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ABSTRACT

The relationship between colonizers and the colonized begin to change with the advent of globalization. In Ireland, the rise of post-colonial multiculturalism is the product of post-colonial globalization. The peace process in the 1990s and the attempts to think beyond modern nationalism by Richard Kearney or Brian Friel are examples of the emergence of Irish post-colonial multiculturalism. In Ireland's move from nationalist to post-nationalist, some marginal outsiders who used to be excluded from modern nationalism become significant contributors. Though it does meet with some obstacles when put into practice, post-colonial multiculturalism at least discloses many problematic assumptions of modern nationalism. In such an atmosphere, Frank McGuinness offers many plays that deserve a position in Irish post-colonial globalization. Homosexuality in his plays is an important metaphor through which the grave problems of modern nationalism are exposed or essentialist ideologies are deconstructed, which reflects the contribution from the marginal outsiders in the discourse of modern nationalism. McGuinness's Ireland is a queer Ireland not simply because it is crowded with homosexuals and queer people but also because it is no longer a traditional and homogeneous Ireland where different national ideologies are mutually exclusive.

Keywords: postcolonial globalization, Irish post-colonial multiculturalism, modern nationalism, queer, Frank McGuinness

法蘭克・麥基尼斯與愛爾蘭的後殖民全球化

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摘　要

隨著全球化的到來，殖民者與被殖民者之間的關係開始起了變化，而愛爾蘭多元文化主義的興起，即是後殖民全球化時代下的產物。一九九零年間的愛爾蘭和平進程，以及一些愛爾蘭作家如克爾尼、傅立爾等試圖超越現代國家主義一元論述所做的呼籲或嘗試，都是愛爾蘭多元文化主義在後殖民全球化時期逐漸興起的證據。在愛爾蘭從單一的國家主義轉向多元的後國家主義過程中，一些以往被排拒在現代國家主義論述之外的邊緣者有很大的貢獻。雖然後殖民的多元文化主義在實際執行的時候確有遭遇困難，但至少顯露出現代國家主義的許多假設是有問題的。在這樣的背景當中，法蘭克・麥基尼斯的劇作在愛爾蘭的後殖民全球化中應當佔有一份重要的位置。麥基尼斯劇中的同性性慾經常是國家主義的問題被突顯、或是基本教義國家意識形態被解構的媒介，而這也反映了多元文化時期中邊緣人的興起。麥基尼斯的愛爾蘭是個「怪胎愛爾蘭」，不只因爲其筆下的愛爾蘭充滿同性戀者與怪異者，也因爲麥基尼斯劇中的愛爾蘭已經不是以前那個傳統的、單一的、不同文化互相排斥的愛爾蘭了。

關鍵詞：後殖民全球化、愛爾蘭後殖民多元文化主義、現代國家主義、怪胎、法蘭克・麥基尼斯

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Liang-Yu Chen

As one of the leading contemporary Irish dramatists of the younger generation, Frank McGuinness also presents a new and younger picture of Ireland. McGuinness's political plays offer not so much a nationalistic picture of Ireland as a critique on the problems of essentialist nationalism. In fact, from W. B. Yeats's nationalistic theater to Brian Friel's Field Day, essentialist nationalism in Ireland undergoes many transformations and is met with severe criticism as the country becomes more and more globalized.[1] This is because, as some scholars argue, with the advent of globalization, the antagonistic relationship between colonizers and the colonized begins to change, and thus the borders between essentialist modern nationalisms are blurred. A. G. Hopkins, for instance, distinguishes four phases of globalization in his edited book *Globalization in World History* – archaic, proto, modern, and post-colonial, and "post-colonial globalization" refers to the period of cultural and political development after imperialism, approximately dating from the 1950s, when both colonizing and colonized nations come to constitute a global world system with supra-territorial organization, transnational corporations, inter-industry trades, or democratic multicultural politics (9-10). "Postcolonial globalization" is a more narrowed term than "globalization" – the former puts emphasis on how globalization changes the relationship between colonizers and the colonized in a post-colonial context, while the latter may include broader issues such as "asylum seeking, tourism, multiculturalism and interculturalism, universal human rights, and the growth of foreign direct investment" (Lonergan 4). To assess "post-colonial globalization" means to assess specifically how globalization brings changes to post-colonial locales haunted by the sustained antagonism between descendents of colonizers and anti-colonizing nationalists, and thus other broader issues of "globalization" will not be within the scope of this study.[2]

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[1] Ireland is reckoned as "the most globalized country in the world" by *Foreign Policy*, an influential globalization index published annually (Jacobson and Kirby 26).

[2] The "globalization" of Irish literature, according to Patrick Lonergan, can be traced back to the 18th century in works such as Jonathan Swift's *A Modest Proposal* (23), but "post-colonial globalization," as this study would demonstrate, is mainly a late-20th-century phenomenon. For specific dis-

The sweeping "post-colonial globalization" in the second half of the 20th century world deserves case-by-case observations and concrete examples based on specific regional studies, as many of the contributors do in Hopkins's edited book. In this study, therefore, I would examine McGuinness's plays in the context of Ireland's move from nationalistic to the post-national and global, from monolithic to the plural and multicultural, with constant concerns of Ireland's postcolonial background. I would argue that, owing to the rising postmodern views of identity in the wake of "post-colonial globalization," the critiques on essentialist nationalism and the liberation of sexuality form a metaphorical relationship, which can be observed in many of McGuinness's plays. Beginning with an introduction of the problems of a partitioned Ireland and some proposed local visions to solve the problems, the first part of this study deals with the conditions of Irish "post-colonial globalization" in the final decades of the 20th century. The second part will draw on some political and literary examples to demonstrate how post-colonial multiculturalism gains an important position in the Irish society and how it works with those "queer" people who used to be excluded from the center of modern nationalism and try to think *otherwise*. Last but not least, my discussion will focus on the ways in which McGuinness's plays reflect and prompt such a cultural change in Ireland.

