

**Justine:** So I consent to being interviewed and it been used for our project and for the database.

**Dorone + Noa:** Thank you. So, perhaps you can state your age, name and your education.

**J:** My name is Justin Murphy I'm 51 years of age. My education has been varied over the years. I have been a mature student for a lot of time so I have done courses as I became an adult and as I kinda needed to do courses and I eventually have done diplomas and an MA master of Arts in an artistic subject in in Dublin.

**N:** and are you an artist?

**J:** No. a musician. I work as a tour guide. I'm working as a tour at the moment. Guide and a manager in a couple of visitor attractions in Dublin.

**D:** are you still doing the music tour guides?

**J:** Yeah, I'm doing some music tours as part of that, so I work for the company who runs 14 Henrietta Street which is the Tenement Museum and now we are also running Richmond Barracks is just around the corner which is an old army barracks.

**N:** Then I should come.

**J:** Yes, do come!

**D:** Where do you live? Where were you born?

**J:** I live in Dublin and I was born in Scotland.

**D:** Did you and your family move?

**J:** In general move?

**D:** Yes, I mean you said you were born in Scotland...

**J:** Oh, yes. Oh, yes, we were there temporarily, I was only there as a baby, so I don't have memory of that.

**N:** but is your family from Scotland?

**J:** No, my parents were there just for work. No, my parents are Irish and English.

**D:** Before this job as a tour guide, What did you work as?

**J:** I was mostly being self-employed musician so working as a gigging musician and then also doing things like music facilitation, working with various groups so doing that kind of mixture of performance as a musician and education of music, yeah.

**D:** So, everything is around music which is great.

**J:** Yeah, and then in the last few years tour guiding, history, I have had a great interest in history and then not so long in the past, I worked in the liberties area organising arts projects with local community groups as part of The Digital Hob which is still going. so all those similarly either sort of artistic endeavours with the community or you know, in a broad sense that area. absolutely, for a good few years now.

**N:** So, just to come back to the locations. So, your family is always been in Dublin?

**J:** No, well my mother was from Dublin and my father is English but they split up when I was about 3, so then it was myself and my mother and we lived in Dublin but we would also go to London when there was work in London a little, bit so a little bit between the two and then she married my step- father and he's also English. so then we came back to Ireland. so mostly in Ireland but a little bit in England. and my mother side certainly is a few Generations Irish, as far as I've gone back. And then the English side is English but also in a few Generations back, Irish, so all comes back from Ireland, it would appear.

**D:** So, what is your living standard and perspective today? So has it gone up or down relating to your parents and grandparent?

**J:** living standards in a material sense? If that's what you mean, I would say I would have certainly gone up because my mother's background was working class.1 side was rural in Ireland and one side was Dublin tenements which would have been very very poor. And my father side would be not terribly poor but not wealthy either so either way I would say that my standard is better because in general our standard is better in Ireland now in a living sense and you know and I consider better than they would have had it yes.

**N:** what are Irish tenements?

**J:** So they were people living in mostly big old Georgian houses but were divided up with many families, so you'd have a family of 10 12 because Irish families were then fairly large in one room. And that room would be very likely divided up but one of the main things about that situation, is that those houses didn't have, you know, facilities per family. so a whole household would it be the whole house of families could be 3-4 for more families all sharing one tap and one toilet if the toilet worked so the standards of living up until the 1980s in Dublin were very low and it was right up until the 1980s because we've had this tradition of landlords dividing up big old houses rather than purpose built housing as it is in many places and purpose built apartments as it would be in many places in Europe. we haven't had that tradition so we've had this cycle of reuse and badly used because the landlords are simply out to make profit.

**D:** What is the main difficulty encountered today?

**J:** in a general sense? I don't know I don't I don't think I have anything that is particularly difficult. You know like I'm a single woman without kids and the times when I don't have work I can get social security. so if on a material level although sometimes there's been not very much money even if that's gone on for a time, I have at least been able to to pay my rent and bills. So, you know I actually think I have it very good. In a social sense, I think that might be if anything a difficulty in the sense that I think my life and my friends lives and people in my community or more and more isolated and there's less being in communication with people

you know I happened to be living in the neighbourhood we're quite friendly, but it's not that friendly, I mean you could easily be here and be quite alone and I think that takes constant attention you have to sort of work at keeping connected with people if you know what I mean, and I think that's a difficulty because I think that can quite easily slip into people being isolated, not that I have but I get a sense of being a possibility. I think it's immaterial again and in a sense of security one of the main issues, still, is housing. so I rent a house which means that the landlord (as the landlord could many years ago), get you to leave if they want, you know if they want to really. so when you're renting there's never a sense of permanence or security and that makes it difficult I think, that link in, actually to the community. When you're renting, as many around people in Dublin are, you don't invest in the your area and your local community as much as you would if you own your property, not that I particularly want to own my own property but I do have a sense that I might feel differently or be more involved if I had a sense that I could stay until I want to leave here.. I've been here for 14 years now, but I could still get a letter from the landlord saying- "I want to sell it, I want to move my family member in or I want to do it up, so I'm going to give you notice" and although, because I've been here a long long time, I would have a long period of notice, that's now required, I'd still have to leave. So there's always that there. And I think there's that going on. That would be the most difficulty I think. A lack of feeling settled I suppose you know, not that you have to have it by owning. you can have it if the rights of tenants were secure, that's what I'm suggesting. That would be the solution not buying but secure rights for tenants.

**N:** No, I mean, even by buying it's not ever secure really.

**J:** No, true, absolutely as we are seeing now and that maybe what changes the situation this year or next year in Ireland, because with the housing crisis, it's not just tenants who are affected but now, as you say, people who also own houses have mortgages and they're also in a precarious situation and when so many people realise that it's a really precarious situation perhaps something will change at some point. Because it hasn't changed up to now and there's been a housing crisis. since 1913, there has been a housing crisis.

**D:** Which group of people would you must count on? family neighbours friends?

**J:** My family. I'm close to my family. to a degree neighbours. I know quite a lot of my neighbours. We wouldn't be friends really as such but we all keep an eye out for each other so there's a level of being able to count on people where I live but then in a more, in a deeper sense that rely on my family because we are close.

**D:** How much time do you spend with them?

**J:** Couple of times a week I visit because I have a niece and I look after her once a week. So I'll look after her for the whole day regularly now once a week while my sister goes off and works. so that's very regular and before she was born I would still have seen them every couple of weeks, but yeah, now that's there, there is a real regular which is lovely seeing everybody once a week at least.

**D:** Is it Maggy's daughter?

**J:** Yes, she is 3, she's fabulous. Love to spend time with her and then hand her back.

**N:** And you mentioned before a community, of Friends what is this relation?

**J:** I have a good community of friends if that's what you mean, yeah, I have a good strong community of friends that would know since I was in my 20s as well as friends that I've known for the last maybe 10-20 years. not that we spend a huge amount of time any more together, because we're older, we like to spend our time on our own or may perhaps people are in relationships and families, but there is still that strong link. you still have to, of course work at it, to a degree you know, because we're not in situations where we are just happening to be there. everyone still has to make that effort to say how are you? And meet up and follow that through. and yeah, I feel I feel I have a good community of friends.

