

Noa: Just before we start, can you say it again that you are, you agree to, for this interview?

A: Yeah, yeah that's fine.

N: And for us to use it in the project?

A: Yes.

N: Thank you.

Dorone: So you don't want to state your name, that's fine.

A: No.

D: But you can say your age and your education?

A: So my age is, I'm in my forties. My education, I have a degree in science.

N: may I ask you how did you come to study science? I mean now it's a big topic but like years ago.

A: 20 years ago unfortunately.

N: Haha.

A: To be honest I don't think it was a good choice for me. I made it because really liked geography, I like to travel, I like the open environment, but it turned out to be a very much science based or chemistry type a course so I didn't really enjoy it.

N: Here in Dublin?

A: In Limerick, South West.

N: And you did it for BA and MA?

A: No, just BA. Nowadays in Ireland it's changed. It kinda seems that you need a Master's to get a job but then a degree would be, more than enough I would say. Yeah but now it has all changed.

N: OK, so, I was just curious.

D: Where do you live? Where were you born? And did you and your family move?

A: So I lived in... Well, I was born in Dublin, we lived in the suburbs for about 2 years, and then we moved to the country side when I would have been 2. Lived there until I was 17, I've lived in different Irish cities, and abroad and now I'm in Dublin. And what was the full question?

N: And the question was when you moved, but why did your parents move to the...?

A: Well, my family has a long history of immigration, we'd be the first generation of our family that hasn't immigrated. So historically our family would have been quite poor, and would have done quite tough jobs in England. My father was a carpenter, he was skilled from my grandparents would have been very intelligent but no chance of education etc so they worked, my grandad used to break rocks in England and my grandmother who used to be a home aid for rich English people like she would have been off the wall intelligent but there was no opportunities then. But basically they moved back, my parents had my sister the oldest, they moved back to Ireland my father wanted to live in Ireland and my mother then wanted to move to

the countryside for reasons I don't know. My mother has passed away but yeah I think there's an Irish and I think it comes to the core of your question, there is a strong Irish need for home ownership because of that link with immigration and the long difficult relationship with the British empire, that the need for home ownership is really fundamental, kinda core. Going home, having a house, I think it's pretty, I suspect you find that theme across most people you speak to.

N: And what did they do?

A: My mother was a nurse that delivers babies, I should know the name of that there's a specific...

N: Midwife?

A: Midwife. And my father is a carpenter. But he's, yeah, he actually wrote a little life story, of his life, his life has been quite difficult really. Lots of ups and downs, but the Ireland he grew up in was a world away. It's like you hear people talk about going to school in your feet, like getting an orange for Christmas, this... It really just changed. So now, he finds some things in Ireland tough. The loss of community spirit, I don't know if Americanisation is the right word, but simple things like if you, I'm waffling now a bit but simple things like, if you look at most houses now in Ireland they have a big gate in front of them. Closed. And that's never been the case, I personally don't like it at all, I think it sends a signal, we're not open to people, don't come to our house we'll invite you, or kids can come for playdates. It has changed a lot. Sorry I went off the topic, the question was about my father what he done.

N: No, it's fine

A: But yeah, he was a carpenter.

N: And he had his own business?

A: he did eventually yeah, he went, he left for England at 17, he met my mother there. He did lots of jobs there, he trained to be a carpenter, he came home and yeah he set up his own business, building up mainly extensions for Ireland, a lot of suburbs got built in the '70s, '80s so he done extensions for those houses basically, yeah, but he only retired 10 years ago. He had to work a lot basically. And when my mother passed away, his life got hard very fast so. He's a very impressive person.

D: Can you talk to us a bit about your occupation again? I mean we talked about it without recording, so It would be good to have it recorded.

A: Yeah, so, well, I'm a civil servant working on policy.

D: And you were in a different department, weren't you?

A: Yeah, I was just literally down there, it's the same department.

D: So, there are a few more introduction questions which I think are as important as the main ones, next question is about living standards and your perspective today and you mentioned your dad and your grandparents and where you are today. So I suppose, what is the main difficulty you encounter today?

A: On a personal level?

D: Sure.

A: I don't have a lot of difficulties to be frank. There is nothing pronounced that I feel I should really complain about at least. I guess I would have concerns, particularly my father who is getting quite old so we have to find a resolution for him because I don't, I'm not happy with him living out there on his own. I see there are people around the country with a lot of

difficulty. So on the broader sense the homeless thing is pretty awful. I think it's really difficult to fix. I think a lot of people portray in the media and the politics, because housing is a part of it but it's also things like mental health, and this country has a long difficult relationship with alcohol. You know really systemic issues too. It's not just housing, but the housing is clearly making it more pronounced. So personally, I don't have anything pronounced to complain, the health would also be on my mind. I don't have health insurance, which is a risky thing to do here almost, which you know of when you're sick.

N: Do many people don't have health insurance?

A: Yeah, I would say the majority don't. And the majority of people I'd say who work and to a certain salary would. Like I went to the doctor and she was shocked that I didn't have it. Like there is free public health, but services are actually quite good if you get really sick, if you have a small sickness then you go to the doctor, but if you have something that is not life threatening you could be waiting years. So if it's something that puts you in pain, then the waiting list is really long. But if you get really sick then it tends to be quite good. But the majority wouldn't have. They would rely on the system but the system, the capacity isn't there. Something I really struggle with is the cost, maybe it's something for the questions coming but the cost here. The challenge that we have the multinationals which we encourage, they really are good for a country's economy but the effect that they have is that they effect the cost of living, and they also increase the population. People coming in to the country with jobs etc., which I have no problem with obviously, but they would just, the areas, the city people are just being pushed out a bit and they are commuting further. Some people in the fringes unfortunately are falling out completely and living in tents etc. So I think that's the fundamental cause of the problem. But it's not one easy to fix, because if you turn the multinationals away, then the country is brandjacked for a while at least. So I think that's only my own view, but I think that's the dilemma that we are in. it's not an easy one to fix. Like Facebook might pay, they pay 200K like you're talking about serious money. So if you get that money then you just buy the best place you want. And people, renters are just thrown out and it spreads. Yeah, so hopefully that's kinda like a summary of the answer.

N: And is there a discussion in the public service about that? I mean the politician is one level, but the people who actually have to confront the situation is the civil service.

