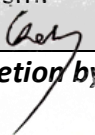




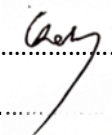
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STATEMENT

This thesis is the result of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references and a Reference List is appended.

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Date..... 11 May 2020

Becoming Dublin

How the River Liffey Shapes Cultural Identity

By Thomas Kelly

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of a B.A. (Hons.) in Applied Anthropology

University of Wales Trinity Saint David

May 2020

Abstract

This document sheds light on the ways in which physical environments and materials inform cultural identities, through examination of the close relationship between the people of Dublin and the river Liffey, upon which the city is built.

It brings together a network of findings based on fieldwork on and around Dublin Port, primarily centring the voices of two individuals who have lived and worked in the area throughout their lives. It will outline how maritime and dock work shape a particular cultural identity, and how this identity is thus inextricably linked to the materiality of water and the agency of the river Liffey. It demonstrates how the river Liffey shapes numerous aspects of culture and cultural identity within Dublin, and suggests how the sociocultural power of the river Liffey is woven into the fabric of life in Dublin. Finally, it begins to explore the broader implications of this connection, and to indicate that cultural identity functions on various levels, from local to global.

Crucially, this document argues that agency is fluid and exchanges of agency are key building blocks of the cultural identity(-ies) of Dublin.

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I would especially like to give thanks to my family in Dublin – Cathy, Stephen, Terri, Anja, Marie, and Phil – who welcomed me and took care of me during my stay, and without whose help this would not have been possible.

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Introduction

The city of Dublin is at once the epitome of a modern European capital – dynamic and metropolitan; a clash of old and new – and a unique community with its own very distinct cultural identity. Of the many things that inform and give rise to this identity, the river Liffey is chief. Central to the culture of Dublin throughout its history, in ways both seen and unseen, the river Liffey possesses a very real power to shape lives and people.

This document does not reiterate overtly manifest cultural appreciations of the river Liffey, but aims to uncover the ways in which it informs cultural identity through its many forms and aspects. It will examine the role of materials and materialities in processes of identity-making, and how these factors exercise their agency through human activities such as work. In short, a chain of reaction is exposed which highlights the significance of the river Liffey in making Dublin, Dublin.

Using the theoretical frameworks of Ingold and Malafouris to understand the complexities of human-environment relationships and the questions of agency with which such studies are entangled, this document will discuss the capacity of ‘nature’ and ‘natural’ materials (particularly water) to influence not only human activity but human identity, culture, and society. It will draw upon the work of Helmreich (2011), who highlights the fluid nature of water’s perception by humans, in order to closely examine the ways in which water manifests itself in cultural contexts. Much of the research presented is also grounded in the knowledge provided by studies such as that of Rolston (2013) on the subject of working with materials, and this shall help to form the basis of discussion regarding connection to environment and, to some extent, alienation.

Ultimately, however, this document and the discussion herein is guided by the findings of my fieldwork consisting (primarily) of unstructured ethnographic interviews with two main informants: John and Michael¹, who live and work(ed) in Dublin and on Dublin Port. The Port plays a highly significant role in my research, being the primary environment in which I conducted fieldwork, and holding great importance in terms of the identity-making process to which I refer (see Rolston, 2013).

The main body of this document is divided into four chapters, each taking a specific focus on a particular stage or aspect of the cultural identities of Dublin and the role(s) of the river Liffey in the creation of these identities. I begin by outlining the theoretical basis for the discussion, continuing through explorations of work, place and environment as drivers of social development and cultural identity-making, and finally conclude with a brief examination of particular aspects of the culture of Dublin and of its maritime workers, which will highlight key questions for further research.

¹ These are pseudonyms.

Methodology

In order to gather my data, I spent two weeks in the centre of Dublin. I chose Dublin as the location for my fieldwork for a number of reasons. First, the city is built around the River Liffey, and has been and continues to be heavily reliant upon its Port. As a result of this, the changing nature of the Port and the shipping industry over time has had a direct impact on life in Dublin and a focus of my original research aim was this effect on community and individual identity within the city and particularly around the Port. Secondly, I have a personal connection with Dublin as my family originated from Rathmines, and many of the (post-) industrial changes that have happened in Dublin, such as the renewal and gentrification of previously heavy industrial areas, have also been seen in my home of Salford. Such changes had originally been intended to form the main focus of this document, but the data I was able to gather led me in a different direction and this has become just a small part of my discussion. My family connection also meant that I had a gateway into the community through local relatives. The concept of a 'gatekeeper' (or multiple gatekeepers) is well established in anthropological fieldwork; having an individual or group of individuals who are able to connect, and to a lesser extent mediate between, the anthropologist and the community in which their research is based is an invaluable aspect of fieldwork. A further practical reason for my choice was that there are no major cultural differences or language barrier, which would have impacted my ability to gather data, particularly in such a short space of time.

I also felt that, given anthropology's tendency to focus on societies in the global South and those which are perceived to differ somewhat from the anthropologists' own society or

background, my research should instead look at a community closer to home. Löfgren (1987) discusses the shift within the discipline of anthropology away from 19th-century colonialist obsession with 'exotic' cultures and towards anthropology at home. He, however, refers to "[t]he search for the little community" in avoidance of sociology and social science approaches to ethnographic work, characterising this as a British influence (on Swedish anthropology). My research, in contrast to this idea, focuses on a European capital. This is a further move away from the still exotic and colonially rooted focus on marginal communities to which Löfgren alludes. Whilst it is important for anthropology to acknowledge such communities, the discipline can also be reluctant to introspection and the unwillingness of European anthropologists to explore their own societies and communities can be restrictive.

Unfortunately, I was heavily restricted by financial limitations in that I was only able to stay in Dublin for two weeks. In such a short time frame, it is extremely difficult to carry out in-depth ethnographic research. As a result, I was forced to employ more active means of data collection such as interviews, which are arguably less effective than more passive methods such as participant observation, which may have allowed a more natural flow of information and thus led to a more thorough and reliable understanding of the people with whom I carried out my fieldwork and the environment in which it took place.

Participant observation is regarded as a staple of anthropology. Spradley (1980), for example, makes arguably no distinction between participant observation and ethnographic fieldwork in general. It is, therefore, almost unimaginable to conduct ethnographic research without employing this method to some extent. In this case, it was an essential tool in creating a contextual background to my research in terms of the physical and cultural

setting. And in the analysis of my data, this broader span of information has proven to be extremely valuable. Participant observation enables the researcher to become closely and viscerally engaged within the physical, social, and cultural environment in which they are carrying out their research. A key aspect of participant observation is learning through doing; creating and sharing embodied knowledge. However, participant observation alone would have been insufficient for my research, particularly given the short time frame. As my topic also looks at broader phenomena and attempts to place itself into a recent historical context, my methods had to go beyond the fundamentals of ethnography.

A key issue of conducting anthropological research in a community with which the researcher already has a personal affiliation, and in a place which is in many ways so similar to home, is that it can be difficult to distance oneself enough to observe critically and in detail. In such a familiar environment, it does not come naturally to examine and assess every aspect of the culture and day-to-day life. This may have led to theoretical oversights, as certain aspects of my fieldwork did not necessarily present themselves as something to be analysed. There were also limitations in terms of access to the Port in particular, as my informants' work places heavy demands on time, and there were instances where my time gathering data was cut short or restricted due to the busy and unpredictable nature of the working environment (see Figure 2). However, this in itself is notable in that it provides some insight into the working life of my informants. Although my time was limited, because I had an already established relationship with a number of local individuals I was able to gather information about the city and community more broadly through participant observation, and through casual conversation which naturally arose as I was present.

My discussion is largely centred on the life histories of two informants who grew up and worked in Dublin (specifically around Ringsend). As I used consent forms (see Appendix A) which stated that informants would remain anonymous, the names of my informants have been replaced with pseudonyms. I had made an assumption that anonymity by default would simplify the ethics of my research, but I now believe it would have been preferable to simply offer anonymity should informants so wish. Nonetheless, it is the stories and voices of my informants which lead my argument throughout.

Interviews played a substantial role in my data gathering process. I aimed to keep interviews as unstructured and informal as possible, as I felt that this would provide me with more accurate and in-depth information. I used my phone to record interviews, as not only was it convenient, it is also far less intrusive than other methods of recording. This is both because a mobile phone left on a desk is common and hardly noticed, and because it allowed me to be fully engaged in the conversation, rather than taking written notes whilst the interview was taking place. It also meant that the recordings were

only available to myself, protecting the privacy of my informants. My interviews were mainly focused on life histories of the informants, aiming to contextualise the current environment and situation in which I observed them. I asked, for example, about family background, work, and particularly how they came into their line of work. Levy and Hollan (1998) provide an in-depth discussion of the characteristics of specifically ethnographic



Figure 1. The view from John's office, rather aptly a converted shipping container.

interviewing, which notably includes placing the informant/respondent at the centre of the conversation. When interviewing, I was conscious of how much I spoke and extremely careful not to take too much control over the direction of the conversation. Whilst I naturally attempted to steer the discussion toward particular topics, I also tried my best to avoid leading my informants toward any specific perspective or influencing their answers to any of my questions. Something else which was crucial to the conducting of my interviews is that I did so in an environment which was highly familiar to my informants. I met them usually at or near their place of work (see Figure 1), in locations which were chosen by themselves, not me. I believe that this helped to put my informants at ease, as well as allowing for conversation to flow comfortably and naturally in a way that gave them control. There were times at which conversation lulled, seemingly due to an unspoken expectation of myself to ask particular questions, but this, I felt, rarely hindered my research.



Figure 2. This image of the Port gives some impression of the working environment of my informants.

Whilst I was careful to conduct interviews in an informal manner and to allow conversation to flow naturally, as opposed to structuring and controlling the discussion, it is impossible for a researcher to avoid their presence having some effect upon the behaviour and attitude of the informants. It is also impossible to know what information my informants may have

altered or omitted in interviews which they may have provided under different circumstances, such as had I not been recording. There are also potential limitations of unstructured interviews in that the researcher has minimal control over what is said, and so it can be difficult to get to specific information which is being sought. However, I did not find this to be a major issue when conducting my research, as my informants seemed keen to provide me with any information. After conducting interviews, I listened back to the recordings several times, in order to ensure that I had exhaustive notes of what was discussed. I then compared my notes from different interviews in order to identify common themes and recurring points. This became a crucial part of my analysis, as it led me to restructure and reassess my research, and to refine my topic of study.

As my research relates closely to the immediate environment in which I conducted my fieldwork, I also spent some time exploring the area and taking photographs of the Port and its surroundings, which help to create a more holistic understanding of what my research examines. It must be acknowledged that photographs can often provide a restricted view of the actual situation, and what I chose to photograph does not necessarily align with what others may see as especially important or relevant.

Following in-depth thematic analysis of my data, I looked for background reading from within the discipline of anthropology on the topics which showed themselves to be significant, in order to help me examine and expand on the data I gathered in the field. I felt it necessary to begin analysing my data while I was still in the field, in order to properly adapt my research to make the most of the information I gathered and my limited time and resources. Writing up notes, listening back to interviews and identifying key writers and

theories enabled me to tailor my methods and the questions I asked in the field to whatever aspects of my research needed particular attention.

In order to mitigate against any ethical issues which could have arisen with my research, I familiarised myself with both the University's and the ASA ethical guidelines (see Appendix B), and made sure to adhere to these guidelines. I obtained informed written consent from my informants in the form of a signed consent form. Naturally, there is a risk of emotional harm to informants when asking questions about their personal life and life history.

Therefore, I did my best to gauge individuals' responses and ensure that I was not too probing or intrusive in my interviewing. I also provided my informants with contact details and made clear that they were free to refuse to answer any question, and to contact me after the event should they wish for me to omit any information they had previously given.

Literature Review

Within anthropology, the nature of human beings' relationships with their environment is widely discussed and debated. Tim Ingold (2000) examines in detail the various ways in which people perceive the environment and the different perspectives of 'nature' and the world. In chapter three of his book *The Perception of the Environment*, Ingold explores the concept of 'nature' as a cultural construction, identifying what he calls a "paradox" in the understanding of nature vs culture.

Many anthropologists are well aware that the basic contrast between physical substance and conceptual form, of which the dichotomy between nature and culture is one expression, is deeply embedded within the tradition of Western thought... And yet the notion that there are intentional worlds, and that human realities are culturally constructed, rests on precisely the same ontological foundation.

(Ingold, 2000, p.41)

What Ingold alludes to here is the impossibility of objective study of the environment, both because the conceptual understanding of the environment is wholly constructed through cultural perceptions and "Western" ontology, and because culture and ontology are, in turn, products of the environment to which human beings are intrinsically tied. Therefore, any study of environmental relations is necessarily entangled into a complex and ultimately highly subjective matrix of understanding.

Recognising this paradox is crucial to examining the deep-rooted connections between culture and environment. Ingold goes on to analyse Turnbull's (1965) ethnography of the Mbuti, noting their reference to the forest as a father or mother. This helps to illuminate the

potential issue of what Ingold describes in the above quotation. The argument that the Mbuti's perception of the forest as parent supports the concept of nature as a cultural construct is itself rooted in a cultural bias toward the "Western" ontological foundation. It is important, therefore, for anthropologists to acknowledge this cultural bias when examining human/non-human relations. In the case of the Mbuti, a familial perception of the environment, whilst easily simplified as one variation of a broad cultural construct, is in fact rooted in an epistemology which stems directly from the physical fact of their environment, albeit coupled with a cultural and ontological concept of 'family'.

