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THE IRISH DIASPORA AS BAR ENTREPRENEURS
A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN BIRMINGHAM (UK) AND CHICAGO (US)

BY

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Abstract

This research seeks to establish the Irish migrant experience within extant sociological theories of ethnic entrepreneurship. The comparative study highlights the interface between the Irish migration experience and bar entrepreneurship within Birmingham (UK) and Chicago (US). Three interrelated primary aims characterise the research. Firstly, to explain why the Irish diaspora is excluded from ethnic entrepreneurship debates and to show where their experience as bar entrepreneurs 'fits' within the established literature. Secondly, to argue that the 'racist' stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous impacts upon the Irish migrant bar proprietor in the sense that the niche is perceived as a 'natural' form of economic activity. Thirdly, to show how opportunities for economic upward mobility within the niche are greater for the Irish in Chicago compared to Birmingham. A theory of ethnic entrepreneurship, termed the 'interactive' model, serves as a conceptual framework for addressing the primary aims.

The methodology includes cross-national qualitative field work. During the research process 42 semi-structured interviews were conducted in Irish run bars, of which 21 are in Chicago and 21 in Birmingham. To preserve the anonymity of the respondents none of the respondents are mentioned by name or establishment.

A number of conclusions are presented below with regard to the original aims: (1) the ethnic entrepreneurship theories commenced from a narrowly defined framework which excluded the form of self employment in which the Irish are overrepresented; (2) an explanation of why the Irish remain ghettoised in particular jobs requires an understanding of their migration tradition; (3) the niche of bar proprietor is perceived as a 'natural' form of self employment because of the 'racist' stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous; (4) the stereotype has not prevented the Irish from achieving economic success within the US; (5) during the time this research was operationalised bar entrepreneurship did not afford a greater opportunity for upward mobility in Chicago compared to Birmingham; (6) the bar business is a vulnerable labour intensive form of economic activity which occupies a subordinate relationship with the state and larger capitals; (7) the economic strategy of constructing a 'stage Irish identity' within a bar links to the 'racist' stereotype that bars are the 'natural' habitat of the Irish.

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FOR MY FAMILY

Chapter One

Introduction

Accounts of how the Irish diaspora experience compares to other ethnic minority groups are relatively rare within extant sociological literature. Although their 'visibility' as immigrants during the nineteenth century has been extensively documented by historians the only major sociological contribution explaining the Irish experience in Britain during the twentieth century is Jackson's (1963) study. The frame of reference for the Irish in North America is similar, where a good deal of historical research focuses on the nineteenth century experience and then tends to fade away after the 1920's corresponding to the period when migration was severely curtailed by a series of immigration laws. Their experience has also been eclipsed within the burgeoning trend of sociological literature on ethnic entrepreneurship that has developed in Britain and the US. Overall there is little comparative data which contrasts and compares their experience to other twentieth century migrant groups or to other members of the Irish diaspora either within or across different contexts.

Thus given the breadth of potential research the focus of this study engages with a particular aspect of Irish diaspora, 'invisibility'. The aim is to examine the Irish experience as bar entrepreneurs in Birmingham

(UK) and Chicago (US). However, to establish their presence within the ethnic entrepreneurship literature an explanation of the characteristics of their migration tradition is also necessary.

I intend to argue that an account of the Irish experience in bar entrepreneurship is incomplete without an understanding of their migration experience. Castles & Miller (1993) argue that there are separate substantial bodies of empirical and theoretical research on migration and ethnic settlement which are inadequately linked. By making the point that the International Sociological Association is characterised by distinct research committees for 'ethnic, race and minority relations' and for the 'sociology of migration' they demonstrate that the two discourses are perceived as distinct. This research aims to show that there is a complex interaction between the Irish experience in entrepreneurship and the nature of their migration experience. I will argue that an understanding of the Irish diaspora as bar entrepreneurs would be inadequate without an understanding of the historically and contextual specific factors which have shaped the nature of the jobs on offer to them both in Ireland and in the countries of settlement.

Outlined below are three primary research propositions which form the focus of this study. Theoretically and empirically the propositions are situated within a broad framework of migration and ethnic entrepreneurship studies. First, it is proposed that Irish migrant bar proprietors in Britain and the US are an example of the larger 'invisible' collective of self employed Irish who have been excluded from post World War Two sociological theories of ethnic entrepreneurship. Second, it is proposed that the derogatory, virtually universal, stereotype of 'drunken paddy' is derived from a colonial legacy and serves to cast bars as a 'natural' form of self employment for the Irish. Third it is proposed that bar proprietorship in the US has provided greater opportunities for upward mobility for the Irish than it has in Britain. Evidence presented within this study substantiates the first two propositions. However empirical evidence of the early 1990's does not support the final proposition. Further lines of enquiry have been derived from a reflective analysis of empirical evidence, observations from the field-work experience, interrogation of the established literature and the shifting conceptions of the researcher.

The field work for this predominantly qualitative research study was based on 50 semi-structured interviews of which eight were pilot interviews. All of these interviews took place within the respondents own bars

between June 1992 and February 1993. One further pilot interview was conducted in the university halls with an Irish ex bar owner. Of the 50 interviews, 3 were undertaken for the main pilot study in Birmingham, plus a further five pilot exploratory interviews were undertaken in Galway, Ireland. Forty two interviews accounted for the main study, 21 in Birmingham, UK and 21 in Chicago, US. Of these forty one were taped as one interviewee refused both being taped and having written notes taken. Following the interviews, with the respondents permission the forty one who had agreed to be taped were sent pre packaged blank cassette tapes in case there was anything they wished to add to their accounts or indeed anything else they wished to talk about. Of the 41 tapes sent one was returned with additional information. In total 56 people participated in the main study of whom 44 were Irish born, 22 women and 22 men. Out of the 44 Irish born 6 migrated as children in families. Of the 38 remaining 36 were single at the time of migration. Only one couple migrated to Britain in a married partnership. With the exception of one male respondent the remainder of the Irish born respondents were from the Republic of Ireland. The age range corresponds to the period of their migration which spanned nearly half a century from 1945-1990.

Labelling the respondents 'ethnic entrepreneurs' refers to the economic activity of minority group people who earn their living by being self employed in business. For this study the operational definition of entrepreneurship is similar to that proposed by Light (1986) meaning self employed business people with employees or operating as one person enterprises. Of the 42 Irish bar enterprises in the main study 41 occupied the former category as self employed with employees. Only one operated as a single person enterprise. In contrast to their single status at the time of migration most of the respondents' had subsequently established immediate family networks. Thus the overwhelming majority of businesses at the time of interview involved some form of 'family labour', either paid or unpaid. Consequently some of the participants in the study were the secondary 'invisible' workforce. Accounts of how they worked within the bar, whether told themselves or by the respondents, are also included within the following chapters.

Chapter 2 identifies through a literature review how and why the Irish are 'invisible' within the late twentieth century ethnic entrepreneurship literature. The ethnic entrepreneurship literature is critiqued in the light of the Irish respondents' experience. It is shown that their motivation for entrepreneurship differs from the cultural theories which predominate

within the literature. Moreover the patterns of their lifestyles show that structural factors are primary determinants for entrepreneurship.

Chapter 3 focuses upon the pre-emigration characteristics and the circumstances of the respondents migration. In order to link the two discourses of ethnic entrepreneurship and migration, the 'interactive' model of ethnic entrepreneurship is used as a conceptual tool (Waldinger et al, 1990). The circumstances of twentieth century Irish migration are shown to be characterised by class and gender inequalities.

Chapter 4 explains simultaneously how the derogatory stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous was socially constructed and how it impacted upon immigrant bar entrepreneurs during the nineteenth century. Evidence within this chapter establishes how the stereotype justified economic exploitation during the penal period of colonisation. Further it will show how the stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous has subsequently shaped perceptions of the Irish diaspora in Britain and the US ultimately labelling Irish diaspora saloon keepers as 'naturally' predisposed to the economic niche. In both locations there is an abundance of evidence revealing how the Irish diaspora bar was the cornerstone for furnishing a range of needs for Irish immigrants.

In chapter 5 the concern is to show the continuities and ruptures of perceptions of the Irish during the twentieth century. Evidence shows that during the twentieth century research on the Irish in Britain and the US has focused upon patterns of assimilation and upward mobility. It will be established how dominant ideological perceptions of the Irish in Britain and the US shifted from being a 'visible' problem during the nineteenth century to a group whose presence was 'invisible' as a problem compared to the experience of other groups during the twentieth century. However a number of continuities prevail. It will be argued that an effect from this ideological 'invisibility' concealed the fact that the Irish continued to predominate in the same types of low paid jobs they had occupied during the nineteenth century. Further, the derogatory stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous has been reworked on a twentieth century terrain. From the accounts of the respondents it will be argued that certain forms of discrimination are an expression of 'racism' which show similarities to various aspects of sexism. Hence whether or not the Irish experience racism is debated.

Chapter 6 focuses upon the structural characteristics which constrain and enable bar entrepreneurship. Particular attention is paid to comparing the

similarities and differences between opportunity structures within the different contexts. The argument will be established that in both Britain and the US this form of ethnic entrepreneurship is tied in a subordinate relationship to larger capitals and the state. Together the state and larger capitalist interests are identified as the most powerful players within the three way relationship. The state is all powerful with larger capitals as the intermediary and the bar entrepreneur as the subordinate player on both counts. A comparative analysis shows that there is little evidence to support the hypothesis that the niche affords a greater opportunity for economic upward mobility in the US compared to Britain. Consequently in the historically specific context of the 1990's running a bar in the US does not present itself as anymore economically lucrative than the opportunities within the economic niche in Britain. Rather because the nature of the industry is characterised by a high degree of economic failure this raises the question as to how the respondents do compete successfully.

Hence chapters seven and eight are concerned with showing the most important strategies which enable economic survival. In chapter 7 one aspect of this survival is shown to be the mobilisation of female family labour. Because cheap forms of labour are required to operate a labour intensive business the relationship between members of a family are shown

to be potentially exploitative. The focus is directed upon two contrasting forms of women's involvement in entrepreneurship, as family labour and as their role as entrepreneurs. Given that women's role as unpaid family labour is an aspect which has been drawn heavily upon within ethnic entrepreneurship theory the Irish experience affords a useful comparison. The evidence shows that although the characteristics of Irish migration have been predominantly single the same strategies of using family labour or other forms of cheap labour is a central component to the success of a bar business. However to counter this somewhat functional argument an account of the strategies used by the Irish women entrepreneurs is also necessary.

In Chapter 8 the research turns full circle. Evidence shows that a strategy designed to attract customers involves invoking aspects of the stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous. It will be argued that in both contexts (although on a much greater scale in the US) various aspects of 'stage' Irish culture are mobilised as a resource in order to promote the economic viability of the businesses. One outcome of this strategy is that the stereotype which associates the Irish and drink as 'natural' has been capitalised on by some bar owners to convey the conviviality of the 'stage Irish' host. Evidence here has particular implications for cultural theories

of ethnic entrepreneurship as it will be argued that power relationships define the way in which so-called 'cultural traits' are used.

A number of conclusions are presented as potential propositions for future research. Further proposals are outlined simultaneously with a summary of the argument which has characterised the preceding chapters. Two themes dominate the proposals. Firstly, it is argued that the rising trend of self employment as an economic activity in the industrialised nations is an issue that requires sociological investigation. Secondly, the suggestion is made for further sociological research into the nature of Irish migration in order to understand how it is characterised by class, 'race' and gender inequalities. It is necessary to establish accounts of their twentieth century experience within sociological literature which show the interface between migration and minority group settlement. The Irish experience needs to be compared with the experience of other minority groups within both of these interrelated discourses.

This thesis includes an appendix on my experience of cross national research. My personal account of researching in a strange and familiar location shows how the experience was characterised by similarity and difference. By reflecting on the research experience I explain how my fieldwork was operationalised. As a social researcher I have attempted to

interpret the reality of the respondents in order to try to understand how they are making sense of their own situations. However the 'common sense' frameworks which embody the respondents' accounts are removed from the theoretical perspectives through which the researcher interprets the situation. It is critical that the researcher recognises that in essence ethnography simultaneously embodies two levels of interpretation, the respondents and the researchers perspective (Shipman,1988:45). As such my position reflects those who argue against the claim that social science is free but rather that there is in fact, no possibility of a neutral text (Atkinson, 1990: 7, Stacey, 1969:3).

In sum the following chapters which are about to be presented have at best established the Irish diaspora presence in the sociological literature on ethnic entrepreneurship and at worst bored the reader to the conclusion that it matters little that their presence is 'visualised'. However as with all issues of a sociological nature it depends, in part, upon the readers perspective.

Chapter Two

A Literature Review Defining the Nature of Irish Exclusion and the Case for their Inclusion into the Ethnic Entrepreneurship Debates

Two questions have shaped this literature review. Why has the Irish experience been excluded from the sociological research on ethnic entrepreneurship in Britain and the US and where does their experience as Irish diaspora bar entrepreneurs 'fit' within the spectrum of theoretical perspectives that characterise the extant literature? To address these central questions the relevant literature will be reviewed. The respondents' accounts will also be integrated with the analysis of the ethnic entrepreneurship debates. This research focuses upon an economic niche which generally entails the use of employees (bar-workers). The 'ethnic' entrepreneurs in this study, although mainly Irish born, also include second generation who believe themselves to be part of an ethnic minority group. For the respondents in this research ; 'Ethnic entrepreneurship denotes ethnic minority specialisation in self employment without, however, imposing the requirement of foreign born' (Light & Bonacich, 1988: 18).

The body of literature which has been selected will focus on a number of broad themes. To begin with there is a short overview which argues why

the Irish diaspora should be included in the discourses on ethnic entrepreneurship. It will be argued that the 'ethnic entrepreneur' debates commenced their inquiry from a narrowly defined conceptual framework. From this perspective it is shown why the focus has served to exclude the Irish experience. The second section of this chapter highlights the different meanings which are applied to 'ethnic' and 'entrepreneurship'. How 'ethnic entrepreneurship' has been subsequently enumerated, will be critically analysed. For the third section of this literature review the 'ethnic entrepreneurship' theoretical debates are examined against the respondents experience. Simultaneously the areas of 'entrepreneurship' in which the Irish predominate are compared to the areas in which they are overrepresented within paid employment. Within this chapter attention is also directed towards comparing the Irish experience with that of other minority groups.

The Nature of the Problem- An Overview.

How the conceptual framework of the ethnic entrepreneurship debates was informed by the established sociological models poses an important point of departure for understanding why the Irish were excluded from the ethnic entrepreneurship debates. By situating the theoretical starting point in the sociological debates of the period it is possible to show why

the conceptual models tended to proceed in a narrowly defined framework. During the 1970's theorists developed models which explained the increased trend towards self-employment as a feature of contemporary migration. In general explanations of 'self-employment' could not be accommodated by theories of capital accumulation. To explain the growth of an economic activity, which was distinct from theories of capital accumulation, models sought to show why some minority groups were over-represented in self employment with employees compared to others. However by attempting to explain the 'success' stories, the majority of minority group people who were self employed without employees were excluded from the framework. In short the focus has always remained on explaining the experience of minority groups who, compared to other minority people, are over-represented in small business enterprise with employees.

Adopting a narrow focus on minority groups who are over-represented in a narrowly defined form of entrepreneurship has served to exclude the comparative experience of other minority groups. Minority groups who are statistically under-represented in business with employees have been marginalised or ignored from the focus of the inquiry. Because the Irish have been amongst those groups with lower levels of entrepreneurship they have been ignored. In addition, because the Irish were not

considered to be 'victims' of racism they were equally ignored by parallel developments in 'race relations' theory. Reference to the Irish has generally been presented in the form of yardstick measure to show their low rates on the hierarchy. The one reference to their presence in Waldinger et al (1990:40) refers to their apparent unsuccessful business rate; 'Jews, for example, were far more successful in business in the United States than were the Irish'. Alternatively Mars & Ward(1984) focus on the areas of economic activity in which Irish men predominate and assume that these are not associated with self employment; 'Irishmen for example are identified with working on building sites rather than self employment' (Mars & Ward, 1984:11). Not only is the invisibility of Irish women obvious but there is also some ambiguity as to what is conceptualised as self employment. The statement above pre-supposes that Irish men working 'on the lump' are not self employed. In reality empirical evidence shows that at least one third of Irish people employed in Britain in the building industry are self employed (Maddon & Pearson, 1991). Further historical and contemporary evidence shows how Irish migrant bar owners have consistently doubled as building contract recruiters as well as using their establishments as recruitment agencies for the self employed in the building and other industries (Stivers, 1976; Duis,1983; Rothbert, 1993). Thus there is not only evidence to show the

long term presence of the Irish entrepreneur there are also many who had more than one iron in the fire.

The character of Irish migration into Britain and the US is a distinct factor used in explanations for their under-representation in business with employees compared to other groups. During the twentieth century the majority of Irish who migrated into Britain and the US were women and at the time of their migration the majority were single(Smyth, 1991).

However Castles, et al, (1993) suggest that the majority of twentieth century Irish migration was male. Some ethnic entrepreneur theorists show a similar misunderstanding as they argue with regards to entrepreneurship that; 'A community where immigration is largely by males, or at least not in complete family units, as with the Irish, is therefore at a disadvantage in this respect' (Mars & Ward, 1984: 18).

The above statement which is inaccurate in so far as Irish migration was largely female also highlights a common pre-supposition; that it is groups who migrate with families who have access to their labour as cheap or unpaid employees. Thus because Irish migration is not predominantly a family unit tradition there is a common assumption that they are disadvantaged for entrepreneurship. This has become a handle by which to dismiss the Irish experience as entrepreneurs.

In contrast to the focus outlined above the argument which is pursued in the first section of this chapter suggests that theories of ethnic entrepreneurship should be broad enough to include the distinct experience of all self employed minority peoples. Further that the investigation serves to include a comparative analysis of the varying trends of ethnic self employment. An explanation of the sociological phenomenon which propel ethnic groups into, and maintain them within, different forms of self-employment remains incomplete if the research focus is defined in a narrow form. If a more flexible framework is established then not only the Irish are included within the frame, but also other groups who have been excluded. However although this research seeks to argue for a more flexible framework it is also acknowledged that establishing what ethnic entrepreneurship means and the differences in how it is enumerated in different contexts is problematic. Defining ethnic entrepreneurship solely as an economic enterprise with employees is problematic because the meanings given to the concept are historically and contextually specific. Analysing self-employment without employees as an indicator of entrepreneurship is also problematic (Phizacklea, 1990: 84). The term self employment may also be used to describe people who either work for employers unwilling to pay employee state contributions or alternatively used by those working in the informal economy who choose to avoid paying tax and state contributions (Scase & Goffee,

1985). In short both of these economic activities which stem from different meanings and action applied to self employment, would embody a non-enumerated category. As such there will always be flaws in reconciling the different meanings of ethnic entrepreneurship.

To reiterate, ethnic entrepreneurship theorists have focused on the 'success' stories of ethnic small businesses with employees. However all forms of small-business enterprise, with or without employees, is potentially one of the most vulnerable forms of economic activity. In the US it has a failure rate of 75% within 5 years and 90% within ten years. Within the first two years of opening over half of the hundreds of thousands of small business enterprise which are started every year in Britain fail (Auster & Aldrich, 1984:40). It has been argued that ethnic enterprise in the US provides more than an economic opportunity because it is symbolic proof of the American dream (Miller, 1986:33). Political parties manipulate the belief that everyone can make it by virtue of their own hard work. Thus, it can be speculated that there is a political smokescreen hiding the inequalities experienced through class, race and gender and other forms of discrimination that are endemic in the Western capitalist societies. Effectively the success of a few are used to extol the values and beliefs of capitalism. The focus on 'success' which some ethnic entrepreneur theorists have been concerned with, has unintentionally

reinforced this form of political propaganda. A tiny minority are used to propagate the myth that upward mobility is available to those who can pull themselves up by their 'ethnic boot straps'(Phizacklea: 1988). Jews are frequently perceived as the archetypal example of successful business despite the fact that the majority of Jewish business is small scale (Ward & Reeves,1984). In recent decades self employment has become the only economic activity available to some in the depressed industrial cities where previously immigrants were able to find work. Evidence from the 1991 census in Britain substantiates the growing trend of self employment across all strata. In this scenario ethnic entrepreneurship can be seen as a halfway house between unemployment and employment. The former being unavoidable, the latter unattainable.

‘A shift from the lumpen proletariat to the lumpen bourgeoisie with subsequent earnings lower than those that prevailed during wage labouring days’(Phizacklea, 1988: 21).

The Literature which Informed the Conceptual Starting Block

This study is informed by the most recent debates and critiques as well as evidence that self employment and small business start-ups are a growing phenomenon across all advanced industrialised nations (Blackburn, 1993). In contrast, during the 1950's and 1960's social scientists believed self

employment was not compatible with late twentieth century capitalist accumulation and concentration (O'Connor, 1973). A study by C.W. Mills (1951) provided the evidence to show how simultaneously agriculture and non agricultural self employment in the US declined between the period 1870-1950. However the conceptual stance of the social scientists was somewhat shaky considering by the mid 1960's self employment in the US began to rise again. Sociological explanations had to be established to explain the growing trend towards self employment within the US which increased by 1120 thousands between 1972-1979 (Monthly Labour Review, 103: 1980). Into the void stepped the ethnic entrepreneur theorists. Because the growing numbers of self employed coincided with the rise in immigration into the US after the 1965 Act, it was explained as an immigrant phenomena not as a problem with the theory of capitalist accumulation (Blalock, 1967; Light, 1972; Bonacich, 1973; Van der Berghe, 1975). By explaining the rise in self employment as an immigrant phenomenon the theory of capital accumulation remained unchallenged. This was also the case in the theoretical analysis of capital accumulation which characterised the Marxist tradition during the 1970's.

Within the Marxism theory a token gesture was offered to explain the nature of small scale enterprise as part of the theory of capitalist accumulation. The analysis rested on two pillars. First that the long term

development of capitalism would ultimately lead to the dissolution of the small scale entrepreneurial class. Second that the characteristics of the actors who occupy such an economic niche were unimportant because self employment was not a feature of the objective structures of capital accumulation. Poulantzas (1974: 151) presented the argument that the self employed were a diminishing stratum who were not involved with exploiting wage labour. He proposed that there was a sharp difference between a small employer who exploits ten workers and one who exploits large numbers. However one is left wondering what the ten exploited workers in a small firm would think of this. Wright (1978) analysed the objective class position of the self employed as separate from the capitalist system and concluded that the economic category was inconsequential. As such he did not address the actual processes which explain the integration and dependence of self employed niches on larger capitals and the State. It was not until the late 1980's that the ethnic entrepreneurship debates were informed by these issues (Bonacich, 1987; Waldinger et al, 1990; Phizacklea, 1988, 1990). In contrast the subordinate relationship of the small business enterprise vis a vis large capitalist enterprise in developing countries and the exploitative class position of the workers involved has been researched by Marxist theorists and shown to be an intrinsic feature of capitalist development (Portes & Walton, 1981; Birbeck, 1977; Gilbert & Gulgein, 1981). In short,

theories which explained capitalist accumulation were unable to provide for the clustering of minority groups in self employment within the developed countries.

The 'ethnic business school' models which characterised the early 1980's (Ward & Jenkins, 1984; Werbner, 1984) were in some respects a counter response to the debates of the 1970's which had portrayed minority groups as only victims of racism and discrimination, for example Castles & Kossack (1973). To a large extent the whole sociology of Race Relations school developed this perspective. 'Such studies have been keen to move away from an emphasis on the migrant/immigrant as an object of racism, discrimination and exploitation to the way in which ethnic ties can be used as a resource, for example in creating alternative employment opportunities' (Phizacklea, 1990: 85). Because an aim of the theorists was to shift away from an emphasis on 'racism' it can be argued that in essence the earlier debates shaped the nature of the 1980's ethnic entrepreneur debates. In short, an explanation of why the focus of ethnic entrepreneurship had to be directed at groups who were over-represented as 'successful' entrepreneurs is grounded in the nature of the sociological studies which preceded their inception. Somehow members of minority groups, who were previously recognised as exploited workers and as experiencing racism and gender discrimination suddenly came to be

portrayed as none of these but as ethnic entrepreneur 'success' stories. In the case of the Irish they were never included in the earlier 'race relations' debates of the 1970's so consequently the expression of the 'racism' they experienced as an ex colonial group was never inclusive to the main framework of late twentieth century migration studies. The Irish have subsequently remained invisible within both schools of thought. Had the ethnic entrepreneur theorists attempted to understand what forces propelled minority groups into all forms of self employment there would have been a body of sociological conceptual pegs available on which to hang their hat. Instead they sought a narrow inquiry.

To recap, the preceding section has shown why the Irish experience has been excluded from sociological research on ethnic entrepreneurship. Simultaneously, the Irish have been marginalised from the various schools of thought which have characterised the Race Relations debates. I have argued the case for including the experience of all minority groups in all forms of self-employment within the entrepreneur debates. Further I am suggesting that the phenomenon requires investigation in order to understand the relationship between self-employment and theories of capital accumulation. However for the present purpose it is important to spell out the subjective meaning of 'ethnic entrepreneurship'.

The Subjective Meaning of 'Ethnic Entrepreneurship'

'Ethnic entrepreneurship' is a problematic label because it can embody many concepts. In my view the meaning is synonymous with 'all minority people who are engaged in self-employed economic activity either with or without the assistance of all forms of paid or unpaid employees'. This definition which is subjective, is deliberately broad enough to encompass an explanation of the self-employed experience of all minority peoples. I am arguing that there is a problem with the label 'ethnic entrepreneur' because I believe the popular meaning of the term implies an individualised distinct exclusive stratum. 'Ethnic entrepreneurship' is only a part of minority group self-employment. Since it is important to understand the whole structural pattern of minority group self-employment I believe the general nature of the 'ethnic entrepreneurship' debates has been directed from an individualistic perspective. If some minority groups are highlighted as successful in business through their own hard work it follows that other minority groups are perceived as failures through lack of hard work. The scenario is similar to the dominant values of the capitalist class system. The values which are incorporated are divisive and hierarchical. To elaborate this argument I intend to point out the meanings of 'ethnic' and 'entrepreneur' and then show what they stand for together.

The term 'ethnic' has subjective connotations of implied difference. To perceive oneself as an inclusive member of an 'ethnic group' is a subjective belief. Evidence for this is explicit in the 1990 American census whereby an individual is able to choose their ethnicity through their own subjective sense of belonging. The other side of this coin is that some minority group people do not choose to adopt the subjective meaning of belonging to an ethnic group. Hence the term is ambiguous in relation to what it means for different people and 'most social scientists argue that everybody has ethnicity, which maybe understood as a sense of group belonging, based on ideas of common origins, history, culture, experience and values' (Castles and Miller, 1993: 25).

To perceive somebody else as a member of an ethnic group is also based on the idea of difference, 'the concept of the ethnic minority also implies some degree of marginalisation or exclusion' (Castles and Miller, 1993: 25). Hence when the concept is twinned with 'entrepreneur' the implication is that this form of business enterprise is distinct from other forms of minority group self-employment. Notably the term 'entrepreneur' refers to the individuals' characteristics and not the structural economic activity in which the individual is engaged. The concept describes an ideal type. From the beginning the 'ethnic entrepreneur' literature was characterised by an 'individualistic'

approach. The inquiry was primarily concerned with a minority 'success pattern' and not with the underlying dominant structural patterns of minority group self-employment. In short the individual meaning of 'ethnic entrepreneur' demands a circumspect analysis in order to incorporate the self-employed experience of all minority people.

Notably because there is no distinct category of 'entrepreneurship' in any official census material the ethnic entrepreneur theorists were reliant on self-employment statistics. In the following discussion the case is made to show how official statistics reflect the specific meanings that are given to their categorisation. Firstly, categories of self-employment are shown to be a poor measure for understanding the involvement of minority groups in self-employment. Secondly, it is argued that it is essential to scrutinise the statistics on minority group self-employment in order to understand the rising trends. Thirdly, the evidence substantiates the argument that the rise in self-employment needs to be explained vis a vis the rise in unemployment.

The Problem with Official Categories of Minority Group Self-Employment in the US and Britain

Because the nature of the ethnic entrepreneur inquiry excluded groups on the basis of their under-representation in business enterprise it is prudent

to show the potential flaws of relying on statistical material for a framework. The respondents' accounts are introduced into the discussion below.

Statistical evidence shows that the self-employed rates for minority groups in the US have consistently exceeded those of the general population. The 1980 American census showed this figure to be 9.2% compared to 7.1% (Light & Bonacich, 1988). However the categories within the census have served in practice to exclude some of the respondents in this study from the figures on minority group self-employment. In the 1980 and 1990 American census self-employment is categorised as either self-employed within a corporation or non-corporation self-employed. If, as in the case of a number of the respondents in this study, their business is registered as a corporation then the entrepreneur is not categorised as a business owner but as a salaried waged employee of a corporate business.

The respondents informed me that if a small business enterprise is registered as a corporate business the business registration does not necessarily specify the owners ethnicity. One of the respondents' stated preferences for being registered as a corporate business was because the corporation, not the individual, held the liquor license. Consequently if

the liquor license was put at risk the corporation stood the risk of losing it, not the proprietor. Another respondent explained why the decision to become corporate business was an essential strategy. Registering the bar as a corporate business can be of crucial importance for an immigrant to obtain a liquor license because only people with American citizenship can apply for the credential. The respondents 'status' as a non-American citizen prevented him from personally obtaining the liquor license. Thus as a partner in a corporate business the corporation applies to hold the license. The image of corporate America as a large scale capital enterprise is misleading because the category includes hundreds of thousands of small businesses including Irish bar enterprises. Moreover whilst these are shown as corporate bodies they do not always show as minority group business enterprise. In the American Bureau of Census Population Statistics 1980 the Irish representation in the category of self-employment of a non-corporate firm was shown to be relatively low at 6.6% (Light and Bonacich, 1988). However comparing Irish minority group small business enterprise without taking into account their corporate business underestimates their representation. Light (1979) suggests the official definitions of the business population are flawed because non employer firms were excluded from its definition. He argues that three quarters of the minority group business population were ignored on this basis. Given the over-representation of Irish people in

self-employment without employees it is inevitable that many Irish people are systematically excluded from being enumerated as self employed in the US. Thus various forms of small business Irish enterprise are excluded from being categorised as minority group business enterprise. Furthermore the arguments embody a contradiction. On the one hand the Irish in the US are acclaimed as the second most successful minority group compared to the Jews because second, third, fourth and fifth generation Irish choose to categorise themselves as Irish on the US census form (Glazier & Moynihan,1979). On the other hand ethnic entrepreneurship theorists argue that compared to the Jews the Irish are unsuccessful in business (Light,1988; Mars&Ward,1984).

Reeves and Ward (1984) used 1971 British census data to confirm that the Irish in Britain occupied one of the highest rates of self-employment without employees and yet were at the lower end of the spectrum of 'ethnic entrepreneurship'. It was argued that together with migrants from the Afro-Caribbean countries(Barbados,Guyana,Jamaica,Trinidad,Tobago) the Irish rank highest in self-employment without employees compared to other ethnic groups. Twenty years on, according to Owen (1993: 6) evidence from the 1991 census indicates self-employment as a whole is significantly higher for ethnic minority groups compared to the remaining population and is thus a more important form of economic activity than

for white people. However there are a number of initial flaws with this assertion that require attention. The first refers to the subjective meaning applied to ethnic minorities, the second refers to the accuracy of the claim vis a vis the statistics. To begin, the statement excludes white minority people from being categorised as members of an ethnic minority group and as such the Irish are excluded from either category of ethnic minority or white indigenous group. The second criticism is more substantive and relates to the inaccuracy of lumping all black ethnic groups together to show that self-employment is 'more significant for ethnic minorities, than for white people' (Owen, 1993: 12). The form of self-employment that Owen refers to is a business with employees. A contrasting trend, which was ignored by Owen shows that the indigenous white male 16 plus majority population have a higher rate of self-employment without employees compared to a number of different ethnic minority groups. Thus Owen has made inferences from the data, which mirror the stance of the 'ethnic entrepreneurship' theorists. Once the data has been further analysed it shows that Irish males occupy the highest representation within self-employment without employees 12.25% , closely followed by Indian males at 11.84%. In contrast to Irish males the percentage of Irish females in self-employment without employees is lower than women in the remaining white population, but ranks in the middle of the other ethnic minority group women. It could be speculated that Irish males in the

labour market are subject to more discrimination than Irish women and are subsequently propelled into self-employment at a far higher rate than Irish women. This could partly explain why the 1993 Labour Force Survey showed the number of Irish people working self-employed in the construction industry doubled the rest of the population (Employment Gazette, 1994: 31). Also one might suggest that the tradition of Irish migration, which is predominantly single with a large proportion of Irish women marrying non-Irish men, has also contributed to the majority of Irish men entering self-employment without employees. This latter supposition has important ramifications because there is an implicit assumption that cheap family labour is an essential backbone to the structural demands of small scale capitalist enterprise in developed societies. However the ethnic entrepreneur inquiry precludes the opportunity to show how family labour is a feature of the economic survival for the self employed who are without employees. According to Scase and Goffee's research (1982) by their own definition, this group is largely dependent on the unpaid services of family labour. Therefore in order to try and present a balanced view of self-employment all of the defining characteristics have to be taken into account. The nuances which emerge from an analysis of the growing trend of self-employment remain hidden unless all forms of self employment are cautiously analysed.

Another important issue which needs to be taken into account when analysing self employment trends is the pattern of unemployment .

The Growing Tide of Unemployment vis a vis Self-employment

Overall the unemployment rate for all minority groups with the exception of Chinese males and Irish females is substantially higher than the remaining white population (Owen, 1993). Thus large differences in unemployment rates between groups and a wide variation between males and females within groups are evident. It could be argued that in Britain the national pattern of unemployed ethnic minorities reflects the high concentration of unemployment in urban areas if it were not for the fact that less densely populated areas also show high unemployment rates for ethnic groups.

The unemployment rates for Irish men compared to the remaining white male population is substantially higher at 14.95% compared to 10.68% for the rest of the white male population (Owen, 1993). Given that Hazelkorn (1992:188) has shown that the unemployment rate of the Irish includes a highly skilled graduate cohort the assumption can be made that it is not only working class Irish males who are highly represented in the unemployment tables. However minority groups' unemployment patterns or self-employment trends do not occur in a vacuum. The dynamics

involved need to be compared with the rise in self-employment within a changing global division of labour.

In wider terms the census characteristics, which indicate a growing trend of self employment across the male economically active population, are indicative of a changing global division of labour. Self employment growth can be explained by the shifts taking place in Britain and in other core economies corresponding to the decline of male employment in manufacturing and a growth in casualised and part time flexible female employment within the service sectors of the advanced industrial societies (Sassen, 1991; Hazelkorn, 1992). The last two decades have been characterised by a new polarisation of the labour forces within the highly developed countries evident in the growth of a highly skilled workforce and an unskilled casualised workforce. Hazelkorn (1992:193) makes the point that the recognition of an ample supply of cheap easily disposable labour in the developed countries has served to displace migrant labour in the core economies and their employment situation is increasingly bleak. Contemporary migration and ethnic entrepreneur literature has shown how since World War II the recruitment of immigrant labour in the industrially developed societies was related to filling jobs rejected by indigenous populations (Waldinger et al ,1985; Castles et al, 1984). Consequently immigrant groups have been clustered in the areas of low paid

manufacturing which are diminishing or have shifted to the newly developed countries.

However Phizacklea (1990:49) has shown that the growth of ethnic minority business has been a feature of the manufacturing restructuring process in Britain. Also the decline of small business which characterised the pre 1970's in the industrialised societies has reversed and there is a corresponding trend towards small labour intensive businesses within France, Germany, Italy, Britain and the US (Boissevain, 1984; Smyth, 1991; Scase & Goffee, 1982; Waldinger, 1985). It has been pointed out that industrialised countries are witnessing a steep rise in self employment. Therefore a more likely scenario of the restructuring process is the possibility of majority group members, especially males, who are now at the cutting edge of unemployment, to emulate the self employment trend of minority group members by moving into small scale business enterprise. Minority group members in self employment are providing the role models for this form of economic survival. As such the extant body of research that has been developed on 'ethnic entrepreneurship' is a valuable resource bank which will inform future sociological studies on self employment.

Although attention has been turned to the problematic meaning of ‘ethnic entrepreneurship’ and how particular groups were either included or excluded from the investigation it is acknowledged that the wealth of entrepreneurship literature will inform future sociological studies of self employment. In the following discussion I intend to show how distinct conceptual frameworks were originally established to explain the over-representation of some ethnic minorities in business compared to others. A chronological account of how the theories developed and have subsequently been revised follows. The discussion highlights the interface between the theoretical perspectives and the respondents accounts.

Theoretical Perspectives of Ethnic Entrepreneurship & the Irish Experience

Two important interrelated aims are integrated within the final section of this review. Firstly, a number of theories which attempt to explain ethnic entrepreneurship are critically analysed in a chronological order.

Secondly, the respondents accounts of being self-employed are compared with the distinct theoretical propositions. Hence the respondents opinions are considered in the light of the contrasting theoretical standpoints. In brief, the original theories are divided between ‘cultural’ and ‘structural’ explanations of ethnic entrepreneurship. Theorists such as McClelland (1961) and Light (1972, 1979) account for ethnic entrepreneurship by

‘cultural’ explanations. However ‘structural’ determinants are cited as primary factors by Blalock (1967) and Bonacich (1975). The original theories are not mutually exclusive and I intend to point out where there is an area of overlap. More recent contributions (Waldinger, 1986; Waldinger et al, 1990) have sought to elaborate a more complex model based on the interaction between the characteristics of ethnic groups and opportunity structures within specific historical conditions. To begin with different strands of theories which are loosely termed ‘cultural theories’ are outlined. Attention is then drawn to a number of theories which fall under the umbrella of ‘middleman minority’ theories. Following, the focus of attention is directed towards a spectrum of ‘contemporary’ theories. It will be argued that the ‘interactive model’ (Waldinger et al, 1990) is an adequate conceptual tool for explaining the Irish experience in ‘ethnic entrepreneurship’. To conclude the discussion, the central tenets in the interactive model are shown to be flagships for mapping out the investigation into the Irish experience.

Cultural Theories of Ethnic Entrepreneurship

A number of prominent theorists suggest that the cultural characteristics of individuals and groups propel them into business enterprise (McClelland, 1961; Light 1972, 1979). In this sense ‘cultural’ equipment refers to attitudes and values that migrant peoples derive from their

experience of life in their homeland prior to migration and how these are applied, under given terms and conditions, in the receiving society.

Theorists argue that the cultural baggage deemed necessary for ethnic business includes human resource capital; such as literary skills, attitudes towards risk taking, hard work and an attitude of competitive achievement. Thus a primary feature of early cultural theories is the focus upon the individual's cultural values as the primary facilitator for entrepreneurship.

At one level the cultural model is highly contentious in that some minority groups are believed to be culturally superior than others and better equipped for business enterprise. In particular McClelland (1961) turned Weber's (1958) concept of a Protestant working ethic into a cultural and psychological theory of entrepreneurship. A key distinction between cultural theories is whether or not the predisposing characteristics that are required for business are perceived as learnt 'at mother's knee' or in response to the migration situation. If at its extreme it is assumed that values of motivation, individualism, hard work, risk taking and thrift are inherited cultural characteristics the stance involves an explicit racist framework. Light (1979) refined some of the original concepts and presented two strands of a cultural theory which he termed 'orthodox' and 'reactive'. The orthodox model concentrates on early socialisation as a

pre-requisite for ethnic entrepreneurship. The reactive model places emphasis on cultural networks after migration. Both models are outlined below.

Orthodox Cultural Explanations

In general the orthodox stance is problematic because it implies that other groups are less likely to succeed in business because they are culturally inferior. By arguing that entrepreneurial values are learnt during the process of early socialisation the model insinuates that those who have not learnt them have experienced a deficient socialisation process. The model claims individuals predisposed to ethnic entrepreneurship adhere to values of thrift profit and individualism that they have learnt at 'mothers knee'. Light (1984:199) argues, 'individuals interject cultural values in the course of primary socialisation'. Sway (1983) used this model to show the cultural tradition of self employed 'gypsy fortune tellers'. For this study the model was less contentious given the uniqueness of gypsy fortune telling and the travelling tradition. Nevertheless for migrants that settle in new communities the model is deficient for excluding structural factors. Also the concept of an early socialisation process which imbues entrepreneurial values is problematic given the evidence that second generation immigrants from cultures thus identified generally move from

risk taking entrepreneurship into mainstream employment (Phizacklea, 1988 :26).

Evidence from the respondents' accounts showed there was no fit between the conceptual framework within the cultural model and their experience. On the contrary none of the respondents had experienced an early socialisation process which knowingly involved values necessary to run the outlets or sparked off a burgeoning desire to propel them into entrepreneurship. Indeed the closest account given to an early socialisation influence was:

'I'm supposed to have my mother's cutting tongue when nobody knows I'm doing it. She used to say its not that he's ignorant he just dosen't know nothing. So I can throw an insult at an awkward guy and he dosen't know he's been had. You need that to keep you sane in this game and having the crack without them knowing it keeps me sane' (respondent Chicago).

The primary motive that had prompted the respondents to buy into their own pub and become self employed was a belief that self employment would offer a greater economic reward compared to the jobs which were on offer to them in the receiving societies. Self employment was

perceived to be the only option available for upward mobility because for various reasons the routes in mainstream employment which enable upward economic mobility were blocked .