A: Absolutely, yeah, there would be. Undoubtedly, people have their own perception but my perception, everyone here, they work really long hours, they're really trying their best, but somebody told me at the start, one of the most senior guys 'you can't fix every problem' you wouldn't have that specifically but there is just so many issues and challenges and things are just very difficult to fix in times but yeah, they would be really... This isn't the department of housing, but the department of housing, they would be trying everything almost but it's a slow moving theme to turn. Like getting houses built can take 5 years, so it may be actually, we'll see, but the next government will reap the benefits of what's been done but the housing policy is just slow. But yeah, they are trying, but bureaucracy is difficult. You can't do anything on your own here, you have to bring so many people along. And it takes a special kinda personality to do that. But personally from what I've seen I haven't come across many people that would, I haven't met anyone in fact, that would be indifferent to these things. And that includes the politicians. When you meet the ministers here, they really want to get things done, but it's not easy and their powers are often constrained to what they can do in law. So people's powers, they can anything, that's not illegal. But their powers are different, they can

do only what they have been legally in power to do. And peoples perception sometimes that they have powers, and the reality of their powers is different. They don't have all-encompass power and money is always the big thing. There's always so many competes and demands on money, and choices have to be made, and they are not always easy choices. But it fairly strongly believe it's not a lack of will.

D: What does the word peace mean to you?

A: I don't know, for me, I guess it's a way of feeling. Like my personal feelings. Irish people tend to be peacefully by nature, except if you rule out the 2 or 3 outers on Friday night, you don't see much aggression. Just people tend to be pleasant, calm, peacefully natured. But that can change. For me it's almost a value, a sense, of course it extends to the wider duo-politics political peace with most countries etc. and in Ireland the 3rd part of it is the peace with Northern Ireland. It's crucial, kinda forgotten and for me I never experienced it. If you lived here in the '80s or '90s, '80s really, you never really got exposed except for what you've seen on television, so depending on who you talk to I can imagine in Ireland, Northern Ireland will have a completely different view to that whole thing. But for a person who grew up here, I didn't really have exposure to it. I've seen bad things at he TV, I've seen bad things in the telly from America and Eastern Europe etc. So yeah, but generally my whole life has been very peaceful in that sense.

D: You live in a place where there is no war, but is there peace here?

A: I think there is certainly a strong degree of peace, yeah, on a broader sense in comparison with other countries, I would say absolutely. Is there issues? Yes, there is too. I think the dialogue, I just recently in particular... People use the word betrayal for the country splitting between South and North and the South leaving the Catholics of the North behind, and that language I haven't heard in a long time, but it's creeping back in and that's emotional, powerful language, it's intended, I don't think it's being used without thought of why. So there is some thinking of where this can lead us, this type of emotional... You'll see it probably on social media too that kind of language is creeping in which could set alarm bells in, I don't think we're there yet, but it's coming up in a more strategic way. I don't think it's just a few people speaking openly and freely because Irish people tend not to do that. If they are using that type of language, it tends to be for a reason.

N: And who is using this type of language?

A: Well, there are people with strong Republican opinions.

N: But from here? From Dublin or from the North? Or outside Dublin?

A: Both, I would say. From the North and from Dublin. Social media in particular. So you don't really know in many cases. I don't think it would be outside. I think the current difficulties the country is facing, is possibly giving the opportunity for this to be jumped on and brought forward again. Like it will always be there and I'm sure there's a strong feeling of it, in certain places, and it will always be there but there is no obvious solution. Because if you go the other way, the other side, I presume you know what I mean, I don't..

N: Yeah, yeah.

A: So yeah, it is, but I just feel that it has crept in recently and if we look at other countries, and these things creeping they are hard to put back in a box. it's interesting where it goes

D: You mean, recently as in Brexit?

A: Yeah, pretty much, Brexit was the starting point, at least in this country it opened up these difficult discussion and it has created tensions again. Brexit was obviously very different, for other reasons unfortunately and immigration being the main thing. This country have been,

I think we have 10% non-nationals right now, and you would be quite impressed by the few politicians really far right are just ignored so

N: In terms of immigration?

A: Yeah. It just doesn't play in Ireland because of, partly because of the history of this country that immigration is a part of every family, and it's a harder case to argue. That being said, a lot of the people who come in are not in ghettos but there are certain areas where they focus and that's not ideal. It's better to be more integrated and spread around. Because it's always easier to say there's no problem but if you are the person, I live in a nice area etc, but if you live in a poor area I can imagine you might feel differently.

N: And the immigration is mainly for high skilled jobs or? Is it experts working in IT or is like housemaids or...?

A: Well, not so much housemaids. It's probably high skilled and low skilled, it's probably not too middle-skilled. Multinationals are probably pulling in the high-skilled but I think there is also trade, not low skilled, but tradesmen, waitresses I think that kinda job.

N: Health industry?

A: Yeah, absolutely. But as I said it hasn't really been an issue but it was much bigger issue in the UK and that drove a lot of the dialogue there. And it is, if you go to an English town now, you can see it. Emigration has been a big thing in the UK in comparison to here.

N: But just one, because we started talking about this political aspects what would you think would be there, because this party rose on social-economical platform, and also Brexit has the social-economic divide, do you think the discrepancy between the standards in Northern Ireland and the standards let's say in Dublin or in Ireland as such, also play a role in this?

A: Do you mean the stands of living between the North and here?

N: Yes, because the day before yesterday, we went to Londonderry and this is very tough.

A: Yeah, I can imagine.

N: And it came up, I was reminded of it because what you said about the betrayal. Is the betrayal only national or lets say has a socio-economical aspect?

A: Yeah, I think a good way of describing it is when the country split, their economy, so them 6 counties, their economy was much, was more valuable than ours. So Belfast was the power house of the country. So their economy was greater than ours. And that's roughly 100 years ago. And now ours is over 10 times theirs. So they've never recovered from that split. They've spent 20–30 years fighting each other, the last 3 years without a government where decisions had to be made, so they've been stuck almost and we kinda drove on. And for the Catholics in particular up there, I think they feel, well we almost forgotten them, and the other community up there is probably looking east and they are not getting, they are getting money thrown at them and money is great. But money needs to be done in a better way so I don't think it really satisfies what they are looking for which is more feeling of being apart of something, when just being thrown money and being told to look after yourself I'm not sure it gives them that. But yes, I think the divide is there and I'm not sure how much it is felt. I honestly wouldn't know what a view of that would be for Northern Ireland. Whether they feel that as a particular issue. I think the divide here is beginning to degrade people here. There's some serious wealth about, that wouldn't have been the case in most of the history of the state, there wouldn't have been such a divide of wealth and I can imagine that's grievous and a grievous when you see people in tents etc. But I don't think from the southern perspective that it is so much about the North, South, economic wise I think it's about the divide in the country.

D: What is the sound of war and what is the sound of peace?

A: That's very difficult for me to answer. I just... Everything I'd know would be on television, it would be feelings not even feelings, I honestly don't know. I don't know, I have no sense of what war feels like. I can imagine that it's nasty and I can imagine that it changes people and you would always think to yourself, for all the things you've seen people have done in wars you'd never do that, oh my good values etc. but I have my doubts you know, it's easier saying these things than when you're in those positions. Yeah, I'm not saying I would, but I would question whether it's a straight forward or I'd been brought up with good values and I simply wouldn't do anything like that.

