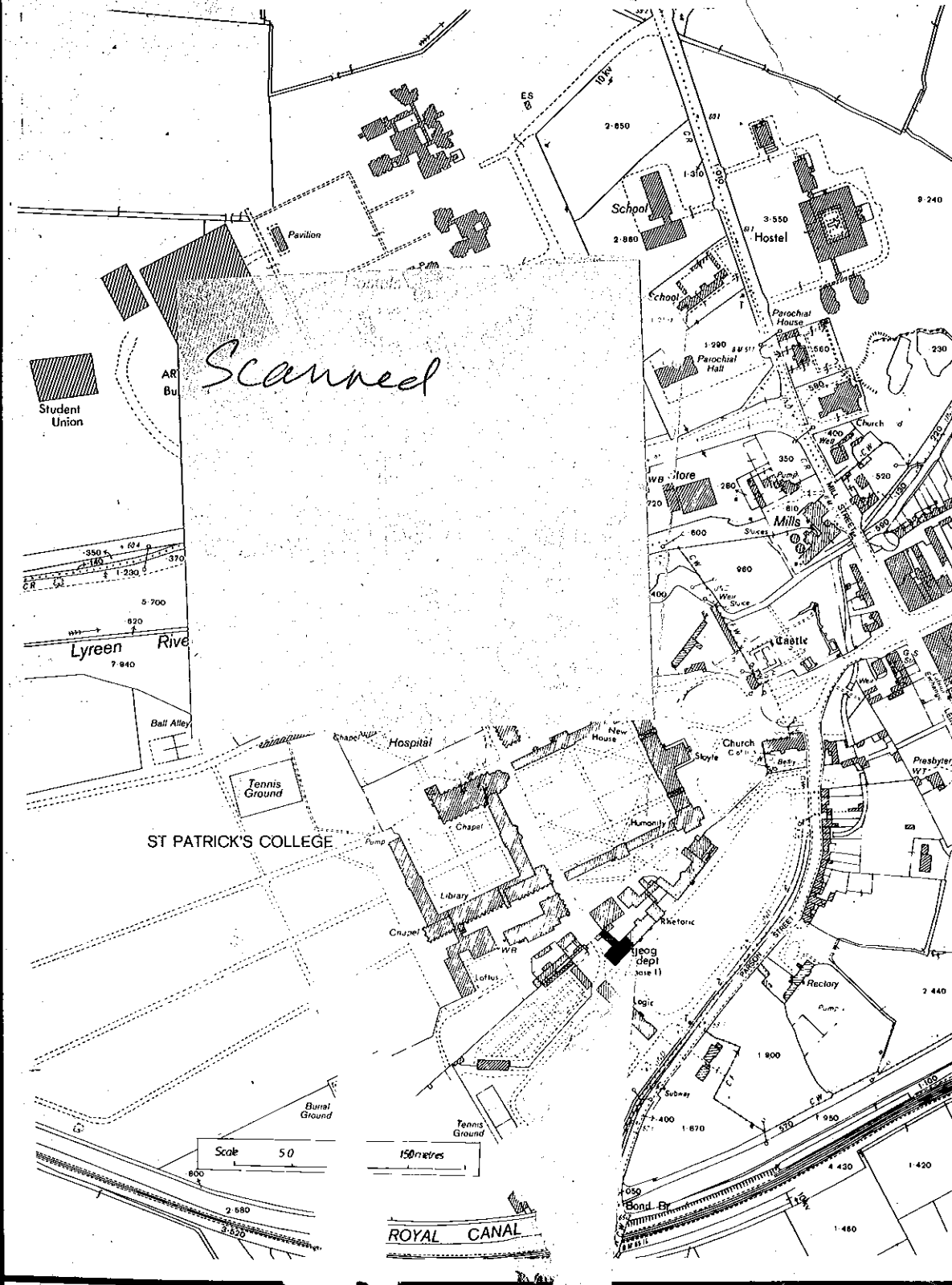


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THE MAGAZINE OF THE MAYNOOTH COLLEGE  
GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

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**FOREWORD**

It has been a year of change in the geography department of this university. Two new staff members have been appointed and another has been absent on sabbatical leave. Continuity and a sense of identity have, however, been maintained by the remaining staff and, most importantly, by the students themselves. I should like to use this opportunity to review some of the changes which have occurred in Irish geography since 1972, when I left the country.

