The Fourth World:

Discussing Theories of Nationalism and Ethnicization in Ireland

In the Case of the Travellers

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December 2012

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After being in Ireland for only a few days I could already see the contempt Irish people had for the Travellers. Often referring to them using the derogatory term "knacker." This same term is used to insult someone, usually one who is perceived as lower class or underclass, by likening them to a Traveller. I was volunteer tutoring at the Traveller Community center and was saddened by the state of the Travellers, living in over crowded trailers on damaged land in extreme poverty, deprivation, and a lack of education. The experience and mentalities of the Traveller children at the community center was reminiscent of the experiences of Blacks and Native Americans in the United States, the aboriginal experience in Australia: underrepresented and in some sense, forgotten; as well as the Irish experience in the United States in the mid-late 1800's.

Ireland is a small island with immense national pride and relative political solidarity. However, the Travellers are excluded from this. The Travellers are not simply Irish, they are first and foremost Travellers. They are not allowed to participate in Irish nationalism as readily as mainstream Irish; being rejected as Irish simultaneously rejects them from participation in Irish nationalism and the ability to claim an Irish national identity. The Travellers are underrepresented, resented, and devalued socially and politically. It is this case of the Irish Travellers that I intend to analyze in a context of nationalism and ethnicization. I also intend to specify the effects these processes have on disturbing democratic values and inciting depoliticization. First, I'd like to begin with the discussion of the term 'Fourth World,' which is a term that accurately corresponds with the social, political, and economic status of the Travellers.

The Fourth World is a term referring to sub-populations within official nation-states which are excluded from global society and which do not produce or consume in the global market. The concept pertains to pastoral, nomadic, and (some) farming peoples living in the industrialized world but not consuming within the national or international markets. They are still very localized and self-contained. Additionally, the Fourth World refers to sub-populations, or native ethnic groups living in First World nation-states subjugated to the living standards of Third World or developing countries (i.e. Native Americans living on Reservations in North America). All of these populations are living as identifiable groups, though the groups in the former definition may not understand themselves as subjugated or excluded, while the groups identifying with the latter

definition use the term because of an understood marginalized reality. The first definition is used to support farmers and aboriginal/indigenous (self-determination or nationalistic) movements, and the latter is the way the term will be used in my argument.

The term was first used by the first secretary of the Tanzanian High Commission, Mbuto Milando in conversation with George Manuel, Chief of the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada, who coined the term in his book, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (Griggs 1992). According to Griggs, Manuel thought of the Fourth World as a concept referring to the people who descended from a territory's original or indigenous population, but are excluded from 'their own' territory and its resources. In this essay I will use the definition, which extends to native ethnic minorities living in the First World in many cases; in Third World conditions; and which are excluded from the resources (economic, social, political, and otherwise) of the territory to which they are 'native.' It is a concept that speaks for itself, though I will use it in the framework of nationalism and ethnicization. The Fourth World is a term that alludes to one way which ethnicization unfolds politically, socially, and nationally in the First World.

Nationalism is a concept that some, such as Anthony Smith and Eric Hobsbawm, thought would have dissipated by now because global interdependence assumes that "larger economic units will provide the basis of community," (Smith 1995: 10) which nations used to do. Hobsbawm believes that nationalism was needed to allow a free market economy and capitalism to evolve. In present day, there is a global free market and institutions (that transcend the state) which facilitate the growth of capitalism and capitalist practices. On the other hand, theorists such as Amy Chua believe the opposite. Chua argues that effects of globalization, like the imposition and spread of democratic values throughout the Third World only strengthen nationalism (2002). Nonetheless, nationalism has survived actively throughout the last four centuries and does not seem to be abating.

Nationalism and the process of constructing a national identity permeate all aspects of society and contemporary social life. Nationalism incites discourse around issues of race and ethnicity, representation, as well as democracy and democratic values. Negative aspects of nationalism that cannot be ignored include ethnic conflict and violence. In many ways ethnicization is indicative of the potentially negative effects of

nationalism. Nationalism continues to be a relevant topic in the world as it is experienced in different ways in both the developing and developed world. Nationalism has maintained its political strength and continues to ignite passion, both negative and positive, in all corners of the world. As Benedict Anderson argues in his book, *Imagined Communities*, "nation[alism] is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time" (1983: 3). In this essay I will discuss the role nationalism plays in fostering the process of ethnicization, and consequently, how the negative affects of ethnicization can potentially undermine democratic values within the nation-state and simultaneously depoliticize the marginalized group. My argument will focus on the case of the Irish Travellers in the Republic of Ireland.

The Travellers: Background and Who They are Not

The Traveller Community, also referred to as the Travellers or Tinkers, make up about 1% of the Republic of Ireland's population. The Travellers are not Gypsies, more accurately described as the Roma people, who are spread throughout Europe and believed to have come from India or other regions East of Europe. There are small Traveller populations in Great Britain and Scotland, which migrated from Ireland. Traditionally Travellers traveled through rural Ireland performing a variety of services including seasonal farm labor (Gmelch 1977). Modernization in Ireland eliminated the necessity for Travellers' traditional skills, work, and their itinerant lifestyle. For this reason, most Travellers were "forced to migrate to urban areas in search of new sources of income, and this change has had important consequences on other areas of their lives" (Gmelch 1977: 3), as well as Irish society as a whole.

The economic aspect of the experience of Travellers has a historical basis. Many theorists believe that the Irish Travellers descend from families dispossessed during the Great Famine of 1845-1848. If this is the case, the Travellers are not an ethnic group that predates the modern era. Instead, they are the direct result of a historic economic event that affected Ireland and Irish society in multiple ways. Gmelch situates the Travellers not only as Travellers unique to Ireland, rather as itinerant people, who he says, "exist on the fringe of society in many European nations (Gmelch 1997: 3). The last point Gmelch

makes in chapter one is that in some cases personal problems or socially unacceptable situations, such as illegitimacy or alcoholism, forced an individual or families into an itinerant lifestyle. Such behavior is currently seen as inherent to the Traveller Community. In this sense, the social or economic condition of an individual or family precedes the ethnic group affiliation. By extension, this 'ethnic' group was produced by certain social and economic conditions instead of a legitimate claim to ethnicity that forms based on shared perceived or real ancestry, heritage, and culture.

The conflict that arose between the settled Irish and Traveller population after itinerancy became antiquated was mainly the Travellers' economic dependence on the settled population:

> The Tinkers' economic dependence on the settled population and on manipulative strategies often brought the two groups into conflict. Aggressive begging, petty theft… often created antagonism towards itinerants especially on the parts of farmers… the most common source of friction and complaint was the property damage caused by trespassing horses…the only grazing legally available to itinerants was the narrow strip of grass along the roadside known as the "long acre" (Gmelch 1977: 34).