‘I had no education. This place has given us all a good living that we wouldn’t have had if I’d stayed working on the buildings for somebody else’.(respondent Birmingham)

‘Whether I was here or still at home I couldn’t have earn’t what I’ve earn’t being self employed. Although the good times are gone.’
(respondent Chicago)

From the respondents’ accounts there was no evidence to show that cultural factors shaped their decision to enter self employment. Instead being self employed in your own pub was perceived as an accessible route to a way of earning more money than being employed in the jobs which were on offer. As such the standpoint within the orthodox cultural model proves an unsuitable conceptual tool to utilise for an explanation of the respondents’ experience.

Reactive Cultural Theory

Reactive cultural models refer to the cultural patterns that are developed after migration in response to the demands of migration. Accordingly the experience of immigration and subsequent alien status is the catalyst to a form of reactive solidarity between and within minority group members. Light (1984, 1986) argues that there is evidence to show how ethnic entrepreneurs function successfully as collective units, either in families or groups. Theorists argue three primary factors underpin the process of ethnic entrepreneurship. First, it is proposed that because immigrants have moved from a relatively low waged country to a high waged country they are prepared to accept low returns and work extraordinary long hours to maintain their own business niche. The appropriated term for the immigrants' perceptions is 'relative satisfaction'. Light (1984:199) suggests: 'immigrants obtain satisfaction from squalid proprietorship that would not attract native white wage workers. This is relative satisfaction'. It is therefore assumed immigrants entrepreneurs are satisfied by a standard of living economically inferior to the indigenous born. Second, the model shows how social networks are developed through chain migration which can be drawn upon for business enterprise. Social networks embody both economic and family resources (Light, 1972, 1984). Third, it is suggested that the intention of immigrants is to return to their homelands. This concept, which is termed 'sojourning', is

linked to the belief that entrepreneurship will furnish this desire (Bonacich, 1973).

A number of problems present themselves within the tripartite framework of the reactive cultural model. The model is problematic because it is built on the unsubstantiated assumption that minority group members are desensitized to inferior working conditions compared to the indigenous born. Furthermore the extent to which socially organised economic institutions are characterised by nepotism is suspect. For example, Light (1972) explains the overrepresentation of Japanese and Chinese immigrants vis a vis the low representation of American black groups in ethnic entrepreneurship through a reactive orthodox model. He cites rotating credit associations as a central cultural resource enabling ethnic business credit for the Japanese and Chinese immigrants. One criticism of this explanation is that Light over-emphasises the use of Japanese and Chinese rotating credit associations. Moreover according to Daniels (1972) Light implies that black American groups have a deficient cultural inheritance. Daniels suggests that the focus of inquiry should address the racist structures of an oppressive society rather than blaming the group for low rates of entrepreneurship. Thus there is no recognition within this framework of the racist structures which propel minority groups into self employment. Also a central component of socially organised networks

highlights the competitive edge that some groups acquire through their family networks. Effectively the strategy of mobilising family members to work collectively in the niche outwardly presents an enterprising image, whereas frequently the reality of family operated small business enterprise means a labour intensive low technology operation. Ability to tender and compete successfully or just break even can necessitate the use of family unwaged labour, long working hours and frugal living (Bonacich & Moddell, 1980: 28).

The Irish Experience of 'Relative Satisfaction' and Business Social Networks

A factor which impacts upon all the respondents are the number of hours which bar entrepreneurs work. The amount of hours which the owners need to work in order to operate a bar profitably by far exceed those required for paid employment. In Chicago bar businesses were virtually 24 hour operations as Illinois State regulations allowed most bars to open from 7.a.m. until 4.a.m. with an extended 5.a.m licence Fridays and Saturdays. Hence the respondents opinions of the hours demanded to run the niche were scathing. Moreover the necessity of working colossal hours was perceived as a major disadvantage albeit a necessary evil to run the business;

‘In my first pub I opened at 5.30 a.m that was in skid row. The market people came in for breakfast and at the same time I would get the factory night people. We work three shifts in this city so you can get close to 24 hour opening. You have to work the hours the guys want to come in that’s the game your in, if you don't you go bust.’ (respondent Chicago)

‘I lock up seven nights a week and I'm here most days for opening. There is no such thing as a day off in this business if you own it. I haven't had a day off in a year and people come in and expect to see you around the bar.’

(respondent Chicago)

‘the hours are horrendous and your social life, you've got none’.

(respondent Chicago)

Similar to Chicago the hours that were demanded to run the niche successfully in Birmingham were also perceived as a major disadvantage. Official opening times were either 10.30.a.m.or 11a.m to 11p.m between Monday to Saturday with a shorter Sunday opening 12 till 2pm and 7.30 p.m. till 10.30 p.m. Also the need to do 'afters', that is to trade after or before official opening times in order to maximimise trade, was expressed on a number of occassions. In this situation the entrepreneurs were aware

licences could easily be revoked if caught illegally trading. Thus their situation, in relation to the hours demanded to remain viable, was potentially more difficult given the need to stay open in the face of anachronistic licencing laws.

‘I tell you what I do on a Sunday morning. I do about 30 lb of bacon ribs and cabbage and I put them on a tray and take them down and cheese and black pudding. I’ve done that for years now and my trades always good on a Sunday. They come in early, that doors bolted at three and they stay. I always look after my regulars no matter how much of my time it takes their your bread and butter. You have to keep the trade even though the hours are a killer.’ (respondent Birmingham)

‘I don’t really want to say because people don’t believe it. I start around seven every morning and I finish about one and thats a seven day week.’(respondent Birmingham)

‘Because of the hours it’s so demanding. It’s like life passing you by, suddenly you don’t know where thirty years has gone.’ (respondent Birmingham)

From the collective pattern of the responses in both locations it can be argued that to maintain the flow of trade the niche necessitated working enormously long hours. However this aspect of self employment did not amount to a 'relative satisfaction' as Light (1984: 199) proposes. Rather it was perceived as a primary disadvantage of being self employed. The respondents' accounts also ran counter to another proposition within the reactive cultural model. Light (1984) suggests that social networks are developed through chain migration in order to develop business enterprise. In contrast to this argument the overall pattern from the respondents showed that there was no evidence to substantiate the argument that chain migrations led to a wider social network of co-ethnic business enterprise. Rather there was a shortfall of social networks enabling business development, especially from middle class professional sources. There was no distinctive pattern for raising capital from recognised Irish banks in Birmingham and the respondents in Chicago had no knowledge of any Irish banks in the city per se. Neither was there an established network of Irish accountants or solicitors that furnished the pubs. I would suggest this is an issue of Irish entrepreneurship which shows the class divide between working class Irish immigrants, attempting to establish themselves in small business without the help of middle-class Irish professional bodies, at its most acute. Furthermore, it is potentially

a contributing factor as to why the Irish are underrepresented on the ethnic entrepreneurship with employees league tables.

In Birmingham more respondents spoke of being refused loans from Irish banks than those who had been offered them.

‘I had approached the - - - -because I wanted to deal with them and they were very negative. I went to four major banks with the same package and they jumped at it and the Irish fumbled and said they didn't think it was a good proposition. It put me off completely.’(respondent Birmingham)

‘I needed £3,500, me good old dad sent it over to me. I did approach the - - - - and they didn't want to know.’(respondent Birmingham)

A number of the respondents in Birmingham who had not needed to approach an Irish bank for the initial capital believed that an Irish bank would have helped them. However the pattern showed that the Irish banks required the deeds of a house or other such collateral to cover a loan. As such, personal and class resources, not ethnicity was critical to secure loans from this source. Overall the policy of the main high street banks’ was favourable towards giving loans for bars if collateral could be

offered. However from the dominant pattern of the respondents' experience it seems that the Irish banks' policy in Birmingham may deem the bar business as a very high risk area. In Chicago the public house business was seen by banks as a high risk venture which is vulnerable to the state as well as the vicissitudes of the market.

'If your buying a pub in Chicago very few of the banks will give you the loan even if your buying the building you virtually have to pay cash because of the liquor licence.' (respondent Chicago)

'I went from one end of Chicago to the next to get a mortgage. I searched everywhere. The Bank of ----- was my last try and I said to myself well if your not going to help me now St Jude I promise I'll give up. So I went in and the old fella in the bank said you look like a very determined person I think you'll make it. And that was the break I needed.'

(respondent Chicago)

In sum a common feature of both locations was the lack of socially organised Irish middle-class professional networks that were prepared to offer co-ethnic forms of financial support. It may be that this characteristic was peculiar to the locations as one respondent referred to a network of Irish accountants in Manchester who actively approached the

Irish community. However overall a business network of mutual aid or credit societies was not available for Irish immigrants venturing into bar entrepreneurship.

‘We socialise together but we don't help each other with improving our lot like the Asian community, they stick together. In the Irish community you'll always get help for the down and outs but you don't get the business community helping you out.’ (respondent Birmingham)

It is a possibility that Irish middle class business institutions are totally unaware that their role as a community resource can be a facilitator for co-ethnic entrepreneurship. Portes (1987) raised the issue of class heterogeneity being a big factor in relation to the entrepreneurial Cuban community in Miami. For the Irish community in Chicago and Birmingham the class divide factor impacts at the level where a working class prospective bar entrepreneur is attempting to raise capital for a niche by way of an Irish middle class institution. There are no culturally specific forms of Irish lending associations other than the traditional Irish banks. Moreover according to the respondents being Irish afforded no special privilege within the Irish owned banks. Rather the availability of a loan for a pub depended upon how much collateral the prospective customer could offer in case the loan could not be repaid. Portes (1987:

362) also found that for the Cubans there was no cultural equivalent to the rotating credit association identified by Light (1972). Moreover, akin to the Irish in this study Portes (1987) noted a predominant strategy for raising capital was either to borrow from immediate family or to save.

Overall there is no 'fit' between the respondents experience and the propositions within the reactive cultural theory which are outlined above. Explaining the concept of 'sojourning', which is also cited as a feature of the reactive cultural theory, is introduced below because the concept is common to both 'cultural theories' and 'middleman minority theories'.

Middleman Minority Theories

Middleman minority explanations of ethnic minority enterprise differ from cultural theories because they take into account structural factors within the receiving societies. Consequently reactions from the host society towards minority groups are addressed within the theories. A broad definition of middleman minorities is that proposed by Van den Berghe (1987: 138); 'Any ethnically distinct group that specialises in the selling of goods or skills.' Blalock (1967) originally coined the phrase 'middleman minority' because he believed that they occupied an intermediate position in the market between producer and consumer. Two distinct themes originally appeared within the model, of which one has

been subsequently addressed in the contemporary literature. In particular it was argued that hostile reaction and racism from the indigenous population propelled ethnic groups into entrepreneurship. The social construction of racism is an issue of utmost importance to this study. Of less importance in the contemporary debates is the argument that the new societies were characterised by a void between elites and masses and that the minority group fill the intermediate position. Because of the complex class structure of the societies in which ethnic minorities are over-represented in business enterprise the latter assertion has been less developed in the contemporary literature on ethnic entrepreneurship. The idea of the Irish as part of a minority group occupying an intermediate position between two distinct strata is not a viable proposition.

Bonacich (1973) proposed an alternative middleman minority model by arguing that the two distinctive themes proposed by Blalock were inadequate conceptual tools for a contemporary analysis. Bonacich focused on the concept of 'sojourning'. Sojourning symbolises the desire and intent of migrant people to return to their homeland and a feeling of ambivalence towards the new country of residence. Although mainly a utopian dream, since in reality the majority do not return, the desire is nurtured and sustained. Bonacich argued that in order to achieve this desire the economic imperative is to obtain as much money as possible

from business enterprise. Thus in the model sojourning is seen as a necessary pre-requisite to become a 'middleman'. The reality that many sojourners did not return home or achieve their desire was less of an issue. An analogy with the sojourner and the feelings of ambivalence towards the receiving society is similar to Simmel's (1908) essay on the social type of the stranger. Simmel argues that the strangers interaction with the host society was based, amongst other factors, on a synthesis which create simultaneously tangible and conceptual forms of distance and attachment (Levine, 1971:144). Characteristics Bonacich identifies which are displayed by the intended sojourner include, 'a resistance to out marriage, residential self segregation, the establishment of language and cultural schools for the children, the maintenance of distinctive cultural traits (including often, a distinctive religion) and a tendency to avoid involvement in local politics except in affairs that directly affect their group' (Bonacich, 1973: 586).

The Irish diaspora have traditionally embraced the concept of sojourning but do not display the characteristics proposed by Bonacich. Chance (1983) suggests that the desire to return home is a common feature amongst Irish immigrants groups in Britain. Furthermore actual return for the Irish has been relatively substantial because the cost is within reach for many (Chance, 1983: 156). There is no clear cut evidence to suggest

that the respondents in this study were motivated to pursue an entrepreneurial route because of a 'sojourning' desire. Although the intensity to return to Ireland was voiced by a Chicago respondent in terms that also reveal the depth of feeling for, and the pull of the homeland.

'In June this year I was so depressed. I didn't know why and then I just had to go home. Once I can make two trips home a year I shall be happy.'

(respondent Chicago)

Aldrich (1977) found no evidence from his study of Asian business practises in London to back up the argument that a sojourning orientation was a driving force for entrepreneurship. Likewise the evidence from this research showed that the meaning which Bonacich applies to 'sojourning', could not be substantiated as a distinctive pattern of the respondents' experience. Given the possibility of the low returns and poor working conditions that ethnic business often entails this theoretical model seems contradictory. How do low returns from self employment enable the 'sojourner's' to save enough income to return home? Also, in some ways it is easier to leave paid employment than disentangle oneself from a self employed business enterprise. An alternative to this supposition is the Piore (1979) argument that the reality of blocked social and economic

mobility is a greater driving force for settlers to be self-employed than for sojourners. Therefore the cutting edge of blocked social and economic mobility is more likely to enhance the settlers quest for upward mobility which may only be available through entrepreneurship. The concept is similar to an integral feature of 'middleman minority' theories concerning 'hostility from the host society'.

Hostility from the Host Society

A discussion of the issue of hostility from the host society is included within Bonacich's model of 'middleman minorities', although the argument presented is partly circular. Hostility from the host society towards the middleman is explained on the basis of the interaction between the middleman groups and indigenous groups. However because of the 'here and now' approach the analysis that is presented is ahistorical. Excluded from the inquiry is an explanation of which comes first, the acute hostility faced by the ethnic minority or the forms of ethnic boundary maintenance that are self imposed by the group. By maintaining the momentum of earlier middleman minority theorists who argue that ethnic conflict arises as each group has separate goals Bonacich sidesteps a critical issue. She does not acknowledge that minority groups enter societies where there is a legacy of stereotype images which portray the immigrants' difference as inferior. Consequently the most serious flaw in the analysis is the

failure to suggest an historical analysis of racism that different minority groups encounter. Nevertheless, whilst some contemporary theorists take account of the impact of racist attitudes and structures Bonacich and her predecessors must be acknowledged for putting the issue of 'hostility from the host society' on the agenda of ethnic entrepreneur explanations.

Van Den Berghe (1987) reassessed some of the original concepts within the 'middleman minority' theories in order to assess why culturally diverse groups were propelled towards self employment within different receiving societies. However because the focus of the inquiry sought initially to create an ideal type 'middle man' it effectively served to exclude culturally diverse groups which did not fit the criteria. For example, he argues that ideal type middleman minorities are characterised by strong extended families (Van den Berghe, 1987: 138). Thus because twentieth century Irish migration is characterised as a group who are predominantly unattached at the time of their migration they are excluded from consideration. The position that he takes regarding the issue of a group's migratory characteristics is in keeping with other ethnic entrepreneur theorists as it is ahistorical in the sense it does not accommodate marriage or family patterns which are established after migration. Also when analysing the characteristics of the economic niches filled by middleman minorities, Van den Berghe proposes they are

generally a lot poorer than the ruling class but richer than the mass of 'natives'. This proposition is too restricted to include the Irish experience of self employment which is not homogenous in economic terms. Furthermore, the suggestion that larger capital enterprise has some interest in opposing middleman cheap labour is debateable. Phizacklea (1990) has shown that small ethnic business enterprise, which subcontract from larger capitalist enterprise depend on a supply of cheap labour in order to tender at a minimum for contracts. In this sense cheap labour is not an exotic 'co-ethnic' network resource willing to work for low wages, it is a commodity resource that is exploited to the benefit of larger capitalist enterprise. Chapter 8 shows how the undocumented Irish in Chicago work for co-ethnics and the exploitative nature of the relationship. Overall the general characteristics of the Irish diaspora business population are incompatible with this revised model of 'middleman minorities'.

In general earlier theories which were developed in the US to explain the overrepresentation of some minority groups in the business population were incomplete conceptually and unable to include the Irish experience. Nevertheless, to reiterate some of the important issues identified are presented within the framework of the contemporary theories developed in the US and Britain during the 1980's and 1990's. The following

discussion highlights which of the contemporary theoretical frameworks are flexible enough to incorporate the Irish experience in bar entrepreneurship.

Contemporary Perspectives

A number of perspectives within migration and 'ethnic relations' literature form the contemporary body of the ethnic entrepreneurship literature. In Britain studies, such as Werbners (1984), Mars & Ward (1984) and Reeves and Ward (1984) are drawn from the 'sociology of ethnic relations' tradition. These particular studies were theoretically similar to the reactive cultural model developed in the US during the 1970's and updated during the 1980's. Such studies have shifted the focus on immigrants as passive recipients of racism to show the self-determination of minority peoples. Whereas some migration literature in the 1970's had focused upon immigrant groups as a source of exploited low wage labour, (for example Castles and Kossack, 1973; Castells, 1975) the ethnic entrepreneurship literature rejected a passive image which portrayed migrants as purely functional for the host society. However the contrasting perspectives are characterised by some arguments which share a common theme. For example, Nowiskowski's (1984) study proposes that the Asian business experience in Britain reflects the experience of racialised disadvantage and is therefore a survival strategy.

Hence although some of the contemporary literature has been keen to distance itself from migrants as objects of racism, discrimination and exploitation, these concepts have been necessarily incorporated within the theoretical analysis of other studies. More recent studies also include explanations of the interaction between the opportunity structures within specific historical conditions and the characteristics of ethnic groups (Waldinger, 1986; Waldinger et al, 1990; Phizacklea, 1990; Ram, 1993). Within the contemporary literature there are a number of issues which were identified within the earlier entrepreneur theories.

In the quest for a research agenda of ethnic entrepreneurship Jenkins (1984) assessed three major explanations that were being offered to explain ethnic entrepreneurship. Jenkins suggests there is a model of economic opportunity which assumes ethnic minority business is no different from all capitalist entrepreneurial activity. The model presupposes the opportunity is typically an ethnic niche dependent on market supply and demand for its success and failure. Cultural characteristics of the migrant groups are not totally ignored but are only incorporated at the level of business skills required for the niche. Jenkins (1984, 232) notes the acquisition of western business skills may be important for economic success. Van den Berghe (1987) argues a similar approach within the 'middleman minority' rubric. In his model the

structural conditions within the host society are the primary enabling factor for creating the ethnic niche. Thus the line of inquiry begins from a similar concept which suggests that 'structural conditions of the host society create the niche for a foreign entrepreneurial class'(Van den Berghe, 1987:141).

According to Jenkins the niche may or may not be typically ethnic. Since the host society structures form the framework of analysis there is no reason to exclude Irish migrants from this typology. One merit of the model is that it incorporates historical, political and economic factors within the receiving societies as determining the scope for a niche.

Jenkins (1984) Boissevain (1984) and Nowikowski (1984) have raised these factors within their studies. However the model does not enable a an explanation of the experience of minority groups prior to self employment. It is an unsatisfactory analytic tool for understanding the historical, political, economic and ideological circumstances of distinctive groups, the characteristics of their migration and the interactive forces which propel them into self employment. Although incorporating a structural approach the model does not inform or provide the framework on which it would be possible to understand the Irish in small business enterprise.

Jenkins (1984) also focuses upon cultural explanations. He identifies the two main strands of cultural theories which propose a cultural predisposition towards business. These standpoints were evaluated in the previous section as the orthodox and reactive cultural model. To recap, both models assume that entrepreneurial activity stems from 'learnt' values. In the 'orthodox' model values are learnt at mothers knee. In the 'reactive' model they are learnt after migration through family and co-ethnic group networks. It can be argued that at one level the exclusion of the Irish from an analysis within cultural models rests on their supposed low ranking in the entrepreneurship league. However cultural models are used to explain the low entrepreneurial ranking of black minority groups. Reeves and Ward (1984: 39) point out other theorists' tendency to explain the low entrepreneurial ranking of 'West Indian business in Britain' in terms of cultural models and argue how this leads to the mistaken assumption that 'entrepreneurial values are much greater among Indians and Pakistanis in Britain than among the West-Indians'. Thus it is possible to speculate that the Irish self-employed experience (which is similar in some respects to the West Indian experience) has been excluded from these cultural debates because they are a white minority group. Because they are not visibly distinguishable from other white groups, their culture has been perceived naturally invisible. In Mars & Ward (1984) Irish culture is interpreted as anglicised compared to other ethnic minority

groups. They make the point that those groups who are most anglicised and able to adapt easily to the fabric of economic life in Britain might be supposed to easily acquire a competitive advantage for business success; 'Those who come from societies whose way of life is close to that in Britain (from the Irish Republic, for instance) may be able to present themselves more effectively when looking for loans, premises, licences or other business facilities' (Mars & Ward, 1984:14).

However if this statement was entirely accurate would it not be the case that instead of showing a rate of Irish male unemployment that is substantially higher than the remaining white population the Irish would be overrepresented in all forms of self employment. Also, for this study it is a point of interest that the theorists mention licences. There are not many businesses, other than the liquor industry, that needs licenses in Britain. The above quote shows that there is a measure of inconsistency when the Irish are mentioned which basically stems from a lack of research. In the respondents' case obtaining loans, licences and premises was not merely a process of the individual presenting themselves effectively. Rather the respondents' predominant pattern for obtaining loans from economic institutions rested on what they could offer by way of collateral. In this respect it was class resources not an effective

presentation which secured a loan for the business. Obtaining and renewing a liquor license is an issue of state procedure. It is difficult to substantiate the argument that this is an easier process for the Irish compared to other minority groups because the issue has not been researched. Yet according to Mars & Ward the Irish have a comparative advantage when using the dominant cultures' economic institutions compared to other groups.

Jenkins (1984) recognises that structural characteristics are the basis of the third dominant trend of explanation. He uses the term reactive model which is somewhat confusing as Light also used the term reactive to denote a cultural model. Hence for the present purpose I will use the term 'structural reactive' to refer to Jenkins third proposition. Two characteristics are identified by him. First the extent to which groups are discriminated against determines their differential access to resources necessary for a business venture. In the British case the historical legacy of colonialism and empire has impacted differently upon ethnic groups and affected their opportunities for socio- economic mobility. The second characteristic is the political and symbolic claim that has been associated with the minority success stories.

Regarding the first characteristic the conceptual framework is broad enough to incorporate the Irish experience. Jenkins acknowledges Asian and Afro-Caribbean ethnic minority groups are a more visible target for discrimination in a white dominant culture. In this sense the Irish are a less 'visible' group for discrimination. Nonetheless as an ex colonial group in Britain their presence has been perceived as different.

Furthermore Irish immigrants have been identified by their accents which at times has been a benchmark for discrimination. Hence the Irish diaspora also experience a legacy of colonialism with other black minority groups. However the Irish are ignored by Jenkins (1984) when he makes the point that for ex-colonial immigrants such as Asians and Afro-Caribbeans there are markedly less social mobility opportunities available.

'the fact that Asian and Afro-Caribbean are ex-colonial immigrants means they occupy a very different position within British society, with specific attendant disadvantages and penalties attached to that which Jewish immigrants from Europe occupied' (Jenkins, 1984:233).

Thus the unique position of the ex-colonial Irish diaspora is omitted from the framework. Empirical evidence within this study will show the expression of Irish racism as a feature of the colonial legacy. It will also establish how the Irish occupy a distinct and unique position as an ex-

colonial minority group in Britain which has also been portrayed through stereotype images within the US. Within this study the argument will be pursued that it is because of the colonial legacy that derogatory images of the Irish prevail. The imagery which portrays the Irish with a 'natural' tendency for drinking is a contributory factor towards perceiving their role as publicans as 'natural'. I am not suggesting here that it is this stereotype which has marginalised their presence from the ethnic entrepreneur literature, but I am suggesting that being a white English speaking group has served to exclude them from the conceptual framework of the theories which focus on racial discrimination as an explanation for ethnic entrepreneurship. Chapters 4 and 5 argue in a historical and contemporary perspective that the derogatory stereotype of their supposed 'race' and culture, constructed over centuries by white anglo-saxon protestant culture, has laid the foundations for racialised discrimination against the Irish.

Irish bar Entrepreneurs and the 'Interactive' Model

Recent studies also include explanations of the interaction between the characteristics of ethnic groups and opportunity structures within specific historical conditions (Waldinger, 1986; Waldinger et al, 1990; Phizacklea, 1990; Ram, 1993). According to Waldinger (1986) an adequate theory of ethnic entrepreneurship must be able to explain the source of

opportunities plus their differences over time and space. 'We propose a model based on immigrants groups' access to opportunities, group characteristics, and the embeddedness of opportunities and resources within a specific set of historical conditions encountered by emigrating groups' (Waldinger et al, 1990:13). Waldinger's model provides for a historical and contextual analysis. The interaction between opportunity structures and the characteristics of the groups is central to the interactive model specified in Waldinger et al (1990:21). The author's working definition of entrepreneurship allows a framework which can incorporate the experience of Irish bar entrepreneurs because the model is holistic. A minor criticism of the model is discussed in chapter 8. The criticism stems from the failure of the model to cite the cultural characteristics of the group as a predisposing factor for ethnic entrepreneurship without acknowledging how cultural characteristics are perceived differently within a context of unequal power relations. However for the present purpose the merits of the model are outlined in relation to understanding the respondents experience of bar entrepreneurship.

Waldinger et al (1990) pursue the argument that the market conditions initially emanate from the needs within the immigrant community.

Services are provided mainly by their own group members who understand

the services or goods that are needed to furnish their community. The argument continues that for economic survival the niche needs to expand the custom. Also Aldrich et al (1983) argue that immigrant business which remains confined to the ethnic market is limited in terms of growth. With regards to this argument public houses are a feature of larger capitalist enterprise. They do not emanate from the needs of the Irish. Nevertheless this train of argument could be interpreted that the ambition of every Irish man and woman was to own a pub since; 'Tradition held that every other celt wore a bar apron'(Duis, 1983 :165). By law a public house is licensed for the sale of alcohol to the public at large. Moreover serving the general public is necessary for economic survival because bars could not survive if they remained confined to the Irish community. However many Irish run pubs offer a range of services which embody a community service for Irish immigrants. Irish diaspora public houses are renowned as meeting places where the Irish community has established informal networks for new arrivals (Duis, 1983). Chapter 8 shows evidence of the market and community role of the Irish pub in a contemporary perspective.

Opportunity Structures

The 'interactive' model suggests that established industry is a powerful constraint in the creation of new ethnic minority business. For Irish bar

tenants in Britain and the US they are locked into the structures of the brewing industry as well as the structures of the State. Thus when Bechhofer and Elliott (1975) argue that autonomy and independence are of paramount importance to the self employed they miss the point that so called 'autonomy' is dependent upon powerful groups. It is also suggested within the 'interactive' model that neighbourhoods which are abandoned by large businesses provide opportunities for ethnic business (Waldinger et al,1990:26). However in the case of pubs there is far less likelihood of a whole operation being uprooted to another suburb. What may be on offer in an abandoned neighbourhood is the opportunity for an ethnic minority person, or indeed any other person to buy a licence. Alternatively in Britain there could be a shift from a brewery managed house to a tenant leasehold or the opportunity to purchase the business. These features amount to specific opportunity structures. Access to ownership and the availability of the niche are key concepts within promoting opportunities or constraining business for Irish diaspora bar entrepreneurs. A fundamental requirement for entrepreneurship are the opportunities available within a given historical context (Aldrich et al, 1983; Waldinger, 1986, 1986a; Waldinger et al 1990). Accordingly, cultural assets or resource networks are deemed inconsequential if the economic niche is not available. The opportunity structures of the niche of bar entrepreneur in comparative perspective is the focus of chapter 6

which draws on both a structural analysis and the respondents subjective accounts.

Access to Ownership

The argument within the 'interactive' model, that access to ownership depends simultaneously on the number of vacant businesses and government policies, is central to this study. For Chicago respondents the power of state policy is critical with regard to their legal status for obtaining a liquor licence. In Britain and the US the state has ultimate authority over granting and the revocation of licenses. Two distinct patterns, of which one was dominant, emerged in relation to access to ownership. There was some evidence which showed a pattern of 'word-of-mouth' intracommunal route into business especially from employer to employees. However the most common access to ownership was because a bar was advertised either as a lease for sale or as a going concern with the building. The distinctive trend in Britain entailed a bar being let by a brewery through a tied lease agreement. In Chicago many of the buildings were offered on lease by private land owners. Hence the dominant pattern which Light (1984) identified in the Los Angeles liquor store industry whereby Koreans enabled 80% of their businesses to be sold to each other was not evident. Bechhofer & Elliot (1981) suggest that the access to ownership of small business opportunities is enlarged through recruitment

from lower social classes. There was no evidence to suggest recruitment from a 'lower social class', as the vast majority of the Birmingham and Chicago respondents were of working class or rural Irish origins themselves. Waldinger et al (1990) cite the importance of understanding a groups pre-emigration characteristics for explaining their route into entrepreneurship. Thus an explanation of the respondents background and pre-emigration circumstances is incorporated into chapter 3.

Group Characteristics

The 'interactive' model cites 'situational constraints' as a key concept for an explanation of how a group is perceived. Situational constraints is a perspective similar to Jenkins (1984) model of structural reaction . It is argued that racial discrimination is a powerful motivator for ethnic business activity. Effectively ethnic groups are propelled disproportionately into entrepreneurship depending on the extent and forms of discrimination experienced. It is a standpoint which has been fully integrated into this study as the historical and contemporary evidence will show. The advantage of this model is the focus upon racial discrimination . The Irish diaspora of the twentieth century have experienced discrimination although not in the same form or to the same extent as black minority groups. There are two sides to this coin in relation to their role as entrepreneurs. It could be argued that their low

representation amongst the ranks of ethnic entrepreneurs is because they experience less discrimination. However this does not 'fit' with the evidence of the high numbers of male unemployed Irish. Thus the issues here are not arbitrary but interacting one with another.

Resource Mobilisation and the Issue of Cheap and Family labour

For the interactive model resource mobilisation by cheap and family labour is bound up with the dynamics of ethnic identity. Nonetheless the concept that close support for new arrivals from similar ethnic backgrounds can present an over rosy view. Bonacich & Modell (1980) and Bonacich (1984) argue that ethnic solidarity in the workplace can conceal the exploitative nature of the capitalist work relationship. The idea of ethnic solidarity in providing a 'family' workforce for the ethnic group is a key feature of cultural models (Light, 1984). In general a range of entrepreneurship theories incorporate the concept of solidarity and necessity of family labour and cheap ethnic labour but none address the mechanisms of gender subordination which support a captive labour force. With the exception of theorists from a feminist tradition the analysis fails to address how racist structures support gender exploitation. Overall there is a general failure to address the issue of how access to cheap female labour turns the wheel of fortune for some entrepreneurial operators. By virtue of their co-ethnic connections some ethnic

entrepreneurs have privileged access to a pool of cheap exploitable labour, predominantly women (Phizacklea, 1988, 1990). The potentially exploitative ways in which family networks are accessed as a labour resource for entrepreneurship is an important feature of this study. This argument is pursued in chapter 7 which focuses upon women.

Thus regardless of how family labour is analysed a major feature of ethnic entrepreneurship recognised throughout the literature is the resource mobilisation of family labour. However because Irish migration has been predominantly in single cohorts the Irish are assumed to lack access to family labour. The fact that Irish people establish family networks after migration is virtually ignored. Reeves & Ward (1984: 128) cite a shortage of family labour as a contributory factor towards explaining why the rates of Afro-Caribbean and Irish entrepreneurship were the lowest in Britain. As such an account of the characteristics of Irish migration is an important feature of this study. Chapter 3 integrates the nature of the twentieth century Irish migration tradition with the respondents accounts.

Conclusion

In the first part of this chapter I attempted to argue the inadequacy of explanations which look only at certain minority groups involvement in self employment, either with or without employees. Furthermore it seems

to me that entrepreneurship does not occur in a vacuum. Social processes which propel groups into self employment and serve to maintain certain economic niches also need to be compared with the characteristics of majority group entrepreneurship. Zimmer & Aldrich (1987, 423) recognise that previous research does not consider the possibility that ethnic and white shopkeepers display similar characteristics because it presupposes majority and minority group difference. Evidence which shows the growing trend of small business enterprise is indicative of the further research that is required on this subject.

The chapter has sought to establish why the Irish are excluded from the body of ethnic entrepreneur literature and why they should be included. It was shown how their exclusion from the literature stemmed from models which focus on explaining why some minority groups are overrepresented as self employed with employees when compared to the population generally. The focus in the literature began and remained on this form of overrepresentation. Hence a framework was developed which sought to explain the 'success' stories. Issues of inequality which had been established in sociological literature as a feature of the migration experience were obscured within the analysis. In short the focus was incomplete. The essence of being informed by the mainstream migration theorists who had addressed structural issues of inequality was subverted

to portray some minority groups as more equipped than others to predominate in ethnic business. The focus homed in on explaining the individual groups' characteristics as the primary dynamic at the expense of showing how structural issues are of primary significance in all forms of self employment. Consequently accounts of how self employed niches are locked into a dependent relationship upon larger capitals and the state was missed from the agenda in the early studies. By concentrating on overrepresentation in ethnic business with employees the models were less concerned with explaining the social forces which propel minority groups into different forms of self employment. In this sense the theorists unintentionally adopted a form of divide and rule strategy by establishing a hierarchy of ethnic entrepreneurship. Shifting attention away from explaining the forces of 'racism' on minority group experience they produced their own form of a ranking order of group success. By dismissing the Irish and Afro -Caribbean groups as low on the hierarchy because of their single person migration tradition the theorists identified that their framework for success was conditional on cheap family labour. Alternatively the investigation could have explained why self employment is a predominant trend of economic survival for minority groups in different societies and subsequently compared why and how different forms of self employment are operationalised. In sum I have argued that a broader conceptualised starting point could accommodate the experience

of all minority groups in different forms of self employment as well as enabling a substantial body of comparative analysis; ‘These comparative studies show a striking correspondence between situations in different countries. It is as if social scientists have discovered that the 'problem' in their own country proves not to be unique after all’ (Miles& Satzewich,1990:376).

However the main body of the chapter was used to evaluate the Irish experience within the established theoretical models. The ‘Interactive’ model proposed by Waldinger et al (1990) is acknowledged as a useful conceptual tool for explaining the Irish experience in bars. To reiterate, the two key conceptual pillars within the model are opportunity structures and group characteristics; ‘We begin with the characteristics of opportunity structures to emphasise the role played by historically contingent circumstances in shaping the prospects open to potential ethnic business owners’(Waldinger et al,1990:21). As such the following chapters , which are outlined below, engage with the concepts which are raised within the model. The respondents’ opinions are integrated within every chapter with the exception of the historical chapter. However this chapter is not separate in the sense it is shown how some issues have a legacy which have impacted upon the respondents’ experience albeit, in a different historical context.

The pre- emigration structural characteristics which characterise Irish migration during the twentieth century are dealt with in chapter 3. It is important to show how they entered societies which were not neutral towards their presence. As such, evidence in chapter 4 will show how the derogatory stereotype of the Irish and drink as ubiquitous, was socially constructed during the penal period of colonial conquest. It will be argued that the Irish who entered Britain and the US during the nineteenth century were perceived and officially labelled as a 'problem' group. Together the 'problem' and 'drink' label had particular implications for the type of work which was available to them. Historians have suggested the Irish became known as a 'religion of saloon keepers' (Duis, 1983; Stivers, 1976).

Chapter 5 pursues this argument in a contemporary framework. It shows how the 'racist' stereotype has been reworked in a different historical context. It is argued that during the twentieth century perceptions of the Irish as a 'problem' minority group have dissipated as attention shifted to black minority groups. Thus an analysis of the structural constraints explaining why the Irish continue to occupy jobs which were vestiges of their nineteenth century experience has been missed from sociological research. Moreover because the stereotype of the drunken Irish remains as all pervasive the occupation of Irish diaspora bar owner is perceived as

a 'natural' form of self employment not as an avenue entered for economic advancement.

The structural opportunities and constraints within the bar are the focus of chapter 6. Explaining how the state and larger capital interests simultaneously constrain the opportunities for upward mobility in a bar is a cornerstone of this chapter. Accounts of how the respondents engage with the power structures by their actions and strategies is another. In short the harsh realities of operating and maintaining profitability are analysed in a comparative perspective. It is argued that within the context of the 1990's there is no substantial evidence to argue that the niche in the US affords a greater opportunity for upward mobility than the niche in Britain. From this standpoint an explanation is required in order to understand what strategies are needed to succeed in a business that is characterised by a large percentage of failure.

Chapter 7 shows how some form of cheap labour is central to the successful operation of the niche because of the demands of a labour intensive activity. The chapter also highlights the contradictions between how family labour is theorised within the ethnic entrepreneur models and feminist literature. The argument is sustained by showing that irrespective of ethnicity or individual group characteristics the structural

characteristics of the business determines that whoever occupies the bar must have some access to cheap or unpaid labour in order to survive economically.

Further the evidence in chapter 8 shows how in the quest for economic survival many who occupy the niche whether or not they are Irish choose to access a 'stage form of Irishness'. This chosen strategy has contradictory implications. On the one hand it will be shown how it challenges the standpoint in cultural theories of entrepreneurship. On the other hand it serves to reaffirm the stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous. From this perspective it will be argued that learnt strategies which are accessed to survive economically can be the common property of all different peoples. However accessing these strategies depends on a prior knowledge of the forms which are appropriate for the particular sphere of competitive struggle. As such power over how the arena of competition is defined remains the all embracing concept.

Chapter Three

Pre-Emigration Characteristics and the Circumstances of the Respondents Migration

It has been acknowledged within the previous chapter that the 'interactive' model (Waldinger et al 1990) is a useful conceptual tool for explaining ethnic entrepreneurship. Within the conceptual framework a group's pre-emigration circumstances are cited as a contributing factor towards ethnic entrepreneurship. However with regards to pre-emigration circumstances ethnic entrepreneurship theorists do not acknowledge that more women than men migrate from Ireland. Furthermore given that it is generally men who establish an ethnic entrepreneurship business, with women providing the family labour, it is self evident that the Irish rate of entrepreneurship will be substantially lower than groups whose migration tradition is predominantly male. Thus this chapter provides a space to show why Irish migration is predominantly women; why the respondents are primarily 'economic' migrants and why Ireland has the highest migration rate of all the western economies. The question of why Ireland's chief export is people is discussed at some length. Firstly, by evaluating a number of theories and secondly, by explaining how Irish State policy is integral to the twentieth century Irish migration tradition. By the respondents accounts it can be shown that the primary reason for leaving Ireland has been to find work.

The format of the discussion integrates theories with the respondents accounts. A structural explanation of twentieth century Irish migration is necessary to show the circumstances in which the respondents migrated. Given that there is more than one structural account which explains the circumstances of Irish migration two theories are identified. Attention is then directed to a number of economic, social and political policies which were implemented in Ireland from 1945 onwards because this period corresponds to the time span of the respondents migration experience. The individual accounts of the respondents' action show how their migration experience is shaped by opportunities and constraints within a historically specific context.

I begin the first section of this chapter with a profile of twentieth century Irish migration to the US and Britain. In the light of this discussion two theories are examined which attempt to explain the circumstances of Irish migration from 1922 until the current period. First the 'dependency' perspective argues twentieth century Irish migration is a legacy of colonialism. Second, evidence from the 'political economy' perspective establishes how Irish migration can be explained within the context of the structural changes within the Irish and global economies. In keeping with the theories a 'structural explanation' which focuses upon the social, economic and political policies implemented by Ireland's Independent Free State is introduced. The evidence shows how class and gender

inequalities, which are a feature of the Republic of Ireland State Policy, have shaped the characteristics of the Irish migration tradition. In the latter half of the chapter the focus is on the respondents' accounts to establish the circumstances of their migration. From their accounts it will be shown how the primary decision for migration was based upon the need to find work. Nonetheless, their evidence presents a more complex picture. Thus their accounts show how the circumstances of their migration was shaped by their personal characteristics interacting with a range of historical and contextually specific factors.

Twentieth Century Irish Migrant Labour into the US and Britain

Ireland's chief export for three centuries has been and remains people (Davis, 1991). Consequently Ireland is the only country in the western world whose population has halved over the last century because of migration (Fitzpatrick, 1984). Therefore it comes as something of a surprise to learn that the country which has the highest emigration rates in Western Europe is hardly mentioned in twentieth century sociological studies of migration. The Irish migration experience into Britain and the US during the nineteenth century has been extensively documented by historians (Shannon, 1966; Potter, 1960; Kirkham, 1990; Miller, 1985; Groneham, 1978; Davis, 1991). However sociologists have paid scant attention to their twentieth century migration experience. Jackson's (1963) contribution can be seen as the last major study of the Irish in

Britain during the twentieth century. The forthcoming substantive study by Hickman (1995) will fill a thirty year gap of large scale sociological research on the Irish. Despite the fact that the 'sociology of migration' has focused upon the mobility of labour in the global economy during the latter half of the twentieth century, Ireland's role has been generally overlooked from the focus of the enquiry.