In further discussion of this concept of "intentional worlds" (Schweder, 1990, quoted in Ingold, 2000), Ingold explores notions of making. He examines theories put forward by Engels (1934) and Godelier (1986) with regard to subsistence and the utilisation of the environment by human and non-human animals. A key point which is made here is that "the designs and purposes of human action upon the natural environment...have their source in...a domain of mental realities...that stands over and above the sheer materiality of nature." (p.79) By asserting that humans' modification of their environment is driven by socially constructed judgments and ideals, Ingold appears to promote a nature/culture divide, and in so doing, favour the social over the 'natural' with regard to agency and power.

This discourse places the human above its environment, and suggests a unilateral relationship of change. That is, human beings influence and alter their environment, but are not altered by it. Such an anthropocentric view is keenly challenged today. For example, Malafouris (2010) discusses what he refers to as the "agency problem" (p.21) when describing the process of making (using the example of the potter's wheel). This pertains to the question of who or what controls certain factors within the making of objects, and where

agency is attributed when materials are being manipulated. Malafouris questions the assumption that the potter, as a conscious being, is automatically the sole agent responsible for the numerous small and detailed processes which take place throughout their making. However, the idea that human beings are in control of their environment, or at least are the only conscious agents in their interactions with it, remains somewhat commonplace in academic discourse, insofar as anthropological research cannot separate itself from the cultural and ontological biases of the researcher or their background.

Perhaps the most obvious example of an ethnography which centres the relationship between people and environment, and does so without positioning the human as master of the environment, is Alan Ereira's (1990) ethnography of the Kogi. Ereira emphasises the Kogi's profound understanding of the environment as a fundamental base for society and culture. He foregrounds the need for working with the environment as opposed to attempting to exercise control or mastery over it, thus throwing into question the understanding put forward by Engels (referred to in Ingold, 2000) that lauds mastery of one's environment as a sign of superiority over societies whose subsistence relies on utilising their environment as it is.

Within this ethnography, Ereira also begins to touch on the importance of natural materials in sociocultural worlds.

Perhaps our Younger Brother thinks that we do not eat salt, that we are savage, wild people. No, we eat salt. We are civilized. It was our ancestors who put the salt here. So we all come here to the ceremonial house to eat it. We are still here.

Why is salt such a universal symbol of civilisation?

(Ereira, 1990, pp.198-9)

He goes on to give various examples of salt as a symbolism or staple for civilised society. This encapsulates the interweaving of nature and culture within almost if not every society. Upon examination of such material facts, it becomes apparent that not only society and subsistence, but also culture – in its most evolved forms – draws from and relies upon physical materials which cannot be segregated into categorical boxes of ‘nature’ or ‘culture’.

Helmreich (2011) further explores this fluidity of materials between ‘natural’ and ‘social’ or ‘cultural’ worlds, stating that “[w]ater oscillates between natural and cultural substance.” (p.132). He goes on to discuss prevailing anthropological and theoretical understandings of the sea, taking a critical standpoint against its conceptions as “naturally distinct from the land,” “free” and “the most unbounded nature.” (p.135), which he argues are rooted in the historical perspective of global North countries as perpetrators of colonialism.

This problematisation of traditional perspectives on the socio-materiality of sea and land is fundamental to the topic of human-environment relations in anthropology, particularly, of course, when looking at a coastal community. The distinction drawn between sea and land ought to be explored in more depth, and this can be done through ethnographic research of communities who live and work in a coastal environment. Such an environment may be understood as liminal, in that it sits upon a boundary which is both materially evident and socially articulated. Helmreich’s article links this to the boundaries of ‘nature’ and ‘culture’, noting the perception of seawater as fast-moving and untamable, in contrast with land as a culturally managed domain.

There appears something of a gap in the discourse surrounding human-environment relations when it comes to urban settings, and studies of relationship to the environment often focus on the exotic. This document seeks to address this gap and begin to reframe our

understanding of natural ontologies by examining the human-environment relationship in the context of a city in the global north (namely, Dublin). It will explore specifically the ways in which the physical environment influences the development, culture, and life of an urban community.

From a historical perspective, much has been written about the development of Dublin, and of course, research has been done into its unique geography. To some extent, the two are brought together in academic texts about the early/medieval growth of the city, but beyond minor observations such as place names deriving from geographical features (see Clarke, 1990) these connections do not permeate to a human level. This document aims to address this gap in the discourse by exploring the intermingling of Dublin's sociocultural development and its physical geography from an anthropological perspective.

In addition to the relations between people and landscape/waterscape, I also began to look at the role of materials in the working environment, and how both work and materials shape identity. For example, Rolston (2013), in her study of coal mining and miners in the USA, argues that raw materials, labourers and their labour are inalienable from one another.

Miners viscerally engage and transform the material around them, even if machines mediate those relationships... The machinery becomes socially recognized as a separate entity when it misfires or breaks down, seeming to exhibit a will of its own. In these cases, miners ascribe human qualities to the equipment...

(Rolston, 2013, p.585)

This raises questions about agency and the power that materials have within what are commonly regarded as human phenomena. Rolston emphasises the relationship between miners and the materials being mined, indicating that the processes of mining are not a

straightforward sequence of events – ie. the miner uses the machine to extract the material – but rather the miner and the materials are coagents in such processes.

Material agency is a concept which has begun to come to the forefront of academic discourse in a number of fields in recent years. As discussed above, Malafouris (2010) examines the issue of ascribing agency within processes of making. Govier (2019) uses the work of Malafouris to problematise traditional Cartesian understandings of agency, in a way which has important ramifications for anthropological studies of the environment and of manual work.

Barad (2003) further deconstructs the concept of agency, claiming that “[a]gency cannot be designated as an attribute of ‘subjects’ or ‘objects’... Agency is the enactment of iterative changes to particular practices...” Barad’s theory of “intra-activity” clearly problematises the attribution of agency to particular entities, and offers an alternative understanding of matter-action (Govier, 2019).

Whilst this document does not aim to explore agency or the theory of agential realism in depth, as these concepts are not prominent within my data from the field, it is worth acknowledging the relevant discourse here as it helps to contextualise some of the themes which appear throughout my data from a theoretical standpoint.

When analysing the relationships between human beings and their environment, particularly within the context of manual labour (including extraction, transportation of materials, development of landscapes etc.) it is sometimes helpful to use a Malafourian or Baradian framework in order to understand particular sets of meanings with regard to these relationships, practices and phenomena.

CHAPTER 1

HOW IDENTITY IS SHAPED BY DOCK AND MARITIME WORK

The City of Dublin is in many ways defined by its relationship to the river Liffey. Indeed, from the city's conception, the river – and its shapes and movements – has influenced Dublin's development on every level. Clarke (1990) for example, notes that the names of several parts of the city stem from physical characteristics which relate to the workings of the river.

I went to Dublin with certain preconceptions about the kind of economically driven physical changes that have and are taking place there. My aim was to build an understanding of the cultural impacts of these changes in terms of everyday life in the city. What I was met with when I conducted my fieldwork was something of a subculture built around the Port and the history of dock and maritime work which is both distinct and yet tightly connected with the broader culture of modern Dublin. Here I will explore a set of shared identities which are co-created by both individuals and the physical environment; mediated by collective industry and history. I will examine the role of the physical environment – in particular, the river – in the creation² of these identities and its influence on the people who work closely with it.

During our conversations, John frequently spoke about how the Port has changed over the years – how the number of workers on ships and the port itself has drastically reduced,

² I refer to identity creation and formation in this chapter. It should be noted that such terms can be restrictive, and it is not my intention to understate or dismiss the co-evolutionary nature of social/cultural identities and the relationships which inform these identities. See Barad (2007) for further discussion of this issue.

ships have become larger, cranes have become ubiquitous and canals have become obsolete (for shipping). However, he also pointed out with a certain keenness that certain things remain the same. Foremost among these (as I perceived it) was ropes (see Figure 3). Although ships are now much larger and more powerful than they were just a few decades ago (see Figure 4), and guided and assisted by modern technology, they are still tied down to the dock with rope. It was this fact which first led me to think about the sociocultural power of materials and their role within the creation of cultural identities – something I had overlooked prior to my arrival in the field. The need for ropes dictates one obvious fact: the need for dockworkers to know how to tie ropes. This is a skill which can only be learnt through practice (evidently a great deal more practice than my patience could allow, judging by my struggles to even *untie* knots when asked). Traditionally, such knowledge has been passed down as successive generations of families follow into the same line of work (patrilineally).



Figure 3. Among a number of shipping-related displays, a variety of knots tied with rope, inside the Ferryman pub (see also Fig. 7)

In my interview with Michael, he described it as “a natural thing” for himself to go to work at sea as he came from a seafaring family (“Michael”, pers. comm. 31 July 2019; see Appendix J). John gave a rather bleak image of the effects of containerisation on the local community, explaining that “the father got laid off, the son got laid off... it affected the stability in the household... had a huge effect financially and mentally on families.” (“John”,

pers. comm. 25 July 2019; see Appendix F). From an anthropological point of view, this can be seen not only as a simple cause-and-effect relationship between work/finance and societal stability, but as indicative of a deeper psychological and cultural dynamic which is embedded in the unique culture of dock and maritime work. Particularly when the knock-on effects of this are considered – skills and knowledge which have long been central to life on and around the Port no longer being passed on to future generations – the cultural impact of containerisation on Dublin’s seafaring community quickly becomes clear. Returning also to the question of materials and their significance, this is summed up quite poignantly by this quote from John: “They hung up their tools for the last time.” (“John”, pers. comm. 25 July 2019; see Appendix F).



Figure 4. A view of Dublin Port, with a number of leisure craft visible. This photograph was taken from the East Link Bridge.

Over the course of my fieldwork, a number of things stood out to me which highlighted the importance of materials and the physical environment in the lives of the people who work(ed) on Dublin Port. For example, in my interview with Michael, he recounted working with a blind fisherman who was apparently able to locate salmon by the sound of them hitting the water, and detect whether the boat was being rowed off course by the feel of the wind. I also recall John mentioning the effects of the sea air on one’s skin. So it is clear that the physical environment, in tandem with the materials being actively utilised by

workers, is a fundamental part of what makes a seafarer or dockworker – both literally (physically) and figuratively (culturally). This close interconnectedness of workers and their working environment echoes the findings of Jessica Smith Rolston's (2013) ethnography in that in both cases, such direct and inveterate engagement with materials appears to provoke a kind of fluidity in the attribution of agency and power. Rolston refers to "multiple agencies animating the resource substances" (p.583), a process the understanding of which, I argue, is integral to the identities and subcultures surrounding manual labour. In relation to my fieldwork, it is important to recognise the agency of non-human entities and how this understanding governs dockworkers' relationships with the environment, and with each other through preeminent subcultural norms. As John asserted: "the river's in control." ("John", pers. comm. 30 July 2019; see Appendix H).

Further to this, the river Liffey is granted an identity of its own; one which informs and co-shapes that of the people living and working on it (and is embedded into the culture and identity of Dublin as a whole, as I shall explore in chapter 4). John often referred to the Liffey as "she" and on one occasion "the Lady Liffey." ("John", pers. comm. 30 July 2019; see Appendix H). He also recalled with some levity "I nearly lost my life on the Liffey, so I know exactly how she reacts." ("John", pers. comm. 30 July 2019; see Appendix H). Within this apparent subculture, the river is not only understood as having agency, but something well within the reach of personhood. To a not inconsiderable extent, therefore, the sociocultural identities of those who work so closely with the river are framed by what is ontologically experienced as an interpersonal relationship with the river itself. Such a relationship with the river throws into question the way in which water as a substance can be understood. Helmreich (2011) argues that water is both a "natural and cultural substance" (p.132) and thus possesses a particular level of agency which enables it to inform culture and cultural

perceptions of nature (see Ingold, 2000). I would contend, however, that in this case, the river holds an ontological place as a cultural entity, while water remains a “natural” substance. My data here suggests that water – being a natural substance – realises its agential power through the medium of its cultural form – being the river as a singular entity.

A sense of place is also something which holds great importance here. For example, when Michael recalled his lifetime of work on boats, he said of his time working on the Port itself “I ended up where I should’ve been in the first place, Dublin Port.” (“Michael”, pers. comm. 31 July 2019; see Appendix J). He also described his family as “very much Ringsenders” (despite not working on the Port or at sea themselves) (“Michael”, pers. comm. 31 July 2019; see Appendix J). Not only do the material and systemic attributes of the Liffey or Dublin Port inform identities, but strong cultural bonds form around the physical location as a whole. The interweaved relationships between people, place, work and even time are complex and powerful, and all mediate, co-create and control each other. Willox et al. (2012) explore the relation between people and place – how place informs identity and how environmental changes impact upon psycho-social health through their effects on cultural foundations which are rooted in a community’s physical place. They emphasise the importance of “place-specific socio-cultural activities” and how these are impacted by environmental changes (specifically the impact of climate change on activities such as hunting among Inuit communities). In the case of Dublin (and Ringsend in particular), my data contends their argument, as it points toward a less tangible form of socio-cultural grounding in place than what Willox et al. describe. That is to say that what defines the specific cultural identity of a Dubliner or a Ringsender is perhaps more fluid and less rigidly determined, at least to the extent that it is compatible with the changes which have taken place within the area.

