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'The Humanities of Tomorrow': Negotiation Globalisation and Secularisation

The relationship between secularisation and globalisation is a complex one, and makes itself felt in numerous ways, as the various chapters in this book have outlined. Generally, these terms would seem to be parallel in relation to their epistemological force. Globalisation can be seen as the capitalist outcome of Enlightenment rationality:

> What western cosmopolitans call 'global civil society' in fact goes no further than a network of connections and functional interdependencies which have developed within certain important sectors of the 'global market ', above all finance, technology , automation, manufacturing industry and the service sector.

We will return to the collective noun 'cosmopolitans' later in this chapter but for the moment, I would just like to flag it as being significant to our argument. Anthony Giddens has defined globalisation as 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.'[1] This seems like a description of the teleological progress of post-Enlightenment modernity , with an increasingly lateral sense of mobility as a Habermasian social sphere is gradually amplified in keeping with the flow of capital and the agency of a free-market economy . The advances of science and technology , in the service of the techno-capitalist superstructure, have reshaped our sense of self, time, nation and ideology . Secularisation has generally been seen as being the philosophical mode of globalisation . It came into being with the separation of Church and State that accompanied the establishment of the republics of the

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[1]   Anthony Giddens , *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), p.64.

France and United State of America , and was a central tenet of the En-
lightenment . Secularisation is part of the techno-scientific mindset that
underwrote both modernity and postmodernity . Both globalisation and
secularisation would seem to share the signification of being either anti-
or post-religious , or at the very least, of being inimical to a religious per-
spective, and in turn they have given shape to much of the ideological as-
pect of contemporary culture. Secularisation and globalisation have meant
huge changes for how individuals perceive their lives in their local world.
Instead of seeing their identity reflected from their own nation and social
group, the Other of contemporary culture is now a global one. For Lacan ,
this term signifies the way in which the symbolic order is experienced by
specific individuals: it is 'the nexus of social, moral and linguistics codes,
in the gaze of which the individual lives, speaks and acts.'

In his seminal essay "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cul-
ture Economy", Arjun Appadurai makes the point that the relationship be-
tween the global and the local, and between capital and the subject , is one
which defies simple definition: 'the new global cultural economy has to
be seen as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order that cannot any longer
be understood in terms of existing centre-periphery models (even those
that might account for multiple centres and peripheries).'[2] He goes on to
postulate a new interactive negotiation between different aspects of the
globalised world: '*ethnoscapes*, *mediascapes*, *technoscapes*, *finances-
capes*, and *ideoscapes*.'[3] For Appadurai, it is the interaction of these '-
scapes' that is of interest. These interactive and multi-perspectival '-
scapes' can be seen as broadly analogous the Lacanian 'big Other ' and to
Pierre Bourdieu 's concept of the *habitus* .

The *habitus* is the practical and unthought (and untaught) back-
ground: 'the *habitus* is necessity internalized and converted into a disposi-
tion that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions;
it is a general transposable disposition which carries out a systematic, uni-
versal application – beyond the limits of what has been directly learnt – of
the necessity inherent in the learning conditions.'[4] As

[2]   Arjun Appadurai , *Modernity at Large*: *Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation* (Min-
          neapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p.32.
[3]   Appadurai , *Modernity at Large*, p.33.
[4]   Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction*. Translated by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard
          University Press, 1984), p.170.

Bourdieu also explains: the conditionings associated with a 'particular class of conditions of existence produce the *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representation.'[5]

So in a globalised world, our sense of self is reflected back by a transnational big Other , or *habitus* , and the imperatives of secularisation and globalisation are major factors in their construction. In this chapter, through the work of Jacques Derrida , I would like to set out a cognitive map of the meaning, significance and interaction of these terms, and I will argue that their full meaning is not obvious or static, but is only to be found in a more complex process of negotiation . I will also examine the effects of this cognitive map on the real political map of Ireland and the United States of America . But any such articulation must take account of the binary nature of knowledge that has been our inheritance in the western European tradition. I am using the term 'negotiation' in the sense used by Derrida in a book of the same name. He speaks of:

> always working in the mobility between several positions, stations, places, be-
> tween which a shuttle is needed. The first image that comes to me when one
> speaks of negotiation is that of the shuttle, la *navette*, and what the word con-
> veys of to-and-fro between two positions, two places, two choices. One must
> always go from one to the other, and for me negotiation is the impossibility of
> establishing oneself anywhere.

Similarly, I will go 'from one to the other', negotiating between 'globalisation ' and 'secularisation ' while also placing both terms in a more inclusive constellation of meaning. So, as well as relating the terms to each other, I will probe the meanings that can be found by relating each term to its other. I will argue for a secularised-global or globalised-secular ethical position which will go beyond the existing meanings of the terms, and set out some parameters for a new humanistic paradigm which is post-nationalist and post-religious , while still respecting the twin areas of nation and faith. Initially, we must examine the epistemological status of these two terms 'globalisation' and 'secularisation.

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[5]   Pierre Bourdieu , *The Logic of Practices* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), p.53.