The mobility of labour characterises the global economy and Ireland's foremost role since the nineteenth century has been as a primary supplier of surplus labour to the British and United States economy (Smyth, 1991: 99). It is estimated that one quarter of the Irish population has at some period lived and worked outside Ireland during the first half of the 20th century (Jackson, 1963: 104). Throughout the twentieth century more women than men have migrated, the majority of whom have been younger and single. This characteristic is unique to Ireland as there is no other intra European migration flow which shows young, single women migrating in higher numbers than men. When Castles (1993:71) makes the point that the Irish who arrived in Britain between 1945-59 'provided a source of manual labour for industry and construction' and 'many brought in their families and settled permanently' he omits the fact that Irish migration to Britain post 1945 has been predominantly female and single. It is hardly suprising that E.J. Hobsbawn characterises 20th century Irish migration to Britain as 'invisible' (Rossiter, 1991:223).

After the Second World War the second great wave of twentieth century Irish migration began (Ryan, 1991: 46). (Notably the older respondents in the study migrated during this period). Irish migration had slowed during the 1960's and 1970's corresponding to an upsurge in economic growth within Ireland. Between 1961-1971 emigration amounted to one third of the 1950's exodus. By the 1970's there was return migration to Ireland. Exact figures for return emigration during the 1971-1981 period are incomplete (Bovenkerk, 1973). Net migration figures from the National Economic and Social Council for 1971-1981 show that nearly ten and a half thousand migrants returned annually to Ireland whereas Ryan (1990:46) estimates that between 1976-1981 over 100,000 emigrants returned mainly from Britain,. What is discernible from these inconclusive statistics is that less numbers of Irish were migrating to Britain and less still into the US during the 1960's and 1970's compared to the 1950's. After the numbers migrating in the 1960's fell to one third of the 1950's, followed by the 1970's decade of return migration, it appeared the historical trend had reversed (Lee, 1991: 33). Optimism for the anticipated watershed was premature as by the mid 1980's annual migration figures touched the 1950's peak, corresponding to the economic decline within Ireland (Lee, 1991: 46). Thus by the 1980's the trend had reversed as the numbers migrating from Ireland began to rise again. Between 1931-1990 Ireland had experienced a population loss which was

greater than any other western European country. By 1989 Ireland took 'pride of place' as having the highest number of citizens who lived elsewhere in the EC nearly 18%.

To Britain

In Britain, with the exception of the inter war period, there have never been any immigration controls on the Irish. As such it is impossible to be accurate on the duration of stay. After 1920 the primary destination of Irish migrants shifted from the US to Britain. Figures show that 2 out of every 3 Irish migrants have settled in Britain since 1900 and it is estimated that the total number has been well over 2 million (Ryan, 1990: 46). Regional differences in areas of settlement census data show the total of Irish born in relation to the whole population of England and Wales has never fallen below 1% (1911) or exceeded 1.9% (1966). By the 1991 census there were 804, 935 Irish born in England and Wales which constituted 1.8% of the population.

To the US

The number of men and women who found their way to the United States during the twentieth century, either by direct route or 'step wise' through England or another country, is debatable. Estimates differ because of the unknown extent of undocumented Irish migration (Almeida, 1992: 197). In

the US the emergency quota introduced during 1920, 1924, 1929 and 1930 gradually reduced Irish migration to under 18,000 per annum (Drudy, 1986: 114). From the 1930's further restrictions prevented the Irish, without job prospects, guarantors or adequate savings, from migrating to the US through the legal channels. Thus the criteria of the quota system served to exclude Irish cohorts of a working class origin. Bovenkerk (1973:265) argues that given the Irish quotas were not filled, even in the years of exceptional economic growth in the US, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not twentieth century Irish migration would have shifted more to Britain regardless of quota systems. However, the provisions within the US quota system deterred working class Irish people from applying. The 1965 US Immigration and Nationality Act, which replaced the quota system, served in practise to further restrict Irish migration. Because special provision was made for family migration it did little to assist the Irish as the majority were of single status at the time of their migration. Hence the alternative, which many opted for, was to enter the US as undocumented labour.

Without the legislative machinery to obtain resident alien status, commonly defined as green card status, the large majority of 1980's cohort of Irish migrants who stayed to live and work in the US were of undocumented status (Almeida,1992:196). Immigration legislation implemented in the US in 1986, 1988 and 1990, known as the Morrison

Act, is designed to allow 47,000 Irish migrants, resident alien status over the three year period 1991-1993. Undocumented Irish people working in the US as well as the Irish at home or Irish people in any other location are at liberty to apply for resident alien status. The Act is designed to include the undocumented Irish in order to prevent a reoccurrence of further 'undocumented' Irish cohorts. It might also be suggested that the provisions of the Act, which is designed to help the Irish gain documented status, shows how they are favoured in comparison to other minority groups who have large undocumented cohorts.

The empirical evidence outlined above shows how the tradition of Irish migration is unique in comparison to other migratory traditions within the western hemisphere. As such, an explanation of the structural constraints of the tradition is essential in order to understand the circumstances which propelled the respondents into leaving Ireland.

Explanations of the Circumstances of Irish Migration Post 1922

Because the dominant trend of the respondents' decision to leave Ireland was to find work it is important to show why post independence Ireland has not been able to provide enough work for a relatively small population. Hence, although the following accounts of post independence Irish migration argue from different perspectives they both focus on the failure of policies at a national and international level to promote

economic growth. Thus the concern here is to analyse two theories which attempt to explain Post Independence Irish migration. To begin with, the 'dependency' perspective is evaluated. The 'dependency' perspective suggests that Irish migration is the direct result of colonial rule. In this perspective the class and gender characteristics of the migrants are not important to the circumstances of migration. Following, attention is turned to the 'political economy' perspective which shows how Irish migration is a feature of the global economy. The 'political economy' theory which is outlined within this chapter focuses solely on the structural political and economic factors of Irish migration. However other political economy theorists such as Miles (1986) and Phizacklea (1982) identify class, gender and 'race' characteristics as critical to their analysis of migrant labour. Finally attention is turned to the role of the Irish Free State with regards to how their policies have impacted upon migration. This shows how class and gender difference were defined in official policy on migration and why various governments in the Irish Free State sidestepped migration issues. Each debate raise important issues which contribute towards an understanding of the respondents migration experience.

Post 1922- Irish Independence and 'Dependency Theory'

Throughout the twentieth century nationalist movements have continued to blame colonialism for the lack of industrialisation which results in the

export of Ireland's surplus labour. In short, the essence of the nationalist case claims that lack of political autonomy reduced Ireland to economic backwardness during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From economic backwardness stems the need for migration. Migration is thus a direct result of British colonial rule and its continuing legacy. The argument goes that from 1922 the legacy of a fractured economy left Ireland economically dependent on Britain through a neo-colonial 'dependent' relationship.

British colonial rule ensured that the Irish Free State inherited an underdeveloped economic structure, largely dependent on agriculture (Drudy, 1986: 110). In Northern Ireland 35% of the working population were employed in industry compared to 14% in the Free State whereas agricultural employment in the Free State was approximately 50% of available jobs compared to 26% in Northern Ireland (Hutton, 1991: 53). Political motives underpinned the boundary divide of two states in Ireland during the early 1920's, which established the politically dependent (on Britain) State of Northern Ireland and the virtually Independent Irish Free State (Hutton, 1991: 51). The politically dependent Northern State came into being primarily because of the political allegiance to Britain of a largely protestant working and middle class group from around areas of Ulster. The predominantly Catholic Irish Free State severed the political relationship with the ex-coloniser Britain. The political independence

achieved in 1921 by the Irish Free State is often perceived as one of the earliest and effective anti-colonial struggles (Wickham,1983:164).

However the 'dependency' theorists' case rests on the argument that the marked difference of economic growth which characterised the politically partitioned states at the time of independence set the agenda for Ireland's economic backwardness throughout the twentieth century (Schaffer,1979). As such the colonial legacy is the primary cause of Irish migration. From this perspective it was not realistically possible for 1922 to denote an artificial cut off period in the tradition of Irish migration; rather it was a landmark within the continuum.

The continued tradition of Irish migration post independence has been attributed by some to a 'dependent' neo-colonial relationship. In its post independence form Ireland has been compared with a third world 'developing' country (Schaffer, 1979: 237). Not only is it in part economically dependent upon agriculture, migration and tourism, but Ireland's primary exports go largely to Britain, the excoloniser (Seers, 1979: 7). Different strands within this perspective fall under the broad rubric of 'the core and periphery' approach. Post independent Ireland, (the periphery) is viewed as dependent on Britain, the (core) especially in an economic sense (Seers, 1979). In turn this 'dependent' relationship is the primary facilitator for Irish migration. Despite the policies enacted during the twentieth century to counter economic dependence on Britain,

the Irish Free State economy has been marked by three primary factors which have been analysed by writers such as Andre Gunder Frank to mark 'dependence' (Wickham, 1985: 165). First, agriculture has remained the dominant indigenous export. Second Britain has remained the dominant export market and third the predominant destination of migration has been Britain. The argument outlined above is a particular strand of 'dependency' theory which nationalists have applied to Ireland. In contrast the basic hypothesis of the dependency school is that, 'development and underdevelopment are interrelated structures within the global economic system' (Peet, 1991: 45).

However the concept of a 'dependency' of migration on the ex-coloniser during the twentieth century is somewhat flawed. Migration to Britain may have been markedly less if the quota system had not been introduced in the US during the 1920's. Between the years 1876-1921 the commission on emigration estimated 84% of Irish migrants went to the US whereas only 8% went to Britain (Drudy, 1986: 112). By 1929 the quota system in the US had restricted the numbers of Irish to 17,853 per year. Considering that migration since 1921 has been predominantly by people from poorer agricultural regions, with poor employment prospects, who are disproportionately women, the majority would have been refused entry into the US. To reiterate, it is possible to speculate that many who may

have preferred the US to Britain would have been unable to gain entry because of the stringent conditions within the quota system.

Furthermore the 'dependency' approach oversimplifies a complex problem. To begin with it ignores the economic progress made by Ireland since Independence which has aimed to lessen the economic reliance on the old colonial power. From the early 1930's the economic policy of the Free State attempted to develop Irish owned industry combined with a policy of protectionism. It was recognised that this strategy had failed by the 1950's and by 1958 Ireland's economic policies were designed to attract foreign investment. From 1958 onwards the Republic of Ireland pursued a policy of disassociation from the ex-coloniser by focussing on Ireland's economic position in the global economy.

As early as 1922 protectionism was advocated as a measure towards the reversal of economic dependency on Britain. Although protectionism failed as an economic policy designed to reverse economic dependency on Britain it was also a political feature of global restructuring aligned to uneven global economic development. It may be true to say that Ireland maintained an economic 'dependent' role on Britain before 1958 because there is evidence to show Ireland's economy was shaped in part to suit British needs. However post 1958 Ireland's economic policies were designed to define a role in the global market place. Irelands economic

'dependency' is the uneven development of capital accumulation in the global economy. 'Ireland has merely changed one form of economic marginalisation for another' (Hanlon, 1992: 187).

Irish Migration Post World War 11 in the Context of the Global

Division of Labour.

An explanation of the post 1958 outflow of workers requires some understanding of the terms and conditions of Ireland's position within the global economy. Ireland did not share in the post World War 11 economic boom because of the weakness of her industrial and agricultural economy. In this sense Ireland continued to occupy a position of economic subordination (Smyth,1991;Hazelkorn,1992). Nevertheless the implementation of interventionist policies post World War 11 was essential if Ireland was to share at all in the reconstruction process of Western economies. Ireland's main economic strategy from 1958 was to attract foreign capital. Political policies from 1958 to the 1990's actively legislated for foreign investment to be the engine of economic growth in Ireland. Inclusive to encouraging foreign capital investment has been the political alignment of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement 1966, EC membership in 1973, European Monetary system membership in 1981 and EC integration 1992. This has been complemented by establishing some Free Trade Zone incentives within Ireland to attract foreign investment. Paradoxically domestic conditions improved but economic policies

implemented within Ireland could not counter the fundamental problems of economic growth. Agriculture remained inefficient and indigenous manufacturing was poor. For many, migration was the optimum strategy for economic survival.

Foreign investment in Ireland has not been the catalyst for economic growth. Ireland was at a comparative disadvantage as a country in attracting foreign investment because of relatively high wages compared to other economically backward countries. Furthermore there is evidence to show that jobs in foreign owned industries have stagnated over time (Smyth, 1991: 107). Corresponding to international trends there was growth in the service sector insurance, finance and public administration but a fall in the male dominated manufacturing industries, an area that Ireland had tried to expand with foreign investment (Hazelkorn, 1992). As such Ireland's place remains economically subordinate within the International Division of Labour. Regardless of massive state investment Ireland has acquired the lowest growth rate of gross domestic product in any European country throughout the twentieth century (Smyth, 1991: 94).

According to Smyth (1991:100) the demand and supply of Irish migrant labour during the decade after World War 11 can be viewed as part of the Irish alignment with one player in the capitalist world system: Britain. In

short the structural demand for emigration in Ireland post World War 11 complemented the structural demand for labour in the dominant Western economies. During the period 1945-1973 the import of migrant labour was the preferred strategy to meet the structural demands of European capital (Cohen, 1987: 135). Nonetheless there were sharp contrasts between the terms and conditions under which the Irish migrated to Britain compared to the United States or compared to any other country. According to Hazelkorn (1992) Irish governments followed the pattern of the Turkish States during the 1960's and 1970's whereby migration was used as a form of safety valve against social and political tension. She argues that the Irish State pursued a political stance on migration in a manner similar to other economically backward States of Europe. In Europe during the 1970's the main international flows of migrant workers were from countries of Southern Europe which had fallen behind others in economic terms. Seers (1979) also makes the point that Ireland was part of that trend. However the 1970's was also a period when Ireland witnessed accelerated economic growth in some areas as well as return migration. As such, to attribute the 1970's migratory flow from Ireland as a political safety valve similar to other economically backward European States, does not highlight the differences of how specific nation state economic and political policies shape the characteristics of migratory flows at different periods. Slotting the Irish into broader

trends loses sight of the unique characteristics of the Irish migratory tradition.

Throughout the 1980's unemployment has rocketed in Ireland. Between 1973-1985 Ireland's unemployment rates were the second highest in the EC (Smyth, 1991: 106). Unemployment was most acute in Dublin, which is home to one third of Ireland's population. Between 1985-1990 an estimated 150,000 Irish people migrated, a figure comparable to the 1950's cohort (Lee, 1990: 33). Long established migratory trends continue, albeit with certain characteristics which reflect changing global trends. By 1991 there were less people at work than during 1926 (Hazelkorn, 1991:183). As a result Ireland's primary role in the international division of labour, as a supplier of labour, continues.

To understand the individual characteristics of Irish migration also requires an examination of Irish social structure. An important gap in the analysis presented so far is the issue of how class and gender inequalities within Ireland have impacted upon Irish migration. A related issue is an explanation of the role of the Irish Free/Republic State as an active protagonist in encouraging migration. How the Irish State has sidestepped the issue of migration by proclaiming its worth value and at times presenting an 'individual choice' line of argument requires attention.

Irish Government Policy on the Issue of Twentieth Century Irish Migration

There is evidence to suggest that policies, or the lack of them, enacted by post independence Irish governments have sidestepped the issue of twentieth century migration, categorising it as a 'social safety valve' in the face of unemployment and economic failures (Lee, 1990). In addition those left behind have enjoyed a superior standard of living because without migration far more tax revenue would have been demanded from the Irish people in the face of escalating unemployment (Hazelkorn, 1992: 189). However if migration was to be used to alleviate the unemployment problem then migration had to be justified.

The Irish state has consistently put forward the concept of 'individual choice' as a primary cause of migration. This was officially spelled out as; 'those obscure, traditional, psychological factors rather than economic necessity' (Department of External Affairs Memos, 1947 cited in Hazelkorn, 1992: 190). The official line on migration from the Central Statistics Office 1951 followed the 'individual choice' line of argument rather than acknowledging poor employment opportunities. The 'Report of Commission on Emigration and other Population Problems' 1954 gave positive support for migration. Two fundamental causes of migration were stated, first, a lack of opportunity for making an adequate living and

second, a demand for higher living standards in the rural community. Thus, Irish government policy supported migration on the basis that these problems could be alleviated by migration. Fitzpatrick (1984: 37) argues that a low profile on migration was necessary because those who remained benefited from the steady exodus of the surplus population, which was needed to stabilise employment. According to Hazelkorn (1992) the 'individual choice' line of argument, which subsequent Irish Governments have adhered to throughout the twentieth century has allowed economic policy makers to duck responsibility for solving the economic problem.

It came as no surprise that the rise in migration during the 1980's was paralleled by economic stagnation and a significant increase in unemployment. By 1983, 20% of the under 25 age group were unemployed in Ireland (Drudy, 1986: 119). In this respect it is the young people who have predominantly characterised the 1980's migratory tradition. In contrast to the 1950's a large number are arriving from the urban areas equipped with skills, education and training. However overall twentieth century migration loss and gain has unevenly impacted upon regions and groups within the population. Migration loss affected poorer members of the population disproportionately and women more than men. From the late 1980's political policy has sought to campaign for migrant opportunities. There was much publicised government and media concern about the Irish Postal Strike which threatened to disrupt thousands of

United States Morrison Act Visa applications resulting in a special postal service being set up to cater for them. In a much quoted phrase Brian Lenihan told newsweek in October 1987;

‘What we have now is a very literate emigrant who thinks nothing of coming to the United States and going back to Ireland and maybe on to Germany and back to Ireland again The world is now one world and they can always return to Ireland with the skills they have developed. We regard them as part of a global generation of people. We shouldn't be defeatist or pessimistic about it. We should be proud of it after all we can't all live on a small island’ (Lenihan, 1987 cited in Lee, 1990: 36).

The phrase provoked a furore amongst Irish economists given that Ireland is the most sparsely populated country within the E.C. with a population of approximately 3.5 million (Hazelkorn, 1992). Without the burgeoning emigration of the 1980's unemployment figures would swell to over 20% in Ireland. The highly skilled young ‘middle class’ graduate labour leaving Ireland in the late 1980's has caused much greater public debate than previous migrations (Hanlon, 1992: 183). Economists and politicians have bemused ‘the nonsense of a capital importing country investing in the capital intensive education of graduates for export’ (Walsh cited in Lee, 1990: 42).

In a sense there is an irony within this debate as Irish middle class migration is not a new phenomenon. The 1951 census in England and Wales shows the Irish born in the professions as a percentage of total Irish born was 22.43% (Jackson, 1963: 199). It has also been suggested that the 10% of migrants who went to the US during the 1950's were mainly middle class (Hanlon, 1992: 115). Furthermore graduates actually made up only 7.9% of all Irish migrants in 1984 and 3.6% in 1986 (Hanlon, 1992: 186). Nonetheless the media interest put the issue of middle class migration onto the political agenda. Census figures also show that during the 1980's more men left than women, which may be indicative of the rising unemployment in traditional male industries. However the predominant trend of a female dominant tradition has not yet reversed. In 1991 there were more Irish born women than men in Britain (Owen:1993).

To a large extent the fact that Irish migration was predominantly female was ignored. Thus a migratory exodus which was over 50% female also requires an explanation. In the report of the Commission of Emigration 1954 it was established that womens' migration was 'insignificant', emigration was, 'the individual exercising his free will to leave' (Kelly, 1990: 12). Elected governments within the Independent Free State ignored the role of women in the struggle for political independence and diminished their rights by actively legislating against them in employment

and in areas of human reproduction (Lennon et al, 1988: 23). Kelly & Choille (1990: 10) argue that more women than men have migrated for social reasons such as abortion rights, pregnancy and views related to sexuality.

From the establishment of the Independent Free State measures were taken to restrict women's labour market participation. Throughout the 1920's and 1930's women's waged labour was curtailed. In 1926 legislation was passed by the Free State government to curb the entry of women into certain areas of the civil service (Hutton, 1991: 58). In 1936 the Free State Government introduced 'The Conditions of Employment Act' which discriminated against women by allocating them a lower fixed ratio of jobs compared to men in certain industries. Also the 'marriage' bar prevented any women from working in the state sector after marriage. Lack of employment opportunities mirrored lack of access to land ownership. The Land Commission of the 1930's affirmed the tradition that women had no rights to land. A clause of the 1930's Land Commission excluded old age pensioners or spinsters (single women) from inheriting land and gave all sons priority of inheritance over married daughters. This discriminatory legislation dovetailed into women's primary role as it was defined in the 1937 constitution. Article 41 states, 'by her life within the home, woman gives to the state a support without which the common good cannot be achieved' (Lennon, 1988: 24). Irish

women were also denied other benefits such as work related pensions. As mothers, that is married ones, womens role as waged workers was a non starter.

It was the advent of World War 11 which had a profound effect on Irish women and men's migration opportunities. Recruitment policies called upon both Irish women and men to fill the gaps in the British labour market. The increase of Irish migration into Britain during the period paralleled the rise in unemployment in Ireland (Lee,1991). However the issue that more women were leaving the country still remained politically invisible. In a form of positive discrimination towards men the state offered larger tax concessions to the subsidiaries of multinational firms established in Ireland if they agreed to employ a predominantly male workforce. The objective was to increase male employment and reduce male migration. Only as a result of Ireland complying with EC legislation in the mid 1970's, after membership during 1973, was the discriminatory practise outlawed. Hence a number of State policies implemented during the twentieth century unintentionally promote Irish women's migration. It is not surprising that findings show far more women than men migrated on a permanent basis.

To recap, three integrated explanations of 20th century migration have formed the first part of this discussion. Because the respondents'

accounts point to economic factors as the main reason for them to migrate it was important to show how various economic and political factors have shaped Ireland's role as a primary supplier of labour. It has been argued that the politically Independent Irish Free State inherited an economically backward economy. The evidence shows that Irish migration is a consequence of the uneven development of capital accumulation within the global economy. Furthermore it has been identified how political economic and social policies which were implemented within Ireland serve to define that more women than men migrate. In the following discussion the pre-emigration experience of the respondents will be compared to show how many of the themes identified thus far influenced their decision to migrate.

The Circumstances of the Respondents Migration -An Economic Necessity but a Political Choice

The respondents talked of the need to find work as the primary reason for migration. However the accounts of their migration experience show how the economic and political imperatives which impacted upon them were historically specific and gender differentiated. How these factors influenced their decision to migrate and the process of their migration experience is integrated into the following discussion in their own words.

Three important characteristics of the respondents migration process were shown to be distinctive. First the need to find work was the economic factor that was stated as the primary reason for leaving Ireland. Second the process of 'stepwise migration' characterised the migration process to the US and third the political issue of being undocumented in the US . The following evidence shows there was a commonality of factors that influenced their decision to migrate which were based on class and gender issues.

A lack of economic opportunities in Ireland was stated as the primary factor for leaving. Thus over the past two hundred years the main reason why men and women have migrated from Ireland **has not changed**. Lack of employment opportunities was also the predominant factor for migration in the case of the one Northern Ireland respondent;

'I left school at 14 and helped out in a bar, there was not much doing. I left Ireland when I was 17, my brothers and sisters had come out before me.'

(male respondent left Northern Ireland in 1960's)

With two exceptions the respondents' language was not couched in academic terms, neither did they label themselves economic migrants as

sociologists and economic historians might. Only one respondent, who worked in Chicago, used the term 'economic factors'. Not surprisingly this woman was a graduate in Political Science from University College, Dublin.

'A combination of economic factors and a sense of adventure, the week I graduated from college was the week I left.'

(female respondent in Chicago left Ireland in 1982)

The way other respondents expressed themselves showed a grounded understanding of the situation, their need for work and money was the primary motivating factor for migration;

'there was no money at that particular time everyone was very poor, my brother and sister was here before me and they worked on the buses, anyway they were trying to get people to work on the buses it was unsociable hours and all that you know. I was seven years on the buses. I met him (husband) on the buses, he was Irish.'

(female respondent in Birmingham, emigrated in 1960's)

For the women respondents in both locations their accounts of the need to earn money was not only spoken about as an individual problem but in

terms of a commitment to help financially support the family in Ireland.

Sending money home to Ireland featured in the decision to leave;

‘My dad was ill and I had to go to work somewhere to support the family. I was in England eight months before he died and I didn't care for that much. I was nursing in Portsmouth but then my dad died and I had to go home. The main reason I came over here then was for a job and the money.’

(female respondent in Chicago left Ireland in 1950's)

‘And it wasn't that you got help from your Mother and Father cos you didn't, they didn't have it you knew you had to help them. I'm still sending money home my mothers 88 years of age.’

(female respondent in Birmingham left Ireland in 1950's)

A number of the women in Birmingham and Chicago offered the information that they took the responsibility of sending money home towards the family expense in Ireland. Also a visit home was an opportunity for ‘taking the good coat for me mother’ or other such items of practical use. It may well be that the male respondents in the study were equally vigilant in sending remittances home but it was an aspect of their migration experience that was never mentioned. I would suggest that for the women who contributed to the family in Ireland their

commitment was in essence integral to the caring 'familial role', perceived in dominant ideology as women's primary role. Even in 1859 a visitor to the US writes of; 'Noble Irish girls. Children of God. The Faithful children of their poor fathers and mothers! The sons might neglect to remit money; the girls never' (Potter, 1960: 513).

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century remittances from Ireland's sons and daughters have significantly subsidised the Irish economy. It was estimated that in 1951 remittances amounted to 10 million pounds, 2.5% of the national economy (Jackson, 1963: 38). Nearly one hundred years earlier in 1862 the Irish Times recorded that remittances sent home by emigrants in the previous fourteen years amounted to twelve million pounds (Davis, 1992: 179).

Land and inheritance was mentioned only by men;

'there was no jobs I was born and raised on a farm the youngest of nine and thats only for one person, the one gets the farm and the other hits the road either England, America or Australia.'

(male respondent in Chicago migrated in 1950's)

'my parents were farmers and the oldest son gets the farm I tell you Then I had a bachelor uncle and he had a big farm too. If I'd stayed there I

thought I'd get that but my youngest brother got it. But if you leave they don't give you anything my oldest brother got the farm at home. When my uncle passed away I was fifteen years gone out of the country. If he'd have died while I was there I would have got the farm.'

(male respondent in Birmingham migrated in 1950's)

In contrast, for the women who had migrated from rural areas the association with the land was spoken about in a different context;

'I came for work. I lived on the land on a farm and I didn't get much education. I mean the opportunity wasn't there for us you had to pay for it in Ireland not like here.'

(female respondent in Birmingham migrated in 1950's)

'I came out with my parents, mainly in our part you get tired of farming the land, he wanted to try something different. We went to Canada first, we was in Canada four years Then my Father decided he didn't like Canada and talked about going to the States, so he came to the States. We went back to Ireland with my Mother. We stayed there until my Father got a job.'

(female respondent in Chicago migrated in 1950's.)

None of the women interviewed mentioned land as a factor in their decision to migrate because it had no salience for women. It could be suggested that the sharp distinction between the opinions on the issue of land of Irish men and women who migrated during the 1950's and 1960's, are representative of the discrimination enacted towards women in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Removing Irish womens rights to land ownership has defined that the economic activity that land ownership offers in Ireland has a gendered meaning.

Given the younger respondents had migrated from the cities this issue was not a part of their experience although other forms of economic constraint were. The general feeling of the women who had migrated from the urban areas was while it was near impossible for both men and women in Ireland to get jobs with prospects, it was harder still for women . It would be misleading to suggest that economic reasons were the only factor talked about for leaving. Nonetheless lack of employment opportunities was the significant theme sometimes talked about in conjunction with other personal reasons. Evidence within this chapter has shown the structural weakness of the Irish economy in being unable to provide work for a large proportion of her population as the primary reason for the respondents migration. As such I would suggest that the respondents' accounts confirm that the primary cause of Irish migration to Britain and the US is economic.

A characteristic common to many of the the respondents' experience in this study was the process of step migration. In general for the respondents who migrated step wise, immigration laws had a bearing on the process.

Step Migration; a Twentieth Century Political Issue

Step migration was the strategy by which a number of the respondents in this study entered the US. It served as one method in the goal to enter the US against the political constraint of the immigration laws.

Ultimately for the majority of respondents who were working in Chicago restrictions on immigration in the US had failed to prevent their entry.

Because of the Immigration Law, the US was not officially open to the majority of respondents in this study. Only one responnent had acquired green card status prior to arrival. In this particular womens case she had been recruited in Ireland to work in a hotel bar in Chicago that was adopting an Irish theme as its emblem;

'they told us that there's a hotel in Chicago, and they'r building a new bar. I thought maybe this is the right time to go to the States. I'd get all the paperwork done I wouldn't have to worry about being illegal I'd have my visa sorted out and everything.'

(female respondent in Chicago migrated during the 1980's)

However the other respondents in Chicago, single men and women and those who arrived as children in families, were prepared to adopt the strategy of moving more than once to reach the US ,the country idealised in Ireland as the land of opportunity;

‘I left Ireland after school there was no work as such. I was in England for eight years doing casual maintenance appliance work. I knew I'd come to America but I risked it on a short term basis because I'd got no paperwork. I've been here ever since.’ (male respondent in Chicago left Ireland in 1970's)

‘I went to Toronto first I was working for the City of Toronto myself and another guy was the first two Catholics ever hired by the city of Toronto and then I slipped into America.’(male respondent in Chicago left Ireland in 1950's)

‘I was a young guy I had no money but itchy feet and I made up my mind. I was gonna go to one of four places Australia, New Zealand, America or Canada. And Canada at that time was open for immigrants. I landed in Canada with 40 bucks in my pocket which I actually owed. On account of me not speaking French in Montreal I was laid off but I got a job in Montreal driving street cars and buses. I worked every shift I could, I

averaged 13 hours a day 365 days a year. Now that doesn't necessarily mean your working 13 hours a day 365 days a year it might be 18 hours one day and 10 hours another, then I came down to Chicago and drove buses. I worked two years in this city doing what I'd done in Canada.'

(male respondent in Chicago left Ireland in 1950's)

No one in the study had moved step wise to the States and then returned to Britain. Despite the barrier of being undocumented the concept that America was the land of opportunity for the Irish was explicit.

'I came out here in 85 for work I've never been legal and I've always worked. Well a friend of mine came here to play football and he wrote to me and told me there was a whole lot of work here. I got my apprenticeship in England, I worked as a roofer, had a 715 form (registered subcontractors legal tax form). I never had any intention of staying in England I just went there for work.'

(male respondent in Chicago left Ireland in 1970's)

'I went to Germany first and then I came here, I always knew I'd get here. For the first few years I was illegal which is good in one way because it means you're exempt from certain taxes. I got my visa couple of years ago I had a sponsor so it helped.'

(female respondent in Chicago left Ireland in 1980's)

A number of important points emerge from this information. First, it shows that regardless of the political machinery that defines those in America without documentation as 'illegal aliens' many of the respondents were prepared to try their luck and obtain work in the informal economy to start with. Their entry into the US was either by slipping into America incognito or by arriving on a visitors' short term visa and then disappearing into the informal economy. The Irish migrants in this study who were determined to find work in the States did so regardless of the constraints. Second, from the evidence of their self determination it is possible to speculate that their actions in conjunction with other Irish undocumented in the US have collectively paved the way towards the structural change in the immigration policy on Irish migration. As shown in the first half of this chapter the Morrison Act makes provision for 47,000 Irish, of which many were 'illegal aliens' to obtain green cards for resident status by 1993.

In this chapter I have argued the case that the respondents pre-emigration characteristics were an important factor for understanding the terms and conditions under which they migrated. The evidence has shown how the Irish Free State inherited a ruptured economy as a direct result of colonialism. Furthermore Ireland's structural demand for emigration Post World War Two was complemented by the structural demand for labour in

the dominant western economies. Thus from the 'political economy' perspective it was shown how Irish migration is a feature of the global economy. Together the political and economic factors in Ireland have been shown as a major influence as to why Ireland cannot provide full employment. Particular attention was drawn to a range of policies which have inadvertently encouraged women to migrate. In sum the necessity of many of the respondents to leave Ireland in order to find work is interrelated to a number of these structural factors. An understanding of the characteristics of the Irish migration tradition is a pre-requisite for understanding their experience as economic migrants and the opportunities available to them in the US and Britain.

Within the theories outlined in this chapter reference was made to the colonial legacy with regards to the long term implications for Irish migration. However there are other aspects of the colonial legacy which have impacted upon the cohorts of Irish who migrate. I have previously argued that as an ex-colonial minority group the Irish diaspora have received scant attention as to how their presence is perceived in the receiving societies. In the following chapter I intend to focus on an aspect of the colonial legacy which has served long term to stereotype the Irish and drink as synonymous. Attention is turned to explaining how the stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous has served to portray the Irish diaspora of the nineteenth century as a 'problem'. Evidence will

show how the stereotype subsequently impacted upon the economic niche of bar proprietor in the sense that it became perceived as a 'natural' occupation for Irish migrants.

Chapter Four

The Historical Legacy of the 'Problem'

‘We are known as a religion of saloon keepers of men who drink and men who provide the means of drinking’(Stivers, 1976: 136).

Waldinger et al (1990:178) argue that ‘some minority groups enter societies where they are welcomed and others where they are merely tolerated.’ Thus the question of how groups are perceived within the receiving society is an important issue because this research aims to establish the argument that the derogatory stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous impacts twentieth century Irish migrants who occupy the economic niche of bar entrepreneur in the sense it is perceived as a natural form of self employment. As an ex colonial group the Irish are perceived in ways which are interrelated to their historical and contemporary experience. However to show how the stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous is a social construction the explanation commences from the penal period of the colonial conquest of Ireland. From an analysis of the period the argument can be established that the social construction of the stereotypical belief was integral to England's economic exploitation of Ireland. By drawing on historical evidence from the US and Britain it is possible to show how this form of derogatory

stereotyping served to problematise their presence as a minority group. Thus this chapter shows why and how the Irish were labelled as a problem. I intend to argue that the nature of the jobs that were on offer to the Irish in Britain and the US during the nineteenth century served as conventional wisdom for espousing the derogatory stereotype. Further, it is argued that viewing the Irish and drink as synonymous, led to the Irish being regarded as 'natural' bar proprietors. The universal image of 'drunken paddy' was grounded in a legacy which has subsequently shaped perceptions of Irish diaspora bar proprietors, the respondents chosen niche.

Economic Motives Behind the Social Construction of the Stereotype

Economic gain was the primary reason for the regulation of the Irish drink industry by the English during the period of sixteenth century Tudor reconquest. In contrast to the spirit distilled in England the colonising government noted the superior quality of spirits distilled within Ireland (Malcolm, 1986: 5). In 1556 the first legislative controls on Ireland's drink industry were implemented primarily for the English government to gain revenue from the industry. Contrary to the commonly held assumption that it was primarily to curtail Irish drunkenness other forces were at play. The regulation of Ireland's public houses, in the form of

registration and licences, also tightened the control on what was believed to be the sites of Irish rebellion meetings. Taxes on the Irish drink industry during the period up to 1611 amount to one fifth of the Irish revenue and by 1685 had risen to one third (Malcolm, 1986:17). When the English government declared fierce denunciations against drunkenness in 1653 as the main reason behind controlling the drink industry they omitted the fact that maximising tax revenue was the primary motive. The penal era of the sixteenth and seventeenth century is often depicted as the period when drink became the soulmate of the Irish as recompense for their demoralisation through conquest and catholic repression. However the evidence shows that economic gain underpins the reason for vilifying the Irish as inherently compulsive drinkers and creating the stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous. Notably the coloniser was driven by a penchant for Irish 'usquebaugh' (the English word for whisky meaning the water of life) as well as revelling in the stupor of that which he condemned in others. In 1670 Sir Ellis Leighton secretary to the Lord Lieutenant communicated in a letter from Dublin to London that he had been drunk for days with 'Plentifulness of the creature' (Malcolm, 1986: 5).

According to Malcolm (1986:328) there is historical evidence from the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which shows alcohol

consumption as a measure of affluence rather than poverty. Hence the extent to which the Irish experienced poverty both within Ireland and within the countries they migrated to is a factor which throws scepticism on the stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous. It is of little surprise to learn that the poverty which the Irish experienced, be they in the north or the south, was firmly defined as their own fault. A pamphlet produced by a certain Richard Lawrence 'The Interest of Ireland in its Wealth and Trade' attempted to calculate in exact monetary terms Irish wastefulness. Accordingly, the Irish nature was prone to four deadly sins, swearing, gambling, adultery and drunkenness, of which the latter took precedence. Lawrence, suggests that it is; 'Chiefly drunkenness and tippling, which is the mother of all the rest of this cursed brood' (Lawrence cited in Malcolm, 1986: 19). Lawrence's statistical analysis in fact shows that whisky was too expensive for the poor Irish masses and heavy drinkers/drunkards actually amounted to only 1% of the Irish population. In short by his own evidence he technically refutes his own claims.

A further series of massive taxes were imposed on the Irish drink industry by the English government after 1795 in order to raise extra revenue towards the cost of the Napoleonic European Wars. Consequently there was a down turn in legal production and an upturn in illicit distilling. In

turn the establishment tried to curb illicit distilling. Such was the force of the draconian measures that rumours spread and people in Dublin paraded through the streets during the 1790's protesting against the possibility of whisky drinking becoming totally illegal. Oppression and further excise duty served to shift the whisky distillers to producing more beer and wine. The Still Licence Reforms of 1823 enabled the regulated industry to take over a large section of the illegal distilling 'poteen' trade. In competitive terms the quality of the whisky produced in Ireland surpassed that produced in England. Hence because of the popularity of the product the profitable Irish industry paid huge monetary dividends to the English who controlled it. In short for over four centuries England's economic gain from the Irish brewing industry was an essential source of taxation. However the stereotype which justified the economic expropriation portrayed the love of whisky as a natural trait of the Irish. It was suggested that if the French invaded Ireland the Irish Army were likely to lose on the grounds; 'If France ever beats us it will be by whisky not by force of arms' (Malcolm, 1986: 54).

Ireland in the Aftermath of the 'Great Famine'

During the early part of the nineteenth century the 'Malthusian' perspective was an orthodox doctrine in England (Davis, 1992: 11). It was believed that when population began to outstrip resources 'natural' forces

such as war, famine or disease would correct over population. Up until the onset of famine Irish landlords were proclaiming that emigration was still not ridding Ireland of the excess population (Miller, 1984: 201). In fact, Ireland was producing enough food to feed all. But Ireland's surplus staple food stocks were sent to mainland Britain (Miller, 1984: 284). The cure for Ireland's poverty in 'malthusian' terms was realised as every potato harvest failed in Ireland between 1845-1852. In reality, 'It is clear that the people of Ireland did not starve for want of food but for want of the means to pay for it from the lack of employment' (Starkly cited in Davis, 1992: 14).

Crotty (1978) suggests that by the latter half of the century whisky was the only product where consumption was greater in Ireland than in England. He argues that in the aftermath of the great famine this was due to the, 'Escapist demand of a ruined society' (1978: 229). Crotty's evidence is questionable. Malcolm(1986) shows, with regards to whisky consumption in Ireland, the 1820' and 1830's were periods of record consumption as well as the time when illicit distilling was booming. The most reliable way to compare whisky consumption in England and Ireland is by per-capita consumption. Between the years of 1821-1901 only twice in 1831 and 1851 was Irish consumption more than England. Also Ireland's per-capita consumption of spirits was only half that of the US up

to 1860 and remained less during the whole of the nineteenth century. In regards to beer consumption the figures in England are consistently four times greater than Ireland although beer drinking in America was less popular than Ireland (Malcolm, 1986: 234). These figures suggest that Irish spirit consumption per capita was far less than both Britain or the United States. Far from whisky being 'the escapist demand from a ruined society' as Crotty would have us believe Lee (1966:184) has shown that in the second half of the nineteenth century beer was the popular drink in rural Ireland.

Stivers (1976) argues that whereas celibacy was encouraged in post - famine Ireland, drinking for males was widely advocated as a compensation for their celibate lives. He suggests that issues of morality and the maintenance of a celibate tradition were of primary importance in post-famine Ireland where living in the shadows and fear of another famine were never far away. The ideological concept of practising Malthusian values of moral restraint in order to keep the population low was, according to Stivers widespread. Those who deviated from celibate lives, or 'caught' deviating, were socially ostracised whereas those who found solace in the practise of excessive drinking were labelled 'good men'. Since the alternative to drinking offered to women to induce them

to remain celibate was the pleasure of farm and house work it is hardly surprising that a higher number of younger single women migrated.

In contrast to other great European migrations of the nineteenth century, the Irish tradition was predominantly single. Overall women migrated in greater numbers than men, accounting for two fifths prior to the famine and the majority afterwards (Fitzpatrick, 1990: 7). This trend can be explained, in part, by the affect of the Land Purchase Acts which determined that holdings could not be subdivided. Hence only one son could inherit the land and women were excluded (Bovenkerk, 1973: 266). The inheritance system, implemented in the aftermath of the 'Great Famine', also encouraged those who did not migrate to avoid early marriage or reject marriage completely (Hannan, 1969: 199). Emigration and an avoidance of marriage were primary factors which changed the demographic characteristics of Ireland so it was out of step with the demographic profile of Western Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Fitzpatrick, 1990:39). By the end of the nineteenth century Ireland was unique in being the most migratory country in the Western hemisphere. The famine years accelerated the previously established trend of Irish migration. The new societies received an influx of ready reared young workers, whose reproduction costs had been met by Ireland. The uneven development of capital accumulation, both within Ireland and

Britain during the period of colonial conquest created a 'dependence' of the former on the latter that had predominantly shaped the characteristics of the Irish migration tradition.