The various relationships which exist here, and the identity forming processes which are tied to these relationships, form the basis of my discussion throughout the rest of this document. Having explored how materials and physicality inform culture and identity, I now go on to further examine the role of the physical environment in the development of industry and its close entanglement with working life.

CHAPTER 2

THE CHANGING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GEOGRAPHY AND WORKING LIFE AND INDUSTRY

As mentioned in chapter one, recent decades have seen drastic changes to working life on the river Liffey. Technological advancements have brought with them a marked change in the relationship between people and environment. This chapter will build upon the theoretical framework established in chapter one to closely examine this aspect of Dublin's dock and maritime culture, assessing the impact of industrial change on the deep-rooted connections already discussed.

The containerisation of shipping has been (and continues to be) a heavy driver of social change in Dublin Port and the surrounding area. Both John and Michael gave accounts of the changes that have taken place in terms of a massively reduced workforce (from crews of several hundred to just a few dozen), increasing levels of automation and computerisation (meaning workers now need a completely different skillset to what was required of them just twenty or thirty years ago), and the diversification of the use of the Liffey and its banks. Modern technology and industry are often seen as exercising control over the environment. But is this really what is happening? While technological advances have undeniably led to a change in the relationship between workers and the environment with/in which they work, what I learnt in the field clearly negates any idea that the visceral and personal connection between these two agents has been broken. As I have mentioned in chapter one, tying down ships with ropes is still a necessary part of working on the Port, regardless of how

much the ships themselves may vary. Thus a very real and lasting physical, material connection remains integral.

When I first met John, he instilled in me the understanding that Dublin Port is, as it always has been, central to the working of the city. A rather simple fact that, for myself, consolidated this is that the Port receives jet fuel daily which is taken to Dublin Airport. Vast numbers of people (including myself) now travel in and out of Ireland via Dublin without necessarily seeing the Port, but these journeys still rely (albeit indirectly) upon it. The significance of the Port means that environmental factors are woven into every aspect of industry and economy in Dublin. Even when workers are not directly engaging with the material environment, the landscape/waterscape, the movements of the river, tides, wind etc. all have to be considered and worked with. John, for example, told me that he has known people to “just tie boats and they forget that the tide goes back down again” (“John”, pers. comm. 30 July 2019; see Appendix H) – an amusing example of a perceived disconnect from nature³ being incompatible with physical reality. He also explained that such factors as the times and heights of tides, the flow of the river, the direction and speed of the wind all predetermine when any job can be done, as well as how long it will take. Again, this means that knowledge and understanding is required which can only be gained through practical experience; so a close relationship with the landscape and the river are still extremely relevant to working life. On one occasion, my conversation with John was interrupted by the news that his river taxi was stuck. Not only did this demonstrate the

³ The term ‘nature’ is problematic in anthropological discourse, as it cannot be strictly defined and understandings of nature and the environment vary (see Ingold, 2000). Here I refer to physical processes which are beyond human control.

unpredictable and ever-changing nature of work on the Liffey, it also highlighted the different levels to which technology has changed this work. Of course, had this been just 20 years ago, John would not have had a smartphone with which to so easily contact various people and so quickly exchange information. At the same time, the problem could still only be solved with quite a considerable amount of physical labour and direct interaction with the river. Incidentally, the cause of the problem turned out to be pollution in the river, which John informed me (after his phone eventually stopped ringing) he has an ongoing project to combat (he had been given a grant to train young people in diving and so on to clean up the river). Quite a bit of John's diverse work seemed to be centred around encouraging future generations to continue to gain the same embodied knowledges which have for so long been integral to working life for many Dubliners.

Work and working conditions impact upon other aspects of life. For example, Michael spoke about salmon fishing in his local community. This, he explained, was once a key part of ordinary families' survival. Income from work in other industries such as in factories was supplemented by casual, seasonal work helping fishermen. As a consequence of this, communities were constantly connected directly or indirectly to the river and the wildlife thereof. Today, in a much more globalised world and with much less direct manual labour, this connection is gone. Dublin is in many ways a metropolitan city, with local businesses – local food and produce – holding less and less of a place in its societal infrastructure. It follows that the agential power of the river in relation to human and socioeconomic structures has been somewhat reduced.

It is arguably typical of anthropological discourse to frame notions of embodied knowledges and close interaction with materials and environments as something characteristic of the

global South; perhaps a hangover from the discipline's colonial origins, a firm nature/culture divide is often retrospectively imagined onto global North societies with a certain degree of ubiquity. What I believe is self-evident here is that such knowledges and interactions are in fact a key part of the fundamental workings of a global North society such as this. Moreover, these are not necessarily cultural practices per se, but vital and integral elements of society from a purely functional point of view. Ergo, our perception of these relations ought to be reimagined within a conceptual framework which acknowledges Marxist understandings of class as a pervasive societal structure informing cultural ideals of environment and materiality. When describing his experiences of working with fishermen on the Liffey, Michael referred to the lack of consideration for sustainability in the modern fishing industry – “they’re not conscious of what’s coming after.” (“Michael”, pers. comm. 31 July 2019; see Appendix J). An ecological Marxist perspective, such as that discussed by Stevenson (2018), is useful here. The knowledge being presented to me highlighted a class-based disconnect between two understandings of the environment. While manual workers gain an intricate, embodied, experiential knowledge of their working environment and its materials and resources, the higher classes are far more alienated from it. Furthermore, it is this alienated perspective which informs our cultural understandings of the environment and our connections to it, framing these understandings as universal within a society. Again, I would point to Rolston's (2013) ethnography, as her findings clearly support such a view. Her description of miners' “visceral” and agentially fluid relationships with materials is concurrent with the class distinction my data suggests, and the social structure which creates this pattern is key to gaining an in-depth understanding of the constantly evolving process through which the river as an entity informs culture.

Despite the changes in the Port itself – the obsolescence of the canal system, the containerisation of shipping, the computerisation of much of things such as navigation – the river remains central to working life in a number of ways. New, modern industries taking up space in Dublin do not rely directly upon the river or canals, but many do utilise these spaces in some way. Leisure industries such as bars and restaurants are abundant on the banks of the Liffey (an important cultural feature, as I will discuss in chapter 4), alongside glass and concrete office blocks owned by international

corporations. Of course, these industries would not be there were it not for the historical successes and developments of the city owed to the Port and its imports and exports. But the connection with the landscape and the river goes beyond this and continues to be relevant to everyday working life. That is to say that workers necessarily interact with the river in a number of ways, and through these relationships of individuals, broader social, cultural, and even economic connections can be drawn. The next chapter will explore these individual relationships in more detail – examining how they have changed and their significance.

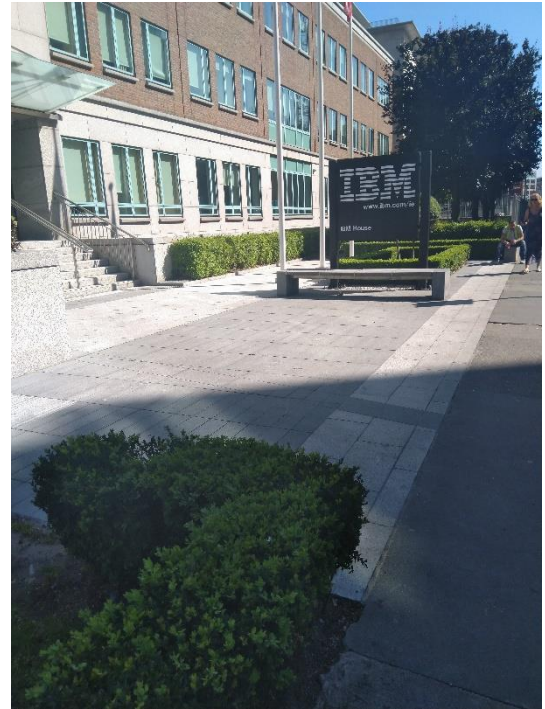


Figure 5. IBM offices in Ballsbridge. A prime example of the recent changes in industry in the local area.

CHAPTER 3

RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE RIVER LIFFEY BEYOND DUBLIN PORT

As the previous chapters have discussed, the relationship between people and environment in Dublin is complex and fluid. Material relationships and interactions are often mediated by socioeconomic drivers and changes, with individuals at the centre of these societal dynamics, and a number of conscious and unconscious agents co-regulating their development. However, the ways in which the broader population – as opposed to only those whose work puts them in direct contact with the river – interacts with and is influenced by the river in daily life also must be acknowledged.

Perhaps the most noticeable physical change which has occurred due to the industrial advancements of recent decades is that, as large container ships cannot travel down the river and into canals, there are now many more bridges across the Liffey than before. In the last 50 years, 9 new bridges have been opened in Dublin (4 in the last 20 years) (Dublin City Council, 2020). This has enabled a much greater connection between the North and South sides of the Liffey than was previously possible (as I will explore further in the next chapter), so how may it have also altered people's connection with the river itself? As has already been examined, the number of people working on the river has decreased dramatically, but in addition, even those who do not work on the river now interact with it less intimately. For example, John runs a small river taxi service, which at one time would have been a vital part of the socioeconomic infrastructure of the city, with large numbers of people depending on boats to get them across the river to work and school every day. Today, with numerous road bridges and cars being so commonplace, people's journeys over the river take seconds and

one may barely even notice the vast body of water beneath them. Despite this, as John acknowledged, the fast pace of modern life is now once again building a demand for the humble river taxi – “[in] the modern age, everybody’s in a hurry to get to work. So because of the gaps between the bridges, that’s linked that gap.” (“John”, pers. comm. 25 July 2019; see Appendix G). Consequently, people regularly interact with the river physically and in ways which are embedded into day-to-day lives and livelihoods. Strang (2019) argues that “the control of water forms an integral part of the ability of people to exercise agency and to construct particular identities” (p.175; my translation), and refers to water infrastructure (sewer systems etc.) as “carry[ing] with them the realisations of past ideas” (p.175; my translation), suggesting that such structures possess a certain level of agency through which they may inform identities. This idea offers a different perspective on the relationship between the river Liffey and the social identity of the people of Dublin. I have thus far assessed the ability of water, in its entitative form of the river, to shape human and cultural activities; “the river’s in control” (“John”, pers. comm. 30 July 2019; see Appendix H) as opposed to a narrative of human mastery of the river or of water. What is offered here, however, is that it is this perceived mastery of the elements which grounds the human-water relationship. Thus, the interrelation of people and environment can be viewed as reciprocal, and the attribution of agency is once again problematised further. However, the majority of my data still strongly attests the agential power of the river. This complexity can perhaps be explained, or at least contextualised, by the distinction drawn in the first chapter of this document between the substance of water and the entity of the river. Attala (2019) highlights the versatility of water, and outlines this distinction between material and entity. Water is a substance which, owing to its materiality, has considerable power and agency in and of itself. Consequently, as Strang indicates, the control of water carries great

significance and very real associations to power (be it social, cultural, political etc.) But in its form as a culturally perceived entity, the river Liffey, I argue, surrenders this particular form of agency which its constituent substance uniquely possesses.

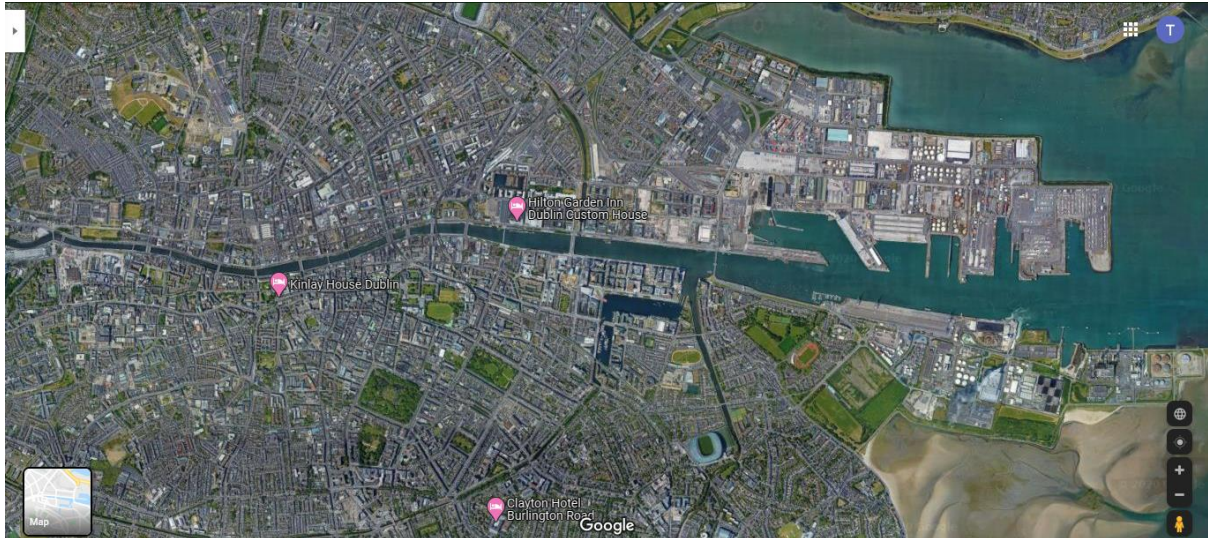


Figure 6. Satellite image of Dublin, showing bridges along the Liffey and parts of the Port. (Google, 2020)

The river, and canals which stem from it, also maintain a significance and relevance in terms of their use for leisure. On a simple stroll through the city in the summer, I noticed a number of small businesses offering leisure activities like watersports and boat rides on canals and parts of the river. On a couple of particularly hot days people could be seen jumping into the river and swimming. During the week, various open spaces are filled with office workers spending their lunch breaks by the water, and one would certainly not look out of place standing on a bridge taking photographs as I did. The river and canal system are woven into the fabric of day-to-day life on numerous levels, and it could be argued that the agency of water is as pervasive in its cultural impact on Dublin as it is in its industrial context.