**D:** Do you represent or are you represented in your home country and where are you living now?

**J:** Don't know about me representing my country, but I don't really see myself represented if you mean in a political sense much. more so these days because in Ireland our left wingers are getting more prominent but no, overall I would say I wouldn't feel particularly represented. Again, things have changed hugely in Ireland with the right to marriage equality. we have choice as regards to abortion and that's a huge change so I'm sort of seeing those social changes happening and that is representative and that's a new thing. It's changing it's shifting. Yeah, it's definitely shifting. That I feel more and more represented I should say. Like you know, the recent that you mentioned Sinn Fein getting a huge part of the vote. I voted Sinn Fein this time partly because I knew that would send a strong message to the two main parties who I never want in, but they always seem to get in, even though people moan about them, they still get a huge fucking majority. and so then I knew that I would be giving my number 1 to Sinn Fein and then my following numbers to other left-wing parties. That it would work out OK. because obviously, the Sinn Fein guy would get a lot because he's strong in his area but it would still pass on to the left wing people. that has made a huge change. That political shift. And I did that deliberately as a strategic thing this time as I think, it looked like lots of people did. so, I was going to say that within the Sinn Fein manifesto there are certainly parts in their policies and manifesto that I would see myself represented as in, that's what I think and that's what I agree with, and particularity, housing.

**D:** Are there other groups in which you are engaged?

**J:** No, not really at the moment. At the moment I'm very much just working, coming home, recuperating for work, babysitting going back to work.

**D:** Are you politically engaged?

**J:** Not actively engaged in a practical active sense. I'm not actively engaged either on an issue based, as I was with the pro-choice movement, not actively engage with that anymore and I've never been actively engaged politically in the sense that I've done campaigning or leafletting or joining parties, quite the opposite. I've never wanted to actually be acting within a political sphere, but I am engaged to all those general politics and issues from an observing and thinking and talking and discussing them. Yes, engaged in that sense. but not in an actual going along to meetings and being an organiser anymore.

**N:** Because?

**J:** Because it's just it's just too tiring you know. I was just too burnt out and it's just so all-encompassing anything like that is it just takes up so much time and you really do have to take a break and I'll probably return to something at some point but yeah, for the moment let it yeah, take a step back but still, It's still be not, be informed and still talk about it and still get animated about it you know. There's still all that I still have an enthusiasm for it. But being actually practically involved so much energy.

**D:** What does the word peace mean to you?

**J:** Peace means a lack of conflict, but that means lack of conflicts on loads of levels, I think so between Communities between the state and its citizens on a more personal level in groups of families and people who are in relationships and sort of that very macro-level to the bigger level. but peace isn't just a lack of conflict it is also something that is proactive so for peace to happen, you have to take lots of actions for that to happen rather than it being absence of violence or conflict and sometimes that's what may be difficult to work out. how to be proactive about peace? It's almost a bit like you know it's an... Because we see a lot of perceptions are that it is an absence of, as if somehow conflict is the active thing and the thing that is motivated and somehow the pieces you know and it's a absence but yo know it's not and it needed be but I think it's going to be hard for us to work out. So how do we make the peace happen and how can it happen? How can it be in our lives when you when you don't take actions, as it were.

**D:** I think you kinda answered the next question says you're in a place where there is no war. Do you think there's peace here?

**J:** Not always necessarily not always necessarily an absence of War doesn't mean that there is peace but of course it's the accepted notion of Peace War and Peace. it could be a good start not to have an armed conflict, but you can't let the lack of an armed conflict, give a sense of 'well that's our job done'. That's really what conflict resolution I think. it is important when it's important then becomes has a role to play because that conflict resolution is all about it happening on all these levels. So you know you can have an absence of War armed conflict in a place and then you could have fierce domestic violence or particularly high domestic violence or you know as an example and so there's another war going on but it's got a different name and it's got a different visage and it may be more hidden.

**D:** Do you think there is peace here?

**J:** In Ireland? There is, in one sense, there is peace. Yes of course in a well, we can we can get on with their lives without their being marauding groups of people coming and taking us a way or stopping us stopping me live my life or, not that all communities are feeling that way, but in general as an overview of Ireland yes, but I think there are low levels of aggression and The violence going on and that would be up north but on a different level to what they would have been in the past. So yes, the peace process has been in place and there is practically peace but there are still attacks and they're still tensions and unresolved issues and problems between Communities and there are still a lot of the walls up there's all that, and tha'ts an act of aggression. And then there's always that tension that comes at certain times 12<sup>th</sup> of July and marches and certain flashpoints and things but it is all of course less than it was of course it is.

**N:** And what is the 12<sup>th</sup> of July?

**J:** So that's when the orange men of the North so, the groups of people who were gifted land in the 1600s in the north of Ireland from a protestant background which are called, William followers of William of Orange from the Netherlands actually and ever since loyalists and people who are that tradition comes as Orangemen and setup lodges and orange lodge and congregate and have marches and those marches in some places in Northern Ireland, have gone through Catholic areas. So they would be seen as very contentious and that would always be very very strong area of aggression and problems up North and so the 12th of July is marking the battle of the Boyne which is when William of Orange was successful in Ireland and the loyalist and the orange men will every 12th of July march and commemorate it. so there's even a whole area of, with the peace process and committee of parades Commission which looked at all that as a entity as an issue as something that could be worked through and we if we commemorate and respect one tradition, then we will the other as well, so there's constant dialogue there of keeping a balance so if you have a museum for commemorating the battle of the Boyne then you must also give funding for a museum for the other side of course so you got that constant inclusivity is the new, not so new now but since the troubles, the new way of doing things which is everyone is valued everyone traditions and values and everyone can find space to see through those traditions, it should be possible for everyone to have that space. And then when the 12<sup>th</sup> of July comes up, huge bonfires are built with pallets, I mean absolutely enormous bonfires, by young loyalist men. So these are just what they call pinch points of, you know, flash.

**N:** Tension...

**J:** Yeah, and then the parade the day goes off and it winds down. Now there is a lead-up to the 12th the parade, it is the marching season so there's more than one, but having said that it is better than all of the years and even though some of the more stupendous of the things that go on like huge huge bonfires the size of houses make the front pages actually statistically there is a lot less going on in terms of problems and the police is being called out to things much less than it has been in the past. so it's still improving. It's still improving.

**D:** What is the sound of War? what is the sound of a peace?

**J:** Well the very obvious sound of war is one that you would hear and see from a far because I haven't been living ever in a conflict war zone. So, in terms of the soundtrack that you would expect it would be, the violence of war and the and the sounds of whatever is making that war whether it's going to be weapons and bombs or destruction or people's responses to that is also part of the sound of war and again I will say that the sound of Peace isn't an absence of that, but the sound of peace to me is simply life going on and being harmonious and stress-free and aggression free which is just normal life is not an absence of sound but it is, but it's just people living their lives and having fun, being sad and being happy and having families and what have you and just going about their business I think.

**D:** Is peace a relation with oneself? Or is it between people or states?

**J:** All of those, it has to be all of those again. If we agree that is that peace and War is on all lots of levels, so to be a piece with yourself is one thing and to be at peace in your community is another thing. Nation states that you live within is another thing and I think the relationship with

the state is the one that has a huge flocks you know that you're sometimes at peace with that and you're really not at other times. And it is a very fragmented relationship because it is The State which is abstraction and hard to always grapple with because what makes up the state is always everything from laws to the the conditions of your work place and all kinds of levels of things what you are not allowed to do. Do you have access to voting rights and all kinds of things so that's a really tricky and is ever changing and you too as a person I think on it as in 'what's going on in my country' and my state in my world and what are the authorities and what other systems that are in place how are they affecting me? How do I understand them and then you're a stupid yourself of course is very very tricky but in a very different way. Because it is with yourself and you know yourself or you think you do it you. Hope you do and that can also be one that's ever changing and in influx, but in a very different way because you're looking inwards and you can't look outwards and then blame the other. it is you and it is within you so it's kinda a very different but there's still a and an at war and at peace concept there.

