intellectuals (see for example Alba 1990).

For Geertz (1973, p. 268) ethnicity is "the world of personal identity collectively ratified and publicly expressed" and Jenkins (1999, p. 88) synopsis 'ethnicity' as being about cultural differentiation. He argues that although ethnicity is centrally concerned with culture, it is also rooted in, and to some extent the outcome of, social interaction. He summarises that ethnicity is no more fixed or unchanging than the culture of which it is a component; it is a social identity, which is both collective and individual, externalised in social interaction and internalised in personal self awareness.

I argue that a sense of ethnicity is essential for shaping human experience. Without the experience of belonging and the sense of being members of a collectivity, migrants may be cut loose and set adrift, because ethnicity is an essential expression for social, political and emotional rootedness. I build on this point and argue that ethnicity, and family, sum each other up in a familiar narrative, and 'family' is a key site through which ethnicity is essentialised and eternalised (Brah 1992, Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, and Yuval-Davis 1992). The family is the principle site where ethnicity is crystallised and it could be described as the first ethnic network (see Chapter 7). 'Ethnic culture' and 'family life' are mutually reducible to one another, they are also interchangeable, that is, the ethnic 'community' is represented as a family. I argue that while 'the family' is key for the construction and formation of ethnic identity, this is a function that is especially enjoyed amongst second and other generations of Irish migrants, where 'family' is a tangible and accessible structure. However, first-generation, single Irish migrants do not have a traditionally structured family around them in their new space, instead they turn to the pub space

and locate those residing in that space. They tap into the pub space and the community residing there and that community becomes the 'surrogate family' – a family that supports their ethnic network and helps them locate, and relocate their ethnicity.

Consuming Food, Consuming Community

In Chapter 9 I state that food and alcohol are the anchors for community identities. Extending on that, I explore how communities coalesce around rituals of food consumption and I argue that *alcohol* is the *food* supporting Irish ethnic communities in London and New York. In conjunction, as alcohol is the food supporting Irish ethnicity, I argue that the Irish ethnic community in London and New York coalesce specifically around the consumption of Guinness and around the pub, making the pub is a very significant space for Irish migrant communities.

Diasporic communities ... often maintain a sense of identity and history through food consumption.

Bell and Valentine 1997, p. 91

Food (and drink) habits, and rituals of consumption have been documented as valid areas of study to explore issues of identity. Bell and Valentine (1997) address this site of research and provide an exhaustive review of the research. For example they cite Smith (1993, p. 105) who argues that "community is the least spatially defined of the spatial scales" and goes on to say that despite this, there is an almost universal, though, "vague yet generally affirmative nurturing meaning" attached to 'community'. They go on to say that in terms of food consumption, community is most often thought of in one of two ways. "In the literature of migration and foodways, food habits are seen as a fundamental way of shoring up a sense of (usually ethnic) community identity (e.g. Brown and Mussell 1984)" while material on local, place-bound communities (or neighbourhoods) considers food as social glue and Hunt and Satterlee (1986) discuss pubs as social centres for communities ..." (Bell & Valentine 1997, p. 15). Given the significance of food in the role of constructing

and supporting ethnic identities it is useful to locate the relationship between the role of food and the Irish in London and New York.

The Absence of Food

In the previous chapter I refer to Diner, who discusses the role of food consumption and its link with national identity. She comments on the noticeable absence of food in the social history of the Irish, and observes that there is a “generalised Irish disconnection between food and national identity” (2001, p. 157). To further her point she looks at other societies who have used even the most staple of foods to carry expressions of their culture. For example “rice triumphed over a series of other foods to become the staple and symbol of Japanese culture. Once enshrined as the essence of their food, ‘rice’ represented the notion of a meal and of Japanese national identity” (p. 157). So, despite Ireland’s somewhat limited access to a variety of foods and a rich cuisine, even the simple diet of potato could have been more ritualised and could have been invested with signifiers of ethnicity, but it wasn’t until the 1900’s that food and ‘Irishness’ became linked. Diner observes how, in 1919, guests at the Friendly Sons of St Patrick banquet in New York consumed ‘Irishness’ through Irish-marked foods for the first time. This she says was “a momentous year in Ireland’s recreation of itself as a nation” (2001, p. 213).

And it is only in even more recent years that food in Ireland has developed an ‘Irishness’ quality; a development that has been parallel to a general rise of ‘food’ as a media event and a lifestyle statement. In fact Bell and Valentine describe food as ‘popular culture’, and they attribute this shift to the actions of the ‘food media’.

The food media have been instrumental in this, and recent years have seen a proliferation of food professionals, mediatisers and celebrities. Professional and amateur chefs are household names, ... their restaurants given the status of temples of consumption in countless guides and features; food writers, critics and broadcasters meanwhile show us not only how to cook, but tell us what, when, where, how – and even why – to eat and drink.

Bell and Valentine (1997, pp. 5-6)

However, despite this very recent awareness of 'food' on a broad scale, it is noted in Chapter 9 that the consumption of food for the Irish consumer was, and to some extent is, still absent. It is absent as an anchor for national identity and it is absent in Irish social history. Instead, alcohol has subsumed the position and has taken on the traditional role of food (see Chapter 4). Where rituals of consumption around food would occur for other communities, for the Irish consumer these rituals occurred around the consumption of alcohol. Diner describes the significance of the consumption of alcohol in the daily lives of the immigrant.

The consumption of alcohol had long been part of Irish social and cultural practice. Alcohol was food, providing calories to the body, and Irish immigrants brought with them an orientation to alcohol in part as a food substitute. Alcohol also represented Irish identity, embodying a defiance of outside authority and valorising sociability for those inside the community circle.

Diner (2001, pp. 213-214)

For the Irish consumer, both in Ireland and in London and New York, alcohol plays an important role in the consolidation of 'Irishness'; Diner explains that "unlike solid food, alcohol symbolised who they were, and demonstrated Irish cultural distinctiveness" (2001, p. 217). For example, in 1919 Prohibition was introduced in America, and for the Irish, whose identity was more strongly linked with alcohol than food, this was a major set back. Pubs played a significant role in Irish communities and for example in 1820 in Philadelphia one fifth of all liquor licenses went to men with Irish surnames. By 1890 the percentage reached one third.

In New York City's heavily Irish Sixth ward, half of all stores sold liquor, and almost *all* of the Irish people who owned any land either operated liquor stores or played some other role in the liquor trade

Diner (2001, p. 214)

Food Substitutes, drinking 'community'

It is clear that while the Irish in Ireland and the Irish migrant in London and New York do not have strong food identifications for national identity, there is a very

strong alternative artefact. Alcohol evolved, due to various variables to become 'significant food' for the Irish migrant. Alcohol was and is a significant item for Irish migrants. It provided, and still provides, an income for those who sell it and it offered itself as a substitute food for the purpose of identity formation and reinforcement. Whisky and stout were the main drinks consumed by the Irish, but stout or porter became the working man's beverage. Guinness was the main producer of stout and in the course of its production as a mass produced commodity in the last 200 years, it has developed a brand identity that is synonymous with Ireland and Irishness.

As I have already demonstrated in Chapters 4, 6 and 7, Guinness is one of the main products that captures the imagination of the Irish consumer. It is documented as 'being as nutritional as a meal' and was often a meal substitute for labourers. This perception was reinforced by advertising campaigns, which reminded the consumer that 'Guinness is good for you' (see Figure 10A). Even amongst consumers today there is still a belief system that is hard to shake despite regulations preventing Guinness from making such claims. Many still perceive Guinness as being good for you; a product to consume when ill, pregnant, nursing a baby, or to sustain general good health.

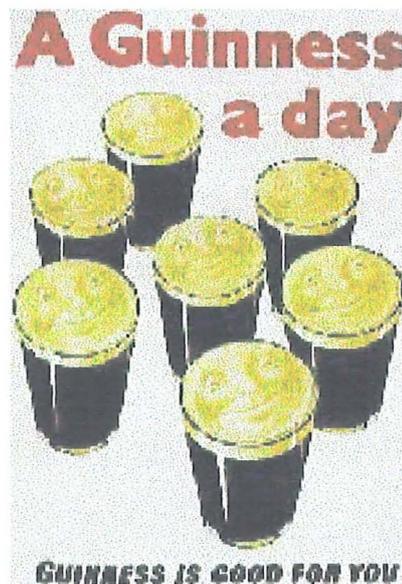


Figure 10A: Guinness is Good for You
Benson Advertising Agency 1932

Numerous adverts carried the message that Guinness is good for you, and the message, that the product can be equated with 'food', was an overriding message. Furthermore, the advert draws on the proverb '*an apple a day keeps the doctor away*' with the title '*A Guinness a day*'. It urges the consumer to have a Guinness a day because it is as good as fresh fruit, and will keep you healthy. The site for consumption of this food was, and continues to be, the pub.

The Pub, a source for 'food' and a site for 'community'

Through the consumption of Guinness, the Irish migrant has located a food that can anchor Irishness in an 'other' space. However the picture is complex because while the Irish community may anchor itself to the consumption of a food item such as Guinness, the site for the consumption of this ritualised food is equally important and significant to the Irish migrant. Bell and Valentine talk about the fact that some forms of community coalesce in particular site-specific contexts such as institutions e.g. schools, prisons hospitals, etc. Communities can also be found to transcend site specific locations and can be seen to be practiced around routine practices and habits such as cooking and eating. So while the consumption of Guinness is the anchor of Irish community, the pub, by extension is the place for consumption of that food. It can be argued that it transcends the space, only to anchored firmly back in place again through the rituals and practices that surround the product. In this research, the pub has been found to be 'a site for location of the community' and 'routine practice and habits' have been located surrounding the consumption of Guinness.