However, in my limited time in the field, I was not able to explore this connection in as much specificity, and further study would be necessary to build an accurate understanding

of the relationship here. Of course, as was mentioned in chapter one, the working relationship with the river Liffey does not exist separately or independently of the wider social and cultural setting. A question arises here about what plays what role in this relationship with the environment. Many anthropological studies of human-environment relationships present the environment as one thing. While theorists such as Ingold and Schweder have made great strides in challenging traditional anthropocentric and dichotomised understandings of the environment, there remains a view of 'the environment' as something which exists only as a whole entity. I suggest that the complexity of human interactions with environments – manipulations and modifications, elaborated over time – continue to feed into a nature/culture divide. As Helmreich (2011) maintains, water has a particular ability to transcend this boundary. However, I would go further, to say that all materials potentially have such an ability to retain their 'natural-ness' within human constructs. Strang (2005) argues that "sensory and perceptual experiences of the qualities of water" (p.115) are of significance in anthropological studies of environmental relations. The value of this knowledge, however, has been somewhat overlooked. What Strang suggests is that the materiality of what could be termed the 'natural world' must be examined in order to fully understand human relationships with the environment. This is an extremely valuable perspective here as, in the entitative form of canals, water has arguably lost its naturalness and become a "cultural substance" – but using Strang's argument, the agency of water in this cultural form can still be understood and explored as natural and as an element of a deconstructed environment. Thus, even in a context and form which is so strongly defined and confined by cultural perceptions and understandings, water – and by extension, 'the environment' – maintain agency and significance as 'nature'.

The nature, significance, and strength of individuals' relationships with the river Liffey are things which require much more detailed research to fully understand from an anthropological point of view. As discussed previously, taking the right approach to comprehending such relationships is crucial. The next chapter will build on the information presented here in order to begin to explore the community of Dublin and how the river Liffey informs the workings of this community.

CHAPTER 4

HOW THE RIVER LIFFEY INFLUENCES INTERHUMAN RELATIONSHIPS AND CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS

Thus far, this document has examined closely the relationship between human and environment – the bilateral influence of the river Liffey on the people of Dublin and vice versa – but to define this relationship in these limited terms would be an oversimplification to say the least. This chapter will begin to explore how the physical environment contextually helps to define Dublin's culture and inform the ways in which people perceive and interact with each other, both in terms of the river Liffey's impact on regional identities and in terms of how the Port and shipping have shaped the cultural globalisation of Dublin.

Eriksen (2017) raises the question of universal culture, and critiques the cultural relativist approach which is in many ways a fundamental of anthropology. He outlines the history of anthropology's somewhat tumultuous relationship with human rights and how cultural and moral relativism⁴ as a rigid theoretical stance can become problematic when studying globalisation. Dublin is a particularly interesting case study for globalisation from an anthropological point of view. Though the image of a bustling, metropolitan European capital may be something new, Dublin has arguably always been a globalised city. Certainly in the twentieth century, the Port has upheld and built major connections with other parts of the world, which have impacted on the city's cultural as well as economic development. Its connections to the North-West of England – cities such as Liverpool and Manchester – is well known, with an estimated 75% of Liverpudlians being of Irish descent (The Guardian,

⁴ See Scheper-Hughes (1992)

2011). In my interview with Michael, he recounted his experiences of travelling to a range of different countries (including the UK, US, Canada, India, and South Africa) during his time working on cargo ships, in a time when crews spent days to weeks in the cargo's destination country, and thus became quite accustomed to local communities. He also described himself as a "staunch trade unionist" and recalled occasions on which unions of Irish workers defended the rights of foreign ship- and dockworkers. The image that Michael created of his experience of this work was of a kind of solidarity through universality. That is to say that the common ground of their work creates a link between different national and cultural backgrounds. This seemingly permeates deeper into cultural practices (chief amongst these as a kind of socio-cultural mediator, being drinking). As Eriksen notes, anthropology has traditionally understood that "the world as it is perceived by humans is fundamentally and *irreducibly* diverse" (pp.1141-1142, my emphasis). However, my data maintains that this is disputable. Whilst it would of course be naïve to overlook the role of imperialism and colonialism in creating a globalised world which so easily accommodates hegemonic Western-European cultural standards and norms, it is nevertheless notable that the experiences of my informants indicate connections which call into question the validity of cultural relativism. Similarly, John talked about travel to other countries, describing what he viewed as the similarity between people; "They have reality. They live, they earn...whether it be Ireland, England, whether it be France... It's amazing how familiar things look." ("John", pers. comm. 30 July 2019; see Appendix H). This aspect of the subculture is interesting in that it once again forces us to question notions of place and its links to identity.

Figure 7. A popular local pub, The Ferryman, in central Dublin, stands between glass-clad office buildings. This view is from the Samuel Beckett Bridge.



Another notable aspect of the river Liffey's impact on culture and society in Dublin is its bisection of the city itself. Within Dublin, there exists a certain rivalry, along with sets of perceptions of each other, between those who live on the North side and those who live on the South side of the river. This was made immediately evident to me as, before I even arrived, my local family were wary of my staying on the North side. This divide apparently persists (despite the physical connections between the two sides making the division of the river almost unnoticeable, as discussed in chapter 3), albeit with less seriousness than evidently used to exist. John explained that the North side of the river has always had a reputation of being dangerous and violent, and this perception seems to remain despite very little distinction being perceptible to an outsider such as myself. Through the lens of these perceptions, the river can be viewed as a border or even as a liminal space, which raises a further question of how the increasing connection of the two sides of the Liffey may affect regional identities – as the division between the two sides is reduced, is something lost? Or does the liminal nature of the river become redundant? Unfortunately, my data is

far from sufficient to answer these questions, but we can begin to examine the theory.

McDowell and Crooke (2019) examine artistic interventions in liminal spaces, and their use as invocations of contentious political histories. Their research provides a helpful framework with which the role of the river Liffey as a liminal space may be understood – the river carries substantial history and agential power which feed into one another, and as such it places Dublin in a socio-historic context (particularly when the North/South divide is emphasised) similar to that of the spaces which McDowell and Crooke examine as being liminal from a temporal point of view.

In this short final chapter, I hope to have raised vital and fundamental questions about identities; the regional and the global aspects of the identity of ‘Dubliner’ have been examined, both relating to the river Liffey in various contexts. In order to properly answer these questions, further field research would be needed. Therefore, the brief theoretical background provided here is presented as a link between this document’s examination of the river Liffey’s cultural agency and the broader contextual questions pertaining to sociocultural identities.

Conclusion

This document has focused on three key aspects of the formation of cultural identity in Dublin and its relationship with the river Liffey: the significance of working with materials, the recent changes in how people connect with the river, and how the river informs culture beyond the immediate scope of these relationships.

In discussion of human-environment and human-material relationships, this document has called into question the ways in which cultural identities are formed. A number of crucial connections have been found, which begin to explain the impact of the river Liffey (and of water itself) on the socio-cultural development of the city of Dublin. Furthermore, it has raised questions within the discipline of anthropology, regarding cultural relativism, international and interpersonal relationships in the contexts of globalisation and sociocultural identity.

The relationships between people and environment in Dublin are mediated largely by labour, and the shared experiences and embodied knowledges which are brought about through work have been shown to be crucial factors in the formation of a cultural identity. And this goes further, to the importance of place, which itself opens up a broad avenue of thought. Bringing in a variety of theoretical standpoints and ethnographic comparisons (chiefly Willox et al. 2012, and Rolston, 2013), this document has assessed the concepts most relevant to anthropological understandings of identity and identity-making against the testaments of my informants, whose life experiences have helped to paint a vivid picture of both life and personhood in Dublin.

In addition, this document has explored social connections both to the river Liffey and to water as a “natural substance” (Helmreich, 2011) in cultural spaces and forms, and in so doing, has problematised the nature-culture dichotomy and its persistence as a hegemonic and pervasive worldview in studies of urban and particularly global North societies. This aspect of the discourse has been framed within the context of changing relationships between people and environment in Dublin specifically.

Finally, this document has presented questions of how cultural identities fit within global and hyper-local scales. It has begun to examine the theoretical basis upon which a further understanding can be built of how environments (specifically coastal and riparian environments) shape interhuman relationships and cross-cultural perceptions. There is undoubtedly a potential for further research in this area, with a further focus on the retention of sociocultural identities in differing physical contexts, as well as the numerous scales and levels on which identities function and are continually constructed.

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Appendix A – Consent Form



PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

PARTICIPANT NUMBER:

INTERVIEW DATE:

Study Title: The Impacts of Deindustrialisation and Urban Regeneration on Community and Identity in Dublin

I confirm that I have been provided with any information necessary regarding the above study; I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and these have been answered to my satisfaction.

☐

I understand that my participation in the above study is voluntary and that I am under no obligation to answer questions posed by the researcher.

☐

I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and any information I have provided at any time, without explanation.

☐

I confirm that the researcher has clearly explained how my information will be used, and that no information will be retained longer than necessary or used without my prior consent.

☐

I understand that the information used in this study will be anonymous and that my name and any identifying information will not appear in any report, article or presentation produced from this study.

☐

I confirm that I have give prior consent for any recordings or images to be taken during interview.

☐

I agree to take part in the above study.

☐

Name

Date

Signature

You may decline to participate in this study. You may refuse to answer any questions put forward by the researcher. You may end the interview at any time. You may, at any time, withdraw consent for your information to be used. Any recordings or images taken will be deleted upon your request, and will be kept confidential at all times.

Appendix B – Links to ethical guidelines

ASA Ethical Guidelines:

<<https://www.theasa.org/downloads/ASA%20ethics%20guidelines%202011.pdf>>

UWTSD Ethical Guidelines:

<<https://www.uwtsd.ac.uk/media/uwtsd-website/content-assets/documents/research/research-ethics-integrity-code-practice.pdf>>

Appendix C – Ethics form



E3 FORM

APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL – BA level CAIS AM GYMERADWYAETH MOESGOL – Lefel BA

Mae'r ffurflen hon i'w chwblhau gan bob BA myfyrwr. Rhaid i bob ffurflen gael ei ystyried gan ddiwr y modur. Dylai un copi o'r ffurflen yn cael ei roi ar y ffleiliau Cyfadran ac un copi cadw ar y ffleiliau myfyrwr. This form is to be completed by all BA students conducting research, projects or productions. This form should be completed by the student. All forms must be considered by the Module tutor. A copy of the form must be kept centrally and on the student file.

ADRAN 1 – MANYLION MYFYRIWR SECTION 1 – STUDENT DETAILS

Enw Llawn Full Name	Thomas Kelly		
Ysgol/Cyfadran/ School/Faculty	Faculty of Humanities and Performing Arts	Rhif Myfyrwr/ Student Number	1700248
Cyflwynydd prosiect/ Lectwr Module Tutor/ Programme Co-ordinator	Luci Attala	Enw'r Gradd/ Name of Degree	Applied Anthropology
Teitl dangosol yr Traethawd Hir: The Impacts of Deindustrialisation and Urban Regeneration on Community and Identity in Dublin			

ADRAN 2 – MANYLION CYFRANOGWYR / CYNULLEIDFA SECTION 2 – PARTICIPANT / AUDIENCE DETAILS

Pwy yw'r cyfranogwyr arfaethedig?	Who are the intended participants?	Ydy / Yes	Na / No
Myfyrwyr / staff Y Drindod Dewi Sant	Students / staff of Trinity Saint David		☒
Oedolion (dros oed 16 ac yn gymwys i gysynio)	Adults (over the age of 16 and competent to give consent)	☒	
Piant a phobl ifanc dan oed	Children / legal minors		☒
Cleifion neu gleientiaid gweithwyr proffesiynol	Patients or clients of professionals	☒	
Rhywun sy'n cael ei gadw yn y ddalfa neu y mae'r llyd wedi cyrryd cyfrifoldeb	Anyone in custodial care or for whom the court has assumed responsibility		☒

1

Gweithdrefnau lle defnyddir twyll	Procedures that involve deception	Ydy / Yes	Na / No
Gweini unrhyw sylwedd, cyfrwng neu blasebo	Administration of any substance, agent or placebo		☒
Dull arall o gasglu data neu fformat cyflwyno (esboniwr)	Other method of data collection or presentation format (please explain)	☒	

2. Restrni eich dull o gasglu data	List your method of data collection:
Photographs	

3. Risg Posibl: (corfforol, seicolegol, cyfreithiol, cymdeithasol neu economaidd)	Potential Risk: (physical, psychological, legal, social or economic)
A oes unrhyw risg posibl i:	Is there any potential risk to:
A Cyfranogwyr?	Participants?
B Ymchwilydd?	Researcher?
C Bnifysgol/Cyfadran?	University?