**D:** In the current political situation, what do you consider as main split and polarization in regards to power?

**J:** What do I think is the main polarisation? Main one think it is... Simply put have and have nots. the constant battle between people who are in power, who have something to gain by staying in power and are gaining on an economic level constantly and on other things like access to jobs and access to education and access to things that are not so abstract but actual real things. Because there is this difficulty I think in Ireland, if you read things on paper, it certainly looks like there's a lot of access and opportunity and there's nothing down in paper and in law that says certain people are excluded but the reality is certain people are excluded from certain things and that is more difficult to challenge. because it's hard to see. Though now, it's become easier to see and that's why I think this shift happened this year as voting for Sinn Fein so much is that people really started to become, have clarity, I should say about how the country is being run and the detrimental effect it's having on many many people and it doesn't look like it's going to change unless you actually vote a different way. Which is kind of amazing that people realised that voting might actually change anything because voting doesn't change anything. Not that it had changed anything yet, but there was that voting move that signaled people felt they might be able to make a change. It is kind of quite revolutionary I think in the West where many people don't vote and if we don't vote then unless you become active in politics, you don't get to change anything and that would be, in terms of political systems, that would be one of the things that I think is restricting, that really youve got two choices: you can you vote every now and again or/and you go and take part in joining parties and be active in that way, if you don't want to do, if you don't want to be active then there aren't many opportunities for us to effect change unless we just live our lives in a particular way which many people do and that's fine. but it doesn't have a wider effect and I think that is something that is lacking in our systems, that we are not really affecting change in our area you know and those systems, those ways of doing things aren't in place and I'm not sure if they are anywhere actually, I don't know.

**N:** where they happening before?

**J:** I don't know I'm not sure if they have happened. I suppose Communities that are working on a smaller level is where they are happening. so on a small level there's \_\_\_ in Mexico where

they set up their communities. They set up a like almost like a small version of some countries Systems where there are council's and people are voted in, in certain roles and then those roles are changed every year and the local community vote them in again, but it's at a very small level so Local Indians took over various ranches, they drove off the white owners of the ranchers and then they moved in, lived there, but they didn't just live there, they set up systems of how do we how do we live here? How do we do this?

**N:** Self management.

**J:** Exactly. And it certainly seems to, I haven't been keeping up to date these days, but certainly a number of years ago that seem people where going about things and in some places it certainly was successful, whether it has stayed being successful I don't know, but that sense of we all have a say in how our community is run was working because it was on the smaller level you know.

**N:** and anything like that happening here in Ireland?

**J:** I'm not sure that there is really.

**D:** I'm wondering as a side not as to apart of the success of people going out and voting has to do because of the abortion vote that went so well so people felt they had power as well as the gay marriage, because I think before people felt like they had nothing. The church was owning everything and then suddenly like all that change.

**J:** Yes, yes that was a big part of the last few votings that have been going on. we had some general elections there, local elections a while back not the last ones but the ones before, that were very left-leaning as well. A lot of independence got in, and I think you're dead right the referendums which here are the one thing that show people if you go and vote you can actually do a huge change but they are singular issue referendums. They're not the system, but what it did do, is it made lots of people politically active, politically aware and then they're already in place then when the general election comes around so it's a bit like they're already primed and trained to go 'haha right' now that is a big part of it and it's a really interesting part of it. it took time for the church to have its peak and people be oppressed by it or else leave Ireland, I mean people didn't just leave Ireland for economical reasons, people also left Irealnd because it was very oppressive and then once the scandals that once the abuse started to come out of the church. That was also the beginning of someone's been a few things from the past of lead up to now, that would be another one, people started to see that the church was in disarray and hugely abusive and not at all egalitarian, but it was actually starting to show, even if some people haven't realised it was obvious to the world and has continued to be obvious for the world. So this incredible power has fallen away in Ireland and that's a huge part of the change here.

**N:** How much of it is just the fact that people are less poor?

**J:** That's another huge part of it I think. you're right and the standard of living has gone up and although people have still been emigrating and immigration levels have still been high the shift there is that some people have come back, whereas in the old days when you immigrated you generally didn't come back at all. So some people have gone off knowing 'I'm immigrating but that there might be a chance in the future future if I want to and I have the right

economic situation. I might I can go home that might be an option' and the fact that we have, I mean I don't know if you know but in the past, certainly up to the 80s, we would have considered ourselves like a bridge between what we call first and third world. You know developing world, developed, we didn't consider ourselves developing world we consider ourselves somehow in between. Huge levels of immigration. And not really staying in the country to make a change and that's the other thing, if you have huge people levels of people just leaving the country, they might be the very people who have they had stayed and voted a bit or become involved in politics, might have made some changes. And maybe there is a bit more of that happening now too where people have staying a little bit more with the Celtic Tiger to a degree, and have or have come back. Yeah. We're in a very privileged luxurious position now.

**D:** Do you practice peace in your own surroundings?

**J:** I think I do. I mean I'd like to think I do practice peace. I'm not generally violent or aggressive, but yeah, I mightn't be the proactive peace thing that I was talking about earlier on a personal level. But I would consider myself peaceful.

**D:** Do you see yourself individually or collectively or socially responsible for bringing or maintaining, peace?

**J:** Yeah, certainly individually responsible.

**D:** In what way?

**J:** In my day-to-day personal life not being aggressive and actively trying to defuse situations so again conflict resolution idea on a personal small level. I'm not sure about that. How, how we can

**D:** Are there, where there institutions that are responsible for bringing or maintaining peace?

**N:** The question is if the state is responsible, or trade unions, parties, or NGO's or schools?

You know if it's on a social level then what are the social, not necessarily governmental, what are the social institutions that are responsible for maintaining peace?

**J:** Systems institutions you mean like the guards and those state once or?.

**D:** Yeah, I mean it can be things like that.

**J:** I mean I can't think of anything else.

**D:** Like there's welfare state in the country..

**J:** Yeah, I mean the welfare state it maintains a peace but it is kind like a secondary effect isn't it, you know, it's not itself self set up to or says that it promotes peace. It's secondary effect that because people are better off materially perhaps there is less violence..

**N:** It's quite interesting, because the Schumann declaration that I mentioned before it's all premises that by joint management of economic resources world peace will be built.

**J:** Yes, if there is prosperity and stability, there will be peace which is certainly Europe you would have to agree that there has been up to now apart from those pockets, I mean because now we are fully on all levels get rid of violence and aggression but on a wider broader country to country it has been. And violence is growing but that doesn't necessarily... It's not because

necessarily prosperity is changing it feels like although there has been, maybe it has been that slow build of austerity and people having something but also not having very much. I don't know. Yeah, I'm not sure.

**N:** Some people say that austerity is the state waging war against its own citizens.

**J:** Yeah, it's a stilled tactic, hidden. Hidden way of making you think that you're doing alright or at least you're not doing too badly or you are doing badly enough that you rise up and revolt until the time comes when it is more clear to you. That is very little for you. You're having things done against. Yeah, I agree with that yeah, that. but it is also tied in with the Capitalist world we live in the liberalism and you know companies have to make a profit so once you've got all that part of the mix where you go with that, you know. Our world is in West set up to be profitable and to be capitalist and to have that is the goal and that's the goal why is anybody surprised when jobs are cut and people are not included and thought of you. That's not what the system is all about, the companies are making profit and the system is quite clear about that. It's not pretending to be anything else, I'm always surprised when people are surprised at how exactly it shows itself. It's actually, for a company to make profit that's actually the law and then otherwise if you don't you're bankrupt isn't that correct? pretty aggressive and violent premise to begin with I would say.