While in Ireland I heard the complaint of property and land damage often used as one of the only tangible, reasonable complaints about the Travellers. Although justifiable, the complaint refuses to acknowledge that in most cases Travellers live on the margins of the city, not voluntarily, on land impending uselessness. Regardless, the tension between Travellers and the settled Irish is prominent. Both groups legitimize this tension by their perception of the other and, in the case of the Travellers, their idea of how they are being perceived.

The Traveller population is disenfranchised, marginalized, and underrepresented. This is apparent in their experience and lifestyle as well as reflected in national statistics. One of the main discrepancies between the settled Irish and the Travellers along with economic dependency is education. Similarly to many third world nations that suffer from impoverishment, the Traveller Community has a rather young population: "Two out of every five Travellers were aged less than 15 years in 2002 compared with one in five

for the population as a whole" (Census 2002 Volume 8). Similarly to elders, this means that the state spends more money to support the Traveller population. Not only do dependents (children under 18) require more state services, the Travellers are disproportionately unemployed so they require social welfare as well. In contrast, Travellers leave the education system at a younger age than most Irish. Statistics from 2002 indicate that the average age for Travellers to leave school is 15, understandable considering "two thirds of… the Traveller Community [a]re educated to at most, Primary level" (Census 2002 Volume 8). The lack of education leads to mass unemployment among Travellers because they lack adequate education or skills specifically applicable or valuable in modern Irish society.

Ireland's poor economy also plays a role in the fact "nearly three out of four male Travellers [are] unemployed" and will probably remain unemployed for the duration of their lives (Census 2008 Volume 8). Even during the Celtic Tiger, Ireland's economic boom, the Travellers remained steadily unemployed because Eastern European immigrants dominated the unskilled service sector (the only type of jobs most Travellers would be able to perform). This social reality is one of the factors contributing to the negative views of Traveller men (and people), as another popular belief holds that Travellers are inherently lazy. On the other hand, an important statistic from this specific Census report dispels a myth about the Travellers regarding their lifestyle.

According to this Census report, 90 percent of the Traveller population lived at the same address one year previously and live in permanent accommodation (2002). Most of the Traveller population are settled and no longer lead an itinerant lifestyle. Even though much of the Traveller population lives in mobile homes or trailers on the margins of cities, they no longer consistently move around the countryside. As claimed by Gmelch, there has been no real initiative to house Travellers except in the instance in the 1930's when a great number of Travellers were housed by "the newly independent Irish state [which] initiated a widespread building program" primarily "aimed at eradicating shacks and dilapidated dwellings" (1977: 137). This initiative's goal was to increase the living standards of the Irish, not specifically geared towards the Traveller population- Travellers benefited during the process by happenstance. There is currently, and has been since the 1970's, somewhat of a Settlement Movement targeted at the Travellers, but it is

not seen as a priority for the Irish government. Even so, this particular statistic challenges credence that Travellers are vagabonds who wander the country. In addition to itinerancy no longer being useful, obtaining social welfare happens through local offices, and so in order to secure social welfare it is beneficial to have a permanent address (Citizens Information 2011). The Travellers are no longer itinerant and have not been for several decades.

The unfortunate subjugated reality of the Travellers not only affects social relations in Irish society; it also creates an inferiority complex in the consciousness of the Travellers resulting in internalized oppression. As said earlier, I was volunteering at a Traveller Community center in which I tutored Traveller children. The center worked to support Traveller families and provide education, information, and empowerment. The tutoring/homework-club program I volunteered with worked with Traveller children as young as 3 and as old as 14. The program operates five days a week the whole academic year for three hours a day, along with a summer camp that is five days a week for five hours a day. On any given day between 6-40 Traveller children attended the program. While working with a 9 –year old girl who I worked with regularly, I witnessed the power of this inferiorized consciousness. She asked me if I liked working with "Travellers as opposed to regular kids." I responded to her by saying, "Travellers are regular kids." She went on to mention casually that people say Traveller children are not *real* kids because they are Travellers. Before the Traveller children are allowed to be children, they are (forced to be) Travellers. No other identity or state of being matters when you are a Traveller. Being a Traveller is inevitably your main identity, even before you are a person. The Travellers internalize the label and exclusion forced upon them by society. They believe the stated status quo, and that it will not change; at least not for a long time. This thought may sound hopeless, but based on my observations of the treatment of the Travellers by the Irish it is not unwarranted. The situation of the Travellers not only saddens me, it also reminds me of the internalized oppression prominent in the African-American community.

There have been attempts at fighting against the treatment of the Travelling Community in Ireland, but they did not gain much momentum or local support from the mainstream population. In the 1980's there was the Travelling Community Anti-Racism

Campaign, which aimed to bring awareness to the discrimination, marginalization, and disadvantages of the community. The Traveller Community organized this campaign, which is probably why it gained little support from the Irish population. The Traveller Community in Ireland is disproportionately disadvantaged, under-educated, and ostracized, which is why they are often the ones begging on the streets. This is a cyclical process that reinforces and maintains stereotypical and racist ideologies. The Traveller Community is degraded and frowned upon for begging and being poor even though they remain in such a state because of continued disenfranchisement and discrimination. The Traveller community is an internal issue in Irish society that has created and continues to create tension within the society. As a result it has largely become an issue taken up by political bodies, such as the National Consultive Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI). In 1999 NCCRI developed a program, an anti-racist code of conduct. This program aims to help stop discriminatory practices and ideologies against other racial and ethnic groups in Ireland and especially the Traveller Community.

NCCRI understands discrimination against Eastern Europeans and Travellers as racism even though both the Travellers and Eastern Europeans are racially white. The type of discrimination faced by the European immigrant populations pertains to the economy and the amount of jobs available. The sentiment against the Eastern European immigrants is: "*they* are taking *our* jobs" (similar to the argument about Mexican immigrants to the United States). The type of discrimination the Travellers face is similar to discrimination people of color face (and have faced) in the United States or South Africa. Both of these examples represent racialized discrimination. Although the Travellers are racially white, the dominant Irish treat them as if they are an inferior, an other, race. Furthermore, the institutional discrimination and societal oppression the Travellers face is racialized. They are disproportionately undereducated and unemployed similar to minorities groups who face racism in other countries. NCCRI recognizes this reality, and thus identifies their program as part of an anti-racist code, which (for all intensive purposes) is accurate. NCCRI in Ireland is dedicated to a wider commitment of racial and ethnic equality and sustainable multiculturalism.