In Ireland (see Chapter 8) 'the use of the pub space' and 'the consumption of Guinness' support a reported sense of (male) community. However the pub becomes even more significant when we look at the Irish consumer in London and New York. The role of the pub as 'the site for consumption' is at the heart of these respondent's support system. It shifts from being merely a site for social or male bonding, it becomes a site for renewing and replenishing their ethnic identity. It is the 'site for location of the community', and that community is supported by the rituals of 'routine practice and habit' (see Chapter 4).

For the migrant, the pub still functions as it does 'at home', but now those same functions are even more significant. Now it is the site to source employment, social exchange, news from home, practical welfare systems and emotional support. It is also a site of inclusion and exclusion, ensuring a sense of belonging for those in the in-group. The pub is the site for emotional support, political support, and labour exchange; it is also the site where inclusion and exclusion are demonstrated, where racism is expressed and where concerns of authenticity and hybridity are discussed (see Chapter 7).

The migrant consumers are consuming, not simply to be members of a 'male community', which would be one of the main factors 'at home', (see chapter 8) but also to be members of an ethnically marked community. They do not simply drink in a pub; they drink in an *Irish* pub and the migrant is consuming pints of Guinness as in a complex and meaningful way. The act of consumption is a totality of many elements and factors. The practical and tangible elements of support include: 'a source for employment', 'an informal bank', and 'a financial source for hardship cases'. The less tangible elements are 'the affective support and camaraderie', 'the rituals of consumption', the consumption of a 'product inscribed with memory and meaning' and the increasing occurrences of 'sophisticated marketing strategies'.

The Pub as Community - Real Stories

While talking to the migrants in the pub space about their lived experiences as a migrant group, they disclose how important the pub's role is in the support of the ethnic community. One respondent in New York described the relevance of the Irish pub for Irish migrants who seek a focal point, or a space, to express their identity.

BM - why do you think the pub is an important space for Irish people as migrants?

Fr. Seán - well it's communion - it's where people meet - it's just like a church here - is great sense of Irish - talking in relation to what's going on in the parish as well - so it's not just an aspect of alcohol - in pub it's more of a

meeting, a focal point and a focus point where people can come relax, enjoy, celebrate as well ...

Second Generation Irish Emigrants

New York, March 1997

Fr Seán uses the term 'communion' and Donagh Lane, marketing manager in Dublin, also used the term 'communion' when discussing perceived marketing relationship between the consumer and the product. 'Communion' is defined as: 'an act or instance of sharing' and an 'intimate fellowship or rapport'. This is an evocative term and suggests that both social commentators and marketing researchers share the same observation and sentiment. The connotations of 'communion' can vector meanings to religion, and 'Holy Communion', and make connections between religion and 'community', 'home', and 'Ireland'. 'Community' is the best way to describe the connecting that occurs, and is a term used by pub users.

On being a regular in a pub.

... We get three generations of customers in here ... possibly *four*. In such traditional pubs it has been customary that when a lad comes of age his father will bring him in for his first pint. It is a rite of passage into manhood, often as memorable as one's first Holy Communion.

Tom Corkery, (1980, p. 16 cited in Kearns 1997, p. 33)

Respondents in London and New York describe the pub as an anchor with home. Just like 'at home', the pub plays a key role in the cohesion of the community. In a busy city like New York, first generation migrants describe the 'town-like' quality of the busy Queens suburb.

Sm. - I feel like home here - every one knows each other in Woodside. It's like a town at home.

All - yeah

Sm. - Woodside is like a ... like a small town in Ireland

Sm. - you walk into a pub on your own and you meet maybe five or six people that you know.

The Starting Gate, Queens Working Group

First Generation New York March 1997

The pub 'as a site for community', has numerous functions to offer the diasporic group. It locates the migrant with others from 'home', it is a site that supports practical solutions to problems of employment and accommodation through networking, and it provides a place for Irish consuming migrants to locate the 'food' that anchors them to their ethnic community.

Overseas functions of a Community Pub

As I argue above, the functions of the pub become more complex when it is the space for migrant communities to operate. The traditional functions such as sourcing employment, social engagement and sexual engagement continue to exist but alongside this, the demands on the pub to support its patrons in this new space is enormous. Unlike a pub in Ireland, it is not simply functioning as a space consisting of predominantly male members; here, in this new space, it becomes the site for employment, social engagement, news from home, practical welfare and emotional support. The community residing in this space is a complex one. Its needs are different from the traditional and there are additional functions that are not found in the traditional pub space.

Historically the pub has been the site for sourcing casual labour for the working class male in London and New York (Hey 1986, and Diner 2001). Diner describes the role of the pub in New York in the 1800's – "whether licensed or not, [they] played a crucial role in the social and political life of Irish communities. Here men got together and acted out communal equality by the institutionalised practice of the treat, men taking turns paying for drinks for all" (2001, p. 216). The role of the pub for the Irish New Yorker in the 1800's was remarkably similar to the role played by the same pubs in contemporary New York. Then, "saloons served as job centres, and

contractors with work to give out often hired directly from their smoky interiors. Political life got played out in the saloons, be it the politics of the urban machine or of Irish nationalism” (2001, p. 216). Some things have not changed and of the recognised functions of the pub for the migrant is its role in the procurement of employment for new arrivals in London and New York. In fact employment is one of the main concerns for working class respondents. Professional groups relied less on the pub network to secure employment. They were more likely to use the media to locate positions. However they did also report using the ‘Irish network’ to advance in the professional sphere in New York. For the working class groups, the success at locating work in construction and labouring through pub contacts was high.

BM - ... you came into a pub and you said ‘I’m here’ and ‘is there any work?’

Sm. - well ay! Couple of phone numbers and names and Friday I was working ... got a couple of offers, they call me back, they’re always looking out like ...

*The Starting Gate, Queens Working Group
First Generation New York March 1997*

Construction work is one of the main employment areas for Irish migrants especially the ‘illegals’. Corcoran (1996, p. 469) explains how construction work in New York is organised on a two-tiered system, one in the formal economy and the other in the informal economy. The formal construction outfits working on public contract projects such as maintenance of subways, tend to be unionised and highly regulated. “In Manhattan, for example, construction union locals, which are ethnically controlled, jostle for control of new construction jobs. By prior arrangement, Irish-run locals operate on the west side of the city, while Italian-run locals operate on the east side” (1996, p. 469). Corcoran describes how the majority of Irish men who came to work illegally in the US in the mid 1980’s found work, mainly but not limited to, the informal sector. For these workers, and the ‘legals’, their ethnic contacts are crucial if they are to enter the labour market.

Most independent contractors, construction union agents, and proprietors of bars and restaurants in the ethnic Irish enclave are first-generation immigrants who came to the United States in the 1950's and early 1960's. Lacking formal education and skills, they went into the construction industry or the bar trade. There, the successful ones worked their way up in the union hierarchy or set up their own contracting or bar or restaurant business. They are therefore, the 'gatekeepers' who control access to jobs in the key sectors of the construction industry and the bar or restaurant trade, and on whom the illegals are most dependent.

Corcoran (1996, p. 470)

The gatekeeping around access to illegal employment is complex and politicised as I demonstrated in Chapter 7, where only 'Irish' speakers qualified for illegal employment in construction work in Boston. However the network was also useful for established migrants who had successful business. They were keen to mentor new arrivals as they had been helped when they arrived in New York.

Sm. - here [in] New York, and definitely in Australia, the Irish are out to help each other big time.

*The Starting Gate, Queens Working Group
First Generation New York March 1997*

In the UK networks do exist too, but respondents in the focus groups did not make any overt reference to them nor offer any description of them in operation. Apart from locating employment for migrants in both locations the network has other functions. As well as the offers of work, established pub owners (or managers), who are Irish migrants themselves, offer other services to the new arrivals. For example in an Irish pub in Queens I met respondents on a Friday afternoon. The pub offered a complimentary meal consisting of bacon, cabbage and potatoes. This seemed to attract a large number of construction workers, who ate their meal, cashed their pay cheques for a \$10 fee, and remained in the pub, drinking for the rest of the afternoon and evening. The service from the pub owner could be criticised by the cynical, who could comment that the cost of offering a free meal was a good investment. This

gesture was attracting a large number of workers holding their salary cheque, they went on to pay the landlord \$10 to cash their cheque and then went on to spend a large portion of that cash in this establishment. However the men using this service were very appreciative of the waiting meal, the atmosphere, and the possibility to cash their pay cheque without difficulty as they were illegal migrants. They do not have a green card and consequently do not have a bank account, medical insurance, or a vote.

Sm. - you meet the same people and all of them work in different jobs - it's all in construction, they'd have contacts that you'd want - cause it's all the same business, and the bar man or bar woman they meet people, so they have contacts, so you know, you come in, and if you don't have a bank account you cash your cheque there. They take care of you that way, otherwise you wouldn't be able to cash a cheque - where would you be?

*The Starting Gate, Queens Working Group
First Generation New York March 1997*

a site to locate welfare support ...

Ultimately the community located in the pub will offer the practical support and the welfare of the migrant is also supported by the community. For example if a member of the community encounters bad luck, the community will be there for them. If there is a sudden death, the community will contribute to a fund to help the family with flights, burial and other costs (see Chapter 6).

Sm. - generally if something bad happens to - they'll take care of you because you know what it's like - it's an Irish thing ...

*The Starting Gate, Queens Working Group
First Generation New York March 1997*

... and political support ...

The sense of community that was supported by the pub was not limited to social and cultural issues. The gathering of people who were facing a similar problem resulted in them moving into the political arena. Fr. Campbell at the Irish Immigration Centre describes how the Irish community in Queens, located in the pub space, organised themselves to address the very relevant political issue of 'legality' for migrants.