So, drawing on the linguistic theories of Ferdinand de Saussure, I will examine the structuration of the terms 'globalisation ' and 'secularisation .' According to Saussure, each unit of meaning is divided into the signifier, the signified and the referent: 'a linguistic sign is not a link between a thing and a name, but between a concept and a sound pattern';[6] he goes on to add that '*in the language itself, there are only differences ... and no positive terms*' [*original italics*].[7] For Derrida , drawing on the structuralist theories of Claude Levi-Strauss, Western culture has been constructed on the basis of a series of binary oppositions: black/white; fat/thin. However, these oppositions are not flat, structural slot-fillers that are devoid of any baggage. Instead, the whole notion of ideology interferes with this a-historical pairing of opposites, and Derrida has made the point that within each binary opposition there is an ideological weighting, a 'violent hierarchy.'[8] It is these weightings that bring an ideological valence to our structures of knowledge as they attribute value as they seem to just describe reality. So it is *white*/black; *male*/female, *heterosexual*/homosexual ; *self*/other etc. with the weight of value falling on the initial term, while the second term is inferior even at the point of utterance. And the meaning of each is dependent on the other and thus meanings are in constant negotiation .

Derrida 's project of deconstruction , a term that has been much abused in recent years, is predicated on analysing this ongoing negotiation of meaning. As he notes: 'to deconstruct the opposition, first of all, is to overturn the hierarchy at a given moment.'[9] But this reversal is only the first step in the deconstructive project, and he goes on to explain that deconstruction offers a double reading will attempt to overturn the terms of the opposition and at the same time to displace the system which contains the opposition. It is not just a question of passing from one concept to the other but of 'overturning and displacing a conceptual order, as well as the nonconceptual order with which the conceptual order is articulat

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[6] Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*. Edited by Charles Bally and Albert Sechaye with collaboration of Albert Reidlinger. Translated by Roy Harris, (London: Duckworth, 1983), p.66.

[7] Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, p.118.

[8] Jacques Derrida , *Positions*. Translated by Alan Bass. (London: Athlone, 1981), p.41.

[9] Derrida , *Positions*, p.41.

ed.'[10] This type of hermeneutics is crucial in terms of how we know our world, and how we structure our reality. As Jacques Lacan has memorably put it: 'it is the world of words which creates the world of things',[11] and if we look at the binary structures which filter our knowledge, then the word 'globalisation ' can only signify if it is paired with its opposite, namely 'localization'. So for the global to have a meaning, it must be contrasted at the levels of signifier and signified, with the local. And to deconstruct 'globalisation' it will be necessary to trace this relationship between the global and the local, to invert the relationship and finally to attempt to create a new epistemological structure wherein the relationship between the local and the global is transformed.

Deconstruction also takes into account the associated ideological charges that are attached to terms such as globalisation : such words are never innocent and can be the points of initiation for strong real-world reactions, as we will see when we come to look at the Irish government's response to the financial crisis of 2008-2009; the Irish hierarchy's response to inquiries about child sexual abuse and the epistemological stance of Barak Obama , later in this chapter. Deconstruction also suggests that these oppositions do not exist in absolute form: they mutually transform each other in a process of anastomosis and negotiation . So, just as feminist theory and practice has changed perceptions of the role of femininity , consequently the roles and qualities of masculinity have undergone analogous changes. Hence, as our notions of globalisation have altered, so too our notions of localisation must also have altered. The same is true of the term secularisation and its binary opposite, religion or more alliteratively, the sacred . But there are other associations with the signifier that we need to negotiate as well.

In *Specters of Marx*, Derrida discusses *hauntology*, seeing ghostly hauntings as traces of possible alternative meanings. Derrida's spectrality involves acknowledging the other that haunts the self; it involves acknowledging the possibility that the 'h' in *hauntology* is a hovering presence over the certainties of ontology, and above all, it is predicated on the future: 'the specter is the future, it is always to come, it presents itself

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10   Jacques Derrida , *Margins of Philosophy*. Translated by Alan Bass, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982), p.329.

11   Jacques Lacan , *The Language of the Self*: *The Function of Language in Psychoanalysis*. Edited and translated by Anthony Wilden (New York: Delta, 1968), p.39.

only as that which could come or come back.'[12] The ghost is that which can complicate the inheritance of the past, which can fracture the inheritance, which, far from issuing from a fixed centre, and from containing an unequivocal meaning, 'is never gathered together, it is never one with itself.'[13]

By playing on the neologism's homonymy with 'ontology' in French , drawing attention to the ghostly presence of the silent *h*, Derrida outlines an ethico -political engagement with a present that is not ontologically fixated on the actual. Ontology is inhospitable to the specter, for the specter both is and is not: 'it is by nature *Unheimlich*, strangely there and yet not there, neither fully present nor entirely absent.'[14] The ghost therefore does not belong to ontology, but it is in a relationship with ontology in terms of tracing different aspects of meaning. *Hauntology* is not 'the opposite or the final overcoming of ontology, but its spectral trace.'[15] So, when we speak of secularisation , there is a *hauntological* presence working behind this word, namely the sacred , and that other aspect of the binary haunts the secular . It is as if the secular is always looking over its shoulder at the sacred, and it is important in this context to keep in mind our sense of a negotiation , of a movement between the two determined positions, the *navette*, or shuttle, where there is a constant to-and-fro between the positions. The same is true of the global , which must always be seen in terms of its local 'other', and these two terms shuttle back and forth, transforming each other, and their relationship, as they develop. But of course there is another dimension to the shuttle as this to-ing and fro-ing is not a teleological activity, rather is it the process through which the wool thread is passed between the warp threads from one side of the web to the other in weaving, and this image is important in the present discussion. I hope to tease out the conceptual framework first and then to look at some examples of the negotiation between these terms using examples from contemporary Irish society which embody the relationship that will be set out in the diagram below.

