



**Edited by Miriam Haughton,
Mary McAuliffe, and Emilie Pine**

LEGACIES OF THE MAGDALEN LAUNDRIES

Commemoration, gender, and the
postcolonial carceral state

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Public performance and reclaiming space: Waterford's Magdalen Laundry

Jennifer O'Mahoney, Kate McCarthy, Jonathan Culleton

Introduction

For institutions such as the Magdalen Laundries to exist, Irish society was required to co-construct powerful interpretations of Catholic notions of guilt, sin, silence, and the potential threat of an unrestrained female sexuality. These institutions operated at the nexus of inter-related social constructions of gender, nationalism, and class. The idealised construct of a Catholic, nationalist, Irish woman, pure of race and virtue, provided a societal measurement, which was closely policed within Irish culture, and institutionalised those women deemed to fall short of this standard. At both local and national levels, Magdalen Laundries operated to contain women socially constructed as sinful, preventing the contamination of an idealised, morally uncorrupted, Irish society.¹ The consequence of omitting such women from society also had the effect of excising them from Irish history and collective memory, constructing what Winter calls a 'memory regime'.² Crucially, such regimes, or understandings of the past, do not rely on the voices of those who were there.³ Indeed, in the case of Magdalen survivors, the omission of their voices maintained the dominant, Irish Catholic, cultural regimes of memory.

Within this context, this chapter will explore the interdisciplinary project *When silence falls: investigating literary and bodily memory at the Waterford Laundry* (Waterford Memories Project and Irish Research Council), which culminated in a public event in Waterford in October 2016, programmed as part of the Waterford Imagine

Festival. The event consisted of talks, live art performances, screenings, installations, and oral histories, which commemorated (and took place in) the former site of St Mary's Good Shepherd Laundry and St Dominic's Industrial School in Waterford city, and the women and children contained in these spaces. This chapter explores the live art performance work created for the *When silence falls* event, focusing on how site-specific performance can interpret the history of the Magdalen Laundries, revealing the social constructions of that history. Taking four site-specific live art performances, examined through performance and socio-historical lenses, the discussion will explore how practice-based research and performance reclaimed the contested and traumatic space of the Waterford Magdalen Laundry.

When silence falls

On 22 October 2016, approximately four hundred people, including survivors of the Waterford Laundry, attended a one-day multidisciplinary event recognising the history and memory of the Laundries and Industrial Schools in the south-east of Ireland. *When silence falls* proposed an exploration of the memory of the Magdalen institutions through a site-specific, practice-based approach incorporating thirteen simultaneous live art performances, survivor oral history testimonies,⁴ four audiovisual installations,⁵ one documentary,⁶ one screening,⁷ and academic talks at the Waterford Institute of Technology's (WIT) College Street campus.⁸ The venue, the College Street campus of WIT, is significant in modern Irish history; it is the former site of a convent of the Congregation of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd of Angers; the St Mary's Good Shepherd Laundry; and St Dominic's Industrial School. The latter two institutions were part of what James Smith calls an 'architecture of containment', which enabled the Irish state to 'confine aberrant citizens, rendering invisible women and children who fell foul of society's moral proscriptions'.⁹

Oral histories and archival research conducted as part of the ongoing Waterford Memories Project informed both the live art performances and the audiovisual installations.¹⁰ Theatre studies and visual art students and staff at WIT devised and performed a series of performances, curated by artist Dr Áine Phillips. Prior to the event, students undertook practice-based research to investigate

the space, engaged with performance workshops, and worked with archival material and material gathered from official reports, support organisations, and publications. Framed within the Waterford Memories Project, *When silence falls* considers how practice-based research may contribute to the intersection of memory, narrative, and place. The event lasted five hours, during which time the audience was invited to carve out their own journey, which took them from the front gates of the building, via the interior garden, and various locations inside the chapel space and convent corridors, to the former St Dominic's Industrial School.