4. Rheoli Risg: Os oes, beth yw'r risg a bydd yn cael ei reoli?	Management of Risk: If yes, what is the risk and how will it be managed?
- Very minor risk of social or psychological harm to participants resulting from interviews and publishing of information, which will be managed by gaining informed verbal consent from each participant for me to speak with them, and written consent for me to use the information I gather. Participants will be able to contact me and withdraw consent afterward. - Potential risk of physical harm to myself from carrying out fieldwork in an unfamiliar environment and alone. I will take all possible precautions to ensure my own safety. I will remove myself from the field if necessary and contact my supervisor if I am in any danger. - I will work according to the ASA ethical guidelines (https://www.theasa.org/downloads/ASA%20ethics%20guidelines%202011.pdf) and those of UWTSD (https://www.uwtسد.ac.uk/media/uwtسد-website/content-assets/documents/research/research-ethics-integrity-code-practice.pdf); any ethical issues which arise will be dealt with according to those guidelines.	

5. Os ydych chi delio â phlant a / neu oedolion agored i niwed, rhaid i chi gyflwyno eich tystysgrif DBS i'ch twtor goruchwylio i'w cymeradwyo cyn i unrhyw gysylltiad â cyfranogwyr hyn.	If you are dealing with children and/ or vulnerable adults you must present your DBS certificate to your supervising tutor for approval before any contact with these participants.
A Ydych chi wedi gwneud cais am dystysgrif DBS?	Have you applied for a DBS?
Ydy / Yes	Na / No

3

amdan Aelod o unrhyw sefydliad lle mae'n bosibl bod angen i unigolyn arall hefyd gysynio.	A member of any organisation where another individual may also need to give consent.		☒
Eirall: Nodwch: / Others: please identify:			

Nifer, Oed a Ffynhonnell y Cyfranogwyr Rhowch fanylion ar demograffeg y cyfranogwyr / cynulleidfa	Participant / Audience Number and Age Provide details of the demographics of the participants / audience.
Nifer o Gyfranogwyr / yn y Gynulleidfa	Participant/ number Audience 1+
Gnip oedran y Cyfranogwyr / Gynulleidfa	Participant/ group Audience age 18+

ADRAN 3 – GWEITHGAREDD YMCHWIL SECTION 3 – RESEARCH ACTIVITY

1. Ydy'r prosiect yn cynnwys:	Does the project include:	Ydy / Yes	Na / No
Defnyddio holladr neu offeryn ymchwil tebyg	Use of questionnaire or similar research instrument		☒
Defnyddio prawf ysgrifenedig neu gyfrifiadurol	Use of written or computerised test		☒
Cyfweliad (cysylltwch gwestiynau posibl)	Interview (attach provisional questions)	☒	
Dyddiaduron	Diaries		☒
Arsylwi ar gyfranogwyr a hwythau'n ymwybodol o hynny	Participant observation with their knowledge	☒	
Arsylwi ar gyfranogwyr a hwythau ddim yn ymwybodol o hynny	Participant observation without their knowledge		☒
Recordio fideo neu sain	Video or audio-taping	☒	
Mynediad i wybodaeth personol neu gyfrinachol heb gysyniad penodol y cyfranogwyr	Access to personal or confidential information without the participants specific consent		☒
Defnyddio unrhyw gwestiynau, ysgogiadau praf, cyflwyniad y gallai rhai cyfranogwyr eu profi fel rhyw beth yn achosi niwed / trawmdd corfforol, meddyliol neu emosïynol	Administration of any questions, test stimuli, presentation that may be experienced as physically, mentally or emotionally harmful / offensive		☒
Cyflawni unrhyw weithredoedd allai achosi embarras neu effeithio ar hunan-barch	Performance of any acts which may cause embarrassment or affect self- esteem		☒
Ymchwilio i gyfranogwyr sy'n ymwneud â gweithgareddau anghyfreithlon	Investigation of participants involved in illegal activities		☒

2

B DBS?	certificate?		
A yw eich twtor weld a'i gadarnhau eich tystysgrif DBS?	Has your tutor seen and approved your DBS certificate?		

6. A fyddwch chi'n cael cytuno i'w gysynio ysgrifenedig o'ch cyfranogwyr?	Will you obtain written informed consent from your participants?	Ydy / Yes	Na / No
A Os na fyddwch, pam hynny?	If no, why not?		
B Os fyddwch, sut fyddwch chi'n sicrhau cytuno i'w gysynio?	If yes, how will you secure informed consent?	☒	
Rhowch eglurhad / Please explain: I will use a consent form.			
Cyflwynwch copi o'r ffurflen cytuno i'w gysynio os ydych chi defnyddio un.			
		Please include a copy of the consent form if you are using one.	

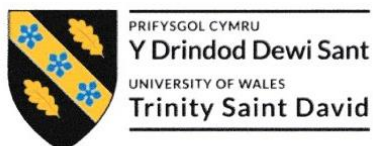
ADRAN 4 CEFNOGWYD / APPROVED	x	SECTION 4 NIS CEFNOGWYD/ NOT SUPPORTED
Datganiad Mae'r wybodaeth a gynnwysir yma yn gywir, hyd etihaf fy ngwybodaeth a'm cred. Ryfwn wedi ceisio dynodi unrhyw risgiau a phroblemau sy'n gysylltiedig â'r prosiect / ymchwil neu gynhyrchiaid ac ryfwn yn cydnabod fy mwyddiadau innau a hawliau'r cyfranogwyr.		

Llofnodau Dylai'r ffurflen hon gael ei chwblhau a'i llofnodi gan y myfyrwr a'r Cyflwynydd y prosiect / Twtor	Signatures This form should be completed and signed by the student and the Module tutor/Programme Co- ordinator.
--	---

Myfyrwr / Student	Dyddiad: / Date:
	25/06/2019
Cyflwynydd y prosiect / Twtor Project co-ordinator / Tutor	Dyddiad: / Date: 25 June 2019

Appendix D – Signed consent form from “John”

Due to the promise of anonymity outlined within the form, the names of informants have been covered. This applies to both consent forms (Appendices D and E).



PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

PARTICIPANT NUMBER: JM1704

INTERVIEW DATE: 30/7/19

Study Title: The Impacts of Deindustrialisation and Urban Regeneration on Community and Identity in Dublin

I confirm that I have been provided with any information necessary regarding the above study; I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and these have been answered to my satisfaction.



I understand that my participation in the above study is voluntary and that I am under no obligation to answer questions posed by the researcher.



I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and any information I have provided at any time, without explanation.



I confirm that the researcher has clearly explained how my information will be used, and that no information will be retained longer than necessary or used without my prior consent.



I understand that the information used in this study will be anonymous and that my name and any identifying information will not appear in any report, article or presentation produced from this study.



I confirm that I have given prior consent for any recordings or images to be taken during interview.



I agree to take part in the above study.



[Redacted Name]

Name

30/7/2019

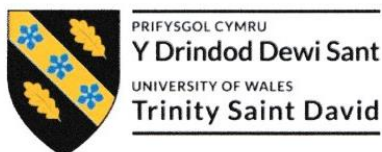
Date

[Redacted Signature]

Signature

You may decline to participate in this study. You may refuse to answer any questions put forward by the researcher. You may end the interview at any time. You may, at any time, withdraw consent for your information to be used. Any recordings or images taken will be deleted upon your request, and will be kept confidential at all times.

Appendix E – Signed consent form from “Michael”



PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

PARTICIPANT NUMBER: ~~BB101~~ G-B1101

INTERVIEW DATE: 31/07/19

Study Title: The Impacts of Deindustrialisation and Urban Regeneration on Community and Identity in Dublin

I confirm that I have been provided with any information necessary regarding the above study; I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and these have been answered to my satisfaction.



I understand that my participation in the above study is voluntary and that I am under no obligation to answer questions posed by the researcher.



I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and any information I have provided at any time, without explanation.



I confirm that the researcher has clearly explained how my information will be used, and that no information will be retained longer than necessary or used without my prior consent.



I understand that the information used in this study will be anonymous and that my name and any identifying information will not appear in any report, article or presentation produced from this study.



I confirm that I have give prior consent for any recordings or images to be taken during interview.



I agree to take part in the above study.



[Redacted Name]

Name

Date

Signature

31-7/2019

You may decline to participate in this study. You may refuse to answer any questions put forward by the researcher. You may end the interview at any time. You may, at any time, withdraw consent for your information to be used. Any recordings or images taken will be deleted upon your request, and will be kept confidential at all times.

Appendix F – Transcript of interview #1 with “John” (25/07/2019)

These transcripts are not perfect. Unfortunately, due to background noise, there are parts of the conversation which were inaudible on the recordings. These are indicated by [---]. In a few cases where the exact word or phrase was not completely clear, but a reasonable guess was possible, I have indicated with [?] following the word or phrase. I have also blocked out names and other information by which informants may be identified (in line with my consent forms), along with any language which could be considered offensive. This applies to all four transcripts (appendices F-J).

John: Yeah so if you take that, if I was a carpenter, you’d expect your son to be.. to follow you in to be a carpenter. That’s your tim- if you were a timber worker. If you were in the maritime world, on the docks, your sons.. There was a thing called a [---] so you were a permanent man.

Thom: Hm.

J: If you died, and your son followed you into- into the w- into the docks, he would, he would get the [button? bookie?], so he would be a permanent worker. You know what I mean?

T: Yeah.

J: You’ll read an awful lot about that and the dockers they’ll explain; all the sons follow their fathers into the ships. So when all the containerisation comes in, the father got laid off, the son got laid off, it affected the income.

T: Yeah.

J: It affected the st- the st- the stability in the- in the household. And less and less ships... More and more ships need less- less and less men, because of containerisation. And that had a huge effect financially and mentally on families. ‘Cause there was no need for them anymore; they felt they were useless, you know what I mean? So modernisation played a huge role in how men physically... They hung up their tools for the last time. They weren’t needed anymore. They didn’t need to wear certain gear anymore, you know? They [---]

[-----]

J: That all turns around. As economies build back up, more and more containerisation, and more and more [---] buy more. So then when you go back to the families and you look now for the children, who are grown, to come back in.

T: Yeah.

J: So, they- that whole circle has never left. It had a big break, but the families now are being rehired back into the maritime section, funding is getting back into the house, livelihoods are growing and better. So, history does repeat itself.

T: D’you think it’s changed, like, the way families are organised at all – things like that – or, so like, d’you think... How you said, like, sons used to follow their fathers into their jobs.

J: Yeah.

T: D’you think any of that kind of structure’s changed?

J: No. Err, not for certain families. Not for certain communities. Yes, yes, yeah okay: you have more opportunities for education now that you had then.

T: Yeah.

J: The mindset of life going back up to 1960 would've been: you're a big family, or even... You went to work. There was always work available. You never to be educated anymore[?] You did have to seek. If you were to get for education you'd go for an apprenticeship, in something to do with the mechanics, or the local industries that's around the area. You never really went far afield.

[-----]

T: Hm.

J: What has changed now is that education has opened up to a lot of families. Err, nowadays, and computerisation, and all internet stuff, yeah. College has now become available to those families who couldn't afford college then, or would never consider it. But because, er, because there's a requirement now for one or more technical people, and there's opportunities there for them to earn an extra living [---] that has changed, bigtime.

T: That has changed. Yeah.

J: There's my mobile mechanic there now.

---END OF INTERVIEW---

Appendix G – Transcript of interview #2 with “John” (25/07/2019)

John: So that’s what the connection was

Thom: Yeah.

J: That’s, that’s what that link was. That’s very important, so if you take that link that’s [---] create trade and employment, and it’s creating a service back to people. So if you take the modern age, everybody’s in a hurry to get to work. So because of the gaps between the bridges, that’s linked that gap.

T: Alright.

J: It gets people there faster, and people say I’ll get there eight o’clock I’m in work at ten past eight. You wouldn’t say oh I’ll get there at quarter to eight ‘cause I need to walk around the bridges... there for quarter past eight. But the ferry now has given them that little transportation; it’s great for the modern age.

T: Yeah. That’s good.

J: Years ago, as you’ll see the old photograph with forty of them on it, just trying to get over to work in time.

T: Yeah.

J: And the ferry wasn’t big enough so they’d all jump on it.

T: Yeah.

J: Didn’t care about safety.

T: Yeah. Yeah of course, yeah.

J: So that’s what, that’s what linked the north side and south side was the- And like that, and you had ships on the south side that unloaded cargo and ships on the north side. So, you had the north side dockers and the south side dockers. But then, depending on the company that was bringing the ship, they would bring dockers from everywhere, you know what I mean?

T: Yeah.

J: [no idea]

T: So it, like do you not think there was more of a divide between the north and the south like before-

J: Oh bigtime yeah.

T: -the bridges came in.

J: Ah there was, yeah. Yeah, like the north and south side, everybody, like, you still get that today. The guy, guy [---] will say “ah he’s a [REDACTED] Northsider” you know what I mean?

T: Yeah.

J: Or he’s a Southsider, you know what I mean? You’d always get that slagging. And we still do that today. You’d always have that bit of banter.

T: Yeah.

---pause---

J: Yeah we'll definitely still have that today. Yeah. And again, "I married a Northsider", "I went with a Northsider" that's it but they're both the same communities but, as I said to you, that would've been probably more dangerous on the north side to walk, on the docks [---] There was a gang called the animal gang.

T: Yeah.