D: Is there sound for peace?

A: Sound for peace... Um... Yeah, I don't know. I think from an Irish perspective whether it's a sound, the sound I struggle with as well, I do think back to my father's... How he describes Ireland how he grew up in a community that kinda shared values of kinda working together and everyone looking after each other. That kind of feeling more so than a sound. Yeah, unfortunately I'm not great in transferring, I have a much more analytical mind than that kind of transfer into sound. I don't know I suspect if you wanted a sound of peace I suspect my feeling is that you go west of the country you kinda get it more than you'll get it on the East. I think on the East you get business, tension and argue but I think if you go west talk to some farmers in rural Ireland, than you might hear sounds of more peace and not worry about these things.

N: And did you ever yourself experience of what he meant by this sense of community? Do you remember it from your childhood or?

A: Not particularly, when abroad I did have sense of that of a community there. And it's a bit more than here, I found it hard to integrate back into Dublin but as an ex-pat much more so because everybody there from abroad and they tend to be single and wanting to meet up and they are all pretty much the same well educated and probably got a bit of money so it's a bit easier. But there you get a sense of it, here, I don't know. Here it's really not so much anymore. It comes with your schooling and education and your group of friends, and tend to stick to them. Civil Service is a bit tricky because people tend to come in from young age and they're settled and they're living in the suburbs so it's not so much social place to work. When it's a multinational I can imagine it would be very different.

N: And from your childhood, how was the...?

A: Well, my sense would be my family. My family would be incredibly close knit. So the community I would have would be really really strong family unit. Where it is you pick up the phone from wherever you are in the world almost and they'll be there in the support for anything you need. So for me it's very much a family, but I would have a pretty big group of friends too, but the family will be almost impenetrable. And I think that's fairly Irish thing. Yeah it's really close knit family units.

N: And the town where you lived in?

A: No, I don't have any links with that for strange reasons. Pretty much, a lot of Irish towns are GAA is the community and I was pretty rubbish at it. So I never really got into that circle. And I wouldn't have strong links with the community in the Parish, no. I would have had a few of my best friends, but I wouldn't have had that feeling, no. I left at 17 anyway so I've been gone a long time.

D: Is peace a relation with one self? Between people, peoples and states?

A: It's plural. The answer as a civil servant is to say all 3. I think between states is fundamental, I think the EU, we go out to meetings and we are not, we are just working on a specific area, but the most seniors guys meetings on all layers of civil service, even company levels working together, I think that's invaluable. And if there is rouse, they tend to be sorted in an open way, in a certain, it's no coincidence, if you look at the EU meetings they are always in a circular table, it's rarely rectangle, it's always circular. There's interlocked-tours to try and negotiate, and people's job is to avoid these blowing up, so I think in an international level of framework, the EU is incredible really to bring that and there hasn't been any inkling of trouble other than maybe recently there is with migration issues but within the EU states themselves, I think ultimately internationally the foundations are set, so I think, if to go back your question, if there is individuals who try to cause trouble I think they'll have to be quite a strong framework now. So either democracies within the countries themselves, which checks and balances there, now there's a whole new framework, which helps that too, so they can't be a strong managing, so they go out because they have to meet these people it's a hell of a lot harder to be tough to a person you know and is nice to you, it's just a personal thing but I think it's the truth, and the EU the stuff that they work on is just so complicated. If you can get 28 member states to agree on this — (shows paper) it's a regulation. Its remarkable. Now that's, well what does that have to do with peace? Well if you can do that type of thing, than it shows just how much people can work together if the conditions are right.

D: In the current political situation what do you consider as main split and polarisation in regards to power? And does that have a threatening or motivating effect on peace?

A: So, I think the split is not caused by the nationalists view. I think it's caused by the economic situation I mentioned and effect in housing in particular and health to a lesser extent, it gets put up there but I don't think it is, because people will only experience the health service in a more limited way. But the housing effects everyone. So I think that's driven it. I think good example was given in here was, one guy asked his 8 year old niece who'd she vote for? And she said she'd vote for Sinn Fein. And he said why? And she said they will build houses for the homeless. Like it just shows you how good their messaging it to be able to deliver such... It's really, really well messaged and focused. They'll stick into housing and they'll go into opposition etc. and they are in good shape. It couldn't have gone better the last few weeks.

N: I'm not sure they have to do too much, Boris Johnson seems to be doing all the work for them.

A: People here I don't think care about Boris so much.

N: Yeah, I mean, they shouldn't. I mean, of course it will effect people economically also but I don't think Boris himself thinks that the UK policy has an impact on Ireland. I mean, I didn't mean Boris as a person and his stupid... But as UK policy.

A: Absolutely. And the funny thing is that for the last 3 years that's what all people spoke about. But there's a real fatigue with it and I know the UK his message was get Brexit done but here it's getting there too. It's tiresome. We get so many emails on it it's frightening. But there is a bit of fatigue having set in with all these things here too.

D: Do you practice peace in your own surroundings? Do you see yourself individually, collectively or socially responsible for bringing or maintaining peace?

A: I would say yes to that one. I think the way I work, I tend to work with people, I try to persuade them and bring them along and talk whereas other people in here use the sledge hammer approach, you can really get things done that way, but its really hard to get things done twice that way if that makes sense. So I tend to work in a collaborative way, it tends to be exhausting at times just trying to get everybody to work together, but yeah, I do think so. I don't think I did 20 years ago, I think I've grown up a lot, but my way of working is very much collaborative, trying to be open and listening and meeting people more than the other approach. And the other approach is needed, in here, so you can't have everyone in here nicely going around chatting, you do have to don't care if people don't like them. And that's important, it's not easy but you get them in the civil service and it can be difficult at times. But personally, I think so, I think I work in that fashion.

N: And you work with people from the outside also? I mean like, only in the discussions within the civil service from different departments or do you have everyday contact with people from agriculture, people from...?

A: I'm quite new to the role so not so much, but mainly, a lot of it would be within the departments so each department will deal with the representatives from their sector, in the role I am in now it's not one you would so much deal with, you would deal a bit maybe with university professors, getting advice from them, consultants and analyst modelling, getting the best available advice so you can take your arguments to the other. In my last role yeah, you would deal with people in industry but it's not like a company where you can be very open, here you'll be very careful with your dealings because the things I've worked on have been in the media, yeah so you have to always behave in a much more conservative approach to your work.

N: And how much do you work with civil society organisation?