As stated in this volume's Introduction, access to the Laundries' records has been heavily restricted, in an attempt to maintain dominant regimes of memory relating to Magdalen survivors. In response, this project investigated the silence and invisibility of the survivors, aiming to engage the public with activists and academics in order to consider how these institutions should be remembered. By opening the site of a former Laundry to the public, the project facilitated engagement with an overlooked aspect of Waterford's history within its original architectural context. William Logan and Keir Reeves point out how such sites 'bring shame upon us now for the cruelty and ultimate futility of the events that occurred within them and the ideologies they represented'.¹¹ In reappraising the record, by focusing on the local experience, as Claire McGettrick et al. suggest, *When silence falls* aimed to challenge the silencing of survivor testimony by the state, 'as the official State record on the experiences of Magdalene women is neither accurate nor respectful of what they endured'.¹² Presenting such challenges within the site itself provided a significant, experiential layer to the performances. Further, the audio testimonies from women, which played on loop throughout the day, constituted a crucial act in confronting the silencing of their experiences.

Live art and site-specific performance

Irish contemporary performance practice has made significant contributions in challenging the silencing of Irish women's experience in the Magdalen Laundries. 'Laundry', produced by ANU Productions in 2011, a site-specific theatre event at the former Gloucester Street

Magdalen Laundry (on what is now Seán McDermott Street), invited members of the public into the building to experience ‘testimonies and recovered histories in the very building where those experiences were acquired’.¹³ In critiquing the legacies of systemic institutional abuse, live art work such as Áine Phillips’ ‘Redress’ performances (2010–2016) explores the ‘ironies, inequalities and injustice’ relating to the exclusion of Magdalen survivors from the state’s Residential Institutions Redress Act.¹⁴ Phillips’ performances ‘negotiate the injustices of abuse and the suppression and silencing of the most vulnerable in Irish society to critique how dominant Irish narratives remember and forget’.¹⁵ These performances, and installations such as Evelyn Glynn’s ‘Breaking the rule of silence’ in 2011 (which took place at another former Good Shepherd Laundry, the site of the current Limerick School of Art and Design), explore what Miriam Haughton describes as ‘recovered histories in the very building those experiences were contained in’.¹⁶ The intentionality of such work is not to re-present the original experience, which may have ethical implications concerning exploitation, but to use contemporary practice to forge a space for survivors’ narratives in culture and society.¹⁷

Live art emphasises the body in space. The centrality of the body, alongside the elements of time, site, and the relationship between audience and performer, characterise the pillars of performance art, or live art, practice.¹⁸ In acknowledging the relationship between the audience and the performers’ bodies in a space, the audience are framed as participants and ‘co-creators’ of the work.¹⁹ In weaving these elements together within the site-specific context of the Waterford Laundry, the performers in *When silence falls* created a series of time-bound rituals in order to explore the ‘purposeful forgetting, or instructive silencing’²⁰ of survivor narratives, and the role wider society played within that silencing. Rebecca Solnit forcefully argues that ‘silence was the historic condition of women, denied education and a role in public life ... or almost any other speaking role’.²¹ Further, Johanna Linsley and Helena Walsh acknowledge the artistic and political role of silence in live art performance, which ‘makes visible these bodies that have been disappeared from dominant discourse and the mechanisms that seek to sustain their silencing’.²² Therefore, as an art form, live art constitutes a way of presencing absence and challenging the discourse that forgets and denies.²³

In their work on overt and covert silences in acts of commemoration, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Chana Teeger consider the role of silence, and its expression in time and space, as playing an important role in memory and narrative, and in commemorative events, maintaining that while ‘memory can be achieved by much talk, ... it may also be enhanced by silence’.²⁴ In addition, Fionnuala Dillane et al. suggest that ‘[t]ime and form are the crucial factors in the case of directive remembering or forgetting’,²⁵ thus supporting the use of time (or duration) and form in creating commemorative work.

In framing these performances within a site-specific context, *When silence falls* also explored the way in which the ‘location ... [acts] as a potent mnemonic trigger, helping to evoke specific past times related to the place and time of performance and facilitating a negotiation between the meanings of those times’²⁶ wherein silence and site assist in presentencing memory. By interweaving the bodies of performers and audience with place, space, site, silence, and the ephemerality of performance, *When silence falls* contended that ‘[p]lace and memory are animated through the momentary presence of performance, though the effect may be lasting’.²⁷ In animating the space through the body, this ‘corporeality’ offered an experience of a site in conjunction with ‘our cognitive interpretations of the building’s allusions to historical or aesthetic meanings’.²⁸ Therefore, *When silence falls* explored how live art animates place and memory, providing an embodiment of the experience of silence, in which both performer and audience alike were potentially transformed into agents of social change.²⁹ The use of performance in deconstructing the complex social constructions of the Magdalen women at the local level, from the site of their confinement, will be considered through four examples of live art performance. These performances did not seek to ‘reanimate the stories of real women’.³⁰ Instead, the performers used silence and site as metaphors in creating conceptual work that aimed to reclaim the physical space of the site.