From Nationalist Ireland to Post-nationalist Ireland

To examine "post-colonial globalization" in the case of Ireland inevitably depends on the assumption that Ireland is a post-colonial locale, but strictly speaking, Ireland is not so purely post-colonial. British colonization of Ireland has a long history, generally dating as far back as to the early 16th century, when Henry the Eighth, then King of England, was also announced to be the King of Ireland and inaugurated a series of colonizing acts. There have been many violent revolts organized by Irish Catholics against English Protestants since the 16th century, and as a result, the relationship between Ireland and England is usually understood as "a relationship of the colonized and the colonizer" (Cairns and Richards 1). However, a recent school of Irish historians is skeptical about the postcoloniality in Ireland. Kevin Kenny, for example, argues that Ireland's participation in British colonialism in Asia and Africa renders Ireland

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cussions on Irish theater's "globalization," please see Patrick Lonergan's *Theatre and Globalization: Irish Drama in the Celtic Tiger Era*.

a dual status of both being the "agent" and the "victim" of British colonization (93). Many Irish men serve as soldiers in British colonization of non-European countries, which makes it difficult to discern if Ireland is colonial or post-colonial. The ambivalence of Ireland's position in post-colonialism is vividly described by Luke Gibbons: "Ireland is a First World country, but with a Third World memory" (3).

Even though Ireland can be recognized as both colonial and post-colonial, there is no denying that the constant conflicts taking place in Northern Ireland are one of the bitter consequences of early British colonization in Ireland. Easter Rising broke out soon after the staging of Yeats's *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, an anti-colonizing and nationalistic play that encourages Irishmen to fight for the land stolen away by British strangers, and the period during which Yeats and Maud Gonne were active in Abbey Theatre becomes the peak of Catholic-Protestant antagonism in the early 20th century.[3] After the 1949 independence of the Republic of Ireland in the south, antagonism continued between descendants of Protestant colonizers and descendants of the Catholic colonized. From 1969 to the mid-1990s, the period known as "the Troubles," paramilitary conflicts, car bombing, terrorist attacks, and street fighting resulted in numerous deaths of citizens in Northern Ireland as well as in England. "Violence," as Robert J. Young puts it, "has often been characterized as 'endemic' to Ireland" (299). David Lloyd, in his book title, also describes Ireland as "anomalous states." It is in this history of violence resulting from essentialist nationalism that "post-colonial globalization" arises in Ireland.

With the accumulation of violence and increasing numbers of death, many anti-colonizing nationalists begin to be aware of the fact that, if put in Young's words, "the possibility of achieving liberation by military means appeared remote" and thus "violence versus non-violence – that was the question" (296). In view of the violent conflicts between Catholicism and Protestantism during the Troubles in Northern Ireland, critics begin to urge both sides to think beyond nationalism. Proposing a "post-nationalist Ireland," Richard Kearney advocates "post-nationalism" to replace modern nationalism in a post-modern age. In his *Post-nationalist Ireland*, Kearney cites Jean-Francois Lyotard and views the post-modern as a war on totality and totalitarianism. A post-modern age "puts the modern concept of nation-state

[3] In Yeats's *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, the old woman whose land is stolen away is played by Maud Gonne.

into question" and "points toward a decentralizing and disseminating of sovereignty" (Kearney 61). Because identities can be plural in a post-modern age, the old antagonistic relationship resulting from monolithic identity of Catholic nationalism or Protestant unionism in Ireland must be reconsidered. For Kearney, "rethinking Ireland and Britain means thinking *otherwise*" (11, emphasis original), and to think *otherwise* is to think beyond nationalism, to renounce the "totalizing notions of identity," to replace "absolute sovereignty" with "a community where identity is part of a permanent process of narrative retelling," to go "beyond a centralist government," and to form "a postmodern republic" with the virtue of "inter-dependency" (62-63). Since Catholics are minorities in the North and Protestants are minorities in Ireland as a whole, Kearney recognizes that in Ireland "everyone [is] a minority" threatened by "the vulnerability of minority population" (77). Kearney's vision to get out of "the current impasse" in Northern Ireland is that both communities should think not in terms of nation-state but in terms of a "region" in Europe as a whole, re-positioning Northern Ireland "in a set of European contexts, guaranteeing participation and minority rights, economic development and cultural diversity" (89).

Despite the call to embrace "the corresponding right to have one or more identities of nationality and regionality" in a post-modern age (Kearney 59), Kearney does not argue for the fusion of the two ethnic communities in Ireland. As Kearney himself explains, to critique the nation-state does not mean to repudiate all forms of nationalism (57). What Kearney has in mind is actually the model of European Union, along with its slogan "unity in diversity," which is hailed by Kearney as "the European regionalism" (105). The Single European Act in 1988 integrates Ireland and Britain "into a community of almost three hundred million citizens," and in Kearney's opinions, this is one of the models to think *otherwise* (101). Kearney identifies European regionalism as "a pooling of sovereignties," in which "European inter-dependence can only come about through negotiations between regions that are *sufficiently autonomous* and free to consent to a sharing of their sovereignties" (105, emphasis mine). As Kearney puts it more explicitly, "the drift towards a more *global* understanding of identity calls for a countervailing move to retrieve a sense of *local* belonging" (102, emphasis original). That is, the constitution of a global world must be based on the prerequisite that every local region is sufficiently autonomous and does not lose its sense of locality, and thus the local will never be absent in the global. Kearney combines the EU mode of Anglo-Irish relationship with an Irish mystic leg-

end, proffering the renowned propaganda "the Fifth Province: between the local and the global."[4] The Fifth Province, according to Kearney, is "the middle of the world … here and elsewhere," and to imagine the Fifth Province is "a question of thinking *otherwise*" (100). The Fifth Province is a "spiritual-cultural unity" rather than a political-governmental one (102), and to seek the Fifth Province is also a quest for "cultural pluralism" and "the affirmation and acceptance of differences" (107). Instead of encouraging ethnic fusion, Kearney suggests a unity in diversity, or a way that different ethnicities can form a culturally plural world system, in which identities are not mutually exclusive.

If multiculturalism can be defined as "finding a way to preserve discrete ethnic identities while at the same time finding in citizenship a countervailing identity that unites the disparate groups within a polity" (Kivisto 36), Kearney's philosophical proposal of a post-nationalist Ireland is a demonstration of "post-colonial" multiculturalism, namely, a multicultural suggestion that tries to unite the disparate groups of Irish Catholics, the colonized, and Protestants, the colonizers, without fusing discrete ethnic identities. The definition of multiculturalism is similar to the root meanings of the term "cosmopolitan," which derives from *cosmos* (world) and *polis* (city or people) and describes "a (potentially) egalitarian concept of 'world citizenship,' understood as a universal love of humankind as a whole, regardless of nation" (Kuhling and Keohane 62-63). In the trajectory from nationalist to post-nationalist, the "growing disenchantment" of modern nationalism is mainly due to the "rise of a cosmopolitan culture," namely, the advent of globalization (Smith 132). Because Kearney's "post-nationalist Ireland" reflects the spirits of multiculturalism and the influence of a cosmopolitan culture, the proposition of a post-nationalist Ireland can be viewed as one of the consequences of globalization's impact on a post-colonial nation, termed by James Goodman as the "cosmopolitan mode of official nationalism" or "cosmopolitan reconciliation" (90-91). That is, with the advent of globalization, essentialist national ideology gradually gives way to a multicultural, plural, and post-modern understanding about the uncompromising differences within a post-colonial nation, and thus under the influence of "post-colonial globalization," the relationship between Catholic nationalists and Protestant unionists is expected to turn over a new leaf.

