

# 'Too much problem solving and not enough mischief making'

## Community development in Ireland: Issues and challenges



Colm Regan<sup>1</sup>

### ABSTRACT

*Having briefly reviewed the nature and impact of the 'Celtic Tiger' in Ireland over recent decades, the article examines the state of community development in the context of the 'social partnership' that characterised relations between the Irish State and the voluntary and community sector. While social partnership underpinned poverty reduction on a significant scale and brought many benefits to the community development sector, primarily in the form of financial support, professionalisation and cross-sector engagement, the state came to dominate and to effectively 'control' the sector with a consequent loss of independence, focus and core values. With the collapse of the 'Celtic Tiger', the voluntary and community sector has been undermined and is now in urgent need of review and refocus, particularly as regards social justice and equality issues.*

**Keywords:** Celtic Tiger, social partnership, community and voluntary sector, civil society, poverty reduction, inequality, poverty in Ireland today, service delivery and welfare versus social justice and equality

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In the course of a 2010 review of the state of the community sector and the prospects for development in the coming years, activist and community development practitioner Aidan Lloyd observed:

Whatever about past achievements, at this moment in time even the most optimistic community organisations would concede that community work in Ireland has been driven into the doldrums.

Lloyd went on to note that community-focused budgets had been severely cut or withdrawn, locally based and focused projects were being 'integrated' into local development companies; local organisations faced 'contraction and constriction' at both financial and management levels; the future of a network of family resource centres remains confused and unclear and national policy and practice continues to 'weaken' area-based programmes and 'decimate'

national support infrastructure (Lloyd 2010, 44). This pessimistic assessment appears to stand in stark contrast to that of just a decade earlier when the Irish government published its White Paper on a Framework for Supporting Voluntary Activity designed to ‘support and develop’ the future role and effectiveness of the sector ‘in contributing to the creation of a vibrant, participative democracy and civil society’. The White Paper announced multi-annual funding for the sector, mechanisms for formal consultation with the sector, regular policy fora, ‘best practice guidelines’ to which all government departments and agencies would be expected to adhere and new legislation regulating charities (Government of Ireland 2001).

These contrasting scenarios – 2001 and 2010 – and the economic and political contexts in which they occurred have been the subject of extensive and fundamental analysis and debate across the community sector and related areas (Meade 2005; Nolan and Maître 2007; Cronin 2009; Duggan 2010). Key issues and debates that have arisen in such analyses have included the nature and definition of community-based development; the role of the community sector and its ‘partnership’ relationship with the state (and other sectors); the ‘professionalization’ of the sector and the need for a fundamental reassessment of these challenges. This article briefly explores this agenda in the context of the economic, social and political development of the Irish Republic in the period after 1995 and the rise, and demise, of the much vaunted ‘Celtic Tiger’.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. IRELAND – ‘THE CELTIC TIGER’

From being a poor and peripheral rural society and the ‘sick man of Europe’, Ireland, in just a short four decades, became one of the world’s richest, best educated, best fed and most rapidly growing urban economies. Apart altogether from the ‘modernisation’ of the economy (driven largely by the success of Ireland in attracting large amounts of foreign direct investment, particularly from the United States), the Celtic Tiger succeeded in generating high levels of employment, significant increases in wealth, improvements in housing and infrastructure and most importantly, an end (albeit temporarily) to emigration which had consistently characterised the ‘old’ Ireland (O’Hearn 1998; Sweeney 1999; Mac Sharry and White 2000). According to Mac Sharry and White (2000), this period witnessed ‘an economic transformation that none had predicted’ and represented the increased integration of Ireland into the European and world economy in the era of globalisation<sup>2</sup>. There were few parts of the country that were not visibly and measurably ‘touched’ by the process. The ‘official’ view of the Celtic Tiger was overwhelmingly positive and uncritical and is perhaps best illustrated by the following comment from then president Mary McAleese (speaking in the US):

...if the men and women of Ireland’s past could choose a time to live, there would be a long queue for this one (McAleese 2003).

1 The ‘Celtic Tiger’ refers to the period of economic development in the Irish republic between 1995 and 2006/7 when economic growth rates of 9% per annum were recorded to 2000 and 5% thereafter; Ireland’s economic growth was compared with those of the Asian Tiger economies.