Besides organizations like NCCRI and The Traveller Community Project, which exist in many counties in the country (and which sponsored the tutoring

program/homework club with which I worked), there are not many organizations or government initiatives focusing on empowering and educating the Traveller Community. There have been and still are Traveller Community Movements. Currently there is an ideological and political divide within the Traveller Movement. There are Travellers who believe they should be treated equally via integration into mainstream Irish society and those who want to be recognized, under the United Nations, as an ethnic minority so that their culture is recognized and preserved, using this as a basis to gain equal rights and attention from the Irish government. It seems, however, that on both sides the main concern is dispelling stereotypes and exclusionary practices that seem to be acceptable in Irish society, as well as getting the government at both the local and national level to hear the voices and act on the needs of the Travellers. As Burke argues, "as a disregarded minority Travellers have, until now, define and been defined by, what they *are not*, who they *are not*. They… have yet to truly see who the people named Travellers are" (1999). The Travellers are not given a chance to be viewed as individuals separate from their perceived collective Traveller identity, and this is a problem within Irish society and Irish nationalism.

Abstraction: Avoiding Arguments in Isolation

Now that there is a framework for understanding the case study used in this discussion of nationalism, ethnicization, democratic values, and depoliticization, I'd like to explain why it is important to draw connections between four concepts that can be addressed individually irrespective of the other concepts. Any discussion of nationalism should not happen in isolation. The discussion of nationalism inevitably raises discussions of other pertinent and relevant topics. Usually it is discussed along side the state or in contrast to liberalism. I have decided, for the purpose of my argument, to discuss it alongside ethnicization and democracy. Nationalism is more effectively analyzed in a comprehensive framework of: modernization, the state, ethnicity, and democracy. To think of nationalism, ethnicization, democracy, or depoliticization in isolation is inadequate and does not allow for an in-depth assessment of nationalism's

affect on society as a whole. All four concepts, in different ways, reinforce one another and all operate within the nation-state. In the instance of the Travellers, nationalism leads to a process of ethnicization, which can disallow for certain democratic values to be fully discovered and depoliticizes marginalized groups. It is incomplete to analyze this case study (and many different historical events) without acknowledging the interconnectedness of concepts.

The connection between the above concepts will be emphasized in my argument in hopes of avoiding what M. Laporte, according to Jean Paul Sartre, considers an abstraction: "an abstraction is when: something not capable of existing in isolation is thought of as an isolated state" (Sartre 1943: 33). Abstractions distract from understanding there is a system of problems, rather than a set of problems. Abstractions, as incomplete analyses, often perpetuate prejudices and stereotypes. Abstractive explanations neglect that within certain types of societies there are particular patterns, even if specific cases differ, that exist because of social structures, ideologies, and modes of development. In discussing nationalism, other central issues will be thoughtfully integrated.

Defining Nationalism

Throughout this paper I will discuss theories of nationalism, national identity, and when nationalism is exercised, or performed, by citizens within the nation-state and the state itself. For that reason I will define the term 'nationalism' analytically to explain it's usage in my argument. Nationalism is an ideology and a behavior. The behavior or actions follow the nationalist ideology or belief system. Nationalism as distinct from the nation-state or national identity is a consciousness rooted in a deep sense of loyalty and commitment to one's country, one's nation, and/or one's ethnic group. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy defines it as "(1) the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national identity, and (2) the actions that the members of a nation take when seeking to achieve (or sustain) self-determination" (Miscevic 2010).

My definition of nationalism is multidimensional like the concept itself. Nationalism is a loyalty and commitment to a nation (of people) and/or country, which

forms a national consciousness that can lead a group in pursuit or maintenance of self-determination, in many different forms. Nationalism is 'performed' on a daily basis through social interaction and, it is especially apparent, during national holidays. Similar to national identity, it is the "continuous reproduction of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions," (Smith 2001: 30) which makes up a nation-state. People are socialized into nationalism and reproduce it daily, following Michael Billig's idea of banal nationalism (1995). Whether these myths, values, and traditions are positive or negative they are reproduced through performing nationalism and acceding to national identity.

Developing Theories of Nationalism and National Identity

In the Western world it is widely held that nationalism is not tied to a nation or ethnic group of people, instead it is linked to the nation-state: civic-nationalism. The people who make up the nation-state do not have to be one ethnicity or nation. I would argue that all nationalisms (or patriotisms) are built on a notion of a specific ethnic group that represents the nation (even if it is a purely religious association or a racial one), although it is not explicitly stated or expressed. In civic nationalism the citizens have to be loyal and committed to the state and the culture that the nation-state reflects. That is, "it is not the case that nationalism imposes homogeneity;" rather, "it is the objective need for homogeneity" (Gellner 1983: 44), which intensifies nationalism and nationalist sentiments. The homogeneity in civic nationalism is not (explicitly) based on an ethnic or nation group. It is a homogenous value system and shared cultural values (these values are not necessarily based on tradition, and tradition rarely predates the formation and development of the modern nation-state) (Hobsbawm 1983). The Western World does not consider itself nationalistic, Western countries consider themselves patriotic. This is considerably true of the United States and the United Kingdom. Patriotism is seen as civic and positive, where as nationalism is seen as ethnic and negative. Obviously these Manichean interpretations of civic versus ethnic nationalism, or patriotism versus nationalism are exaggerated and, even further, do not take into account the multidimensionality of nationalism in both the developed and developing world.

The Republic of Ireland, and a few other developed countries, recognize and pride themselves on being nationalistic. Irish national pride is primarily positive and promotes solidarity. Irish nationalism is reflected in many different formats, such as: the magnitude of Saint Patrick's Day or their pursuit to find Irish heritage in every U.S. president. Nationalism in places like The Republic of Ireland and Jamaica puts small countries on the map in a positive way. Likewise, nationalism in places like Northern Ireland and East Timor puts small territories on the map in a negative way. The nationalism in Northern Ireland has resulted in ethnic violence, which is usually the story of nationalism reported in the media. Nationalism is described as ethnic violence and conflict, primarily pictured as the Northern Ireland Conflict and the Rwandan Genocide. This is why nationalism usually has a negative connotation.