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[4] Geographically, Ireland has four provinces, but the Gaelic word for province, *coiced*, also means "fifth" (Kearney 99).

The RISE of postcolonial multiculturalism in Ireland is a fact that we cannot deny; however, we should not readily jump to the conclusion that the quest for a "post-nationalist Ireland" has been a success, nor should it be hastily extended into the argument that Ireland now is a fully post-national or a multicultural nation already. Actually, Irish post-colonial multiculturalism is an ongoing process controversially with both anticipations and suspicions. The philosophical proposal of a post-nationalist Ireland at times becomes a difficult agenda that vexes the Irish people and it does meet with some obstacles when put into practice. In her "Multiculturalism and Northern Ireland: Making Differences Fruitful," an essay published in 2001 reviewing the local development of Irish post-colonial multiculturalism in the 1990s, Edna Longley observes "two broad obstacles" of its implementation. For Longley, the first obstacle is that post-colonial multiculturalism often "signifies cultural co-existence rather than cultural exchange" (6). Proposals of Irish multiculturalism usually claim to ensure the co-existence of Catholics and Protestants idealistically by laws, and as a result "in some circumstances, a minimalist, constitutional multiculturalism may be enough" (5-6). Irish post-colonial multiculturalism is in its minimalist form because it is easier to be propagated in laws but more difficult to be performed in everyday life. Hence, in some cases, post-colonial multiculturalism results in electoral failures because it is not easy for every Irish civilian to get rid of essentialist identity. For some Irish politicians, multiculturalism is at times not desirable because "to dilute the ethnic essence is to sacrifice electoral asset," and for the common people, "cultural diversity can be twisted to mean that there is no difference" (8). The second obstacle Longley observes is that, though constitutionally Irish people try to implement multiculturalism, culturally "both unionism and nationalism want multiculturalism on their own terms" (8). Citing the opinions from the North and the South as the base of her comparison, Longley notes that, for the North, culture is what must divide Ireland, but for the South, culture is what must integrate Ireland (9).

In Ireland, the changing Catholic-Protestant relationship is mainly a late-20th-century phenomenon, especially after the accumulation of deaths in post-colonial conflicts. After years of post-colonial conflicts, post-colonial multiculturalism emerges in Ireland, but simultaneously there exist some suspicions about the quality of its real practices in the Irish daily life. In spite of the suspicions, there is no denying that the mutually antagonistic relationship between colonizers and the colonized is under transformation in the age of "post-colonial globalization," when Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants are

supposed to incorporate their differences into a multicultural post-nationalist Ireland with plural and post-modern identities. The rise of Irish post-colonial multiculturalism, along with some of the obstacles it encounters, can be observed in some incidents in Northern Irish politics and literature.

The Attempts to Think *Otherwise*

In addition to Kearney's philosophical proposal of a post-nationalist Ireland, there are still many other attempts that aim to develop a heterogeneous and multicultural society in which identities are not mutually exclusive. During the 1990s, Northern Ireland began a series of attempts to put an end to violence, known as "the peace process." Beginning from the 1993 Joint Declaration on Peace and ending in the 1998 Belfast Agreement (or known as Good Friday Agreement), with cases of terrorist attacks from both sides happening intermittently, the peace process aims to solve the northern conflicts and defines a new relationship for Catholics and Protestants. With the intervention of the United Sates in the negotiation process, the gist of the 1998 Belfast Agreement is to cease fire, to decommission paramilitary weapons, to ensure equal social and economic status for both sides, to change the status quo of Northern Ireland only with the majority's approval in a democratic vote, and to establish open and regular communications between the two communities. The Agreement, based on "multi-party negotiations" and intending to "offer a truly historic opportunity for a new beginning," declares that "we acknowledge the substantial differences between our continuing, and equally legitimate, political aspirations" and that "we reaffirm our total commitment to exclusively democratic and peaceful means of resolving differences" (*Belfast Agreement* 2-3). This Agreement constitutionally leaves the problems of Northern Ireland to self-determination, with the Republic of Ireland ceasing to claim the north as part of its territory and with Britain withdrawing all of the armies dispatched to Northern Ireland for the quelling of the Troubles since 1969. The beginning of the Irish "newness," as the Agreement intends to offer, represents the beginning of the multicultural, so in the Forward of Longley and Kiberd's co-authored book *Multiculturalism*, the president of the Republic of Ireland, Mary McAleese, draws upon the Agreement with pride as her instance for Irish multiculturalism, saying that the Agreement is "an institutional and constitutional framework within which people can come together to work for their mutual benefits without abandoning their basic identities or beliefs" (McAleese vii). By trying to manage the

inner differences with egalitarianism, the peace process can be one of the evidences for the rise of Irish multiculturalism.

Contributions from pacifist feminists are noteworthy in the making of a post-nationalist Ireland. In terms of gender divides, women used to be marginal outsiders who are excluded from the center of nationalism, a discourse dominated by heterosexual men, but as nationalism recedes and post-nationalism emerges, they begin to gain visibility.[5] Most part of the peace process takes place during the presidency of Mary Robinson, the first female and self-avowed feminist president in the Republic of Ireland. In her inauguration speech, Robinson says that "If I am a symbol of anything, I would like to be a symbol of the reconciling and healing Fifth Province," and her contribution in the making of a new Ireland is also recognized (Finlay 156). Besides, in Northern Ireland, the exclusively women's political organization, the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, was founded in 1996. NIWC "holds a distinctive identity within the politics of Northern Ireland as it is both a women's party and it is ostensibly non-sectarian," and it aims to involve women in the negotiations to "achieve a political accommodation" (Zalewski 11). By claiming to be non-sectarian in Northern Ireland, NIWC attempts to think *otherwise*. In the 1998 election, NIWC won two seats in the Northern Ireland Assembly, and this electoral success shows that the idea of a non-sectarian and multicultural Ireland is once quite popular.