The Role of Drink in England

The stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous preceded the Irish who migrated into new societies. Stivers (1976:16) highlights the hypocrisy of labelling the Irish in such a manner by drawing attention to the role that drink played in eighteenth and nineteenth century England. Evidence shows although Irish wakes have been exemplified as rituals of excess drinking the practise was equally widespread in eighteenth and early nineteenth century England. Historians have documented how Lord Ashley's enlightening experience of seeing drunken coffin bearers drop and expose the contents of a coffin was a primary catalyst towards him embarking upon his life's work as defender of the English poor (Stivers, 1976: 19). In both Ireland and England the use of drink for medicinal purposes was widespread and sometimes administered with too much enthusiasm, as shown by the unfortunate death of the M.P for Ashton after being prescribed six pints of brandy in 72 hours (Stivers, 1976: 18). During 1839 John Dunlop undertook a quantitative sociological study to document the drinking habits in different occupations in England. A sample of 300 were observed in 98 occupations. Occupational drinking

systems included a system of fines whereby working class people and professionals levied fines in the form of drink payments upon each other for virtually any excuse imaginable. Also public houses which were owned by a particular trade (of which the coal industry was infamous) encouraged the practise of 'tick' drinking to tie the workers to them in a form of indentured labour. A common practise in England of serving free drinks to gain political support merely mirrored the habit of pubs being used as political meeting houses in Ireland with the qualification that the former practise was less feared by the government. Furthermore in England the period was characterised by the widespread practise of establishing taverns within prisons. On occasions, such as the Old White Lion at Southwark the prison was actually established inside the public house. This latter practise was not evident within Ireland. Thus in various ways the role of the pub and publican were seen as central aspects which contributed to the English economy. In short, drinking practises were ubiquitous in eighteenth and early nineteenth century England. Hence a measure of control over the English masses was desired.

In particular the reasoning behind the 1830 Beer Act was the aim to shift the English working class to beer drinking instead of drinking spirits, especially gin. Notably by this period taxes imposed on the drink industry totalled one third of total government revenue. The English government

imposed an excise tax on spirits from Ireland during the 1850's, in part, because of their growing panic in the face of widespread unrest from the impoverished working class in the English towns. The large excise increase on whisky during the 1850's hit the Irish export trade hard and was unpopular with English traders who had vested interests in the Irish product. In 1855 the Wilson/Patten Act, which regulated Sunday liquor trading, had sparked off large scale public disorder and rioting in Hyde Park (Malcolm, 1986: 192). A number of reasons contributed to the moral panic to preserve the status quo, one of which was to maintain law and order in the face of the perceived escalating problem of the English working class. The belief was widespread that; 'in a matter of diet, the most striking apparent irrationality of the Victorian poor was the fact that when they were forced by poverty to choose between food and alcohol drinks, they tended to choose drink' (Harrison, 1969: 204). Hence legislation was implemented within England in order to control the drinking habits of the 'residuum' stratum of the English masses (Stivers, 1976).

Given the extensive role of drinking practise in England during the period when Irish migration burgeoned there is an obvious contradiction in the fact that it was the Irish who were portrayed as harbingers of the evils of drink. Furthermore their reputation as drinkers preceded their migration

into the US since 'Americans marked down their drunkenness as natural to the Irish as their brogue' (Potter, 1960: 157).

Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Exodus

Popular opinion in the US and Britain regarded the presence of the Irish as unwelcome and threatening prior to the influx of the famine immigrants. Whilst the nineteenth century witnessed an accelerated migration trend from Ireland, it was not a premeditated conspiracy to lure Irish workers for cheap labour in Britain or the US. The English Government Act of 1824 removed emigration restrictions within Ireland in order to enable Irish migration to the New World, and other destinations (Miller, 1985). It could be speculated that the Act, which was implemented to curb Irish migration into England and Wales, is a prime example of a state policy that does not always correspond with different capital interests within a nation. Many industrialists welcomed cheap Irish labour. Within England and Wales a series of Passenger Acts passed between 1803-1824 were also designed to curb Irish immigration (Miller, 1985: 256). The laws were enacted to suppress the growing agitation within the towns which claimed that there were too many Irish migrants. Distinct by their accent and frequent 'shabby' appearance their difference was perceived as both inferior and feared. Hence the outcry of the indigenous working class majority (to curtail the Irish migrant presence

and thus prevent the 'different ' strangers from taking 'their' jobs and dwellings) crystallized as a moral panic. The Irish who entered Britain and the US were not perceived in neutral ways. Rather they were greeted with ready made assumptions that defined their presence as a 'problem'. The nature of the way in which they were problematised had been grounded within the justification of colonial conquest. In addition not only were they perceived as a 'race' and religious problem their presence as cheap labour was also a threat to the working class population.

According to Davis (1992:83) underpinning the 'morally degenerate' stereotypical model that was prevalent in the early nineteenth century was a fear from the 'indigenous' unskilled population of the Irish presence as cheap labour in low skilled industries. This statement requires some qualification because it omits the issue that anti-catholicism was also a primary determinant for derogatory stereotypes to be constructed against the Irish during the nineteenth century. Jackson (1963) and McCaffrey (1976) argue that the primary motive for anti-Irish feeling during the nineteenth century in both Britain and the US was anti catholicism. Thus an explanation of how the Irish were perceived in terms of their 'race' and religion is central to an understanding of how they were received.

'Race' and Religion

Anti -catholic and anti-Irish feeling had existed long before the nineteenth century. Anti-catholicism was built on the popular concept that catholic worship was an evil foreign superstitious practise which threatened the English Church, Crown and Constitution. Catholics were perceived potential traitors who threatened the life and liberty of British Crown subjects (Busteed & Hodgson, 1993:2). Likewise in America which was overwhelmingly protestant, catholicism was believed to be an exotic religion commanding superstition and idolatry in worship and tyranny in policy (Potter, 1960: 166). In both locations, despite the influx of protestant Irish into America during the eighteenth century, all Irish immigrants were perceived as harbingers of this evil force. Albeit according to Potter (1960) in America, a country not defined as the colonial oppressor, the Catholic Irish did not consider themselves as 'foreigners' or 'aliens'. In the context of the nineteenth century, characterised by profound economic and social changes in both Britain and the US, these sentiments of anti-catholicism were revised and expressed through violence. Sporadic outbursts of anti-catholic violence peppered the nineteenth century in both contexts (Jackson, 1963: 135; Potter, 1960: 310; McCaffrey, 1976: 102; Miller, 1985: 322).

Religious bigotry, which remained openly expressed throughout the nineteenth century was paralleled by the open expression of anti-Irish prejudice. Combined religious bigotry and anti Irish prejudice expressed in a 'racist' and 'national stereotype' form labelled the Irish as a 'visible' problem. Some historians have explained anti-Irish prejudice in Britain and the US as 'racist' (Curtis, 1971; Curtis, 1984; Lebow, 1976). Others have argued anti- Irish prejudice was not an over arching 'racist' phenomenon but based on a national stereotype which evoked good and bad images of the Irish (Buxteed,1993; Sheridan & Gilley, 1978; Holmes, 1991). Some explanations have incorporated aspects of both overt 'racism' enacted against the Irish and a discussion of Irish national stereotypes which show inconsistencies in that they evoke good and bad points (Potter,1960; McCaffrey,1976). For the present purpose it is important to show from all aspects of this debate the ways in which the Irish presence was perceived as a 'visible' problem in Britain and the US.

Evidence below shows simultaneously how aspects of anti-Irish prejudice was 'racist' and that a complex Irish national stereotype, also prevailed throughout the nineteenth century. From the beginnings of early migration the Irish were perceived as a 'visible' problem in England (O'Tuathheigh, 1985: 14). Ireland was labelled as a source of parasitic vagrants. An Act of 1413 which legislated to expel the Irish from

England had enshrined the concept in English law (Busteed,1993:3). It was written into Parliamentary Papers of 1808 that Irish people were prone to stir up civil disorder through violence. The Parliamentary Papers state that the Irishman's supposed weakness for drunkenness preempts a tendency to crime (Busteed ,1993). In a report to the Select Committee of the Metropolis Police 1817, on the effects of liquor on the Irish, a witness stated, 'it is certain that the abuse of this destructive stimulus forments and keeps alive the most atrocious and appalling crimes' (witness cited in Swift, 1985: 167). In the report of the Select Committee on Drunkenness in the Parliamentary Papers of 1834 the 'racist' argument was proposed that drink affected the Irish in a different way to the English. Hence from various English Parliament sources the stereotype of 'drunken paddy' was institutionalised. Within the official report the statement is made that drink for the Irish was the precursor for fighting whereas for the English it was the precursor for joviality (Swift,1985). A heightened anxiety over the rise of impoverished Irish migrants arriving in the cities during the early nineteenth century led to the report on the State of the Irish Poor in Britain 1836. Voices of the establishment, such as the Rev.Thomas Malthus, gave weight to the concept that this influx of cheap workers were likely to lower the living standards of the indigenous workers. The language used by Dr Kay-Shuttleworth in the Irish Poor Report 1836 sealed the establishment official 'racist' opinion of the Irish

‘race’. Kay began from the assumption that the Irish were; ‘a less civilised race than the natives’(Irish Poor Law Report, 1836, Appendix G XXXIX- cited in Busteed, 1992:7).

Kay interpreted and selected his evidence from the Irish quarters of Little Ireland in Manchester in order to establish the case for sanitary environmental reforms to prevent further cholera epidemics. Such was his bias he also wrote that the Irish subsistence diet of eating potatoes and oatmeal was a deliberate strategy so as much as possible of a meagre income could be spent in taverns on drink. He feared the habit of drinking, which he perceived as an Irish trait, was being copied by the English workers, ultimately lowering the already poor dietary standards (Davis,1992). Couched in the language of a sanitary reformer ‘The moral and physical conditions of the working classes employed in Manchester1832’ validated the establishment position of a national stereotype of the Irish as a feckless drunk who lived in squalid living conditions. In truth the irony of Kays report is the omission that the Irish immigrants were not a high risk for cholera because the majority were young single adults and moreover their diet was reasonably nutritious. High risk groups for cholera were children and the aged. However the report was an influential document of the period. Subsequently the much

quoted Engels (1845) and various others during the nineteenth century espoused the less than civilised habits of the Irish.

Kay and his parliamentary predecessors were not the first to confirm the establishment seal of official approval on the derogatory stereotype of the Irish. In order to justify colonialism the Irish were officially documented as 'barbarians' (Goldberg, 1993; Sardar et al, 1993). Neither were the Irish passive to the derogatory portrayal of them. In 1775 the Irish had retaliated to one English authors' assertion that all Irish were drunks by producing a chamber pot showing his likeness so Irish readers could express their opinion of his book (Curtis, 1984). The Edgeworths novel 'Essays on Irish Bulls' published 1802 challenged the derogatory jokes the English made about the Irish and showed how they were originally aimed at other groups who were feared (Edgeworth, 1802: 257). However by the very nature of a government enquiry the evidence Kay selected was sanctified as the official opinion of the establishment. Historians fiercely debate the extent to which the Irish diaspora were discriminated against. Some argue the diverse experience of the Irish has been ignored and that many Irish settled with relative ease and were not forced back into ghettos (E.P. Thompson, 1976; Swift & Gilley: 1985). Nonetheless it was the visibility of the 'Irish' as a problem that attracted a high profile.

Potter (1960) makes the valid point that Americans saw the Catholic Irish through the eyes and interpretations of English writing. As such they were disturbers of the peace, cabin companions of the pig and feckless drunks. The Irish were portrayed as a 'race' which was so steeped in ignorance that the English found it impossible to civilise them (Potter, 1960: 107). American literary sources which depicted vivid images of the derogatory stereotype of Irish drunkard were widespread. It was suggested by popular opinion that; 'Poor food and hard work have had terrible effects upon the American born children of Irish parents, especially when the parents succumbed to the one gigantic temptation of the country-drink' (Stivers, 1976: 145).

Also the American stage play took pride of place alongside other conveyers of the Irish drunkard stereotype. In the 1830's Tyrone Power sensationalised the already established tradition by his rendition of 'O'Flannigan and the Fairies, or a Midsummer's Nights Dream, Not Shakespeare'. To invoke a deliberate public perception the famous story contained as its major theme the Irish love of whisky. The qualities ascribed to the stage Irish man served to confirm the derogatory stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous in public opinion (Stivers, 1976: 148).

Political imperatives underpinned the shift from the stereotype of paddy as the drunken peasant into the dangerous simianised agitator. This occurred between 1840-1890, a period which corresponded to the growing agitation in Britain about the violent political demand in Ireland for land reforms (Curtis, 1971;Curtis, 1984). Challenging the British establishment evoked a response in Britain and America as 'Paddy' was characterised in various literary sources such as Punch and Harpers weekly as a gorilla(McCaffrey, 1976: 102). The essentially political dimension to anti-Irish prejudice was bolstered by a supposedly scientific argument labelled physiognomy which concluded violent drunken and criminal tendencies were inherent in the Irish race and they could be recognised in the structure of the Irish face. Although discredited scientifically, physiognomy, the spurious invention of criminal anthropologist Cesare Lombrose and other eminent Victorian social scientists was replaced by a misinterpretation of Darwinism. Darwinism served as an ideological argument to segregate 'races' into a hierarchy. The political question of Irish Home Rule was commonly expressed in terms of racial inferiority. In a speech against Ireland's home rule 1882 Lord Salisbury argued the Irish were no more fit for home rule than the African Hottentots (Holmes,1991:72). The spurious argument that the Irish and black Africans were racially inferior compared to the American

and British was a popular standpoint which gained momentum within intellectual circles during the latter half of the nineteenth century (Curtis, 1971; McCaffrey, 1976).

According to Gilley (1978) anti-Irish prejudice was based on national stereotypes and subsequently given that it was not based on phenotypical difference it was not racism. He levels his main criticism at Curtis (1971) who compares anti-black racism in the US with anti-Irish racism. In Gilley's opinion even if 'celts and saxons' were considered racially distinct, together they were perceived as different to blacks. On this premise he argues that the intermingling of Saxons and Celts was regarded as a source of good while racial mingling between black and white was always considered bad. Furthermore he suggests that the national stereotype of the Irish incorporated good and bad points, just as good and bad points were defined by the Irish themselves. His argument has weight if it is believed that there is only a one dimensional concept of 'racism' which cannot be expressed against white groups in the same form as it is against black groups. If on the other hand it is believed there are various forms of 'racism' that can be expressed in different ways then it does not negate the issue that anti Irish prejudice during the nineteenth century was often expressed in 'racist' terms. Gilley makes the point, 'as the railways

were monuments to Irish industry (good point) a single drunken Irish man proved all Irishmen drunkards (bad point)' (Gilley, 1978: 85).

However it could be questioned whether or not anyone did regard the railways as monuments to Irish industry? In point of fact the latter assertion, 'a single drunken Irish man proved all Irishmen drunkards' was the dominant stereotype. In both aspects of this debate, irrespective of whether or not anti-Irish prejudice was 'racist' or an inconsistent national stereotype, the visibility of the Irish as a problem was explicit. These forms of anti-Irish prejudice are also evident in the way in which Irish labour was perceived by the majority groups in Britain and the US (Potter, 1960; McCaffrey, 1976).

Irish labour- perceptions and inconsistencies

To reiterate, the Irish were labelled a 'visible' problem on the basis of their 'race' their religion and because the indigenous working class believed that they would take their jobs. Thus Irish labour was made 'visible' as a problem in Britain and the US during the nineteenth century because the 'indigenous' working class perceived their presence as a source of cheap labour. One terrain on which these beliefs found expression was in the labour force by hostile action against Irish migrant labour. However Irish migrant labour was also seen as a useful source of

cheap labour by the state. The economic advantage of Irish labour in Britain was first officially spelled out in the Poor Law Report 1836 (Davis, 1992). The report condemned the impoverished conditions of the Irish poor as a moral failure of a less civilised 'race'. However it also acknowledged the economic advantages of a group, who, because of their poverty, were prepared to work for less than the 'indigenous' population.

The areas of Irish employment that were made 'visible' as a problem in Britain were the low skilled occupations where employers used cost cutting employee strategies and pitched worker against worker. Irish notoriety for being involved in 'violent' fracas was explicitly connected to their economic exploitation in the workforce. During the 1820's and 1830's the Irish seasonal harvesters faced violence from indigenous rural labourers because the cheapness of Irish labour determined their presence as a threat (Miles, 1982: 136). In the Great Coalmining Strike of 1844 in the north east of England violence erupted when the Irish were accused of being strikebreakers by supplying cheap scab labour (D'Arcy, 1981: 9). Kirk (1980) suggested that the incursion of cheap Irish labour was an essential strategy of the Lancashire manufacturers to remain competitive. Werly's (1973) study of Manchester cotton mills showed that the Irish took jobs that the English were abandoning. Handley (1941) also cited the Irish women employed in bleaching rooms of the cotton industry

where the temperature was so high it was impossible to get anyone to work in the stifling atmosphere. Evidence of their exploitation parallels the evidence that the Irish were often at the fore front of strikes (Hunt,1982). Thus they were hardly likely to undercut their own labour in industries, such as the docks, which they numerically dominated at the end of the century (Miles, 1982). Their presence as dockers was also labelled a problem in the sense a Cardiff magistrate claimed the Irish dockers were not all bad fellows but like their forefathers had inherited the tendency of extensive drunkenness (Swift,1985:167) .

Less 'visible' is the working experience of Irish women who outnumbered their male counterparts (Kelly & Choille,1991:11). Historical evidence shows the extent of their poverty and the meagre earnings of impoverished Irish women and children in London,York and New York (Lees,1979; Finnigan,1983; Potter,1960; Groneman,1978). In general Irish girls filled a vacuum in the US and British labour market for domestic servants. The first 'No Irish need apply' advertisements were directed at Irish women domestic servants in New York during the 1820's (Potter,1960:514).

In the US the Irish started at the bottom of the socio-economic structure but just above the black population. Both groups, who lived side by side in the slums of the cities during the 1830's, were predominant in domestic

work and the transport industry (Roediger,1991:134). To a large extent the Irish followed the pattern from rural to town employment as they shared the same status as landless labourers as the American born workers. Corresponding to the types of work on offer in Britain unskilled Irish males concentrated in jobs such as diggers, railway constructors, dockers, street cleaners and bar tenders (Burchell, 1982:284). The scale of public work excavations in the US determined that Irish labour was in demand, although labelled for its violence and lawlessness. In the 1830's a writer in the US proclaimed, 'emigrants most troublesome, but, at the same time, most valuable to the United States are the Irish' (Potter, 1961: 316). In the US by the latter half of the century employers were using black labour as strike breakers within Irish dominated industries. New York 1865 witnessed massive violence after months of tension when black labour had been used to break a bitter strike led by the Irish (Shannon, 1966: 57). Divide and rule tactics similar to the tactics used by British employees provoked anti-black violence as both groups competed for unskilled jobs. As the Irish turned to self protection economic and labour unions grew in meeting places such as Irish owned bars (Potter, 1960: 327).

During the second half of the nineteenth century leading members of the Hibernian associations lamented that the Irish were known as a 'religion

of saloonkeepers' (Stivers,1976). In business the Irish presence was disproportionate as publicans were numerous whereas the number of shopkeepers were small. Notably in England the Irish in business were also predominant as saloon keepers (O'Tuathaigh, 1986:17). By 1851 they operated the majority of liquor selling shops in Boston. The New York Tribune reported in 1854 that Irish Catholics, who made up only one quarter of its population, ran three quarters of the city saloons (Stivers,1976:121). However during the nineteenth century the liquor business was one of the few areas of business which could be entered without a large capital outlay. The point is important given that many of the indigenous working class population shied away from a job that held little status, demanded constant work, with the added inconvenience of handling potential dangerous situations. Furthermore, the job where the Irish were perceived as the most 'visible' problem, which was tied in various ways to the public house, was that of the 'Irish navvie'. The evidence below shows how a hidden agenda of economic exploitation underpinned the infamous label of 'navvie'.

Economic Exploitation;the Hidden Agenda Behind the Irish 'Navvie' Stereotype and the Saloon Connection

Economic grievance, which spilled over into violence against the Irish 'navvie' workers, stemmed from the fact that employers either used the

strategy of wage undercutting on site or they started the Irish at a lower wage than other navvie gangs. Because of the employers practise of wage undercutting violence peppered the railway sites in England and Scotland during the 1840's (Coleman, 1965: 84). The notoriety of these sporadic incidents has served long term in the stereotype of the navvie as a wild Irishman, acclaimed as a hard drinker and fighter despite the fact that the Irish navvies were only ever a minority of the navvie population (Davis, 1992: 111). As such when an exaggerated claim is made that the Irish 'navvies' were essential to the industrial revolution because they built her canals and railways (Castles, 1993: 55) the inconsistent Irish stereotype, which evokes the good and bad points is also perpetuated. The fact is that the canals were built before large scale Irish immigration occurred and the Irish were one minority group out of a number who were competing for work (Hunt,1981). The 'navvie' population was heterogeneous not predominantly Irish. Outnumbered by Scottish and English navvies the Irish experienced the brunt of violence rather than delivering it. However the 'visibility' of the Irish in a number of sensational incidents is the benchmark by which the Irish are universally stereotyped.

An employer's strategy on the railroad excavations was to frequently advertise for double the amount of men they needed and then beat down

the wages by the presence of a surplus labour force (Potter, 1960: 318). Riots were common resultant of this sharp practise. In addition the system of tendered subcontracting from the principle contractor, which originated during the building of the Eerie canal, was ripe for exploiting labour. The lowest wages were offered to get the contracts and often if contractors ran into trouble they absconded with the mens' wages (Potter, 1960: 318). When stories were banded about of the wild Irish causing riots the issue of their economic exploitation was hidden.

In both Britain and the US a practise of paying wages known as the 'truck' system developed into an unholy alliance between the payment of Irish labourers and the role of the public houses/saloons. Unscrupulous Irish, American and English saloon/public house keepers who also contracted labour, exploited the navvie population through this form of payment. Labourers working on the canals and roads in both Britain and the US were frequently paid a portion of their wages in rotgut whisky because this was the cheapest form of payment for contractors who also had a share in grog shops, saloons and bars. Taken to its extreme, whisky was also offered freely by some dubious contractors in order to incite a fracas and abscond with the mens' wages when the law enforcement came (Potter, 1960). A more common practise was by offering unlimited credit for drink in order to tie the workers to them by debt. In this sense

exploited Irish labourers, alongside other exploited labourers, simultaneously served as a form of indentured labour and in the case of the Irish perpetuated the stereotype that had been socially constructed about them (Stivers, 1976: 140). Seemingly it is not so much the extent to which or the number of industries the Irish were involved in fracas but what mattered was the perception of the indigenous population who thought this to be true.

The Happy Drunk

According to Stivers (1976) by the end of the nineteenth century the stereotype of the Irish American as drunkard shifted to a more acceptable form of stereotype, that of the happy drunk. He suggests, to a large extent, there was a welcome acceptance by the majority of Irish Americans to the label of 'happy drunk'. Furthermore Stivers argues the majority of Irish chose to celebrate this new stereotypical form by affirming their Irishness through drinking. Coupled with this dubious argument is the spurious suggestion that Irish mothers in America, who were not quite sure of their own 'sex roles' because of their cultural authoritarian chaste habits, were prone to drive some male children towards drunkenness. Explicit within Stivers argument is the concept that the ferocious chasteness which Irish girls applied in marriage in America was liable to propel male members of the family into the arms of drink for

comfort. An argument which does not hold much weight given that Irish women in America and England during the nineteenth century were overrepresented in rates of illegitimate births and in prostitution statistics in parts of North America. Evidence of their poverty can be drawn from accounts of Irish women employed in prostitution in New York, who made up one third of a sample of 2000, of whom over 40% were married and over half had children (Groneman,1978:261).

Another facet to Stivers argument is the suggestion that Irish male drinking habits, which in Ireland was the substitute for celibate lives, were transposed to America because drinking provided 'spiritual' comfort in a secular environment. In sum, a number of unsubstantiated assertions are tacked on to the issue of the benign acceptance of the new form of stereotype 'happy drunk' in order to justify why the Irish diaspora in America are overrepresented in statistics on drunkenness. Overall Stivers presents some useful vantage points on which to assess some deeply rooted assumptions.

In the first instance the implication is evident that Stiver's sociological analysis of the Irish migrant experience begins from the presupposition that the Irish are a homogeneous group of heavy drinkers either within Ireland or as members of the diaspora. As such he attempts to justify the

phenomenon through an analysis of how cultural traits influence individual's behaviour. Unfortunately Bales' (1944) sociological analysis of Irish drinking habits begins from the same presupposition. An enormous amount of detail is afforded to cultural traits which supposedly propel Irish individuals onto the slippery slope of drinking. There is an uneasy tension in Stivers' (1976) and Bales' (1944) analysis in the sense they both read off the overrepresentation of the Irish diaspora in drinking statistics from an uncritical acceptance of the stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous. On this fundamental issue I choose to part company with these explanations.

Given the nature of the problem the conceptual framework could have investigated the question what were the characteristics of the Irish diaspora which rendered them more vulnerable to becoming overrepresented in statistics on drunkenness compared to the indigenous population? Or in other words as Elizabeth Malcolm (1986) suggests in her comprehensive analysis of the temperance movement in Ireland the question which historians need to address is, 'Which Paddy Drank and Why?' The characteristics of the Irish nineteenth century migration experience show why the universally accepted stereotype of Irish and drink has been institutionalised in various ways. Irish men and women in England and North America occupied jobs that the indigenous population

rejected. For many Irish men the only work that was on offer was tied to industries which were linked one way or another to drinking practises and public houses. It is not that inherent cultural traits served to gravitate the Irish to drinking establishments, rather the industries where work was available was frequently tied to a drinking site. Here lies one thread in the integral association of pubs being perceived as natural occupations for the Irish. In addition given that Irish migration was predominantly single and not generally in family units many immigrants entered public houses for company and warmth. Most Irish new arrivals did not have access to a family resource network. For those that did migrate in family units the nature of work on offer to them defined that many families were forced to split up. It is widely recognised that the Irish were, and have remained the most mobile of minority groups in regards seeking work away from their places of residence. The impoverished forms of living accommodation available to the single Irish as new arrivals, for example 'shantytowns' on the outskirts of New York suburbs (Potter, 1960) and 'Little Ireland' slum area in Manchester (Davis, 1992), were catalysts for them to seek the warmth, shelter, food and fellow country companionship that was offered in the Irish diaspora pubs. Duis(1983) has shown how Irish saloon keepers in Chicago during the nineteenth century were compelled by state regulations to offer free food to drinkers, an added bonus to the Irish migrant. Hence the social role of the Irish pub

furnished more than one need for the impoverished immigrants. There were no alternative forms of social support other than the state workhouse. Thus although Irish bars served as a magnet for poor and single migrants the Irish migrants were not the ubiquitous drinkers that the stereotype would lead us to believe. Swift (1989) argued that in contrast to the stereotype of inveterate imbibers the marginal and low paid forms of work that were available to the Irish prevented them from drinking during the weekdays because they could not afford to do so. Their visibility in public houses especially on pay days and weekends, which superficially confirmed perceptions they were prone to drunkenness can be better explained through an explanation of the structural constraints of poverty impacting upon the characteristics of the Irish diaspora. As Raphael Samuel (1989:112) has shown Irish pubs such as 'The Harp of Erin' in Bradford offered, 'a suggestive cluster for complex sociability and communal service which helped bond together the Irish Catholic communities of late Victorian times'. Also there is a speculative issue as to how much the Irish pub was targeted on a Saturday night as a place for easy arrests. During the nineteenth century the Irish in Britain and the US were nearly three times as likely to be prosecuted than the majority population. The most common criminal offence that the Irish were arrested for was that of drunkenness. Hence the stereotype of the

Irish and drink as synonymous was established in this form of criminality statistics during the nineteenth century in Britain(Swift, 1989: 164).

It was established in the first half of the chapter how economic exploitation of the Irish drink industry was the primary reason for regulating the Irish drink industry in the penal period of colonial conquest. Despite the fact that drinking practise was ubiquitous in England and Ireland the Irish were labelled as drunks. Although drink consumption in Ireland was less per capita on both whisky and beer compared to England and less per capita on beer compared to North America the Irish diaspora were greeted with labels that defined their 'race' as inherent drinkers. Hence as a forerunner of other colonised groups the Irish diaspora were labelled as having inherently inferior traits prior to their experience as new arrivals. The problem label applied to the Irish diaspora during the nineteenth century was shown to stem from the period of colonial conquest. Consequently the economic imperative of migrating from a ruptured economy was subsumed within a dominant ideology which portrayed their presence as a 'race' and religious problem.

As new arrivals, of whom the majority were impoverished, who had been labelled as a 'visible ' problem, many were subject to prejudice. Prejudice was widespread by job, housing and police discrimination. Entering

societies where the Irish were perceived as being harbingers of crime, disorder and squalor determined that their prospects of finding jobs were to be those at the bottom of the pile. It has been shown how the jobs which were on offer to the Irish in the US and Britain during the nineteenth century were frequently closely associated with public houses. In addition, throughout the nineteenth century the Irish diaspora pub was perceived as the natural hang-out of the harbingers of drink. Evidence has shown how the 'racist' ideology was institutionalised in British legislation. Thus a historical legacy precedes the cohorts of Irish migrants who find work in public houses. The stereotypical image of the Irish and drink as synonymous has shaped the perceptions of the majority population in the US and Britain as to how the Irish diaspora bar is perceived. The role of the Irish diaspora pub in furnishing the needs of Irish migrants is subsumed within the derogatory stereotype.

This chapter has served to show how nineteenth century Irish migrant labour was stereotyped as a 'visible' problem. In the following chapter the important issue is addressed concerning the similarity of the jobs that the Irish diaspora occupy in the twentieth century compared to those which they occupied during the nineteenth century. It will also be shown how as new arrivals during the latter half of the twentieth century, the respondents in this study faced the task of finding work as well as meeting

with a range of attitudes to their presence. The argument will be pursued that the Irish diaspora of the twentieth century were greeted with stereotypical 'racist' labels which in some respects mirror their nineteenth century experience.

Chapter Five

The Twentieth Century Experience

Blocked Mobility-Racism-The Natural Stereotype

Blocked mobility is cited as a key pre-disposing factor for ethnic entrepreneurship (Waldinger et al,1990:22). However the Irish in the US and Britain are not perceived as a group who experience blocked mobility. Consequently scant attention has been paid to the question of why the majority in Britain occupy jobs which are similar to those the nineteenth century cohorts occupied and whether or not they experience racism. Within this chapter I intend to argue that the Irish experience an expression of racism which impacts upon the job of bar proprietor. It will be shown how public houses in Britain and bars/taverns in the US continue to be seen as a 'natural' area of Irish employment. Evidence will be presented in order to show that twentieth century Irish migrants in Britain and the US are mainly 'invisible' in terms of a labour, 'race', or religious problem but 'visible' in terms of stereotype images which mirror the nineteenth century legacy. I will argue that the twentieth century stereotype of 'drunken paddy' is different to the image which was socially constructed during the nineteenth century. The emphasis has shifted over the century from the Irish being defined as a 'problem' (drunken Irish) to their possessing inherent 'natural' characteristics.

The discussion begins by showing how the main body of research on the Irish in the US and Britain focuses upon patterns of upward mobility. From a critical analysis of this standpoint it can be argued that their experience is also characterised by different forms of inequality. Further it will be shown how Irish migrant labour is predominant within jobs which bear a striking similarity to those which previous generations occupied. Therefore it is possible to speculate that the Irish are subject to discrimination in the labour market. The argument will then be pursued that during the twentieth century the Irish were not presumed to be experiencing racism because attention was focused on the presence of other physically distinct migrant groups. However it will be argued that they have been consistently stereotyped as having traits which are inherently Irish. Thus, the stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous has served to define that those who run bars occupy a natural position. Evidence shows that although the stereotype exists in the US it is not portrayed in a manner which prevents the Irish from achieving political and economic success. To conclude this chapter I will argue that derogatory perceptions of the Irish in Britain and the US are a form of racist expression.

Upward Mobility or Patterns of Inequality

Sociological research on twentieth century Irish migrant labour in Britain and the US tends to focus on studies of assimilation and upward mobility. The Irish are not perceived as a group who experience blocked mobility. Consequently the fact that the majority occupy jobs which are vestiges of their nineteenth century experience is generally ignored. However the account below shows the problematic of studies which ignore the issue of blocked mobility and the patterns of inequality which are shown to characterise the Irish experience. To reiterate, during the 1960's and 1970's accounts of the Irish in Britain and the US explain patterns of assimilation, inter marriage and upward mobility. (Jackson, 1963; Ryan, 1979; Greeley, 1972, 1978, 1979; McCaffrey, 1976). Most research on Irish migrant labour in the US has focused upon explaining the economic success stories of the Irish (Glazier & Moynihan, 1979; Greeley, 1972; McCaffrey, 1976). Research into second generation Irish in Britain also tends to investigate issues of social mobility.

According to Hornsby Smith the key factor in promoting upward social mobility for second generation Irish was having an Irish mother not an Irish father. 'It appears that Irish mothers are more successful than Irish fathers in promoting the upward social mobility of the British born' (Hornsby Smith & Lee, 1987: 122). This finding was confirmed in the

1978-79 national survey on Roman Catholic opinion. Evidence from the General Household Survey 1975 also showed that in marriages where only the female partner was Irish they were strongly correlated to higher rates of upward mobility. However because of the classifications (male as head of the household) Irish women who are married to English men can be categorised as upwardly mobile because of their partners class position. The fact that Irish men in Britain predominate in low paid, casual and manual work (Jackson,1987:129) needs to be taken into account. Only a partial picture is painted of the Irish experience if the focus of upward mobility is on second generation Irish who have possibly benefited from a higher class position of an English father. Attention is deflected from the class position of second generation Irish with Irish fathers. The nature of the inquiry of upward mobility is too limited and the quest to show how well the Irish have assimilated obscures a more comprehensive analysis of Irish immigrants first and second generation experience. Ryan (1973:42) claims that overall during the twentieth century Irish women have assimilated more than Irish men. However, one could take issue with Ryan's argument because other trends show that Irish women's experience in Britain is far more complex. For example the high numbers of Irish women who are admitted to mental hospitals in Britain compared to the population at large shows there is a tension in arguing a simplified case of how well Irish women assimilate in Britain. As a percentage of the group

population the figure for Irish women who are admitted to mental hospitals more than doubles that of English born women and is substantially greater than the admissions for Irish migrant men (Greenslade, 1992: 201). At one level these empirical findings serve to substantiate a notion of Irish upward mobility, yet at another level they deflect attention from the issue of the poor class position that most Irish male migrants occupy in Britain. Further research is necessary to explain why the Irish in Britain have the highest mortality rate of all immigrant groups and throughout the twentieth century have had higher rates of admission to mental hospitals than any other migrant groups (Greenslade 1992). This finding is hardly a characteristic common to a middle class group, or indicative of the picture that has been painted of Irish upward mobility. In sum the evidence is contradictory.

A Success Story - The American Perspective

Recent research within the US argues that data has not been compiled to assess the economic characteristics of Irish first generation migrants but to extend the proven viewpoint of Irish American economic success (Clark, 1982: 231). It is difficult to argue that the Irish experience in America represents a total success story because over 80% of people who describe themselves as being Irish on the the census form are American born third or fourth generation Irish (Greeley, 1979: 68). Although Irish

migration was predominantly finished by 1900 the 1970 census data showed that over twelve and a quarter million people claimed their origins were Irish (Burchell, 1982: 281). Data which shows the economic characteristics of Irish first, second, third and fourth generation together is meaningless for understanding the economic characteristics of Irish born migrants. As such the well publicised success story of Irish upward mobility is not as clear cut as the statistics would lead us to believe. Studies of the economic characteristics of the American Irish tend to disappear with their poverty around 1880 and reappear with their success stories in the 1970's (Burchell, 1982: 281). Research by Blessing (1980:54) did show that in 1950 the percentage of Irish born males in unskilled occupations in America was just over 50% whereas for second generation Irish the comparative figure had dropped to 33%: Figures which are comparable to Britain. Studies of Irish Catholics in America also reveal a disconcerting feature. Rosenwaite & Hempstead (1990:25) found that Irish immigrants in the US are in absolute terms a high mortality death group. A factor which sits somewhat uncomfortably with the assertion that during the twentieth century documented Irish Americans achieved the second highest rates of upward mobility of all ethnic groups, second only to the Jews (Glazier & Moynihan, 1979). The evidence of a high mortality death rate is indicative that the Irish experience is far more diverse than these statistics in America would lead us to believe. For

some working class Irish in the States their experience has not been as upwardly mobile as their middle class established counterparts. It is predominantly the undocumented Irish cohorts, both men and women who occupy the jobs which are vestiges of the nineteenth century (Almeida,1992). Nonetheless, it would be a misnomer to suggest that the Irish in the US have not enjoyed a degree of socio-economic success through upward mobility. Furthermore how the Irish are perceived in the US as a well respected minority group is an important feature of their migratory experience.

A Pattern of Similarity -Britain

In Britain Irish migrant labour can be explained as a source of cheap labour. It is evident that a large percentage of Irish migrants continue to predominate in a pattern of employment that was established during the nineteenth century (Ryan, 1990:57). Recent studies on Irish migrant labour in Britain have drawn attention to the similarity between the jobs that some Irish immigrants have entered in the late twentieth century with those occupied by previous generations (Hazelkorn, 1990). According to the 1981 British census in Britain there were more Irish in unskilled manual work than any other ethnic group. Of the economically active, 52% of the Irish worked in manual employment. Within this high representation of manual work the construction industry accounts for 23%

(O' Flynn & Murphy, 1991: 14). The 1984 General Household Survey indicates how the Irish are over represented in semi-skilled, unskilled manual and personal services (Greenslade, Pearson & Maddon, 1991). If the findings of the 1981 census and the 1984 General Household Survey are compared to the findings of the 1951 & 1961 census material it can be argued that the majority of Irish migrant workers continue to remain as a source of largely unskilled labour for the British economy. From the 1961 census Jackson (1963) showed the relatively high concentration of Irish males in unskilled positions, mainly in the building trade. As mentioned above in the 1981 census the comparative figure was over 50%, of which over half were employed in the building industry (O'Flynn & Murphy, 1991). Also, despite the significant increase in highly qualified migrants during the early 1980's and the onset of a depression in the building industry, work in the construction industry is still the most densely populated occupation for Irish men (Hazelkorn, 1990: 36). The pattern for Irish women also reveals similarities over time. Unchanged is the high proportion of Irish women who have consistently entered convents as nuns. The 1951 census identified nearly one quarter of Irish women in professional occupations, mainly nursing (Jackson, 1963). Nonetheless, throughout the twentieth century the large majority of Irish women have remained employed in unskilled work especially domestic cleaning and factory work. By the end of the Second

World War a large concentration of Irish girls worked in public transport and in factories (Culhane, 1950:397). During the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's changes in Irish women's occupational distribution within areas of unskilled work reflects the changing nature of unskilled jobs available. It has been argued that the employment experience of Irish born migrant women is similar to that of Afro-Caribbean women (O'Flynn & Murphy, 1991). Thus, it needs to be addressed as to why the Irish in Britain and to a lesser extent in the US continue to predominate in patterns of employment that are strikingly similar to those of previous generations.

Perceptions of Traditional Employment- the Respondents Perspective

It would be incorrect to infer that the Irish merely enter occupations because they are perceived as traditional areas of Irish employment. The Irish became ghettoised into certain areas of employment because the British and American born working class were able to reject particular areas of employment when other jobs became available. From patterns showing Irish over representation in employment areas which have been rejected by many indigenous workers it has been suggested that their economic absorption has been relatively unproblematic even during periods of economic depression (Jackson, 1963; Jackson, 1985). It follows from this assertion that they are not perceived as a visible

problem in terms of an economic labour threat. However the important point is that they are still ghettoised within jobs which are rejected by the indigenous population. Hence the hallmarks of their experience indicate they are subject to job discrimination. From the respondent accounts it will be shown how the decision to enter an area of employment was made in the knowledge of the opportunity structures of a given historically specific context. During the 1950's this was reflected in the diversity of predominantly working class/ blue collar jobs that were entered such as the transport industry and various other trades.

‘I was a meatcutter for twenty three years. In fifty seven, times were bad I got into the butcher business and stayed in it. In fifty eight and fifty nine it was worse you wouldn't think of moving.’

(male respondent Chicago-migrated in 1950's)

‘The work was there on the buses because no one else wanted it. And now you'd think yourself lucky to get work on the buses ’ (male respondent Birmingham-migrated in 1960's)

By the 1970's the shift to jobs which were vestiges of the previous century was more apparent because opportunities were diminishing for Irish migrants in other areas.

‘In New York I did casual electrical work but it was on and off. In England I'd been sparking (electrician) and that was casual as well. So I came here and worked in my cousins bar.’(male respondent Chicago-migrated in 1970's)

For both males and females a tightening of the opportunity structures within areas of traditional employment was spoken about as characteristic of the decade of the 1980's.

‘It was incredibly easy nine years ago to get work its not so easy now but having that green card that says resident alien is platinum. Nine years ago if you had a pair of black pants and a white shirt and you walked into a bar they would start you off there and then because nine years ago people were drinking a lot and there was a lot of money about. It was before the health phase and then about four years ago the economy dived and since then people haven't had the money to spend as they used too.’(Female respondent Chicago- migrated early 1980's)

‘You could walk into subbying (subcontracting) straight away, I was a self employed chippy but with the recession at the moment this is the easiest game to be in.’ (male respondent Birmingham- migrated in 1970's)

Whilst the respondents accounts show the criteria on which working class jobs are entered within given historical conditions it still does not fully explain why particular areas of employment remain traditionally Irish. An explanation lies in the way in which the Irish are perceived and to some extent the way some Irish perceive themselves as invisible to expressions of racism. 'In other words, visibility is socially constructed in a wide set of structural constraints, within a set of relations of domination' (Miles, 1993: 87). More recent research has shifted from explanations which portray the Irish as an upwardly mobile minority group in order to show how their experience during the 1980's and 1990's is characterised by 'racism' (Greenslade, 1992; Greenslade, Madden & Pearson, 1992; O' Flynn & Murphy, 1991; Haringey Council, 1991).