2 It is also necessary to note that the island of Ireland benefitted significantly from the Northern Ireland peace process which was accompanied by substantial funding from the European Union, the United States and elsewhere with considerable international political and media focus, all of which contributed to the ‘modernisation’ process (on this see R. F. Foster 2008. *Luck and the Irish: A Brief History of Change from 1970*. Oxford University Press).

The official view did not encourage critical questioning of the genesis, social impact or future sustainability of the boom and was accompanied by robust and ridiculing dismissal of those who challenged the orthodoxy. A recent review by Fahy, O'Brien and Poti (2010) explores, for example, the unquestioning and uncritical role of financial journalists in the period.

However, there were those who questioned the coherence and sustainability of the Celtic Tiger on a number of fronts. For example, in his analysis of 1998, O'Hearn questioned the sustainability of the model and argued that Ireland's apparently significant economic achievements were dominated by growth in corporate profits and professional incomes but that there was little evidence of a 'trickle-down' to other sectors. The then *Irish Times* economics editor Paul Tansey argued:

... the Celtic Tiger economy met its end in 2001 as industrial employment began to decline and the construction sector became the motor of Irish economic growth. By early 2008 it was becoming more and more obvious that 'the state simply cannot continue to depend on a small and heavily indebted domestic population of 4½ million people to provide a continuing impetus to economic and social improvement' (Tansey 2008, 6).

In their introduction to a collection of essays on the social consequences of the boom, the editors surveyed a range of critical analyses of the Celtic Tiger since 2000, highlighting, inter alia, its 'obscene' parading of wealth; its disdain for the poor; its rampant consumerism; its negative health consequences and its general 'emptiness' (Fahey, Russell and Whelan 2007, 2). From a community development perspective, long-time activist Harry Bohan has noted that the Celtic tiger era witnessed a 'serious disconnection' from important traditional values and institutions such as the family and the community, commenting, 'the reality is that the market economy does not function as a community' (Bohan 2010, 2).

Comparing it with 30 countries using data from around the year 2000, Smeeding and Nolan write that:

Ireland is indeed an outlier among rich nations. Only the United States, Russia, and Mexico have higher levels of inequality [...] Among the richest OECD nations Ireland has the second highest level of inequality (Smeeding and Nolan 2004, 9).

Returning to the issue of the current state of the community development sector in Ireland, the question arises: is its precarious state simply the result of the demise of the Celtic Tiger with its consequent financial adjustments, something which will be rectified in due course as circumstances permit? Or, is the problem deeper and more structural than this? Is the community development sector vibrant and robust enough to bounce back or has it become fundamentally weakened by its 'partnership' model with the 'modernising Irish state'? These are some of the issues which this article now seeks to address.

### 3. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN IRELAND: A BRIEF HISTORY

‘Meitheal’<sup>3</sup> is the Irish expression of the ancient and universal notion of cooperation in response to social need, one which can also have a global application, and like ‘Ubuntu’ and ‘Umuganda’ can point to a different way of living our lives and viewing the world around us.

This is how Irish President Michael D. Higgins describes one of the key concepts behind traditional understandings and practice of community development in Ireland (Higgins 2012).

To a large extent historically, community development was an informal yet fundamental part of the social and economic fabric of rural life, particularly in the context of poverty. Of necessity, people shared their labour through the meitheal, which Bohan (2010:1) argues was essential for the development of the community.

Community development as such became formalised and, to a degree, structured in the co-operative movement of the 1890s and 1900s. Bohan argues that up to the 1960s life for many was about survival and that during this period, community development was, for the most part, informal with organisations such as Muintir na Tire (‘People of the Land’, now a national community development association), Macra na Feirme (originally a young farmers organisation, now a national youth organisation), the ICA (Irish Country Women’s Association) and other organisations emerging during the first half of the century, all on a voluntary basis. From the 1960s onwards, Irish society became more organisationally focused and so did community development.