In the 1990s, not only Irish women but also Irish homosexuals begin to move from the outside to the inside of a nation, because the multicultural vigor manifested in political equality also extends itself to the liberation of gender divides and sexuality and in return women and homosexuals come to modify the essentialist and monolithic assumptions of national and sexual identities. In 1991, Lesbians Organizing Together was founded, working with other lesbian organizations such as Dublin Lesbian Line. In 1992, President Mary Robinson invited some gay and lesbian activists to provide suggestions on the improvement of homosexual rights. In the same year, there was the first Lesbian and Gay Pride event held in Derry. In 1993, the Irish Minister of Justice shook hands with lesbians and gays and promised a juridical reform to ensure the social rights of homosexuals. The promise is realized later in the same year, when the Republic's Law Reform Act was enacted. Irish lesbian

[5] For how modern nationalism is dominated by heterosexual men, see, for example, Nira Yuval-Davies's *Gender and Nation* and Anne McClintock's "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family."

and gay movement prospers in the 1990s under "the dominant political discourse of pluralism and equality," whose "substantive outcome has been the attempted new settlement within Northern Ireland and between the British and Irish states established by the 1998 Agreement" (Cronin 252-53). Ireland in the 1990s is branded as a new Ireland or a transforming Ireland because of its economic, political and cultural changes ignited by globalization, pluralism, and the criticism on monolithic essentialism. Cherry Smyth, an Irish-born lesbian feminist moving to London and then New York, finds it necessary to "question narrow monopolies on identity, whether national or sexual" (224). Smyth feels "more at home" when she lives in Manhattan, since the divide of Catholic and Protestant identity appears to be a remote issue for her living in the United States (222). Because identity problem is a core issue that national politics and sexual politics have in common, the attempts to think *otherwise* in national politics also lead to some more attempts to think *otherwise* in gender and sexuality.

The attempts from women and homosexuals to think *otherwise* signify the connection of post-nationalism and queer theory. The major problem of nationalistic Ireland derives from the essentialist assumptions of national identity, and such a kind of identity politics is exactly what people who are usually referred to as queers intend to subvert. Judith Butler's idea about gender as something "performatively constituted" and as something learned informs us that there is no pre-existing "origin" or essence of gender identity; the theatricality of identity denotes that a person's identity can be as diverse as a drag's performing genders (20-21). The theatricalization of gender suggests a kaleidoscope of constantly changing identities, and such a mode of identity is also proposed by Kearney, who in his *Post-nationalist Ireland* maintains that identity should be plural in the post-modern age. To expose the problems of modernity, both queer theory and post-nationalism begin from the deconstruction of traditional views of identity. In this way, when Irish people attempt to think *otherwise*, they become queers.[6]

Beginning her argument from such a deconstructive view of identity, Kathryn Conrad criticizes the public sphere of modern nationalism by point-

[6] A person can become a queer not simply because of his or her sexuality. A homosexual is a queer, but a queer is not necessarily a homosexual. That is to say, queer should be defined not simply as a signification of homosexuality but as a style, temperance or aesthetics that is self-consciously different from the normal, the traditional and the orthodox. As David Halperin defines, queer is "whatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant" and "there is nothing in particular to which it necessarily refers" (62).

ing out the significance of a "queer counterpublic." According to Conrad, Ireland has been "saturated in the notion of 'two communities' – the unionist/loyalist/Protestant community and the nationalist/republican/Catholic community," and the "reification of the two 'communities'" will result in the "erasure of a public sphere to which Northern Irish subjects might have access" (111). The problem of the two-community rhetoric is the dualistic either-Catholic-or-Protestant national ideologies, and those who position themselves in-between are often not visible in such a discourse. The erased sphere is then termed by Conrad as "the queer counterpublic," which can be "formed via the subculture of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer people" (112, 118). Conrad believes that in Ireland a "queer counterpublic" lies "outside the 'two-community' structure of Northern Irish political life" (119), and "counterpublics are 'counter' because they try to supply different ways of imagining stranger sociability and its reflexivity" (120). This "queer counterpublic" in Ireland "gesture[s] toward new ways of organizing and legitimizing public discourse and speak[s] to a wider public not defined by a 'two- community' rhetoric" (123). To make the nation "new" and "different" becomes the queer counterpublic's contribution, and this is exactly what Mary Robinson, NIWC and some other Irish queers who attempt to think *otherwise* in the 1990s desire to achieve. Because they do not want to be categorized within fixed or binary essentialism, queers can become the catalyst for a diverse Ireland, for the legendary Fifth Province of Ireland, for a non-sectarian Ireland that thinks beyond the two-community rhetoric, and for a multicultural Ireland that is more than just Catholicism or Protestantism.

Since globalization is an ongoing process, whether or not globalism is realized is still under question.[7] Some people, such as Kearney, believe that the world will be getting plural with the coming of globalization, while some do not think so. Anthony D. Smith, for example, does not believe in the death of nation-states in the global era. Drawing examples from the large number of newly-established nation-states in the 20th century, Smith maintains that essentialist nationalism is not so easy to be fully eradicated even with the coming of globalization, and for him "the conditions for a post-modern supersession of nationalism have not yet been realized" (137). Stuart Hall, for another example, also contends that globalization is another form of homogenization which is "never absolutely complete" and "constitute[s] a world in which

[7] According to Patrick Lonergan, "there is very little agreement about that the term [globalization] actually means …. Your globalization may be different to mine" (17-18).

things are different" by recognizing and absorbing the differences without fully reflecting them (28, 33).[8] In Ireland, even with the aforementioned attempts to think *otherwise*, some scholars still criticize the post-colonial multicultural-ness, or the quality of being multicultural in a post-colonial context, of the peace process. In fact, some attempts to think *otherwise* are thwarted, and counterexamples of a post-nationalist Ireland also appear once in a while. The peace process is exactly what Longley, we recall, calls "a minimalist, constitutional multiculturalism." Though the referendum held in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland legitimizes the Agreement with overwhelmingly supportive results, local critics such as James Anderson, James Goodman and other contributors of *Dis/Agreeing Ireland: Contexts, Obstacles, Hopes* still remain skeptical about the post-colonial multiculturalism acclaimed in the Agreement and to what extent the multicultural manifestos can be realized in Irish everyday life.[9] The existence of many suspicions and difficulties during the peace process also demonstrate that post-colonial multiculturalism is still an emerging agenda that sometimes vexes the Irish people. As Longley claims that "to dilute the ethnic essence is to sacrifice electoral asset," in the 2003 election NIWC lost the two seats that it won in 1998. Marysia Zaleski attributes this "electoral failure" to the fact that in Northern Ireland "a party which does not have sectarianism at its heart currently has little chance of electoral success" (11), revealing her suspicions about Ireland's post-colonial multicultural-ness. In addition, though the *Belfast Agreement* tries to give both communities equal political power, some Protestants still feel that, with the withdrawal of British forces, the Agreement is "a significant defeat for Ulster unionism" (Farrington 50) and that "the Agreement is nothing if it is not about peace" (Farrington 121). Moreover, the 2005 statement from the nationalist paramilitary group in Northern Ireland, IRA, though acknowledging the efforts to end violence and sectarianism, does not give up the hopes for a united Ireland. Because of these controversies, the