Racism-The Respondents Perspective

Racism acts to justify exclusionary practises. Phizacklea and Miles (1980) argue that twentieth century migrant labour in Britain should be conceived as constituting a racialised fraction of the working class. In this sense racial categorisation is the social process which is used to define group boundaries by alluding to particular characteristics as supposedly inherent. During the nineteenth century the Irish were defined

in a similar manner. (I would suggest that the experience of nineteenth century Irish migrant labour provided a blue print for the twentieth century). There is an abundance of evidence to show how post World War Two immigrant groups are racialised through a social process which actively racialises groups ideologically and which is later transposed into action where it impacts at the economic, political and ideological levels of social formation (Phizacklea & Miles, 1980). Nevertheless, the ways in which Irish migrants have been racialised in the twentieth century has been given little attention compared to the experience of black immigrant groups. A number of the respondents recognised how racism affected the structures of opportunity, though they were likely to see racism as being experienced by others. This was the case in both Chicago and Birmingham,

‘You have an advantage being Irish over here but you also have an advantage being female and white. This is a country where race is a big thing.’

(Female respondent Chicago-migrated in 1980's)

A common thread between the respondents’ opinions and the perspective of many studies of Irish migration is the assumption that overt racism was predominantly a black experience. However, a number of incidents were

recalled by the respondents which were perceived as discriminatory towards Irish people;

‘I came over at the time of the pub bombings and the atmosphere was terrible you know, you could hear the remarks. I felt more secure working for my brother, I used to think well he's here if others hate us but it wasn't really everybody some were really nice.’ (female respondent Birmingham)

‘I was out for a meal one night and somebody said yer fucking thick paddy so I give him a smack I don't like being called thick paddy because that's being discriminatory isn't it?’ (male respondent Birmingham)

In Britain discrimination against the Irish is seen to be manifested through the use of the 1974 Prevention of Terrorist Act (Hillyard, 1993), by media prejudice (GLC, 1984) and in discrimination in access to jobs and housing (Greenslade, Maddon & Pearson, 1992). It is suggested within the US and Britain its most common form of expression is through racial stereotyping (O' Flynn & Murphy, 1991; Greeley, 1972). Nonetheless, whether or not these forms of anti-Irish discrimination are believed to be racist is fiercely debated.

A general explanation which has been supported by exponents of Irish assimilation such as Jackson (1986) and McCaffrey (1976) is that anti-Irish prejudice during the twentieth century is a residual left over from nineteenth century anti-catholicism which is diffused by the presence of other immigrant groups. Implicit within this stance is the concept that anti-Irish racism does not require investigation because it is not particularly important to the general experience of the Irish during the late twentieth century. This stance is somewhat exaggerated by Holmes (1991, 75) who affirms the idea that despite being the numerically largest group in Britain the Irish encounter less hostility, through perceptions or overt discrimination than the black Caribbean and Indian sub continent newcomers.

Because of their characteristics as a white English speaking group the Irish have not experienced institutionalised racism in the same manner as black migrant labour. In Britain this is evident in the nature of the political legislation and immigration laws: First, in the 1949 Ireland Act which defines the British position in relation to the New Republican States of Southern Ireland and confirmed the open position of Irish migration (Jackson, 1963:122): Second in the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act and subsequent Immigration Acts which have not legislated against the Irish entering Britain, but have restricted black

migrant labour. After the Second World War the new arrivals of black immigrant groups, especially from the Commonwealth countries attracted hostile attention. Holmes (1991:50) argues that hostility from the indigenous white population towards the black newcomers diverted attention from the Irish migrants.

In the US the Irish presence has not been perceived as a problem because as a white English speaking migrant group they have not been targeted as an 'alien ' status group that need deporting. On the contrary the Morrison Act 1989 is designed to empower 47,000 Irish with the green card status of resident (Almeida,1992). The nature of positive discrimination for the Irish in the US highlights how the Irish are politically portrayed as a welcome minority group not as one which experiences racism. In Britain a key feature in establishing why the Irish experience of the the late twentieth century has not been compared with the experience of other immigrant group stems from their exclusion from the 'racist' immigration laws which have targeted black immigrant groups. The nature of these political policies has contributed towards marginalising the issue of anti-Irish racism being addressed in the political sphere during the twentieth century. Moreover it shows why sociological studies which have addressed the Irish experience have tended to dismiss the issue of anti-Irish racism. In short this perspective leans towards the conclusion that

because the Irish experience has not been considered high on the league tables of discrimination the phenomenon requires no attention at all.

At the other end of the spectrum O' Flynn & Murphy (1991) and researchers from Harringey Council (1991) argue that the Irish in Britain are subject to overt racism. In particular they argue that the Prevention of Terrorism Act is racist legislation directed towards the Irish. Also Parsons (1991, 13) puts forward the idea that 800 years after its inception, anti-Irish racism, still has to be eradicated.

It is thus essential to tease out the important issues that have been raised within both of these somewhat polarised standpoints in order to understand the expression of anti-Irish racism during the twentieth century. I intend to argue that perceptions of the Irish as a different 'racial' group are unique. As a white English speaking migrant group their presence is not perceived as a visible problem in either Britain or the US. As such they are not subject to institutionalised 'racist' political and economic discrimination on the same terms as black migrant groups. Nonetheless exclusion from particular forms of overt racist discrimination has not excluded Irish migrant labour from being racially categorised by a social process which ideologically defines their supposed difference as inferior. First it will be shown how the Irish experience of religious

bigotry was diffused by the presence of other immigrant groups. Second from an analysis of the nature of anti-Irish racism it will be argued that the Irish are not perceived as a visible problem as they were in the nineteenth century but encounter perceptions that are rooted in a legacy of power relations. Consequently the Irish are stereotyped as having 'naturally' inferior traits.

The Question of Anti-Catholicism

The issue of religious bigotry is analysed below in order to assess if there is any substance in the assertion that anti- Irish hostility is a residual legacy of anti-catholicism. Both Jackson (1963) and McCaffrey (1976) suggest that the expression of anti-catholic feeling was the primary force for the prejudice that was enacted against the Irish during the nineteenth century in Britain and the US. According to Davis (1991:158) by the end of the century the Catholic Church was no longer feared as a potential threat in Britain. Rather it was recognised as a resource centre for Irish immigrants and a potential source of good. Nonetheless, being Irish in Britain and the US was synonymous as being perceived catholic.

Therefore a separation of the two on a conceptual level is somewhat artificial. Evidence, or rather lack of it, suggests that if Irish immigrants have experienced religious bigotry during the twentieth century it has been less 'visible' than during the nineteenth century. This is not to say

that some incidents have not been documented, such as the Catholic Bishop of Liverpool being stoned by a mob when he visited a staunchly protestant district during 1959 (Jackson, 1963:157) or Irish being refused living accommodation because they were catholics (Ryan, 1963:157) or the Klu Klux Klan demonstrations against catholics during the 1920's in America (McCaffrey, 1976: 106). One explanation of the decline in prejudice towards Irish Catholicism purports that there was a general decline in interest in religion per se amongst the general population (Boyle, 1968: 437). However it would appear that the primary reason for the shift away from hostility against the Irish during the early twentieth century in both Britain and the US was because it was directed towards other immigrant groups.

Perceptions of Other Immigrant Groups as 'The Problem'

At the beginning of the twentieth century hostile attention from the Irish presence in the US was diverted towards the Jews, Italians, Poles and black population who were perceived as a greater threat. Although anti-Semitic riots were common during the early years of the twentieth century in America, the main focus of hostility was on different 'races'. Americans were warned in 1916 by Madison Grant 'The Passing of a Great Race' that the racial purity of the US was under threat from immigrants (McCaffrey, 1976:104). This situation was mirrored in Britain. Hence

the focus of the 1905 Aliens Act in Britain was towards preventing the entry of Eastern European groups of immigrants. During the early part of the century the Russian Polish Jews, German gypsies and the Chinese experienced the brunt of indigenous hostility towards immigrants (Holmes, 1991:94). The pronounced level of hostility towards other immigrant groups has served throughout the twentieth century to divert attention from the Irish experience. Despite the fact that numerically the Irish are the largest minority group on Britain they have occupied a curious position in relation to other minority groups. Nevertheless, because the Irish were more tolerated than the European Aliens it did not prevent proposals of immigration control for Southern Ireland coming before the British Parliament in 1929, 1932, 1934-5 & 1937 (Holmes, 1991: 30).

One consequence of this overt shift in hostility towards other immigrant groups and away from the Irish has meant research on Irish immigrants and catholicism has tended to focus on internal matters of policy within the Catholic Church and the assimilation of Irish Catholics. (Hornsby-Smith, 1979; Greeley, 1971). Or more obviously the Irish Catholic /Protestant dimension has been subsumed within research focused on the broader issues of the Northern Ireland situation.

In general, research on Irish Catholics in Britain or the US has not addressed the issue of whether or not they experience religious bigotry or any other sort of hostility. Furthermore there is a need for research in both Britain or America in order to show whether or not an Irish Protestant identification is likely to be a factor which diminishes the experience of discrimination any more than an Irish Catholic identification. It could be hypothesised that being Irish in Britain and the US is perceived as synonymous as being catholic. For the present purpose the evidence above has shown that the expression of religious bigotry through anti-catholicism is less of a force in the twentieth century than it was during the nineteenth century. The question to be posed next is whether or not the perceptions of Irish labour during the twentieth century are based on stereotypical assumptions of the nineteenth century. Moreover can perceptions of the Irish be explained as racist?

Empirical Evidence of the Stereotype

To suggest that there is a homogenous group of Irish migrants in Britain and the US who should believe they have been victims of racism is presumptuous. Their own personal interests and experience may not have led them to this conclusion. It is the issue of racial stereotyping that is addressed here. I intend to establish the argument that during the twentieth century the derogatory racial stereotype of the Irish which

portrays the Irish and drink as synonymous has become an invisible part of British and American 'common sense'. Thus despite the issue that drinking is a universal trait which can be identified in all populations it has been ideologically associated as the 'natural' inherent property of ALL Irish. It is further assumed that the high concentration of Irish men in jobs associated with drink is symbolic of the bond between the Irish and drink. The concern here is to show how one feature of a set of ideological beliefs, which originated in the nineteenth century and prior to it, have been reworked in a different specific historical context of the twentieth century. It will be established how the stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous came to be regarded as a 'natural' feature of contemporary society. I believe this form of derogatory perception is an expression of anti-Irish racism which has prevailed throughout Britain and the US during the twentieth century. It impacts upon members of the Irish diaspora who occupy the economic niche of bar proprietor in the sense the occupation is perceived as a natural habitat for Irish people.

Evidence below shows how perceptions of the Irish as drinkers have shifted from a 'visible ' problem in the nineteenth century to a 'natural' common sense accepted feature of twentieth century life. In a study of women in paid employment during the Second World War it was recorded how employers were surprised by the reserved behaviour of Irish women

because they had expected numerous complaints about their drunkenness (Sheridan, 1991:168). Taylor, (1993: 124) also confirms how managers' perceptions of Irish men during the 1950's were couched in beliefs that were vestiges of the nineteenth century as they believed the Irish to have habits which were unhygienic in the widest sense. Perceptions of the Irish had not changed by the 1970's. An extract from a letter to the Irish Times clarifies the stereotype prejudice articulated in a vindictive form. 'I feel resentful of drunken Irish labour in our streets of the incredible Irish labour racket operating in favour of the Irish on our building projects, and of the enormous tax free British cheques cashed at the special Irish pub on Friday'(Irish Times, December 1971 cited in O'Conner, 1972 : preface)

Official recognition that a stereotype image of the Irish prevailed in dominant ideology was affirmed during the 1980's. In a contradictory statement, Hattersley suggests that;

'The Irish are only totally accepted in British society when they lose their Irish characteristics. If their accent is obvious and their children being catholic do not attend the local school, there is the underlying suspicion that sooner or later they will come home blind drunk. The assumption is nonsense. But it is nevertheless dangerous, particularly so for Irish men

who want a mortgage, promotion or public office' (Roy Hattersley quoted in Greater London Council Policy report on the Irish Community 1984).

The image which is evident within popular perception in Britain is explicit within the above statement. In addition it can be shown how the derogatory stereotype is portrayed within academic circles in a cavalier fashion.

Making Light of the Age Old Assumption

Making light of the age old assumption of the Irish and drink as synonymous has been commonplace for some sociologists in Britain and the US during the latter half of the twentieth century. Both Greeley (1979) and O'Conner (1972) write from a perspective which reinforces the derogatory stereotype that the Irish are 'natural' drinkers. For instance O'Conner (1972: 437) makes the point, 'As a London conference on alcoholism was told in 1970: In Alcoholics Anonymous they say you don't have to be Irish or catholic but it give you a head start'. Whilst Greeley (1972: 43) argues, 'the unfortunate truth that a weakness for the creature seems to be one of the few residues of the Irish heritage that still survives'.

The vast majority of studies in Britain and the US which research the drinking habits of the Irish diaspora tend to reinforce the stereotype. Numerous studies sponsored by government agencies have collected statistical information on their drinking behaviour. (Cosper, Newmann, O'Kraken,1982; Clark,1966; Jupp,1969; Thom,1981; Pitman & Snyder, 1962; Bagley & Bikitie,1970). Furthermore it has recently been suggested that studies which focus on the drinking habits of psychiatric patients with celtic names confirms the stereotype of Irish born as prone to heavy drinking. According to Dr.Carney; 'All you can say that it is possibly part genetic and part environmental'(Carney cited in Guardian July 27 1992).

Boyle (1968: 437) makes the valid point that it is somewhat disturbing to see such an over representation of attention given to studies of alcoholism on the Irish. Moreover there has been very little comparative work to show the pattern of drinking habits within Ireland. Had this been a priority it would have also been established that the Irish drink less per capita than the British or the Americans and are a sober 26th in the world drinking league (Reuters News Service,26.4.1991). The focus of studies on the Irish born in Britain and the US has fuelled the nineteenth century stereotype by showing how Irish immigrants are over-represented in alcohol admittances to hospital and criminal offences concerning drunkenness. However none of the studies cited above have compared

the low rates of drinking of the Irish within Ireland. Instead there is a presupposition that the Irish are genetically a 'natural' race of heavy drinkers. The same assumptions pre-condition the way the Irish are portrayed to the public by popular factions of the media in both the US and Britain.

In the US Demetrakopoulos, (1991) based a study of Irish drinking habits on an analysis of John Ford films. It was shown how Irish male heroes supposedly achieve high goals that demand industry and sobriety through a fog of drunkenness. The subliminal message is twofold. Drunkenness is synonymous with Irish but as a habit it can also be embraced by Americans if they so choose because drunkenness does not prevent achieving. A similar analysis concerns the brash way in which Saint Patrick's day is celebrated as a ritual of Irish drinking within the US. The event highlights the nexus between the Irish and drink thereby obscuring the fact that St Patrick's day is a day of American drinking (Stivers, 1976:170).

In Britain the message in popular culture is similar as the image of the drinker is projected onto the Irish. As a concept it retains such popular appeal because it is sustained by numerous factions. At the launch of the

Christian Democrats April 1991 it was questioned why was an Irishman always portrayed with a pint in his hand and not a book. (Reuters News Service, April 19th 1991). The media examples which portray this common perception in Britain are endless regardless that Ireland is lower than Britain on the world nations drinking league (Reuters News Service, April 19: 1991). In sum in the US drinking has been supposedly acclaimed as a 'natural' trait of the Irish which does not prevent them from achieving the American dream. However in Britain the rhetoric which depicts drinking as a supposedly 'natural' Irish trait is frequently composed in a derogatory fashion. To conclude this chapter the question needs to be addressed as to whether or not perceptions of the Irish and drink as synonymous can be explained as 'racist'. Within the discussion below conflicting arguments will be introduced which debate the question; are stereotype images 'racist' or alternatively a form of national prejudice?

The case for Irish Inclusion into Contemporary Sociological Debates on Racism

The concern here is to establish the argument that commonly held perceptions which afford particular traits as 'inherently' Irish is a form of 'racist' expression. For some the use of the terminology 'racist' is problematic because they argue that there are negative and positive

attributes within stereotype images of the Irish (Holmes, 1992; Gilley, 1985). As such they suggest this is a form of national prejudice not racism. However all stereotypes contain both negative and positive images because the essence of a stereotype reflects the powerful ambivalence of the dominant group (Stivers, 1976: 175). Stereotype images frequently contain contradictory elements as various aspects within them are recalled when they are required to justify commonly held beliefs of the prejudiced person. However these beliefs are not necessarily consistent thus, the inconsistencies within stereotypes are themselves reinforcing. The Irish can be simultaneously acclaimed for the role as a universally hard worker yet morally sanctioned for a weakness for drink. In a sense the debate has drawn attention to the key issue, that by ascribing any derogatory traits the supposed inherent property of one group of people is a form of racist not national expression.

Miles (1993:15) puts forward the argument that despite a formal recognition of a plurality of 'racisms' in Britain the only racism recognised was that which oppressed the British black population. Thus in Britain racism was a white racist ideology which supports the subordination of black people. It follows from this starting point that the fundamental ideological starting point of racism is 'visibility'.

With the exception of black Irish people, the Irish are not 'visibly' distinguished though they are easily identified by their accents. As a consequence at times they face the expression of derogatory perceptions that have been socially constructed towards their 'race'. Given that it has been shown that the ideological justification for colonisation was to civilise them, perceptions of their inferiority have been sustained in different ways within specific historical conditions for 800 years. The respondents accounts identify the expression of 'racist' perceptions and show how they are dealt with.

‘I remember when ----- wrote the piece in The Telegraph. He was invited to Ireland apparently and he said something to the effect he would prefer to spend his holiday with the maggots on a dung heap than with the Irish. And that comes from somebody the crown feels fit to call a Sir . It doesn't give you much hope. It couldn't be said about any other race and not seen as racism. And they tell you your being too sensitive and not being able to laugh at yourself. Such is life.’
(male respondent Birmingham)

‘I find the fighting leprechaun offensive, notice the small forehead. Our corporate logo is a leprechaun. Just look around at all the emblems in here about the Irish drinking and then look at all the Americans drinking. They

choose the messages about us. I find lots of things highly insulting but you can't get pissed off every time you see a negative image its like peeing in the wind.'

(female respondent Chicago)

These accounts were not sensationalised neither were they isolated from the experience of others. While both respondents' accounts reflect a fairly quiet indifference to the ignorance of the perpetrators of Irish racism both were of the opinion they had never personally been discriminated against. The incidents that they perceived as overt discrimination were few and far between and had only taken place in Britain. Rather the overriding opinion was that they had not experienced overt discrimination. I would suggest that an analysis of the subliminal element within the expression of anti-Irish racism is an issue which needs to be included within the contemporary sociological debates on racism because it is rooted in an explanation of unequal power relations.

To argue that 'racism' is purely an expression of white racism against black people denies the experience of other groups who have been perceived as an inherently inferior 'race'. The Irish continue to experience a subtle formulation of racism which imposes a racist definition on their presence in Britain and the US. Perhaps by unwrapping the power

relationship within these socially constructed meanings a greater understanding of the Irish experience will be gained.

From my own perspective I believe that the Irish experience of racism during the twentieth century is similar to the social construction of gender inequalities. Both forms of inequalities embody a subtle and overt formulation of unequal power relations. During the nineteenth century scientists used similar differences about supposed differences in gender and 'race' (Stephan, 1990: 39). It was claimed that women's lower brain weights were analogous to those of lower 'races'. Curtis (1971) has shown how this concept was applied to the Irish. Also women were defined as innately impulsive and emotional (Stephan, 1990: 40). Impulsiveness and emotional behaviour are racial characteristics which are stereotypically ascribed to the Irish (Curtis, 1971). Wolstencroft (1792: 82) was first in trying to convince women that soft phrases and delicacy of sentiment was the ideological discourse used for control and domination. Likewise the leprechaun, which symbolises the Irish, is simultaneously representative of a creature of endearment but one with a small brain which has an incapacity for reasoned argument. Within both Britain and the US the pervasiveness and durability of the derogatory stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous shows how perceptions

and beliefs are seemingly so natural they are not even believed to be racist. This is because 'successful ideologies are often thought to render their beliefs natural and self evident to identify them with the common sense of society so that nobody could ever imagine how they might be different' (Eagleton, 1991: 58).

The preceding discussion sought to explain the form of racism that has impacted upon the Irish diaspora in Britain and the US. Because the stereotype of 'drunken paddy' is all pervasive it follows that the natural habitus of the Irish is perceived as the pub. O'Conner (1972:129) argues it was possible to predict that Irish occupancy of public houses in London was growing because of 'the traditional sacred place of the pub in native Irish society'. The assertion that, **'young men who take the emigrant boat to England, thus conditioned by the pub autocracy of their background soon find a natural vocational outlet in dispensing alcoholic refreshment'** (1972:131) is an expression of the 'racism' outlined above. Wrapped up as a 'cultural' trait the issue that members of the Irish diaspora occupy jobs, either in bars or eventually running bars, because opportunities within the niche are one of the few forms of work that are on offer, is missed from the explanation.

At the start of this chapter it was shown how research into the Irish experience during the twentieth century is characterised by polarised standpoints. The fact that the Irish are predominant in jobs which are vestiges of their nineteenth century experience has afforded less recognition than studies which have tended to focus on issues of assimilation and patterns of upward mobility. Consequently why they are predominant as unskilled workers in jobs perceived as traditional Irish enclaves is a question which has not been addressed within sociological studies. Furthermore as a white English speaking group their experience of 'racism' is relatively invisible within sociological studies. Within this chapter the argument has been sustained that the Irish diaspora in the US and Britain experience an expression of 'racism,' which impacts upon the economic activity of bar proprietor in the sense it is presupposed a 'natural' form of occupation for the Irish. To redress the balance on this 'racist' assertion attention is turned next to explaining the reality of running a bar in the US and Britain. In the following chapter the opportunity structures within the economic niche of a bar are analysed in a comparative perspective. The evidence shows how, far from being the natural 'habitus' of the Irish, the niche is characterised by an array of pitfalls which define a high rate of economic failure. Economic survival demands a labour intensive operation which is constrained in a subordinate relationship to the state and larger capitals. Contrary to an

original hypothesis of this study, evidence shows that during the period this research was conducted the niche did not offer a greater opportunity for upward mobility in Chicago than it does in Birmingham.

Chapter Six

Opportunity Structures - The Political Economy of the Entrepreneurial Niche in a Comparative Perspective.

'Opportunity structures' are cited as a primary enabling factor for ethnic entrepreneurship within the interactive model proposed by Waldinger et al (1990). What this term means in relation to Irish diaspora bars is explained within the following discussion. The chapter is concerned with showing how the opportunity structures for Irish bar entrepreneurship are constrained by the state and larger capitals. How these factors have impacted upon the economic niche during the early 1990's is analysed through a comparative analysis which engages with theoretical concepts from the entrepreneurship literature, empirical evidence and the respondents' accounts. A pattern is revealed which refutes an aspect of the original hypothesis; namely that the niche affords a greater opportunity for socio-economic mobility in the US than it does in Britain. This argument is presented with some qualification because of the potential for alternative explanations from other researchers who might investigate a similar opportunity structure over different periods of time and space. Given this research was only undertaken at a particular time in two cities, one of which is subject to Chicago City and Illinois State policies, the other to Birmingham City Council and British Government

policies, the opportunity structures which are identified here are contextually and time specific.

I have already considered the arguments of those who propose that the cultural resource of ethnic groups are the primary enabling factor for the successful upward mobility. Within this scenario opportunity structures are secondary to the focus of analysis or excluded from the conceptual framework altogether (McClelland, 1968; Light, 1972). In contrast other theorists pursue the argument that the nature of opportunity structures for immigrant business frequently restricts immigrants to marginal economic positions and does little to enhance group advancement (Waldinger, 1985 ; Waldinger et al, 1990). In the latter argument ethnic groups' cultural resources are regarded as important but only secondary if viable opportunity structures do not exist. This argument is pursued here in the sense that opportunity structures are seen as a primary enabling factor for bar entrepreneurship. It is necessary to show how the state and larger capitals impact upon the opportunity structures of bar entrepreneurship in order to expose how the niche is a feature of capital accumulation.

Opportunity structures for Irish bar entrepreneurs are shaped by differing state policies and larger capitalist enterprise strategies. Evidence will be presented here to show that the cumulative effects of these structures on a

bar during the 1990's in Chicago and Birmingham is a constraining factor in terms of economic upward mobility. Thus, together with the respondents' accounts evidence is presented within this chapter which suggests that individual socio-economic upward mobility is the exception to the rule and the large majority of Irish bar entrepreneurs are confined to a market position that is not conducive to economic advancement. Rather they are operating in an industry characterised by high levels of economic failure. The discussion begins by explaining the theory of opportunity structures with reference to industry specific studies. I go on to argue that the state is the most powerful player in the structure of opportunities for bar entrepreneurs. The historical legacy of prohibition is shown to be an influencing factor on state policy within Chicago. It is argued that the British State is less draconian. The structural constraints and enabling factors of the brewing industry are analysed in comparative perspective to show how bar business is locked into a largely dependent relationship with larger capitalist enterprise. In sum this chapter shows the full thrust of the impact of the state and larger capitalist enterprise on bar entrepreneurship.

Opportunity Structures; the Theory

The line of inquiry here is situated within a conceptual framework that starts from the argument 'We begin with the characteristics of opportunity structures to emphasise the role played by historically contingent circumstances in shaping the prospects open to potential ethnic business owners'(Waldinger et al,1990:21). Therefore the characteristics of opportunity structures within a bar niche need to be explained in comparative perspective in order to show how they differ over time and space. Waldinger et al (1990:21) make the valid point that given the structure of opportunities change constantly in modern societies it is only possible for groups to work with the resources on offer to them within their environment. Thus the theory specifies the need to investigate the changing nature of the opportunity structures of a particular niche within a particular historical context. As such detailed studies which research the opportunity structures of a particular niche are able to show how the changing structures are conditional and constraining on minority group business. Other theorists (Mars & Ward,1984; Waldinger, 1985a, 1990; Aldrich et al, 1983; Phizacklea, 1990) have also assessed the changing nature of opportunity structures as a pre-requisite for immigrant small business. To understand the complex nature and distinct industry specific features of opportunity structures, detailed studies have shown how small ethnic business operates within the context of larger capitals and nation

specific state policies. Phizacklea (1990) provides a detailed account of the global fashion wear industry, paying particular attention to the role and conditions of the small ethnic firm enclave in Britain which is dominated by a subcontracting chain. Waldinger's (1986) study of the New York's garment trade identified how the structural requirements of the garment industry simultaneously shaped the opportunity structures for immigrants to enter the industry with a limited capital supply and constrained their opportunities for economic upward mobility. Further the study presents a detailed account of how an immigrant business burgeoned where the product market characteristics served to keep the barriers of entry and the production costs reasonably low. Auster & Aldrich (1984) identify the vulnerability of small business ethnic enterprise to the vicissitudes of the market. By focussing upon black minority groups in the US they used comparative data to argue that vulnerability was a defining characteristic of opportunity structures within certain industries which show a high immigrant density.

In the case of Irish run bar niches the two principal constraining and enabling forces which structure the opportunities and impact upon the production costs are the state and larger capitalist enterprises. Irish bar entrepreneurs occupy a subordinate and dependent position in relation to both the state and the breweries. The issue of state regulation is of

central importance to this study. First because opportunity structures are in part shaped from and subservient to state regulation. Second because the nature of state policies has contributed to the stereotypical image of Irish and drinking as synonymous as well as the public house being perceived as a 'natural' vocation for the Irish.

The Public House Industry and State Regulation

In most societies the state has occupied a contradictory relationship towards the public house industry. On the one hand taxation collected from the brewing industry and public house outlets, provides a substantial amount of state revenue. On the other hand various crusades for stricter regulations on drinking in England and Ireland or ultimately prohibition in America have gained state support on the basis of the moral degeneration of its people (Schluter,1970; Harrison,1971; Walsh & Walsh,1980; Duis, 1983; Gutze, 1989; Malcolm,1986). Regulating Ireland's public houses by licensing fees provided a model for this form of taxation being implemented in England and the US during the seventeenth century.

However in Ireland the policy of taxation also fed into the portrayal of the Irish as feckless drunks who would ultimately benefit from a measure of state regulation. Thus, a so called 'moral issue', justified what became a lucrative form of taxation . The US differs from Britain in the way it regulates public houses and extracts taxes as each state has autonomy in

this sphere. Moreover, a distinct feature of US State policy concerning brewery taxation and public house licensing taxation stems from the historical legacy of prohibition.

The importance of bar licensing fee revenue during the early part of the century in Chicago, is demonstrated by the fact that prior to prohibition it provided 22.1% of all city revenue (Duis, 1983:115). With prohibition and the temporary demise against the evils of drink (which never lost its protestant influence within the US) the revenue was lost (Sournia, 1990:135). At the onslaught of prohibition 5000 public houses out of the 14,000 house outlets in the city were run by immigrants who were unable to vote against prohibition (Duis,1983). Hence the temporary demise of the public house industry was in full swing by 1920 as many proprietors, who were disproportionately immigrant were forced to close their doors and turn out their lights forever.

The Impact of a Historical Legacy on Contemporary Opportunity Structures

In the public's mind Chicago was the archetype of corrupt bootlegging under Al Capone and the corrupt Mayor 'Big' Bill Thompson (Joseph, 1975: 22). The state attorney maintained that during the 1920's 'a one legged prohibition agent on a bicycle could stop the beer in the loop in

one day if he was honest'(Joseph, 1973: 222). According to Duis (1983:297) the six major brewers folded into bankruptcy at the onslaught of prohibition. However Joseph (1973) suggests that corrupt officialdom within the Chicago state enabled them to operate illegally behind closed doors. The only legitimate brewing entrepreneurs were the medicinal whisky distillers, who also supplied the illegal bootleggers, some of which were operating under the new name of 'soft drinking parlours'. In excess of 15,000 doctors and 57,000 retail druggists applied for licenses to dispense intoxicants during the prohibition era (Joseph, 1973:222). Once recognised that prohibition was intolerable and difficult to enforce the alternative option was a strict regulatory procedure through individual state control. Brewing was returned officially to the hands of the private brewers, many of whom had operated illegally. The voice of opposition, who challenged Congress for missing the one and only opportunity to take over the trade, lost the battle. Nevertheless reparations for the prohibition campaigners against the evils of drinking gained them a stake in Congress procedure. Bizarre forms of Congress and individualised state intervention accompanied the repeal against prohibition during 1933 (Sinclair, 1962:409). Congress ruled that illegal bootleggers should now pay income tax. Until the 1960's illegal bootleggers in Mississippi, the last dry state, were paying federal income tax on their illegal profits (Sinclair,1962: 415). It was proposed before Congress that bribes paid to

state officials could be held deductible as business expenses. In Chicago, saloons, reintroduced under the names of tavern were reinstated during the 1930's. Chicago, epitomised as corrupt, was subject to Illinois State procedures which reflected a fiercely divided opinion between the 'wets' and 'drys', a characteristic of the mid west. Subsequently numerous state policies which corresponded to the 'drys' public hysteria against drinking enforced a tight regulation on drinking establishments which continues to impact in various ways.

Basically the state developed a form of machinery which is currently empowered to enforce piecemeal measures of prohibition against the tavern industry. Customers were required to be visible from the streets; a rule which still applies in some Chicago districts today. In some bars the numbers of seats had to be doubled as it was believed that standing customers consumed double the amount of alcohol than those seated. Currently certain neighbourhood areas and individual streets within the Chicago State boundaries are voted alcohol free. Other Chicago neighbourhoods have laws which only allow taverns to operate as long as they sell at least 51% of food compared to liquor. To survive these taverns are frequently forced to serve food so cheap that they lose money. The above law, a watered down throwback from Illinois state legislation of 1885 which made it a criminal offence to serve liquor without offering

food free of charge, is based on the belief the measure will minimise problem drinking (Duis, 1983:55). The mechanisms by which Chicago State legislation operates as a stranglehold can be understood from the respondents' accounts and the empirical evidence outlined below. This shows that the historical legacy from prohibition has impacted upon the opportunity structures in as much as contemporary Chicago State policies are overall more constraining and coercive compared to the British State.

As stated above the reasoning behind state policy which enforces certain Chicago streets and areas to alcohol free areas resonates from the past prohibition era when saloons were associated with immigrants, corruption and the moral decay of youth. In the 1990's neighbourhood pressure groups in Chicago are able to exercise their power by successfully using their citizenship rights to have individual bars closed and neighbourhood streets declared alcohol free. A number of the respondents in Chicago mentioned how this form of policy was a potential threat to their livelihood;

‘The other side of the road is voted dry, there are no bars on the other side. Any area of any block can vote the whole lot dry ,they've voted the whole of Beverly dry.’(respondent Chicago)

‘The neighbours have got a lot of power over you, they'll take away your business and close you down and you can't insure against that.’(respondent Chicago)

‘The door control on North Halstead has cost 14 bar owners an extra 150,000 dollars between them and they've had to pay for it because the neighbours threatened to shut them down because of the noise and paper.’
(respondent Chicago)

‘They just closed a bar on Elson Avenue. The neighbours got together and said we don't want this bar here and the licenses were up at the end of March and they didn't give them back their license they let it close.’(respondent Chicago)

British citizens are not empowered to pressure the state to regulate neighbourhood areas ‘dry’. One area in Birmingham is without a public house because of a legacy from landowning Quakers. However private clubs and supermarkets are at liberty to sell liquor in that area. Moreover the close association between the brewing industry and the government has never been severed by prohibition measures. It will be shown later in this chapter how action recently undertaken by the British government which involves regulating public houses has been concerned with a

redistribution of public house ownership within the brewing industry not with any reduction in the number of outlets.

In Britain, twentieth century temperance movements, which diminished considerably after the First World War, are akin to their predecessors in the sense their campaigns are focused upon invoking government intrusion on the morality of the individual citizen(Harrison, 1971: 23) and less on the regulation of structures or the reduction of public house outlets within the industry. Hence this form of British government policy does not embody a threat regards the opportunity structures for bar entrepreneurs compared to the policies in Chicago. Furthermore, the state's policies towards public houses derives from a historical legacy which continues to empower brewing industry interests (Public Houses,1991). As such in Britain there is a legacy of power structures, derived mainly from the relationship between government and the brewing industry, which would lose considerably in an economic sense, from a drastic reduction in the nations drinking habits (Public Health,1990). It could be speculated that the British State would adopt a cavalier attitude towards calls for a predominant shift in social drinking habits to alcohol free products. Reducing the number of licensed public house outlets in Britain would ultimately incur a huge loss of tax revenue (Public Health, 1990). Considering that the number of pubs in Britain have increased by over

10,000 during the 1980's (Public Houses,1991 the scenario is unlikely. Thus, the British State has never legislated to prohibit drinking on a national or regional scale. Instead, if issues related to excess drinking have been subject to Government investigations the 'drink' problem has been projected as the fault of an individual or a tendency of particular groups(Public Health, 1990). Evidence below shows how the City of Chicago is prepared to attempt to regulate individuals behaviour as well as impose measures against the industry in order to reduce the number of public house outlets which dispense drink.

At present, what began as a moral purge against expectant mothers drinking excess alcohol in Illinois State US is now legislated as a criminal offence. Drinking establishments are obliged to display notices which state "Warning the surgeon general has determined the consumption of products which contain alcohol during pregnancy can cause birth defects" (Public Health,1990:170). On various occasions during the last two centuries the British and American State have also labelled the Irish as a group inherently prone to drink. In chapter five the 'racist' implications of focusing upon the Irish in Britain and the US as a minority group who are perceived as 'natural' drinkers has been dealt with in a contemporary perspective and in chapter four from a historical perspective. For the present purpose the important point is that the context of the public house

symbolises the visual setting where it is easy to identify and label high risk groups. Hence the key individual under scrutiny of state control is the custodian of the public house outlet. Into the limelight steps the publican who must be proven to be a moral upright citizen in order to qualify for a liquor license.

Liquor Licensing Procedures, Citizenship and Opportunity Structures

In both locations the power structures of local licensing procedures present the most controlling aspect of bar entrepreneurship. The extent to which they are all empowering depends upon whether or not the contextually specific rules are applied in either a draconian manner or not. Parochial control of liquor licensing is the common procedure in both Birmingham and Chicago. In Birmingham the licensing justice is a local magistrate, appointed by a peer group, whose duty is to hold at least four licensing sessions a year including the annual 'brewster sessions'. In Chicago City the responsibility of issuing and renewing licences lie with one person appointed by the state. The systems in both Birmingham and Chicago are the same in that licenses are renewed annually. However the implication of non renewal are different. Once a license has been revoked in Chicago the decision is irreversible. In Birmingham there is a mechanism by which a license revocation may be challenged through an appeal to the Crown Court (Public Health, 1991:89). Nonetheless in

Birmingham a subjective element exists. Licensing Justices are empowered to refuse licenses to any person they judge morally unsuitable or who the local police oppose as an unsuitable license holder. Although licensing magistrates and police licensing inspectors are seen to co-operate throughout the process the ultimate decision for refusal is in the hands of the magistrate.

Citizenship is not a prerequisite to hold a liquor licence in Britain whereas in the US it is the first requirement (Clinard, 1962:283). Hence, in theory both Irish undocumented and green card holders in America disqualify from personally applying for a licence. However, it is a misnomer to presuppose that Irish born who are without US citizenship are automatically excluded from running a licensed bar because there is a mismatch between what is officially required and the back door entrance. Registering the business as a corporation, by way of a silent partnership with an American citizen, was an option available to those who had migrated as undocumented in the 50's and 60's;

‘I wasn't a citizen until 1960 so the business got started as a corporation, it had to be a corporation with a treasurer and a secretary. A little two and a half pence outfit like this can be a corporation’. (respondent Chicago migrated during the 1950's)

Getting in by this route had implications thirty years on for getting out.

By the 1980's changes in corporate law had shifted the goalposts;

‘This is how involved the laws are now. If your bar is set up as a corporation you can't be held personally responsible for a law suit. But if your set up like that you are prohibited from selling more than 5% corporate stock in a year. I wouldn't touch a bar now that's a corporate business because you can't sell more than 5% of your own share in a year.’(respondent in Chicago migrated during the 1960's)

Vulnerability to the changing nature of state regulation rights impacted upon every bar regardless of the characteristics of the licensee;

‘You need to know the law because now you can't sell a bar that's located on a side street, once you leave the bar it has to be closed down so you have someone whose given his life to a business that he can't sell.’(respondent Chicago)

As with all laws the effectiveness depends on how it is enforced. Hence there was a certain amount of differentiation between the enactment of the common law requirement in both locations which states a licensee must

not hold a criminal record (Clinard, 1962: 273). The rigidity by which this was enforced in Chicago meant there were no shades of grey;

‘They check you out for a licence. Any offence and they stop you. And they check out where you’ve got your money from so that you didn’t get it from a gang or a mob that you’re not a front’. (respondent Chicago)

The regulation also prescribed an immediate and permanent loss of license and livelihood if any form of offence was committed by a license holder. For instance if the bar owner is caught serving a minor(any person under 21) the liquor license will be revoked;

‘they will take away our licence if we serve a minor but they do very little to the minor, it’s so tricky. When we opened this place we put up a notice you must be 23 with 3 I.D.s’. (respondent Chicago)

‘It used to be worse, the age was 18 for girls and 21 for guys and that was really awkward. Then the state changed it to 19 around 78/79 and then back to 21 for both. The kids can be big trouble, you get caught serving one and your license is gone’. (respondent Chicago)

Also, serving a drunken person entailed an immediate loss of licence with the added risk of being sued by any individual the drunken customer had caused harm to. It mattered not that an individual may have drunk most of his liquor at home, if a bar had served that person just one drink the licensee was morally culpable by law for any damage incurred. Other bars also suffered from the backlash of this law;

‘Every year it gets harder and tighter, they took our 4 o'clock license away which cost us 14 hours trading because a bar in Springfield was serving drunks. He got closed and all the bars lost trade because of him’.
(respondent Chicago)

‘there's a big crack down on the south side there pulling out a lot of licences and not renewing them because of complaints that the bars are turning drunks out at four.’(respondent Chicago)

The licensing laws in Birmingham appear comparatively anachronistic in that the majority have an 11 o'clock close with all day trading a very recent introduction through the Licensing Regulation Act 1988.

Conversely, there is less risk of a general state crackdown on bar licensees. The risks which licensees in Birmingham take is doing 'afters',

that is serving after official opening times. This strategy which is used to boost trade remains at the level of an individual risk as it does not affect other licencees but has possible consequences for the revocation of their own license. However research by Public Health Alcohol (1990) showed the penalty when caught 'doing afters' was generally a caution at the first offence. In contrast there is no second chance for licencees in Chicago; if they are found violating any form of state regulation or if they happen to be caught in the crossfire of a general neighbourhood purge.

Currently state control in Chicago is exercised from a presupposition that the public house/tavern is potentially a corrupt influence and the most effective form of moral control is closure. Consequently the Chicago respondents reacted to the permanent threat of having their businesses closed by perceiving state control as the most constraining and feared element of the overall opportunity structures. Every aspect of the State's ubiquitous intrusion was given cautious consideration. In comparison it would appear that the local licensing justices in Birmingham, although all powerful are relatively more flexible. If the moral character of the individual, who is the custodian of the bar does not stand up to their somewhat subjective scrutiny, then the individual is replaced without any ramifications for other licencees. Only in the most severe cases are bars closed down on a permanent basis and never as a neighbourhood block

closure. However in Birmingham there was a distinct political problem concerning state official's power and their attitudes towards Irish bar licencees who wished to celebrate the ethnicity of the bar.

The Political Implications of State Intrusion

In Britain the issue of different citizenship as a criteria to hold a licence is supposedly not problematic. However, if the Irish citizen applies to advertise their bar as Irish their license is put at risk. This situation is a contradiction in terms for Birmingham City Council given that it is one of the few local authorities who recognise the Irish as an ethnic minority group. The official rationale, is that easily identified Irish pubs will be 'sitting targets' for irrational violence which accompany periods of high public tension during I.R.A. bombing campaigns on the mainland;

'I'd like to make it more Irish but there's no chance, the police will come down on top of you and oppose your licence. And the brewery that I'm dealing with they don't want it. God forbid if the troubles ever start again in Britain but they say the first place they'll come down to is the pub'.