In an influential review of the history of community development in Ireland, O’Cinneide and Walsh (1990: 324ff) offered a framework for analysis of the period prior to 1990 and highlighted four distinctive, yet overlapping strands particularly as regards the anti-poverty dimension:

1. The community development co-operatives of the 1960s which sought to provide a locally focused, practical alternative to national state models of development – the primary focus was on the use and promotion of local resources such as tourism and handicrafts. The coops were based mainly in the west coast Gaeltacht (Irish language speaking) areas from Kerry to Donegal and were in receipt of direct state assistance but they declined in importance in the 1980s.
2. The 1960s also witnessed the emergence of community-based social services provided by local organisations in response to the underdevelopment of state welfare provision. At their height in the late 1970s, there were over 300 community service organisations providing a broad range of services and supports at family, local community levels and regionally with significant numbers of volunteers and a small cohort of paid staff. Their role receded with the setting up of local health boards in 1970 for the purposes of delivering community care services and with the emergence of greater emphasis on the struggle against poverty and on direct action by those experiencing its consequences and impact.

---

3 The Irish word Meitheal translates literally as ‘gang’ or ‘team’ and refers directly to shared labour.

3. The growth of community employment projects, particularly in the 1980s when unemployment became a key local political issue. These projects focused directly on job creation, skills and capacities training and welfare rights with a subsidiary focus on community solidarity in response to the state's more limited employment-market oriented focus. This third approach expanded very significantly in the 1990s with the merging and growth of local area partnership companies, which had a wide ranging brief but which emphasised employment issues significantly.
4. Community anti-poverty projects in the early 1970s which were directly concerned with all dimensions of poverty in the context of the setting up of the National Committee on Pilot Schemes to Combat Poverty in 1973. Linked into the first European Union Poverty Programme they highlighted a structural analysis of poverty with community development values and principles, especially that of local empowerment.

Community development has changed significantly since the 1980s with the increased intervention of different government departments; the establishment of the Combat Poverty Agency in 1986 and its highly significant role in supporting and promoting community development; the setting up of a national Community Development Programme by the Department for Social, Community and Family Affairs in 1990 and the inclusion of community development in the agendas and programmes of the Local Area Partnership Development Programme (Teague and Murphy 2004, 2–3). The Community Development Programme was established by government in 1990 initially as a funding structure to maintain a range of projects that had previously been funded by the European Poverty Programmes in the late 1980s. The number of such programmes grew significantly in the following years leading to increased demands for 'better' management and planning. Important changes were introduced in 1999 resulting in a greater role for government beyond that of funding per se. Government officials or those from semi-state bodies became active in projects, sitting on appointments boards; establishing terms and conditions of employment; setting up 'performance frameworks' and impact assessment schema. The programme changes were encapsulated in a corresponding title change to that of the Community Development Support Programme. The range of 'support' agencies grew to the point that they constituted almost 30 per cent of the programme budget and a fundamental contradiction began to emerge across the programme.

The ever-growing influence of the state in such programmes was evidenced in the 2002 decision to centralise all funding for civil society in a new Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and to change the rules to bring funding previously indirectly provided via a range of diverse agencies under direct departmental and, therefore, ministerial control, and the replacement of an independent structure Area Development Management by Pobal (an intermediary that works on behalf of Government to support communities and local agencies toward achieving social inclusion, reconciliation and equality) whose board is politically appointed.

A number of fundamental contradictions and tensions now began to become apparent; the fact that local programmes were 'independent legal entities' (with volunteer management boards) while semi-state representatives on such boards had no legal responsibility; management committees (including state representatives) had responsibility for planning and delivery while

some members (state representatives) also have responsibility for monitoring and review, and regulations and frameworks for such 'local' programmes were increasingly decided nationally and centrally. These tensions created significant difficulties for projects particularly as they became wholly dependent on the state for financing.

The period also witnessed a significant increase in small locally based community development and issue-based groups, women's groups and a subsequent increase in official funding for this work. While recognising many fundamental weaknesses in this approach, Teague and Murphy highlight many of its benefits as follows:

These arrangements have had positive developmental effects on individuals from disadvantaged areas who have either directly benefited from the schemes or who have participated in the various committees and agencies that have been established. Local partnerships have facilitated and improved information flows between community groups and the state ... It can be reasonably argued that local partnerships have led to better representation of different voices in policy discussions about local economic and social development and to important institutional modifications to the organisation of local government in the country (Teague and Murphy 2004, 31).

Of particular significance in this period was the development of a corporatist social 'partnership' model to national development after 1987 (involving initially the government, the business sector and the trade union movement) in which the community and voluntary sectors were included from 1996 onwards. This contributed to a greater emphasis on community involvement and consultation in public policy development and the participation of a 'community pillar' in national agreements.