[8] Hall's stance is that globalization will never give rise to a fully plural world because globalism becomes a hegemonic discourse that utilizes and tries to negotiate and overcome the inner differences. Thus Hall says that "when I say the decline or erosion of the nation-state, do not for a moment imagine that the nation-state is bowing off the stage of history. […] It is not backing off like that. It goes into a deeper trough of defensive exclusivism" (25).

[9] As Anderson and Goodman argue, though the *Belfast Agreement*, with its goal to resolve the inner differences, puts an end to the Troubles and wins the recognition from Nobel peace prize, its approval of the status-quo partition can be another "mismanagement" because it "reinforce[s] rather than transcend[s] sectarian divisions and political differences" and "reflects a theory of nationalism which sees national identity essentially in terms of fixed ethnic categories" (19).

peace process, as Christopher Farrington unsympathetically notes in the conclusion of his book, is believed by some to be "at best a remote prospect and will perhaps never happen" (187).

Even though positive and negative opinions about the realization of Irish post-colonial multiculturalism may diverse, the anticipation of a multicultural Ireland is the same – some people criticize it because they want it to become better. When criticizing that many attempts to think *otherwise* are not *otherwise* enough, for example, the unsympathetic critics in *Dis/Agreeing Ireland* who view the Irish "transnationalism" exemplified in the peace process as failure still render it as the "new phase" in Irish history (2). Just as Anderson and Goodman state, no matter how many controversies exist about the multicultural-ness of the present world system, the rise, if not realization precisely, of a post-nationalist Ireland at least demonstrates to us a fact: "many of the assumptions underlying nationalism and the nation state are becoming increasingly problematic" (12). Kearney's proposal to think *otherwise*, pacifist feminists' non-sectarian contributions, and the local expectation of a queer counterpublic, among others, have shown that the two-community rhetoric underlying modern nationalism is problematic.

For the Irish, it is probably easier to imagine a post-nationalist Ireland in literary works. When elaborating his ideas about "the Fifth Province" in Ireland, Kearney has informed us that "in Celtic culture, unity was an imaginary concept to be safeguarded by *fili* (poets) rather than political leaders" (102). Besides the peace process operated by Irish political leaders, the imagination of a heterogeneous Ireland by Irish writers can be another way to think beyond nationalism. Take Brian Friel and his Field Day as an example. Field Day, a theatre company organized in 1980 by Brian Friel together with the actor Stephen Rea and later joined by Seamus Heaney and Seamus Deane, is the one which literarily asserts that the visualization of the Fifth Province is its responsibility. Seamus Deane says that Field Day, which basically views the situation during the Troubles as "a colonial crisis," aims to "disfigure" the notion that "there is some universal quality or essence that culture alone can successfully pursue and capture" (6-7). Because Friel often reflects on the hegemony of nationalism in his works, the plays composed by Friel can be viewed as the literary efforts to practice the multicultural spirits of the Fifth Province. Friel's efforts have been recognized by many literary critics. Analyzing Friel's position in the history of Irish drama from a post-colonial perspective, for example, Dawn Duncan concludes that the Irish people in Friel's plays are "struggling to create and maintain an identity that speaks a self, an

Irish self to be sure, but not a nationalist extreme, rather a complex composite" (25). Taking Friel's *The Communication Cord* as his example, Cheng-Hao Yang also argues that "Brian Friel is perhaps the most prominent playwright who has critically reflected on the hegemony of the discourse of nationalism" and concludes that Friel's plays offer "a critique of the essentialized nationalism" (36).[10]

Along with the heterogeneous re-definition of Irishness, Irish theatre in the late decades of the 20th century also reflects the rising "queer counterpublic." Gate Theater was founded in 1928 by Michael MacLiammoir, a homosexual actor and dramatist born in London but active in Irish theater, along with his partner Hilton Edwards, and it provides "a less insular, more cosmopolitan alternative to the state-subsidised Abbey Theatre" (Walshe 73). In the 1990s, Gate Theater is one of the active theater companies that contribute to the globalization of Irish plays and Irishness. Gate Theater introduces American plays to Irish audience by holding an American Festival in 1998. The global touring of Friel's *Dancing at Lughnasa* successfully sells Irish culture to the United States, and in 1999 Gate Theatre revives *Dancing at Lughnasa* in Dublin, offering a celebration of not simply Friel but also "a transforming Ireland" (Lonergan 53). In 2000, Gate Theater, blending British culture with Irish style, stages Harold Pinter's plays in New York, and in the following years, it also launched the international productions of many local Irish plays (Lonergan 95, 195). In the 1990s, the redefinition of Irishness in theater also includes the improved visibility of Irish homosexuals. In 1995, *Angels in America*, a play that describes homosexuality and AIDS in the United States, is staged in Abbey, directed by Patrick Mason (Longerman 132). Mason, who "was referred to as a 'Brit queer,'" produced plenty of homosexual plays, two of which are Frank McGuinness's *Observe the Sons of Ulster Marching Towards the Somme* and *Dolly West's Kitchen*. The theatrical achievement of Mason, according to Patrick Lonergan, reflects the influence of cultural exchange brought about by the globalization of Irish theater, and Mason provides a chance for Irish audience to "imagine new ways of being Irish" (148). The themes of the aforementioned two McGuinness plays directed by Mason, as my next section will discuss, reflect Ireland's post-colonial globalization and the post-nationalist view of identities. The development of Irish theater in

[10] Recently there is a growing tendency to label Field Day as politically "green" and to discredit its aspiration as a multicultural Fifth Province (Richards 139-49; Cullingford 111; Mikami 6-7), but at least many plays produced by Friel and his Field Day make the Irish people rethink their own national ideologies.

the final decades of the 20th century, together with the participation of homosexuals, exemplifies the anticipation of a "queer counterpublic" that questions the two-community rhetoric and essentialism in modern Irish culture.