A: They're coming maybe every few months for a meeting, we hear their views, the minister meets them, we read their materials. So yes to a certain degree, sometimes their views aren't always reasonable, they can be catch-raised based which is a bit frustrating. So they tell us to do submissions by x and we say 'we'd love too — just tell us how, because here are the issues we face', and that dialogue they tend not to get into. But they are a big participation. Their participation is more with the political system than with us. So we treat them equally in some respects to everyone else. We have a formal consultation, their view is taken in the same way as others, the same as representatives of everybody and I think that's fair. They are lobbied but a lot of their energy is towards the politicians and not towards us. In fact some of them purposely avoid us I think, they try to avoid discussions cause we ask the boring difficult questions and they work on a political level more so. But they have a role.

N: And are there any local groups fighting for different things, like questions? I don't know, in Serbia there's against pollution but not pollutions in general but pollutions connected to the rivers in the sense of people throwing things in or this hydro power stations that block the rivers?

A: Absolutely, we have them all. So we have specific regional ones and they can be more powerful than the big ones you might see in the news and spokes person and they come in in really nice suits the regional ones can really drive things cause they can effect the local politicians and the local politicians are the ones, but the ones who can effect the local, the votes basically, they are the ones with real power. If we meet the minister sometimes an issue we might be getting a lot of lack and pressure in the media etc and he would say 'I speak in the door step,

it's not an issue, so I'm not worried' and it might be in the paper with fierce criticism but no. if it's not, but if that group was giving all that pressure in his area and there was a real feeling in the communities, then he'd have a completely different view on it. But the politicians are quite wise to know what's the real issue for the people and what's the bubble here between the media and the NGO's who are more in that world. The local issues tend to get sorted in Ireland quick, it's a problem too.

N: Why?

A: Well, because it means that the politicians are directed into sorting their own local issues and sometimes the bigger issues don't get attention. And it's a apart of consultant proportionate representation. There is a jump towards compromise, sort everybody out, some of the politicians don't put any attention to legislation that will effect everyone. Their minds are on grants and local issues. That's well known in the country, that's how it works.

D: Are there, or where their institutions that are responsible for bringing or maintaining peace? As like the state, nation, capitalist, welfare state etc.

A: Well, I think the social protection goes a long way to doing that. So people have the necessities in their lives, I think then they can worry about the nice things their jobs, a good job, a good education, that sense of basic well-being an income etc that allows them for peace to flourish if you'd like. If you start dipping below those basics, I think then there are anger forms and anger is harder to manage and it can go any direction. I've seen a bit of that now, so there's anger emerging, but I think it's that fundamentals are having, I mean Northern Ireland has been peaceful for the last 30 years and the country has done well economically even there to a certain extent, but it that starts fragmenting then it could open up again, yeah social protection I think is a good protection against it, but that's not straight forward either getting that right with tension that is there, people, the dialogue on whether people should be given free money etc or whether its social protection or whether it's the other type of language which is scrounging or taking from the system and free houses. There are quite different opinions, but it's a module I would say now, its not clear but the dialogue isn't, like the UK which is more, much more the welfare kind of language and scrounger type a language. Even though they pay a lot less proportionally in social to what we do and that's, that could be another way of evidence of the answer that they haven't focused on social protection so much like we did, and maybe that's part of the source of the reasons. Like we do pay per capita a lot more than they do. But the cost of living is higher here so you don't see the same benefit, the stuff we pay 50% more you wont see a huge benefit because the cost of living for a lot of our population is higher.

D: Is peace a result of ones personal or generational historical experience of war, deprivation, injustice, social conflicts?

N: I mean, it's a bit general question because there are many in this projects, there are many partners from different situations so for instance there are partners from the Balkans, for them war is really close and others. So that's why its so generalised but there are still enough people who remember the Troubles here, both as participants or kids. How much do you think this memory functions in the general society and politics, in the wider sense?

A: I don't think it does, in the South anyway. Maybe closer to the border regions it does but I don't think, I certainly don't come across it. My friends, family never. But that doesn't mean

it's not back there in the background and it could be triggered at some endowment thought. So I think it hasn't played a role in the world I've seen, but I think it's there and you'll see it. It can be brought out, I suspect it will be brought out again if the right buttons are pressed. That's not necessarily going to be the case, but it could be. So I don't think it has been a pervasive thought but I don't think it's clean, I don't think it's gone and I don't think it will ever be until there is some kind of resolution for Northern Ireland because it's just such a difficult difficult situation, to divide groups like that, one of them wants to be joined down here and one of them wants East. It's really heart felt. Up there the views must be so much heart felt because there it would still be more pervasive, it wouldn't be like I described it here endowment thought I don't think. It will be part of their everyday lives. Like the people in the north, the Catholics as I understand them, they completely consider themselves just part of this country, they have nothing to do with the UK. Everything in their lives is directed here. They watch RTE, television, they play GAA, so they are not part of that world up there. But then I met Peter, who've you met, he is the other direction. But he'd be pretty soft about it, he wouldn't be pronounced, but again that probably because he had a pretty good life style too. He hasn't had any depravation or anything. So he'd be pretty, he wouldn't be even enough to be caught in some of the basic arguments against the other side.

N: And are there any, here in Dublin, are there any commemoration dates, celebrations?

I know there was celebration of the peace agreement but also about different aspect of the...

A: So in 2016 they celebrated the War of Independence quite well and quite complete way, so they brought all the different communities together and they planned it together, so they have been very good at that but if they do that without that inclusive attitude, which they tried a few months ago on the government went alone to a certain extent, and they picked the RIC so they celebrated them, suddenly all hells break loose. So it's been done, it's been done really well, like the 1916 people were worried about that, that that would stock up stuff but they managed to do it well. I think they took their eye of the ball recently, because in the coming elections and just things go on and they probably didn't pay much attention to it and probably just that it simply nobody thought of it, and immediately it provokes and its jumped on and seized upon for a political game really. So yeah, its kinda the thing again, so if they do it well and manage it, it keeps it away but if they do things wrong and misstep then it can arise really quickly and the social media brigade force in force. So generally it's been done really well but unfortunately it was a pretty bad boo boo a few months ago. You were obviously aware of that, Dorone.

D: Yeah. So again, as Noa said, some of these questions are a bit general but lets see if it triggers something in you the next question. Do you think people volunteer to go to war, or is it a personal choice?

A: Do they volunteer or is it a personal choice?

N: I mean, is it a personal choice to go to war? Or is it...?

A: Well, in theory I would say yes, it's a personal choice, but the evidence doesn't really seem to show that. From what I can see, when countries go to war, people tend to go in with it. So standing back from a cold light you'd say no I wouldn't do it etc, but I don't necessarily see that when war happens its not as easy as that. The decision is different. Maybe your family got involved, suddenly your allegiances which you didn't feel one of your best friends get killed, whatever I don't know, suddenly things change so I don't think it's as simple. I don't

know, but my suspicion is I could easily sit here and say oh it's a personal choice but I suspect reality is very different. You just get caught up in the hysteria, and the roar and get involved and then once you're in, you're probably in big trouble then so you don't get out too easy so I suspect it's not a personal choice to a large degree. And to make it a personal choice you probably have to do some things which might mean losing your family, your friends, so yeah I could be wrong but evidence seem to be along those lines.