#### **4. COMMUNITY, SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND EQUALITY UNDERMINED?**

As a result of the developments described above, Bohan argues that as state and semi-state organisations multiplied and became increasingly active in core community development, the voluntary sector tended to become more marginalised with the primary role allocated to these bodies and significantly to a growing body of paid staff and executives within them (Bohan 2010, 2). This view is echoed by many others, for example, Teague and Murphy who argue:

On the one hand, opening up of a local partnership to social partnership has produced a range of benefits. On the other hand, these have not led to ordinary people or 'third sector' groups exercising greater control over the exercise of power. As a result, it would be misleading to present them as examples of empowered participatory democracy (Teague and Murphy 2004, 32).

The community sector's entry into social partnership in 1996 has been characterised by some commentators as a pivotal turning point as it drew the sector into a relationship with the state 'without acknowledging that it had insufficient bargaining power to ensure tangible outcomes' (Lloyd 2010, 47), with the result that the sector was co-opted and became compromised. Meade contends that the community sector's participation in social partnership through the 'Community

and Voluntary Pillar'<sup>4</sup> created a process where the sector was duped into believing that it could deliver enhanced social inclusion and equality (Meade 2005, 350). Duggan argues that this model of partnership 'locked' community organisations:

into a very narrow technical arena at the national level which not only failed to deliver for their constituencies but also, along with funding streams, was used to hinder their mobilisation and the channelling of dissent at grass roots level... NGOs unwittingly found themselves in what has variously been referred to as the smothering or asphyxiating embrace of the State and having their particular expertise in creating political subjectivity at community level appropriated (Duggan 2010, 4).

This view had been articulated earlier in 2004 by Teague and Murphy in the following terms:

The Irish experience also suggests that the decentralised partnership arrangements that have been set-up require civic associations to be too compliant and cooperative, causing their mischievous role to desiccate. In this situation they may lose the ability to be a countervailing force to state agencies unable to challenge established policy-making methods or ways of doing things: they become engaged in too much problem-solving and not enough in mischief-making (Teague and Murphy 2004, 32).

The overall relationship between state and society has been described by Broderick (2002, 105) as a 'smothering embrace'.

Contrary to expectations and to official rhetoric, overall inequality was not reduced during the period of the community sector's involvement in social partnership and the condition of some very vulnerable groups actually worsened (Nolan and Maître 2007; Kirby and Murphy 2008). Increasingly it appeared that the state (and other social partners) utilised the social partnership model as a form of 'consensus planning' compatible with neoliberal models of capitalism, as a means of containing discussion and debate and to stifle much ongoing criticism and dissent. The role of the union movement in social partnership in this context became crucial. When placed alongside the management models associated with local development programmes, the role and extent of effective state control became clear.

Lloyd argues that social partnership as advocated by the Irish State promoted a form of 'communitarianism that was compliant, individualised and welfare-focused and that spurned collectivised and politicised action'. During this period, the dominant focus shifted to service delivery with local community organisations predominantly performing a delivery role with only limited means of inputting into policy development. Analysis of the impact of the Celtic Tiger and its associated social development models was restricted to that which emerged via the Community Pillar in social partnership or via monitoring 'upwards' via semi-state bodies with community development programmes.<sup>5</sup>

4 The community and voluntary sector made up the fourth 'pillar' of Irish social partnership after the employer, trade union and farming sectors; later a fifth pillar was added – the environmental sector.

5 The experience of the author in this context was that communication was a one-way street; programmes reported to the state on implementation and impact with an assessment of their policy implications but effective feedback on policy change was never forthcoming. The 'conversation' between community development programmes and the state also became heavily mediated by private sector 'consultants' who exercised in-ordinate influence.

It is necessary to recognise that throughout this period, there were many dissenting voices within the community sector, the trade unions and academia, and in so far as it was possible within the semi-state sector (many are referenced at the end of this article). However, these were severely constricted or routinely absorbed by the ‘consensus model’ of partnership and the ‘management model’ of community development. There was little public debate and even less public disquiet and dissent about the social impact of development models and the consequences for inequality which continued to grow during the period of the Tiger. Kirby and Murphy comment:

This indicates the failure of opinion formers and more critical social actors (principally left-wing parties, trade unions and the community and voluntary sector) to contest the dominant view in public and political fora (including within social partnership) (Kirby and Murphy 2008, 10).