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12   Jacques Derrida , *Specters of Marx*: *The State of the Debt*, *the Work of Mourning & the New International*. Translated by Peggy Kamuf. Introduction by Bernd Magnus and Stephen Cullenberg (London: Routledge, 1994), p.39.

13   Derrida , *Specters of Marx*, p.16.

14   Ross Benjamin and Heesok Chang, "Jacques Derrida , The Last European ", *SubStance* 110, Vol. 35, no. 2, 2006, pp.140-171, p.153.

15   Benjamin and Chang, "Derrida The Last European ", p.154.

To fully understand each term, we must grasp the *hauntological* negotiation between these four terms: the global , the secular , the local, and the sacred . To contextualise these terms we need to create a cognitive map of this *hauntological* negotiation between the different threads, and between the binary oppositions that comprise these threads, and our discussion will emulate this process with four warp threads, which we have already signified:

global   **sacred**

                    hauntoligical
                     negotiation

secular   **local**
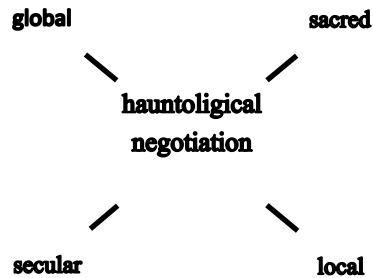
Our discussion will look at all of these crossings and overlappings and will read the terms in the light of each other. In this sense, we will be reading along the lines of J. Hillis Miller when he spoke of anastomosis in *The Ethics of Reading*, in terms of notions of 'penetration and permeation'. Miller is also speaking about the relationship between text and context , and sees this notion of context as hovering 'uneasily' between 'metonymy in the sense of mere contingent adjacency and synecdoche, part for whole, with an assumption that the part is some way genuinely like the whole.'[16] Interpretation, for Miller, in his discussion of anastomosis, necessarily involves a variety of 'crossings, displacements, and substitutions, as inside becomes outside, outside inside, or as features on either side cross over the wall, membrane or partition dividing the sides',[17] and I will argue that such transgressive and transgenerative

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[16]   J. Hillis Miller , *The Ethics of Reading*: *Kant*, *de Man*, *Eliot*, *Trollope*, *James and Benjamin*. The Wellek Library Lectures (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), p.6.

[17]   Miller, *Ethics of Reading*, p.7.

crossings of frontiers are a central feature in Derrida 's work, and I will go on to demonstrate the efficacy of this type of transgressive thinking in my own analyses of the terms secularisation and globalisation . Indeed, Derrida, in "Living on: Borderlines", probes the epistemology of the border between text and context in a broadly analogous manner, as he talks about borders in terms of permeability, noting that no context is 'saturatable any more', and that 'no border is guaranteed, inside or out.'[18] In other words, meaning is always permeable and each instance needs to be analysed critically.

It is at this level of anastomosis or crossing that the first connection between these terms can be found. In terms of our conceptual map, the relationship between our eponymous terms 'globalisation ' and 'secularisation ' is one that can be traced back to the etymology of the initial term. And I am going back to specific and local occasion and date, November 6th 1999 to be precise at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris, to a colloquium that was part of a series of talks entitled "Discussions of the Twenty-first Century." The general theme of the day was "The New World Contract" that was being drawn up by Federico Mayor , then Director General of the Institution. Derrida 's intervention took place in the context of a debate on 'Globalisation and the Third Industrial Revolution.' Derrida chose the title of '*La mondialisation, la paix et la cosmopolitique'* ('Globalisation, Peace and Cosmopolitanism.') It was transcribed and published in the journal *Regards 54*, February 2000, pages 16-19.[19]

In a very 'local sense', and I use this term as part of the negotiated meaning that we are in the process of constructing, Derrida joked that as his talk would only last for twenty minutes, he would need to allocate specific time periods to each of the three terms of his title: ('seven [minutes] for globalisation , seven for peace, no more than six for cosmopolitanism')[20] and to add that it was almost against the 'rights of man' to be forced to be so brief on such important topics. But as is often the case with Derrida, there was a serious purpose behind this temporal division, as he went on to make a connection between the global and the sa

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[18]   Jacques Derrida , "Living on: Borderlines" in Harold Bloom , Paul de Man , Jacques Derrida, Geoffrey Hartman, J. Hillis Miller , *Deconstruction and Criticism* (New York: Continuum Press, 1987), pp.75-176, p.78.

[19]   Derrida , *Negotiations*, p.404.

[20]   Derrida , *Negotiations*, p.371.

cred . The more normal connection, and one which has been made cogently throughout this book, has been that between globalisation and secularisation , between a sense of the value of science and knowledge on the one hand, and that of the movement of global capital on the other. However, in terms of the negotiation of meaning, and in terms of an attempt to set out a more informed sense of critique of this term, Derrida looks awry at this connection and, referring back to our cognitive map , he explores a relationship of anastomosis between the global and the sacred.