Almost all countries experience nationalism and national pride. During the Olympics or the World Cup the citizens of a nation-state perform nationalism and exhibit national pride. This is seen as a legitimate and positive display of nationalism reflected outwards. It is taking pride in 'us' in order to show 'them' how great a nation 'we' are. It is a nationalism inspired by an international event. When nationalism is reflected inwards or occurs internally, like in Northern Ireland or East Timor, in a way that marginalizes or oppresses minority groups within the nation-state it becomes negative. Nationalism that creates the dichotomy of 'us' versus 'them' within a nation-state destabilizes the fabric and politics of a society. Internal negative nationalism, or nationalism reflected inwards, is usually associated with violence in developing countries, but as Billig says, "in a world of nation-states, nationalism cannot be confined to the peripheries" (1995: 5). The idea of nationalism, let alone negative forms of nationalism, only existing in developing countries is not only misleading, it is inaccurate. My argument will discuss how covert forms of inward or internal nationalism in Ireland negatively affects the marginalized Traveller population, and ultimately negatively affects the whole Republic of Ireland.

In my discussion of nationalism I'd like to examine the possibility of creating a cohesive national identity and nationalism. Creating a cohesive nationalism does not mean that the nation-state should or has to be one ethnic group or nation. Most nation-states contain more than one ethnic group and are not homogenous. According to Smith's

definition of a nation-state, a nation-state only exists when: "a single ethnic and cultural population inhabits the boundaries of a state, and the boundaries… are coextensive with the boundaries of that ethnic and cultural population" (1995: 86). In this case, only Iceland, which has a population under 500,000, Japan (excluding the Koreans), and Portugal are nation-states under Smith's definition (1995). Gellner's definition of a modern nation-state is not as rigid. However Gellner ignores the reality that ethnic differences can transcend state control and does not de-legitimize the possibility for successful nationalism and cohesive national identity. I disagree with Smith's definition of a nation-state and Gellner's pessimism. I think it is possible to create a cohesive national identity and positive nationalism within a multi-ethnic, or heterogeneous nation-state. I do not think, as Gellner does, that ethnic difference makes nationalisms fail.

Nationalism is supposed to reflect the people who make up the nation and the nations agreed upon beliefs. (Often this is not very successful). Plurality and heterogeneity can be integrated into a country's nationalism and national identity. In the last two decades plurality, tolerance, and heterogeneity are becoming more and more integrated into nationalism and national identities of nation-states. South Africa and Singapore are good examples of this. South Africa is seen as a beacon and successful example of the "Rainbow Nation" nationalism. Nationalism has transformed into a more plural concept. Nation-states should attempt to adjust their national identity and performance of nationalism to display the global reality of multiculturalism and multiethnic societies, and the positive nationalism, which can form as a result.

Although national identity plays a role in what a nation-state's nationalism looks like they are not coterminous. National identity is a system of cultural representations where "people are not only legal citizens of a nation; they participate in the *idea* of the nation as represented in its national culture" (Wodak, de Cillia, et. al 1999: 22) and values. The people within the nation-state perform nationalism and are committed to the *idea* of the nation, or national identity, sometimes more so then the reality of it. Furthermore:

> A national culture is a discourse- a way of constructing meaning which influences and organizes both our actions and our conceptions of ourselves… National cultures construct identities by

> producing meanings about 'the nation' with which
> we can *identify*; these are contained in the stories
> which are told about it, memories which connect its
> present with its past, and imagines which are
> constructed of it (Wodak, de Cillia, et. al 1999: 23).

The national identity is a basis for individual identity. Consequently, a national identity can be integral in alienating certain populations. If one's perceived or ascribed identity is not reflected or represented in the national identity then the individual's conception of himself or herself as connected to the nation-state is distorted. This is the case with the Traveller Community in Ireland. The Travellers may be able to identify with some aspects of the Irish national identity, but the way the mainstream Irish understand the national identity and exercise nationalism reminds the Travellers their identity is different from the dominant Irish identity. Even if the Travellers are ethnically different from mainstream Irish, they should not be excluded from Irish nationalism.

The Republic of Ireland is generally considered an ethnically and racially homogenous nation-state, even though it is not. The majority of the Irish population can be considered homogenous, but the immigrant population is growing and has been since the 1990s. The Republic of Ireland was a deliberate formation of a cohesive and homogenous nation of people. Its independence in 1922 was predicated on being an Irish nation for a Catholic Irish people. The Republic of Ireland is a small nation-state made up of 4.5 million people where almost 89% of the population identifies as being Catholic (International Religious Freedom Report, 2003). This percentage has been steady up through 2010 according to the Irish Survey for the Republic of Ireland 2010. According to the Census 2006 Principal Demographics Results, 85% of the population was born in the Republic of Ireland; this decreased from 89% in 2002, but still remains relatively high. In addition, while the official languages of the Republic of Ireland are Irish and English, almost everyone speaks English. Other languages, including Irish, are only spoken by a small percentage of the population. For the most part, even with immigration as a result of the Celtic tiger, Irish people are seen as racially white and traditionally Catholic. In societies that are seen as homogenous racially and ethnic racism isn't understood as a real or immediate problem.

The landmass of Ireland has had a history of ethnic conflict that resulted in the formation of the Republic of Ireland and the partitioning of the northeastern counties that make up Great Britain's Northern Ireland. It is "the horrors of racism in the form of sectarianism," political, social, and historical oppression that Ireland suffered from, which should "ensure that such behavior is not tolerated [t]here" (Irish Examiner, 2009). It seems that Irish people understand that ethnic conflict and violence is not unique to their country. There is still racism in Ireland, toward the Nigerian and Eastern European populations in addition to the Travellers. (Toward the Nigerians and Eastern European the racism is usually regarding their economic situation and integrated schools).

The fact that Ireland has maintained relative homogeneity could be a result of its economic situation, which does not encourage heavy immigration because of the lack of jobs. It could also be a result of its history, being perceived internationally as a Catholic nation for Catholic people, which could limit emigration of people of different religious backgrounds. Notwithstanding, the level of the Republic of Ireland's homogeneity is high, but not total. This belief of Ireland as a homogenous nation-state disregards its internal issues of a representative national identity and inward reflected nationalism. Even though the national identity of Ireland is predicated upon Catholicism and Irish tradition and culture, it still isolates the Traveller population who are Irish, Catholic, and speak English. The Travellers reflect the seemingly negative side of the Irish experience, poverty and a poor economy.