They lobbied the political system and got support from politicians of Irish decent in New York. Amongst the working class groups, most arrive in the USA with 'illegal' status, that is, they don't possess a 'green card'. This was not the case for professionals in New York, who were more likely to have secured all legal immigration documentation before arriving in the US, and it was not an issue for migrants in London as they have freedom of movement with the UK and they have EU 'free mobility' rights.

... *for new migrants* ...

In New York, Corcoran (1996) identified 5 types of immigrant in the 1980's. Bread and butter immigrants, disaffected adventurers, holiday takers who make up the illegal population, *eirepreneur's* and finally, opportunistic emigrants who are legally resident in the US. Following the general upward trend in Irish emigration in the 1980's, legal immigration to the US rose steadily during the decade (see Figure 10B).

<i>Year ending April</i>	<i>Net emigration</i>
1980	8,000
1981	(2,000) ^a
1982	1,000
1983	14,000
1984	9,000
1985	20,000
1986	28,000
1987	27,000
1988	32,000
1989	46,000
1990	31,000

Figure 10B: Net Irish Emigration 1980-1990

Source: Dublin: Central Statistics Office.

^a Figure in parentheses denotes net immigration

However there was also an increase of 'illegal's' in the 1980's and the Irish community in Queens resorted to the political and legal route to better the situation for these

migrants. Fr Colm Campbell described the scenario. His concern was that without a green card these migrants had no status; they could not have a bank account, medical insurance or rent agreements. They had not legal status and no rights.

Fr. Campbell - ... they stuck together and they fought and got legalised. I cannot give you any of the details of that, but basically two people from Cork called a meeting for the Cork societies here and said "look you know let's get political". And it just snowballed, they got together, they wrote letters, thousands of letters to all kinds of politicians, they found out every politician with Irish names who were in the country, they lobbied them, they went to Washington.

Interestingly, the first step towards grouping people together and galvanising them into action was done using the 'county' identity (see chapter 9). Historically, the Irish migrant played a significant part in New York's political life. As Union leaders they ran for various political offices and occupied many political positions in the City. The Irish in London did not follow this pattern. The political environment in the UK was very different and the Irish migrant was viewed suspiciously. Irish migrants who involved themselves in political affairs in the UK were usually concerned with the Northern Ireland portfolio and this was higher on the political agenda than the affairs of the migrant community. Whereas in the US, the Irish politician's agenda was about unionisation, labour laws etc.

Supporting the migrant – affective support & links with home

Securing employment, cashing cheques and formalising the rights of the community are not the only activities occurring in the pub. This space also offers a very important social dimension to the lives of the consumers. It is the site to locate 'news from home' from a new arrival, it is a site to go to overcome homesickness and it is a site for emotional support.

Sm. - to meet people have a chat, news at home and catch up on things ...
have a good craic.

*The Starting Gate, Queens Working Group
First Generation New York March 1997*

BM - and that's what happens out at the pub that you're drinking in?

Sm. - yeah ... the friends you work with and the friends you know from home ... they all get together...

*The Starting Gate, Queens Working Group
First Generation New York March 1997*

One respondent commented that you are more likely to get emotional support from the Irish community if you travel further from home.

Sm. - I found America and Australia - I've been a few places - and I found that the further you go from home that people are closer for whatever reason it is. Whether it's because you're so far from home that if you're down you do need a bit of help - and it's important to stick together ... you're a long way [from home] - and we do stick together and I found that all over America ...

*McCormacks, Manhattan
Professional Group, New York, March 1997*

Clearly, the pub space is offering support on many levels, through communion and community, and without overt references, Irish male migrants communicated how much they value all that the pub space in London and New York offers.

New dimensions to 'community'

Homogenous spaces, new faces.

As I have discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, all spaces, by consequence, have boundaries that define them; boundaries signify restricted areas and they have sets of rules determining how the boundary can be crossed and who can cross it.

Traditionally the pub has been a boundaried space where access was limited to male

consumers and this group enjoyed the benefits of occupying such a space (see Chapter 6). However, we have evidence of transgressions of these boundaries throughout the history of the pub and women have been using negotiated spaces within the pub for two centuries. Adjustments to the access and breach of these boundaries can be paralleled to similar situations and adjustments in other public spaces. For example, Rodgers (1981) cited in Ardner, describes how, following a fire in the House of Commons in London in 1834, designers acknowledged the need for a female space within this male, public space.

Ladies in recent years ... listened to debates concealed in the *roof space*, peering down through the central ventilators in the ceiling of the House ... The ladies then must have new accommodation.

Port (1979, p. 13) cited in Ardner 1981

However, the new design was still without provision for women inside the Chamber, wives and friends of the political elite were assigned to the *peripheral* (my italics) Ladies Gallery. Extending space to include females is always negotiated and resisted, and usually occurs only after external pressures are brought to bear on those policing that space; and providing 'a segregating female space' is a strategy that has been used in countless other male dominated public spaces (e.g. the Mosque, Gentlemen's Clubs, Golf Clubs, etc.) when demands for 'inclusion' are heard. The traditional pub had, and has, its own version of the 'Ladies Gallery' and the first example of a dedicated bounded space for women in pubs was marked off and referred to as 'the snug'¹. Pubs designed in the nineteenth century in Ireland, England and the US all boasted this feature. In the mid-twentieth century the architectural feature of 'the lounge' became the politically correct alternative. It was bigger than the snug and more inviting, if not reminiscent of a middle-class person's own living room at home. This space afforded women access to the male space but also ensured that they remained invisible and separate. The adjustment of boundaries meant that women could enter the pub but it did not mean that they had any access to the 'community' or to the element of 'group membership' that the pub was supporting.

¹ short for *snuggery* - a small private room or compartment in a pub.

In the contemporary picture, the pub space is still a negotiated one. Most female respondents in Ireland still express discomfort at going into a pub alone (see Chapter 6). In Ireland, female reluctance to use the pub freely was centred around the fear of being 'branded' as sexually available or marked as having 'loose morals'. However females in London and New York did not harbour these concerns to the same extent. In fact the boundaried aspect of the pub was simply not an issue for young Irish female respondents in London and New York. It was not an issue, and consequently it was difficult to get them to discuss it further. The absence of discussion on the subject suggested a lack of 'issue'.

Here, an interesting and liberating scenario is emerging. As I examined the pub space in London and New York from the perspective of negotiated space, and explored female use of the Irish pub in London and New York, something different is happening. Here, Irish females described the fact that they were accessing the pub space for all the reasons that their male counterparts were – location of work, location of support and location of community. Strivers (2000) throws some light on the subject and he describes how Irish migrants who first travelled to New York needed a marker of identity. He too suggests that alcohol became the signifier of Irish nationalism and Irish life-style and he suggests that it was the exact point at which nationalism and life-style were intertwined (2000, p. 137). He describes how

Irish-American culture centered around an exaggerated and idealised self-consciousness, much of which was only what Americans wanted to believe about them anyway. In Ireland drink was largely a sign of male identity; in America it was a symbol of Irish identity.

Strivers (2000, p. 137)

Diner also supports this point when she suggests that "alcohol linked the Irish in America to the emotionally satisfying world of past memory, bonding them to a comfortable world of friendship with others like themselves. It demonstrated their Irish identity" (2001, p. 220).

Reiterating the fact that alcohol consumption and the consumption of and in the pub space gives the consumer a point of reference for ethnic Irish community and surrogate family, and sustains the consumer on social, emotional, economic and political levels, it becomes imperative that the pub does not retain gendered boundaries. Otherwise it is excluding Irish females from accessing their surrogate ethnic community. Strivers offers a description of how, in the US, the pub has shifted its boundaries. He argues that as hard drinking became a marker of 'Irishness' instead of 'masculinity' it was more acceptable for women and children to be "more readily admitted to the company of hard drinkers" (2001, p. 220). In his brief discussion of women, he clarifies how social perceptions, and connotative readings of drinking as a marker of Irishness, facilitated a shift in perceptions of boundaries and access. This may explain how female mobility into the pub space became possible. In keeping with his point, which centres around drinking *per se*, rather than the pub space, I would argue that both the 'act of drinking' and the 'site of drinking' support 'masculinities' for men, and, subsequently, 'Irishness' for all. The pub offers the site for the act of drinking to occur, and it offers a site for Irish community and Irish identity to coalesce for both men and women. The pub space in New York and London is liberated to some extent from its traditional male:female boundaries as it moves into a 'new space identity' which is driven by a need for, and marked by national and ethnic community.

In this newly defined space, men and women occupy a less boundaried and marked space. This is a liberating finding and it is also a reassuring one because, as I have already argued, it is a crucial imperative that this space, which is, in practice, supporting the contemporary Irish 'community', be accessible to both male and female Irish migrants. There is evidence of some generational resistance to female occupation of the pub space, and there is a minority of pub spaces in London and New York that are still marginalising in essence. However, on the whole, the London and New York pub space appears to be a homogenous space where men and women can equally occupy and draw on the relocated Irish community and all that that entails.

Conclusion

The role of food and drink in the support of 'community' is unquestionable. In this chapter I have affirmed this fact, and also demonstrated that a community need not be bound to a socially acceptable 'food', or even a nutritionally beneficial 'food' to construct meaningful exchanges of identity around it. For Irish migrants, alcohol, and Guinness particularly, was and is the 'significant artefact'. Due to the nature of this artefact, the pub, as the space of consumption, is the repository of this signifier.

In this chapter I demonstrated how the Irish in London and New York construct the role of consumption of drink and the usage of pub space as supporters of their ethnic community. I reveal how the pub space supports the migrant in a myriad of functions and I document the differences between the usage of the pub in Ireland and the very different usage of the pub in London and New York. I also explore the role of the pub as community, where it replaces other Althusserian ISA's² such as the church and family, for support of 'national identity'.