Discussing the idea of globalisation , Derrida connected the term with religion as he explains that both terms involve an attempt at placing the human in a more universal structure. He sees a clearly defined consensus between on the one hand, 'the believers in the natural universality of the rights of man' and, on the other, those who 'see the rights of man and international law in general, as still marked by their European or Greco-Roman- Abrahamic (by which I mean their Greek, Roman, Jewish, Christian, and Islamic) origin, insofar as they are rooted in a history, in particular languages and archives.'[21] Derrida is making the point that, at a conceptual level, the universalizing aspect of globalisation, the desire to open borders and connect with people in personal and economic and social discourses which transcend the givens of national and political nation-states, has a parallel with the religious idea of filiation between communities of faith which similarly transcend the borders of the political. So it is a crossing, or an anastomosis between the local and the global, just as the secular is a negotiation with aspects of the sacred . There is also a strong sense of the cosmopolitical at work here as ideally, globalisation could be connected with cosmopolitics, and it is time for us to look in more detail at that term.

In this sense, there is a further negotiation of meaning between the terms of our diagram as the local is connected to the sacred as all religions , especially what Derrida calls the 'religions of the book',[22] have a defined messianistic location where Abraham, Jesus and Mohammed began their ministry. Islam, Christianity and Judaism all began as local religions, and all have shrines and places of pilgrimage which value the local and, ironically, have made these places global . So Bethlehem, Nazareth, medina, Mecca, Jerusalem, Qum, Najaf – all of these very local places have an existence at the level of the signifier in the minds of peo

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[21]   Derrida , *Negotiations*, p.371.
[22]   Derrida , *Negotiations*, p.213.

ple who have an interest in religious matters. And of course a further level of negotiation between the local and the global is to be found in the very fact that we in Ireland know about places like Qum, Najaf, Fallujah and Kerbala, because this knowledge is due to the telemedia aspects of globalisation, and the traditional hegemonic Western perspective on world affairs (and perhaps the classic incident of the possibly apocryphal English newspaper headline: "Fog Over Channel – Continent Isolated"), has been renegotiated through the presence of English-language media such as Al Jazeera, which give an alternative perspective on issues.

Similarly the tele-technology and techno-science that drive much of the globalised world also deconstruct the local with respect to the global . Traditionally, the local is seen as something small, closed off, intimate; it is very much on the inside in terms of the binary 'inside/outside', and much of modern technology has attempted to keep this sense of the local intact. So we have the borders of the nations-state, the walls of the house and home, the sense of the secret as we have account books, and even our books and notebooks have covers which we can close in order to keep the information inside, and therefore, local. But the technology of globalisation tends to deconstruct these ideas.

Hillis Miller makes the point that technologies such as photography, the telegraph, the typewriter, the telephone, the gramophone, cinematography, radio, tape recorders, television, and now CDs, VCRs, DVDs, cell phones, computers, communication satellites, and the World Wide Web have changed the way we see the world and interact with the world. He notes that these new technologies, are not just superadded to our being in the world, but radically alter it, and he goes on to speak about similar points made by Derrida in an as-yet-unpublished seminar. Derrida sees how:

> This new electronic space, the space of television, cinema, telephone, videos, fax, e-mail, hypertext, and the Internet, has profoundly altered the economies of the self, the home, the workplace, the university, and the nation-state's politics. These were traditionally ordered around the firm boundaries of an inside-outside dichotomy, whether those boundaries were the walls between the home's privacy and all the world outside or the borders between the nation-state and its neighbours. The new technologies invade the home and the nation. They confound all these inside/outside divisions.

This confounding of distinctions between inside and outside is both caused by, and the result of, negotiations such as those indicated in our

cognitive map , and the very meanings of words have become similarly elusive and polysemic. In terms of such linguistic *glissement*, Derrida goes on to further explore the connections between the global and the sacred . He distinguishes between the concepts of the 'world' and the 'global', and his reasons for so doing are interesting, as they again develop the connection between the global and the sacred, and between the local and the global. He sees the signifier 'world' as gesturing towards a historical discourse which is different from that of:

> the globe, of the universe, of Earth, of the cos*mos* even (at least of the cosmos in its pre-Christian meaning, which Saint Paul then christianised precisely to make it say 'world' as *fraternal* community of human beings, of fellow creatures, brothers, sons of God and neighbours to one another). For the world begins by designating, and tends to remain, in an Abrahamic tradition (Judeo-Christian-Islamic but predominantly Christian) a particular space-time, a certain oriented history of human brotherhood, *of* what in a Pauline language – the language that continues to structure and condition the modern concepts *of* the rights *of* man or the crime against humanity (horizons *of* international law in its actual form to which I would like to return, a form that conditions, in principle and by right, the becoming *of* globalisation [*mondialisation*]).

Here, the very emancipatory modes of globalisation are seen as deriving from aspects of the sacred , especially in terms of the organization of the sacred into the religions of the book. Hence, the mode of globalisation which sees contacts made between people at a level transcending the nation-state, and one which gestures towards the concept of the trans-national citizen , or world-citizen, the mode which is in the tradition of the Enlightenment , the *Aufklärung*, where religious myth and suspicion were suspended, and where science and different forms of knowledge and reason were set up in their stead. In an interview with Giovanna Borradori, Derrida was asked about the connections between globalisation and cosmopolitanism and he interestingly again referred to a sacred discourse , suggesting that we should 'beyond the old Greco-Christian cosmopolitical ideal (the Stoics, Saint Paul, Kant), see the coming of a universal alliance or solidarity that extends beyond the internationality of nation-states and thus beyond citizenship.'[23]

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[23]   Jacques Derrida , "Autoimmunity: Real And Symbolic Suicides: A Dialogue with Jacques Derrida." Interview with Giovanna Borradori, in *Philosophy in a Time of Terror*: *Dialogues with Jurgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp.85-136, p.123-124.