D: Who is profiting from war? How does that effect the post war politics?

A: There are actually quite a few arms companies around if you look at countries like Belgium or Sweden, Sweden is a peaceful country but they are big arms dealers too. The UK, the US has them but in fairness Trump hasn't don't much war mongering I would say, he has done a lot of things but not necessarily that. Which people thought that he would, that big arms companies would have it out and start new wars. Yeah, I'm not sure many people profit ultimately. You can make the simple case that some companies profit but I think the dead, the damage will far away the profits and I'm not sure it's profit driven, it maybe, but I'm not sure it will always be profit driven. Because I don't think many people profit. The peace process here, there was a lot of profit that wasn't in pure financial terms, though there was a hell of a lot financial profit, so peace brings profit and probably war doesn't. and as I said, the economy up there hasn't benefited from the Troubles let's say.

D: Did anyone in your family fought in a war? Did they ever tell you about it or..

A: Not really. The closest we came was my grandad as a kid was side he was on the free state side, his father, he did see somebody, this is quite rough but one night s he did see some person being taken and threw into the farm to be buried alive I think. That's like a 100 years ago, yeah, it would be nearly a 100 years ago, so that would be just a story from when he was a kid. His two brothers were killed in WWI in America, they were fighting for America, they died in France. They left, immigrated like everyone else did, joined the American army and they were back in France and dead within 3 years. Age 21 and 22. That's kinda... Just an echo in the past, it's not, it doesn't really prevail in the mind.

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

A: Yeah, I think peace gives time for innovation and research and all the good stuff and it has advanced it in bad ways too but yeah, I think it's, medical care etc. We have all the biggest pharmaceutical companies of the world are here. Yeah, I think it gives breathing space for humans to do good things, bad things too but I think without that foundation of peace it's hard to see how if you look at some of the war torn countries its like they don't have the basics, never mind the, well some of them do but not a lot of them. Like, look at Iraq and places like that. Without that basis I think it's hard for them to move forward and set economies and get good health care for their people and housing and things we take for granted almost. Yeah, for sure.

D: Does peace relate to (re)distribution of wealth/ownership or property? In what way?

A: Yeah, I think it is. But although, you look at America and you might say maybe not, because they are quite peaceful and...

N: Not really..

A: Within their borders, let's say.

N: That's the question of how you define, if you export your...

A: That's true. And they don't have much equality like. If you look at their income inequality, it's shocking, ours is actually... Before income tax applies ours is not bad but we're actually one of the best in the world for income redistribution, so that helps a lot. So yeah, that's a good point, America exported so they are not peaceful by any means. But I think it helps without doubt. It keeps the anger at bay. Inequality would drive, it's difficult. Even here, where there is still quite a lot of inequality, it's not as badly pronounced as other places. But I suspect if you done a regression analysis, you'll find inequality and Troubles maybe somewhat closely related.

N: And how much do you think there is, how much is the government or by extension the civil service as such, how much is it under certain ideology that it is to serve the co-operation?

A: I'm not sure the ideology serves the co-operation. I think the ideology will be more around protecting the economy. And maybe in alliance with the co-operations themes at times but the things you want to do and spend money, oh they all want to spend money, that can only be done if the economy is doing well so, if you hear arguments that will help the economy I think you'll be open to them. But I don't think it's the case that co-operations are any particular, that their needs are the driver, I think the driver is the economy and the economy plays a key role in that.

N: Yeah, but there is this, like, you know now on the agenda is this whole discussion about global taxation, or taxation where the users are, or wealth tax or all this kind of different new solution that is trying to be introduced...

A: Absolutely, but if you are here, and we have and we are completely reliant on them economic wise so if we were to agree to so much a principle which in the broader sense yeah it sounds perfect but from a selfish point a view here for a politician if they agree to it, these companies leave and the country will be devastated. So I think, and they'll be out of jobs, so I think from a quite selfish point of view for a country's perspective, it is. But I can understand the dilemma, if they agree to such tax on the co-operations, that will apply world-wide they'll go to the one country who didn't agree to it. And then people here will be out of jobs, there will be, then you get real anger. So it's a bit of a catch 22, I think you won't find anyone who would say it's fair, I don't think you will, but I think everyone, most people in the political sphere will recognise it's just a way of life. And if you think it's come about because of the country's economic rise was so late, we had no industry, so we could actually put a low co-operation tax on without damaging the income. We got that, then these companies moved in, now we can't really take it away, but if you are a country who had already a co-operation tax, if they were to drop it they will lose a lot of income and the hold people will move in. so we kinda hit a sweet spot and I think that reality is, I think the country will protect it in all cost but I don't think it's for the co-operations I really don't, it's the implications of it which will be devastating. it's not all good, there is bad implications for them coming and the low tax base, but I think it's a hard argument to make in here and I think the country. yeah. I don't mean to sound right wing or anything but I think it's just the way it is.

N: No, I know it is now a very big problem, countries who are much bigger than Ireland are now fighting with it, but I think it is also, I mean you said it yourself, it puts, again the growth is for whom? You know when people here don't have housing, don't have health care, the implication of the system that not allows for everybody, for every child to go to pre-school, then a question is being asked you know how do you balance the ...?

A: And I think if you accept it you're not going to take the position that you're going to ask them to pay more tax, then I think it's fair that there is a stronger distribution afterwards like post-taxation which there is here but maybe it could be stronger but it's not straight forward.

N: I mean it's not just Ireland's problem, you saw the Yellow Vests in France and now the big strikes there, the whole question of Brexit, in Germany, I mean it's not particularly...

A: France protects its own country's companies very much so too, every country has its own little industry, they don't let in competition so much, and its good, if you work in a French company it's great, but for consumers it's not always good in terms of prices and stuff.

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

A: Absolutely, I would say. I think this might differ in each state but in Ireland its still pretty much possible. Partly because strict funding rules in terms of political parties. I think in other countries like America where there is no such rules, I suspect it's less likely. The UK again probably less likely but again, I suppose I would say even in our country there's a trend not towards that, but is it possible? I think it is.

D: Why do you think there's a trend not towards that?

A: Well, I think the... If you're privately schooled you're more close to a network of influence and wealth which are both very helpful in gaining political power so I think that's one, kinda the networks established networks. And it's probably more the case in older countries, Ireland as a country is quite new in that sense and it wouldn't be, it would have a flat enough class, so there wouldn't be much classes, so everyone would have been low class only a 100 years ago. I think education is a key thing, so depending on a country's education levels that's probably the biggest barrier so again I don't want to sound like we are better than anyone else, but I think education levels are good here and in countries that don't have comparable education level and people leave after secondary school, then I think it's harder to influence and understand how the system works. See, I would say, class, meaning networks and established networks and second education I think is really fundamental barrier progress.