Greetings from Ireland

The four selected performances discussed here represent examples of the contributions made by theatre studies and visual art students, and the diverse spaces utilised within their site-specific performances.

The title of this section originates from one of the performances, as discussed below, and suggests the paradoxical nature of cultural heritage in Ireland.

Aimee Roche: A woman scorned

Aimee Roche's work took place over five hours in the remaining confessional box in the deconsecrated chapel within the College Street Campus grounds. Alternating between repeated actions of silent prayer and the cleaning of rosary beads, Roche explored the repetitious nature of working conditions in the Laundry. The confessional box offers an interesting blueprint for performance in terms of space, physicality, time, and the performer–audience interaction. Roche's positioning of her body in the central space, where the priest sat, reflects a motivation to reclaim the space traditionally occupied by men in power. Moreover, the performance recognised dominant memory regimes of gender where 'silence is present everywhere under patriarchy, though it requires different silences from men than from women ... [where we can] imagine the policing of gender as the creation of reciprocal silences'.³¹

The audience experienced this performance by entering and exiting the confessional using the door on the right in [Figure 1.1](#). In this way, 'the audience structure their silence through their attendance and leave taking'.³² Roche's performance, and significantly her location, brought performer and audience into a shared and ritualised silence that had a beginning, the entrance of the audience into the space, and an end point, when they exit. The performance disrupts the 'familiar categorisations, such as assigned usage and the spatially constructed order' inherent in certain sites.³³ In performing in semi-darkness, Roche invited the audience to peer down through the grille onto her body, both controlling the image created and empowering the viewer at the same time. As a result, the audience participated in the performance in the role of witness, surveilling the ritual, a role which suggests the responsibility society played in suppressing survivor narratives.

Roche's performance was both 'site-specific' and 'issue-specific'.³⁴ While 'site' can be interpreted as somewhat neutral, and belonging to an 'other', Roche's piece attempted to meaningfully bridge the gap between the performer and her audience. The social issue of



1.1 Aimee Roche: 'A woman scorned'.

the human rights violations experienced by the Magdalen women was directly targeted by this performance, as Roche physically used the site of the confessional to challenge the disempowered role of the Magdalen women and the dominant, controlling force of the Catholic church. The relative cultural invisibility of these survivors, at the time of their incarceration (and indeed, decades later), highlights Irish society's selective remembering. Hence, this issue-specific performance displayed a clear desire to reach the audience in a direct (and unexpected) way. This performance recognised that silence is 'a vital part of what is missing in history',³⁵ and site-specificity was replaced by a stronger focus on issue-specificity, or the disempowerment of Magdalen women.

Emma Bray: Pray for us sinners

Emma Bray performed a recitation of the rosary for a duration of two hours. As illustrated in [Figure 1.2](#), this piece was positioned at the end of a corridor. Bray wore a white apron over a grey, rough, woollen dress. In front of one of the chapel kneelers, Bray blackened her hands with shoe polish. As she counted each bead in repeating the decades of the rosary, the beads became blacker and blacker, a metaphor for both enforced labour and the concept of 'the sinner'. This metaphor echoed Phillips' 2012 work³⁶ in which 'the corporeal association of [black shoe polish in Bray's piece] ... highlighted the assumed impurity of the women of the Magdalene Laundries'.³⁷ Given that 'our experience of silence ... is manifestly shaped by the phenomenon of sound',³⁸ the ambient sounds of the event, such as footsteps on the tiled floor, the interactions between audience members, sounds from other spaces, installations, and performances, were needed to accentuate and hear silence. The focused stillness of Bray's body in the space, deeply engaged in a repetitive action, juxtaposed with the sounds created by the comings and goings of the audience to view her body in the space, further served to emphasise the silencing of survivors' experiences in the wider discourse.