In this sense, the negotiation is now between globalisation and cosmopolitics , a concept that looks at all of the more positive socio-ethical benefits of a community that transcends national borders. For Derrida , this idea has its roots in the sacred , in the crossing or anastomosis between the ideals of the Christian churches and those of the Enlightenment , and thus the negotiated meanings of a deconstructive reading break down the seeming binary of religion -Enlightenment and instead can trace a conceptual lineage for the cosmopolitical from 'Saint Paul in his letter to the Ephesians, to the Stoics, and to Kant.'[24] Kant felt that some notion of world citizenship would be the condition for approaching his ideal of perpetual peace. But for Derrida, the negotiation between globalisation, secularization, the sacred, cosmopolitics and ethics is one which is a performative and not a constative. For him, this negotiation of concepts is the only way in which they can have relevance for us and our time:

But if we must in fact cultivate the spirit of this tradition (as I believe most international institutions have done since World War 1), we must also try to adjust the limits of this tradition to our own time by questioning the ways in which they have been defined and determined by the ontotheological, philosophical, and religious discourses in which this cosmopolitical ideal was formulated.[25]

Thus, in the binary oppositional sense of the creation of knowledge paradigms, the sacred , or religion , would have been seen as diametrically opposed to Enlightenment rationality but in a broader temporal framework, the negotiations between these two terms became more fluid, and in terms of our diagram, the negotiations between the secular and the sacred are mediated by a more global sense of time and space, and *hauntologically* connected with cosmopolitics as well. When local disputes between religion and science are read in that broader framework of which our map is an illustration, connections can be found which are not immediately obvious. So the inside-outside binary which structures modernist epistemology, and which, when extrapolated to epistemological discourse , would see religion as the inside and science as the outside, or vice-versa, is now deconstructed and these boundaries are shown to be

24   Derrida , "Autoimmunity", p.130.
25   Derrida , "Autoimmunity", p.130.

fluid in the extreme. This means that in many ways, deconstruction is the philosophical discourse of our current technologised and globalised age par excellence, as its epistemological mobility and fluidity mirrors that of the fluid and pervasive technology of which both Derrida and Miller speak.

And this fluidity is also to be found in the ethico -moral valences of the two terms. Derrida , on being asked about globalisation , made the point that it can be seen to have huge benefits for humanity: 'the transparency made possible by teletechnologies, the opening of borders and of markets, the levelling of playing fields and the equality of opportunity', he goes on to add that there have never been in the history of humanity, in absolute numbers: 'so many inequalities, so many cases of malnutrition, ecological disaster, or rampant epidemic (think, for example, of AIDS in Africa and of the millions of people we allow to die and, thus, kill).'[26] In other words, Derrida, in his discussion of this term, is creating a cognitive mirror image of our cognitive map as he negotiates the valences and levels of meaning.

The ethico -moral valences of globalisation and secularisation are not predetermined any more than are the meanings of the terms themselves. We have been tracing these possible meanings in a conceptual sense through this chapter and I would now like to offer a performative instance of how the use of French theory can illuminate aspects of the ethico-moral valence of the impact of globalisation and secularisation on the financescapes and ideoscapes of the contemporary Irish context . My core point is that praising or blaming globalisation or secularisation for the benefits or ills of contemporary Ireland is to miss the point – what is needed is a negotiation , in the Derridean sense, and an awareness of the constellation of meaning within which these terms are operative in their creation of the big Other or the *habitus* of Ireland in the third millennium.

To see globalisation as a definite benefit for humanity is as oversimplified as seeing religion as all good. To be sure, globalisation has brought great benefits to our time, and to Ireland in particular. It could be said that as a nation-state, we skipped the long slow advent of modernity , with the heavy industrialisation and the gradual socio-cultural rise of the bourgeoisie, and went straight through hyper drive into postmodernity in all its glory. Our gross national product increased exponentially over the

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[26]   Derrida , "Autoimmunity", pp.121-122.

 1990s and the Celtic Tiger economy made Ireland one of the success stories of Europe . However, in a manner typical of the binaries we have been discussing, after the economic boom came an economic recession . In a global context , the crash of various banks and insurance companies such as Lehman Brothers , Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA) and Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation (FHLMC), more commonly known as Freddie Mac, in 2008 in the USA, and AIG and Northern Rock in the United Kingdom, meant that the effect of globalisation was felt very sharply in Ireland. The response to this crisis was suitably speedy, as befits a financial sector where billions and trillions of dollars are transferred across the globe at fibre-optical speeds. The US government has guaranteed its sub-prime mortgage market to the tune of 700 billion dollars while six European governments coordinated a 2 trillion euro rescue plan.