The Traveller Community has historically and continues to be marginalized in Ireland, and their marginalization and discrimination is generally considered acceptable in mainstream Irish society. Many Irish view Travellers as inherently inferior because of their lifestyle and behavior, which is mainly a product of their institutional and societal exclusion and ostrasization. Attitudes towards the Travellers are passed down through generations and reinforced in families. The ideas about the Traveller Community in Ireland are pervasive and difficult to combat because they are so integrated into society. The Travellers are not seen as just Irish. Even as racially white and ethnically Catholic, they are excluded from the homogenous identity of the Irish, similar to the Nigerians or Eastern Europeans. The Irish nationalism is geared towards the dominant group of Irish who are not Travellers and do not descend from the Traveller Community. The Irish

national identity treats Travellers like they are foreigners in a nation of which they are native. One way this is done is by likening them to gypsies, or more accurately, the Roma people. As aforementioned, the Travellers are not and have never been descendents of the Roma people. In addition to this myth of foreign blood, the history of the Travellers is taught as separate from general Irish history. This perpetuates their exclusion from the national identity and nationalism of Ireland. They are severely underrepresented in higher education, traditional music and dance forms, as well as other positions that represent the national identity of Ireland.

The homogenizing of the Republic of Ireland's national identity leaves out and excludes the Travellers the same way it does immigrant groups especially the Nigerians, Polish, Czechs and Romanians. In this way the Travellers have come to occupy the Fourth World in Ireland via discrimination. Not only are they disproportionately poor to be such a small percentage of the population, because they are not seen as being Irish their poverty is described as unique and inherent to their community. The Travellers are viewed negatively as a community that does not live up to the Irish national identity and distorts it. Thus Irish nationalism reflected inwards works in a way that pushes the Travellers even further to the peripheries. They are not only pushed to the peripheries of cities, spatially and geographically, they are pushed to the margins of nationalism, almost so much so that they cannot genuinely perform it as part of the Irish nation-state. As a result, Irish nationalism leads to the Travellers creating a Traveller sub-nationalism, which has developed from being excluded from the mainstream Irish nationalism and Irish identity. They have created a Traveller national identity that is based upon the practices that make them different from the dominant Irish, the practices that they've developed and have become traditions because they are spatially, socially, and institutionally ostracized. Inter-marrying and bare-knuckle boxing are two examples of these types of traditions.

Modern, developed nation-states do not want poverty to be part of their national identity or representative of their country. Poverty is only one aspect of a national identity, but it has over encompassing affects. Poverty has a tendency to become the only story for a country's national identity rather than *one of* the stories for a country's national identity. Being situated in Western Europe near Great Britain and France, Ireland

has long, and continues to be, viewed as the poor European island, grouped with countries like Portugal and Greece. Ireland has consistently struggled to break this story of poverty and develop a national identity separate from its economic situation. The Celtic Tiger, Ireland's economic boom, in the 1990s began to do this, but quickly and severely failed. The Irish government and people see the Travellers as an obstacle to achieving a national Irish identity not tied poverty. The Republic of Ireland does not have a cohesive nationalism because it leaves out a native group that has been and still is integral to the Irish identity, based on fear of perpetuating a single and incomplete story of their nation-state.

Western Nationalism: Liberal Nationalism

Nationalism's development in the Western world manifests simultaneously as a homogenizing, exclusionary, and individualizing process. This is described as liberal nationalism or democratic nationalism (Renan, 1882; Tamir, 1993; Lind, 1994). It is based on liberal democratic values, of which individual liberties is a key component. Lind (1994) maintains that liberal nationalism does not necessarily have to be democratic. However he says "liberal nationalism… far from being a threat to democracy… is a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for democracy in most places today" (Lind, 1994: 94). Chua would disagree with him in most instances, arguing that liberalism and "promoting democratization throughout the world… ha[s] directed… the anger of the damned" (Chua, 2002: 7), or the impoverished masses, leading to violent nationalist actions, hatred, and movements. Lind's theory, like many nationalist theories, is Eurocentric and not thoroughly applicable to the developing world. Chua's focus is on the developing world. She challenges the notion that liberalism, in any form, and promoting democratic values will work for "most places today." She believes this belief in a universal teleological route to achieving democracy and free market capitalism is precisely the problem (and does not work for the developing the world). In fact, she presents it as being counteractive. I would agree with Chua. In addition, certain liberal principles can lead to social norms and political practices that can undermine democratic values, even in mature democratic societies. Individualism is one of these principles that,

if not completely or successfully situated in democracy, can create an obstacle to achieving democratic values and lead to negative forms of nationalism.

Nationalism everywhere is both political and cultural. It uses real, imagined, or created culture to tackle the "fundamental issue of the legitimate claim to a nation," it is "concerned… with daily reality… which influence the present and future of men and women" (Fanon 1963: 146) that make up the nation-state. Nationalism in the Western World emphasizes cohesion around cultural and social values rather than ethnic identity or the past. Western nationalism, like all nationalisms, aims to promote values that will guide daily social interaction. The liberal nationalist values are focused on maintaining individual rights for the citizens of the nation-state as well as emphasizing merit to determine one's status, rather than ethnicity or race. While these values may not reflect the actual social reality in the nation-state they are values that the country promotes.

Individual rights (individual freedom) and being apart of a polity are key concepts in defining nationalism in the Western world. This type of nationalism is associated with the United States, France, and Britain. Many Western countries are seen as being individualistic in contrast to, a country like, China that enforces collectivist ideals and collectivist nationalism. Nationalism in the Western world is individually focused, advocating for individuals to make their own choices rather than thinking as part of a collective ethnic (or racial) identity. In liberal nationalism there is a tension between individual rights/freedom and the commitment to a collective. Tamir (1993) wishes to find a theory of liberal nationalism that does not "renounce the ultimate pursuit of one set of values (individualistic) at the expense of the other (collective)" (6). Pending that achievement, I will discuss how this tension manifests negatively. While the liberal nationalism emphasizes individual principles, it is tied to a homogenous value system (and situated in an assumed homogenous process: nationalism, hence the tension), which is a system of liberal values. This liberal nationalist structure has positive intentions and aims to give the individual more autonomy. At the same time it ignores the reality and lived experience of many individuals whose autonomy is already limited and stagnated precisely because they are bound to a collective (voluntary or ascribed) identity. The collective identities of certain groups are the basis for differential treatment within

society (i.e. the Travellers). Liberal nationalism allows for negative manifestations such as prejudice and exclusion, which is precisely the case of the Irish Travellers.

When a society emphasizes values that place the individual as the only determination of his or her success or failure and ignores institutional and social oppression, disenfranchisement, marginalization, and a history/legacy of slavery or colonization, it is unsurprising that individuals develop prejudiced ideas. Certain individuals, like the Travellers of Ireland or African-Americans of the United States, are judged based on individual characteristics/qualities that are attributed to the whole group to which they belong or to which they are perceived to belong. Many individuals fail to realize negative perspectives are socially, historically, and politically constructed and are not developed objectively. While arguing that the reinforcement of cultural differences in industrial societies is shameful and a failure on the part of the nation state, Gellner illustrates this point in his section on 'Social Entropy and Equality in Industrial Society.' He states:

> The task with which th[e] system is entrusted is to turn out worthy, loyal and competent members of the total society… and if some part of the educational system, by default or from surreptitious design, actually produces internal cultural differences and thereby permits or encourages discrimination, this is counted as something of a scandal (63).