As sketched above, in the final decades of the 20th century, the general atmosphere in the Irish society is indeed moving from essentialist nationalism to the post-national, the plural, and the multicultural, with those queer and marginal people who used to be excluded from the center of modern nationalism beginning to gain significance with the rise of multiculturalism. Growing up in such an atmosphere and learning to write plays when Friel enjoys great popularity in theater, McGuinness's plays reflect the energy of this era as well. If we evaluate McGuinness's achievement to date under this context, many of his plays can be viewed as a consequence of post-colonial globalization in Ireland.

Frank McGuinness and Post-nationalist Ireland

Frank McGuinness starts his career as a dramatist in 1980, after watching Friel's *Faith Healer* at Abbey Theatre (Mikami 4). Coming from the same county with Brian Friel and being a friend to Friel, McGuinness often submits his plays to be staged by Field Day, though he is not an official member of that company. In 1985, McGuinness asked Seamus Deane "Does Field Day reflect the rainbow?" and said that

> I'm a bit worried about the neglect of diversities other than the Catholic-Protestant/Nationalist-Unionist ones in Field Day: the diversities between the needs of men and the needs of women, between the needs not simply of rich and poor, but within the middle class, and of the homosexual and the heterosexual. (Lojek 168)

The neglect of non-national issues in Field Day's dramatic themes, as McGuinness worries, may prevent it from being "rainbow," a multicultural symbol not merely suggestive of cultural plurality but also implying sexual diversity. For McGuinness, drama should reflect the diversities with the Irish culture, and one of the ways to pursue a multicultural Ireland is through the eyes of the "queer counterpublic." To reflect the rainbow means to think *otherwise*, and to think otherwise, either in terms of nationalism or sexuality, means to become unorthodox and queer.

Notably taking gender and sexuality into his consideration, McGuinness's political plays can be what Conrad calls the "queer counterpublic." McGuinness's concerns about the absence of women and homosexuals in the making of a rainbow Ireland resonate with Conrad's criticism about the public sphere in Ireland. McGuinness's imagination of a multicultural Ireland is dependent on gender minorities and sexual aberrances. For instance, McGuinness's *Observe the Sons* presents the diversities within an Ireland saturated with patriarchal nationalism by exposing the stagnancy of gender norms and the possible vitality of sexual aberrances. In *Observe the Sons*, Protestant unionism is prefigured as a patriarchal nationalism. The Ulster soldiers, who join the British army in the First World War out of the essentialist faith that "the empire's foe is Ulster's foe" (107), are doomed to sacrifice themselves in the battle of Somme for Protestant unionism, for their fathers, for their families, and for their tribes, even though they come to understand that essentialist unionism promises death. Ulster sons must learn to be "big boys" and "tough man," the orthodox people who occupy the center of modern nationalism (121); therefore, feminine signifiers such as making the bed and Pyper's "remarkably fine skin" are despised (109), and Pyper's implicit homosexual affection with another male soldier Craig is also described by other soldiers as "something rotten" (147). Such an essentialist construction of a patriarchal nationalism becomes a constraining construction for the Ulster sons. Recollecting his memory about the battle of Somme, the homosexual character Pyper describes the constraints from Protestant father-gods as "the true curse of Adam" (100). That is to say, the essentialist construction of a modern patriarchal nationalism is this "curse" for "Adam," namely, a curse for men.[11] Stranded in such a curse, the homophobic soldiers also develop implicit homosexual relationship, a kind of emotion that used to be despised by themselves and is prohibited in patriarchal nationalism. Homosexuality in this play becomes an unorthodox alternative that counters the homogeneous discourse of modern nationalism, or to use Conrad's words again, becomes the emblem of a "queer counterpublic." Some critics have pointed out that this play is neither a compliment nor an attack specifically on Protestant unionism; the play offers an observation about a "dominant ideology" in Ireland (Schrank 21). Men will be cursed in places dominated by an exclusive ideology or essentialist nationalism, and thus by putting on stage the defects of a "dominat-

[11] The phrase "curse of Adam" reappears in McGuinness's 2007 play, *There Came a Gypsy Riding*, referring to threats of death and human being's mortality (51).

ing ideology," McGuinness questions the homogeneous assumptions underlying essentialist national ideology.

McGuinness's description about the mentality of Protestant unionism in the First World War also makes his *Observe the Sons* a symbolic icon for Irish post-colonial multiculturalism. The play, which "articulates the belief that Irishness can be more than Catholic and Nationalist," was premiered in 1985, "just before the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement," and immediately "seized by academics and politicians as a key cultural text" that revises the "constructs of the national identity" (Nally 42). Nicholas Grene, for example, views McGuinness's *Observe the Sons* as an "attempt at re-imagining ourselves in our plural difference" (243), and Christopher Morash also views the play as "accepting difference rather than trying to obliterate it" (260). The current critical evaluation of *Observe the Sons* as a play that reflects the differences in Ireland almost resonates with the gist in Kearney's proposal of a "post-nationalist Ireland." Because McGuinness's imagination of a plural Ireland reflects the spirits of Irish multiculturalism, *Observe the Sons* was reproduced in 1995, "this time in deliberate conjunction with the IRA cease-fire," one of the milestones in the peace process (Lojek 81). Both unionist and nationalist politicians were invited at the opening night in 1995, and "the play turned out to have anticipated a new era of reconciliation and understanding in Irish society" (Mikami 13). Moreover, in order to "heighten awareness of the country's diversity," in the July of 1998, just before Ireland's traditional marching season begins, the Irish president Mary McAleese hosted and invited some Protestant unionists to a reception party, in which McGuinness read out loud a passage of his *Observe the Sons* and then "McAleese enlisted the aid of the playwright whose work is a well-known example of such cross-cultural effort" (Lojek 82). Embodying the spirits of Irish post-colonial multiculturalism, McGuinness's *Observe the Sons* enjoyed much popularity as a symbolic icon during the peace process.