(respondent Birmingham)

Attitudes and beliefs which are enforced through power in this manner amount to an overt form of discrimination. Thus in Birmingham the

reality does not match the rhetoric of recognising the Irish as an ethnic minority group. Irish licencees are therefore officially deterred from acclaiming Irish symbolism on the outside and to a lesser extent the inside of their pubs. The minority who risk the gauntlet by decorating the outside of the public house with Irish symbols have been told that they may incur trouble which could potentially threaten their license;

‘The police are against it. What they’re saying is that they don't want anything political but we have absolutely no political part.’ (respondent Birmingham)

‘It just makes it harder for all the Irish people over here they think you’re all involved, and yet the Irish Centres been here for years.’ (respondent Birmingham)

‘We have to put the clocks on ten minutes every day to clear them out on time. We have to get the customers out by twenty past 11. It’s very difficult, especially when there are pubs down the road that you know are drinking all hours. And yet they come in here and at ten past 11 and say what’s going on. Were trying to show it’s run professionally so everybody in the town and police know it is’. (respondent Birmingham)

In short unless Irish licencees are prepared to blend with the mainstream British style of public houses their licences are threatened by the way in which their Irish heritage is interpreted as an all pervasive political problem. In this sense the opportunity structures are more constraining within Birmingham compared to Chicago.

In Chicago the opportunity structures are ripe for American born bar owners to capitalise on the stereotype image of the 'natural' association between the Irish and drink by decorating the large majority of bars as if they were Irish owned. This distinctive form of Irish decor does not represent the fact that only a very tiny minority of public bars are operated by Irish born people or second generation Irish. Illuminated shamrocks, pictures of leprecons, and general Irish symbolic material imagery are the commonplace decor both outside as well as inside Chicago City public bars. Consequently the all embracing material form which presents an image celebrating the pervasive myth that the Irish and drink are synonymous is omnipresent in Chicago. The Irish imagery is also capitalised on by Irish licencees to promote business;

‘You can see the picture outside of the Irish cottage with the women and they all say that's ----- grandmother waiting for his grandfather to come home from the pub. And that's typical of what they say when the woman's

probably waiting for some news or gossip, but they have to say she's waiting for someone to come home from the pub. And the picture isn't even from my country but it brings the people in'. (respondent Chicago)

Chicago City also benefits economically from the Irish decor because, as the following account shows, outside decor on taverns is included in the total liquor licensing fees.

Opportunity Structures and the Publican, the Material Cost Involved

'You're walking a tightrope with the liquor licence and because it's a privilege it's gonna cost more and they're gonna be like gold'.
(respondent Chicago)

The total annual license fee for amenities in a Chicago tavern during 1992 was 4872 dollars. Even with taking into account the fluctuating exchange rate, plus relatively higher wages in relation to the standard of living costs, the amount is a great deal more than the annual fee of £52.50 that is required to operate a similar outlet in Birmingham. Although the license fee can vary in Birmingham depending on what extras are required to operate a public house, certain statutory licensing fees in Chicago state are fixed;

‘Your State overheads today surpasses what you could possibly make in profit. Chicago City has closed one hundred and fifty taverns over the last twelve months because they can't pay their licences. You have to have a dram shop insurance that ties into your liquor licence and you can't get any license without that. There's the music and entertainment license that's 134 dollars every six months. Then you've got your food dispensers, 506 dollars every four months. Then you've got your alcohol liquor license, 836 dollars every six months. Then there's the State of Illinois retailers license, one a year, 125 dollars. And your certificate of registration with the State of Illinois that's 54 dollars a year. Then you've got a tax stamp. That's to cover tobacco, fire arms and alcohol, you pay 250 dollars a year for that. Those signs over the front door we pay 300 dollars a year for those signs. Then we pay for the general State inspections, such as refrigerators, each of them charge 60 dollars. Then we have the general health inspectors, 35 dollars a year. Then the building department comes in and charge us 30 dollars, that's every year. And the copyright music is 500 dollars a year. They bill you all of this from City Hall. And any bill from City Hall they put a summons number against you and if you don't pay this summons goes against you and they close you down. That's why they classify them summons.’ (respondent Chicago)

As one Chicago respondent succinctly summed it up;

‘there's no end to it how the hell do you make money?’

Annual licensing fees in Birmingham are £12.50 for a full license, a gaming machine license costs £32 and a supper hours license £10. It is a requirement to pay for an initial protection license of £4 which operates through a probationary period while the character of the prospective licensee is vetted by both police and magistrates. Application for a ‘one off’ special late license costs £10 and a cinema video screen license costs an extra £260 per year. All inspections on licensed premises are carried at the expense of the city revenue. In short, how state procedure impacts upon the opportunity structures through the material cost of licensing regulations is less costly and less coercive in its form of administration compared to Chicago. Conversely, in relation to the State procedure of levelling taxation on drink excise duty the Chicago State fares better. Hence the impact on opportunity structures from taxation imposed on alcohol by the British, which accounts for approximately 60% of the retail price of spirits and 40% of the retail price of beer and wine, is more constraining (Public Health, 1991: 98).

The Brewing Industry and State Taxation

The rate of taxation that is placed on the brewing industry impacts upon the entrepreneur because it affects the price of drinks. It has been argued that working people are forced to restrict their consumption intake to the extent of the total sum to which the tax amounts (Schluter, 1970). Hence one way or another it is an important issue for publicans because it affects the economic viability of the pub. Contemporary evidence shows that the taxation levels on the brewing industry within Britain, Ireland and Finland are the highest in the western world (Walsh & Walsh, 1980). Various arguments characterise the contentious nature of the taxation issue within contemporary society. It is argued by some that high taxes deter excess drinking because of the cost involved (Alcohol Concern, 1987). Hence the argument to maintain high taxation is validated on health grounds. This argument has been prevalent in the current debate over standardising taxation levels in the Economic Community (EC).

A comparative study of international price levels showed that because of excise taxation the cost of beer, wine and spirits in Britain is very expensive compared to the US (Walsh, 1980:39). In theory this means more people can afford to go out and patronise a public house in the US. In practise the situation is complicated because the Chicago State intervenes at the point of sale between the brewer and the publican to

enable the state to take a cut by operating a fixed price monopoly control. Hence the Chicago State is both a tax beneficiary and a capitalist subcontractor. In short the Chicago State is seen to be regulating on a moral criteria but also operating as a monopoly contractor. Furthermore, although the British State regulates public houses by a different system compared to the Chicago State, the outcome for bar proprietors is equally as contradictory. To reiterate, in relation to the Chicago State the British State imposes an excessive form of taxation on alcohol sales which impinges upon the point of sale of public house outlets. Therefore the cost of alcohol drinks in a public house is relatively higher in Britain compared to the US. However at the same time recent legislation, directed from the Monopoly and Mergers Commission (1990) has called for public houses in Britain to be freed from monopoly control. In theory the current legislation should establish a form of machinery which will diminish monopoly fixed price control and thereby empower bar owners to sell more alcohol products at a lower price. In practise the rhetoric does not match the reality. Thus an explanation of how this controversial form of state regulation impacts upon bar proprietors is outlined below.

Opportunity Structures and the Tied Triangular Relationship

It is fairly common knowledge that public houses in Britain have largely operated within a 'tied house' system. There are Monopolies operating

within the brewing industry, of whom six national brewers control 90% of the industry and own 62% of the public house buildings. In general salaried managers who hold the licence operate the niche. Until recently only a small number of the 83,500 pubs in Britain were tenanted or free house properties (Public Houses,1991). In 1990 the brewer's monopoly control over public houses was challenged by the Monopolies and Mergers Commission report (MMC). Of the recommendations four were particularly important regarding opportunities. Firstly, brewers were to hold no more than 2000 outlets. Secondly, the tenants were to be offered a security of tenure in the form of a lease which protected them from the brewery operating a 'get-out' clause after a three year period. Thirdly, the free house loan ties, which effectively tied free houses to the breweries that had furnished loans to buy the bar were to be abolished. Fourthly, the tenants would be allowed to sell guest beers as well as the brewery beer to which they were tenanted. By 1992, 11,000 public houses were to be offered as tenanted or leased (Public Houses, 1991:17). Despite a watering down of the original proposals the brewing industry has been subject to its most radical shake up since the inception of the tied house system was established in 1900. Also the 1980's was a decade where the number of outlets have grown from 76,400 to 83,500 by 1990 (Public Houses,1991).

However the current legislation has enabled the monopoly brewers to legally rationalise their profits by getting rid of the least profitable and most potentially problematic outlets. In terms of opportunity structures the MMC has laid the foundations for more self employed bar proprietors but the power structures which operate within the brewery decide which of the many outlets are made available and who buys them;

‘The breweries are desperate to lease some of the pubs, they'll let anyone into the trade they'll take anyone, people with a criminal record, just to sell the lease’. (respondent Birmingham)

There is little evidence to show that the expansion of opportunities for entering the niche is correlated to socio-economic upward mobility. The brewing giants released their worst outlets to lease companies who exercise a similar monopoly stranglehold over individual licences. These companies, who are attached to the monopoly brewers in the sense they distribute their products, also lease the niche to the individual entrepreneur;

‘The monopolies commission hasn't really worked because what they've done is sold the pubs off on block. One person can't afford that. They're

really subsidiaries of ----. It sounds great but the brewery still own them.’(respondent Birmingham)

Further, because more sales are needed to sell a perishable product such as beer reasonably quickly the opportunity, to buy a guest beer is not necessarily economically viable;

‘this Merger and Monopolies is a joke because the only beer you’re allowed to have as a guest beer is a traditional beer cask conditioned, which only means the two you can have is mild or bitter and there’s no call for mild in some regions. And you need to sell your traditional beer in three days. It’s a vicious circle, if you sell less, your beer will be worse, then you’ll sell less again.’(respondent Birmingham)

‘because they’ve got sole rights to your sales their price increase is way past inflation and their free trade selling price is about 30% less per barrel than they sell to a leased house like myself’. (respondent Birmingham)

A number of the long established entrepreneurs who were originally tenants had changed to become leasees. The leasing agreements frequently offer the niche for 10 to 21 years and appear to be more secure than a tenancy which can be terminated on either side after three years.

However, to achieve this long term security the price paid for some has been a doubled rent increase;

‘Pressure was put on to go as a leaseholder but my rent went up fivefold with it. You can stay tenanted if you want to but you won’t have the long term security’.(respondent Birmingham)

The economic insecurity of an increased rent was the flaw which impacted upon the new form of long term security. In addition clauses within the leasing agreement firmly state that the leasing rent cannot be negotiated;

‘There’s a hell of a lot going bump. The area managers are under pressure to sell the lease then you go wallop and they get somebody else, they don’t care’. (respondent Birmingham)

In sum, in terms of opportunity structures, the reality of the situation during the 1990's is little different to that which occurred prior to it. More bars are available but they cost more and are generally at the ‘rag end’ of the market for the individual entrepreneur such as an Irish immigrant. It is far from coincidental that within Birmingham the Irish are overrepresented in the self employed outlets compared to the majority population. Immigrants have consistently gravitated to public house

employment because the majority population are less prepared to work the hours that are demanded to make the niche a profitable concern (Rothbert,1993). Hence, for minority group mobility the niche offers little prospects because of the control exercised by both brewery and state. There is a remote possibility for a few that the Monopoly and Mergers Commission shake up may have provided the opportunity structures for a future day if the strategies they use to promote the pub are effective. Furthermore, compared to the opportunities for socio-economic mobility within the niche in the US the evidence below shows that those days have been and gone. The ideology of opportunities in the 'promised land' has diminished considerably as the opportunity structures of the 1990's are, according to the Chicago respondents, overall more constraining. Their accounts of the catalogue of constraints which impact upon the bars are outlined below.

'I can't think of any other business that the law has tied up so much'.(respondent Chicago)

Irish run bar niches in Chicago are generally not what could be termed flagships of socio-economic upward mobility. Only two of the twenty one niches that were visited during this study could be categorised as such.

The owners of these upmarket bars, who had migrated during the 1950's,

appeared to have reaped the benefit of the more prosperous times.

However they are also working full time at an age when many people have retired. Whether or not this was by choice or out of necessity is the unknown factor. For the large majority entrepreneurship meant renting the property on lease from a private landlord. Nevertheless, this form of leasing, which is different from tied leasing to breweries, did not enable the licencees to purchase alcohol drinks from the private brewers on the basis of the most competitive price that was on offer.

The structure of the brewing industry and public house outlets in Chicago is different compared to Britain. However state control over the retail sales of brewery liquor has impacted upon the opportunity structures. Because of an obvious lack of tied outlets the image of the private bar in Chicago is that of an entrepreneurial niche that operates with some measure of autonomy in regards to buying stock. In practise brewers are subserviant to the state which exercises a power controlled structure that furnishes a substantial economic gain;

‘Its like dealing with the mafia here, the government runs it,we have to buy from them although we can buy it cheaper ourselves.’(respondent Chicago)

A primary difference between the brewers in Britain and the US is the control which the Chicago State exercises over the retail outlet of the brewing industry. All brewery products in Chicago, whether imports or produce of the US are sold via the State;

‘It’s definitely a monopoly, it goes back to the days of Al Capone, they all had their own area. There’s no competition, this fella comes in and we have to buy from him’. (respondent Chicago)

What this means in practise is that a state employee is appointed a custodian of an area and monitors all purchases and sales within an outlet. The bar is allocated a dram shop number which is used to keep a record of all purchases so the sales can also be monitored for tax purposes. All purchases and sales are logged by the state. Prices are fixed for each individual product by the state which also takes a percentage of the price that is imposed. In other words there is no free competition element as the state acts as a middleman monopoly capitalist contractor who intervenes at the point of sale with a fixed price.

‘The point is this, we have a tax number to buy liquor. Anything we buy we have to buy on that number. You pay federal tax and county tax on

that not sales tax. Then you sell it individually for this government and its for sales tax money'. (respondent Chicago)

A number of the respondents suggested that it would be a lot cheaper if they could buy from liquor stores but they are prevented from doing so because the state control system of sales and purchases is effective in detecting where liquor has been bought in. The penalty of 'buying in' is an immediate revocation of license;

'We could buy a lot cheaper if we could go to the liquor store and use our tax numbers. We could buy a bottle of whisky four dollars cheaper than the states distributors sell it'. (respondent Chicago)

Overall the constraints upon the opportunity structures bordered on a 'McCarthyism' form of control;

'I would say it's government interference at this point, the trend to have increasingly tighter controls has got worse and bars don't have a fraternal organisation like other industries.'(respondent Chicago)

From the evidence presented here it is difficult to give weight to the original hypothesis that there are greater opportunities for socio-

economic upward mobility within the niche in Chicago compared to Birmingham. At the time of interview, respondents in both cities were operating in a minefield of state legislation which ultimately benefitted the state and the big brewery interests. The complex nature of the opportunity structures in both locations are because of the social complex of which they are woven. The historical legacy of prohibition has impacted upon the nature of the opportunity structures in Chicago. Within Britain the power of the brewers is firmly tied to the interests of the state. Albeit, in different degrees the state is the most powerful influence of the opportunity structures operating as both regulator and economic benefactor. Ultimately Irish run bars, alongside other bars, function as the public outlet at the bottom of an interdependent chain. The constraints upon individual entrepreneurs define that the industry is characterised by a large amount of bankruptcy and failure. In this sense the opportunity for group mobility amounts to a non starter. Because of the vulnerability of the public house trade the respondents' experience an ongoing daily pressure. Thus any suggestion or concept of the Irish occupying pubs because it is a natural environment is a total deviation from truth. Moreover given this somewhat doom and gloom scenario it begs the question of what strategies are required for bars to survive and an explanation of why bar entrepreneurship is frequently perceived as the success route. How the input of family labour is a resource strategy to

maintain profitability is discussed in the following chapter. It has been previously shown that one reason why the Irish were excluded from the ethnic entrepreneurship debates was because the characteristics of their migration tradition was single. The next chapter redresses the balance on this argument by showing how family networks, which were established after migration, are mobilised as a strategy to run the bars competitively.

Chapter Seven

Making 'Visible' the Women's Perspective

Ethnic entrepreneurship theorists argue that the demographic characteristics of the Irish migration tradition has not facilitated access to cheap or unpaid family labour (Mars & Ward, 1984). In fact family labour is a vital resource for Irish bar enterprise. This chapter attempts to fill in these gaps by providing women respondents a space to talk about their role as family labour and as women entrepreneurs. I aim to show that these two roles, although polarised in terms of economic independence, are not mutually exclusive, but demand the same range of learnt management skills. I intend to argue that the experience of providing unpaid family labour has enabled some women to acquire the skills needed to operate successfully as entrepreneurs. Within the ethnic entrepreneur literature family labour is perceived as a cornerstone of successful ethnic group business. Waldinger et al (1990:38) argue 'one means of securing a labour force is to recruit family members.' Similar to the ethnic entrepreneurship literature evidence from this research shows that the recruitment of family labour to work within a bar is a central feature of Irish bar entrepreneurship. With one exception the male entrepreneurs in this study incorporated the use of their female partners labour as a strategy for economic survival.

To reiterate, the exclusion of the Irish from the ethnic entrepreneurship literature has stemmed in part from the fact that Irish migration throughout the twentieth century has been predominantly single. Because only a minority had migrated in a family network it was argued that the Irish were at a distinct disadvantage in accessing cheap labour as a resource for small labour intensive business. On a number of occasions the characteristics of Irish migration have been identified as a negative example in order to show the extent to which the resource of cheap/unpaid family labour is perceived as indispensable to the success of an ethnic entrepreneurial niche. For example Mars and Ward (1984:18) argue ; ‘a community where immigration is largely by males, or at least not in complete family units, as with the Irish, is therefore at a disadvantage in this respect’. In short commentators have marginalised the Irish experience from the offset and contributed to the myth that Irish migration during the twentieth century has been predominantly male. Not only has twentieth century Irish migration been 'invisible' in terms of comparing the Irish experience with other minority groups the fact that the tradition is predominantly female is barely recognised within sociological migration literature. Therefore comparing the experience of women's role in the Irish diaspora bar contributes towards establishing Irish womens' 'visibility' within migration studies. The women respondents' accounts offer insights into the dynamics of family firms by

explaining how their working roles are established under conditions which incorporate patriarchal control mechanisms. First, it will be shown how the role of family labour in a family firm has been analysed. Second, with regards to the women's working role in the pub, it is argued that they have acquired management skills which are on a par with their partners. Third, their accounts identify how they manage familial responsibilities and work within the bar by drawing upon wider kinship networks. Further, it is speculated that the process of acquiring skills to operate a bar serves to diminish the extent of the unequal power relationship between themselves and their partners. Finally, the experience of the women entrepreneurs is compared to the experience of the women who supply family labour. The evidence shows how all of the women, whether economically dependent upon their male partner or economically independent, organise their lives to accommodate their working and family roles.

A total of 14 joint interviews were conducted during the research. By 'joint' I mean two partners, both involved in the running of a bar who actively participated in the interviews. Accounts of the involvement of women partners who were not present at the interviews, were delivered second hand. Of the 14 joint interviews, two were female only partnership business ventures operating in Chicago. The remaining twelve

were male/ female partnerships in the sense of a family partnership where both worked in the bar which was headed by the male. Three of these were operating in Chicago and nine in Birmingham. In Chicago the three women partners were Irish born whereas their male partners were all of different birth origin. In Birmingham the pattern was different, eight of the nine male partners and three of the female partners were Irish born. Given the pattern of contemporary post World War 11 Irish migration characteristics into the US and Britain this pattern appears reasonably representative. Considering the input of family labour was evident in the bars where both partners are not Irish born, it can be speculated that gender mechanisms of subordination, which are shown below to legitimate unpaid family labour are a cross cultural experience.

Family Labour in the Family Firm

The role of family labour in studies of ethnic entrepreneurship has been widely acknowledged. Far greater attention has been paid to women's labour in family owned enterprises than has been given to the role of women ethnic entrepreneurs. Primarily this rests on a central component, overlapping all the distinct ethnic entrepreneur theories, which proposes that the input of unpaid/cheap family labour is central to the success of a labour intensive enterprise. (Light & Bonacich, 1988; Waldinger, 1986; Van Der Berghe, 1986; Mars & Ward, 1984). Explanations of cheap/ unpaid

family labour differ in respects as to whether or not the role is perceived as functional or exploitative.

A common feature in the US and British studies of ethnic enterprise has been the emphasis on the cohesiveness of nuclear and extended families in providing a resource for family run firms (Light, 1972; Bonacich & Modell, 1981; Werbner, 1984; Light & Bonacich, 1988). Within the studies cited above, the concept of unpaid family labour providing a resource for a family firm is not perceived as potentially exploitative. Rather it is deemed as a culturally cohesive resource which provides a key advantage contributing to the success of a niche. It is argued that; ‘when cultural traditions keep together a large proportion of husband-wife families, they lay the basis for a greater number of Mom and Pop stores than do cultural traditions that do not equivalently stress nuclear family cohesion’ (Light & Bonacich, 1988: 236). Middleman minority explanations of ethnic entrepreneurship also uncritically incorporate a functional argument concerning the necessity of cheap family labour. ‘The typical middleman minority business is a family store (or truck farm) resting heavily on the use of unpaid family labour’ (Bonacich, 1973: 586). However, in contrast to cultural explanations, middleman minority theories explain the necessity of cheap family labour as part of a minority group strategy mobilising together against racist structures in a wider

society. Unpaid family labour is therefore believed to be a resource which enables communal solidarity. Together cultural and middleman minority explanations of unpaid family labour establish a particular rationale which embodies a functional perspective of unpaid family labour. Exceptions to this approach are evident in Waldinger's (1986) study and Waldinger et al (1990), also the potential of exploitation was addressed, albeit tentatively, by Boissevain et al (1990). However, it is feminist accounts which highlight the patriarchal control mechanisms which underpin small labour ethnic enterprises (Phizacklea, 1983, 1988, 1990 ; Anthias, 1983; Holliday & Letherby, 1993). Patriarchal control is defined by Phizacklea (1983) in the light of Hartmann's (1979) and Cockburn's (1985) definition as; 'A set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men and solidarity between them, which enables them in turn to dominate women. The material base of patriarchy is men's control over women's labour power' (Phizacklea, 1983: 22).

Prior to addressing the specific issues that these theorists raise the 'functional' perspective of unpaid family labour requires an explanation.

At one level the concept of a family ethnic enterprise mobilising together as a form of communal solidarity against the structural constraints of a given racist society makes sense. Bryan et al (1983) make the point that for many black women the family is not the prime site of women's

oppression as has been argued by some white feminists. Rather the family can be a place of safety in a white 'racist' society. Therefore minority group women who work in a family firm do not encounter racism in their place of work. Hoodfar (1991) also shows how the obligations which appear to be inherent in gender roles within muslim cultures are frequently strategies adopted by muslim women against the imposition of modernisation and characteristics attributed to western women. Furthermore Hoodfar suggests that these strategies are expressed in a form which can only be understood in western societies from an ethnocentric standpoint.

From both of these perspectives it could be argued that ethnic minority women's main motivation to work in an unpaid capacity in the family firm is to make a contribution to their familial household. The respondents' choice to work in the family business was made on the basis of meeting the needs of their family unit. However their family business operates in a set of social structures characterised by racism and gender inequalities.

It is evident that the concept of a workforce of hidden women who 'assist' their self employed partners in business is not confined to ethnic minority women but also straddles the population at large (Bechhofer et al, 1974; Finch, 1983; Scase & Goffee, 1980, 1985; Davidson & Cooper,

1992). The importance of family labour is recognised by the fact that there is a category for it in the US census. Evidence of this burgeoning trend is also indicative in Europe. Between 1977 and 1987 there was an increase of 10 million women working in a partner's business, either salaried or self employed, which increased the official number of self employed women in the EC from 3.2million to 12.5 million (Allen & Trumen, 1993:3). Therefore, regardless of the glaring differences between the social forces which propel different groups within the population into entrepreneurship in general, small entrepreneurial firms are likely to have developed around familial links with the most common dependent partnership between the husband and wife (Holliday & Letherby, 1993: 55; Watkins & Watkins, 1984).

Finch's (1983) study shows how a husband's job imposes a set of structures on a wife, which simultaneously incorporates her into his work thereby constraining her choice of job opportunities. The demands of the husband's job and the constraints it places upon her determines that 'to fit the master plan of the other becomes her life work' (Gillespie cited in Finch, 1983: 2). By reference to the concept of 'vicarious' achievement (which means wives subordinate relationship in a two person career) Finch shows how under various conditions both husbands and capitalist enterprise benefit from the labour that their wives contribute. The study

raises important questions. Finch (1983) questions whether or not wives contribution of unpaid labour into their husbands' paid work is feature of patriarchal oppression. If this concept is applied to an analysis of family labour in an ethnic entrepreneurial firm it presents an important point of departure from a functional perspective of unpaid family labour.

Anthias (1983) argues, in the case of Greek Cypriot women working in the ethnic clothing economy in Britain their position was constrained by ethnic disadvantage in the labour market and a sexual division of labour shaped by patriarchal relations derived from their familial role which operated in the niche. Accordingly Greek Cypriot women working in London are propelled into working for Greek Cypriot men, either husbands or through kinship networks, in a capacity where their skills are perceived as an extension of their family role. Segregating women to work either with other women or as homeworkers has been economically beneficial to Greek Cypriot employers and husbands alike. Kinship network employers gain economically as women are subject to low pay and little protection. Husbands benefit through the women's economic contribution, the acquisition of which does not challenge patriarchal control of their women. Thus easy access to women's labour stems from a hierarchical relationship of 'female labour subordinated to patriarchal control mechanisms' (Phizacklea, 1983: 22). The respondents also

encounter predicaments which stem from the extension of patriarchal relations in the home transposed into the sphere of work. In this sense they share with other ethnic minority women and women from the majority population a position, which can be expressed in similar forms, of gender subordination.

The Relationship Between the Women's Working Role and their Partner

The majority of bar licences and tenant agreements were held by males in the male/female partnership. The licensee holds ultimate power in deciding who is allowed to work and live in the pub. This means that for partners who live on the premises if their marriage breaks up the woman is likely to lose both her home and her job. When taken factually these conditions define that in most cases the woman is economically dependent on her partner, both in terms of her home and her job. In contrast, although the women partners in the study were economically dependent on their partners they shared a working role within the bar. The allocation of tasks within the bar was seen as a shared responsibility between partners. Although none of the women were formally trained, by working alongside their partners, they have all acquired management skills. However, although their work within the bar was in a managerial role it also incorporated tasks which were common to their family role.

Thus the potentially unequal relationship that this situation embodied, in terms of the extension of the women's familial role within the family firm was fairly explicit. Women's working role in the pub was subject to patriarchal control mechanisms closely associated with the women's familial responsibilities. Their perceptions of equal role sharing within the bars was flawed by a gendered segregation of tasks.

'We'd have the long weddings and dinner dances and at the end of the evening I'd be scrubbing the kitchen and he'd be outside drinking with the bride and groom. I made sure when we moved there was no function room here.' (respondent Birmingham-partner not present)

'We both do everything, it's hard on your own, you see he manages bands and he goes away a lot so you've got to do it on you own' (respondent Birmingham-partner not present)

The message conveyed by male partners was predominantly implicit where both partners were present.

'We both work seven days a week and basically wer'e on call all the time. We went into the trade together, there's no such thing as separate jobs

when it comes to it your both there (then turning to wife) get me a sandwich -----'(respondent Birmingham)

'Mary (pseudonym) was managing and the owner wanted to retire and he gave me first option to buy it because Mary was doing such a great job. We manage the place together now except Mary's quicker in the kitchen.'(respondent Chicago)

These examples illustrate how the women's working role in the bar was subject to patriarchal control mechanisms closely associated with the women's familial responsibilities.

Family Labour in the Irish Diaspora Bar

It is evident from this study that many of the bars which are successful are indebted to the incorporation of family labour for their success;

'I do everything all the ordering, bookwork, banking and employing the staff. The cellar work we all do. Everybody here can change a barrel it's one of the first things they learn.' (female respondent Birmingham)

'Mondays is one of my busiest days because of ordering and rotating current stock. I use the day to train the staff while we clean the shelves

and the backfittings. If there's anything I need to talk to them about it's better to do it while we work together.' (female respondent Birmingham)

'We need to be able to take over from each other because if the staff think your not in control they take advantage of you. When we first opened we took on an Irish lad from ----- and because we trusted him we nearly went bankrupt. The only way you'll ever stop the fiddle is to be able to do everything yourself'.(female respondent Birmingham)

'The customers like to see you working ,I'm here all day on his day of'.(female respondent Birmingham)

However, despite a pattern which showed that the women respondents were involved in the working of the pub, as they were able to step into and out of their partners' working roles, the pattern of their work load in the family was clearly established as their responsibility.

The Private and the Public Sphere

For the female partners' in the study responsibility for family commitments was extended towards a responsibility in contributing towards the family firm.

‘I just manoeuvre the whole thing together, family life, the lot. I'm here for everything. My mother used to come over from 9 till 5 every day to be with the boys when they were babies. You need family help to be a success. Well that's what it's all about, hoping you'll give your kids a better lifestyle and hoping that he's happy in his work.’ (Birmingham respondent -partner present)

‘It's not that I wanted to get out of bed and work every morning, but I have, I've worked since I was twelve years of age. I've been able to give my kids what I never had.’ (Chicago respondent- partner present)

‘I have reared eight children here, the youngest is twenty this year and three are living at home. I've always helped out even when the children were little, sometimes I wondered at that time how I managed, but you do it at the time, they all sort of helped and did their own jobs.’ (Birmingham respondent-partner present)

‘This isn't a thing one person can do,it isn't just a job, it's a way of life so you can't just have one person doing it and the other not. Because of the children you have to understand what your going into and they have to

understand that although I might be in the same place I can't always be with them.' (partner present)

Overall the dominant pattern in both locations identified that the women were responsible for child care whether or not she held the economic reigns of the bar. In this sense the child care aspect of the family role was never questioned. Strategies explaining how the role was managed were expressed in similar terms by women who held the licences and whose partners were not involved in running the niche. In turn it was recognised that the children within family firms understood the contribution that was needed from them;

'The kids know the score, they know what they can ask for and what they can't. My eldest is thirteen she knows that when she comes in from school she can't go out, she looks after the four year old. I think Sunday's the hardest, getting the uniforms ready and everything. And the summer holidays are a problem your kids want you to go out with them and they have to go out with someone else.' (respondent Birmingham-three children aged thirteen, eight and four)

‘We keep arranging a night out and it falls flat on its back because I spend all my free time doing the housework.’ (respondent Birmingham-two children aged eight and five)

‘my husband hates the trade he's a demolition contractor he puts up with it because I love it. When I came out of it he's saying to me for Gods sake take a pub your driving me mad. I used to think oh God I won't be able to cope but my family help, one of my sisters looks after the little one’

(respondent Birmingham-three children sixteen, twelve and two)

The practicality of family help from older children also incorporated their role within the niche;

‘getting honest bar tenders here is very hard which means that a member of the family has to be here at all times.’(respondent Chicago)

In order to cope with the demanding labour intensive schedule the women organised their lives by incorporating children and wider kinship networks into the equation. Most pressing was the practical help needed for younger children's child care. Where there was a kinship network of grandparents, which was only in Birmingham, it appeared that it was the

grandmother who offered child care support unconditionally. The distinct disadvantage of being without access to wider kinship support in Chicago, aside from children, is possibly a contributing factor as to why there were less partnership enterprises of the male/female form in the US compared to Britain. In this sense it could be speculated that wider kinship support is an essential back up in labour intensive ethnic enterprise, especially where there are young children in the family. The women respondents did not imply that these forms of familial organisation, were potentially exploitative relationships. Rather kinship networks support was perceived as a pattern of lifestyle that would be willingly replicated when needs must;

‘I’ve got a son now whose gone into it, he’s a natural, and I’ll do what I can to help the family’(respondent Birmingham)

Boundaries between the partners roles, in the sense of the unequal power relationship this embodied, were less discernible in niches which had been established for a long period of time. Male partners spoke openly of how dependent they were on their wives input within the family niche;

‘Wife is the mainstay here’ (Birmingham respondent-partner not present)

‘My wife and I run it but she does all the hard thinking and looks after the staff, she pays all the bills and sorts out all the taxes’ (Birmingham respondent-partner present)

‘My wife's more involved than I am I just stay in the background and do all the tears and repairs and what I'm told’ (Chicago respondent-partner present)

Whatever forms of negotiations and renegotiations had characterised the carving out of the family firm working roles in the preceding years is of course the unknown quantity. However it would be a misrepresentation of these interview situations to suggest that the couples within long term established bars, did not appear relaxed and secure in each others’ working company. The open discussion between them, engendered with an affectionate banter, seemingly represented the common ground which they had reached. A strong sense of self worth, achievement and spoken confidence was the overarching dominant trend of these women respondents. It seemed that the meaningful sense of achievement was integrated with their acquisition of management skills. Their attitude towards managing the bar, an occupation which is not generally available to ethnic minority and working class women, was distinctively optimistic;

‘Running this bar has given me the opportunity to meet people from all walks of life and you’re self educated by the people you meet and you learn to know about people. You learn great ways to communicate.’

(respondent Chicago)

‘I’ve built my life around it and that’s it really and now I look forward to coming in every day.’(respondent Chicago)

It is difficult to distinguish between the two quotes above as to which of the women works under the category of family labour and who is the female entrepreneur. Attention is now turned to the distinguishing features of the female ethnic entrepreneur, of whom the latter statement above is but one testimony.

Women Entrepreneurs, the Example of Goddess Medb

Although it is unusual for ethnic minority women to be entrepreneurs opening a bar business is one of the enclaves in which women have made inroads in their own right. Women's role as entrepreneurs in pubs has a legacy of over six hundred years. Celtic Goddess Medb, or the Queen of Connaught, means, 'she who intoxicates' (Malcolm, 1986: 1). Because of the small outlay required women have established and run grog shops, pubs, bars, taverns and saloons for centuries as well as taking control of

the process of distilling (Stivers,1976). Therefore in some respects these women are forerunners of the contemporary growing trend of more women becoming self employed in their own right. Between 1981-1987 the number of women entering self employment in Britain increased by 70% and currently women make up one quarter of the self employed population. Likewise the small business administration in the US reported a 74% increase in women being self employed in their own right within the ten years up to 1985. These figures suggest women are responsible for one third of all new self employed business enterprise (Davidson & Cooper, 1992: 6).

Within the burgeoning body of research on ethnic entrepreneurship there is little on the experience of female entrepreneurship. Mainstream studies of women's self employment such as Goffee & Scase (1985) Davidson & Cooper (1992) Allen & Truman (1993) Holliday & Letherby (1993) provide important insights into female entrepreneurship. Westwood & Bachu's (1983) study and Morokvasic-Muller's (1988) study are pioneers in analysing ethnic minority women's self employment. The gap in the ethnic entrepreneur literature stems from the fact that women are perceived as providing the family labour that is essential for a labour intensive ethnic business to survive. Consequently there are few

sociological studies which explain how women ethnic entrepreneurs establish and run their own business enterprise.

None of the respondents suggested that they sought to establish themselves as entrepreneurs with any political feminist objectives in mind or with a specific aim of disengaging themselves from family life. Further the actual process of becoming a female bar entrepreneur did not embody a uniform significance. Two of the women's partners had died and they had subsequently applied for the liquor licence. The younger woman, who had teenage school children, was managing the pub and had a part time paid job to boost the family income in order save enough to see them through college. Another route into female entrepreneurship was spoken about by two of the women who had previously worked in a pub in a family labour role. These women had moved out of the original pub because their partners were not endeared to the lifestyle and then taken on another pub single-handed. One wonders if this situation were reversed if the husbands would have been so accommodating. A word of mouth offer for a bar becoming available through retirement enabled one woman to take control. Two established themselves as a self employed partnership within a corporate owned niche. Another borrowed the necessary wherewithal to get started, bought the lease, and applied for the licence. For these women their opportunity for buying into the bar stemmed from

either working in the right place at the right time or a stroke of serendipity that their capabilities were recognised. Possibly the most thought out strategy was the partnership situation of two women. Following a twelve month period of looking for a lock up bar they jointly negotiated ownership. In order to ensure economic survival within the bar the joint decision was made that they both take on part time waitress jobs as a safeguard. This form of entrepreneurship, integrated to the women's familial responsibilities, had been successfully operating for five years.

It could be argued that the women entrenched their familial role by this demanding form of lifestyle in which, one way or another, they were trying to square the circle in their overextended lives. I would prefer to suggest that the women made choices of what was accessible to them in given situations. Their migration experience influenced them in the sense it was believed the opportunity would not have presented itself in Ireland. Most were without formal educational qualifications to enable them to enter the professions or climb up the mobility ladder on a treadmill similar to middle class women. Most had learnt the management skills required prior to their gaining entrepreneurship, either from their own input of family labour or as a paid employee in a bar. In terms of raising money to

start the female headed enterprise, which, involved approaching and negotiating in male middle class institutions, some were able to access their learnt management skills. Overcoming patriarchal institutionalised gender prejudice was countered a little by the fact the amount they required was small compared to what can be needed to start business enterprise and they were prepared to exploit all avenues to raise the moneys required. Relentless pursuit characterised their approach to all aspects of making the bar profitable. And most important all of the female entrepreneurs enjoyed running a bar. By the very process of the way they organised all aspects of their lives there was a distinct difference in the meanings which they gave to their commitments compared to the male respondents. How they developed their management strategies compared to the male entrepreneurs also revealed their caring nature. An example of this is evident of the way the women in Chicago expressed concern for the undocumented Irish;

‘they don't have health care because they’re not on a regular payroll and although they don't think that it’s important it’s very important. I say to them you can't get on without the Morrissey document and then I give them the stamps to apply.’(respondent Chicago)

‘I helped fill out loads of the Morrissey forms last year for the illegal. This year it’s one per person, last year you could send as many as you want. There were kids here with no money sending in hundreds and who made the money out of it?- the Post Office.’(respondent Chicago)

The caring aspect which is so central to their familial role spilled out into their actions within the niche. Simultaneously the management strategies which they applied to the niche were central to them organising their family role.

‘If you want to make something of yourself in this life you can go out and do it but you need a little help from somebody and you need to give a bit of help back.’(respondent Chicago)

Overall the women who supplied family labour and the women who were managing their own bars displayed a number of similar characteristics. However a sharp contrast between them was apparent by the former group’s position of economic dependency on their partner.

Similarities and Differences

In terms of structural inequalities their worlds were different, one group economically independent, the other economically dependent. Ultimate

control over the pub economy, whether exercised or not, lay in the hands of the licensee, and it is on this issue that the power difference between women's family labour and the female entrepreneur was most transparent. What is missing from this study are the accounts of women who have experienced the cutting edge of economic dependency whereby they have lost their homes and their jobs. Neither are there any first hand accounts of women in the US who are giving their labour in a family niche and have the added structural constraint of being undocumented. On one occasion, during an interview in Chicago, a woman respondent was apprehensive about discussing the subject of undocumented labour. Her sense of caution, which led her to reject discussing the subject, was not unwarranted. After being questioned about my research by a pub customer, who asked me if I had unearthed any undocumented Irish, he told me that he was an of duty Chicago police officer!

In essence economic dependency in the hands of the female entrepreneur did not necessarily entail a different standard of lifestyle compared to the partners who contributed their labour to the niche. Both groups were working full time and both groups had little free time because of the demands of a labour intensive enterprise. In terms of actual monetary reward that could be used as a disposable income the pattern was also similar. Profits from the bar were either used to support the family in

various ways or ploughed back into the business. A number of the women confirmed that they controlled budgeting within the bar. The relentless quest to remain profitable and the threat of material insecurity defined that neither group of women expressed the opinions that they were able to indulge in flamboyant activities or a gregarious lifestyle with the income they had at their disposal. Rather than speaking of money in terms of what they acquired they focused on the expenditure side of implementing strategies within the bar and the extensive costs of overheads.

At one level the role of women partners working contribution to a bar is primarily shaped by and subservient to her partner's dominant role, a position which mirrors patriarchal relationships in wider society. Evidence for this argument has been shown from the respondents' accounts which identify their subordinate relationship on the male licensee partner. However, at another level, their accounts suggest that there is an ongoing negotiation between family partners as to how the working roles within the niche are defined and redefined as part of a process. The meanings that the women gave to their working roles and how these meanings were articulated into actions changed over time. For the younger women with children, who were struggling to square the circle of their familial role and their role in the bar, their goal posts were firmly set towards providing a better life for their children. Success for this goal

involved actively recruiting wider kinship networks, especially grandmothers and children. For the older women, who had seen this aim come to fruition through the acquisition and application of their personal management skills, the shift of emphasis was on their own personal achievement. Women partners rationalised their working role in the bar as part of their familial responsibility in different ways during their life cycles. Therefore the concepts of enforced or chosen forms of labour are too polarised to explain the ambiguity of their changing perceptions. Also a number of the older male partners acknowledged their wives' contribution and some of the younger males suggested that they needed a wife to be successful.

Evidence from this study has shown how patriarchal relations, which are endemic to wider society, serve to shape aspects of the women's role. Although the acquisition of management skills defies a rigid occupational segregation of labour within the pub the women's role was dual because of their familial role. In short with regards to the sexual division of labour within the family there was no evidence to show that it was transformed by women working in the family business or by becoming women entrepreneurs. Male partners were not equally sharing domestic and child care tasks with their female partners. For the women to operate successfully wider kinship networks were incorporated into the family

responsibility equation. The processes and form of management they applied to their familial role equipped them for the family firm and female entrepreneurial role.