I would not classify this type of instance as 'a scandal,' as Gellner did. Rather, it is a developing or developed system of oppression, which can be the spawn of a legacy of oppression in conjunction with liberal ideals. In some cases, this type of ethnic or racial inequality can develop based on the ideals, principles, and values perpetuated by the formation of a national identity and the social structures supporting that formation. What Gellner fails to explore is how legacies of difference already exist within the territory in which the modern-state is created and are exacerbated by modern structures and systems of thought.

Members of the Traveller Community in Ireland are judged individually based on their membership in the collective. They are commonly associated with negative

characteristics such as being lazy, dirty, and beggars. The mainstream, dominant, or 'urban' Irish, as Gmelch describes them, "view the Tinkers (the Travellers) as a poverty-stricken people who… require assistance and who must be transformed into more 'respectable' citizens (Kiste 1976: forward for Gmelch 1977). Since almost the whole population of Traveller community lives below the poverty line, they rely on social welfare to support their means of existence. In liberal societies where individualism is a key principle, those who require government assistance are viewed particularly negatively. Their economic status is attributed to their individual abilities and qualities rather than the social and institutional factors that contribute to their economic condition (Gilens 1999). In Ireland, this is the view of Travellers. Since they are 'on the *dail*,' which is an Irish euphemism for those who are on social welfare, they are considered non-respectable citizens. Liberal nationalist sentiments consider respectable citizens those who require minimal amounts of government support. Furthermore, liberalism assumes the position of nominal government intervention allowing people to make choices as individuals, not influenced by a collective identity or forced by the government.

The Travellers economic status is one of the main reasons they are excluded from Irish society so vehemently. Ireland's nationalism may have developed similarly to nationalism in the third world, based on a struggle for independence from a colonizing power. However, Ireland is inherently influenced by its international geographic, political, and social location within and as part of the Western World. As a result of its admittance to the European Union in 1972, Ireland was forced to modernize quickly as well as develop and display the practices necessary to be a part of the European Union Community. One of these practices involved adopting a social welfare system, while the other less explicit practice encouraged adopting civic, liberal nationalism. These two national practices are some of the reasons why the abhorrence of the Traveller population persisted.

The Travellers require much assistance from a government whose national economy is not and has not been flourishing. (As mentioned in the section providing background on the Travellers, even while the Irish economy was thriving during the Celtic Tiger, the Travellers remained disproportionately unemployed-still requiring

government assistance and collecting welfare). As a result, the Travellers seem to threaten the liberal principle of individualism. The nationalism reflected inward in Ireland promotes liberal values that would only justify treating the Travellers with such contempt. By extension, Irish nationalism, like many liberal nationalist models, encourages the process of ethnicization. Ethnicization creates even more reason to ostracize the Travellers and treat them as outsiders.

Ethnicization: Seeing and Treating the Travellers as Outsiders

Ethnicization, in many ways, is a product of nationalism or nationalist sentiments. It begins as a further distinction between whom 'we' are and who 'they' are in order to create and/or maintain a positive and valid national identity. It is not uncommon for ethnicization to be outwardly expressed, establishing clarity, that 'our' nation-state is different from 'their' nation-state. Irish and British people go to great lengths to make clear how distinct they are from one another even if they share language, some cultural practices, as well as certain core values. Each country ethnicizes the other, primarily because of their history of conflict. Similar to outward nationalism, outward ethnicization is relatively innocuous and rarely, if ever, results in damaging or violent conflict. It is the inward ethnicization that causes social anxiety (to the group that is ethnicized) and, can more often, result in social tension and conflict in the overall society.

I want to discuss how those who are a part of the nation-state are made to feel like outsiders or foreigners within their own nation-state. Ethnicization acknowledges difference and can simultaneously exaggerate it. When a minority group that is native to a nation-state is ethnicized, they are described to be, or believed to be, more culturally different from the dominant or majority group then they actually are even though lingually, historically, and ethnically, they are more similar to the dominant group than they are different. Rather than treating variations of an ethnicity as just that--variations, one group is labeled as a different group altogether, usually because of the legacy of their history in the nation-state. In the case of the Travellers explored in this argument, I define ethnicization as a dominant group making cultural practices and habits (in the case of the

Travellers these habits have usually developed as a result of exclusion and isolation) of a subordinated group inherent to their being/identity. With ethnicization, similar to racializaiton, negative qualities are attributed to the subordinated group, inferiorizing and ethnicizing them. Ethnicization is similar to racialization, which is extending racial meanings and racial contexts on groups that have not previously been, or would otherwise not be, defined as a different race. Though, these two concepts are different because "ethnicity as a cultural or national difference is invoked instead of race" (Murji and Solomos 2005: 13). In the case of the Travellers ethnicity is invoked because they are seen as threatening to the authentic national identity of the Irish.

In the case of the Travellers, ethnicization is the process of creating an ethnic group out of a group of people who occupy a similar economic and social position in a society but are not, by many theorists' standards, their own ethnic group. According to Milikowski, the process of ethnicization "refers to the formation of social boundaries aiming to protect the integrity of (presumed) ethnic-cultural" (2000) expressions of the dominant group. The dominant group creates boundaries, which exclude the minority group, by arguing that they are protecting the integrity of their ethnicity and/or the "cultural heritages" (Milikowski 2000) of the minority group by identifying and labeling their differences. The issue is not identifying or recognizing difference. It is when assumptions are made based on these differences, creating two different groups, one of which is excluded and deemed inferior. Then this process of ethnicization becomes negative:

> 'Ethnicity'… [is] about the process of marking differences between people on the basis of assumptions about… cultural variations and the meaning of those variations… this is what we mean when we say…groups are racialized or ethnicized… maintaining boundaries between groups (Murji and Solomos 2005: 13).

These boundaries usually leave one group subordinated and oppressed, marked by society in a way that justifies their social position. Commonly excluded from the national identity and the performance of nationalism, their ethnicization renders them invisible in the national discourse.

Ethnicization usually begins in and through reviving or creating a national identity and performing nationalism. In some cases it happens because of the creation of

the modern-nation state and other cases having existed before the modern nation-state. The Black American ethnicity was constructed before the modern nation-state of the United States was officially created but happened in the process of forming a United States or American national identity. The Travellers were not ethnicized negatively until the urbanization of the Republic of Ireland, which made their itinerant lifestyles obsolete, antiquated, and challenging to notions of modernization (Gmelch, 1977). Although they were seen as itinerant by Irish pre-urbanization, their itinerancy was not seen as a negative difference. It was after urbanization, as they became unnecessary, that their ethnicization relegated their identity.