Trauma can describe the experiences both of the victim, who has suffered directly, and of 'those who suffer with them, or through them, or for them'.³⁹ In Bray's performance, the audience bore witness to her solitary penitence. In doing so, Bray's singular 'I' transformed into a plural 'we', as 'bearing witness to the extreme experiences



1.2 Emma Bray: 'Pray for us sinners'.

of solitary individuals can sometimes begin to repair the tears in the social fabric'.⁴⁰ Marianne Hirsch has termed this process of identifying with a survivor of trauma through mediated acts of identification, postmemory. Postmemory describes the relationship of a second generation to powerful experiences that occurred before they were born, but hold such resonance as to constitute memories in their own right, allowing us to revisit the past.⁴¹ Hence, memory regimes extend intergenerationally, and 'later generations share narratives about what happened'.⁴² This movement encompasses a shift from communicative memory, that of lived experience, to cultural memory, that of imagined experience.⁴³ Bray's performance of the penitent Magdalen women constituted such a mediated act, reminding us that while these events occurred in the past, their effects continue today. Performance, in this case, permitted those who bore witness to explore the movement between the lived and cultural construction of memory.

Bray's performance acted as a *transmission of events* between generations, further highlighting the role of performance in memory transmission when the cultural archives of the Magdalen Laundries have been destroyed, lost, suppressed, or silenced. Catriona

Clutterbuck refers to ‘the destructive transgenerational inheritance of Ireland’s culture of repression of female sexuality’⁴⁴ as a factor contributing to the silencing of Magdalen women’s narrative by the state. Bray’s ‘postmemorial work’ used the physical site of the chapel corridor to ‘reactivate and re-embody’ this distanced memory through aesthetic expression.⁴⁵ Postmemory is powerful, as its connection to its source ‘is mediated not through recollection but through representation, projection, and creation – often based on silence rather than speech, on the invisible rather than the visible’.⁴⁶ Bray’s performance was motivated by a similar desire to represent and project the disempowered, silenced, and penitent existence of the Magdalen women as she embodied her role in creating and maintaining a postmemory of the Magdalen Laundries.

Laura Broderick: Magdalenesque

Broderick’s choice to position her performance in the main corridor, directly in front of one of the entrances to the convent, was significant. When kneeling, Broderick reached towards the cool air emitting from the crack between the closed double doors. This yearning for fresh air and freedom was further emphasised by her red hands, which she stained to represent the physical damage to the body as a result of repetitive washing. Broderick’s scrubbing of the floors on her hands and knees forced the menial tasks typically associated with womanhood to the level of ‘aesthetic contemplation’.⁴⁷ The audience was encouraged to witness the devalued labour, which contributed to the upkeep and maintenance of the building in which they were standing. As outlined by Una Crowley and Rob Kitchen,⁴⁸ the disciplinary regime of the Magdalen Asylum as constructed was highly gendered, focusing almost exclusively on ‘the regulation and self-regulation of women ... they worked to form a dense spatialised grid of discipline, reform and self-regulation, seeking to produce “decent” women inhabiting virtuous spaces’.

Broderick’s second set of movements (depicted in [Figure 1.3](#)), in which she repeatedly walked up and down a flight of stairs, represents this disciplinary regime, which Broderick punctuated with stillness. Working with Anthony Howell’s different states of stillness within the body – such as stillness as meditation; stillness as arrest (when



1.3 Laura Broderick: 'Magdalenesque'.

the performer suddenly stops, to engage in listening or watching); stillness as state; and breaking out of stillness – Broderick entered a dialogue with the site and its history, and with the other bodies in the space, performers and audience alike.⁴⁹ Pulled between the light of the window at the top of the stairs and the current of air through the doors directly at the bottom of them, Broderick's interactions in and with the site 'uninsistently, aim[ed] to blur boundaries

between “audience” and “passengers”, stage and auditorium, public and private, then and now’.⁵⁰ In playing with such oppositions in performance, the relationship between the work and the current usage of the site as ‘a location for day-to-day social being’ within an educational setting became relational.⁵¹

In blurring these boundaries, Broderick’s performance, and *When silence falls* as an overall event, did not aim to create ‘an event bubble that excludes the reality of the wider world’ because, in commemorating the experience of women and children in Magdalen institutions, the collusion of wider society cannot be ignored.⁵² Significantly, an audio recording of narratives from four survivors (pre-recorded interviews) played continuously throughout the day in the classrooms adjacent to the corridor on which Broderick and Bray performed. In layering oral histories, performances, audiovisual installations, and the site, *When silence falls* constituted ‘a rich stimulant for varied uses of memory work ... to construct a “dialogue” between current identification and different types of history-making, and therefore contesting versions of “history”’.⁵³ Indeed, not everyone is equally powerful in their ability to claim and define the past. What gets defined as the ‘official’ memory reflects the power of certain groups in society to define the past according to their present needs.⁵⁴ Understanding gender and the treatment of women as a relative and socially constructed process demands that we reconsider and rediscover our past, which naturally results in re-evaluating our present.⁵⁵