J: And they used to stop trucks, [---] So they were known as the animal gang, and they were tough.. tough men. Unemployed dockers or something like that. Hard times, just rob, rob, rob. Some people wouldn't work, just like [REDACTED] today need to have their drugs [---] they'd do that to make money, to sell, to feed their families and whatever. [---] they didn't care. Ruthless [REDACTED] like, d'you know what I mean? Yeah, so, it was, as I say, not the sort of place you could walk around years ago, go on a leisurely stroll. Now you can do that. But there again, in any big cities, I wouldn't do that. I still- You still have to be aware of where you are.

T: Yeah.

J: You still get [REDACTED] no matter what country you're in, you'll still get [REDACTED].

T: Yeah.

---pause---

T: I suppose now... people aren't really... They're not on the river... as much.

J: No.

T: 'Cause they've got the bridges they can-

J: And not only that but, the port have reduced all our work, all the way down. No they don't be on.. like, again, people don't have to make a living from the river now. Like all along here was a fishing village. So they salmon fished. So that's how they made their living. They'd work a little bit of part time in the factory, come out [---] a living by catching the salmon and selling them off. But, you know, that sort of helped the income.

T: Yeah.

J: Now they don't. Now they be on the river for leisure. I'm probably the only one, locally, who's on the river for work [---].

T: Oh right.

---pause---

J: There's a- see there's a family that travels. See where the kids... there just passed us by, see all the clothes and all?

T: Yeah.

J: And those kids are probably... that's probably their life. On boats. They travel all over the world probably.

T: Yeah.

J: Probably never... They probably... They probably won't see land now for about two weeks now. It's amazing. Like sea [REDACTED], some of them.

---pause---

T: I suppose you wouldn't get as many of those now as you would have done...

J: Oh no, no I mean years ago, I mean it was your form of transportation, you know what I mean?

T: Yeah.

J: I mean as you say, like for the guys to get to there that use the ferry, for the guys to get from here to the UK – whether they're going fishing there or living – they used all those, you know, old sailing boats, you know what I mean? Sailing was a very important part of it, but now it's really mainly for leisure.

T: Yeah.

J: It's... Everything is machinery now, you know?

---pause---

J: Yeah so there's [---] There's a crane, see that yellow crane over there now with the grabber, see it?

T: Yeah. Yeah.

J: Well that'd been a typical, well it'd be an older version, but you see the grabber going down?

T: Yeah.

J: Well, all along the quays- That's going into a hopper. So all along the quay you would've- [---] Like funnels, and the trucks drive underneath them, and they drop... the crane... the crane opens and underneath them they drop the coal [---] the coal trucks. So that was all part of what they did back then, the south bank quays back then, you know?

---pause---

J: So you've very little rowing except for leisure, you've very little sailing except for leisure. There's none of that. And everything is motorised.

---pause---

J: Tide, times, and weather changes everything for everybody. You know what I mean?

T: Yeah.

---pause---

T: So I suppose it's sort of like... the industry side of things is moving further East, further towards the sea, and the leisure is moving a bit more...

---pause---

J: Yeah it's definitely moving East. I mean these clubs are gonna be gone in a few years' time. See where the blue cranes are? They're all gonna be down there. So when you come back in ten years' time you'll be saying "remember when we sat there?" It'll be there. You know what I mean?

T: Do you think there's just more of a divide now between the dock its- the port itself and all the work around there and.. and the people, and the community?

J: Yeah, well what's happening now is that in the community there- you will have- you definitely will have- Well, put it this way, you've a lot of foreign crew coming in because there's no Irish to take on the jobs. And you'll have stevedores which are taking on a lot of... Because we're a European exporting, you've a lot of multi-language people that's now dealing worldwide. Er, the local community... That's... my whole job is to try and turn that back around to try and get them the skills so that they can get jobs in certain elements, and then introduce them to the ships. So that's... that's what I'm doing. That's my whole job at the moment. Trying to open that door again for them, to try and bring them back in [---] the computers are doing that now. You need to be able to do this and they'll say "oh it's too late because everyone else has come in" So what we're trying to do is keeping that door open for them; give them that opportunity. So that's where I'm... That's my whole objective at the end of the day.

---END OF INTERVIEW---

Appendix H – Transcript of interview #3 with “John” (30/07/2019)

John: Life would pass me by and I'd be looking out at seals, looking out at fishing boats, fishermen, rowing, ships coming in, ships were no more than five minutes' walk away from where housing is all over the docks. So our life and our environment was all to do with ships, marine crafts, err, the river Dodder, the river Liffey. We rowed and sailed, we swam, we canoed, we fished, er, we worked from the time we were kids – we spent time on the ferry, we spent time being the ferry when the ferry was stopped, 'cause the dockers were working we'd go across we'd get a few bob. So our life was evolved, our whole environment was evolved around the river Liffey and boats. And... so that's how I got so knowledgeable about it, d'you know what I mean?

Thom: Yep

J: [---] contractors moving into the area to carry work on bridges, or floating infrastructure up the river, or into the grand canal basin. There's a number of calculations- the tide, the wind, dates, the flows, the tides, the heights of the tides, which predetermines when a job can be done, when it can be completed, and all the time, the information like that. And I have that... I have... got all that knowledge, over all the years, and I use it now in my professional life; people pay me to give it to them. So that's... that's exactly... That's very valuable, so we're trying to pass that on. Trying to pass that knowledge on to the local... people. Local men and women, who want to enter the maritime world. So, that's what we're trying to do, and we're trying to pass on the skills, because it's not just one skill or a certification. A certification is okay on its own but it has to come with practical... learning by doing – practical skills, or whatever. And you must know your river. You could be the most qualified sailor in the world, but when it comes to a flowing tide or river and wind, and all the calculations and everything that affects all that, that all has to be taken into account. So everything's a calculation. In order to be successful in what you do, how you exercise a job, er, that's exactly what you do you must know that. If you don't, it's dangerous.

T: Yeah.

J: If you don't have experience, it's dangerous.

T: Yeah.

J: Because people who are qualified, are trying to carry out their jobs, [will?] be engineers, architects, and er, [---] fast-flowing tides. They're dependent on you to not only... no point in you being just certified, you must have knowledge. You must know your environment, and you must know every aspect and how to get out of it in the event that the following list is happening. If you don't, you're endangering everybody else's lives. You're being a fool, basically, for taking on the job in the first place. So, if you want to take on the job... talk to somebody who's experienced.

T: Yeah.

J: And that's really... I know every part of the Liffey. I nearly lost my life on the Liffey, so I know exactly how she reacts. I've never walked away, it's like when a horse throws you, you either get up or you'll never get back up.

T: Yeah.

J: So I nearly lost my life, got caught between two boats for hours. Well not for hours, sorry, for forty minutes. But it seems like a lifetime I was nearly gone[?] I was saved eventually. Er, no-one knew I

was there. Eventually got out, and... I got back in the next day. So... I got back into the boats the next day. So I [---]

T: Was that when you were, like, quite young?

J: No. It was only about seven years ago.

T: Oh right!

J: Seven years ago. So.. It was er, amazing there was er, a lady across the busy.. two busy roads of traffic heard me. And people who were near me never heard me. And she was about... I'd say... fifteen.. I'd say s- she would three hundred and sixty meters away and she heard me, from behind two boats, which no-one could see. And I was caught there. So I had about... I had about fifteen more minutes to go – less – and I would've been asleep. That would've been the end of it. But, I was saved I got back up and, you know, foolish me, brushed myself off; "that won't happen again" I won't take those chances again – I'm not a sixteen year old, err, I'm a sixty year old, so, er, that won't happen again. But that's experience.

T: Yeah.

J: But as- I was just... I took a chance which was stupid.

T: Yeah.

J: But ---I interject---

T: But, how did it happen then?

J: But it's very important that's why you pass on that so that... Okay... That was my... That was my downfall at the time was my bad experience; gotta make sure it doesn't happen to anybody else.

T: Yeah.

J: Silly stuff, you know what I mean?

T: Yeah.

J: Took a silly chance. It was just circumstances, that the boat was in gear and I was trying to release it from a larger boat and when I started the boat [---] it did start. When I released the rope it was in gear, so I tried to jump onto it, and then try and move... to try and knock it off, and holding onto the other boat. [---] that I stepped on slipped; I went between that and the [---] which held the mooring[?] so [---] the boats tried to pull me away at the same time. So I got exhausted trying to hold on.

T: Yeah.

J: But I did! And er, I got saved.

T: Lucky enough then.

J: Yeah, so I'm still here today so.. The lady Liffey, you know [---]

T: Yeah. Yeah.

J: Most of al[?] reality check. So yeah, you know. [---] you've good days on the river Liffey you've bad days on the river Liffey and just like the docks, work [---] it's busy one day and it's not busy the next day. It can be very busy for months, you know, long days and there's days you're not working[?]...

Everything nowadays is paperwork [---] all that sort of stuff, you know, so.. Lucky enough, if I wasn't in the field for all the years, I wouldn't have been able to put together the paperwork today that I do. 'Cause it ch- It changes every day. It's like the weather. Everything it changes, you know what I mean? And you gotta- You gotta keep up all that... all... er, you gotta be able to specify, er, various types of operations and what should be done and the equipment... the necessary equipment that's used; it's not just straightforward stuff.

T: Yeah.

J: 'Cause the river Liffey is not straightforward. There's nothing straightforward about her you know what I mean?

T: Yeah.

J: So depending on the job, you know what I mean?

T: Yeah.

J: Erm, so, if you try to [---] when the tide is out, you've got probably about an hour and a half [---] you can't do it anymore, because the tide is up.

T: Hmm.

J: Some people just tie boats and they forget that the tide goes back down again by [---] and they leave them hanging, so. I've seen all those things d'you know what I mean? It's interesting but, life on the river Liffey, for a lot of troublesome young men, err, and women, is very calming. [---] They spent a lot of time being [bold?] boys, you know what I mean? And, er, they turned their life around – they're all married now with kids. [---] worked on the docks, but they started off on the boats[?] [---] sort of give you a different perspective of how life is on the river, you know [---] They're not in control.

T: Yeah.

J: The river's in control. They want to mess with the river, it'll teach them a lesson.

T: Hm.

J: So, they have to learn. And [---] they go very quiet, very calm, and ask loads of questions, and they then become great listeners. [---] gives them a foundation of education and- about the river and [---] respect. And then they say wow, you know, there's a little more to life here so. And then they start to enjoy it. So within about three or four hours, they start to enjoy something like that. It means that that little door that they want to enter into the maritime world starts to open for them. If it doesn't they'll be off the boat within one hour; they'll say "oh get me off this." But if not, believe it or not, it has a certain calmness about it, you know what I mean? And... And... an aura of "Wow, look at that. How does that ship float? How does that move?" You know what I mean? So, all the stuff [---] So it's interesting, you know?

T: Yeah.

J: And to me, you know, you learn every day. Different things happen every day. And er, we- to us it's like [---] To other people it's very, er, intimidating. And it can be very stressful. You know, putting in the boats, taking out the boats, the boats sinking, all that sort of stuff. To us it's second nature, you know, so, you know... how to handle something. When- When y- When you try to do something

for somebody, you're not... you're not standing up there to talk about something for an hour. What you're doing is you're bringing forty years, forty-five years of experience into that conversation.

T: Hm. Yeah.

J: So, if somebody tries to... tell you... [---]

J: We're trying to.. We're trying to put out... You'll see the first book I wrote. I'm trying to put, now, phase two of that together, which is really a [---] certification for people who want to travel in and out of [---] the river Liffey. As the port has grown, more people are using boats, less communication is going on, people need to be communicated with, and er, they've communicated with the port. It's very important, that message, so that needs to be reinforced again, you know what I mean? So, that's what we intend to do. That's our little job.

T: Yeah.

J: That'll be my innings[?] before I go out – ha! – [---] d'you know what I mean? That's what you do, sort of.. pass on a bit of knowledge to save a few people, so they themselves can enjoy the river [---] and the bay, get in there safe, and understand the ships and all- how the ship... communicates with them and how... VTS communicates with them and they communicates with [---], for their sake. So that's... that's really what it's all about, you know?

T: Hm. So, for you you've learnt it all growing up and through experience and through your family, I suppose?

J: Well, yeah, family and experience, yeah. Some of my [---] But they never- Nobody would've been in the boats as long as I was.

T: Right.

J: Nobody. They all did rowing... rowing, and... local activities but nobody would've ever been on the boats as long as me. Erm, think it just got a hold to me and that's it, you know what I mean?

T: Yeah.

J: And it doesn't [---] I mean, you talk to somebody like me in the UK or America and they'll be all my type of guy and they all [have the same kind of way?] of just... going on and.. once it gets you it just gets you, it's like music. You know? If you're a musician, that's it. If you're an artist, that's it. If you're a marine man, that's it, you j-.

T: Yeah.

J: I could go away, in like, you know, Spain or... I'd sooner be down where... all the tradition [---]; work and the fishing and the lives and it affects their lives and... how they do it. More so[?] than stand beside someone with a gin and tonic in a lovely white jacket 'cause that's boring.

T: Yeah.

J: You know, I mean, [---] d'you know what I mean? There's only so much impression you can do [---] Impress him with a bigger yacht in a different colour, whereas you go back down to the people where they live, and they work, and they're... trying to repair their boats and striving every day and appreciating life... aiming to get out there to provide a living – that's art. That's culture. That's something to enjoy. And they understand every movement of the tide, the winds, when they can do it, their conversations, their skills, the look of these guys they're out there, you know, some of them

are weather-beaten, but, they always have a story. They have a passion. Beats a guy with a gin and tonic any day, you know what I mean?