The ethnicization of a native ethnic group like the Irish Travellers happens when a nation-state is seeking legitimacy, through cohesion, in the process of forming or re-forming a national identity or nationalist sentiments. The reforming of a national identity may happen for many reasons, in the case of Ireland it was a reforming of the social identity through the economic transformation: urbanization. In many cases, whether explicitly or implicitly expressed, native ethnic minorities are seen as a threat to a national identity, they "represent a fracturing of the homogeneity and purity of a national identity," which is they are excluded from it. Forming a national identity is thought of as an organic process "for didactic and political purposes" (Smith: 95) so groups that disrupt this fluidity are ignored and made invisible. They are believed to undermine the national fabric with their cultural differences and demands of equality and the right to be integrated into the nation. The demand for rights and/or autonomy usually does not exist until the official nationalism of the state creates a situation where the marginalized group's social and political rights are infringed upon. These sentiments are brought on, naturally, by the nation-state's liberal nationalist project, which encourages both homogenization and individual rights. In order to become part of the homogeneous group, one must have individual rights to do so.

According to Gellner, these populations seem to be "entropy-resistant" (64), which creates incompatibility between the ethnic minority and the national identity/nationalist project of the nation-state. Entropy is a tool used by the state to construct a homogenous and cohesive identity that seems fluid. As a result, being entropy-resistant proves to be an obstacle to creating a cohesive fluid nationalism.

Gellner believes that with a successful nationalist project cultural differences will no longer be entropy-resistant. What we believe are successful nationalist projects rarely ever get rid of cultural differences, ethnic minority groups are either assimilated into the nation-state or suppressed, usually both. Ethnicization, then, becomes a new forum for the continuity of the discrimination and exclusion of native ethnic minorities. In my opinion, if Gellner's idea of successful nationalism includes a nation-state ridding itself of entropy-resistant cultural differences then nationalism in the Western/developed world has failed and there are probably no nation-states, with the exception of Iceland, that have a successful nationalism.

In this case ethnicization is a process that exaggerates differences: cultural, lingual or otherwise to differentiate one group from the [dominant] group and justify maltreatment or oppressive practices of the group deemed as inferior. In some cases the minority group generates ethnicization by appropriating their difference from the dominant group in order to protect the cultural variations of their group. It can be an act of pride and solidarity, not always negative. However, it is the negative process of ethnicization, in the context of Irish nationalism that plagues the Travellers. Negative ethnicization happens in many different ways. One way is propagating myths of the inferior group having migrated from a foreign land and thus not being native. This was used by the Hutus to justify their hatred of the Tutsis and, ultimately, their Hutu nationalism. This is similarly employed by some Irish to justify the categorization of Travellers as their own ethnic group, distinct from dominant Irish. As mentioned earlier in the section, ethnicization deems a group of people inferior by ascribing their social status (being underclass or dominating the upper-class) to inherent traits, instead of social structures and historical legacies. In this case, poverty has become ethnicized in developed countries and especially in Western Europe. The Travellers in Ireland are ethnicized mainly because they occupy a position of poverty. A Polish Sociologist, Joanna Kurczewska's article entitled 'Contemporary Europe-Ethnicization of Poverty,' argues that poverty in Europe has been ethnicized, thus attributed as being inherent of certain ethnic minority populations in Europe, such as the gypsies all throughout Europe and Travellers in Ireland.

Ethnicization reinforces and is reinforced by segregation, ostracization, and stigma. Kurczewska (1999) argues there is an accumulation of stigmas of strangeness. Ethnicization makes a minority group something strange and alien. Consequently, this creates stigmas and recycles oppressive practices from the mainstream society and dominant culture. Ethnicization can happen with a group that in the past may not have been seen as being a distinct ethnic group, even if they did not share all the same cultural practices of the dominant culture (i.e. the Irish Travellers). Economic circumstances and the creation of a national identity increase and almost necessitate the process of ethnicization. The ethnicization of the poor, according to Kurczewska means a simultaneous "correlation between the participation in the category of the poor and the category of… ethnic minorities" (1999: 74).

Kurczewska argues that 'new poverty' defines individuals who are poor only by their poverty. It is believed to be their ethnic character, rather than a situation they are in because of personal loss or social structures in society. Kurczewska comes to the conclusion that no universal definition of poverty is possible, just as John Hall does not believe a universal definition of nationalism is possible. It is clear from her article that the construction and development of a European identity rejects poverty and instead of addressing it as a social and political issue attributes it to native or immigrant ethnic groups, making it a quality of an inferior population and not reflective of the 'majority' of the people in the nation. Poverty is rejected in the narrative of national identity and subsequently when individuals perform nationalism they reject other individuals who may represent, to the dominant culture, poverty. This unfortunate ethnicization of poverty and the ethnicization that happens as a result of the perpetuated national identity are the lived reality of the Irish Travellers in current Irish society.

Democracy Undermined and Depoliticization

Democracy is embedded in the discussion of nationalism and ethnicization. When democracy develops in Western societies today, a liberal form of nationalism often accompanies this political form. But does this mean that nationalism is successful similarly to the simplified democratic principle of "majority rules?" If it does work this

way then the ethnic minority, native or immigrants, will always remain neglected and excluded from the political process. In addition, Chua's argument that democratic ideals increase nationalism and ethnicization by emphasizing majority rules addresses the fundamental issues that nationalism, liberal or not, does not automatically create democracy. Moreover, it usually achieves an incomplete form of democracy that has more negative social, political, and institutional implications.

Democracy is often understood in a simplified way, which emphasizes majority rules and ruling of the people for the people. However, with creating a national identity, exercising nationalism, and the ethnicization that ensues from those processes, the idea of democracy is distorted and ultimately its principles are undermined. Where democracy encourages plurality in government representation and policies, there is too often hegemony. Where democracy encourages citizens' obligation and ability to participate in the political process, ethnicization depoliticizes and alienates ethnic minority populations discouraging them from participating in any political process, let alone a democratic one that prides itself (inaccurately) on the principle of 'majority rules.' Chua argues in her book, *World on Fire,* "free market democracy has thus been a principal, aggravating cause of ethnic instability and violence throughout the non-Western world" (2003: 187). In the First World democracy may not cause violent ethnic instability, though it causes ethnic tension and conflict in other forms (oppression, marginalization, intolerance, etc.), which, like violent ethnic tension, pose a threat to the nation-state's ability to construct and maintain a positive cohesive national identity that reflects and sustains the democratic values they claim to uphold.