The final significant finding that I present in this chapter is the gendered nature of the pub space. The role of the pub as space for communities to coalesce supersedes the role of the pub as a space for masculinities. Consequently, the pub in London and New York is less excluding for women, who by result of being 'other', would normally reside in the spatial and cultural margin.

² Ideological State Apparatus

Chapter 11

Conclusions and Future Work

Introduction

In 1989, while walking in a side street in Valletta, I passed a shop window that supplied catering equipment. I glanced in, and in one corner there was a display of drinks. On one of the shelves I spotted a very dusty, slightly dented and scratched can of Guinness. In that moment, in the alien surroundings of this noisy Mediterranean street, like a bolt of lightning, I was reminded of home. My throat tightened with emotion as I felt the pangs of homesickness. I missed Ireland and everything that was important to me in that place. As I composed myself, and walked away from that window, I asked myself what had happened. How had the glimpse of a can of Guinness struck me so directly to cause me to miss home? What was the significance of 'seeing that product'? What had occurred to make me connect it, in such a manner, with Ireland and home? This was, in a way, the start of my doctoral research. It made me think about what it meant to be Irish away from Ireland, and about why Guinness, even in a canned form, might bring on the intensity of homesickness that I felt.

This thesis has been about the exploration of Guinness as an artefact, and an investigation into the space and discourse that surrounds the production and consumption of the artefact. I set out to explore the relationship between Guinness and the Irish migrant to locate the significance of the brand for the dislocated consumer. To find the story I chose a challenging route which took me, and the reader, on an expedition to Dublin, London and New York, and on a journey through Johnson's (1983) circuit of culture, stopping at each site – *Production, Text, Readings and Lived Cultures* – to examine, explore, investigate and excavate.

To investigate the discourse surrounding the consumption of Guinness in Ireland, the UK and the USA, and to understand the role of the product and its advertising texts I addressed the producers, the advertising text and the consumers of the product. I undertook a range of complementary methodological approaches, namely interviews (with experts), focus group sessions (with consumers), *vox pop*¹ sessions (with large groups), specialist deconstructions of the texts, discourse analysis and audience analysis of the adverts.

I found Johnson's model useful as it enabled me to extrapolate beyond my initial questions. It enabled me to demonstrate, in practice, the need for such an approach, in order to understand the full story of the cultural process and production of meaning. Consequently, I have empirically tested the circuit of culture. I have concluded that the strength of each site of the circuit of culture is the sum of its collective usage. Issues that appear to be a diversion from the main question are, in fact, evidence of the strength of the methodological approach. The approach helped me to address the issues I had identified, and it helped me to generate other questions and raise other issues previously unconsidered.

Useful as Johnson's model is for exploring the circuit of culture, using it did not, of course, answer all the questions that needed to be asked about the consumption of Guinness and the production of Irish national identity in Ireland and the diasporic spaces of London and New York. In particular, Johnson's model relies on the notion of lived experience without a worked out theory of identity.

Identities

The concept of identity, and subsequent theories of identity are complex and have not reached a point where there is consensus around definitions, approaches or positions. Hall (1996, p. 2) argues that identity is a concept that is operating 'under erasure', that is, where a concept is reduced to a point where it is no longer a serviceable one, or in Hall's words the concept is no longer 'good to think with' in their ordinary and

¹ I refer to these as '*vox pop*' because they were very short interviews, but unlike a typical *vox pop* they occurred in one place and were a homogenous group i.e. all second and other generation Irish, attending an AGM for Jersey Irish-American Club.

unreconstructed form. However since there is no alternative set of concepts, the deconstructed ones remain active “in their detotalized or deconstructed forms, and no longer operating within the paradigm in which they were originally generated” (Hall 1996, p. 1; cf. 1995). Because of Hall’s problems with the term identity, he focuses more on ‘identification’ and argues that it is never finished – it is constantly in process.

With the case of Guinness, I argue that this is one version of Irish identity that is available to the consuming Irish in Ireland and to the Irish in their diasporic spaces in London and New York.

I found it useful to approach the concept of identity initially from a psychological perspective – just as *I* had begun to think about it from an experiential perspective. My starting point was one which consisted of personal questions about my *self*. ‘What is happening to me?’ ‘why do I feel sad?’ ‘who am I now that I am no longer living in Ireland?’. These questions were rooted in a thinking process that can be understood by looking to psychology for explanations. Then, just as theoretical development moved from psychological thinking around identity, I too moved on to a set of questions that were rooted in cultural, social and philosophical discourse. ‘What is occurring to make me connect a product with home?’ ‘what about other spaces where Irishness resides - what is the story there?’ ‘is identity in Ireland different to ethnic Irish identity for Irish migrants in London and New York? and ‘what are the discourses surrounding the consumption of the product and the text?’

My own moments of ‘grappling with the issues’ seem to mirror the recognised development of thought around identity and the theorising of identity. I began with psychological issues and then moved on to understand and ask more social and cultural questions. Likewise, contemporary theories of identity have now moved well away from older ideas based in psychology. In a move away from essentialism, identity theorists, usually working within a post-structuralist/post modern framework draw on a range of disciplines including philosophy (Derrida, Foucault, Althusser, Butler); psychology and psychoanalysis (Laclau, Lacan, Klein); sociology (Mauss, Weber, Giddens) and cultural studies (Hall, Epstein & Johnson, Redman).

My own process, and progress, in thinking about identity, leads me to a conclusion whereby identity can be traced and located around an iconic product, as in the case of Guinness, but clearly it is only one version of Irishness. Consequently, just as Epstein and Johnson (2002) describe different versions of sexual identity and versions of the self, there are other versions of Irishness and Irish identity. Irishness can come in many versions and can be reinvented, remade and revisited by individuals and communities in space and time. In parallel, and in keeping with my own development and thought around identity, general contemporary theory also sees identity as fluid and unfixed, produced by and within discourse – those discursive frameworks encompass personal biographies and histories, current histories, conscious and unconscious psychic investments into ways of being, and social and cultural relations.

Understanding Diaspora

When looking at Irishness it is essential to relate the debates around identity to those diaspora. This is a growing field in and outside Ireland and this thesis contributes to that by thinking about Irish identity in Ireland and in the particular diasporas in London and New York. My thesis is concerned with Irish identity in both diasporic and home contexts and as such it is situated with a growing body of literature on Irish Diaspora. O'Sullivan (nd.) distinguishes between 'Irish Diaspora Studies' or 'Irish Migration Studies' and 'Irish Studies' and he argues that we should look at 'notions of diaspora' and the meanings of 'emigration', 'immigration' and 'migration' in our area of study and emphasise how and why – 'Irish Diaspora Studies' has an agenda that differs from that of 'Irish Studies' so that 'Irish Diaspora Studies' transcends - and is not mesmerised by - the histories of individual nation states.

Irish Diaspora Studies draw on a wider body of existing theory and the notion of diaspora has its origins in a particular historical expulsion – that of the Jews from Palestine and their dispersion – and it is an important notion in the construction of Jewish identity (Cohen (1997), Diner (2001, 2000, 1999)). More recently, pooled ideas around ethnic and national identity have emerged and the use of the term 'diaspora' varies. On one hand, the concept of 'forced expulsion' is a term which would apply to Black people in the USA, refugee communities from Asia and Africa, and to the Irish, in terms of historic Ireland – and these are based on the notion of forced expulsion, and the notion of 'not able to go back' while still attached to the idea of 'home'. On the

other hand, others are pushing to widen notions of diaspora into 'being away from home' where home is always a fantasy. (Brah (2000, 1996, 1992), Mac an Ghail (1999), who draws on post colonial writers Bhabha, Gilroy, Spivak etc.) But there is no Ireland, Africa or biblical Israel to go back to. Indeed, the imagined communities represented by 'Africa', 'Ireland', and 'Israel' never existed except in fantasy – and trying to make them exist in the here and now is likely to lead to disappointment, displacement of others and the creation of new diasporas, as in modern Israel. The notion of home is retained, and Brah tries to bridge this using the term 'diasporic space'.

Differing ethnicities

Diaspora and ethnicity are closely linked in some sense, especially the way Brah uses it and in Chapter 7 I referred to Roediger (1991) and his discussion on 'whiteness' and becoming 'white'. In this concluding chapter I argue that the Irish migrant in New York has 'become white' but the Irish migrant in the UK (especially the second-generation migrant) has not. In New York and in London, 'being Irish' has very different meanings. Catholic Irish in particular, but in many ways, all Irish in London, have experienced racism and live in an environment in which their ethnicity has not been able to function as a gate opener, unlike in the US. The ability to become white in the US, coupled with the ability to operate out of a notion of hyphenated Irish (see Chapter 9, Lloyd (2000)) has marked the differences in the diasporic experience for the Irish in the US. Maintaining ethnicity in the US and the UK are two very different experiences and projects – It comes from different places and goes to different places.

What have I done ...

I have revealed and documented the strategies and corporate philosophies utilised by the *producers* of the product and advertising text, (see Chapters 3, 4 & 5) and I raised questions about active producers and active readers (who are also producing) (see Chapters 3 & 4). I have deconstructed the advertising *texts* and laid bare the connotations and myths residing in that space (see Chapter 5). I developed this site on the circuit of culture, expanding the specialist reading to include wider contextual readings, and facilitated the audiences so that they too could demonstrate their powers of deconstruction (see Chapter 5). I have demonstrated how the *consumer* uses the product and the adverts as a lived experience and have revealed how the audience

moves the product outside the pub space and outside the text - giving the process of consumption new dimensions, values and uses. I demonstrated how the reader of the text or the consumer of the product is not simply responding to the textual content or the market led strategies employed by the producer, rather she is employing numerous intellectual strategies to read, consume, usurp, critique and play with the messages that are reaching her (see Chapters 6 – 10).