**D:** Is peace a result of one's personal or generational historical experience? Of deprivation and justice social conflicts?

**J:** Is peace a result of? Is that what you said?

**N:** This question means that you know, people say that we, our generation doesn't know to value so much, peace because we didn't go to the second world war, we were not directly affected by hunger, or living in Europe you are not particularly.. even the most cases of injustice are not that bad compared to others. so because we're not we were not exposed to these kind of bad things so we don't know how to value the value peace and to work for it, so that's why I mean like now that the generation of the Second World War II is dying out and...

**J:** Absolutely and the current generation haven't lived through that, and I think that means that we are now in a cycle a natural cycle of exactly that generation who hasn't experience war and the effects of War are now simply what boiling to be selfish and not see that in fact, stability is connected to economic prosperity the two, that is all connected it is not a separate thing. Yeah, and I think that's a cycle that happens and we're in it now in that end of it where the generations haven't had experience and it's very hard to know how that is going to end as right-wing groups have been getting stronger all over Europe for a number of years now, but it's been quite a well, I think, hidden thing but what's happening now is that those groups are very well organised and now are getting into local councils and getting elected and and becoming the acceptable face of the European Parliament and they are the acceptable face of fascism and racist ideologies. You've seen it here, I don't know if you've seen the group in the last general election called the National Party so they ran candidates for the first time in the last general election, they think that Ireland should be for the Irish for the white Irish and it's all connect to nationalism but it is this Strand this brand of Irish nationalism and stroke republican which is racist which is basically thinks that Ireland should be for white people and that's their type of nationalism.

**N:** basically anti-immigration.

**J:** Yeah, now they are still small but worryingly they have become organised and they have at press conferences and press launch and now ran candidates and none of them did any good. So that's something about the last general election that the worthies and there were individuals of course independence, but the group National Party who organise themselves didn't, didn't get elected. But you wonder about how that might change in the future when there are so many disaffected people with things like homelessness and of course they go on about things like as they do, which hasn't happened in Britain for a long while which is the od trope of: 'they are giving houses to immigrants and we cant, you know Native Irish people can't get houses' without seeing of course that the housing crisis has been brought about with the current government doesn't matter who you are. That's what's the real underlying thing so that has started to change recently and that's very worrying.

**D:** And, I don't know much about them, but are they connected with the church and the church of part of their..?

**J:** I'm not sure they will certainly some of them seem to be very anti-choice so that Conservative definitely not kind of conservative. But whether they, they don't in an outward way have a connection to a church, but it might be a connection that's a hidden one. I haven't dwelled into that much. Yeah, you wouldn't know, yeah.

**D:** Because you have seen things like that in Poland, trying to be back the anti-choice and in Spain as well.

**J:** Yeah, fascism in Spain. They are very Catholic aren't they, Well there is that Catholic sense, I mean connection, reliance. And you know we had the blue shirts here, yeah, so that's the roots of Fine Gael, so when that's being referred to that's what they are talking about. And there are photos of them in action with Sieg Heiling and sure they went over to fight, with the fascists in Spain and there is all that. Which they try and not bring up but it's all there for all to see.

**D:** It's an important thing to bring up. It came up in an interview yesterday so it's not really passing..

**N:** Now but what is nice is that it is not OK to vote for Sinn Fein for it's part in the Troubles, and it's OK to vote for a fascist.

**J:** Yes, exactly and it was brought up a few times, this time with the general election and people said that interestingly there's a whole now, the young.., this is the other side of a generation growing up without the violence so in Ireland there's been a generation who has grown up and not as part of the Troubles without the baggage of the old Sinn Fein of Gerry Adams who even when they're told, look what Sinn Fein said or did, they just go, "I don't care. What I care about is housing and jobs and security and stability and to be able to live my life. And if Sinn fein are offering that, that's what we are going for."

**N:** I want to ask something, just a little bit...because it's really not clear for me in the whole discourse, because when I was growing up, we are more or less the same age, for me the IRA was liberation movement. And here now like they are treated like anti/cotra-revolution

**J:** Yeah, the difficulty with partition, the partition happened in 1922, and really with partition and the annexing of the six counties in the North of Ireland there was a real sense of 'that's it'

from the establishment down here. that's happened you know, there was what the Civil War was down here, pro-treaty side anti-treaty side, and the pro-treaty side won. meaning the side that signed the paper saying 'partition can happen'. and ever since there has been that very much down playing of In a broad political sense in in the south of Ireland in the Republic, a down playing of that needs to be changed you know. they're basically gone with that, the main political parties, so that when the IRA continued throughout the twentieth century, as it did the old what we call the Old IRA in the 50s before the British Army entered into the north of Ireland, the old IRA was still going we're still active but very small and that was not seen as, that was marginalised. They were marginal groups. They were fighting a dead battle you can't you know, partition has happened, unification, we are up in a joint together. That's it. Even before the trouble the troubles happened which is late sixties. There was a sense of a strong sense of us and them them down in the south. We're not we're not engaging with the struggle up in the North cause we just said we don't think that struggle needs to happen actually that's actually what the main political parties establishment down here said as far as I can tell so you could constantly then down here distance everyone can distance themselves from the struggle in the North and as you say it being a Freedom Fighters. that wasn't that was only seen by some groups by Sinn Fein, by small parties and individuals that wasn't so that wasn't seen in that way by the main political parties here so for example when Easter would happen every year, easter happens and 1916 is the rising so every year there was an opportunity to commemorate it. there wasn't generally a commemoration. That only happened since 2016 generally what there was, was down at the GPO a bit of an army thing, the army would come out but there was nothing else to commemorate it and there was a real sense there of we don't want to revisit that we don't want it to be highlighted. I think a lot of that was to do because the war was still happening up in the North, there was still occupation from Britain and that was the violence on all sides. Once the peace process started and that violence mostly fell away, that's when the attitude to our own Revolution and our own uprisings changed which is a very interesting aspect of knock on effect of it so the 2016 could happen. I don't think the 2016 commemoration of 1916 would happen in the same way if the North has still been happening

**N:** And why didn't the attitude to the IRA change?

**J:** Why didn't it?

**N:** If you now can commemorate the 1916 rebellion then you can also understand...

**J:** You mean in retrospect to understand the IRA as a freedom fighting group?

**N:** Yeah, because I mean they were fighting real injustices. It's not like they were inventing nationalism.

**J:** Yeah, but I think the real complication here whether against established main political parties is the Trio the menajhtwa. That is the Republic the North and Britain. so you got these complicated relationships going on constantly politically, so if main political parties in the south had started to say OK, they were justifying what they were doing in the North, that would substantially shift and change Republics Britishship with politicians of Britain and our relations, our trade relations and regulations and everything so you see that difficulty? That complicated and delicate balance and it's interesting that I think it's while I am not a fan at

all of Leo Varadkar. I was surprised when recently with the whole Brexit thing he consistently came out and said: 'You're wrong. This is how you know we all work together as Europeans' and I can't remember the specific things in the past that he said but they were quite I would save us I would see them as him standing up for Ireland, South of Ireland in relation to Britain, and saying, basically saying no to the bully tactics which they constantly do or seeing us as still another colony, and he quite a few times said 'no, we're doing, what we are doing is with Europe'.