In creating such a dialogue between past and present, *When silence falls* invited the audience, and project participants, to remember the women and children who worked and lived in these spaces in an effort to create a reflective moment in which society’s collective responsibility to those people confined in Laundries and Industrial Schools could be considered. Indeed, in commemorating their experience it behoves society to formally acknowledge and demand full redress in light of historical abuses. The Irish state’s continuing disregard of survivors has been noted in a 2017 Ombudsman’s report, which maintains that, ‘unfortunately, [the restorative justice] scheme intended to bring healing and reconciliation has, for some, served instead to cause further distress. This needs to be put right.’⁵⁶ Fundamentally, the performances, which formed a core element of *When silence falls*, aimed to engage the public

with the ongoing maltreatment of the Magdalene women, both past and present.

Jenni O'Neill: Greetings from Ireland

In O'Neill's performance, the audience watched her sew herself into a tangible symbol of Irish culture: a vintage Irish dancing dress. Located within the vestibule to the convent chapel, performing in dim light, O'Neill's five-hour performance explored the containment of women in the Laundry system, exploring their loss of identity. O'Neill reflected this concept 'by sewing herself immobile', embroidering her hair and limbs until she was physically entrapped in her dress.⁵⁷ The title for this piece came from the dress, onto which the phrase 'Greetings from Ireland' was embroidered, wrapping itself around an iconic Irish cottage. In this way, O'Neill presented the audience with a woman bound to these concepts of Irish womanhood both metaphorically (made more salient by the 'Greetings from Home' message) and physically, by sewing her hair into the fabric. Of importance here is the manner in which 'Irishness' is performed, and has become a form of 'discursive currency, motivating and authenticating a variety of heritage narratives'.⁵⁸ Hence, in O'Neill's performance, a rather kitsch, performative Irishness literally entangled the Irish woman, stitching her into 'place'.

Dominick LaCapra has noted how survivors may compulsively act out a traumatic event in a repetitive performance, and that this repetition is core to how trauma can be understood.⁵⁹ The repetition of both the symptom of intrusive memory, and the wound of being consistently bound to this trauma, was powerfully conveyed in O'Neill's piece as, by repeating the action of sewing, she 'stubbornly persists in bearing witness to some forgotten wound'.⁶⁰ It is only through repetition that the original, unexpected event can become integrated and understood. This struggle between repetition and integration is core to O'Neill's performance. While O'Neill considered a conceptual interpretation of survivor trauma in her piece, it is also important to remember that she was reframing the restricted and binding experiences of the Magdalen women. In this sense, the audience bore witness to O'Neill's witnessing; in other words, 'witnessing in the context of performance is typically second-order', where the initial testimony of the Magdalen women



1.4 Jenni O'Neill: 'Greetings from Ireland'.

was reframed and 're-personated'.⁶¹ According to Patrick Duggan and Mick Wallis, this 'chain of witnessing' highlights the import of the cultural context, making it as essential to the performance as the methods used by the performer.⁶²

O'Neill's performance challenged the cultural representation of Ireland as the land of one-hundred-thousand welcomes, itself a collective, national performance, of sorts,⁶³ encouraging the public

to raise its social consciousness to see what lies maintain the image of the Irish home. In creating a site-specific event, wherein the site's current usage and its histories fuse, the performances responded to the following question posed by Dillane et al.: 'how do we turn feeling into social change?'⁶⁴ O'Neill's act of physically sewing herself into the embroidered dress integrated art with everyday life and spaces, challenging cultural representations of Ireland, thus creating a powerful force towards social and political change.