Finally, in a rich and varied way, I have repeatedly demonstrated that the relationship between the consumer and the product is a unique one and one which belies other product profiles. Guinness has significant meaning for Irish consumers in Ireland (see Chapters 4, 6, 7, & 8) and for Irish migrants living in London and New York (see Chapters 4, 9 & 10). The product simultaneously interpellates Irish identified people across space and time and is positioned by them as representing some kind of ‘core essence of Irishness’. Consequently, Guinness is an artefact that goes beyond ‘a product produced for profit’, or ‘a product that has a cult value’ or ‘a product that has strong associations’ – Guinness is seen to embody Ireland and Irishness, and symbolise ‘nation’. It is a good that carries lived histories that are sustained by myth and ritual, and with this ‘core essence’ it helps sustain imaginings of community, place, nation, and for the diasporic Irish in London and New York, it sustains the imaginings of ‘home’.

Versions of Irishness

While much is now being written and addressed regarding migration, and diaspora, and what it is to be Irish outside Ireland, little has been written to address Irishness IN Ireland. After all, there are versions of Irishness that are not connected with Guinness and not dependent on Guinness. In Chapter 3, I cited Donagh Lane who commented that aside from Guinness, there were other institutions or movements, historically, who saw themselves as being the ‘spirit of the nation’ or pillars of Irish society. They were the Catholic Church, the State, the Gaelic Athletic Association (G.A.A.) and the *Fianna Fail* political party. Subsequently, I argue that many, other, versions of Irishness exist, and can be found around, and embedded in, Catholicism, sectarianism, sports (which demarcate and restate nationalism and county-ism) etc, and alongside these, I would argue that versions of Irishness change and continue to change according to history and location.

For example in County Cork, *Murphy's* stout is produced in the local brewery. It is very similar to Guinness and is consumed in Cork City and County as a marker of County demarcation. Corkonians claim to live in the second Capital of Ireland and there is a strong element on inclusion and exclusion along county boundaries. A 'them and us' scenario exists, and the binary Cork:rest of Ireland is marked by *Murphy's*:Guinness. This version of Irishness is not based on Guinness, and is not based on the Church, State or Sport. It is based on County versus Country where National Pride and a sense of nationhood has subverted the traditional paradigm, producing a form of 'local nationalism' that is actually rejecting the standardised, acknowledged and official version of Irishness and Irish nationalism.

As versions of Irishness change according to history and location, I have shown how people can, and sometimes do, invest themselves in 'essentialist' versions of Irishness. Remember the man in Galway (see Chapter 6) who was not a farmer, but kept muddied Wellingtons in the boot of his car so he could put them on when he wanted to go into a particular pub? or the man in Manhattan (see Chapter 6) who 'dressed down', changing out of his suit and into jeans and a jumper, so he could access his local Irish pub? Both men were buying into an essentialist version of Irishness to access specific pubs. Consequently, I argue that rather than Guinness producing an essentialist version of Irishness, I posit that it is the pub space that frames this essentialism into which Guinness drinkers are interpellated. It is here that the essentialist version of Irishness is required for immediate and symbolic reasons. Guinness, and all that its consumption returns, is so important to people that they will concur with a version demanded by the pub space and its occupants, to access the 'quality' product and thereby to access the ethnic community.

Finally, remember the first generation Irish man in London who drank Guinness whenever he returned 'home' to Dublin and went drinking with his father? In all the examples above, the consumption of Guinness, and the purchasing of, or buying into, an essentialist version of Irishness, are being used to 'fit in', belong, be members, be part of a community. Everyone is trying to 'fit in' - the first two above are trying to fit into the pub space (in Galway and in New York) as it has been defined by the regulars, and they are striving to be accepted in the local diasporic Irish community and accepted in

that pub so they can access the product, Guinness, in comfort, and vice versa. In the other example, the son is striving to fit in and be accepted by his father and to rid himself of any essence of non-Irishness that might cling to him and to rebond in a father/son moment of shared 'sameness'. He does this *by drinking Guinness*.

All these men were 'doing Irishness' apparently in a self-conscious manner, as a kind of performativity. They are making themselves a space in the community of practice which constitutes Irishness in their particular diasporic situation, and in their particular pub space.

Many varieties, many Irish

Setting up the study around the consumption of a particular product had an impact on the way in which questions about Guinness were produced. If it had been a study about, for example, sexuality and Irish identity it would have been a different set of questions and another set of answers from the same respondents.

In this study I located men and women, professional and working class, first and second generation, varying in age from 20 to 65. If I had wished to expand the profile I could have also included the '*anti-alcohol*' Irish, *gay Irish*, *ethnically mixed Irish*. And I could have located Irish people in other sectors of Irish society such as *travelling people*, whose sense of Irishness would be constructed in perhaps another way, and *Protestant Irish* in Ireland and in Northern Ireland, and the *Irish non-Guinness Drinker*. I could also have looked to the *Church-going Irish*, the *disenfranchised Irish*, and *ambivalent about their Irishness-Irish*, the *Embarrassed Irish* (denying their Irishness in order to fit in) the *homeless Irish*, the *unemployed Irish*, the *escaping-gay Irish* in London and New York. The many versions of Irish that I located for this research were 'sharing characteristics' of Irishness while also portraying very different characteristics to each other too.

In connection with the consumption of Guinness, the question 'what are the distinctive versions of Irishness?' is one that must be addressed. Here I ask if there is a *typical Guinness drinker*. There is a danger of concluding that there *is* a typical Guinness drinker when we take a cursory look at the evidence and at our initial experiences and

encounters with the product and its consumption. These would tell us that the *typical* Guinness drinker is *Irish, male, rural* or *working class*, and usually *older*. The image of the older man in the corner of the pub, with a cloth cap, dog and pint, is the stereotypical image that people may draw upon as a connotative signifier of an archetypal consuming audience. The image is further reinforced by Guinness marketing who have also portrayed such images for audience consumption. A good example of such imagery can be found in *Island* (1977) (see Chapter 5) when the pub on the Island featured such a character as a central image in the text.

This essentialist portrayal of a consumer which boasts ‘one clear, authentic set of characteristics, ... [that] does not alter across time’ (Merriam-Webster) is the easy, stereotypical, racially problematic image of an Irish Paddy which occupies the mind sets of Irish, British and American collective consciousness. It is an image that has been drawn on by the marketing department in Guinness Ireland and to various degrees in the UK and USA, though without the heavy reference to Irishness (see Chapter 3) and an image that has been further reinforced via media products such as press cartoons in *Punch* etc, (see Chapter 6), Hollywood renditions of Ireland and Irishness (see Chapter 9), and TV sitcoms, soaps etc.

I showed consumers in Dublin, London and New York the advert, *Island*, (which uses such imagery), and the respondents commented extensively on this advert in every location (see Chapter 5). Many engaged with it, describing it as a typical Guinness advert, “one of their best ads”, that was “very much ‘Ireland’” because it drew on the Irish language and Irish images which complemented the ‘Irishness’ of the product. Some critiqued it, arguing that it would not work in the 1990’s, thirty years later. However the most memorable response was the resistance to specific images in that text. For example, in Manhattan, while liking and identifying with the ‘Irishness’ of the text, Dennis and Louise both resisted a specific aspect of the text.

“If it was used in another country it really makes the Irish look ...” [she implied a negative using a facial expression],

Louise, McCormacks, Manhattan 1997

and for Dennis it was “a romantic Ireland” that he didn’t know or grow up with. For another respondent it was “not appropriate” as it “depicts the prototype [sic] Irishman sitting around waiting for the beer to arrive”. Here, the respondents were resisting the essentialist construct of Irishness and clearly they did not identify with or approve of this portrayal.

The *typical* Irish Guinness drinker was alluded to, or present, in some of the advertising texts generated by the producers and marketing machines (see Chapters 3 & 5). However the actual consumers, or Guinness drinkers, were, in themselves, a very varied profile (see Chapter 2). In the first instance, the predominant profile of the typical Irish Guinness drinker is the older, cloth-capped consumer. However, by my own stratification, I identified a limited but varied profile of consumer (see Chapter 2). In Ireland I interviewed Guinness drinkers of all ages not just *older*, I spoke to men and women, and they were not all *rural dwellers* or *construction workers*. Some did live in rural areas, and some were construction workers, but even within those limited categories there was difference. In the UK, amongst the first and second generation Irish, I did locate older, male, construction workers, but I also located businessmen, managers, educators, entrepreneurs, students, gay men, etc. I also located women; women who varied in age, geographic location and professional status. In New York it was a similar story – the essentialist stereotype could be located, but there was also a varied set of profiles of Irish consumers who were Guinness drinkers. They were all as *typical* or *atypical* as each other. They were atypical in that they were not older, male, and living in the country or construction workers – but they were typical in that they were using Guinness to make a statement about themselves and their ethnicity – they were typical in support of my thesis which sets out to show that Guinness is used to help locate community and support Irish ethnicity in London and New York. The Guinness drinkers that I located in this study were a limited sample of *all* the versions of Irishness that exist, but they were, nonetheless, ‘typical Guinness drinkers’ in that they were all locating the product for similar reasons.

The Producers and Essentialist Irishness

The typical Guinness consumer is a varied animal and this study acknowledges this variation in profiles from the onset. However, there are moments when an essentialist version of Irishness does occur and these can be located in the moments of production.