D: But we can say as well in Ireland, there's free education from primary school so for instance working class people would be exposed to that education. Do you think there is still a barrier there?

A: So education here is pretty much free at primary, secondary and third level. There is fees, theirs is quite some fees in all that so I think education in itself isn't probably the barrier, but there's probably barriers in terms on social protection elsewhere that means that they leave the education system. So depravity is an obvious one, where the family there are things like drug abuse, or alcohol abuse, in Ireland that probably one of the bigger ones, domestic abuse, a lot of things that are basically depravity I think they are the issues rather than education. The education system is quite good but I think there are other issues that are obstacles that maybe stop people from getting education and they don't get the most out of it. And if they don't get the most of them, then I think that creates barriers, significant barriers. Also health. The healthcare, its very much in Ireland life expectancy is very much by the type of work you do and whether you have work. And if you don't have work, its significantly less than a person who does have work. So I personally think that the education system is quite good, but I do think there are other areas of social protection which creates blocks in that prevents them from getting the most from the education system.

D: So then, will it be close to impossible, would you say, for a working class person ?

A: No, no, I don't think so. If you look at Sinn Fein, which are the largest party and are seen as a working class party, and a lot of their TD's are working class as far as I can see, they are not a million miles from being in government now, this election will probably not happen for this round, but for the next one that's what most people foresee. No so I don't think it's impossible, I think it's a challenge. Like to be a good politician you have to be a good speaker, you have to be polished, you have to be debating and you have to have a lot of skills that are have extra curriculum activities on, like being a good debater is not something you study in school, some people have it naturally but if you have a wealthy background you have maybe tricky skills, maybe the more wealthier can achieve. But some people have it naturally. Some of the Sinn Fein people are very articulate yea. So no I certainly don't think it's impossible. I think it's harder and I do think the protection as I said at the start around donations that's a fundamental one, I also one thing to mention is media influence we have quite a fair media I think, compare to other areas, if you look at other countries where the wealthier can influence the media, and do influence the media to a greater extent, that would be a big barrier. Not to here now, well not to a large extent I suppose but if that comes as in the UK maybe, that would be a whole new barrier and a barrier that in difficult for a government to intervene with.

D: So we'll move to the next question then, what is solidarity for you? And do you think it's practiced in your own surroundings?

A: Yeah, I kinda feel that it's a word that gets a bit abused in some ways. Because it's shun to every debate at the moment. And it's used as a criticism, for me the word that would strike me is maybe fairness and compassion to deal with people in that way. The system is designed to be fair and to be compassionate. I guess in a debate other people will have a view that it's more than that, that it's a more kinda socialist but for me the word that would jump to my mind would be fairness and compassion to all of the citizens. And that could extend to a lot of things; people with disabilities etc they, need to be fair to them, they need a lot more supports than people without disabilities. It's a well designed social protection system, maybe it's one way of looking at it, and to give people equal opportunities that doesn't mean the social system will be equal it will have to be designed in a way that will give everyone that opportunity. The people also have to take the opportunities, you cant spoon feed everyone if you like, so you have them the healthcare, give them the education, give them the supports for special circumstances, and then every person should take their opportunities as much as they want.

D: And do you see that practiced in your surroundings?

A: It's a tricky question actually, it's mostly of your own perspective but at a highest level I suspect yes, I think if you look at the covid response I think the government has been quite good in terms of the scheme that they rolled out almost immediately, its quite generous and its going to cause I suspect a lot of trouble in the future in terms of A — how do you take it away and B — funding it because the country is already in a lot of debt. So I see it to a certain extent, I guess there's pockets that haven't been satisfied, difficult to reach areas that, up to recently we had 5% unemployed. From that 5 I think we have 2% long term unemployed, and they've just proven really difficult out reach. That will probably be, moving forward, that the 10% of them who lost their jobs in the last couple of weeks, we can't get them back to work and they'll be left into that trap of long term unemployment. And that's for every country a really difficult one to fix. I think we are quite good in point change the system over the last few years, but Ireland's political system doesn't lend itself to radical political change. It lends itself

to incremental change. So I think we've been good, sorry if I'm waffling a bit, I think we've been good in the sense that the system which we have which is quite confining in making radical changes. I'm sure you're aware, it's this what's it called, proportional representation. So as I understand it, that system of politics, is really consensus politics whereas in the UK its first past-the-post. So once they are in power they can make changes that suits their philosophy which is much easier than in a country like Ireland with proportional representation. So within them confined rules, I think we have done ok not perfect by any means, our economic model a difficult one at times to fish, but we're in a good social protection system.

D: So do you think then that solidarity is a factor in the production of peace? You kinda touched this...

A: Well, absolutely. It's not clear you can have peace without solidarity, maybe that's one way of looking at it. It's one of the key ingredients. Even if you look at the peace that is achieved in Northern Ireland, there's still a call, what it is 20 years later, for a reconciliation group. So it's almost recognised that that solidarity hasn't been found yet, and it's an ingredient that it's there to a certain extent but it quickly resolves so I think so. If you look at other countries which you are more familiar than anyone, without a lack of solidarity its hard to see, without that you can't get the peace. But maybe even without it at the start, maybe solidarity doesn't need to commence the process maybe you create it over time if you like or foster it over time once you get into a peace process.

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

A: Wage labour? You mean in terms...?

D: In terms of like, let's say higher class, middle class, working class, so how does that bring you together or separates you from one another?

A: I guess there's probably systemic reasons and probably more feelings as well so systemic reasons I guess we touched on things like education levels, supports in place, more material things and things that are obvious, the other things that are harder to put a finger on if you like, just like simple things like people applying for jobs, but their address might not get them in. People tend to mix if you'd like, with their own groups, that kinda stuff you don't see really too much cross-pollination if you like. But you do some, like. I think in Ireland we have things like the GAA, Gaelic Association which it's a cross, maybe not so much the upper class but it kinda does too, and it's a great thing to get communities together from all different ways, so we have that kinda thing in Ireland is really breaking barriers. The UK obviously has a knocker obviously, which is less the GAA model it's more business type model, but I think in Ireland the Gaelic associations do break the barriers considerably more than they would be. And they've been around for so long that it meant that the class wasn't as significant as in other countries because only 100 years ago it would, most people would have been very much just very very poor.

D: So do you say that's it's an intentional, like GAA is for GAA (Gaelic football) but it's also for actually bringing communities together?

A: Yeah, it's more. If you're in a GAA, its much more than the sports its really a community thing. Im, I've been a bit unfortunate, I didn't really get into it, but particularly in Northern Ireland. A lot of communities look to GAA to start, not to the government, not to the Northern Ireland assembly, but the GAA in each community so, its really one of the great things in

terms of over coming the ways in Ireland, and I think that's partially the reason of concern with GAA becoming of a model of Sky Sports TV and a consumer model and I think it s a concern amongst communities. Just as an example one of the old famous footballers rang my father, my father in cocooning on his own, and one of the famous GAA footballers phoned him during the week because my brother texted him and he spoke to my father for 20 mins about Gaelic football.