The history of Ireland’s engagement with the setting up of an Equality Authority and its subsequent emasculation is illustrative of the lack of real political concern or effective engagement with the equality agenda and highlights the triumph of individualism, personal wealth accumulation and the downgrading of social concern in this period. The Equality Authority was established in 1999 with a mandate to reduce discrimination under nine specific categories including gender, sexual orientation, political and religious beliefs and membership of the (minority) Travelling Community<sup>6</sup>. This was to be achieved through public education and, where deemed necessary, through providing legal support to those taking action on discrimination. Socio-economic inequality was not included in its mandate. In pursuing its mandate, the Authority almost inevitably became embroiled in high profile cases of discrimination on a range of employment, racial and gay rights issues and became the subject of intense political and media criticism. The decision announced in the budget of 2009 to reduce funding to the Authority by 43 per cent (justified as an administrative and financial necessity by the state) and the subsequent resignation of its chief executive generated much criticism and the Authority was subsequently merged with the Human Rights Commission. In a subsequent 2009 review of equality issues in Ireland, McMinn comments:

These are grim times for equality and human rights in Ireland. In October last year budgetary cuts were introduced that have reduced The Equality Authority and the Irish Human Rights Commission to shadows of what they were, and should be, in this recessionary period of growing economic and social inequalities. The upheaval of autumn 2008 also marked a critical fracture in the development of Irish social policy. Given the scale of the cuts made, it is now widely acknowledged that motives really lie in political choices to reconfigure institutions of the state to reduce the values of equality, rights and solidarity rather than solely economic imperatives and value for money’ (Harvey and Walsh 2009, 3).

The discussion above highlights a number of fundamental issues and trends – the economic growth and wealth creation generated by the Celtic Tiger disguised and reinforced underlying inequalities in Irish society; local structures and programmes intended to deal with such inequalities were incorporated and then compromised in the various state- or EU-driven ‘equality’ agendas and the voices of opposition and dissent were emasculated in social partnership. As the state pursued its agenda of exercising more direct control over the substance and direction of

<sup>6</sup> The Irish Traveller Community is the term used to describe a traditional nomadic or ‘travelling’ people with a number of distinct characteristics including language and traditions. They have been the victims of ongoing discrimination in Ireland and elsewhere.



social and community development, the community and voluntary sector became almost wholly dependent on the state for basic funding, and its growth added to its ineffectiveness in being an independent voice and alternative agenda. Lloyd concludes:

The end result was little proportionate gain for the marginalised groups that the community sector represented during a period of unprecedented growth and wealth (2010, 48–49).

Another result is highlighted by Murphy and Kirby (2008, 6) who argue the impact of these developments is that:

the battle for ideas has been won hands down by those with a vested interest in ensuring the state takes an extreme market-friendly approach to public policy and in seeking to avoid debates about redistributive taxation, adequate social spending and provision, and more active state policies to generate more successful domestic productive sectors.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The Ireland of today stands in stark contrast to the Ireland of the Celtic Tiger – the confidence and arrogance of that period has disappeared and been replaced by a deep vulnerability and anxiousness. Ireland remains a very wealthy place for some but also a very poor place for others and its future is now tied to borrowing and bailouts, and the sheer size of the latter defies comprehension with widespread and significant consequences for the 'non-wealthy' including high unemployment and emigration (O'Toole 2010). Ireland today is also facing a deep crisis of leadership as the traditional reference points of nationalism and religion have collapsed; the business and trade union sectors have been severely damaged, and politics has been significantly debased. While the community and voluntary sectors have also been damaged, they have emerged relatively unscathed from the ruins of the Tiger years and it is to this sector that many are now forced to refer for support and leadership. However, the impact of the social partnership model on the sector in recent decades raises significant questions as to its capacity to respond positively to the challenge (Lloyd 2010, 54–56). In this context a number of fundamental issues arise.