Given the globalised nature of our financescape, the Irish banking system has been affected by this recession as well. A guarantee by the Irish government, on September 30 2008, of some 440 billion euro meant that we followed suit in this process. There has been a further guaranteeing of the three major banks, Allied Irish Bank, Bank of Ireland and Anglo-Irish Bank, with the first two being capitalized to the tune of 2.5 billion euro and the latter receiving 1.5 million euro for the same purpose. On top of this, in early December, 2008, Anglo Irish Bank chairman Sean Fitzpatrick, resigned after admitting that he had concealed up to €87 million in directors' loans from the bank over an eight-year period to avoid disclosing the amount to shareholders. 'He transferred the secret loans to Irish Nationwide Building Society before the banks reporting year-end on September 30, only to transfer them back shortly afterwards. Hours after his departure the banks chief executive David Drumm resigned.'[27] In January 2009, the Irish government nationalised Anglo-Irish Bank, and the financial regulator, Michael Neary , resigned after an inquiry showed that details of these loans had been known by some members of his office as early as September 30, 2007. These loans were moved to the Irish nationwide Building Society, and it must have been obvious that there was, at the very least, deception going on, but no action has been taken against this institution. Other members of the board

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[27] Simon Carswell, "The Year the Bubble Burst", in *The Irish Times*, Saturday, December 27, 2008.

of Anglo-Irish Bank resigned in January but there were no enforced terminations nor was there any investigation onto the relationship with the auditors who seemed to have missed all of this and are hence either negligent or incompetent. And yet these are the very institutions who foreclose on mortgages, and repossess homes and cause businesses to close down.

In the area of the sacred , the archdioceses of Cloyne in Ireland was thrown into turmoil when the report of the National Board for Safeguarding Children (NBSC) followed an investigation last year by NBSC chief executive Ian Elliott into the management of two child protection cases in Cloyne. Completed on June 28 last it found that practices in Cloyne were 'inadequate and in some respects dangerous.'[28] The report stated bluntly that Bishop John Magee of Cloyne was culpable to the extent that: 'any references to the need to protect vulnerable young people and to act in a timely and effective way to achieve this end' were 'glaringly absent.' Instead, the welfare of the priests seems to have been the priority.[29] The report dealt with allegations of child abuse against two priests, identified as Father A and Father B. Breda O'Brien notes that the first complaint about Fr B was in early 1995, and points out that it took three further complaints before Bishop Magee sent the priest a letter, in February 1998. She goes on to ask the pertinent question: 'How could there be a three-year gap before removing him from a school, and an eight-year gap before reporting him to police?'[30]

Yet Ian Elliot, Chief Executive Officer of the NBSC, only came to know of these allegations through, in one case, a complaint to the office of the Minister for Children, and in another, a referral from a helpline funded by religious orders. He did not learn of them through information furnished by the diocese of Cloyne, although they did eventually co-operate with the investigation. There are further reports on clerical child abuse due to be published in 2009. There is a Health Service Executive report, the Ryan Report on abuse in residential institutions and a report on the Dublin archdiocese. A separate Health Service Audit has already accused the diocese of Cloyne of having failed to alert health authorities

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[28]   Patsy McGarry and Harry McGee, "Child Report Dismissed by Diocese Committee", *The Irish Times*, Tuesday, January 6, 2009.

[29]   Breda O'Brien, "Suspicions Inevitable after Church's Record on Cloyne", in *The Irish Times*, Saturday, December 27, 2008.

[30]   Breda O'Brien, "Suspicions Inevitable", *Irish Times*.

to a child sex abuse allegation, in contravention of existing child protection guidelines The report of a HSE audit, examining the handling of child-protection policies in Catholic dioceses cited evidence that the diocese was in breach of the Ferns child protection guidelines. The audit report said the Bishop of Cloyne John Magee had 'acknowledged his error in this respect.' It said misunderstandings relating to the roles and responsibilities in this area led to the failure .[31]

Again, there have been no dismissals, no enforced resignations and the primate of Ireland , Cardinal Sean Brady has stated that he does not feel that Bishop Magee should resign. Here is an eerie similarity between Brady's sense that there is no need for Magee to resign and finance minister Brian Lenihan's statement that it was not the role of the government to look for heads to roll in the banking sector. In both cases, we are seeing systems protect themselves, close off their borders, ensure there is no negotiation of responsibility and also steadfastly refusing to allow for any changes on the *habitus* or the big Other . Now in both of these instances Ireland has very much followed suit in the case of our global other and out global *habitus*, as the banking scandals and clerical scandals have been global phenomena, and generally secular governments and a secular legal system has been used to telling effect by the Church as a way of limiting their legal liability and indeed, across the globe, the church has fought such cases with the full panoply of the law – the secular law.

So despite the seismic changes brought about by globalisation and secularisation in Western Europe and the Anglophone world, it would seem to be a case of *plus ça change* – the institution is protecting itself by refusing to change and by refusing to take responsibility . Indeed, there is a view that globalisation is actually a *de facto* conservative force in the socio political *habitus* and the seeming openness of borders – literal, those of cyberspace and conceptual ones – is a chimera. For Bill Readings, globalisation and the apparently irresistible rise of transnational corporations has been accompanied generally by a process of depoliticisation characterized by 'the loss of belief in an alternative political truth that will authoritatively legitimate oppositional critique.'[32] According to

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[31] Carl O'Brien, "Diocese of Cloyne failed to alert HSE to allegation of child sex abuse Bishop 'acknowledged his error' – report", in *The Irish Times*, Thursday, January 8, 2009.

[32] Bill Readings, *The University in Ruins* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), p.47.

Simon Wortham Morgan, this is due to the 'dereferentialisation of culture that happens alongside the weakening of the nation-state' which begins to erode the distinction between cultural participation and exclusion. He goes on to note that another causal factor of this depoliticisation is the fact that the modern or 'posthistorical' bureaucratic state is much less fashioned on the basis of the traditional concepts and politics of national identity, instead reproducing itself mainly in terms of the 'non-ideological belonging':

> The previously fundamental relationship between the state and the individual (understood variously in terms of longstanding conceptions of right, contract, and so forth) is therefore increasingly dismantled as the era of 'transnationality' or 'globalisation ' takes hold, and it is in these terms that the question of political inclusion or exclusion with regard to the (political) centre becomes misleading if not obsolete.