Throughout the history of Guinness advertising in print and electronic media (radio, cinema & TV) the image of Irishness has been a negotiated one. In the early 1900's the *working man* was the predominant image and that packaged version of Irishness was an essentialist version which suggested that there was only one kind of Irish, and this was further reinforced with both Anglo-Irish and US-Irish relations at these times. Later, in the 1980's there was a dramatic shift in portrayal especially in the UK when the 'smart ads' using Rutger Hauer began to appeal to the intelligentsia. Now the image shifted away from working class to intellectual. However, these were two versions of a consumer who may or may not have been Irish, and they were fixed moments of essentialist portrayal. Both moments equally excluded any other versions.

Another critical moment in the production of an essentialist version of Irishness can be found in the development of the IPC's Irish Pubs. These plastic versions of Irishness are conforming to, and promoting, a version of Irishness that is instantly rejected by Irish consumers in general and Irish Guinness drinkers in particular. In Chapter 3 (pp. 92) I argue that the Irish Pub Company's pubs were dismissed because they were productions of a particular version of Irishness which Irish consumers found offensive and inauthentic. Secondly, the elements that 'make' an Irish pub *Irish* for Irish Guinness drinkers, are factors such as the staff, and the quality of the product. Just as the authenticity of a Chinese restaurant would be questioned if the chef was not Chinese, the Irish pub is more likely to be voted 'authentic', and frequented by Irish/Guinness consumers, if the staff are Irish or if the landlord/lady is Irish.

Interestingly, the element that makes the plastic Irish Pubs able to represent themselves as 'authentic' is the fact that they serve Guinness. The fact that Guinness is present seems to lend a little more authenticity to the IPC in the eyes of the 'tourist', or non-Irish consumer, who is ultimately being targeted, and the IPC would not succeed in branding an *Irish pub* if they did not stock Guinness. The 'tourist' consumer would probably reject the Irishness of the IPC pub if it did not brandish *Guinness* logos and the Guinness product.

In Chapter 3, I describe the turn-taking that seems to occur between the producers of Guinness (and the Guinness advertising texts), and the audience. The analogy of the dance, where sometimes the audience plays the lead, and sometimes the producer plays

the lead, can be called on again. I argue that Guinness plays a role in producing the connection in a dialogic way. Guinness produces 'a Guinness version of Irishness' or a series of 'versions of Irishness' over time, and the audience, in a dialogic manner, answer back by buying into these versions of Irishness. However, the audience is also capable of taking the lead and performing other, and varied forms of Irishness, which Guinness observe and respond to.

if there is a typical Guinness drinker ...

In my research the typical Guinness drinker I found abroad was one yearning for 'home' and striving to locate 'community'. This was partly a function of my research question as people do reproduce themselves through research and research questions. However these respondents were in the pub and they were drinking Guinness. For these Irish respondents that was the factor that was common to all who occupy the pub space. That was the shared version of Irishness that these otherwise atypical consumers had in common. They strive to occupy the pub space and consume Guinness and in so doing, they succeed in occupying a space that gives them a sense of ethnic community, and they strive for a sense of ethnic community and in doing so consume Guinness. To occupy the pub space, to access Guinness as a symbolic community icon, and to access community, they need to conform to the rules of that space and the rules of that space are determined by the regulars. The consumption of Guinness is the 'way in' or the entry or membership card, but the access rules are complex. If you don't drink Guinness you don't fit in to the space, and if you don't qualify to occupy the space, you don't get a chance to access the Guinness.

Contributions and Findings

a) Empirical contributions

The methodological approaches utilised in this research have demonstrated the advantage of using a wide and varied approach. Following the circuit of culture from site to site demanded such flexibility and invention and as a result, I have successfully applied a methods-mix that returned rich and engaging data. In a way, this project was a test-drive for the circuit of culture and for me using the circuit facilitated the research

question itself, the location of hidden issues, and helped raise further issues that may not have been considered.

b) Extending the circuit

I extended the circuit of culture specifically on the site addressing *text*. I extended the specialist structuralist readings of the text to include context, and I did this by importing methods usually found in discourse analysis. Further to this, I extended the site to incorporate *non-specialist* deconstructions of the text and facilitated respondents in Ireland, the UK and the US as they analysed the Irish and UK campaigns themselves.

c) Differing experiences

I have identified that the Irish migrant's experience is different depending on where he or she migrates to. If he or she goes to the UK the issues she will face will be different from the issues facing her if she goes to the USA. Inclusion and exclusion, absorption and resistance, white on white racism, and issues of similar and dissimilar all exist in both locations but to significantly varying degrees. Building on this identification that migration is a different experience depending on where you migrate to, I have also found that 'Irishness' as an identity construct, is expressed in a different way, depending on location.

Furthermore, the diasporic experience, which is determined by contextual and temporal factors, is *expressed* in a different way depending on location, reinforcing the fact that ethnicity is relational and context specific. Brah (2000) reminds us that cultural baggage changes the moment we move to a new space, and so I have found in this research, that the experience and expressions of Irishness are significantly different for the London-Irish migrant and the New York-Irish migrant.

d) Bridging two worlds

In this research, I have successfully bridged the worlds of marketing and cultural studies and I offer marketing and advertising theory a model for a more thorough understanding of the relationship between the product and the target audience. Approaching the product and the target audience within the framework of the circuit of culture, ensures that the marketing manager can access a thorough understanding of the relationship between the two, and will therefore be in a position to cement the relationship between

the brand and its consumers. However, the approach underlines the dangers of utilising a narrow 'marketing approach' when understanding audiences. This work demonstrates that there are a variety of versions of Irishness and marketing research techniques do not always address or acknowledge this. Therefore the empirical approach used in this research locates such a gap in the marketing approach from a practitioner's perspective. This thesis, in its conclusion, demonstrates that there are many varieties of Irishness, and so to limit yourself to addressing only a portion of Irish consumers, is to restrict potential marketing volume. In recognising the variety of versions, message strategies and media strategies can be adjusted to address other groups too.

f) Identifying new boundaries

In chapters 6 and 7, I identified the pub as a site where boundaries exist. The expected identification of gender boundaries was merely the tip of the iceberg. I proceeded to excavate boundaries along other lines of demarcation, regulars v. non-regulars, non-professional v. professional, one county v. 'Other' counties, Irish v non-Irish.

Future Work

1. Production Issues. Dramatic shifts and new questions

a) *Guinness UK 2002 – a new era or pending disaster*

In Chapter 3 I described the strategies in the UK and USA whereby no images of Irishness are used and associations with Ireland and Irishness are stripped from their campaigns. However, in 2002, Guinness UK dramatically altered its advertising strategies.

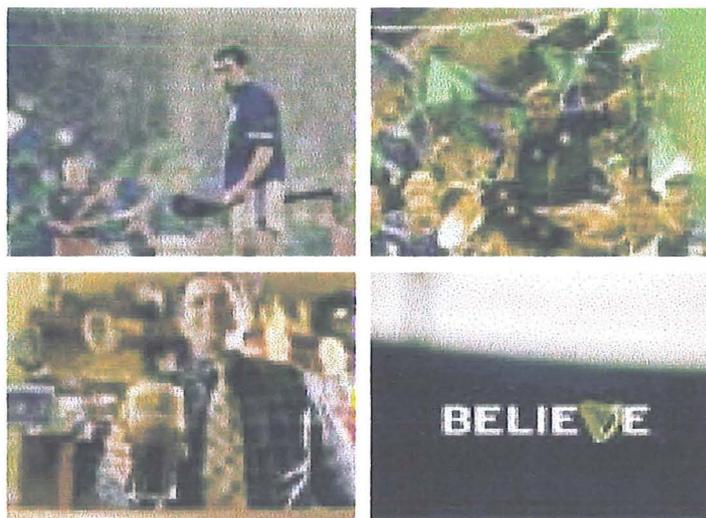


Figure 11A: Stills from *Free In, Believe*, TV advert for the UK and other markets in 2002.

The advert depicts a scene from an Irish hurling match where there is just one minute of injury time left and the main player is about to take a free shot. The advert depicts the excitement and tensions of the game, and cuts to scenes of spectators and supporters in a pub drinking Guinness while watching the match. The player pauses, sees himself and the coveted silver cup held aloft on the shoulders of exuberant fans, victoriously sipping a well-earned pint of Guinness. Inspired by the vision of success he takes the shot and scores. The advert was first screened in its 60-second version on RTE1, ITV, Channel Four, Sky and on cinema screens.

Since Guinness and Grand Met merged in 1997 to become Diageo plc. the advertising for Guinness UK has shifted slightly – however this new advert is a total departure from

the policies and philosophies described by Hosking in 1997. Guinness used the Dublin agency, Irish International BBDO, to create the first part of a new global advertising campaign for Guinness stout entitled *Believe*, which will be seen in draught markets in Britain, the United States and Australia.

Tommy Kinsella, head of advertising, Guinness UDV² said *Believe* marked a change in strategy aimed at encouraging Guinness drinkers to remain loyal to the brand.

When asked if he was concerned with overseas markets, and whether consumers would associate with the game of hurling, he said “research showed a good recognition of hurling, and those that didn't know it as hurling were intrigued by the sport” (*Marketing*, 2002).

In reaction to the advert, the *Munster Express* (March 15th 2002) sports writer Jamie O’Keefe, commented on the advert with a column headline *Bad Ad* and continued

I'll start off with that godawful Guinness ad; you know, the one with the rain-soaked, free-taking hurling hero faced by a goalmouth full of monsters and a lead-weight *sliothar*³ in the final seconds of a big game.