The Celtic Tiger era has once again highlighted the need to refocus and redefine the community development and community work; this task is not simply 'clarification' exercise but is rather fundamental to the future existence and mandate of the sector and its relationship to the rest of Irish society. Is community development simply about programmes and activities that exist outside formal state provision and control? Is it primarily about the delivery of social services targeted at specific vulnerable or excluded groups, especially those who have fallen outside state services? Or is it, as many would claim, about issues of social justice and social solidarity; interests and values as against service provision and efficiency; essentially political agendas as against welfare agendas? All of these understandings cannot be accommodated in the one definition and model of community development – there are very fundamental tensions and contradictions between them. If the former definitions (and operational strategies) continue to be adopted, current inequalities and economic and social exclusions are likely to continue and grow. If the latter definition (and its implied strategy of action for social change) is re-energised, then conflict with the Irish state and other dominant interest groups in Irish society will increase.

The Irish community development sector cannot avoid these debates in the years and contexts immediately ahead.

Based on the experience of social partnership over the past two decades, the nature of the Irish state and its model of economic and social development, including its relationship with different interest groups in Irish society, has been the focus of intense debate and the relationship between the state and civil society, and particularly the community development sector need to be re-examined and recalibrated (O'Hearn 1998; Kirby and Murphy 2008; Cronin 2009; O'Toole 2010). First and foremost in this agenda has been the need to develop a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the ideology and character nature of the Irish state and its perception of, and policies towards civil society. Given the failure to adequately distribute Celtic Tiger wealth, this analysis becomes all the more urgent in the context of issues such as 'anti-poverty' and 'equity' given their priority in community development terms. This process requires not just an assessment of state policy and practice but also the domain of 'ideas' and 'values'; in this sense, it is a return to many of the values that motivated community development in the decades before the Tiger.

Redistribution and justice need to replace welfare and service provision as the key cornerstones of a re-invigorated civil society focused on community as against individual values and needs. This priority is all the more highlighted by studies of the scale of wealth in Ireland and the state's failure to prioritise social and human development. While average household wealth reached almost €99 billion or €22 125 per capita in the final quarter of 2010 (representing an increase of over 70 per cent from the first quarter of 2009), Ireland ranked, at best, mid-range and more frequently at the bottom of a recently published social justice index for 31 OECD countries (Central Bank of Ireland 2011, 3; Schraad-Tischler 2008, 8).

The experience of local and community development in the era of the Celtic Tiger has also thrown into sharp relief the weakness of local government, local structures and local accountability in Ireland with a highly centralised state and a community development sector that is in danger of emulating that model.

In summary, the above analysis has explored and highlighted fundamental tensions between the state and civil society and how at an ideological, funding and institutional level the Irish state is managing distributional and restructuring consequences of global and domestic pressures through the parallel strategies of co-option and control. Despite the rhetoric deployed, the 'partnership' models established; the plethora of programmes and structures created, Ireland remains a deeply divided society and inequality has increased across the country. Community development has not achieved its objectives in focusing on poverty and equality agendas. Within this context, the state has actively reshaped the framework of ideas and institutions within which civil society exists. Institutional power, funding and voice have shifted from social justice-defined civil society towards service delivery-focused civil society processes. This reality needs to be reconfigured as a matter of urgency.

## NOTE

- 1 Colm Regan has worked in the NGO sector for over 30 years, most recently as Co-ordinator of 80:20 Educating and Acting for a Better World (an Irish development education NGO) and has been involved in community development projects and programmes in Ireland at practical, research, governance and policy levels especially at local level in County Wicklow. In particular, the author has been involved in documenting and reviewing a number of such projects, has chaired the management committees of others and has been involved with a number of policy submissions. These projects have related to educational intervention, disability and interculturalism.