So is this a necessary factor in the globalised and secularised big Other and *habitus* ? Are we necessarily bound to accept this broader transnational status quo of power reserving to itself the ability to critique itself and of the institution – Church or State – refusing to be accountable to anyone but itself? I would resonantly answer no, and would cite the French theoretical perspective used in this essay as warrant for this position. For Derrida , negotiations are crucial, as are the unvoiced *hauntological* absences that haunt the hegemonic ontology of those in power. In the same way as cyber culture has deconstructed the old binaries of inside and outside, so the cosmopolitical dimension of globalisation can do the same in the socio-cultural sphere.

In terms of our cognitive map , I would argue for a *hauntologically -* inspired sense of ethical globalisation , one which veers towards he cosmopolitical , and would draw on the formulation of the world as etymologically inspired by the religions of the book. The globalisation in question here is not just economic but socio-cultural and ideological and capable of transforming through crossings and anastomoses, the big Other and *habitus* . For Derrida, the concept of a secular - sacred globalisation is a desired one and one which can be traced back to the roots of the words themselves. He speaks of the 'Abrahamic filiation' of the word and of the associated 'ethical-political- juridical concepts that tend to regulate the process of globalisation [*mondialisation*], the becoming-world of the

world-especially through international law and even international criminal law.'[33] It is in this context that I would argue or a globalised ethics which takes into account the necessity of negotiation and the performativity of meaning and ontology. I would agree with Derrida that the most important thing to do in a globalised context is, on the one hand, to analyse the meaning of the word and to look at the:

> geopolitical axioms and the assumptions of international law, and everything that rules its interpretation, back to its European , Abrahamic, and predominantly Christian , indeed Roman , filiation (with the effects of hegemony implicit and explicit that this inherently involves).

This negotiation between globalisation and the sacred is actually a deconstructive invention which will allow the secular *habitus* of contemporary culture to be infused with the ideals that drove the early Christian church , ideals that in turn derive from Greek and Roman notions a transnational global order. But of course these global orders were imperial in their operation, and those imperial aspects of globalisation have been addressed in this chapter through the lack of accountability at the higher levels of institutions which has its source in the divine right of kings doctrine, which itself derives from the habit of proclaiming an emperor divine in Greco-Roman times. And in order to combat this tendency for the global Other to merely replicate in large the national other, Derrida sets up another negotiation, noting that on the other hand, the necessary task of thinking through globalisation, a thinking process which:

> would consist in never giving up-through cultural relativism or a facile critique of Eurocentrism – the universal, universalizing exigency, the properly revolutionary exigency that tends irresistibly to uproot, to de-territorialize, to dehistoricize this filiation, to contest its limits and the effects of its hegemony .

For him, the key to understanding and implementing a sense of globalisation that comes closer to a sense of the cosmopolitical as adduced by Kant is in a constant reinvention and negotiation of the meanings of the term. What is needed is the negotiation of which we have been speaking; the fluidity and anastomosis which I attempted to represent in the dia

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[33]   Derrida , *Negotiations*, p.375.

gram at the beginning of this chapter; the sense that we 'must not give up rediscovering, inventing, inventing this time in the sense *of* inventing as discovering what is already there potentially, namely, in this filiation itself, the principle of its excess, of its bursting outside itself, of its auto-deconstruction '.[34]

And politically, this sense of negotiation has been exemplified in the election of Barak Obama in the United States. His campaign, with its use of email, SMS messages, targeted audiences and YouTube, was a per-formative example of this more positive use of globalisation , cosmopoli-tics and indeed secularisation . Beginning from the local, the steps of the courthouse of Springfield, Illinois on February 10th, 2007, and invoking the *hauntological* presence of a pervious American president whose campaign set out from those same steps, Abraham Lincoln, Obama has campaigned with a message of hope and change that embody the positive and more cosmopolitical aspects of the globalised paradigm. His message of change and of systemic change, is vastly different from the more static responses to our own problems in Ireland .

Perhaps the key thing about globalisation and secularisation is that their meanings can change and that they can become forces for ethical benefit to our world. For Derrida , Europe , with its broadly based, secular composition, this is probably closer to the idea of a cosmopolitical politi-cal structure than any to date. So while these may be impossible ideals, yet they are there to be striven for. Just as Barak Obama made the point in his inauguration address that he was speaking in a city where his father might not have been served in a hotel sixty years ago, so it is the orienta-tion towards the future that is significant about his policies and about his speech. He has spoken about the problematic and strife-riven past of the United States of America but the trajectory of his remarks is very differ-ent. He has noted that the history of the United States is full of struggle and conflict:

> For us, they packed up their few worldly possessions and travelled across oceans in search of a new life. For us, they toiled in sweatshops and settled the West; endured the lash of the whip and ploughed the hard earth.
> For us, they fought and died, in places like Concord and Gettysburg; Norman-dy and Khe Sahn. Time and again these men and women struggled and sacri-ficed and worked till their hands were raw so that we might live a better

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[34]   Derrida , *Negotiations*, p.375.

> life. They saw America as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions;
> greater than all the differences of birth or wealth or faction.