D: That's nice. That's really nice.

A: Yes.

D: Can I ask you then, I don't know if you know but I had a GAA player student here before.

A: Yeah, you mentioned.

D: And you know, his background was working class, but they've thrown all these gifts at him, they don't pay them a salary but they'd give him like a car, or a fancy house or whatever for various reasons but my question here is do you think that's intentional, you know, do you think they are not paying them as lets say famous football players or whatever just so they kinda stay within the community? Because you know, I think to a certain degree, if let's say you're payed whatever millions a year then you become higher, you become the upper class. And it doesn't matter as much the background that you come from I think. Cause then you start thinking of your own things, you start thinking of your money, property and naturally sometimes you'll be thinking less of your community. So I'm wondering if that's a part of why, they never actually pay them as other players.

A: Yeah, maybe. I've seen an interview with that very same footballer and he said his friends who played on the soccer team in the community, most of them fell away from soccer at 17 or 18 and some of them fell to drugs and their lives were less successful. He said him and the people who went to the Gaelic team, they were looked after so, yes you're right. He probably got a lot more because he was actually very good, but even if he wasn't at that level, from what he said in the interview was he would have been looked after, they'd make sure he got a good job, the community would have taken good care of him, so I think what they do, yeah I think you're right, I'm not sure the philosophy is to not let them get professional for that reason, I think it's already an extension to what already is the case. But to protect the young lads going into the Gaelic games, its not just about whether they are good footballer, its whether they're a good person. And because he's a very good footballer he gets very good package of that. Then there's also commercial reality that these guys need to, the effort they put in means that they have to sacrifice other elements of their life. So I guess it's partly compensation for that. You know, they cant hold a proper job, it's not fair, but its much harder to hold a full time job while you're a Gaelic footballer at that level.

D: And not just that, from whom I'm referring I know from him, he had like, he made his own three different companies, because he didn't actually have a salary coming in and he was playing professional football. So it doesn't matter they gave him a house, a car whatever, they still need kinda to make their own way. So it is a really interesting initiative you know, kinda like, because I know a lot of his work is also community work, outreach especially with schools, so he'll be going around schools in the area where he grew up and do a lot of like anti-drug, personal stories and pushing into GAA in all different ways. But then I think there's no women in the community, I mean there are a lot of fans, but I mean if you're a working class woman what are your prospects? It's not really a question, it's just a point that I'm kinda thinking of with you here.

A: Yeah, I'm not sure it's entirely the case that there are no women, I think there is women, the problem they have with girls is that they all leave at 16 or 17. So if you look at the men's sport and women's Gaelic tends, as far as I understand, participation rates are maybe not comparable, but they are both still high. But girls leave at 16 and 17 pretty much dramatically and males not to the same extent.

D: And why do they leave?

A: That's a question, I don't know if anyone has one answer.

D: That's for a different project. That's fair enough, it's a really interesting point and I'm really happy you brought up GAA. The second part of the question, is how is peace influenced by employment and working conditions?

A: Well, I think at the highest level, if you look at countries that are peaceful I'm quite sure there will be higher employment and good working conditions. Whereas you look at countries with less peace, there probably won't be good employment and working conditions. If you look at Northern Ireland and the source of the Troubles, many decades ago, a lot of it was because of discrimination and the Catholic communities not having access to employment on an equal basis or social protections. So again I think it's an important ingredient, if you look at Israel I suspect and Palestine for example, I can imagine unemployment levels are frightening. And for those employed, the conditions aren't great either. So it's important, but then you can put the counter-point look at the States, some of the wars they've done, they haven't been particularly problems with unemployment, or working conditions, so it's clearly not the only factor but I suspect it is an important factor.

D: Do you think the EU, or at the time the prospect of joining the EU, brought peace to your area?

A: Yes, I do. One thing the EU don't have competency in, things like social protection, so they have competency in markets, but because of that competency, the EU were allowed to put minimum standards on things like employment law and equality. Because if they didn't do that one will be under-cut another one and basically create their products cheaper. So it would undermine the markets, so because of that intricacy if you'd like, the EU were able to put in minimum standards for important things like employment law and gender equality, which had a big effect in Ireland. I think the EU was good in things like structure fund, so if you look at Ireland and drive any motor way, the EU has supported that. So a lot of the infrastructure for example the roads between Ireland and Northern Ireland there's a gas pipe line connecting them the EU had a role there, in terms of integrating the countries and the other thing the EU do is things like cap performance policy which they give a lot of small farmers quite significant supports that keeps the roll-out communities alive and things like that. So I think they going back to the start I think they they don't have applied employment directly or healthcare or social protection, but they have leavers which they have used and I think they had quite a significant impact across Europe.

D: How does European peace relate to internal immigration?

A: Internal? So within the states?

D: Yeah, within the European states.

A: You can only assume that it helps it, that people feel much more comfortable to move around freely. Like people come to Northern Ireland now, I don't think it would have been a destination

of choice in the '80s. The fact that there is, people feel... It just becomes automatic, you jump on a Ryanair to any other member states, you wouldn't even think about it, the peace. You might think about security, but you wouldn't think about peace. Yeah, so it's a very important part of it, I think. So there are other barriers, language is probably the biggest barrier in term of immigration for work reasons etc. but it think peace is not an issue, at least in my mind.

D: So then how does peace relate to relations with countries in other continents and immigration from there? So outside the EU?

A: Yeah, it's probably the biggest challenge the EU has, because the recent years, the Syrian crisis etc. creates migrants, it's one of the reasons for migrants appearing on EU borders, people rightly claim climate change is too. But a lack of peace, creates a lot of pressure on Europe and Europe's solidarity in terms of some member states like Greece had to deal with it on their own in some respects, and Italy, so even though the lack of peace is outside the EU border, it does put tension between the EU members states, and within the EU members states. I know in Germany, there's been quite a significant rise in the far right, after taking 2 million immigrants in. it clearly has an economic effect in term of trading and in terms of the EU's countries can probably manageable but for the country's for the peace, there is no peace, then I think their economic well-being will very much suffer too which will exasperate the migrant issue if you like.

D: So then the second part of this question is how does the idea of Europe include and exclude? And I know you touched a bit on this with the refugees but maybe you can expand on that a bit more.