**N:** Yeah, like it's easy when you have the whole of Europe behind you.

**J:** Yes, yes of course. Well, in the past, we still have had Europe behind us but our Taoiseach like Enda Kenny and Bertie Ahern would say something, things that are a little bit more like total before look to Britain you know like \_\_ and not standing up and not saying no no no we're doing what we want to here, there was still that old, what I felt there were a few things they said, that was like representing the Old colonial relationship. So I just think it's interesting that recently that has started to shift but it is also of course because we are very much embedded in Europe and there's no change there and there's no chance of any change there you know because there's an IR-exit, that's the thing about the nationalist party they would be all for Ireland exiting Europe as well. That is another aspect of them. I think there's another party called IR-Exit or something similar for the same idea but that idea, but that's obviously is not going to happen and no one has any interest in that. There are just all mad people who think that. But yeah, to look in retrospect out what the IRA, Sinn Fein did in the north of Ireland is is a troublesome one. I think for people here. It was troublesome when it was happening and it's still troublesome and that's why when we had the recent general elections, I don't know if you noticed, the media and politicians came out with the very well timed and very hard-hitting 'oh but, the IRA did this' 'oh but, Sinn Fein never apologised for that' 'oh but, ...' which is what has always happened with Sinn Fein. There's always been the Sinn Fein bashing, but as you say, they can't throw stones because they are also in a weak position. And that has become clearer in this modern world. with social media with internet there has become some I think a bit of a better clarity for people who might not have realised the roots of various parties like Fine Gael actually where the current situation is and why it is the way it is. and again. I think a lot of young people have just gone right, I don't care.

**N:** But what do people for instance learn here in school about it?

**J:** God, I don't know. I don't really remember much about it to be honest. I don't I don't know if we did do much on it when I was at school. We did the Rising and all that, that part of Irish history but I don't think we delved too much into partition and happened after. I think it was still a sore point and it's very different now. I mean I don't know what the curriculum is now. You'll have to ask a young person, but it will be interesting to find out. How it is presented and how they see it for the facts and the figures given, yeah.

**N:** But the reason I'm also asking is because this project is apart of, it's funded by a program called European Remembrance, and it is a really fascinating you know, what gets told and what doesn't get told, very often in war because I personally was working on a, I'm living in Belgrade in Serbia, I was working for the last 10 years on the wars of the 90's, and it's a very different story to be told when you talk about the war only in terms of violence, and that is the

trend now in our days of Human Rights. But that's only like maybe 1% of a story of a war, and somehow again and again this story, the IRA is, just like the wars in Yugoslavia, are reduced to this question of war crimes, without talking about discrimination, about class struggle, about all these interconnected issues. And for me this is a mainly the you know, this is why we can't talk about peace, because peace is not you know, if you already excluded all these factors then you're reduced to peace that is just non-violence. But non-violence doesn't mean no violence it just means you know. and I think because we don't want neither in Yugoslavia nor here, anywhere else people don't want to answer the question who profited from the wars not just in terms of money, but also in terms of money, then this is the main reason why to reduce wars only to the question violence. So, that's why I was asking this question this is where the question about peace comes from, because today re-conciliation ends up by judging criminals for war crimes or you know, some kind of agreement that 'I will respect your nationalism if you respect my nationalism' and really nothing that I would be calling peace. So this is kind of the background of this whole project. But that's why it's interesting to me, How do people conceive the IRA today? You know why don't they conceive it as a Freedom Movement or left wing movement.

**J:** And of course some do. but yes on the whole, when The Troubles were going on it was very much 'both sides are as bad as each other'. It was like the violence of it was too, had too much impact perhaps I don't know. there's always, lots of people always were very quick to distance themselves rather than look for their nuances and the background and context and Civil Rights Movement and as you say class but also identity. So with partition of the North there was also that linking with we've got to have stopped. We want a strong identity and our identity is linked to Irish music, speaking Irish and and independence and reunification. So that's a complicated thing also. in the same way that in the earlier years, identity in Ireland was linked very much with Catholic church. So it was a strength there I think, that was continually reinforced in the Catholic church, because for lots of Irish people it was a way of asserting independence from Britain was to put a highlight on being Catholic.

**N:** Yeah, but, I think it's also a question because as we heard many times and as I know from reading, you know a situation of oppression becomes a situation of identity. So if there was no discrimination than maybe it wouldn't be such a big issue.

**J:** Yeah, and that thing wouldn't be created.

**N:** So, you were Irish, somebody else... Somebody was protestant and somebody else whatever, but once you deprive people of living condition because they are really so that all the other, then that becomes their identity. which is really bad because you know you actually confirm the prejudices of your oppressor.

**J:** But it is impossible not to...

**N:** Yeah, exactly.

**D:** Do people volunteer to go to war or is it a personal choice?

**J:** Well, it changes. it is and it isn't. the war begins or the violence begins and to start with perhaps there isn't a choice and then you certainly feel, Some people do feel, like at some point that they have chosen to do it and then that's an interesting question even then have they actually chosen because they're locked in a identity crisis or an economic or a 'I just want to feel

safe' you know. Maybe at the end of the day you don't you choose to go to war, but you do really. These are very hard questions.

**N:** It's a group that have been working for a long time all these topics of their over of war in Yugoslavia and then transition in Eastern Europe so you know now all the vengeance came out, you know all the things we ask ourselves

**D:** Who is profiting from war?

**J:** Well it's usually the state and it's usually. Well depends where the war is. Usually big business usually west corporations, arms dealers, but also I suppose governments that are in place when wars happen or they encourage war it benefits them also in a perception sense, that they're being proactive, that they are defending themselves. There's many sort of ways of it being framed but It seems that many places think that war is basically a good thing. seems to be the general over riding view. Although they will say of course we don't want to but if we have to, there is this general sense that. Again it goes back to that taking action being pro-active.

**N:** Or pre-emptive...

**J:** Yeah, and that's another aspect about here that has occurred to me recently, which is interesting given our past and Easter Rising, war of independent, Civil War, that we haven't become a we didn't continue the military and tradition the style. We have an army small arms country and we haven't generally highlighted that aspect and you know and it's not a gone written country back in the north was. so apart from the north in that sense I mean, the Republic has not chosen to highlight that military past that only occurred to me recently. I'm kinda proud of that fact because it could have gone that way. If you think about every single South American countries are all military. And it's an easy one to go down because the structures are so strong and so rigid you know.

**D:** How does that effect post-war politics?

**J:** It affects the post war politics because whoever has won and has participated in the war and whatever went in on that war is setting a tone is possibly dictating what happens after in probably an obviously way and also probably in the a very settle way. the people who lost a really bend again on the war, was a war within a place, or was it in an internal place or was it a war, was it an outside war, yeah, well it is hard to say in a general sense. It all depends on who has it or what has happened, but it must set up the political landscape. I know that sounds general, vague term but it must, must have that influence and how it has that influence depends on what went on the and the situation, but it is intimately connected it would seem to me. That's our thing here is what we call Civil War politics which is what Fine Fail and Fine Gael are. people think they are just Civil War politics and this is why this year, this general election is also another Level so important because it has broken the civil war politics and it took 100 years to break. That's a long time isn't it?

**N:** And what will happen to people if they make a unity government and leave Sinn Fein aside?

**J:** I don't know, I don't know, I think there will be ructions if they try to do that, that wouldn't be a very smart idea. I think there might be very well certainly be protest but whether it will

spill over into something more riotous I don't know. that would be then continuing to be arrogant and conservative and we know better and we would have probably a very interesting affect you know.

**N:** I'm asking because that is happening everywhere in the world today. In France with the Yellow vest or Johnson or the democratic party with Biden and it is just very interesting to see as what's...