Apart from *Observe the Sons*, what McGuinness shows to the audience in his *Carthaginians* is the imagination of a new, a different, and a non-antagonistic relationship between Ireland and Britain. Coded with gender and sexual metaphors, *Carthaginians* provides a stark contrast between the drag queen Dido's gender/national mutability and the other characters' essentialist binarism. In this play, Hark is angry about being "picked up" and feminized by British soldiers, but on the contrary, Dido, a camp gay in the play, is able to "threaten" the British male soldiers by his blatant and outlandish homosexuality (*Carthaginians* 301, 314). Comparing the relationship between

England and Ireland to marriage and sexual intercourse, Dido "know[s] how to use what's between [his] legs" and does not belong to those who "fuck with a bullet" (referring to people whose identity is secured by threatening others with guns) nor to those who "fuck with the Bible" (referring to people whose identity is secured through sectarianism) (*Carthaginians* 315). In his sexual analogy, Dido does not fix Ireland into a specific either-male-or-female gender; instead, just as Dido swaggers across the street as a 'camp' drag queen and deliberately assigns male roles to women and female roles to men in the play-within-play *The Burning Balaclava*, Ireland can be male, female, or any queer genders in-between. Different from the old Ireland in which the two communities are supported by binary Catholic-nationalism/Protestant-unionism, Dido's Ireland is an unorthodox and queer one, whose identities "belong to neither" (*Carthaginians* 315), mirroring the post-modern identity politics proposed by Butler or Kearney. In this way, Dido becomes the character whose "queer sexuality break[s] down the old oppositions the play excavates" (Morash 261). Making use of Dido's mutability, flexibility and in-between-ness in the spectrum of his gender and national identity, McGuinness deconstructs essentialist nationalism with sexual metaphors. In *Observe the Sons* and *Carthaginians*, McGuinness does not depict realistically his version of a plural Ireland, but McGuinness does show us that, if we use Anderson and Goodman's words again, "many of the assumptions underlying nationalism and the nation state are becoming increasingly problematic."

When suggesting a post-nationalist Ireland, McGuinness's plays also depict the contributions from the queer counterpublic. Since nationalism is a public sphere dominated by heterosexual men, under a multicultural atmosphere, a post-national society should be characterized not by a single dominating group but by a diversity of the conventional Others in the discourse of modernity, for example, immigrants, refugees, criminals, the disabled, the retired, the working class, the poor, adolescents, women, house-wives, homosexuals, or transvestites, as Arjun Appadurai raises as his examples (176). When discussing "to what races and genders shall that future belongs" in a post-national era, Appadurai views this emerging post-national world as a "queer nation," with the word "queer" meaning not only homosexuals but also all the peripheral Others in the discourse of modernity (176). Cathy Leeney, the editor of *Seen And Heard: Six New Plays by Irish Women*, has similar comments: "We have to move on from an idea of Ireland that is requiredly nationalist and masculine. This range of work [her edited drama anthology] invites us to make a wider definition of Irishness" (vii). As far as

gender and sexuality are concerned, dissident women, female activists, homosexuals, and 'camp' transvestites, under the broader term of "queers," may begin to have visibility and significance when the assumptions underlying modern nationalism come to appear problematic. Throughout McGuinness's career as a dramatist, women and homosexuals of this kind have been his major concerns in depicting the life, the culture, and the politics in Ireland (for example, the revolting working class women in McGuinness's first play *The Factory Girls*, the three women staying in a Derry graveyard with political ambitions because of McGuinness's allusion to women's peace campaign in Greenham Common and the queer character Dido who deconstructs binarism in *Carthaginians*, the closeted homosexual soldier Pyper and the homosexual affections between the other soldiers in *Observe the Sons*, the homosexual painter Caravaggio in *Innocence*, the two sisters accompanying Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in *Mary and Lizzie*, the homosexual couple in *Gates of Gold*, just to list a few). McGuinness's reliance on women, homosexuals and 'camp' performance of queers in his criticism of essentialist nationalism exemplifies Conrad's "queer counterpublic" as well as Appadurai's concept of "queer nation," because by being "queer" they become "abnormal" and therefore begin to think *otherwise* in terms of identity. If, as Appadurai argues, a multicultural nation can be said to be a "queer nation," then McGuinness's Ireland could be said to be a "queer Ireland."

Apart from his critique on essentialist nationalism in *Observe the Sons* and *Carthaginians*, some of McGuinness's latter plays composed during the 1990s also reflect the influence of post-colonial globalization. For example, McGuinness's 1992 play, *Someone Who Will Watch Over Me*, describes an Irishman, an Englishman, and an American man under Arab's hostage in Beirut. Confined in a cell, Edward, the Irishman, and Michael, the Englishman, project prejudiced stereotypes on each other and dispute heatedly over such issues as the English language and the Great Famine. Surrounded by the antagonism between the Irish and the British, Adam, the American who "dislike[s] fighting," says "Guys, give me a break" (94, 131). This scene vividly echoes an incident happening in Ireland three years later. In 1995, Ireland is engaged in the peace process with the intervention of global forces – trying to facilitate the peace process, Bill Clinton visited Northern Ireland in the November of 1995 and branded terrorists as "yesterday's men."[12] Such a cry

[12] Interestingly, Anthony D. King identifies the year 1995 as "the 'now' of modernity" and the approximate beginning of a "modern multicultural city" (114). King's "the now of modernity" refers

from an American Adam to terminate the Irish-British nationalistic antagonism is soon followed by homosexual implications. In *Someone Who Will Watch Over Me*, Michael's talk about "pear flan" implies his homosexuality (102), and in the end of the play, after "the chain that held Adam lies empty" (142), the prison cell is also saturated with implications of homosexuality between the three men:

> MICHAEL: Did you sleep with Adam? (silence) Did you?
> EDWARD: No.
> MICHAEL: Did you want to? (silence)
> EDWARD: No. (silence) Do you believe me? (*Someone* 156)

With the presence of an American civilian, and with such a strong male-male affection developed in the prison cell, Edward and Michael, "the colonizer and the colonized," finally realize that they need each other "against whom he can define himself" (O'Reilly 96-97). Enemies caught in extremities such as impending death become friends in the end, and then homosexuality becomes one of the ways to express such friendship. In McGuinness's *Someone Who Will Watch Over Me*, owing to globalization (the presence of three nationalities in a fourth country on a egalitarian basis) and homosexuality, the mutually antagonistic relationship between the Irish and the British is changed.