A: Yeah, I guess in the member point, if you have an EU passport or a member state passport you're in and you can take advantage of what you mentioned, immigration within the EU, so you have 280 million citizens who can freely move around. You have not only the right to move around, you have a right to social benefits within each EU state so if I moved to another member's state and I was unemployed, I would have access to their social system, I would actually have access to their healthcare system so there are quite some rights attached to it. So I guess for those outside the borders of the EU, it must look very appealing those rights. I mean I can imagine it's almost incomparable anywhere else in the world. Maybe places like New Zealand, Australia, the States probably less so but there will be very few countries outside in the world that would have such good social protections. So I think the standard of living is higher, it's a world of paradise I think people take for granted but if you're outside of it, it's a different world. Maybe you don't appreciate it until you are outside it. Sorry I should have mentioned Israel in terms of having good social protection.

D: It's OK, you don't need to list all the countries in the world. So then it will be interesting to see how Brexit puts things together. So you know they are getting out of the EU, so they're losing all these things that they can give their people, their economy, their health system hopefully will hold its place because it's pretty good, but especially now with the covid-19 crisis. It's really hard to know where this is going to go.

A: Yeah, Brexit might be a little bit left in the media term. I do suspect that a deal will get very close, from Ireland's perspective that will be something that they'll be keen to secure. I think from the UK politician's perspective, they will also be keen to secure it, they might not say it publicly, they may make big announcements but the detail in the trade deal, I'll be surprised if it really didn't keep them very close. Its in everyone's interest despite all the bluster maybe in the public and outside.

D: There is, yeah. I mean I think you're right but I've seen a few worrying things, that kinda far-right ideal in Britain getting stronger. Well especially in England, people I've seen in social media because of the covid 19, they feel it's the fault of anyone who isn't British. Well you know they start by blaming Chinese people and saying 'buy only uk' and 'do only UK' and 'do only Britain' and kinda tying things together not only of Brexit but also to these ideals. So you know, the Empire ideals, where everything is good and we're strong together only if we hold together, and anti-everything else and what you're saying makes complete sense but I wonder how are the people going to feel after all this? You know cause I have the same feeling as you have that they'll need Europe more, they'll need the support system especially after the terrible loss that they are going through as we speak, but I wonder if because of that loss, its like after a war you know, you have so much anger and sometimes you just become more extreme.

A: Yeah, it could be. Like it's interesting with their media at the moment, even when things are so bad, if you read some of their newspapers, its unbelievable like. Like they focus on the most trivial things. The anger might turn to it, there is an article this morning on the Sunday Times, really long one but it's incredible, incredibly critical of the British government and Boris Johnson in particular. And that's coming from the Times which is a Murdoch paper. The anger, they might, they might turn it yet, you never know. most of the media i think will try to deflect as they've done and the politicians will try to deflect, but it's hard to know. People are, surely people see some of the reality anyway.

D: I hope so.

A: I know. I thought so before but they didn't.

D: Hopefully you'll like the next question. How does peace relate to climate change?

A: Yeah, there are a couple of ways to looking at that, I guess the first way is to say is that climate change will bring about instability and probably lack of peace, it will create a lot of migrant issues and movements of people, so it will bring about instability and peace will be more challenging. But if I'm not mistaken you asked the question how does peace effect climate change?

D: how does it relate to climate change?

A: Yeah, then OK, that's the obvious one, I think. If you look forward in terms of climate impact it's very different across the world and where it effects the real tough situations to arise. It tends to be actually, unfortunately in those places, they are least well equipped and least well afforded so the worst off are going to be hit so I think it will bring a lot of migration issues probably drought's is going to be the immediate ones. We already see it in countries like Australia burning, drastic stuff, yeah, I think it could be very much, it's almost such a big challenge its hard to put your mid in it and speak to it because obviously nobody knows, but it could be a lot worse than anyone thinks. If the impacts are what's forecasted, and I guess if you try to map the impact on mass movements and famines, I suspect it's horrific. So yeah, for peace, the borders I mentioned around EU, you can imagine them borders getting higher and people who are more well off and less feel the impact, will want to protect themselves even more. So the world could become even more an unequal place. And yeah, at some point, there wont be peace, because people's life are at risk and they probably have to act. it's a very very difficult question in terms of who knows, but I suspect it will be worse than I imagine who knows.

D: it's a hard one to answer. A lot of people took it to a bit of a different angle than you did just now. And mostly just spoke to the community spirit, of what's happening now. As like climate change as a movement. And actually your angle just now, was quite refreshing. Noa did the interview with me also and I didn't think of it that way, I saw straight away, as like a movement you know it's great because its bringing people together. But what you just said is like a flat out analytical analysis of what's going to happen once this hits, which is very refreshing.

A: Yeah, and maybe both answers, maybe neither is wrong, if you like. Because maybe yes it will strengthen the communities in the rich countries to do all nice fancy things, grow your own vegetables and all those lovely things but if you stand back and look at things from a global basis, I'm not so sure it will be such a good story. I think it's a very bad story. Yeah, I'm sure there will be pockets of good things, but in the bigger picture, there's bleak. Like if you want to I can send you over Dorone, the IPCC came out with a report about a year ago with arise of 1.5 degree and it shows the bit, we are currently planning on below 2 degrees, try to keep global warming under 2 degrees, and if possible 1.5 degrees, vs pre-industrialised, pre-industry, pre-industrialisation, and that report shows the differences in each half degree temperature. And the difference even between 1.5 and 2 degrees is stark. 2 and 3.5 which is where we're heading, it's a different world. So then, in peace, I just don't think the story stacks up then.

D: Send it over, please. We'll talk about that afterwards, here's your big one, the last question, so gather all your energy for the last question: would you consider peace building a political endeavour?

A: Yes, I think it is a straight answer.

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

A: Sorry, I don't understand that.

D: OK, so, do you think it's a matter of the people not necessarily politicians but like people's movement to try and work on peace building? Or does it need to be a politician in the government? Someone said artists!

A: Artists, wow – I probably won't come up with that answer, sorry! I think it's the people. I think politicians react to what people want, that's for sure. You've seen, going back to your last point, people demanding a move on the climate change and you've seen the progress of the governments at the moment about climate change. If the people were more demanding of peace issues, I'm sure you'll see that too. So I do think it comes form the people, artists I don't know. I guess, only certain types of politicians can really be peace makers, like a lot of things in life maybe it's a bit of luck too, getting the right people at the right time, takes a certain type of personality to be involved in peace talks, humility is really important and grace. I think in Ireland we were lucky, it just happened, we were just lucky they intervene. We got Tony Blair and people I know had a lot of problems with him, but we also got Bertie Ahern, probably the master lack of swagger, kinda working man kinda style to him. I don't think you can list off politician, they are doing an important role, I think currently Simon Coveney is really good in that type of thing.. He seems a very straight person. And the GAA people, they always had a peaceful role, but communities would have. Things that bring people together. Music would bring people together I guess, on it's own though its clearly not going to, you know. Maybe that's all I have on that one I'm afraid.

D: Thank you so much.