**J:** And it's interesting as well to see this last of the five years that demonstrate and protesting has moved from being a very marginal thing, marginalised to to unusually only people who are themselves feeling on the outskirts and you know I'm usually left and it seems to have shifted in to being quite a mainstream thing, to be protesting and to be having campaigns and demonstrating and there's a attitude towards protesting that has changed I think maybe because there has been more need for it and therefore more people have been coming part of it that would not normally have done it. Or would consider themselves hippie for a leftie or a... All those labels. Because I remember years ago, we had a really big anti-war demonstration here, one of the biggest ones I have ever seen and one of the main things

**N:** in 2003?

**J:** Yeah. Yeah, and one of the main things people were saying on it 'I've never done this thing before but I just had to come out' sets up this new wave in this new generation of people who might actually come out again. Here again another thing that happened was the water protest. And that has radicalised and acted people up, and they also saw an effect from that because it wasn't a referendum but we did go and protest again and again and again in huge numbers and then the irish water stopped putting in they still exist the organisation, but they didn't go ahead with putting in the meters which is one of the things that people were saying you shouldn't be doing and in fact we became active in the community with local people just went out and when the water company turned up, they just stood outside the house as we did here and just and we all linked here with each other, we stood out each others houses so over there for 8 in the morning, stand here so that they can't get into it.

**N:** Was there a problem with the water?

**J:** Water here, we already pay for water through our taxes. In fact we already pay for water three times, don't let anybody tell you otherwise, and then the government said 'I know what we'll do. We'll set up the irish water company and we'll charge them again'. That's what they fucking did and this time It was a wrong time because everybody in previous years that might have somehow gotten, I don't why but sometimes this kinda shit goes on and people don't really 'they go, oh that that's terrible' but they don't really do much about it. This was different. People organised, got out on the streets and also stopped actually -physically. We'd stand offs with the water people here. They were just contractors trying to do their job, and they would just turn up and go 'oh there are the water protesters, OK' and they would just stand there all day and we would just stand there all day doing shifts and then they'd leave and then you know we would have stopped them putting water meters. But obviously what we could also see was that it wasn't about they kept saying it was about water saving and the environment but it obviously isn't because if you were really concerned with that you would have put all these other things in place in Ireland which we don't have so feck off with your rubbish

about that. But yeah, that was another thing that politicised a lot of young people, they saw that it worked and it worked.

**D:** Did anyone in your family fought in the war?

**J:** Yes, on my mother's side, my grandfather and his two brothers joined up in 1916 and joined the volunteers. which then went on to become the volunteers who are part of the Rising. there were volunteers who were going out and drilling on the streets and practicing as if there was gonna be an uprising and then and then the uprising was called. and they took part in that and they were imprisoned and sent to internment camps in Wales Frongoch and then stayed part of the IRA when everyone was released that's just made everybody more determined and stay with IRA. So they were with the IRA then until the War of Independence which was against Britain so that's easy because it's against Britain. But then when Britain said well give you a independence but with six counties up above not part of it, then the Civil War happened. so my grandfather was on the pro-treaty side, so he was what they call Collins man because Michael Collins was pro-treaty and his brother was I think an anti treaty inside and I think he stayed in the IRA also then in the 30s and 40s but I am yet to find that out. I know that he worked in the IRA, an IRA bar somewhere and he was done for that, that brother was done for a bank robbery which I thought was just a bank robbery but turns out he then was done for having loads ammunition guns in his flat. So my guess is he was part of the IRA. The other brother, the third brother who had been involved didn't go on I think into the War of Independence stuff because he he wasn't well. He ended up in the mental asylum and I'm so, yeah. They were all in the war, I don't know of anybody else though. On my fathers side then, My grandfather was in Second World War and his father was in first and second world war, yeah. I kinda forget about them.

**D:** How do testimonies of war contribute to peace building?

**N:** I mean, did they tell you about this?

**J:** So on the Irish side I never met that grandfather, he died before was born so that's only retrospectively research, but my mother was always very good at referring to it being proud of it. I was familiar with the name Frongoch I knew what had happened and the whole family did, in fact, the whole family were proud of that and then my English grandfather didn't really talk about second world war. Apart from, a couple of things like I think that's where he learnt to play the cornet. Anyway, and then his grandfather, his father really didn't. and I remember my great grandfather and he didn't mention anything. I think he was traumatised from first world war. He was gassed, so yeah. in a personal testimony sense, no because they didn't really talk about it. But it would have an effect when you get the stories whether they be second or third hand and told but interestingly, the people who are involved might be too traumatised to be able to talk about it.

**N:** Is there a tradition of collecting testimonies?

**J:** Yes, so in the 1930s and 1940s the veterans anybody who was a veteran of 1916, the revolution years 16 to 22 were asked you want to come and give, testify what they remember. So those witness statements are all there collected and they're online and you can look them up. Apart from that, oh and there are quite a number of interviews veterans who were interviewed radio and on the television, so there there as well with is fascinating. I don't think there

is apart from that. But that was a big body of work. There's quite a lot in that. In terms of the North, I've never heard it presented as such in that way, testimonies, but since has been particularly again with the peace process, a lot of testimony testimony is happening both in a just people being interviewed, documentaries been made, people talking to people don't know if there's a repository of them in that way that there is a those ones from the Revolution news, I'm not sure, but it is probably being built as we speak because the peace process years has have meant that kind of thing can happen that there's that kind of space for that kind of thing I think to happen

**N:** Also, we are turning the world into a museum.

**J:** Yeah, we are. A digital museum.

**D:** Do you think peace has advanced of the society we live in?

**J:** Yes, of course, absolutely it has. Peace in Europe has advanced our stability and brought an economic advancement. So in that sense, yes, we were obviously lagging behind but that's for other reasons, but we've caught up now. but advanced in other ways.. Yeah, I mean it has advanced in it developing a human rights and those aspects. More than that, I'm not sure about that. I think it's like you were saying earlier as somebody who didn't live through war, I can't really see how much advancement has happened because I have I am taking so much for granted, because I have lived in peace time. I don't really have a clue what it would be like to. So I'm almost not seeing the huge, you know, solid basis of things that can happen or ways of being that can happen when there is Some kind of peace.

**N:** And also you quite young when the troubles ended.

**J:** Yeah, well. Yeah, young person but I still remember, but not as young people now were they've known only peace you know there's a difference.

**N:** I mean, it lingers. Even if you were...you know.

**D:** Is peace related to distribution or redistribution of wealth or ownership of property?

**J:** Link to it, yes it is linked to it. But how is it linked to it? I think in peace time again it depends where you fall and what your memory is if you remember what it was like in war time and peace time there seems to be a move when that peace happens to trying to make the economy more egalitarian because yous already fucking felt what it was like to be under stress and not to have economic prosperity. But whether that always works, I don't know the question. but I do get a sense that there is a collective you know, I know it's a cliché, 'build a better world' and all those things, there is a sense of it or a desire no.

**N:** Also I think there is, I mean, you know in war time's you can't post-war times, you cannot erase the contribution of people to the war effort. And then you cannot, that's you know, why finally woman went off came out of the houses after the Second World War and there was much more egalitarian for instance without the Second World War there wouldn't be the civil rights movement because there were so many black soldiers in the second world war that they couldn't deny their contribution..