## REFERENCES

- Bohan, H. 2010. *Reflections on community development*. Shannon: Céifin Centre.
- Broderick S. 2002. Community development in Ireland; a policy review. *Community Development Journal* 37(1):101–110.
- Central Bank of Ireland. 2011. Quarterly Financial Accounts for Ireland Q4 2010. Dublin.
- Cronin, M. 2009. Active citizenship and it's discontents in Ó Broin, D. and Kirby, P. (eds.) *Power, Dissent and Democracy*. Dublin: A. and A. Farmar.
- Crowley, N. 2010. Empty promises: Bringing the equality authority to heel. Dublin: A & A Farmer.
- Duggan, C. 2010. Is Féidir Linn: working towards an alternative political, economic and social development model for Ireland. Response by Carmel Duggan to the keynote address at the SAI Conference, Belfast, May 7 2010.
- Fahy, D., O'Brien, M. and Poti, V. 2010. From boom to bust: A post-Celtic Tiger analysis of the norms, values and roles of Irish financial journalists. *Irish Communications Review* 12.
- Fahey, T., Russell, H. and Whelan, C. (eds.) 2007. *Best of times? The social impact of the Celtic Tiger*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.
- Government of Ireland. 2001. The White Paper on a Framework for Supporting Voluntary Activity, Dublin.
- Harvey, B. and K. Walsh. 2009. *Downgrading equality and human rights: Assessing the impact*. Dublin: Equality and Rights Alliance.
- Higgins, M.D. 2012. Preface in Regan, C. (ed.) 2012. 80:20 Development in an unequal world. Bray: 80:20 Educating and Acting for a Better World and UNISA Press.
- Kirby, P. and Murphy, M. 2008. *A better Ireland is possible: Towards an alternative vision for Ireland*. Galway: Community Platform.
- Lloyd, A. 2010. The will of the state and the resilience of the community sector in a time of crisis: obliteration, compliance or an opportunity for renewal? *Irish Journal of Community Work* Issue 2.
- Mac Sharry, R. and White, P. 2000. *The Making of the Celtic Tiger: The Inside Story of Ireland's Boom Economy*. Cork: Mercier Press.
- Meade, R. 2005. We hate it here, please let us stay! Irish social partnership and the community/voluntary sector's conflicted experience of social partnership. *Critical Social Policy* 25.
- McAleese, M. 2003. Speech by the President of Ireland, Mary McAleese, at the Re-Imagining Ireland conference, Charlottesville, Virginia, Wednesday May 7<sup>th</sup>. Reprinted in the *Irish Times*, available at <http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/special/2003/mcaleese/index.htm>.
- Nolan, B. and Maître, B. 2007. Economic growth and income inequality: setting the context, in Fahey, T., Russell, H. and Whelan, C. *Best of times? The social impact of the Celtic Tiger*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.
- O'Conneide, S. and Walsh, J. 1990. *Multiplication and divisions: trends in community development in Ireland since the 1960s*. *Community Development Journal* 25(4).
- O'Hearn, D. 1998. *Inside the Celtic Tiger: The Irish economy and the Asian model*. London, Pluto Press.

Colm Regan

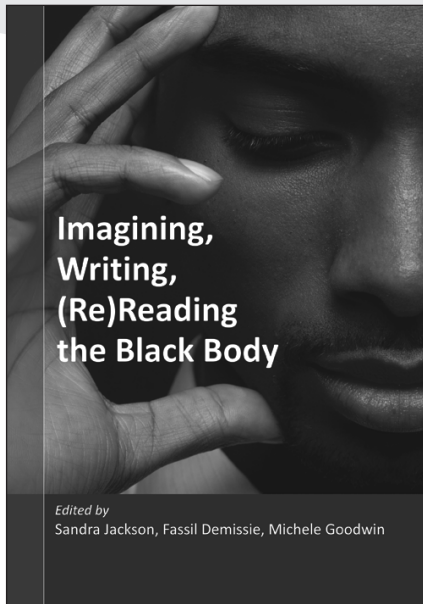
- O'Toole, F. 2010. *How to build a new republic*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Putnam, R. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Schraad-Tischler, D. 2011. *Social justice in the OECD – How do the member states compare? Sustainable Governance Indicators 2011*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung.
- Sweeney, P. 1999. The Celtic Tiger: Ireland's continuing economic miracle. Dublin: Oak Tree Press.
- Tansey, P. 2008. The future is foreign for Ireland's economy. *The Irish Times*, 11th January 2008:6.
- Teague, P. and M. Murphy. 2004. *Social partnership and local development in Ireland: The limits to deliberation*. Discussion Paper 156, Geneva: International Institute for Labour Studies.

# UNISA PRESS

learn without limits

## Imagining, Writing, (Re)Reading the Black Body

*Edited by Sandra Jackson, Fasil Demissie, Michele Goodwin*



R242.00, Africa: R252.00

At the turn of the twenty-first century, the black body remains an object of discursive analysis – as material and symbol – inscribed by multiple levels of meaning and shaped by the past, the present and ideas about imagined futures. Through the lens of different disciplines, this book considers how the black body is read polysemically in terms of social and political contexts and issues of power. The contributors to this text critically examine themes addressing the intersections of race, gender, body politics, representation in popular culture and media, aesthetics, policing and disciplining, and resistance.