It was their general opinion that there was no fixed divide between the public and the private sphere, an aspect which drew a wide spectrum of evaluation ranging from the benefits of organising child care on site and the disadvantages of having little privacy and no personal space. For some, tied accommodation had drawn the public and the private sphere together and nurtured ripe conditions for the women to immerse themselves subordinately under patriarchal control mechanisms by providing unpaid labour within the family niche. Combined with their familial duties this resulted in an overall lack of free time. Constant on call work within the niche prevented the partners spending leisure time together or as a family which in turn affected the family life they sought to preserve. Hence their lives were structured around maintaining the profitability within the niche in order to contribute to the material security of the family. The respondents' accounts feed into the feminist debates on family labour by showing how women internalise the contradictions that patriarchal mechanisms place upon their lives through a rationale of family responsibilities. An understanding of the self esteem and confidence that some of the women gained stems from recognising the

acquisition and application of the management skills the women applied to all aspects of their lives. Further for those who had witnessed the fruition of their hard labour in the form they anticipated it was a satisfactory experience. However let there be no mistake it was hard labour and the pitfalls let alone the self sacrifice along the way were plentiful. The coping strategies that they adopted which enabled them to work enormously long hours within the bar, were advantageous to their partners, their families and to wider capitalist enterprise.

A greater understanding of why a bar demands such arduous working hours, has been explained from an analysis of the opportunity structures in the US and Britain. Within this chapter it has been shown how women's family labour is a central feature of a working operation which has to remain profitable in order to survive. For the women who ran pubs without male partners their strategies of economic survival were distinctly different to the male/female operations. They did not have the luxury of incorporating their male partners labour. Consequently the bars were subsidised in other ways. However working long hours and the input of family labour is not the only strategy that is necessary to remain profitable within a bar. Because hospitality characterises the nature of a public house it is critical to attract daily custom on a regular basis. In the following chapter it will be shown that in order to remain profitable a

common economic strategy involved capitalising on the image of a 'stage Irish identity'. Moreover it will be shown how this form of 'stage Irish image' is embedded within a cultural stereotype derived from unequal power relations.

Chapter Eight

A Stage Irish Identity - an example of 'Symbolic Power'

'For symbolic power is that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know they are subject to it ' (Bourdieu,1991:164)

When Waldinger et al (1990:21) argue that characteristics include 'a group's reaction to conditions in the host society' they omit how a group's reaction to conditions in the host society is acted out in a context of unequal power relations. This chapter focuses upon a strategy of economic survival which is accessed within a context of unequal power relations. Attention is directed towards explaining how the respondents employ a 'stage Irish' identity as a form of economic survival.

An explanation of why this chapter focuses upon the entrepreneurial strategy of a 'stage Irish' identity and how the meaning Bourdieu (1991) applies to the concept of 'symbolic power' can be deployed as a way of understanding the strategy requires qualification. It is important to explain the nature of a stage Irish identity and how it operates within a bar because portraying an exaggerated imagery of Irish symbolism is frequently accessed as an economic strategy by Irish diaspora bar

entrepreneurs. The strategy has contributed to the stereotypical image of the Irish and bars as a 'natural' phenomenon. By symbolising Irish group identity through the public sphere of a bar, with the entrepreneur as the medium of the stage Irish identity, the niche is presumed a natural habitat of the Irish.

It is important to show the nature of the power relations embodied within what is perceived as a cultural resource of a stage Irish identity. What on the surface is resourced as an economic strategy is a power laden factor contributing towards how the Irish are perceived. The meaning which Dudley-Edwards gives to a stage Irish identity is a useful starting point to understand the nature of what is involved within the strategy;

‘A stage means a set up. A stage is essential to rise above degradation. Identity seems to be an attribute discovered from others: to be Irish is an experience formulated and developed in response to persons who are not Irish and who say you are Irish. They place you on a stage and you can perform’(Dudley-Edwards, 1994: 87).

In a number of articles Dudley Edwards (1994) discusses how the inception of a stage Irish identity was created through the eyes of English Imperialism. Symbolised by an identity from ridicule the Irish have over centuries introduced their own denunciation into the identity. ‘For this

after all, is the success or failure of the stage Irish: self analysis, self exploitation, self laughter'(Dudley- Edwards,1994:110). How this phenomenon persists in a contemporary form will be shown through the example of a stage Irish identity in an Irish diaspora bar. The meaning of a stage Irish identity in this context is a product of self definition that has been derived from a complex history of colonial conquest and an ethnic minority migration experience. Evidence from this study shows how, on the surface, it is used as a deliberate form of economic survival designed to engage the custom of a pub community. On this level, as a form of resource mobilisation, the strategy dovetails with the conceptual framework of the ethnic entrepreneur theorists who imply that 'cultural' resources are necessary for the success of ethnic business. However, the issue of how relations of power characterise the nature of a cultural resource is missing from the ethnic entrepreneur explanations of cultural resources. Also,it is an integral feature of the expression of racism which has impacted upon the Irish diaspora in a form of stereotypical images. The enduring stereotype of the Irish and drink as all pervasive, which has been socially constructed by 'racist' myths has been perpetuated under the guise of a cultural trait. Although detailed attention has been given to this issue in previous chapters I will recap here with examples to show how the stereotype has been rationalised as a cultural trait. For example Bales(1962:173) suggests that 'drinking is inextricably tied up with the expression of aggression in Irish culture'. It is evident that by asserting

the stereotype of the Irish as vicious drinkers Bales bypasses the fact that the effects of drinking are universal. Stivers(1976) adds to the myth by suggesting that Irish immigrants in America were happy to be regarded as 'the happy drunk' because it was an improvement on them being perceived as the violent drunk. He argues; 'It was not only professional social scientists who finally accepted the stage Irish version of the Irishman. In Thomas Beer's words, This dummy figure had become deeply sacred with American's' (Stivers, 1976: 106). Elise de la Fontaine argues that for Irish men 'drinking in clubs, hotels and saloons affords the chief social life of the men and the chief means of getting them out of homes dominated by their women (Fontaine cited in Bales,1962:171). By attempting to present the rationale of Irish culture as a women dominated male drinking culture, Fontaine presents a gendered 'racist' myth. Furthermore according to Ryan (1990:54) most English people have a stage perception of the Irish migrant regardless of their class position.

The nature of a stage Irish identity corresponds to Castles and Miller's (1993) meaning of self definition as being that of a shared cultural belonging. However, I would question their argument ,i.e., that when ethnicity refers to a process of different group cultural practises it rarely has political significance. In the case of the Irish diaspora the self definition of a stage Irish identity in a bar embodies practises which have been shaped by historically specific political factors.

A dominant strategy for economic survival within an Irish diaspora bar in the US and Britain frequently takes the form of a stage Irish identity. The identity can be invoked in different forms. For example various symbols which have been characterised as Irish are acclaimed and projected as these cultural property of Irish people. This includes symbolising Irish group identity within the boundaries of the socially constructed stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous. Stivers(1976,180) notes that in America drink became a 'spiritual value symbolising group identity', the implication being the more one acclaims drink the more Irish one becomes. Although Stivers suggests that; 'in America there was greater insulation from the English stereotype of the Irish man as drunkard'(1976:180) the myth remains steadfast that in either contexts drinking is perceived as an Irish cultural trait. If this myth is deployed as a form of cultural capital it is inevitably characterised by a power relationships which is derived from the structural inequalities which preceded its inception. The conceptual tool kit which Bourdieu provides enables an explanation of this form of strategy. According to Wacquant, Bourdieu presents an alternative explanation from theories which show the experience of groups dominated through a lense of resistance or submission, 'which, in his eyes, prevents us from adequately understanding practises and situations that are often defined by their intrinsically double skewed nature' (1992:23). Bourdieu directs us towards understanding the paradox of an 'unresolvable contradiction'

within the logic of symbolic domination. This paradox is evident in the forms of symbolic domination which have characterised the Irish diaspora experience.

In essence the nature of these power relationships may be similar to those operating in different cultural groups. If empowerment is accessed from a knowledge gained within the power structured relationships of their own lived experience, then different cultural groups have far more in common in the ways in which they access perceived cultural differences than that which is implied by their cultural difference. For example a hallmark of any bar niche is the uncertainty of daily custom and therefore the necessity to devise individual strategies to encourage trade. However the actions and imagery which the entrepreneur or entrepreneurial family use to encourage trade stem from a knowledge base which has been informed by various power relationships. In practise what may appear as cultural influence can be an oversimplification of a power relationship in operation. A more complex definition of culture needs to be used which shows that the ways in which people from different cultures access different strategies have far more in common than difference. To develop this argument I intend to show how the meanings which Bourdieu (1991) applies to his key concepts of 'symbolic power' and 'symbolic domination' are useful conceptual tools for explaining what appears to be a cultural strategy of Irish bar entrepreneurship. The focus is then directed to

explaining, through the respondents empirical accounts, how a 'stage Irish identity' is mobilised within a power structured mechanism. The entrepreneur is empowered by the social construction of symbolic imagery of an Irish community. The image presented also shields the power exploitative mechanisms which operate within the niche. In Chicago this is exemplary in the use of Irish undocumented labour. Within this chapter it will be shown how undocumented Irish people, who are attracted to the 'imagery' of the Irish pub community, also provide an alternative source of cheap labour to family labour. How the imagery induces customers to believe themselves a part of an 'imagined community' is a feature of both locations. Moreover how the entrepreneurs, who socially construct the imagery are subject to the imagery they objectify is exposed. This is evident from the contradictory ways in which the entrepreneurs perceive their lived experience and their position within the power relationships which have characterised their own reality.

Power

Extant cultural theories of ethnic entrepreneurship (Light, 1972, 1984; Werbner, 1984) were less concerned to invoke the question of power. Although Waldinger (1987) criticised cultural theories of ethnic entrepreneurship in some respects there was still a tendency within the critique to retain a similar concept. For example by suggesting 'some groups do indeed seem inclined towards entrepreneurship thanks to the

influence of a particular belief system' (Waldinger, 1987;251) a cultural hierarchy remains central to his analysis. However the concept of culture which Bourdieu employs serves to interface with structural inequalities. Thus in order to highlight the structural inequalities, which have been shown to characterise the Irish diaspora experience, the distinctive concepts which Bourdieu (1991) has employed as 'symbolic power' are used below.

Bourdieu (1991) developed his approach of 'symbolic power' through a number of key concepts. The distinctive meanings which Bourdieu applied to the concepts of 'habitus' and 'field' are explored here. 'Habitus' refers to a set of learnt dispositions which shape the way individuals act and react in different ways. However rather than departing from the concept whereby habitus refers to a pattern of an early learnt socialisation process of beliefs, Bourdieu recognises that learnt dispositions are in effect structured. Accordingly structural dispositions always reflect the social and economic conditions in which they are acquired. The concept highlights the importance of integrating structure into an analysis to explain how dispositions are acquired. One could take issue with Bourdieu (1991:13) with the suggestion that structured dispositions are homogeneous across individuals from similar backgrounds because the argument is in effect gender and 'race' blind. However the concept does recognise the importance of integrating structure into an

analysis to explain how dispositions are acquired. This point is central towards understanding where Bourdieu diverges from cultural theories of ethnic entrepreneurship. Theorists who have explained ethnic entrepreneurship by cultural factors have ignored how the dispositions of people who occupy particular business niches are shaped by structural factors.

According to Bourdieu the 'habitus' also equips individuals with a sense of how to act, react and deal with the course of their daily lives. In other words they are equipped to make sense of the situations in which they are in. Bourdieu suggests this 'feel for the game' is less a state of the mind than of the body. In this sense; 'Bodily hexis is political mythology realised, em-bodied, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking' (Bourdieu, 1991:13).

Furthermore, according to Bourdieu the action of individuals takes place in a particular social content, a 'field'. However, practises which operate within the field are not a product of the 'habitus' itself but an outcome of the relationship between the structured dispositions induced from the habitus and the structured space of positions within the field. 'A field of market may be seen as a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelationship are determined by the distributors of

different kinds of resources and capital' (Bourdieu, 1991:13). Capital in this sense means not only economic capital but also symbolic capital. The 'field' signifies the arena of struggles where individuals participate with different aims and differing success rates depending on where they are situated within the structured space of positions.

In the case of Irish diaspora bar entrepreneurs many pursue a 'stage Irishness' as a taken for granted conscious economic strategy. They also unconsciously collude within a system which also works against them; 'since individuals are the products of particular histories which endure in the habitus, their outcome can never be analysed adequately as the outcome of conscious calculation' (Bourdieu, 1991:17). The meaning Bourdieu gives to the term 'symbolic power' is a form of power relationship that is exercised without the complicity of those who are subject to it. In contrast to power that is exercised by coercion the nature of 'symbolic power' is a form of classifications 'whether acted out or represented, and in particular the individual and collective strategies by which agents seek to put these classification at the service of their material or symbolic interests' (Bourdieu, 1991:227). The concept of a stage Irish identity enacted as a form of symbolic power for material gains fits the above criteria. By portraying a 'stage Irish identity' by various material and bodily forms of symbolism within the social situation of a

public house, the derogatory stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous is colluded with, by the very people it targets. An image is perpetuated which feeds into the dominant ideological stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous. A mechanism of empowerment at one level is subordinate to the dominant power structures at another. It matters not if the 'stage Irish identity' is enacted by a person who is non Irish origin. What matters is that the presentation and enactment within the 'stage Irish identity' is perceived, by others to be the representation of what is symbolically portrayed;

‘Or in other words, the objective relations of material and symbolic power, and the practical schemes through which agents classify other agents and evaluate their position in the objective relations as well as the symbolic strategies of presentation and self representation with which they oppose the classifications and representations of themselves which they impose on others’ (Bourdieu, 1991:27).

Comparative evidence from this research shows how this power laden form of social interaction is enacted under different structural constraints within Irish diaspora bars in both Birmingham and Chicago. However the phenomenon of acting out ascribed traits of Irish ethnicity in order to capitalise on a dominant stereotype is not a new characteristic of Irish diaspora bars.

A Stage Irish Identity in a Public House

‘In me day I niver knew a gr-reat statesman that dhrank, or if he did he niver landed anny job betther thin clerk in th' weather office. But as Hogan says Shakespeare says, they pretended a vice if they had it not’ (Dunne, 1910:114).

In Dudley-Edwards(1994) opinion the success of a stage ‘Irish’ identity is the dialogue and mimicry. This is evident in the literary and historical works which have characterised the Irish in bars. The words above of a fictitious Irish saloon keeper 'Mr Dooley' epitomise the objective position of the Irish bar owner in Chicago. The author Peter Finley Dunne visualised Mr Dooley as the archetypical Irish bar owner, who, with the willing accomplice 'Mr Hennesy' satirically analysed the Irish diaspora experience through the brogue. The contribution Dunne makes to an understanding of an Irish stage identity is that he shows how the passions of Irish ethnicity, which were socially constructed, were kept alive within the Irish Americans eyes. Mr Dooley understood the techniques required for acclaiming Irish ethnicity were those which gained patronage in the public house. With a cast of neighbourhood customers the symbolism of the Irish and drink is caricatured in a manner which colludes with the establishment norms as to what is perceived as 'naturally' Irish. Satirical

encounters are used to magnify the prevailing stereotypes of the Irish as well those of other minority groups. Dooley the establishment voice of Irish brogue envisages himself and all of America as inundated by 'Four hundherd millyons of Chinese'. In the conclusion of the essay 'Alcohol as food' Hennesy poses the question, 'Dy'e think yersilf it sustains life? To which Mr Dooley replies, 'It has sustained mine f'r many' (Eckley, 1981:69). The Irish symbolism afforded to St Patrick's day is used to expose the irreconcilable contradictions which characterise the Irish presence in the US;

'Patrick's Day?' said Mr Dooley. Patrick's Day? It seems to me I've heard th' name befure. Oh, ye mane th' day th' low Irish that has'nt anny votes cillybrates th' birth in their naytional saint, who was a Fr-rinchman. Well I didn't intind to get excited over this Patrick's day, but somehow or other ivry time it comes ar-round I feel like goin' up on th' roof an 'singing'O'Donnell Aboo' so all may hear I dont know why.'

'Maybe,'said Hennesy, tis because ye're Irish.'

'I hadn't thought iv that,' said Mr Dooley. 'P'rhaps ye're right.its something I niver have been able to get over. Be this yome it's become an incur' ble habit. Annyhow 'tis a good thing to be an Irishman because people think that all an Irishman does is to laugh without a reasom an' fight without an objick. But ye an'I Hinissy,know these things ar-re on'y

our diversions. It's a good thing to have people size ye up wrong, whin they'v got ye'er measure ye'er in danger'(Dunne, 1910: 130).

Historical research on the Irish diaspora has frequently recognised the characteristic of symbolising a deliberate identity image. Samuels (1989:113) wrote of 'The Harp of Erin' in Bradford as a symbol of cultural sociability. O'Farrell(1989) argues that the Irish in Australia deliberately fostered their own sense of ethnic identity through the image of bar drinker despite the fact that 'lay leaders worldwide saw this as a major problem and conceded it to be one of the very few such concessions, a national weakness' (O'Farrell,1993:165). The author also points out that the moral panic was spurious, given that Irish drinking was less excessive compared to other national groups. Attention was drawn to showing how 'the stage Irish element' symbolising Irish drinking was a medium for conveying satirical messages which challenged authority from within. As Archbishop Kelly of Sydney suggested at a St Patrick's Day Assemblage in 1912; 'Many of you would be prepared to lay down your lives for Ireland, but as a missionary I have always said: Give me the man who will lay down his glass for Ireland (Applause) And give me the man who will fill it up for me again' (O'Farrell, 1993: 165). Accordingly the Irish pub image connected the vested interests of Irish catholic's fight for nationalism with drinking. By suggesting a bond between alcohol and Irish catholic politics, Fielding(1993), inadvertently exposed the

contradiction of presenting an image which is both empowering and subordinating to powerful structures. The common thread between the literary and historical studies outlined above is that the nature of a stage Irish identity presents an imagery which was both empowering and derogatory. On the one hand it was empowering because it was perceived by powerful groups in different ways as fearfully problematic. On the other hand it was a social construction derived from a structured position of subordination.

It would be a gross exaggeration to imply that perceptions of the Irish diaspora during the latter half of the twentieth century are fearfully problematic. However there are many similarities regarding the way in which Irish diaspora members symbolise their Irish culture. Within this deliberate form of imagery which is evident in Irish diaspora bars in Britain and the US there are also unequal relations of power. Seemingly the nature of the power mechanisms which Bourdieu theorises as symbolic power, which operate through the bodily hexis are evident in this context. Patterns from this study reveal how 'symbolic power' is at play within a stage Irish identity. How the deliberate action of a stage Irish identity, can provoke a desired reaction or a structural objective, which is characterised by power relations, is discussed below in relation to the respondents experience.

The Wider Implications of Resourcing a Cultural Identity in the 'Imagined' Pub Community

Observations drawn from this study show that by way of the social construction of a 'stage Irish' identity it is possible to create an image of a mutually cooperating Irish pub community. Foster(1990) observes that a pub can exercise a role in presenting an all embracing image of an inclusive community. Her observations mirrored those of Cavan (1966) who suggests that; 'some public drinking places derive their special character from the fact that they are used as though they were the private retreat for some special' (Cavan, 1966: 205 cited in Foster,1990:21). An issue which Foster also raises, which requires attention here is how 'the notions of community are often idealised and unrealistic' (Foster,1990:12). I would also suggest that the meaning of an imagined pub community is a microcosm of the anthropological meaning that Anderson (1993:7) applies to the definition of nation. 'It is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship'. Furthermore the artefacts which symbolize an 'Irish Stage Identity' are those which are accessed as the 'cultural products of nationalism-poetry, prose fiction, music, plastic arts-show, this love very clearly in thousands of different forms and styles' (Anderson,1993:41). The binding factor between the association of their nation and the solidarity of the ethnic pub community is the sense of

'cultural identity'. Although ethnic entrepreneur theorists have latched on to 'cultural identity' as a form of group resource mobilisation they are less concerned with how a 'cultural identity' is produced. However according to Hall (1990:224) it involves not the rediscovery but the production of identity in the retelling of the past. From this perspective it is clear that cultural identity is positioned; 'Each has negotiated its economic, political and cultural dependency differently. And this difference whether we like it or not is already inscribed in our cultural identities' (Hall, 1990:227). It is through the production of a stage Irish identity and the celebrations of community that symbolic power is exercised.

Contemporary Stage Irishness

In Chicago it is apparent that the material symbolism of attracting custom by acclaiming a pub as Irish is a ploy to attract custom. Regardless of the ethnicity of the owner, presenting a pub as Irish is a business strategy that capitalises on the dominant ideological perception of the Irish in pubs as 'natural'. At least seventy establishments which presented themselves as Irish pubs were contacted by phone during the field work of this study. The people who answered the phone informed me they were American owned. Hence it was apparent that the Chicago Irish Heritage Centre who had supplied the list of Irish run-taverns were also under the illusion that Irish symbolism determined their authenticity. To obtain a sample of Irish

run bars I was dependent upon Irish bar proprietors who told me of others. Thus the nature of my sampling frame indicates that there is an informal form of networking between them. Moreover the authenticity of their status, apparent through the 'bodily hexis' of an Irish accent, was a bona fida pull for attracting the Irish 'community';

'You see we have here this flag with the four provinces and we show the American flag that covers everybody'. (respondent Chicago)

This did not deflect from the fact that Irish bar entrepreneurs were able to market themselves and capitalise on their own presence in a manner which portrayed them as symbolic of the 'old country';

'they like to come in here and listen to the brogue'.(respondent Chicago)

The strategy was double edged. The respondents offered an authentic identity for the Irish born community as well as capitalising on an image developed specifically for capital accumulation. Their visibility as Irish was exercised through the brogue. Whether or not migration had been as a child or as an adult the brogue was resourced in a deliberate and exaggerated form. In a sense the 'bodily hexis' which Bourdieu refers to was evident in their source of dialogue. Within the confines of a bar, the strategy empowers a particular form of social interaction even though the

desired effect of creating an Irish imagery was as much illusional as reality;

‘My cooks from Germany he makes the best soda bread you'd ever taste’.
(respondent Chicago)

Seemingly who made the soda bread did not matter as long as the customers believed it to be authentic Irish. Presenting the mine host drinking image was as much a fabrication;

‘Put it like this, we could be here all our life but we'll always be outsiders. The people come in here and they say they're of Irish descent and they want to drink with us, as the Irish drink, but they are Americans. Then they go and call us the turkeys but whose the turkey they'r the ones drunk’.(respondent Chicago)

An awareness of how the Irish were perceived as culturally adept at organising the drinking ritual of a wake was on one occasion somewhat macabre;

‘We hate to see people getting married they don't stay here all day. Now last year they were dying like flies and they came to us every weekend to run the wake’. (respondent Chicago)

Even the authentic appeal to the Irish community contained a hidden agenda in the sense of the undercurrent beneath the image that was projected as a measure ethnic solidarity;

‘I do well because the business is near apartments where the Irish on the south side live. People who have to live in apartments are unhappy people and the unhappier they are the more they want to come out and meet people in the pub’. (respondent Chicago)

Rex and Moore (1967) show in their study of Sparkbrook, Birmingham, how the pub provided the evening home shelter for the Irish living in rooms; ‘there were large numbers of Irish Catholics who simply attended mass, but lived morally in the world of pubs’(1967,132). Nearly thirty years on pubs in Birmingham and Chicago continue to furnish the needs of the Irish without bridging the gap between their role and the church. This was evident from the surprise that was afforded in both locations to the idea of a close attachment to the Catholic Church by way of functions or charity collections;

‘I do a lot of charities for the children’s hospital and if someone’s on a downer we have a collection but I’m not a church person. I did get a temporary license for the ----- down the road and they invited me to the

dinner dance. I had a polo neck on and they were talking to me as if I was the priest and all the folk kept saying to me that's a lovely club you have there Father. They'll have me hung when they find out who I was.'

(respondent Birmingham)

The overriding pattern in both locations showed that irrespective of the abundance of charity pub collections, there was very little direct involvement with the Catholic Church. On the odd occasion where there was some association it was through the women partners. An explanation of why the two most symbolically recognised meeting places of the Irish diaspora are distinctly separate can possibly be explained by reference to previous studies. Ryan (1990, 57) makes the point that; 'above all else, the Irish pubs were the labour exchanges for the building sites'. However although the Irish diaspora pub offers access to an informal network it also symbolised the stereotypical images of the Irish and drinking an image which the Catholic church is distanced from. Rex and Moore (1967:151) propose that the pub stood in front of the ideal of the priest since the priest at the Irish centre; 'felt little could be done for some of the Sparkbrook Irish who wasted all their money on drink '. It could be suggested that whereas the organisational machinery of the Catholic Church operated with this ideal, which amounts to an exclusionary practise, the Irish pub, although a dominant symbol of the same ethnic group, was instrumentally open to all. The meaning which Parkin applies

to social closure is pertinent here to understand how the Catholic Church was a facilitator for sending Irish migrants who could not reach the ideals of the church towards Irish diaspora public houses. Social closure is defined by Parkin 'as the process by which social collectivities seek to maximize rewards by restricting access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles' (Parkin cited in Scott, 1990:135). In contrast the symbolic all embracing non exclusionary image of unconditionally welcoming all Irish diaspora members paid dividends to the pub entrepreneur.

According to Ryan (1990) throughout the twentieth century there was little organised assistance in helping the Irish migrant settle because of the Irish Government's reluctance to acknowledge that they themselves encouraged migration. In Britain the only form of support is offered by the Catholic Church who established Irish Centres in London, Liverpool and Birmingham during the 1950's. However despite the grass roots services they offer they are recognised as associated with the Catholic Church. As such for the Irish migrants, who, for whatever reason do not wish to pursue the church association, the Irish diaspora pub provides the alternative form of a meeting house. The Irish diaspora pub has, for over two centuries, provided an informal establishment for finding work and accommodation. Few would deny that finding a job and a roof is a prerequisite of newly arrived migrants. However, meeting the needs in a

manner which appears as a form of ethnic solidarity obscures the lucrative gain that is made out of the needy. For example the accommodation needs of the Irish new arrivals, who were recruited in Ireland as bar staff for a large non Irish owned pub, were also a source of bread and butter income for the Irish bar entrepreneurs with more than one iron in the fire;

‘We have thirty eight apartments and they’re all let to young Irish. I have all those that work at -----because -----sends them to me. ‘(respondent Chicago)

The Irish person referred to above made a lucrative living from recruiting staff in Ireland for a chain of American owned 'Irish' pubs.

Far from the image of the homogeneous ethnic group, the power relations which were shown to operate within them were potentially exploitative. Albeit, the nature of this exploitation was similar in both locations, the terms on which it operated were contextually specific. Undocumented Irish in Chicago gravitate towards the Irish bars in order to find work. At face value employing undocumented workers or finding work for them was explained as a community service;

‘Being known as an Irish pub people from all parts of Ireland know about it and they can come and ask for somewhere to live and work, it’s a kind of community centre really’(respondent Chicago).

In reality the Irish undocumented were inevitably positioned within a subordinate relationship with the Irish 'mentor' bar proprietor or any other informal economy employer. Irish undocumented women who did not obtain work within the bars were mainly recruited as 'nannies'. The term signifies the late twentieth century label applied to what was previously termed domestics. Work on the informal economy for Irish undocumented men was generally a daily recruitment on the building sites. For new Irish arrivals without documentation in Chicago little has changed in the character of the jobs on offer to them for over a century. In the main, the avenue for finding work that was available on the informal economy was through the Irish pub. It might be presumed that these traditional forms of employment stemmed solely from a lack of documented status if similar practises were not in operation in Britain. Moreover, in both contexts, it was the identity of the Irish community image that was deliberately symbolised by the bar entrepreneur. In this sense it did not matter that the Irish community had to be an ‘observable reality’ (Hickman, 1993). Rather the cornerstone of the Irish pub community was the production of what Gilroy (1987) has termed a sense of belonging. This instrumental strategy, which was operating in both

contexts, was also a facilitator for a form of ethnic solidarity which embodied a form of class exploitation. Class exploitation could then easily thrive under the guise of ethnic solidarity

‘What happens is there is a good number of building contractors drinks in the pub and the lads comes in and they gives them work.’ (respondent Birmingham)

‘When you live over here it’s different, I never mixed with country people at home so when you come over here it’s different, I mean were all together. Here the Dubs don't mind mixing with the country people and giving them work’. (respondent Birmingham)

Giving them work 'on the lump' meant the acknowledged benefactor was the main beneficiary. Though this pattern was evident in both locations the mechanisms of symbolic power operated in a less obvious form within Britain compared to the US. As chapter six showed the political situation in the excolonising country has served to deter the majority of Irish bar proprietors from acclaiming their ethnicity on the outside of pubs.

However a general lack of symbolic Irish visibility did not present a problem in obtaining a sample of Irish run public houses in Birmingham.

I am indebted to the Irish Centre manager, who kindly provided a list of Irish run pubs. As a network connector between Irish Associations he had

a tighter finger on the pulse than the Irish Heritage Centre in Chicago. All the pubs were Irish run. Seemingly one observation from these meetings in different locations, which were necessary to obtain a sample of respondents, was the more caring attitude towards the Irish community in Birmingham. At this level the sense of their welfare was a high priority in the Irish Centre in Birmingham which was not evident in the Chicago Irish Heritage Centre.

Similar to Chicago, the aim in Birmingham of gaining recognition as an Irish pub in order to attract the Irish community depended heavily on the physical presence of the entrepreneur and their Irish staff. Thus in both contexts it was generally perceived that the nature of their presence as Irish was a benchmark for success. Although on occasions this attribute was tinged by a sense of criticism;

‘I think it’s in the Irish personality. We’re very good speakers even though a good few can’t read or write’.(respondent Birmingham)

‘I think the Irish in Britain are the real Irish. When you come over here you have to do things you've never done before. Your’e so far away you stick together by being Irish.’ (respondent Birmingham)

This 'sticking together' was furthered in the pub through the recruitment of Irish staff, who, by speaking the brogue served to develop the image of a stage Irish identity;

‘We have nearly all Irish staff because it’s known as an Irish pub. It's like word of mouth we never advertise’(respondent Birmingham)

Word of mouth advertising, the primary way of recruiting Irish staff, in both locations was something of a contradiction in terms. The demand for Irish staff who spoke the brogue was central to the strategy of presenting an image of ethnic solidarity. However the nature of the recruitment drive and the fact that the staff were predominantly Irish did not eliminate any suspicion of their dishonesty behind the bar;

‘You've got to pay low wages or you'd go bankrupt so you've got to be here all the time to stop them fiddlin’(respondent Birmingham)

The potential of being 'fiddled' was perceived as a primary problem by the entrepreneurs. It came as something of a surprise to learn that despite this concern only one of the niches bothered to take up staff references that were separate from the word of mouth recommendation. Furthermore the recognition that attractive Irish women were a decorative attribute to the pub had not gone amiss;

‘It's good pin money for the pretty ones they bring in the trade and make the tips’(respondent Birmingham)

In sum the Irish bar entrepreneur in both locations was embedded in a whole set of power relationships. The symbolism that was operating in a form of stage Irish identity was a form of economic strategy designed for capital accumulation. However it served amongst other purposes to present the image of ethnic solidarity. True enough the forms of support networks that were on offer in the Irish pubs did enable the chain migration that has persisted throughout the last two centuries.

Considering that a number of the respondents had arrived as undocumented and experienced the dire necessity to find work and a roof their present positioning was now an empowering part of that which they had experienced. Likewise those who had migrated to Britain were also situated in a similar position. This need was understood as they were now in the position of the benefactor. However whether or not the entrepreneurs recognised how their purported philanthropy embodied a form of class and gender exploitation or whether or not this was merely perceived as an inevitable aspect of economic survival is another issue. Bonacich (1987) 'Making it in America' provides the exception to the norm in the American strand of ethnic entrepreneurship studies by demonstrating how the inequalities of the capitalist system are intrinsic to

ethnic entrepreneurship. Evidence from this study substantiates her assertion.

It was ultimately the response to two questions during the interviews that revealed some of the contradictions that are harboured in this form of lifestyle. Possibly the most poignant point of exposure concerning the nature of Irish bar entrepreneurship and its relationship to a stage Irish identity was evident in the contradictory response between them. In reply to the question 'What does it mean to you to be self employed'? the answer was fairly standardised in that the patterns showed a distinct acclaim. Self employment was the preferred choice to being employed by someone else.

'Well I wouldn't work for somebody else, I know that this is the life for me.' (male respondent Birmingham)

It was also seen as the only route for success,

'I've been self employed since I was seventeen and a half. It means everything to me. It's the only way I'll ever work.' (respondent Birmingham)

The American dream was also tied into perceptions of being self employed in Chicago;

'I think being self employed in America is the greatest thing you can achieve because there's nothing you can't achieve here.'(respondent Chicago)

The fact that bars were perceived as a natural Irish enclave in Chicago also reared its head;

'It's very important to me. Somebody once said to me why are there so many Irish owned saloons and I said well I never asked you why there are so many Jewish lawyers on South Street and he shut up. Well maybe it's part of that heritage why we're self employed in saloons. I don't know but I know we're capable at this'.(respondent Chicago)

Regardless that it embodied a form of self exploitation in the number of hours that were required and the daily uncertainty of trade the preference for being self employed was the overriding preference of the respondents. However the contradiction embodied within their lifestyle reared itself in answer to the question, 'Would you recommend the life to anyone else'? At this point the real pitfalls of the job were exposed. The bravado of the

'stage Irish Identity' slipped away as the predominant pattern revealed that the job would not be recommended;

'No, an extraordinary high percentage of marriages break up'. (respondent Birmingham)

'Truthfully a pub takes over your life I wouldn't recommend it to a family'. (respondent Birmingham)

'Well that's difficult to say because I think you should try it first. I mean I don't know any happy couple it's just so much pressure at times the relationships tend to break up'. (respondent Birmingham)

'Pub life, no. It's virtually an impossible life for a family, it's very hard on relationships, damned impossible I'd say'. (respondent Chicago)

'I would have done years ago, but really if you done the same amount of hours in any other job you'd get a lot more money for it.' (respondent Chicago)

'No No definately not, the competition is fearsome and this cost me my marriage I'd have preferred to have stayed married.' (respondent Chicago)

The exceptions to this pattern were mainly from the women respondents who were in the entrepreneur role. Only one of the male respondents suggested he would recommend the life without qualification. Even though he had contradicted himself by saying that it was the freedom of self employment that was the main advantage and yet he had no freedom because of the hours the niche demanded.

The success stories, which were outwardly presented through the stage Irish imagery, were contradicted by a recognition of the cost at which success was maintained. Hence a mask was lifted. For the large majority who were upfront to the issue that they would not recommend the life to anyone else their opinion was informed by their own experience. What then is the use of the concept of symbolic power for explaining this contradiction? It seems to me that the experience which is wrapped within the stage identity in a bar is not only evidence of the structural positioning in which the Irish diaspora are placed but also an account of the way in which their lived experience is acted out from the inside. The strategies they adopt in order to make the bar economically successful are perceived as a cultural resource. Yet they are drawn from a power relationship which has been structured through greater or lesser degrees of disdain. The Irish diaspora bar is perceived as the 'natural' habitat of the Irish in Britain and the US because;

‘Society does not consist of individuals; it expresses the sum of connections and relationships in which individuals find themselves’(Karl Marx, Die Grundrisse cited in Wacquant 1992;23).

Chapter Nine

Conclusions

This study began with three primary aims. Firstly, to establish the Irish diaspora presence in the burgeoning literature on ethnic entrepreneurship. The economic niche of Irish bar entrepreneurship was chosen as the focus for this purpose. Secondly, this research sought to explain how a form of racism impacts upon the Irish diaspora; that bar ownership is perceived as a ‘natural’ form of economic activity because of the stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous. Thirdly, the investigation aimed to show how opportunities for upward mobility within the niche were greater for the Irish in the US compared to Britain. Research into the economic activity of Irish diaspora bar entrepreneurship revealed how an understanding of that experience also required an explanation of the Irish migration tradition. Hence this comparative account of the Irish diaspora in bar entrepreneurship within Britain and the US argues how the experience is couched in terms of the historical and contemporary nature of the Irish migration process. As such the enquiry endeavoured to reveal the importance of linking together the relatively discrete discourses of ethnic entrepreneurship and migration.

Whilst the findings have substantiated the first two hypothesis there has been no evidence to show that in the context of the early 1990’s the

niche affords a greater opportunity for upward mobility in Chicago compared to Birmingham. In addition to these original propositions, the research process itself generated further hypotheses which were identified from 'valid indicators of variables contained in the hypothesis' (Burgess, 1982: 235). Thus further propositions are outlined below in relation to the conclusions of the original enquiry.

Attention within the study was directed towards explaining why the Irish have been missed from the studies of ethnic entrepreneurship. By a literature review it was shown that the focus of the enquiry has rested upon groups who were over-represented in small group business enterprise with employees. On the basis that this narrowly defined focus has served to exclude the experience of minority groups such as the Irish, it was argued that ethnic entrepreneurship studies should accommodate the experience of all minority groups in all forms of small business enterprise in order to understand the commonality of strategies that characterise their experience. I have argued the problematic nature of extant enquiry which has focused on an elite stratum of entrepreneurs and which has been less interested with the experience of the majority of minority peoples in self-employment. In my view ethnic entrepreneurship studies should include minority groups in self-employment enterprise with or without employees. Seemingly the whole concept of ethnic entrepreneurship is potentially problematic because the label directs attention towards a subjectively defined phenomenon which

by implication directs a focus on an elite stratum. It was suggested that by narrowly focusing on the success of minority groups in business the trajectory is similar to the 'ethnic relations school' which is keen to move away from studies which have portrayed minority groups as victims of 'racism'. Attention was drawn to the fact that the Irish are generally eclipsed within all sociological schools of thought which examine ethnic minority group settlement.

To show how the 'ethnic entrepreneur' investigation stems from a subjective evaluation of quantitative evidence a number of statistical sources were critically analysed. This facet of the research indicated that the meanings afforded to self-employment are culturally specific and flawed in the sense of understanding the full extent of those involved in different forms of self-employment. Empirical evidence served to substantiate the argument that nation specific classified meanings applied to the phenomena are problematic for cross-cultural comparative studies. Moreover, the quantitative evidence shows the growing trend of all forms of self-employment as a phenomena across the industrialised nations. Hence it is my contention that in the context of the 1990's self-employment is not necessarily, as has been previously argued by a number of theorists, a form of economic activity that it is more important to minority peoples compared to populations at large. As such the suggestion can be made that future research into self-

employment during the 1990's needs to explain the dominant trends of small scale self-employment in the industrialised nations.

The Investigation into the Theories of Ethnic Entrepreneurship

An analysis and critique of extant theories of ethnic entrepreneurship was a starting point. This was not a purely theoretical engagement but linked to an analysis of interview data. By analysing the models in a chronological order it was initially shown how there is a tendency to explain ethnic entrepreneurship in terms of cultural or structural explanations. Thus broadly speaking the early models which attempt to explain ethnic entrepreneurship are characterised by two contrasting standpoints which for different reasons are unable to include the Irish experience within the framework. Firstly, the nature of cultural explanations are shown to be an inadequate conceptual tool for understanding the Irish experience because they embody a 'racist' standpoint. Daniels (1972) critiques the 'racist' implication that the cultural values of groups who are less represented in ethnic entrepreneurship are inferior to groups who are over-represented. Furthermore by focusing on individual group's values as the primary motivation factor for ethnic entrepreneurship the 'racist' structures which propel minority groups into all forms of self-employment are ignored. Secondly, a form of structural explanations loosely termed 'middleman minority' theories raise important issues for understanding

the Irish experience. However the analysis tends to be ahistorical. Moreover a useful model for understanding the Irish experience is found in the 'interactive model' developed by Waldinger et al (1990). This contemporary model enables an account of the historical and contemporary circumstances of migration as well as the experience of settlement prior to and as well as during entrepreneurship. According to the model 'group characteristics include pre-emigration circumstances, a groups' reaction to conditions in the host society, and resource mobilisation through various features of the ethnic community' (Waldinger et al,1990). Within the 'interactive' model a number of opportunity structures are cited for analysis which include 'the role played by historically contingent circumstances' (Waldinger et al, 1990: 21) as well as the contemporary market conditions. Thus the 'interactive' model is a useful conceptual tool with which to introduce the social phenomenon which shapes the respondents' experience. In the study I have suggested that there is a general tendency for theoretical accounts of ethnic entrepreneurship to move from structural explanations into cultural explanations in order to explain minority groups' actions. In my view how people react in response to structural constraints is not necessarily a cultural characteristic. An alternative explanation of minority groups' action can be shown to be a pragmatic human reaction to the given circumstance. Comparing how structural factors in the receiving societies impact upon their experience of bar entrepreneurship is an important feature of the research. Also

explaining the interaction of the respondents with their social settings is of equal importance. Considerable attention is paid to the patterns of similarity and difference which characterise the respondents experience in both cross cultural locations. Hence by way of their own accounts an understanding was gained of how they perceive their lived experience and act upon it. The research shows how the respondents' accessed similar forms of strategies in order to survive. However, it is argued that to understand how people respond to different circumstances and conditions the structural circumstances in which people find themselves require attention prior to explaining their reactive response. As such an understanding of the respondents' decision to migrate is gained simultaneously from an account of the structural circumstances in Ireland as well as the respondents' accounts of how class and gender inequalities within Ireland impacted upon their decision to migrate. By the very nature of their migration tradition being predominantly single people, with fewer families migrating, the Irish have been singled out as a group unlikely to be 'entrepreneurs' by ethnic entrepreneur theorists.