The Irish-British-American triangle with the connotation of accepting the uncompromising local differences within Ireland reappears in McGuinness's 1999 play, *Dolly West's Kitchen*, and this time with a more overt homosexual subplot. Set in an Irish border city during the Second World War, *Dolly West's Kitchen* questions Ireland's acclaimed neutrality in the war against Hitler. The play tries to disclose a blindness resulting from exclusive nationalism – it is very possible that Ireland does not take part in the war against Nazi because Britain is one of the anti-Nazi members, and thus Ireland, a free-state at that time but not yet a nation-state, does not want the British to win. In the play, Rima, the grandmother of the Dolly family, invites two G.I.s, Marco and Jamie, to her house and says that "all nations are wel-

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to an interdependent world system where "there are no Others" (114), and the now-versus- yesterday rhetoric signifies the changing relationship between the colonizing center and the colonized Others. King also notes the rise of the margins in a globalized and post-modern world. For King, a "modern multicultural city" under such a circumstance should first appear not in civilized colonizing nations but in "peripheral ones" such as "the West's colonized Other" (114, 119). Ireland, with its colonized past, can be viewed as King's so-called "peripheral ones."

come in this kitchen…even if one seems to be deaf and dumb, and the other one is definitely wearing lipstick" (33). Dolly West's kitchen becomes a globalized space for people from all nations and generously accommodates all kinds of queers. Justin, an Irish Catholic who "does not want the English anywhere," feels "ashamed" for his having been a "Catholic bigot" after he developed a homosexual relation with the queer G.I. Marco, who calls himself a "very scary, twisted mean cissy queen" (10, 59-60). Dolly West sarcastically laments over the inner conflicts within Ireland and the indifference to the outer conflict with Hitler by asking Alec, an Irishman who works for the British army and "had a fling with a man in [his] twenties" (20), that "How do you like the Irish at war, Alec? We have a genius for it, but only when it's confined to our own" (65-66). However, just as Kearney is not propagating the fusion of the two Irish communities, a globalized space like Dolly West's kitchen does not mean ethnic fusion but mutual respects: Dolly says to Alec "you love your country and I do mine, as I love you, but if you and your Allies invade Ireland, I will be the first to put a bullet through your head" (66).[13] The play ends in Alec's question "Is the war over" and Dolly West's response "I said I hope so" (85). In the melting process of Justin's Catholic bigotry, and in the end of Ireland's "genius" for local conflicts, globalization plays an important role and homosexuality also serves as an important catalyst. As the atmosphere in the Irish society moves from nationalist to post-nationalist with the intervention of global forces, homosexuality metaphorically lubricates the antagonism sustained from British colonization.

McGuinness's plays almost visualize a post-nationalist Ireland and present a queer and non-two-community counterpublic. Ireland in McGuinness's plays is crowded with homosexuals, transvestites and queer people, and the themes of his plays are often to get out of the binary 'two-community' rhetoric. Most of McGuinness's plays are featured by queer characters, and Irish queers usually function as the means through which the playwright imagines and expresses his concerns about a multicultural and heterogeneous Ireland. McGuinness is self-conscious of his use of (homo)sexuality in the dramaturgy

[13] Because of this, we know that it is not proper to interpret McGuinness as an anti-war dramatist. In a talk about his *Dolly West's Kitchen*, McGuinness says that "the fight against Fascism was the defining moment of European history and those who did fight did the right thing" and that "I'm very interested in division, disguise, instability, not merely because of my own awareness of my homosexuality" (McGuinness, *Farber Playwrights* 107, 111). To put it precisely, McGuinness is uneasy about the twisted value of man in exclusive binarism and progressive nationalism rather than wars, which makes him more a humanist than a pacifist.

of Irish politics. In the November of 1997, after the premiere of his *Mutabilitie* in London, Frank McGuinness was interviewed by Mic Moroney. When talking about "the passionate homosexuality of characters" in his plays, McGuinness said:

> If there is to be a new relationship between the islands – and the metaphor we've usually looked at is between man and woman – maybe we should be looking at different images of peace and communication, and this is a perfectly valid way of presenting imagery of a new way forward…. (Moroney 73)

To transcend the essential borders of the man/woman metaphor requires the transgression of gender norms, namely, the presence of queer people. McGuinness's Ireland is a queer Ireland because, for one thing, his plays are concerned about gender and sexual minorities in modern nationalism, and for another, unlike the Ireland during the time of Easter Rising and Yeats's Abbey theatre, McGuinness's Ireland is no longer a monolithic one where different identities are mutually exclusive. While essentialist nationalism gives its place to the post-national after the advent of globalization, sexuality becomes one of the significant metaphors in the literary imagination of a multicultural Ireland. When the old boundaries of nation and gender are no longer distinct in the age of post-colonial globalization, "globalization, in effect, becomes queer" (Hawley 8), and McGuinness's Ireland becomes queer not simply because of homosexuals but also because of the plural views of identities. In the age of globalization, "new subjects, new genders, new ethnicities, new regions, new communities" that used to be excluded from cultural representation have the chance to "speak for themselves for the first time," which gives rise to "the proliferation of difference, [and] questions of gender and sexuality" (Hall 31, 34). In addition to globalization, the proliferation of homosexuality in Ireland, as Helen H. Lojek notes, might also be owing to the decriminalization of homosexuals in the 1980s followed by the diminishing authority of the Catholic Church (163-64). In either case, the proliferation of sexuality is the result of queering between exclusive boundaries and the blurring of essentialist ideologies. When Ireland enters the age of post-colonial globalization and the Catholic/Protestant relationship begins to change, the queers in McGuinness's plays serve as important mediums through which an Ireland dominated by essentialist modern nationalism is replaced by a post-nationalist

and multicultural Ireland. McGuinness's plays, as a result, deserve a position in Ireland's move from nationalist to post-nationalist.

Conclusion

In the final decades of the 20th century, we witness the emergence of Irish multiculturalism in the age of post-colonial globalization. From Easter Rising to the peace process, and from Yeats's nationalistic theatre to Friel's Field Day, Ireland is really moving from nationalist to post-nationalist. Though met with some obstacles when put into practice, post-colonial multiculturalism at least discloses many problematic assumptions in modern nationalism. Monolithic and exclusive identity of nationalism is thus expected to be replaced by postmodern and plural identities, and in such a recession of modern nationalism, those who used to be excluded from the public sphere have some chances to voice out. Frank McGuinness's plays, if examined in such a cultural and political context, reflect the multicultural spirits of this era. McGuinness's *Observe the Sons* and *Carthaginians* expose the problematic assumptions underlying modern nationalism and provide cultural diversities through homosexuality and queer characters. *Someone Who Will Watch Over Me* and *Dolly West's kitchen* provide a vision out of essentialist nationalism and describe the changing relationship between the colonizing Protestants and the colonized Catholics under globalization. McGuinness's Ireland is full of queers, and essentialist ideologies are replaced by queer, mutable and flexible positions. The lessening of mutual antagonism and the emergence of Irish multiculturalism in the age of post-colonial globalization seem to demonstrate that, to use Simon During's words, "colonialism in effect becomes an episode in the longer sweep of globalization" (392).

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