The authors explore and interrogate the black body – how it has been historically produced and constructed as an object of desire, menace, literary trope and political embodiment of the 'Other', drawing examples from Europe, Africa, the United States as well as other places in the Black Diaspora. Through its examination of these and related issues regarding the black body, this book contributes to a dialogue across various disciplines about the black body, its meanings and negotiations as read, interpreted, and imagined in different frames of perception.



### Orders

Africa: Unisa Press Tel: +27 12 429 2976/3515, [thearl@unisa.ac.za](mailto:thearl@unisa.ac.za)

USA: ISBS: <http://www.isbs.com/>

Europe: Eurospan: <http://www.eurospanbookstore.com/>

<http://www.unisa.ac.za/press>

**Marketing & review copies:** Mpho Ramatlo,

+27 12 429 8978, [ramatmh@unisa.ac.za](mailto:ramatmh@unisa.ac.za)

# UNISA

  
university  
of south africa  
PRESS



SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Journal of Development Studies ISSN 0304-615X

Africanus is published twice a year.

**Institutions**

Local: R260.00  
Foreign: US\$80.00; £49.75; €58.00

**Individuals**

Local: R210.00  
Foreign: US\$40.00; £24.85; €29.00

Enclosed is my crossed cheque/postal order made out to the University of South Africa

OR

Credit card payment: Visa  or Mastercard

Please fax your credit card number .....

Card type ..... Expiry date .....

Cardholder's name .....

Cardholder's signature .....

to The Business Section, Unisa Press on fax no: +27+12+429 3449

Signature ..... Title .....

Initial ..... Surname .....

Address .....

.....

..... Code .....

Tel ..... Fax .....

e-mail .....

The Business Section  
Unisa Press  
University of South Africa  
PO Box 392  
UNISA 0003  
South Africa

Enquiries  
The Subscription Officer: Journals  
Tel: +27+12+429 2976  
Fax: +27+12+429 3449  
e-mail: journalsubs@unisa.ac.za

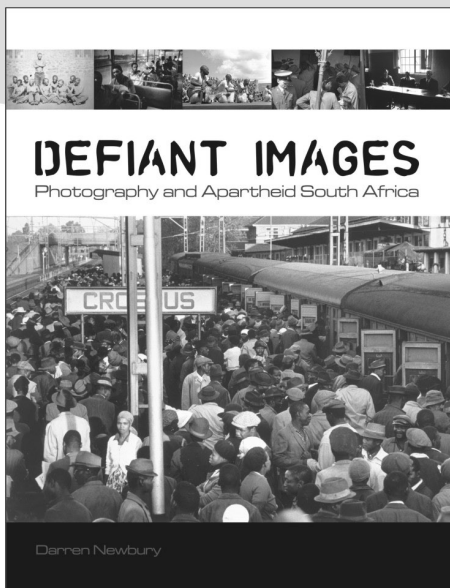
# UNISA PRESS

learn without limits

# DEFIANT IMAGES

Photography and Apartheid South Africa

Darren Newbury



*"This book is much more than just a discourse on photography in the land of apartheid. And it goes well beyond sophisticated debate on the artistic merits of images. While keeping the lens trained on the evolution of photography it plunges the reader into a sharp and evocative socio-cultural history of a country in deep conflict."* – **Albie Sachs**

The author looks closely at the photographs in their original contexts and their relationship to the politics of the time, listens to the voices of the photographers to try and understand how they viewed the work they were doing, and examines the significance of photography in a post-apartheid era.

- *Darren Newbury is Professor of Photography at Birmingham Institute of Art and Design, Birmingham City University.*



## Orders

Africa: Unisa Press Tel: +27 12 429 2976 / 3515

thearl@unisa.ac.za

USA: Contact ISBS: <http://www.isbs.com/>

Europe: Contact Eurospan: <http://www.eurospanbookstore.com/>

<http://www.unisa.ac.za/press>

# UNISA

  
university  
of south africa  
PRESS