**J:** Yeah, it was just stark at that point. But you know that we weren't obviously you know we weren't part of the second world war here so we have an interesting I think, relationship with

the second world war in the sense that we don't really even often refer to it. It's only recently you know, because it didn't happen for us because we were neutral neutral and "neutral". I mean you know we called it The Emergency and so we had this really unusual situation where in the Republic we were neutral. But the North of Ireland being apart of Britain still, was actively part of it and yet we're a really small island, so there was lots of you know tension and odd things like soldiers. I think American servicemen who were in the north of Ireland would come down to Dublin for a night out because we still 'had the lights on' and we still had, you know, we were not in wartime, yeah, very odd situation on such a small island. And De Valera did acknowledge that people wanted to go and join British Army and fight and he just said that's your own, you know that's your choice absolutely, but as a nation were going to be neutral so we have an interesting relationship with and maybe in an another way it affects our relationship now with Europe, I presume it has up to now. You know because of course at the time we were seen as, not cowards but you know, slackers what's the word? That word. You were supposed to join it, but it wasn't as simple to us. So I wonder, following on then, when we joined the, and it took us a while to join the EU in Europe, and when we were accepted, I wonder if there was still that resentment.

**N:** And do you think that inequality is one of the factors that is now radicalising people and could bring to war?

**J:** Yes. It's forever tied up isn't it? Economic and equality and where you are in your life.

**D:** Can a state be run by working class person?

**J:** That's an interesting question because One thing I feel about the political system is if you join it, you will automatically will have to compromise to some degree. because you've joined the system and that's why I understand if people don't want to vote because they think voting never never changed that's where they are coming from and I understand that. you can be as well-meaning and excellent lefty person as you want, but once you start to join in with that system, here are compromises and you probably won't manage to do all the things you want to do and you're probably actually have to change some of your principles actually and lose some of them. so yes a working class person can but if somebody with principals who thinks that the system needs some kind of change, I'm not sure that they could. Because I think it will always get the better of you and seems to me, or it will necessarily corrupt, I don't think everybody is absolutely corrupted by it but you do have to make compromises because it is a system and it works in a certain way, that's why it is a system.

**N:** It's also a question, this is my question about the question. Is you know, working class person you know it's not an identity and once you've changed your, you became part of, you get a better salary you become a functioner, one of the other parties and it doesn't have to be a party, it can be a trade union, but do you stay a working class person, do you start defending the middle class values rather than? i mean, this question has a problem. because it assumes that working-class is an identity. and what you said is exactly that. It is not that people are bad, it's once they change their class-position also their interest change.

**D:** What is solidarity for you? And is it practice in your surroundings?

**J:** It is practice in my surroundings. Solidarity is having empathy, is having understanding. I think solidarity means seeing and understanding the interconnectedness of everything and a

lot of the labels that we've mentioned so race and class, political outlook place in your society, your gender. All things that are affecting each other and they're never isolated and I think the solidarity is very much coming from having an understanding of that. because I you have an understanding of that then you I think almost naturally then have a solidarity because your eyes are opened to actually all the shared experiences and the shared...but the fact that all those compartments effecting each other and have a knock-on effect and yes I feel I have a solidarity in my personal thank god, I am with people who we have a solidarity.

**D:** Is solidarity a factor in the production of peace?

**J:** Yes because surely peace can only come about with deep understanding of of people and people in the world and how they work. As individuals how they work, as societies how they work, in communities and you're only going to get that kind of deep understanding if you have a solidarity I think.

**N:** I just want to ask, because solidarity has also this kind of work...Are you employed in the strict sense of the word? like are you part of a trade union do you have trade union?

**J:** No, I'm not part of a trade union

**N:** Probably there are trade unions, what is there?

**J:** I don't know of a huge amount of trade unions here. Ive actually never been a part of a trade union now that I think about it. My work has always been so non-proper. Precarious. They have a funny role here because some of them are really huge like mandate and the ones that are too and taking lots of employment titles lots of industries but when the various trade union people got up to speak at the water group protests, they were booed so the union the big unions here, there. I have seen as, certainly that top level of management or seen as corrupt and that they are not really any more representing. Yeah, because they are just on huge salaries I don't know if it's as simple as that because I don't huge amount about it. So they are big here, I think, I'm not sure how representative I am, that I'm not in one because as a tour guide I want to join one of the tour guide but I couldn't see where to join as a tour guide but now that I'm employed as a tour guide and as a like a floor manager of the attraction. I should be able to join one. And I come from a trade union background. My English grandfather was big in trade unions, again that was that surge in post-war Britain very very pro trade union and he wouldn't hear of someone not being on a trade union, why wont you be in a trade union, you have to protect your rights as a worker. But that has definitely lessened with the modern world and this sort of general 'haha you don't have to be in a trade-union' because we are all going to be looking after you and I think lots of people are taking in with that. Until they get O contract hours and they realise... You are just as fucked as you used to be! But that can take a while for that to sink in

**N:** That is why I was asking because now that there's so much gig economy here with all those contracts like Google and so on, are they unionised?

**J:** Those I don't know. I presume not, those big things like Google I'm guessing not. I do remember, one that jumps out, is Ryanair wouldn't let their, Ryanair wouldn't let their staff be unionized. They wouldn't let their staff join a union -that may have changed since. I'm not sure but over the years of course we all said we shouldnt be flying Ryanair because you know they

are anti-union. But people still flew with them, it didn't have that effect. A real effect. people talked about it as a principle but they didn't see it through. So they still flew with Ryanair.

**D:** Because it's just so cheap

**J:** Yes, just so cheap.

**D:** How does wage labour bring you together with or separate you from other workers?

**J:** Well, it certainly separates you when you have low wage workers who are pitted against very high wage workers. I think a low wage economy is in low-wage workers groups of workers. There is a solidarity because everybody is on low wage. And I don't think solidarity happens with the higher wage owners. Just because they are also all higher in the same brackets. It really changes because they are not thinking like that because I've got plenty of money or... yeah.

**D:** Has socialism or the EU or the prospect of joining the EU, brought peace to your area?

**J:** Joining the EU definitely.

**D:** And are you thankful?

**J:** I am thankful of the EU, yeah. But I see it more as, I don't see it in a sense of it bringing peace although they contributed I guess in the North I don't know but when we joined the EU in the 70s. You know and it didn't affect any peace here until we had the peace process and there was other elements that made the peace process happened happen, but I think it was an element but it didn't have much effect. I think we really wanted was an economic thing for us, I think with the EU we just think of all the money the EU gave us. Which meant that we could have a I presume Celtic Tiger moment you know it wouldn't happen without that

**N:** Yeah, because it brought stability

**J:** It really did. and I think that's what people are still thinking of when eejits come up with 'we need to leave Europe' no! we are a small country like we needed them then and we still need Europe. I think that's a real across the board sense, fools to leave why would you leave anyway I think when you're big like Britain, why did they leave?!

**N:** I don't think they know themselves why they left.

**J:** They don't. That's part of it. Fucking eejits, they're tools. They were just thinking about The empire. They are still locked into the Empire, the amount of time they refer to the Second world war, to the Empire and this and that and colonialism, Jesus Christ, you know they are not seeing sides of that history, they are just seeing what they want to see which is glory

**N:** Yeah, but I think that this... You know, I lived in London in the beginning of the 90's. I don't remember that kind of thought.

**J:** Yeah, maybe not in the beginning of the 90's I don't know and I'm talking now of Media so I also lived we immigrated London in the 80s with my family and I wouldn't have heard talk of that in my world and in my circle and I think it's gotten stronger the last few years. But there's always been this strong connection with for them with.. and remember you're in London and I was in London, it's just very different to the rest and it's England, it's not necessarily Scotland.