O’Keefe objected to the fact that the main actor, hurling hero, and “star of the show is in fact English actor Joseph Mawle, who never picked up a hurley until he went for the audition”. Further injured, he described the fact that 150 Irishmen who *were* familiar with the use of the *camán*⁴, were turned down because they “didn't have the right look”. O’Keefe relented a little as he noted that some Irish hurlers *were* used in the ‘game’, as well as a real [Irish] referee. However he went on to criticise the “awkward swing”, noting that while the ball is supposed to be heading for the goal its trajectory was “distinctly skywards”. This oppositional and resistant, not to say angry reading of the text raised some interesting issues for future research. O’Keefe clearly objected to ‘an intrinsically Irish game’ being hijacked by an English actor and an English advert. This raises issues of authenticity and issues of exclusion and rejection based on ‘the authentic’ or ‘pure’ and underlines Mac an Ghail’s concerns about the experience of

² UDV - United Distillers & Vintners

³ *sliothar* - the leather ball used in the game.

⁴ *camán* - hurley stick, ‘like a hockey stick’ - used to hit the ball.

the Irish in Britain where theories around colour racism do not begin to address the complex and under-researched issues around Anglo-Irish relations.

The new strategy to 'use Irishness', and the second new strategy, that is to develop an advert for worldwide distribution, are two major shifts for Guinness marketing in the UK. The reactions to the advert from Irish sports commentators suggest that further research focusing on Irish consumers in general would be a revealing study. Furthermore, a complementary study amongst UK non-Irish Guinness consumers would also be edifying.

The policy shift in 2002 was underlined by another 'first' in the UK. For the first time ever, London hosted a St Patrick's Day parade. Ken Livingstone made the following speech

As London's first directly elected Mayor, I am delighted to officially welcome the celebration of St. Patrick's Day in Britain's capital city.

Henceforth, as well as being an occasion which every Londoner can enjoy, the celebration of St. Patrick's Day will mark the enormous contribution which Irish people have made, and continue to make, to the economic, social and cultural life of this city.

Livingstone 2002

The festival was organised by "Mayor Livingstone, the Irish Post, the Irish Counties Association and Irish community organisations as a celebration of the Irish contribution to the capital. The festival showcased Irish music, culture and literature and there was traditional and contemporary music, dancing, story telling, and numerous peripheral activities - a children's play area, bars, food and marquees showcasing Irish goods" (*Telegraph* 17th March 2002). The occurrence of this event suggests major shifts in political thinking in the UK and it also indicates that in certain sectors of governance there is an over urging of attitude-change in London with regarding the Irish community. I posit that the shift is directly linked with political developments in Northern Ireland and a need to give the Good Friday Agreement some impetus. However I am surmising and consequently I would like to address this 'space of change' in future work.

As well as looking at arising questions in the site of *production*, some issues around *audience*, and the consumer, are also engaging and demand further exploration.

2. Audience Moves. Unresolved Questions

a) Exploring the questions of the myth of return

In the UK and USA respondents describe the constant desire to move back to Ireland. First-generation migrants refer to Ireland as ‘home’, and most said that they would like to return before long, to live there permanently. However, it is unlikely that they will as the trends of migration rarely see a reversal, although there are a few exceptional phases and circumstances when a reversal does occur. I would like to explore what I have coined the ‘myth of return’. This is a wish that migrants carry with them and I would like to examine how that belief and wish fulfilment impinges on their lives, their levels of integration and resistance etc. in their new diasporic space. Mac an Ghail also touches on this issue of resistance when he asks “How do a group of older immigrants, who have spent most of their adult, working lives in Britain, continue to refer to Ireland as ‘home’? In what ways does this exclude or not exclude their having a sense of Britain as their ‘home’, particularly with reference to their children’s lives?” (1999, p. 58). Further research into the resisting migrant and the differing experiences depending on location is required.

b) Returning migrants – how the Irish treat them

In conjunction with the previous issue, the myth of return, I found that many migrants, when they do return, even if just for a holiday, encounter a sense of ‘outsiderness’ in Ireland too. They are criticised for changes in their accent, new lexemes that pepper their vocabulary, and for their new attitudes and possible success. In future work I would combine these two issues and examine hybridity and authenticity for the returning migrant as this is a space that has received little attention.

c) Irish nationalism/sectarian divides

In Chapter 7 I recounted a story told at the ACIS conference by a member of the audience where I was presenting a paper, whereby Guinness is considered to be an

acceptable product but Harp is a '*fenian* drink'. There is a binary opposition around the consumption of Guinness for Protestants and Catholics, and the issues of sectarianism and how they impinge on consumption and the marking of goods, opens up another area requiring exploration. It raises questions around the pub as Protestant/Unionist, and about Guinness as a non-partisan commodity. It is a fascinating issue and warrants further research at a later date.

d) Women as migrants

In general, I would like to carry out more research on Irish women as migrants, as Buijs cites Morokvasic (1993, p.1) and others who note that until the mid 1970's women were invisible in studies of migrancy, and when they did emerge tended to do so within the category of dependents of men. Although Irish women did not necessarily travel as dependants (historically they were more likely to have travelled alone or with another Irish woman) there is a gap in research around Irish women migrants (historically or contemporary).

e) Female consumers as target audiences

As consumers, women are not part of Guinness's target audience and at best the marketing departments ensure that they won't alienate or annoy them but never speak directly to them. It seems that the marketing managers fear that by addressing female consumers they would somehow contaminate the 'symbolic maleness', and 'symbolic Irishness' of the product. I would like to carry out an in-depth study with female consumers and measure their reactions and attitudes towards this. I would also like to ask their male counterparts if they would be 'put off the product' if Guinness did actively target female consumers, and see if Guinness's fears are ill founded.

f) Female occupation in the pub

In conjunction with the previous point, I would like to explore female occupation of the pub space further. Although this research did raise interesting findings around women occupying the pub space, I would like to delve deeper and examine the social issues surrounding women in that space. I would examine whether there is a process of emasculation for the males occupying this space when women are present and I would include male respondents in such a study. Building on my findings in this study I would

carry out further research specifically into Irish female migrants using the pub in London and New York.

3. Product concerns

a) Religious issues

I questioned the religious aspect that emerges around the product ritual called 'the Wait'. The nature of the product demands that the consumer must wait for the pint to settle, and I wondered if there is a link between delayed gratification from a religious aspect and the apparent enjoyment and engagement around 'the Wait', which is another moment of delayed gratification. Issues around abstinence also emerged when respondents described 'giving up drink' for Lent. A specific study into the religious motifs around the product would be revealing from a social and political perspective.

b) A linguistic study

A specific study from a sociolinguistic perspective would return rich data as this research revealed interesting language issues occurring around the product from both the producer's and consumer's perspectives. The denotative and connotative free association words were engaging, and the existence of alternative words for the product, especially amongst the migrant consumers in London and New York would be an engaging study in itself.

4. Texts and Meaning

The audience deconstruction of the advert *Island*, was edifying as all groups deconstructed it as an advert that was 'sending out a message that we should speak Irish', and they perceived it as directly linked with a national campaign to regenerate *Gaeilge* in Ireland. When I ask the producers they insisted that this message was not intentional and the strategy of the advert had been to communicate and demonstrate the product ritual around 'the Wait'. The advert, albeit twenty-five years old, raises issues around the intentional injecting of ideological messages into a text, and the possibility of such messages occurring unintentionally. This prompts the question 'do producers

inscribe dominant ideological messages at a subconscious or unconscious level?' I suggest that graphic designers, account managers and creative directors are also members of the nation's collective consciousness, and unconsciousness, and so it is possible that at a subconscious level, ideology can be written into a message too.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the value of Guinness as a cultural artefact, and its ascribed meaning is a sum total of all of the factors above. The product is embraced and consumed because of the different layers of benefits, which are sometimes not perceived as relevant or evident to the consumer on first reading. Identity through membership and the wearing of the product as a badge of identity is cited indirectly. The consumers construct self identities, which can be 'me' as female or 'me' as working class or 'me' as Irish etc, by using a combination of all the variables which combine to inscribe the product with its meaning. Audiences consume the product, the text, the rituals, the history, the myths and the stories surrounding the product. They persevere with the consumption because they use the product to construct their sense of 'me' and learn in a new arena and social space how to secure a sense of self, Irish self, and self 'at home'.

As Frank Zappa said "you can't be a Real Country unless you have a BEER ..." and I have shown that if you have a beer that is so drenched with signification that it stands for that 'Real Country', then you have a beer that is unique ...