The Circumstances of the Respondents Migration Experience

This chapter sought to show the characteristics of Irish migration and highlight the respondents circumstances. The point was laboured that ethnic entrepreneur theorists had not acknowledged that the majority of Irish people who have migrated during the twentieth century are women.

Therefore considering that it is a bedrock argument of the entrepreneur theories that women supply family labour and are not generally entrepreneurs it is likely that the Irish are going to be under-represented within the entrepreneurship ranking league. It was shown how during the twentieth century class and gender inequalities within Ireland are influencing characteristics in defining the cohorts who migrate. Theories which explain twentieth century migration were debated. Moreover the respondents' accounts fed into a common feature of the debates by showing how economic factors were the primary cause of their decision to leave home. It was established that for over two centuries Ireland's primary role in the global division of labour has been a supplier of surplus labour to the British and United States Economy. Because scant attention has been paid to the twentieth century experience of Irish migration the argument here is for the mainstream body of sociological research on migration to compare the experience of twentieth century Irish migration with that of other minority groups in order to add to the body of knowledge which show the similarities and differences which characterise minority groups' migration experience. By the respondents' accounts it was apparent that the jobs that they entered in the UK were similar to the jobs which were on offer within the US. It was shown how the quota system and subsequent Immigration Law deterred the Irish from entering the US. Thus the popular stereotype of the US as the land of opportunity was shown to be somewhat wanting. However for those who had initially survived

economically on the informal economy, their presence as undocumented Irish within the US has paved the way towards structural changes in the immigration laws. Currently legislation is empowered to enable 47,000 Irish resident 'alien' status. Furthermore the Irish have achieved economic and political success within the US during the twentieth century.

The Historical Legacy of the Problem

This chapter explained how the stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous became embedded in dominant culture within Britain and the US. Thus attention was turned to a historical analysis. As Duis (1983) suggests the Irish were believed to be a 'religion of saloon keepers'.

Accounting for why the derogatory stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous was constructed during the penal period of colonialism and how it was a feature of England's economic exploitation of Ireland contributes an understanding to a central aim of this research. It was important to establish how they were perceived as harbingers of drink prior to their arrival within the US and Britain. The argument pre-empted an explanation of why the economic niche of bars is seen as a 'natural' form of economic survival for the Irish in Britain and the US during the twentieth century. Images of the Irish were similar in both societies.

Evidence showed how the Irish were perceived as a 'visible' problem in the nineteenth century within Britain and the US. The Irish were believed to be a threat in terms of their 'race', religion and as a source of cheap labour. The jobs on offer to them were mainly those which were rejected by the remaining population. Consequently they were labelled as both hard workers and a problem because of the nature of the jobs they occupied. It was argued that the jobs which were on offer to the Irish were connected to public houses in terms of both recruitment and payment. Within both contexts the Irish saloon became a focused target for establishment prejudice. However because poverty characterised the experience of the majority the Irish bar furnished the needs of the impoverished migrants in both the US and Britain. Stivers (1976) argues how by the end of the nineteenth century the stereotype of the Irish as drunkard shifted in America to that of the happy drunk. Hence the stereotype remained, albeit perceived in a less problematic form within the US.

Blocked Mobility-Racism-The Natural Stereotype

This chapter sought to show how the twentieth century Irish experience a form of racism. How the legacy of the colonialism impacts upon them has not been adequately dealt with in sociological studies. It was shown how until the late 1980's the trend was to highlight their success as an upwardly mobile minority group. Attention is frequently drawn to the

fact that Irish women have achieved greater upward economic mobility compared to Irish men. Studies which focus on patterns of upward mobility were critically analysed and shown to be somewhat wanting. The patterns of inequality which characterise the Irish experience have generally been eclipsed within the main body of sociological enquiry of both migration and ethnic settlement. Little attention has been paid to explaining why the Irish occupy jobs which are similar to the jobs they occupied in the nineteenth century. Even less has been afforded to the form of racism they experience. It was shown how the Irish are portrayed as inherently prone to drinking in both the US and Britain. Furthermore the evidence shows how the stereotype image of the twentieth century Irish diaspora is in some respects a mirror image of their nineteenth century experience. Nevertheless being reworked in a different historical context has defined bars and taverns are perceived as a natural habitat of the Irish. The prevailing stereotype of the Irish and drink as synonymous remains although the emphasis has shifted from 'problem' to 'natural'. In the US the stereotype has not prevented the Irish from achieving because it is embraced by the dominant group. Nevertheless the portrayal in both contexts is racist. Thus further research is necessary to explain the forms of racism that are directed against the Irish

The Political Economy of the Niche

In order to show how perceptions of the economic niche as a natural habitat of the Irish are based on spurious stereotypical images, attention was directed towards showing firstly the impact of structural factors upon bars and secondly how bars are managed. Evidence showed how the niche occupies a subordinate relationship to both the state and larger capitals. It was argued that self employment within a bar is a feature of capital accumulation. The respondents were under no illusions of the power of the state and larger capitalist interests. Hence their awareness of life in an economic niche which is characterised by long working hours and a fiercely competitive market is heightened by the fear of losing their liquor license. This fear was more acute in Chicago than it was in Birmingham because of the legacy of prohibition. Furthermore the Chicago State operates a monopoly hold over the bars with regards to the liquor that they purchase. From their accounts there is little evidence to support one of the main hypotheses of this study; namely that there are greater opportunities for socio-economic upward mobility within the niche in Chicago compared to Birmingham. Structural constraints which are placed upon bar owners determine that the industry is characterised by a high percentage of failure. To minimise the possibility of bankruptcy two distinctive strategies were adopted for economic survival. The first demands the use of unpaid and cheap family labour in order to keep the outgoings as low as possible. The

second is to attract custom by using a 'stage Irish identity' as an economic strategy. With regards to the first strategy accessing the use of family labour was presumed a problem for the Irish diaspora by ethnic entrepreneurship theorists.

The Womens' Perspective

Throughout this study attention has been drawn to the fact that during the twentieth century Irish migration is characterised by cohorts of single people, who are predominantly women. Consequently ethnic entrepreneurship theorists such as Ward & Jenkins (1984) assume that the Irish were less able to access a family network to operate a small business enterprise compared to minority groups who migrated in families. The analysis is ahistorical in the sense it does not allow for marriage after migration and access to a family network. For economic survival in a bar the use of some form of cheap or unpaid labour is essential. In the large majority of cases this need was met by family labour. The backbone for economic success was a hidden form of labour whereby women partners shared the management role within the bar as well as the full responsibility for family commitments. Managing the private and public domain was also the experience of women who were running the bars without male partners. By their accounts a pattern was

revealed which highlighted how the women negotiated and renegotiated their private and public roles at different stages during their lifetime. Their labour contributed to the successful running of the bar. As such there are similarities with other minority group womens' experience within small business enterprise as well as the experience of majority group women. Overall the women were more optimistic than the men and many reflected on their lives in pubs as successful achievements. Although none of the women interviewed complained about the sheer physical hardship of their double role this did not necessarily mean that they did not question the socially constructed assumptions behind it. In depth research into the experience of Irish diaspora women is a pre-requisite for a research agenda

A Stage Irish Identity

It was argued here that a 'stage Irish identity' is accessed simultaneously as a learnt strategy for economic survival, within a subordinate position of power relations. Hence the landscape of the pub fed into the 'stage Irish identity' which was operationalised as an economic strategy. The strategy embodies an unresolvable contradiction because it feeds into the stereotype of the pub being perceived the natural environment of the Irish. The stage identity masks the reality of the harsh structural constraints which operate within the niche. Bourdieu's concept of 'symbolic power' is a useful conceptual tool for understanding how the Irish bar proprietors accessed a strategy

which outwardly presents a self fulfilling prophecy and feeds into the concept that the Irish who occupy bars are in their natural habitat. By identifying with a 'stage Irish identity' the respondents simultaneously gained a form of power and accessed a subordinate identity. Who can tell when the identity is on stage?

To sum up where the Irish experiences 'fits' within the ethnic entrepreneurship debates it is possible to argue that they occupy a curious place. The characteristics of their migration experience do not 'fit' the ideal type. However in terms of their representation within other forms of self employment they are over-represented. Therefore it is critical to draw together the distinct discourses of migration and ethnic settlement in order to understand the interface between the two. The different forms of self employment that minority people enter need to be accommodated within ethnic entrepreneurship theories. It has been shown how the 'interactive' model (Waldinger et al 1990) is a useful conceptual tool for enabling this process. In addition I have argued that because self employment is a growing trend within the industrialised nations more research is necessary to understand the relationship with capital accumulation. In the case of bar entrepreneurship the niche is firmly locked into a subordinate relationship with the state and larger capitals. Furthermore it has been shown how in keeping with

the entrepreneurship theories the Irish in bars rely on family labour for economic survival. In addition it has been argued that they capitalise on a 'stage Irish identity' as an economic strategy. I have argued that what may be perceived as a cultural practise cannot be fully understood without recourse to an analysis which takes into account the historically and contextually specific power relationships which serve to shape the practise. I believe that any cultural theory of entrepreneurship which precludes an analysis of power relations remains ahistorical which is in itself a myth. In short I have argued that there is a fundamental flaw within cultural explanations which characterise the ethnic entrepreneurship debates. I believe there are far wider implications for research on ethnic entrepreneurship/self employment regarding the concept of 'power' that are beyond the boundaries of this thesis. Furthermore because I have arrived at this conceptual problem from a reflective critique of one set of data analysis it may be that the nature of the argument presented here is only applicable to this study. Nonetheless I stand by what I have argued with regards to the derogatory stereotype which portrays the Irish and drink as synonymous. The Irish are stereotyped in this manner which is a form of racism. Furthermore the stereotype has impacted upon Irish diaspora bar proprietors in the sense that a bar is perceived as a natural form of employment.

‘Identity seems to be an attribute discovered from others: to be Irish is an experience formulated in response to persons who are not Irish and who say you are Irish. They place you on a stage and you can perform’ (Dudley-Edwards, 1994: 87).

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Appendix 1

Reflections on an Experience of Cross-National Research

By reflecting on the experience of cross national research the decision was made to write a methodology chapter on explaining how it happened. Thus in certain respects the focus here mirrors the debates which characterise the sociological cross-national research literature. In this sense I refer to a body of methodological literature which assumes a distinct set of problems compared to one nation research (Schermerhorn, 1970; Holt & Turner, 1970; Grimshaw, 1973; Portes, 1973; and Oyen, 1991). The above theorists identify the pitfalls of cross national research vis a vis one nation studies. However a primary focus of their studies has been to explain the distinct objectives of cross national research. For example, Grimshaw (1973:5) suggests that 'the particular task of comparative sociology is to distinguish those regularities in social behaviour that are system specific and those that are universal'. Thus in the main part the studies mentioned above address the objective aims of cross national research but are less concerned with the subjective experience of conducting cross national qualitative research. One notable exception is Portes (1973: 150) who argues that 'the final outcome of cross national research is not solely dependent on the researchers technical skill but on the interaction between his presence and plans and

the manner in which the country and specific population studies react toward them.' Portes thus acknowledges how the outcome of cross-national depends on an interactive experience between researcher and respondents. A primary aim here is to highlight how the social interaction which took place during this cross national study shaped the research process. I begin by outlining a number of key issues which are shown to characterise cross national research. Following I intend to explain how the study came to be operationalised. Attention is then turned to the field work in order to show how it is shaped by an interactive process between researcher, respondents and the settings. Finally I intend to explain how the blunders which occurred in a 'strange' setting can lean on occasions towards the ironic.

Key Issues

My own experience of conducting cross national research has shown how it is characterised by a similarity with one nation research. Atkinson points out this tension by arguing that there is 'a constant tension between the position of 'member' and 'stranger' irrespective of different cultural locations'. Hence 'whether or not strangeness is thrust on the observer through an encounter with the exotic or is achieved through imaginative bracketing of the familiar and mundane, the confrontation of the self with the other is always fundamental' (Atkinson, 1990: 107). It is

my contention that my experience was characterised simultaneously by a form of awareness which was common to both locations as well as distinctive experiences which were cultural specific. My feeling regarding the different forms of interaction that took place with all the respondents was seemingly sensitised by a similar high frequency level. In different ways I invested all my energy into each interview. Hence an experience of conducting cross national fieldwork, which was common to both locations, was the need to think and 'interact' on my feet. This I believe is necessary to all research situations given that the social interaction which takes place is potentially an unknown quantity. As Gurney (1991, 55) suggests “ respondents may not be very trusting of a stranger who arrives on their doorstep one day to conduct research and then leaves after a few hours never to be seen or heard again”. Rightly or wrongly during the period when I was interviewing the text book objectives of cross-national research faded into insignificance compared to the need to invest myself. However, outside of the interview situation the experience of researching within a ‘strange’ and ‘familiar’ location was characterised by an awareness of the differences between the cultural settings.

At a wider level conducting cross national research is an opportunity to experience if ‘the key issue is whether or not field researchers working within their own society experience advantages and disadvantages that are

less likely to be encountered by researchers working in societies and cultural settings other than their own'(Burgess, 1982: 22). However this key question can also evoke alternative explanations. Cross-national research need not necessarily elicit polarised accounts of advantage and disadvantage because it is also characterised by complex forms of overlap. From my own account of experiencing cross national field work I intend to show, how some advantages and some disadvantages were seemingly common to both settings.

To introduce a key methodological issue the important point can be made that comparative methodology is a feature of all sociological research not solely cross national. Glaser (1964,439) coined the term for the analysis of qualitative data 'The Constant Comparative Method' without reference to cross -national research. More recently Burgess (1986: 1) reminds us that the majority of social researchers and sociologists would agree with T.H.Marshall's (1969) remark; 'that one essential condition for the development of sociological theory and of sociology as a scientific discipline is the comparability of data assembled by those engaged in research.' Hakim (1987: 26) succinctly sums up the comparative nature of qualitative research by explaining how 'although qualitative research is about people as the central unit of account it is not about individuals per se, reports focus rather on the various patterns or clusters of attitude

and related behaviour that emerge from the interviews'. The caveats identified above, which permeate all research not merely cross national, have influenced the process of this study. However for the present purpose the focus is on my personal experience and less with the debates which characterise comparative methodology. To engage the discussion I intend to show how this cross-national study was initially operationalised.

Selecting the Research Topic and Locations in a Comparative Study

I can account for one aspect of the research focus by explaining that I had previously spent three years as a 'public house' landlady. Citing ones own experience as a feature of the research process is somewhat custom in accounts of qualitative research. Other researchers have made a similar point by explaining how the field of investigation was an area of personal familiarity (Burgess, 1982; Finch, 1984). To add that this research is part of an ongoing process of interaction with my own personal experience is a true statement. How personal involvement permeates the area of research that is chosen is sophisticatedly dealt with in the methodological accounts written by feminist researchers (Stanley & Wise, 1979; Oakley, 1981; Graham, 1984). It is a position that I feel compelled to spell out here in order to show firstly the extent of various influences upon my life at the time when this proposal was submitted for funding.

For the doctoral research I brought with me a life experience which had influenced my enthusiasm for studying. Yet the experience which cradled the need to study created obstacles for doing just that. The tension between the pull of different roles; student, wife, mother, daughter, hardly equipped me with the credentials for the ideal student candidate who is gently reminded that at 'the beginning that the most admirable thinkers within the scholarly community you have chosen to join do not split their work from their lives' (Wright-Mills, 1959:159). Life went on unabated as I continually 'squared the circle' in order to organise a demanding life style. It is inevitable my life experience informs my beliefs and to some extent 'the reader is left to guess how it creeps into the interpretation of the data when they are analysed' (Shipman, 1988:41).

However I empathise with Back (1993: 223) when he states 'the point I want to make here is that although I had real experiences which informed the research, it was simply farcical to pretend that I had remained what I once was'. In this sense it is not only the researchers experience which bears influence on the proposal but also 'the school in which he has been educated' (Koben, 1968: 34). As Harvey (1990) also points out knowledge is structured by an existing set of social relationships. As such, the knowledge that went into my research proposal was primarily

drawn from the influence of social relationships that had developed during my undergraduate days. Of those influencing social relationships one requires a special acknowledgement. Annie, who is my supervisor has been both my friend and mentor. And that is said in the light of once being asked if I was trying to write the definitive works on the Irish. In the safe environment of Annie's comfy office during the spring term of 1992 the threads of this proposal came together.

A migration study was the optimum aim because the sociology of migration held, and indeed still holds, a sustaining interest. Annie's work on racism, migration and female labour and the ways in which she has analysed the complex interaction of gender, class and racism has set a compelling research agenda for students interested in the sociology of migration. Proposing a comparative study and picking the locations of the field work was influenced by such considerations. Because E.S.R.C. had announced an interest in cross national studies a comparative study stood me in better stead for funding. If this admission portrays me as ruthless I can only add that without funding I would not have been able to continue. Others also recognise how 'grant prepares must adjust their statements about significance to the needs of the funding agencies' (Marshall & Rossman, 1989: 34). Family commitments underpinned simultaneously designing a study which did not demand me being away

from home for a considerable amount of time and choosing the familiar location of Birmingham as one research setting. With Birmingham as the benchmark accounting for Chicago is more elusive. I could argue here it was informed choice. Both cities are large inland industrial enclaves which have witnessed substantial Irish Migration and which since this research began are now officially twinned. In addition the Chicago school of the 1920's immortalised the sociological fascination with Chicago by asking, 'young social scientists to look upon the City of Chicago as a social laboratory of great cultural diversity' (Sceuch, 1990: 19).

However if the truth be known the fascination with Chicago began from observing how the media portrayed the St Patricks day parade in Chicago as a 'stage' Irish event. In short the incubation of this research reflected a process which 'uses logical analysis as a critical tool in the refinement of ideas, but which often begins at a very different place, where imagery, metaphor and analogy, intuitive hunches, kinaesthetic feeling states, and even dreams and dream-like states are proponent'. (Bargar & Duncan cited in Marshall & Rossman, 1989: 25).

During the first year of the doctoral programme serendipity proved as long as a piece of string. Not merely from the good fortune of obtaining funding or from being part of a first year doctoral research class which gelled but also having a head of department, who introduced me to his

network of acquaintances in Chicago. Hence the support that a band of people unconditionally gave me was an important feature of the gatekeeping process which demands 'multiple points of entry that require a continuous process of negotiation and renegotiation throughout the research' (Burgess, 1982: 49).

Researching in the Familiar and the Strange

I have argued within the study how, as people we are part of an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983). To some extent there is also an imagined aspect of researching in what is familiar and strange that contradicts the experience. I tried to imagine what it would be like in a bar in Chicago compared to Birmingham and I could not escape the stereotypical images that are portrayed of America. I was experiencing the all pervasive influence of popular media imagery. Considering that one of the most important aspects of this research, has been to show the power of the social construction of stereotypical imagery it is profound how much the visual images influenced my pre conceptions of what an Irish bar in Chicago would be like. The reality was quite different.

With the exception of the decor, which were decorated with Irish memorability, the environment inside the Irish bars in Chicago were, in the main part quite similar to those in Birmingham. In both locations

there were some which were somewhat shabby and others which looked as if they had been more recently refurbished. Some were quite dark and others well lit. In both locations the majority of the customers were male whereas the majority of the bar staff were female. The bar was the focus of the action although attention was directed towards the television in a lot of the pubs. These were strategically placed above the bars. In addition the juke box was playing in most and the music, which was mainly Irish, served to create the social atmosphere. The areas in which they were situated differed in that in Chicago they were mainly in white working class neighbourhoods whereas in Birmingham the separation into black and white neighbourhoods was less distinct. This was also noticeable inside the pubs as I did not observe any black customers drinking in the Irish owned pubs in Chicago whereas in Birmingham the customers were from various ethnic groups. On one occasion in an Irish owned pub in Birmingham a young black lad was dragged up to me by his young white friends, all of whom had been told I was researching the Irish. They told me he was born in Dublin and that they had waged a bet that I would not believe them. The banter between them seemed friendly enough but the incident also revealed the lads preconceived imagery of visualising people's nationalities. Anderson's (1983) concept of belonging to an imagined community was shown to be valid in more ways than one.

I was fortunate in the respect that a public house is a prime site of social interaction. Thus the dictum that 'sociability is the most general rule in the public drinking place' was a common occurrence in both locations (Cavan, 1966: 143). The creation of this setting, which is a social construction, possibly accounts for why I was welcomed everywhere. For me an added bonus was the hospitality in both locations which stretched from cups of coffee to the offer of meals and on one occasion a bag of cakes to take home. At one interview I was offered the loan of a car to travel around Chicago. The philanthropic gesture was made by someone who had not seen me mobile!

The conditions under which the interviews were conducted reflected all too well the reality of being self-employed in a labour intensive business. By explaining how they would normally be involved in doing tasks a number mentioned how the opportunity to stop working for a while and have a chat was a welcome, albeit unusual rest. Others did not have enough staff to cover for them to be away from the bar and the interview was conducted with them simultaneously serving and talking to me. Corbin expressed the concern 'that the main problem with the interviews was the attempt to glean a large amount of detailed information from each couple in a very short period of time' (Pahl, 1971:295). I found this was a process I could not rush. For those who took the time out from an

intense timetable they also made use of the time given to me by slowing down a pace or two. For the others it was a case of conducting the interviews their way or not at all. On either counts the respondents pace set the agenda. On one occasion a respondent told me that she was so tired after sitting down and talking she was not sure that she would get back up. In sum, because of the nature of the setting and the different forms of 'interaction available to those who enter it' the interviews had to be conducted by meeting the demands of the niche. Also, the interaction which took place was shaped by the characteristics of those involved.

I was researching the migration experience of a different ethnic group to myself. I had neither a first hand understanding of the experience of migration nor was I steeped in Irish culture. My only credentials, aside a bonafida Warwick letter head of introduction, was having personal Irish acquaintances through in-laws and friends. As a characteristic of my life experience this had served in part to shape the decision to research the Irish, alongside other considerations. Being an English speaking minority group was one important factor. At a political level researching the Irish, who are a white minority group, appeared to me to be less problematic than an investigation into a black minority group. Because of my own visible white appearance I avoided confronting an issue which has

been fiercely debated issue in sociology, of whether or not white researchers can understand and explain black experiences of racism (Back, 1993:220). Given my married surname has an obvious Irish ring I was aware of the implicit assumption of being recognised as having an Irish heritage. This I believed would be an advantage when attempting to gain access to Irish respondents. As it happens the only people who picked up on this were Irish academics. For the respondents it was never an issue. Because the respondents seemed little concerned with my ethnic identity it led me to speculate that although the respondents work at presenting an Irish 'community' image in the public houses an Irish identity is not a prerequisite to be included within it. Seemingly the nature of the research into their lifestyle was sufficient for them to voice their opinions and experiences without the credentials of me being checked out as Irish. Within the study I have attempted to show as Bulmer,(1986:55) suggests that 'ethnicity' is a 'variable defined with reference to their subjectively meaningful properties'. For me it was an advantage that the meaningful ways in which the respondents perceived their own ethnicity did not deter them from being forthcoming to a researcher who was English.

In contrast the atmosphere at some Irish study conferences I have attended tends to veer towards an 'Irish inclusiveness'. Consequently on those occasions I felt acutely guilty of possessing a surname that did not

truly reflect my background. As such in a covert way I experienced feeling an 'outsider' from the ethnic boundaries of inclusiveness which Castles and Miller (1993) pay considerable attention too. Explaining the divisiveness of such a strategy provides a handle on understanding the emotions which accompany the experience. Kleinman (1991: 184) noted how it was important to 'examine your emotional feelings to the setting' because 'if you do not, your feelings will shape the research process, but you will not know how'. On reflection the uncomfortable experience in the academic settings grounded a belief that an ongoing task of sociology is to explain the forms of social settings where exclusion and inclusion takes place.

Other experiences were equally disturbing. Unlike Gurney (1991) gender issues raised their head during my presence in the research setting. Gurney's (1991) experience of short term field work led her to argue that in short-term research, such as semi-structure interviews, gender is a relatively unimportant variable. 'The brief duration of the relationship tends to mitigate against some of the more serious problems encountered by researchers in other settings, such as sexism, hustling and harassment'. However there were occasions when sexism and racism raised its head. Smart (1984) identified the dilemma faced by researchers by not responding to sexist and racist views. In my experience that dilemma

embodied a nagging reflection of how my impassive stance was a form of collusion. The meaning of non response on behalf of the researcher, or rather the empty gestures, as Goffman suggests, are perhaps the fullest of them all (Goffman cited in Lofland, 1978:53). The contradiction for the feminist researcher is to recognise how power structures of dominance and social class divisions challenge the concept of an inevitable power relationship model which favours the researcher(Smart, 1984). Research situations temper the goal of feminist interviewing, which is to eliminate exploitation and objectivity by recognising the objects of research are subjects in their own right (Acker et al, 1983:425) and to strive for a non-hierarchical relationship (Oakley, 1981). However my ethnographic view of a cross national similarity into how sexism is ubiquitous shows how personal characteristics reduce the possibility of a non power hierarchy(Burgess, 1984:104). The incidents leant some understanding into how my presence as a researcher was perceived cross culturally. Others were less easy to reconcile and troubled me a lot more.

An incident which saddened me more than any other experience during the research also gave me an unexpected insight into the long term affects of being an economic migrant. By chance an interview was arranged for 9.30a.m. The pub in question provides all day food as well as bed and breakfast accomodation which is mainly taken up by single Irish men.

When I arrived I was asked to wait so I had the opportunity to chat to the people in the bar. These were Irish men who you could not put an age to although they bore the hallmarks of showing years of outdoor work. Before long the tables were covered with photos of friends and neighbours from home, which were ten and twenty years old. It seemed as if the years had merged because in the same breath the men spoke of them as if they were taken yesterday; as if they themselves had arrived yesterday. These were their prized treasures, memories of home, mam long dead and the farm long sold and the friends whom they'd heard were buried, memories relived, revived again and again, carried and placed carefully in their ill fitting jackets. And where had these men been working? They had worked on the buildings in England; on the lump; the seven o'clock pick-up brigade. The dream of these men who had arrived as economic migrants in Britain during the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's was that of returning home. However home as they remembered it was no more. Thus the social interaction that was going on inside the pubs revealed a sense of poignancy as well as a jovial hospitality.

Researching the Private in the Public

It is fairly transparent that I entered the research settings with a string of preconceptions. Hence my interpretations and inferences from the

observational setting will be couched in my own experience, bias, preferences, prejudices and non-value free judgements. What the researcher 'selects and rejects reflects their own perspective and neutrality in this selection cannot be anything but a position with attached attitudes'(Stacey, 1969:3). The preconception that a gender division of labour characterised the running of the niches was one such belief.

Similar to Davidoff's research, which led her to the conclusion there was no fixed divide between the public and the private, I also believed there to be a gender division of labour in the productive activity which was made possible by the fusion of the public and private sphere (Finch, 1983:4).

How gender differences direct the conversation came to my attention during the interviews revealing a pattern that was common to both locations.

Back (1993: 218) argues 'it is vitally important to explore the basis on which we start to develop a sensitivity to our gender, and the way in which this informs and affects our work'. Introducing yourself, explaining what the study is about what format the questions will take, the promise of anonymity, all of which is required at the beginning (Stacey, 1969:78) incorporates a social action taking place where both interviewer and interviewees are sizing each other up. It was notable that the way in which the conversations tended to unfold had a distinct gendered pattern.

For example male respondents talked freely of the difficulties and stress that pub life placed on family life. However, the women acknowledged the pressures on their lives but focused on how their own strategies of organisation sustained a relationship. The more obvious the pattern became apparent the more uneasy I felt. Because of my gender I believe I was perceived by the male respondents to embody a caring role and by the female respondents to have some grip of the demands that were placed upon women. The whole interactive process evoked responses which reflected gendered identities.

I am also sensitive to the issue that gender is not the only variable and that by engaging in fieldwork; 'we do this as persons of a particular age, sexual orientation, belief, educational background, ethnic identity and class' (Bell, 1993:2). Although class inequalities have been shown to be a characteristic of the Irish migration experience the issue of my class position never raised its head. One might also speculate that the respondents perceptions of themselves as entrepreneurs and being self employed removed them from an interest in class issues and related inequalities. However the one tape that was returned to me by post contained a detailed account of how the respondent believes that world inequalities stem from the capitalist class system operating on the basis of a hierarchical divide and rule system over the working man. In short I

missed an opportunity to delve into the respondents perceptions of working class consciousness. The irony within this is transparent considering that it was the very nature of being self employed which enabled me in both locations to approach the respondents directly without being compelled to enter by way of a hierarchy. In sum the taped account was revealing because it confirms how, as Roberts (1988: 54) argues, that all aspects of research is political. Political as well as ethical tensions were seemingly accentuated features of the blunders which peppered the research process.

The Blunders in a Strange Location

I have shown how the general patterns of the respondents' response to my characteristics were similar in both locations. I have not shown how it was my response to a different location setting that was strange. The learning process of a researcher is, like the research, a non linear process. Since the final part of this account of my research experience is to show where I got it wrong I may as well show exactly what can be meant by the trite statement 'All errors are my own'.

In the historical chapter I have shown how a sexist and racist argument is common to a lot of the literature on the Irish experience during the nineteenth century (Stivers, 1976; Bales, 1944). Namely that the Irish

men prefer the comfort of drink to Irish womens company. I made the error of phoning a number of the respondents , who I had already interviewed, to ask them if they thought there was any truth in the idea. The respondents responses ranged from 'Well that's a mans excuse if ever I've heard one' to 'Jesus are you asking me about my sex life'. I abandoned the line of inquiry. Thompson (1982: 152) carefully debated the problematic of attempting 'a more systematic indoctrination of historians in the social sciences'. By introducing a historian's question in the process of fieldwork I embarked upon and abandoned a pilot study in the middle of the main study. When Moser & Kalton (1978: 348) applied the term 'dress rehearsal' to a pilot study the meaning embodied a pre-figurative stage of research not a mid way costume change. In addition I have to admit that I had not conducted a pilot study in Chicago. Rather because the pilot study in Birmingham was seemingly okay I began with the main study without giving the cross-cultural nature of the study due ethical considerations.

It is only on reflection that I have considered how ethical considerations can invoke different cross cultural meanings. An understanding that 'ethics is a principled sensitivity to the rights of others' (Bulmer, 1982: 3) does not necessarily inform you what you need to know as a researcher for a cross cultural study. The US has a federal legislated regulated code

of research ethics for sociological research whereas a code of ethical principles produced by the British Sociological Society is advisory not regulated (Burgess, 1982: 188). The point that I want to make, as it is easy to be wise after the event, is that while you are intent on researching the impact of structural constraints on your respondents it would be prudent to understand the legal and safety implications of your own position. Safety was a feature of this research which was evident in the unfamiliar setting. Because every interview was negotiated and conducted separately they were all characterised as a strange setting which had to be located. Scott (1984: 170) noted how being 'forced in the line of duty to cross large and unfamiliar cities at night by public transport is bound to have some effect on the way a woman thinks about the interview process, and on the data collected'. My strategy designed to minimise this and the time factor of crossing a large and unfamiliar city, which has no go areas, was that of hiring a car. On the first day of interviewing I crashed a new hire car. To make matters worse it was on the way to the interview. I cannot stress enough the importance of taking out proper car hire insurance in case you crash a hire car. I still have in my possession a letter from the Chicago branch of a multinational rent a car company threatening to sue me. If you have not followed the correct procedure in the small print, to the last letter, which I did, they will sue. The contingency plan which followed was to hire a 'rent a wreck' car.

However anyone who has ever driven an old 'chevy' column gear change car will understand my predicament. It is difficult to see out of the windscreen, let alone map read and drive on the side of the road I was not used too. Furthermore I was warned there were 'no go' areas in Chicago for a female to drive through alone. However I had no experience of where the no go areas start or finish. I found to my initial dismay that my exits of the highways in an unknown city frequently led me into the poorest areas. The benefit of driving a wrecked car in an impoverished area does not really need to be spelt out. I had a disturbing experience of being intimidated by cyclists who circled me while stopped at lights but aside from that a view of the extent of the poverty in the poor black areas was a sobering experience. I have since reflected how driving through some of the impoverished areas in Birmingham without prior knowledge of them would also have brought about the same response as I felt in Chicago. Eventually I recruited the college boy who lived upstairs and for five dollars an hour he map read me on and off the highways where needed. By this time he reckoned that I had seen more areas of Chicago than he had and he had lived there for eighteen years.

I recall returning to my garden apartment (which was actually one room in the basement) and graphically describing unusual incidents in letters that I insensitively sent home. By vividly outlining how a women had pinned

me down in a coffee shop to tell me she was a 'stress junkie' I set off all the alarm bells on the home front and added to the stereotypical image of the American city. The letters that I sent home were kept and I later found them a useful compliment to my research diary. However recording an experience in a letter is tempered in part by the need not to broadcast or break the confidentiality of the respondents. Without the demands of home commitments I managed to write a lot in the evenings which was often in the form of poetry. In addition to my research diary I kept a notebook of short poems about incidents that had happened and how I perceived Chicago. I thought I would write more when I went home but I never managed to find the time to do so. It sounds like a contradiction in terms to say that I was researching within a time limit in Chicago and yet on a daily basis I was feeling as if I had the luxury of more time to devote to the research. However the different demands that are put upon my time at home was also reflected in the fact it took me twice as long to conduct the same amount of interviews in Birmingham as it did in Chicago. I am left to reflect if my reactions in a strange location were on the same wave length as Suttles (in 'the Social Order of the Slum' which was an ethnographic study of Chicago), of whom Atkinson (1990: 164) suggests exemplified an ironic approach 'without ever escaping the stereotyping of an outside observer'.

By explaining how I perceive my experience of cross national research I have also exposed a number of mishaps which were part of the research process. In addition by placing emphasis on my most vivid memories I have revealed how research in a strange location is characterised by an awareness which is possibly less heightened in a familiar environment. It seems to me that accessing the research respondents in a familiar location compared to a strange location can be perceived as more mundane. As such I have to admit that in my study the possibility of my missing important phenomenon in the familiar location was more likely compared to the strange setting. Notwithstanding I firmly believe that in the interview situations, my interaction with the respondents in both locations, was characterised by a similar form of awareness which could be expressed as a heightened sensitivity. I have experienced how qualitative research, whether cross national or one nation research is characterised by nuances which show how 'qualitative methods is to discover important questions, processes, and relationships' (Marshall, 1989: 43). For me a most important feature of life that I have learned first hand concerns how people in different cultures adapt to life experience in ways that bear similarity to people living in another culture. Thus my empathy is with Jenkins (1991: 50) when he writes, 'Cultures may divide the peoples of the earth, but in their relation to culture-how

they handle it, modify it draw upon it as a resource- they have more in common than not'.

Appendix 2

A Practical Account of the Methodology Undertaken

‘a fact is like a sack- it won’t stand up till you’ve put something in it ’

(E.H. Carr, 1961:11)

The following account is a factual explanation of the methodology undertaken during the research process. In addition I aim to show how the technical landmarks of the research were shaped by a continuum of ongoing practical decisions. As a researcher who has undertaken the ‘individualised’ doctoral route I intend to point out how making practical decisions in relation to the methodology was a product of collective interaction with others. I firmly believe that the way in which social relationships were established during the making of this thesis was a major feature of it coming to fruition.

A collective decision identified the need for three semi-structured questionnaires. The task of designing and testing how appropriate they were for the interviews took place during the winter term of 1991. Into the melting pot went the text book advice, the doctoral course tuition , my fellow students’ comments, and my supervisor’s scrutiny. Because public houses can be managed by either a couple or one person there was a need to prepare for either situation. The third was aimed at exploratory interviews with bar owners in Ireland. However it was

the 'pre-pilot' experience of testing the questionnaire designed for the single person interview that led to a change in the basic design. The exercise involved recruiting the valuable time of a porter at the university who was known to be an Irish ex bar owner. Half way through we were joined by another employee who contributed to the interview. From this incident it became apparent that this situation could be replicated during the fieldwork. In fact this became quite a frequent scenario during data collection with the added dimension of the secondary respondent leaving midway through the interview. Thus the timing of his intervention highlighted the need to have a conceptual tool at hand which could accommodate the presence of both the primary respondents, whether a single person or a couple, as well as an input from any 'oscillating' respondents. The solution to this technical research problem was eventually achieved by putting the questionnaire for a single person and the questionnaire for a couple together. Each individual question could then be 'tailored' and be readily at hand to meet the characteristics of whoever was present. In short, without the interactive input an insight into what might happen would never have been recognised and the questionnaire format would have been technically deficient.

Other peoples' input ultimately shaped the way in which access to the respondents' was gained. Few sociologists would deny that the methodological literature on sampling frames is copious or that delving

into the literature to understand the pitfalls of accessing a sample of respondents is a necessary procedure of the research process.

Furthermore because the meanings given to sampling frames are culturally and contextually time specific they present particular problems for cross national research. In my experience the academic guideline was complimented by the advice of others separate to academia. In order to access a group which is fairly inaccessible you need the help of others. I approached the clerks at the office of the Licensing Justices in Birmingham to try and gain a list of Irish licensees only to find that no such information is available. The contingency plan was to contact the two largest breweries in Birmingham. Their recruitment policies are similar in the sense that the application form for a public house licensee does not specify the need to show Irish born. At one brewery I was offered the assistance of the district managers who were willing or possibly coerced into introducing me at the public house outlets which were run by Irish people. The information had been given to me that there was a subcontracting chain of smaller brewing outlets who were also letting the pubs by way of various forms of self employed contracts.

However the practical difficulty of accessing them all had not slipped my mind. At that point it seemed to me that it would be a mistake to approach any potential respondent by way of a brewery introduction given the unequal power relationship between the people who I wished to research and the brewery management structure. The possibility

loomed high that a potential respondent would think that I was a brewery snoop. Peoples' livelihoods in pubs are controlled in part by the breweries and I was not prepared to research with a hidden agenda on their behalf as a pay off for the privilege of their right of passage to access. Having stated that, nobody actually asked me to do so. The underlying reason for avoiding this route to access the respondents was the belief that the quality of the research would be potentially inferior.

I frequently pass the Irish Centre on my bus route into the city and because of the nature of my research it seemed to beckon me. The idea incubated to approach this agency and see if the people working there could enable a route of access. In a manner similar to that throughout the whole of this research my friend, Jo Dearlove, encouraged me to try. As luck would have it the manager at the Irish Centre offered me the informal avenue to the Irish bar owners. He supplied me with a list of the licensees' names of Irish run pubs and he also gave me the credibility for overcoming a 'cold call' telephone introduction. I was able to use his name to introduce myself which I believe held far more weight than my letter of introduction from the university. Everyone that was named on the list of pubs agreed to see me. From the first pilot study onwards I asked at each pub if they knew of any other Irish self employed bar owners. In turn the respondents enabled me to continue accessing the Irish run pubs and to overcome the stumbling block of a poor introductory spiel. Effectively I switched to a

snowballing technique. However the point that I want to make is that in choosing the methodology of snowballing it can only ever be operationalised through other peoples assistance. By the time I went to Chicago I had a list of names and telephone numbers of the Irish run pubs in Birmingham which I knew I could contact when I returned home. The prospect was comforting against the backdrop of heading for the unknown in Chicago.

The fact that my access to the respondents in Chicago was initially by way of another route feeds into a significant feature of the research findings. An important point which was drawn from the research analysis was the finding that the people in the Irish Centre in Chicago did not know of any Irish born people who owned a pub which is portrayed as Irish. Rather because the American owned pubs were decorated with Irish memorabilia it was unconditionally accepted that they were the 'natural' habitat of the Irish. I have argued throughout this thesis that this is because of the social construction of the stage Irish identity in Chicago which feeds into the pub being stereotyped as a 'natural' form of economic activity for the Irish. Conversely the fact that so many American owned pubs in Chicago have an Irish name I was able to use the telephone directory as a sampling frame to eventually trace a public house where there was an Irish licensee. From that point I used a snowballing technique with the help of the respondents. In essence the Irish bar owners in Chicago and

Birmingham were simultaneously both a source of gatekeepers and respondents.

For me the point of entry into the ensuing research situation was smooth because of the dual role of the gatekeeper/respondent and the gain from the changed questionnaire design was having more confidence in the conceptual tool at hand. I believe that these factors, amongst others, were intrinsic to the fact that the research discussion that took place in every interview situation went way beyond the confines of a questionnaire format. An appearance of confidence in what you are about and what you have at hand is a useful starting attribute for the field researcher, even though at times throughout the research process you may feel it crumbling.

The criteria by which the technical decisions are made also defines the future ramifications are less obvious to see at that particular moment in time. As such the practical decisions that I made in relation to the technical considerations also interface with the theoretical and substantive findings of the thesis. I made the decision to transcribe the tapes in full by hand. The obvious alternative to use a soft ware package was daunting because of a tendency to lack confidence in my computer skills. This feeling of inadequacy was exacerbated during a session on Reuters text line network. Under the critical eye and supercilious gaze of an MBA student, who unlike a sociology student

has automatic right of access to the resource, I inadvertently set the machine to print out 294 copies of one article. The observing student ungraciously showed his expertise by proceeding to close down the data base. A faith in my own ability to learn computer techniques, which is an essential skill of a researcher, has since been restored by working with a number of helpful colleagues and the secretarial staff in both the sociology department and computer services. The significant point drawn from this experience is an acknowledgement of not knowing how this thesis is analytically flawed. I do not know whether or not other themes would have been elicited with the aid of a computer package or alternatively which nuances may have been lost.

Every technical decision that was made during the process of this research was made on the basis of the outcome of social relationships with other people. In different ways the influence of other people has permeated every aspect of the research process. Their presence is implicit from the inception of the research to the decision to transcribe the tapes in full and the subsequent labour intensive style of data analysis, to the selection of themes which were identified as central to the findings and finally shaped within the written end product. This thesis is not just an intellectual activity that I have embarked upon on my own it is also the collective endeavour of acquaintances old and new who were, in essence, my valued source of network support.