T: Hm.

J: They have reality. They live, they earn, you know what I mean? That's... That's what they do. You know what I mean? That's great. That's culture. And I like that. I'd rather go away [---] go to where... people... fishing villages and... how people live. And it's gas because it's quite reflective of most fishing villages, you know, whether it be Ireland, England, whether it be, er, France... It's amazing the- the- It's amazing how... familiar things look. You know what I mean?

T: Yeah.

J: That's [---] That's life, d'you know what I mean? That's the maritime life.

T: Yeah.

J: So there's no more I can tell you... There's no more I can tell you, other than, you know..

---END OF INTERVIEW---

Appendix J – Transcript of interview with “Michael” (31/07/2019)

Thom: So... What is it you do?

Michael: I'll introduce myself. [REDACTED] is my name. I come from a seafaring family. I was born on [REDACTED] in [REDACTED]. Both my grandfathers were seafarers, and my father was a seafarer. So it was a natural thing for me... for the two boys in my family to go to sea.

T: Yeah.

M: I went away at the young age of fourteen years of age. My first job was on the VNI boat going from Dublin to Liverpool, as a deck boy. I then progressed to deep sea with [---] shipping. I went through all the phases of seafarers, they have, they have, er, three years sea time, and er, full sea time, and you've to be eighteen years of age before you become an able seaman. So I went through the various stages: from deck boy to ordinary seaman, EVH[?], efficient deckhand and then able seaman. And, erm, I retired from the sea, 1964. And... as I say I spent all my life around here and I went into the power station down there as a rigger, which was a natural thing for a sailor to do 'cause you were used to climbing and all that.

T: Yeah.

M: That closed down; I went back to sea on the Guinness boats, about five and a half years on it, going from Dublin to Runcorn, bringing, erm, a million pints a trip to England, of Guinness.

T: Important job.

M: Yeah. The Guinness boat then, they no longer [---] that system, so they went a new system, erm, bringing tankers over to Runcorn, by [---], so they done away with the ships. So, I fortunately found myself in Dublin port then. I got a job at fifty-three years of age, and I was there 'til I was sixty-five. So, I ended up where I should've been in the first place, in Dublin Port.

T: Yeah.

M: 'Cause they've taken all ex-sailors. But the changes that's taken place is unbelievable. In my day, all young people, you fished with the salmon fishermen on the river. There was no outboard engines, it was all rowing. So you made a few bob by pulling the salmon fishing boats for the men when they pull out the boats, you know? And I had the good fortune to fish with a blind man, who knew- had more knowledge than anyone I ever came across. And, he had uncanny sense. He'd know when we were pulling the oars, if the boat was going off course. And I used to ask him "How'd you-?" The wind of his cheek. And then when we'd sit down with the salmon fishermen, at the net, he'd hear the fish hitting the water before I could know it. So, that was one side of it. But, for Dublin Port itself, in the old days you had sailing ships. You had sailing ships, and you had sailing ships came in. I had the good fortune to be on two coal-burning steam ships. Now they were going out in the sixties. One was the gas boats going up from Liverpool to the gas company. And there was a ship called the Lairdsburn, that went from City Quay to Manchester. Now they were coal burning ships so we had to take two wagons of coal in once a week, for the firemen to shovel the coal on. So, shipping has changed. There was large crews on ships; some of the ships I was on there was thirty-five, thirty-eight of a crew. Now they're down to four, some only three. So, you know, it's changed, the port has changed it's become more modern and it has all the [---] and all that and turning service[?] so that's changed and all, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: So... So now... I'm after pushing a lot into... I'm seventy-seven years of age now, but er, if you want to ask me any questions about it, I'll answer them.

T: Yeah. So you've had a lot of different jobs-

M: Oh I have indeed.

T: -over the years.

M: I worked in the SV[?] as a rigger, as I say. And, erm, I was in Dublin Port I finished up as a [---], my job there was to [---] the ships on the quay wall. And then, you got a list, you had to actually put the ship in the right position, 'cause the ne- if you didn't do that the next ship'd be out of alignment, and there'd be no room on the [---] so it was a very important job, you know?

T: So... D'you think the way... people work with the port has changed, like, when y- like you said there were a lot more people on the boats back in the day.

M: Yeah. Well, both... both on the ships, and on the port itself.

T: Yeah.

M: At one time the port had a thousand men working there, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: Now it's down to something like forty... With modernisation, that... changed everything, you know? I mean, er... some of the ships I was on, I said, there were thirty-eight of a crew. You'd have twelve or thirteen deckhands, six decks officers, five engineers, you had cooks, you had to have [---], er... you had to have all kinds of [---] on the ships, you know?

T: Hm.

M: But, it was all manual stuff; now modern shipping is all... is... you- you'd be... navigate the sea now on the... on the satnav. Whereas in my time it was all hand steering.

T: Yeah.

M: Going across the Atlantic you'd have to have three [---] of three in it, and you worked [---] eight hours. And you each took your turn in that [---] to steer the ship manually. Manually. Now it's all press a button. No-one steers at all. Except for when they're coming into the rivers, you have to go back on manual steering. So that's the only thing that's been retained. And, from a safety point of view, you have to steer manually because if the network went wrong coming up the river, if the computer failed, the ship'd end up in the bank or into the quay wall or- so it has to be done manually. That's the only thing that has to be done manually. And that was actually done by the sailors, not the officers. It's a myth to think that- the sailors done all the steering. That was part of being an able seaman – you had to know how to steer the ship, up various rivers. All rivers are the same. There's green buoys and red buoys, and you go up the green and down the reds. That's the way it is, any port in the world. That will never change, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: So... Apart from that the manpower is down; the technology's up.

T: Yeah.

M: Now if- Ask me if it's an improvement I wouldn't say so I'd say there was more quality years ago. Even in the port there was more quality, you know? That's how they took me on at the age of fifty-three because they were looking for quality seafarers.

T: Yeah.

M: Now, you had young fellas coming in and they were doing fast course of eighteen months, you know? Now, what d'you learn in eighteen months, you know? It wouldn't be much. Whereas in my time, I was away for sometimes nine months at a time, seven months, you know? Various- So, you were all the time learning. You were on the job learning. And you had the [---] he's the head seaman, and you'd work as deck boy you'd train as- And when you come over from deck boy you go to ordinary seaman. And he trains you, and you go to the fishing deckhand they'd call it. And all the time you're doing exams, you know? All practical stuff, you know? So..

T: And I suppose your work would be your life, pretty much?

M: Oh yes, yeah. My.. The river is my life, 'cause I was born [---] over there, fished with the salmon fishermen from the time I was seven, then, the natural progression I went into the rowing club.

T: Hm.

M: I was rowing there for years, ha! Years I was. I rowed my last race at seventy-three years of age, haha! I'm seventy-seven now. My body is not as sharp as I was, but.. but the.. the [---] are sharp – the brain.

T: Yeah.

M: Hahaha. Yeah, so. There's lots of good things happening on the river, I see things and there's training going on, [---] training the youth into sailing, Jimmy's training people into seamanship, you know? That's all good, 'cause that's the way of following. Someone has to train them for the companies. My time was on the ship training, but they had to be trained on shore. The natural progression for Jimmy's staff is they'll go into Dublin Port, there'll be jobs for them. Because the seamen, the [---] seamen that they has finished [---]... Just take the [REDACTED] there's one to forty-four in colleges. Every second house over there was a seafarer, in my time.

T: Yeah.

M: And erm, extraordinary thing we'd no telephones. So, how you found out there was a ship coming that needed a crew: you'd look in the paper, first and it would show arrivals. And you'd come into the company that was [---] shipping and you'd put your name down for the next ship, and they'd say "we'll send for you." Now the way they'd send for you was the telegram boy would start coming down the road. And you didn't know what house he was going into. So, you always had to watch my house to see if he was going to my house so I knew then I was getting a job. And that's the way it was done, you know? Telephones came after that. [---] So... I'd say I had a fairly... good life on this river. As I say I made money out of the salmon, we w- reared families on the salmon, nevermind made money. But erm... all the fishermen were all about conserving, they weren't... It wasn't just take the fish all the time, they didn't fish the weekends, they... let the salmon... get up you know?

T: Yeah.

M: So that was the way. In the modern days they just... turn the seabeds up with trawlers.

T: Yeah.

M: So they're not conscious what's coming after.. They don't care about the people coming after them, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: I mean we had herrings on this river... in... in mass shoals. Nothing. There's not a herring now in the last thirty year, 'cause... the trawlers are pulling everything [---] you know?

T: Yeah. Yeah. And d'you think that's got to do with... I suppose... back.. back in the day, it was more... sort of local... erm, so, the... the fishermen they'd be going out and they'd be coming back into the local community whereas now it's a lot more industrialised, would you say?

M: Oh yes yeah. Yeah, yeah. Well all that- all the fishing boats were local round Ringsend. You know? But er, there was one or two had trawlers. There was only.. I think it was three had trawlers. The [---] family, they had the [---] and the George. And there were one or two others but that's.. They were the only ones that went out to the bay to fish. They had a license to fish. The last one to have a license now was [---] he's down on the marina. He lived.. He lives on the boat, on the marina.

T: Oh right.

M: But he's the last registered fisherman, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: Er, [years? You used?] You had to have a salmon license. They bought the salmon license out for eight thousand pounds off the existing... the last people. And... they cannot fish anymore, for salmon. And if they're caught fishing, they're fined eight thousand, so... This was because er, they're conserving fish again. The salmon were disappearing, because there's trawlers again they're sucking them in like hooovers, you know? So this way the salmon are getting up to the river, they're going up the [---] they're spawning and they're coming back down, you know? In the month of June you get the smaller salmon they're called peal, they come back down, after breeding up there for a few months, you know? But as I say it was a way of life. I always... as a seafarer... I was always going to go to sea, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: You know and that's... My grandfathers had been seafarers, my father was torpedoed in World War Two, when I was er one and a half years old, and the whole [---] were lost, the whole crew. There was four Ringsenders in a crew of eighteen. A ship called the [---] So they were torpedoed with a submarine in the Bay of Biscay, and they were all lost. Never recovered bodies or anything, just gone, that's all they were, you know?

T: Yeah, yeah.

M: So that was the start of my... I was always going to be a seafarer. And my brother was the same. He lives on Ballymore now, but- He's a long way from the sea now, but he was the same as I went at the sea early, you know? As did a lot of other young men from the village, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: We had ships' captains, we'd engineers, we'd have able seamen, we'd cooks, we'd stewards, we had all.. I would say Ringsend supplied most of the crews for Irish shipping, and [---] You know?

T: Yeah... So it was all quite community-

M: Oh it was indeed, yes, yeah. And if you're on the ship and some local was looking for a job, you'd get him by the scruff of the neck and introduce him to the captain, and get him away to sea and that's the way we done things, you know? Unfortunately, it's missing now for the young people, because... [---] It was a great life to have – it made you independent, self-sufficient you know? And well fed. That's the thing about the ships; you had three full meals, three- three course meals a day, all part of your conditions, you know? The best of conditions, you know?

T: Hm.

M: If you can just imagine after the war years, and without sounding too old, there was rations, so, we hadn't got the food here... You couldn't buy it – stuff wasn't there after the war. So when I went away to sea and started getting breakfast with [---] eggs and sausages and grapefruit for a starter, and porridge, that was a victory. And then a three-course dinner – soup, dinner and then your dessert. And then at teatime, you'd get a mixed grill or whatever, you know? You'd get- So, you came back heavier than you went away. That's the way it was. Hahaha! You know?

T: Yeah. And, so do you have kids?

M: Hm?

T: Do you have kids?

M: Sorry?

T: Have you got kids?

M: Oh yes, sorry. I've seven. I've seven, yeah, of my own. My youngest is thirty-eight, and my eldest is er, what is she? Fifty-three. And, my youngest now he has a boat on the slip at the moment. Now he does rowing. But none of my children went to sea.

T: Oh right.

M: No. Because you see the opportunity's not there now, no. So none of them went to sea.

T: Yeah.

M: But, they're all living in the area, all my children.

T: Yeah. They've all stayed?

M: All my grandchildren, they all have houses in the area. That's one thing that's good about it, you know?

T: Yeah. Yeah. So they're not working on the.. You know, they're not working on the water, but they're still..

M: No. Gerard, the youngest lad, he does a bit of tying up the boats and that, and er, you know, he does that. He uses a boat, well, my boat, for tying up the boats and he gets work that way, you know? He's an electrician by trade but he wasn't well for years so he [---] The rest, no. None of them are out- They all rowed. All my family rowed on the [---] you know? They're all into the boats, but they're not seafarers. I call them a [---] a farmer in a boat, hahaha. There's plenty of them down there now, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: Now even with Jimmy, I... I have volunteered... He's starting a junior seaman ship, right?

T: Yeah.

M: And I've volunteered to train them. Give them the benefit of my knowledge – teach them ropes and knots and things like that, you know? 'Cause that's the things a seafarer does, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: And that's where it came, when I worked as a rigger in the... the SV[?] That was the same – similar – using ropes, [---] and all that, everything that I had done at sea, you know? So, I've benefitted a lot from that, you know? And, er, especially doing high work, I've done an awful lot of er, steel [---] and sky climbing as they called it, you know? Because seafarers are good, usually good at heights.

T: Yeah.