Concluding remarks

Location was critical to *When silence falls*. Heritage places,⁶⁵ such as College Street, are understood as *lieux de mémoire*,⁶⁶ acting as sites harbouring memories that serve to maintain a group's sense of connection with its roots in the past. Such places have political functions, used and abused by governments for reasons that can be both benign and malign in intent.⁶⁷ Hence, the 'interpretation ... of former places of pain and shame present[s] a particular set of challenges', and it is these challenges that *When silence falls* attempted to illuminate.⁶⁸

These site-oriented performances functioned simultaneously to resist the institution of the Catholic church, and to highlight the human rights violations that the Magdalen women experienced. The presence of a public audience assigned the performance an enhanced meaning, providing the opportunity to understand the physical site as more than location.⁶⁹ The site became a physical embodiment of, and mnemonic for, repressed and silenced history. Performance in the location of the former Laundry encapsulated a synergy between the performers, the audience, and the Magdalen women who had been disempowered and marginalised by the ideologies of the Catholic church, the very dominant social group responsible for the site's construction.

Site-specific performance highlights an inextricable link between the performer and the location, and requires a viewer to complete the work.⁷⁰ Meaning, therefore, is generated both from the performance and the contingencies of its context.⁷¹ As Linsley and Walsh have argued, 'live art acts as a sounding board that enables deafening silences to scream louder than words ... as a politically viable means

of mediating and questioning the multiple silences that surround our lives'.⁷² In this way, *When silence falls* can be understood as a vehicle for 'art in the public interest'.⁷³ Arlene Raven conceives of art in the public interest as activist and community-oriented, directly challenging social issues. In this sense, the performers are social agents of change as they interact directly with the public to pursue social justice. This move towards participatory culture reflects a shift in attitudes towards cultural heritage. Indeed, as Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton have noted,⁷⁴ the expansion of sites of public history since the 1960s has meant an increasing role for public areas in shaping historical consciousness.

But a central question remains: how can an audience's perspectives on the narrative of the nation and its past be engaged, challenged, and changed? While Diarmaid MacCulloch is correct in noting that within the Catholic church (and in Irish society) history has been written by the winners, it is also the case that, fortunately, this was not usually done with so much skill that alternative stories cannot be recovered.⁷⁵ Events such as *When silence falls* argue for practice-based research as a means of reclaiming narratives of the nation, particularly the narratives of its women, from dominant memory regimes. The heritage site of a former Laundry provides the context out of which the event encouraged creativity, reflection, and engagement with historically silenced narratives. While it is important not to overstate or assume the significance or import of the event in any way, in opening the space to the public, and sharing performances, lectures, and testimony, the core aim was achieved.

The four performances presented here explored silence as a cultural construct in Irish culture, one used to systematically incarcerate thousands of women and children, which continues to censor women's experiences and voices. Live art and site-specific performance, both of which presence absence and ritualise that absence in time and space, challenged that silence, for performing silence made salient the physical shape of the women who were removed from society and narrative. *When silence falls* invited the audience to bear witness to historical trauma, as researchers, performers, and members of the public became 'part of the collective discourse of the Magdalene story, alongside the survivors, politicians, and media'.⁷⁶ Reclaiming physical space offered alternative perspectives and, potentially, could act as a mode of recovery. It was the very public nature of the

performances that resisted the disempowered and humiliated silence and collective forgetting of the Magdalen women.⁷⁷ At the core of this project was a desire to recognise the memory of the Magdalen women and to reclaim and challenge a site of silence by amplifying public engagement.

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Notes

- 1 James Smith, *Ireland's Magdalen Laundries and the nation's architecture of containment* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007).
- 2 Jay Winter, *War beyond words: languages of remembrance from the Great War to the present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 122. See also Aleida Assmann, *Cultural memory and Western civilisation: functions, memory, archives*, trans. Aleida Assmann and David Henry Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- 3 Winter, *War beyond words*.
- 4 Oral histories can be viewed at www.waterfordmemories.com, accessed 16 June 2021.
- 5 Installations by Nancy Rochford-Flynn, Renee Fraher, Marie Lee, and Katie Cagney and Fiona Ward.
- 6 *One Building, Many Voices* (produced by Dr Katie Cagney and Anne Wayne, Ireland).

- 7 *In Loving Memories* (Audrey Rousseau, Canada).
- 8 Contributions from Mari Steed, co-founder of Justice for Magdalenes Research, and Suzanne Walsh, lecturer, Waterford Institute of Technology.
- 9 Smith, *Ireland's Magdalen Laundries*, pp. 46–47.
- 10 The WMP (www.waterfordmemories.com) is an oral history-driven project in digital humanities, which captures and examines the narratives of those who lived and worked in the south-east's Magdalen Laundries and Industrial Schools.
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