The Irish Travellers, because of their exclusion and alienation, are depoliticized and do not feel like their citizenship is of value, so they do not participate in the democratic process. They have very little, if any, official government representation, and policy-making views them as a "problem" rather than a 'product' of social, institutional and economic process. Depoliticization of citizens is contrary to democracy, which maintains that every citizen has the equal right to participate in the political process. The Irish government is not politically or ethnically plural; it is singular and gets away with this by claiming total homogeneity. The Irish government has no Travellers in local or national positions, and never has. While the Traveller Community Project tries to

advocate for the Travellers, their work happens primarily outside of the political sphere using grassroots methods to address social issues. NCCRI as a consultive committee attempted to address the case of the Travellers politically, but "in particular, there can be strong resistance by policy makers…to the idea of a causal relationship between discrimination/racism and the poor living circumstances of Travellers" (NCCRI 2008). This sentiment can be attributed to the depoliticization of social problems (Haines 1979). Not only are Travellers made to feel irrelevant in the political process, issues pertaining to them are believed not to be political, even though they are inherently political issues. At any rate NCCRI was closed in 2008 due to government cutbacks, thus confirming that Travellers are not a priority for the Irish government. At this rate, the Irish political system will continue to discourage plurality because of the depoliticization the Travellers experience, and lack of any political body advocating for policies or initiatives regarding the Travellers.

Just as democratic values are undermined, depoliticization is heightened in societies where there is ethnic social and political tension, specifically where this tension stems from a minority group subjected to subordination. Not only is the society (as a whole) prone to depoliticization, the marginalized minority is especially inclined to depoliticization. It is in the context of nationalism and ethnicization as it affects the Travellers that democratic principles are primarily undermined in regards to civic engagement. The disenfranchisement and marginalization of the Travellers produces a political disconnection from the nation-state. Since they are treated like 2nd class citizens, they reject and ignore certain citizens' rights because of a feeling of powerlessness. Additionally, the Travellers have been described as an 'atomistic society' where the nuclear family represents the only formal social unit (Gmelch 1977). Thus "a more complex world-is associated with… contention, wariness, and invidiousness" (Gmelch 1977: 92). Consequently, according to Carl Boggs, the desire for a more insular "comfortable private sphere is often accompanied by a strong revulsion against civic life," which is an attitude the dominant class uses to depoliticize minority groups and "remove them from the public sphere" (2000: 38) all together. Even if minority groups have anger towards the government this anger is depoliticized and often results in antisocial behavior (Boggs 2000). The depoliticization of the Travellers caused by

marginalization and alienation, in conjunction with the lack of official government representation to promote political engagement makes the democratic principle of plurality real in theory, but not in practice in the Irish government.

If countries wish to successfully achieve complete and mature nationalism and democracy they must create a national identity that is representative and encourages all citizens of the nation-state to participate in the political process. It is a common belief among theorists that mature democracies are politically stable, Democratic Peace Theory, and also do not engage in warfare with other democracies. I'd like to extend this notion and argue that a true mature democracy, not only will not go to war with other democratic nation-states, it will also not have a fragmented or divided social, institutional, or political society that is ignored in the political process.

Conclusion: Democracy, Combating Stigma, and Breaking-down Categories

Nationalism in the Western, developed world may not transpire as physically violent, but in some ways it is violent to the beings and individual rights of certain populations. It challenges and rejects the humanity of marginalized minorities within modern nation-states. The Irish Travellers are suppressed by an inward liberal Irish nationalism, which excludes them and labels them Travellers before citizens or human beings. Nationalism attacks their being and allows for the development of an internalized consciousness that accepts this identity. Inherent in this liberal nationalism is the tension between being an individual and being part of a collective.

The consciousness developed by the marginalized population realizes an inferiority that disconnects them with the polity. It culminates in depoliticization and lack of citizen engagement. Democracy is fragmented when a part of the population disengages with civic engagement. This attitude and habit is counter to the democratic principle of encouraging people to be politically involved. When a part of the population is made to feel 'other' by processes of ethnicization and exclusionary nationalist sentiments, the political viability of the democratic nation-state is threatened.

Marginalized populations are usually viewed as taking away, rather than adding to, the national identity and nationalism of the nation-state. This is true of the Travellers.

Hence, there is no incentive to including them in the national identity or the collective performing of the nationalism. When a population is marginalized and thus depoliticized by the national identity and nationalism of the nation-state the social and political aspects of the nation-state are fractured creating a disintegrated society with the potential of developing or maintaining an unsubstantiated democracy. It would benefit a nation-state to encourage and initiate inclusion and representation of all groups within the national identity and exercise of nationalism. This will create a strong cohesive, representative nationalism that will encourage solidarity and unity. Inevitably this inclusion will aid in achieving a complete and genuine democracy that will make the nation-state politically stable, as well as put the country in a better international position. The belief is that successful democratic nation-states do not go to war with each other, *and* maintain an internal political and social stability that is said to characterize the developed nations.

Encouraging and initiating inclusion is only one half of the battle and has to happen concurrently with de-ethnicization and de-stigmatization. The Travellers are an ethnicized stigmatized group, so even if there are initiatives to incorporate them into the national identity and practice of nationalism, there will still be stigma attached to their identity as Travellers. One way to address this stigma is by combating the stigmatization of poverty, as Kurczewska argues. Rather than associating poverty with the moral identity of an ethnic group, it should be described and understood as what it is: a condition (a circumstance), rather than as a delineated being or person. This requires educating and re-educating society as well as restructuring the categories we use to make sense of the world. While none of this can happen over night, a paradigm shift is needed.

I do not have any concrete solutions or plans, but allowing individuals the freedom to live as individuals not stuck in the 'tyranny of identity,' as Kwame Anthony Appiah (1994) accurately describes it, is a way to break the limitations we put on people based on collective categorization. The Travellers are not unique in their treatment or social position; there are many more groups similar to them. They are one example of how systems of oppression, marginalization, and subordination are espoused with society leaving many in the Fourth World. As stated earlier, the Travellers need to be given a chance to be people before they are Travellers. Instead of holding them in contempt for being poor, Irish society should question why the Travellers remain cyclically in poverty.

Instead of condemning them to the margins of the city and the margins of society, they should be integrated into the urbanization that excluded them in hopes of finding certainty in the 'uncertainty' (Gmelch 1977) in which urbanization has placed them.

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Teju Adisa-Farrar

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