The whole trajectory of this speech is one of negotiation with the meanings of the past, it is one where past sacrifices are not to be hoarded up or reified but rather are to be seen as the building blocks for a better future. In cosmopolitical terms, Obama 's vision is one where difference and contention are seen as positives:

> For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a weakness. We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus - and non-believers. We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth; and because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass; that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself; and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace.

Here he speaks of the segregation of the past as something which made Americans stronger because they have come through them and are changing them as they progress. This is in stark contrast to the attitude of the Irish clergy and political establishment whose whole thrust was towards protecting the errors of the past rather than laying the framework for the future. The sense of changing the system, of breaking down the barriers and crossing the borders to new territories, of breaking down the barriers of inside and outside through the *hauntological* awareness of other relational connections outside of the binaries has not been part of the Irish political or clerical system.

Thus globalisation , if interpreted one way can be for the gain of an elite and the exploitation of others on a global scale – it is imperialism and colonialism under a transnational banner. Derrida 's use of 'Europe ' another term that we could add to our cognitive map , as a synecdoche for this negotiated meaning between the global and the cosmopolitical . He hopes for the creation, not of a Europe that would be 'another military superpower, protecting its market and acting as a counterweight to other blocs, but of a Europe that would be able to sow the seeds of a new alter-globalist politics.'[35] For Derrida, 'Europe' is like the other terms we have

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[35]   Jacques Derrida , *Learning to Live Finally*: *The Last Interview*. Interview with Jean Birnbaum. Translated by Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas. (New Jersey: Melville House Publishing, 2007), p.42.

been discussing – it requires interpretation and while it has been a driver in the globalised techno-scientific imperialism that has been seen as among the worst aspects of globalisation, so it is also the source of the cosmopolitical, idealistic, ethical and emancipatory aspects which offer hope for a transformation of the old paradigms of inside and outside:

> Since the time of the Enlightenment , Europe has undertaken a perpetual self-critique, and in this perfectible heritage there is a chance for a future. At least I would like to hope so, and that is what feeds my indignation when I hear people definitively condemning Europe as if it were but the scene of its crimes. This force is underway. Even if its motivations are still confused, I don't think anything can now stop it. That's what I mean when I say Europe: an alter-globalist Europe, transforming the concept and practices of sovereignty and international law.

His vision is very much a cosmopolitical one, but he is criticising the tradition even as he is enunciating it, and this performativity is part and parcel of the negotiation which we have been carrying on between the key terms globalisation and secularisation . I would argue that this is the same negotiation that we have seen on the rhetoric and epistemology of Barak Obama where he sees aspects of the United States as being on a continuing journey, a journey of crossings, negotiations and anastomoses.

One can see dawnings of this negotiation with fixed meanings in an Irish context as well. Despite the pitiful failure of the Catholic hierarchy to deal with their culpability, one priest, Father Michael Mernagh, aged 70, in a gesture of public atonement, walked from Cobh in county Cork to the pro-cathedral in Dublin where he was welcomed by Archbishop Diarmuid Martin. This gesture was in many ways an example of an act of performative resistance by one of the rank and file clergy and the performative itself – a journey taken on foot – symbolised a desire for change in the system and possibly a recognition that this change would be slow in coming. Father Mernagh was joined in his 300km walk of atonement by at least 50 others:

> They included Paddy Doyle , the wheelchair-bound author of *The God Squad*, the searing autobiography which was published in the 1980s before the trickle of clerical sex abuse allegations became a flood, fellow abuse victim

> Marie Collins and the co-ordinator of Irish Survivors of Child Abuse (SOCA) John Kelly. They were joined by Barnados' chief executive Fergus Finlay , Sister Stanislaus Kennedy and Travellers from the Pavee Point project. Augustinian priests Fr Liam Ryan and Fr Ben O'Brien also shared the journey.

So in the area of the church , there is an element of the alter-global or the cosmopolitical at work, and the same glimmerings are to be seen in the Irish body politic. In the wake of the banking crisis of which we have been speaking, some seventy of the shareholders of Anglo-Irish Bank are taking a class action against the bank, its directors and the firms of auditors, all of whom have remained silent as to the nature of their responsibility for the financial mismanagement to date. Here, if globalisation has brought about this hegemony in Church and State, so alter-globalisation, or cosmopolitics, is attempting to negotiate with, and resist and transform, those hegemonic perspectives. Here there is a haunting of the sacred by the secular and of the secular by the sacred as the filiation of people who are wronged is made overt in the public sphere.

This type of negotiation between the secular   and the sacred and the global and the local is necessarily performative: it is a text that is both created by, and transformative of, its socio-cultural context , and each negotiation is singular and performative. As Miller puts it, this would be an 'alternative kind of performative' which 'creates the norms and laws that validate it'. Each such performative 'constitutes a happening that changes decisively the surrounding context .' It responds to a call or demand from an 'other' that can never be institutionalized or rationalized. Hence the call of the 'other', which in this formulation brings the speech act into being, would have to pre-exist any subject or agent of cognition or communication.[36] In a political   sense, such a cosmopolitical form of globalisation as our best hope for the future, for what Derrida has termed is the task of a new humanities.

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[36]   J. Hillis Miller , "Literary Study in the Transnational University", in *Black Holes / J. Hillis Miller*; *Or*, *Boustrophedonic Reading*, J. Hillis Miller and Manuel Asensi (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp.3-183, p.179.