**N:** but Scotland and Wales didn't want to go out of the EU.

**J:** Exactly! so it's really England we are talking about. London is very different, it's metropolitan and they voted to stay. So they are kinda slightly different cases I think it's really kind of the rest of England and Ruling Class that are conservative who go on and on about the Second World War and it's so much in the Media because I listen to English radio and of course here we all watch a lot of English television because our own television is shit. It's ironic isn't it? Haha but certainly in the last few years there has been more highlighting of ex-empire and second world war and I think that might be more than it used to be which is also part of the lead up of Britain leaving Europe so there was a huge. You know there's been a few articles and programs, just looking back at media and politicians over the last 10-15 years and what they've said like Boris Johnson and his columns in the Daily Mail newspaper, at first being pro Europe and then slowly this shift happened, where lots of people were writing about being anti Europe and then it just slowly built up and up to a referendum.

**D:** How does the European peace relate to internal immigration?

**N:** Immigration and emigration... In the sense that we talk about peace in Europe and then there's so much anti-immigration. Not only the refugees but also people coming from other European countries.

**J:** Well, there's the connection of European peace and then because of that there's prosperity and if there's prosperity then people are moving around more and certainly for Ireland, we've become a country where people come to which is never heard of, people all leave Ireland, because there is that strange of even people coming here on holidays saying 'why am I coming here for?' I'm not sure because I don't know how much I mean we are now part of Europe a developed nation as I say in the past we would have seen ourselves as in-between but definitely no first world. There's no doubt about it and we have lots of jobs and opportunity and people just see it as another European country to come to that has some opportunity. So in that sense it's connected to the peace. And we are seen as a stable and peaceful country also.

**N:** And did you get a lot of refugees?

**J:** Yes, but not as many as other countries we still have a very low per head of refugees and asylum seekers and that I think will change and has to change because there is not reason why we shouldn't be taking more and we deport in huge amount and secretly deport people and we had a referendum how many years ago was it? when we voted that somebody a kid who was born here but of parents who were not from here wouldn't automatically be an Irish citizen.

**N:** Would not?

**J:** Yeah, would not. Which up till that they would. That was kind of that wasn't a big deal in a sense that there wasn't a huge campaign made of it. There was a sense that that was slipped in, we were going 'no no no look what this means, don't vote for that this is shit' don't vote for this and people did. So that was very depressing.

**D:** That was a good few years ago, it was before the gay marriage referendum and the abortion campaign.

**J:** Yeah, It was, it definitely was, yeah.

**D:** I think it was ran when I arrive to Ireland because it was really like quiet and there was all these 'kid' signs vote yes vote no and no one knew what that meant. I certainly not, I couldn't vote and I had no idea what's going but it was very silent. It wasn't like the other campaigns or like the referendums in anyway.

**J:** Yeah, and I'm wondering if you know it would that was because it needed a body of people to create campaign to become a popular campaign to be really really vocal to explain to people what was going on and as you say this really only came about as a how to run a referendum with the gay marriage and with choice. it a really was almost like a choice one campaign not a template of the gay marriage, but it was certainly we took a lot from the marriage equality campaign. And if something were to come up again, those templates interestingly will still be in place. People could still go and ask soHow did you do that? And so you know there will be an interesting hopefully long-term effect. But yeah, that was depressing.

**D:** How does peace relate to relations with countries in other continents and immigration from there?

**J:** How does peace relate to relations with countries in other continents and immigration from there? I don't really know the answer to that.

**D:** I suppose the other part of the question maybe that will help, this is how does the idea of Europe include and exclude?

**J:** Include and exclude what?

**D:** People.

**J:** It's kinda hard now.

**N:** I think we kinda answered the question with the discussion of immigration.

**J:** You see what fascinates me is regards immigrants and emigrants one thing is a country may well need loads of immigrants. And yet there is still a popular perception that they're not good for the country and that their sponging so like Germany has needed, I don't know what the situation is now, but Germany needed and possibly still needs loads of immigrants because it doesn't have enough of it's indigenous having babies it's too simply put, but a lot of that in Europe as less babies are being born. But even when that is the case and those statistics are shown, there's still a popular perception of no no, so maybe it's just racism I don't know. They need workers, they don't get it.

**N:** Well, I think it depends who needs them. And who's situation becomes better when those immigrants come. Because you know these immigrants who come to be caretakers for old rich people.

**J:** Although here, a lot of migrants in the care services, in hospitals and nursing homes, so they are definitely need there. The other thing I find funny here when somebody is anti-migrant is we are the biggest migrants in the whole world. How on earth. That really perplexes me. And we are still immigrating.

**N:** This is always the question, how, this was a long time ago, when Haider was in Austria the question was how did immigrants support you know how do you see black people and coloured people sitting in Trump's administration and Johnson's administration?

**J:** Oh, completely. I don't understand that at all, anybody of colour can be conservative exactly.

**N:** Well I think it's about protectionism. The line stops with me, you know, I came in and now we close the gate.

**J:** It must be. But it's also a class thing there too. And people are middle class and upper class and they are protecting that also, and they are just forgetting all the links to colonialism and Empire and all those things

**N:** Yes, but the question is again, a bit what we started talking about with the IRA. is what kind of narrative is told, is taught and told here about Colonialism about the context about...

**J:** My guess is that the history is early like it was when I was at school which we learnt about the rising a little bit about the later bit over and bend on civil war but I know I was very fuzzy myself up until recently to start and to get back into history and I think a lot of Irish people are a bit fuzzy about it, they are sure about the rising because there was always a huge emphasis on that, but as the years went on and you include war of independence and civil war and after the Civil War everyone got a bit unsure because that wasn't talked about very much, certainly not about the civil war. And there are still rifts in families cause of the Civil War politics and civil war but I think the North probably wasn't and very possibly isn't, might be different with the peace process, but I bet that just wasn't even talked about tbh, because it was probably seen too 'hands off, we won't be talking about the North' because the Troubles are happening and the violence and you know

**N:** But I think it's also a question, I was thinking about earlier periods, you know the question of the endangered contracts and this immigration in the 16th 17th century. Which is, you know now there is a whole discus course about it in the in the States and its connection to the creation of whiteness as a race. You know when you talk about colonialism. You know what is more colonialism?! And this is ... I think we have only one more question.

**D:** How does peace relate to climate change?

**J:** It relates to it in the sense that it has an impact on wars have an impact on the environment and how governments and societies function in different places in a state of flux and of War managing climate issues is probably going to be the last one thing on the agenda. That's very basic I know. But look, even in a time of peace we are still ignoring the environment aren't we? Yeah, I don't know maybe it doesn't really have an impact but it does give lots of the population if they are in peacetime at least it gives them a breathing space and a voice to go. We can think about or we can say something about climate because we're not under war we're not within war so there is that aspect whether the government of the country that they're in listens to them is another thing but at least maybe there's a chance for people to go 'hang on a second' here when you're next crisis that isn't going to happen.

**D:** Would you consider peace building a political endeavour?

**J:** Yes, yes, absolutely.

**D:** And who is the political subject that can carry it?

**J:** Well anybody who wishes to, I suppose, no?

**N:** But do you see a group of people organising today's society? You know before we had like the working classes as a political but today everything so scattered so the question is do we have something different ? doesn't have to be that working class that ideology but do we have some kind of group of people that we can, some people say it's the Middle class some people say it's...

**J:** Maybe it's people who are actively defending the environment maybe that the new terms of peace and I'm certainly not I mean. I think It's really great people are protesting that but I'm not very motivated protesting myself I don't know maybe it's my age, I don't know. Because it's really important, I see it's really important to take action on it, yeah, I think maybe they are the ones, I don't know because it's going to happen, one of the necessary parts of that is peace for sure.

**D + N:** Thank you so much!