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Appendix 1

Details of the composition of focus group and the participants

Ireland - Audience Focus Groups

Group 1: The Clonsilla Inn, North Dublin – [Working Class]

Date: 22nd August 1996

Respondent	Occupation	Age	Gender mix	First/Other Gen. [UK & USA only]	Freq. in pub p.week	No. of pints p. week	Brand loyal/switchers
Antoinette	Manufacturing Operator	20 +	Female	N/A	4-5	20+	Loyal
Jackie	Computer Operator	30+	Female	N/A	1	4	Switcher
Tina	Asst. Manageress	40+	Female	N/A	2-3	14	Loyal
Mary	Housewife	30+	Female	N/A	1	1-2	Switcher
Jack	Research Officer	40+	Male	N/A	6-7	70	Loyal
Mick	<i>Garda (Police)</i>	30+	Male	N/A	2-3	8	Switcher
John	<i>Garda (Police)</i>	30+	Male	N/A	2-3	20	Loyal

Group 2: The Step Inn, South Dublin – [Professional]

Date: 23rd August 1996

Respondent	Occupation	Age	Gender mix	First/Other Gen. [UK & USA only]	Freq. in pub p.week	No. of pints p. week	Brand loyal/switchers
Paul 1	Purchasing Manager	40+	Male	N/A	1	2-3	Loyal
Paul 2	Programme Co-ordinator	20+	Male	N/A	2-3	20	Loyal
Tommy	Programme Co-ordinator	20+	Male	N/A	4-5	10	Switcher
Kate	Operations Manager	20+	Female	N/A	1	1	Switcher
Fiona	Project Co-ordinator	20+	Female	N/A	4-5	12	Switcher

Group 3: The Grand Hotel, Tramore, Co Waterford (1) [Working Class]**Date: 28th August 1996**

Respondent	Occupation	Age	Gender mix	First/Other Gen. [UK & USA only]	Freq. in pub p.week	No. of pints p. week	Brand loyal/switchers
Niamh	Sales Assistant	20+	Female	N/A	2-3	1	Switcher
Sharon	Housewife	30+	Female	N/A	1	1	Switcher
Linda	Sales Assistant	30+	Female	N/A	2-3	2	Switcher
John	Painter	40+	Male	N/A	1	3	Loyal
Keith	Electronic Technician	20+	Male	N/A	4-5	10	Switcher
Gillie	Driver	50+	Male	N/A	4-5	20-25	Loyal

Group 4: The Grand Hotel, Tramore, Co Waterford (2) [Professional]**Date: 29th August 1996**

Respondent	Occupation	Age	Gender mix	First/Other Gen. [UK & USA only]	Freq. in pub p.week	No. of pints p. week	Brand loyal/switchers
Nóirín	Teacher	20+	Female	N/A	3-4	12	Loyal
Esther	Teacher	40+	Female	N/A	1	0-1	Switcher
Patrick	Computer Programmer	20+	Male	N/A	2-3	12	Switcher
Jim	Instructor	50+	Male	N/A	2-3	5	Switcher
Michael	Customs Officer	30+	Male	N/A	0-1	4	Loyal

UK - Audience Focus Groups

Group 1: The Parkway Inn, North London, First-Generation [Mixed – Working /Professional]

Date: 10th November 1996

Respondent	Occupation	Age	Gender mix	First/Other Gen. [UK & USA only]	Freq. In pub p.week	No. of pints p. week	Brand loyal/switchers
Liam	Decorator	40+	Male	First	7	15	Loyal
Eddie	Builder	50+	Male	First	4-5	50	Loyal
Brendan	Lorry Driver	30+	Male	First	4-5	5	Switcher
Mick	Managing Director	30+	Male	First	4-5	10	Switcher
John	Buyer, Construction	30+	Male	First	2-3	20	Loyal

Group 2: The Bedford Inn, South London, Second-Generation [Working]

Date: 12th November 1996

Respondent	Occupation	Age	Gender mix	First/Other Gen. [UK & USA only]	Freq. In pub p.week	No. of pints p. week	Brand loyal/switchers
Chloe	Sales Assistant	20+	Female	Second	1	1	Switcher
Clare	Freelance Journalist	20+	Female	Second	2-3	2	Switcher
Sean	Civil Engineer	20+	Male	Second	2-3	10	Loyal
Peter	Mechanic	20+	Male	Second	2-3	8-10	Loyal

Group 3: Institute of Education, University of London, First-Generation [Professional]

Date: 24th April 1998

Respondent	Occupation	Age	Gender mix	First/Other Gen. [UK & USA only]	Freq. In pub p.week	No. of pints p. week	Brand loyal/switchers
Mandy	Administrator	40+	Female	First	0-1	0-1	Switcher
Loreto	Administrator	40+	Female	First	0-1	0-1	Switcher
Marguerite	Administration	30+	Female	First	3-4	1-2	Switcher
Colm	Lecturer	40+	Male	First	0-1	2	Switcher
Tom	Printer	60+	Male	First	2-3	2	Switcher

Group 4: Institute of Education, University of London, Second-Generation

[Professional]

Date: 23rd April 1998

Respondent	Occupation	Age	Gender mix	First/Other Gen. [UK & USA only]	Freq. In pub p.week	No. of pints p. week	Brand loyal/switchers
Tara	Senior Executive Officer	20+	Female	Second	2-3	0-1	Switcher
Bridget	Administrator	50+	Female	Second	0-1	0-1	Switcher
Fiona	Administrator	20+	Female	Second	2-3	0-1	Switcher
Tim	Lecturer	40+	Male	Second	0-1	0-1	Switcher

USA Audience Focus Groups

Group 1: McCormacks, Manhattan, New York, First-Generation, [Professional].

Date: 25th March 1997

Respondent	Occupation	Age	Gender mix	First/Other Gen. [UK & USA only]	Freq. In pub p.week	No. of pints p. week	Brand loyal/switchers
Louise	Administrator (U.N.)	20+	Female	First	2-3	1-2	Switcher
Fred	Insurance	30+	Male	First	1-2	10	Loyal
Dermot	Actuary	20+	Male	First	2-3	16	Loyal
Denis	Computer Analyst	20+	Male	First	1	3	Loyal

Group 2: The Starting Gate-Queens, New York, First-Generation, [Working].

Date: 21st March 1997

Respondent	Occupation	Age	Gender mix	First/Other Gen. [UK & USA only]	Freq. In pub p.week	No. of pints p. week	Brand loyal/switchers
Conor	Plasterer	20+	Male	First	2-3	6	Switcher
Padraig	Labourer	20+	Male	First	2-3	0-1	Switcher
Marcus	Labourer	20+	Male	First	2-3	0-1	Switcher
Kevin	Labourer	20+	Male	First	2-3	1-2	Switcher
John	Labourer	20+	Male	First	2-3	10-15	Switcher

Group 3: Cryann's Bar, New York,

Mixed-Generation, [AGM Jersey Irish-American Club]

Date: 23rd March 1997

Respondent	Occupation	Age	Gender mix	First/Other Gen. [UK & USA only]	Freq. In pub p.week	No. of pints p. week	Brand loyal/switchers
Freda	Irish Dance Teacher	40+	Female	First	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tom	N/A	40+	Male	Second	N/A	N/A	N/A
Berta	Irish Dance Teacher	40+	Female	Second	N/A	N/A	N/A
Brendan	N/A	40+	Male	First	N/A	N/A	N/A
Rose	N/A	40+	Female	First	N/A	N/A	N/A
Kelly (alias)	N/A	40+	Female	First	N/A	N/A	N/A
Greta	Irish Dance Teacher	50+	Female	First	N/A	N/A	N/A
Fr. Sean	Priest	30+	Male	First	N/A	N/A	N/A
Gerry	Ex-Army	50+	Male	First	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ann	N/A	40+	Female	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Group 4: Cryann's Bar, New York,

Mixed-Generation, [AGM Jersey Irish-American Club]

Date: 23rd March 1997

Respondent	Occupation	Age	Gender mix	First/Other Gen. [UK & USA only]	Freq. In pub p.week	No. of pints p. week	Brand loyal/switchers
Mark	Geologist	30+	Male	Fourth	N/A	N/A	N/A
Sean	Academic	30+	Male	Second	N/A	N/A	N/A
Jim	Researcher	30+	Male	Second	N/A	N/A	N/A

**One on One Interviews (*Vox Pop*¹) AGM Jersey Irish-American Club,
Cryann's Bar, New York, Mixed-Generation.
Date: 23rd March 1997**

Individual Interviews: 1 Cryann's Bar, New York

Vince	Committee Member Jersey Irish American Club	60+	Male	Third	N/A	N/A	N/A
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Individual Interviews: 2 Cryann's Bar, New York

Catherine	N/A	40+	Female	Third	N/A	N/A	N/A
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Individual Interviews: 3 Cryann's Bar, New York

Lisa	N/A	20+	Female	Fourth	N/A	N/A	Switcher
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Individual Interviews: 4 Cryann's Bar, New York

Mary	Nurse	30+	Female	Fourth	N/A	N/A	N/A
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Individual Interviews: 5 Cryann's Bar, New York

Kathleen	N/A	40+	Female	Second	N/A	N/A	N/A
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Individual Interviews: 6 Cryann's Bar, New York

Y	N/A	30+	Female	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
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Individual Interviews: 7 Cryann's Bar, New York

Vince	Retired	60+	Male	First	N/A	N/A	N/A
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Individual Interviews: 8 Cryann's Bar, New York

Jim	Journalist	50+	Male	Second	N/A	N/A	N/A
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Individual Interviews: 9 Cryann's Bar, New York

Kathleen	Domestic Engineer	30+	Female	Second	N/A	N/A	N/A
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¹ I refer to these as 'vox pop' because they were very short interviews, but unlike a vox pop they occurred in one place and were a homogenous group i.e. all some-generation Irish, attending an AGM for Jersey Irish-American Club.

One on One Interviews (Experts) Various Locations, New York

Date: 19th – 23rd March 1997

Individual (Expert) Interviews: 1 Manhattan, New York – 20th March 1997

Siobhan Hennessey	Irish Business Organisation	30+	Female	First	N/A	N/A	Switcher
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Individual (Expert) Interviews: 2 Manhattan, New York – 23rd March 1997

John Cryann	Bar Owner Cryann's	60+	Male	First	N/A	N/A	Switcher
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Individual (Expert) Interviews: 3 Manhattan, New York – 20th March 1997

Jim Mulvihill	Ancient Order of the Hibernians	60+	Male	Second	N/A	N/A	N/A
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Individual (Expert) Interviews: 4 Queens, New York – 21st March 1997

Fr. Colm Campbell	Irish Immigrants Centre	60+	Male	First	N/A	N/A	N/A
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Individual (Expert) Interviews: 5 Manhattan, New York – 19th March 1997

Dermot O'Sullivan	Bar Owner Thady Cons	30+	Male	First	N/A	N/A	Switcher
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Individual (Expert) Interviews: 6 Queens, New York – 21st March 1997

Ronan	Bar man	20+	Male	First	1-2	0	Switcher
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