M: You have to go aloft and do things, you know, do the rigging, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: Not much different since the sailing... days, you know, since you still have to- The sailors are not there but you still have to go up and do the masts and paint them and look after them, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: Anyway, that's er, that's packing – what? – sixty-odd years of my working life into that... little bit of history.

T: But you're erm... So your family are still all in the same area though, they're still...

M: Oh yeah. They're very... They're very much Ringsenders. Yeah, yeah, yeah. They are indeed. And they're very close to one another, and, that's the one thing. I suppose I learnt that from being at sea, because, crews on ships are usually erm, very close-knit, you know? They work in teams. You have to work as a team. And I... I started... I got that from my family. They look after one another and don't fall out and don't have silly rows and, you know that kind of thing.

T: Yeah. Yeah.

M: That's the most important thing on a ship, you didn't have rows because you'd nowhere to go. Hahaha.

T: Yeah.

M: And you didn't go sick, because it's healthy. It's a healthy life, you know?

T: Yeah. Yeah.

M: Unless you were really down [---] sick. But the likes of flu and all you don't get them at sea, there's no virus 'cause you're out. You're out [---], you know?

T: Yeah.

M: And the good thing about being an ex-sailor you learn the cultures of other countries as well. You know, and I've seen it all with the- on the- [---] and deep south in America, with the blacks and the whites, going back to the sixties. You know? Atrocious where[?] the blacks had to sit at the back of the bus and the whites at the front...

T: Yeah, yeah.

M: Now as an Irish crew, we got on the bus and we just sat anywhere. We wouldn't... We wouldn't adhere to that, you know? 'Cause that's the way we were brought up. I was in South Africa when the apartheid was... rampant you know? It's all changed now of course, thanks to Nelson Mandela. He done very well in that. I was at different- I was in... I was in all parts of England and all that; I'd never- you know? Newcastle, Hull, Middlesbrough, Liverpool, Manchester, erm, what's it called? Cumbria, all up there.

T: Yeah.

M: I saw so much, and you see different kind of people in them, you know? Like, just like Irish they are, different cultures, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: And, they produced.. the English produced a lot of seafarers but a lot of them were Irish er... descent. Ex-Irish people they were, you know? So.

T: So I suppose working in that sort of environment you get good at... you get good with people?

M: Oh yes yeah.

T: You get good at, you know-

M: Yeah. The whole thing is being able to mix, and, you know? At the same time I was a staunch trade unionist, I was a union man, you know? I always believed in fair play. And I actually used to represent some of the seafarers when they'd come in, and either hadn't been paid or... if that happened, I'd go and get a writ on the ship. Then they couldn't sail until the wages came through, and I had to do that several times. You know? 'cause the union I was in was the Seaman's Union of Ireland, so we were associated with that. We had erm.. It's called the ITS, the International Trade St- yeah, so, we were in that. So we used to look after the- the foreign sailors that wouldn't have any representation in the court, you know? And, funnily enough when you get a writ on the ship, Dublin Port enforce it, they don't see ships go out until they... pay their way. And sometimes they might owe dues in the port, you know? And they'd tie them up, lock them up, anywhere. They wouldn't let them out until they'd paid the full dues, you know? But it doesn't happen often. There's agents look after them, and the agents pay all the bills and everything, you know? But when the sailors weren't getting paid that was on the foreign ships. They didn't... they weren't treated very well, you know? And they used to think that they could do what they like with them. I remember one chap; he came to us and the wife hadn't been seeing money for three months. And he was getting stopped out of his wages.

T: Right.

M: So, we got in touch with her on the phone, we told the ship they weren't sailing until she got back to say the money was in the bank. And they were here for a week. They didn't get out until they'd paid the money over. And they were hopping mad.

T: Hm.

M: But, you see they were exploiting them, you know?

T: Yeah. Yeah.

M: But your man couldn't do enough but thank us, you know? But that's what we were there for – to help them, you know? Same as Irish sailors when they went abroad. If you had a problem, you'd get onto the union and they would look after you, you know?

T: Yeah, yeah.

M: I remember going into Boston, the first Irish ship we went into Boston on the Irish [---] Now to go into an Irish place on an Irish ship was a big thing. That was the first Irish ship in there. Now I was only a boy on it, and most of the crew went adrift, that's what they call it, they went off to the pubs. 'Cause they're all Irish there they were getting treated like royalty. But.. they get captain [---] defying them all kinds of money, and all. So the union came down and warned him that if he took any... if he discriminated against any of the crew, they would block any Irish seamen from port.. from coast to coast in America. So he had to back off, you know? Nice story, you know? That's it. The Irish in Boston, yeah. [---] See, you're not drinking and then all of a sudden they hit the shore and they're... gone.

T: Yeah.

M: The modern ships, they started putting bars on them. I never agreed with it. And what happened is, you'd get the drink on the slate, and it'd be docked out of your wages at the end of the trip. [---] Some fellas were... all their money was gone on the bar, you know, they had nothing left when they were coming off the ship.

T: Yeah.

M: So I never agreed with them, bars on ships, you know? As a matter of fact in my time there was an article [of?] sea. You had to sign this thing, all the articles, and it goes back to the time of Nelson. You have to sign... you're signing on the ship, that anyone found with intoxicating liquor would be... sent home. Then the company brought in bars themselves, you know? They changed the rules. I can see why they do it; keeping the crews on the ships instead of them going missing, for three days and that, in the pubs, you know? But it wasn't... it wasn't my life, 'cause I wasn't brought up that way, you know? Drink wasn't a problem for me.

---pause---

M: So... yeah there's so many changes. You've got the cranes. You used to have different types of cranes, and the dockers, there was three thousand dockers here at one time, discharging[?] ships. Now you're down to about... a hundred and fifty.

T: Yeah.

M: You know? That's it. That's the whole [board?] They all.. they all have these cranes that come out now and lift the containers off, you know what I mean? And there's no real er, manual work doing it's all just cranes, you know?

T: Yeah. Yeah, I mean 'cause I've walked around and you just see... You don't see people.

M: No.

T: You see the ships, you see the containers, you see the cranes, you see... the trucks, you don't-

M: And again, the poor sailor men don't get [---] don't get a night in the port; they're in, out, cargo out, out again.

T: Yeah. Yeah.

M: In my time you could get a week at a time, ten days in a port, discharging [full?] cargoes, you know [---] or whatever or the Sulphur or whatever you're... coal, you were carrying coal. You'd get weeks, you know? I was in [---], I was in Mumbai... So I was there for a month because it was the monsoon season. And we were loading a cargo of wheat, and the rain showers were coming every half hour. So we had to keep closing the hatches. Once the rain stopped... 'cause it'd... wet the grain and... you know? So that went on for weeks. Bits there, and a bit there and that. So we got.. We got three weeks in the Freemantle[?] Lovely place, all Irish... Irish clubs, made a home. And we had a choir on the ship, I'll never forget it, the Irish [alder?] And we'd practice every day. So when we went to this big bar and someone announced the choir of the Irish Alder's going to sign, well we couldn't go wrong. And I'll say to you: in Australia they serve beer in a jug, and you have glasses they're called schooners, and you pour the jugs into it.

T: Right.

M: And the schooners were coming over, the... The tables were full of schooners. Of course the Irish lad being what he is, he picks up the schooner, not the glasses. So, that tells a story, you know?

T: Haha, yeah.

M: So, we sang lovely Irish songs and traditional, you know, songs. And it went down a breeze with the Irish immigrants over there, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: [---] We went from London to, er, New Orleans. Down up the [---] past New Orleans. Loaded a cargo there for, er, Australia. Sour beans we took. No, sour beans to Japan. We went to Japan with the sour beans, and then we went to Australia to load it- Only two cargoes in seven months, you know? Good old trip. Through the Pacific and then back through the Indian ocean, through the Suez Canal and that, you know that? Up through the Panama and back through the Suez, you know? So, personally it was a great experience, you know, for, well myself. And lots of people in Ringsend went through that, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: And you never drew the labour when you come home. You just worked off what money you had, you know. The dole... you'd... you'd come home... And we should've been drawing the dole but... we used to go out fishing; when we'd come home for our leave we'd fish for herring fry. And they used to be exported to Holland to come back in here as sardines. So we.. we could make a nice living out of that maybe two pound a day. When the labour was only.. the dole was only about three pound a week. We got two pound a day and no questions asked because we weren't signed on the dole, you know? So when you got your holiday period over you signed up again and you went off, you know? Winter north Atlantic was a favourite of mine, you know? I loved the winter north Atlantic because you usually went to Canada, you know? Different parts of Canada – Quebec and Montreal, you know? But cold weather, you know? Sometimes twenty-eight below. And if you go to India it's thirty-five degrees, so they got you up and down. You used to have to wear tropical gear if you were going away. And there was a local shop in Pearce Street. It's now called Mattress Mick's. But his father had a store that used to sell seaman's gear. So when you got your job at sea, you say "well Mick we're going to Canada I need some warm gear." And he gave you gear on the slate, and what you done is you sent your money home and someone out of the family would pay him back every week, you know? So, one time we went in we got tropical gear and we changed direction into

Canada instead of going to India. And we were literally... when I say freezing. And that's where I get my regard for the Salvation Army. I was sixteen I went down to the Salvation Army and I came out like an [REDACTED]. I had fur boots on, fur hat, big heavy jacket. They gave me the lot, no questions asked. No... creed or colour. Didn't ask my religion or anything. They just sorted me out, when I told them the sad story about me being caught out. Now do you know we had towels around us this way, and towels around, to keep the frostbite off us, you know? We went from one extreme to the other. So, that was the only time I was ever caught out. My grandfather was a very wise seaman, he said "look, get a bigger boat – throw in another case, get tropical gear and get winter gear" you know?

T: Yeah.

M: Now you have both then, you know, and he was right of course. Very wise man, you know? So there you are. That's as much as I can pack in unless you want to ask er...

T: Yeah I mean I suppose you wouldn't get that sort of... that... that activity anymore you know? If you're going on... like if you were working on a ship you'd go off, you'd have... that social life, kind of thing. Like you said, in Australia and...

M: Well, as a boy, you had several boys on the ship – you had deck boys, galley boys and that, right? Erm, you usually got one of the married men would bring you off to the pictures or something like that, you know, keep you out of harm's way. They did look after us as boys, I'll say that, the married men they made sure you were... you were safe. And, in all my time at sea, I mean this: I never come across one paedophile on the ship. And that's a nice thing to be able to say, you know? And that's because you were protected, you know? And.. they looked after you. And as you got older, you start to roam around the place a bit more, go into the pubs. You know what I mean.

T: Yeah.

M: Even chase up the local women. That's when you're single, you know? Haha. I nearly got married in Australia myself. But it didn't work out, hahaha! I'm glad I didn't; I took the right direction, you know? But, there's a lot of sailors went one way, maybe the Australians jumped the ships, you know? Never came back. Handy way of getting a cheap fare over there, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: Now. They go from one extreme, they call them rock dodgers, when you're on the coast. When they're only going on the coast you'd call them rock dodgers. And deep sea, you go on deep sea. But when I started off on the [Leinster?] going back and forward to [---] and Liverpool, you know? And that was during the late fifties. The emigration was rife here. All that west of Ireland navvies[?] all going over to England, you know? So, going over we were full, every trip. Three trips a week. Coming back it'd be empty. No-one comes back, all gone [---] It'd be standing room only on that, on the ship. There'd be these six-foot giants from Mayo and- you know? Yeah, I often wonder how they got on, you know? [---] building roads, and doing all the building in England, you know? But no, there you are, so. I was on something like seventeen ships altogether.

T: Oh right.

M: So, different ships.

T: Yeah.

M: And when I finished up on the Guinness boats, we never missed a trip on the Guinness boats, except once. The lock gates[?] wouldn't work in England, and we went down in all kinds of weather,

when no-one else moved. Every ship tied up in the port, we went out. Now, we'd very experienced crew on it. We didn't go A to B. We'd go down along the coast, [---] We'd deep sea captains and all on the ship. We're all deep-sea crew on a coastal vessel – very experienced. And so, yeah, Guinness were very happy for that crew. We were only contractors, you know, we weren't working for Guinness, we were just crewing the ship, you know? And we used to work three weeks on and three weeks off. And when you were off you got the same money as when you were on. So, you know, it was good. And in between you'd get two out of the three weekends at home, that you were working. You only need one fella to stay on board, you know? It was like a home from home, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: Unfortunately it went. And it was nothing to do with the crew or anything it was just er, modernisation.

T: Yeah.

M: They started to put the ro-ro's on... tankers, instead of... We had tanks on the Guinness boats, and we used to pump the Guinness into them. And then we'd pump it out again on the far side. They done away with the ship, that's gone. It was a way of life. Now my grandfather was forty-four years on the Guinness ships, so... great knowledge of that.

T: And I suppose working that kind of thing you'd need a lot of people, all the time?

M: Oh yeah. You see, we were always known as the boat people in Runcorn. They knew us, like, inside out. We'd be up around the shops and the supermarkets and all, you know, getting various [---] They knew us well there, yeah. And they knew what days we were coming and all that. Always made us... feel at home while we were there, you know?

T: Yeah.

M: [not clear but something about a bombing; the English became wary for a while] But after a while we were back in [---] But that's to be expected, you know. They were... they were sour, because we were Irish, you know, that was it. So there you are. I've covered a multitude...

---END OF INTERVIEW---