At the beginning of the 1970s geography in the Irish Republic was still experiencing the quantitative revolution—a methodological innovation which had originated in North America in early 1960s, diffused to Britain and thence, more slowly, across the Irish sea. Drawing upon the philosophy of logical positivism, first mooted by the Vienna School in the 1930s, the new generation of geographers claimed for their subject the title "science of spatial relations". The older geography and its proponents were condemned for their exceptionalism and it was sometimes not without a tinge of arrogance that the new scientific method was asserted. Dialogue between the two sides was minimal and both stuck to their beliefs without much philosophical soul searching. To-day the quantitative revolution is over; the revolutionary has become the status quo. Statistics, computer programming and application are now accepted and essential parts of the undergraduate geography curriculum. It is, however, apparent that the positivistic school of geography contained a number of inherent weaknesses, most notable of which was its unsupportable claim to be the spatial science. Were geographers to achieve for themselves the exclusive right to studies of spatial relations then, unquestionably, their discipline would become a super science. Space and time are non-classificatory a priori conditions for existence and no single discipline can claim sole right to either of them. How can a botanist study plants if he is to neglect entirely their spatial distribution? Can the economist study the impact of regional development policies in a non-spatial fashion? Likewise, temporal dimensions are not the exclusive property of history. There is now evidence of a growing concern with the narrow parameters of the "new" geography. Internationally some father figures of the revolution, Bunge, Harvey and Olsson, for example, have rejected their earlier views of a scientifically objective discipline, in favour of a more politically aware perspective, embracing a view of life as something more than mere competing dots in an imaginary isotropic surface. Cultural geography has undergone a revival with figures such as Prince, Lowenthal, Bowden, Harris and Lukerman all emphasising geographical studies of value systems, perceptions and experiences. To the extreme of this group are the phenomenologists e.g., Tuan and Ralph who favour studies of sense of place, and debate the authenticity and inauthenticity of landscapes. These new trends are as yet only sporadically represented in Irish Geography.

For all geographers, humanists and positivists alike, there is now an increasing awareness that a "go it alone" attitude is no longer adequate; co-operation with other disciplines is necessary. Whether such co-operation exists in an informal arrangement between allied subjects, e.g. physics and climatology, sociology and social geography, or is formalized in inter-disciplinary bodies e.g., Institutes of Environmental Studies or Institutes of Urban Studies depends as much on resources as on personalities and university structures, but clearly the advance of geography can no longer lie in the splendid isolation of a self-confident and self-contained super science of spatial relations. In Irish geography much remains to be done to break down the isolation of the subject but certainly there are encouraging signs that the departmental and even faculty boundaries are not insurmountable.

The articles in this issue of Milieu are evidence of a rich variety of interests, they are not easily categorised but their very diversity is an indication of the flexibility, richness and diversity of geography—qualities which ensure the continued importance of the discipline in a world of unparalleled change.

W.J. (Seamus) Smyth  
Professor: Dept. of Geography

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## EDITORS NOTE

This is the 5th edition of *Milieu* since its inception in 1975. While one hopes to be continuing, even improving on, the high standard previously set, difficulties commonly associated with the publication of student magazines have been exacerbated this year by certain factors over which the committee had no control; such publications are invariably hampered by financial considerations and it was only through extensive advertising that the acutely rising printing costs of the past year could be offset. Secondly the current national industrial situation has led to delays, both in communications and production, resulting in the type of time loss which no student can afford. Nonetheless, one feels the result is worth the difficulties involved.

Pride of place this year must go to Eddie Henry (B.A.) whose achievement in carrying off the Fahy Award at the Geographical Societies Annual Congress in Belfast for Best Paper Delivered deserves special recognition. Much thanks to Eddie for his contribution. The remainder of the articles reflect the varying backgrounds, interests, even nationalities of the contributors although it is regretted that no 1st Year student is represented. Presumably they are saving their masterpieces for the 1980 or 1981 editions!

This year has seen the appointment of a Professor

to the Geography Department. It is a sobering thought when one realises that there have been 3(!) different department heads for the last three years. This, of course, had led to discontinuity in attitude and approach, resulting in inevitable unease amongst the students. It is hoped, for their sake anyway, that this unfortunate situation has now been resolved.

Finally the committee wish to thank Aidan O'Toole of Hibernia Review Ltd. for his assistance in the printing, Catherine Gunn, our new Cartographer and especially Dr P.J. Duffy for all his help and encouragement.  
JOE BOLAND

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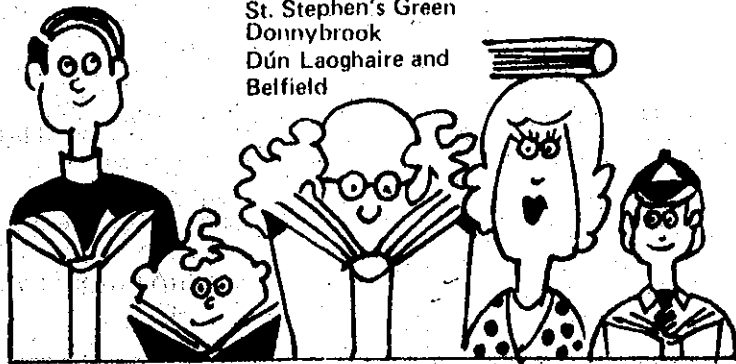
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## GEOGRAPHY SOCIETY REPORT 1978-79

Since it was founded in 1971-72 the Geography Society has continued to expand both in membership and in the variety of functions undertaken. Over the years, the Society has endeavoured to invite to Maynooth some of the top Geographers in this country and abroad to speak on topics which are of interest to Geography students, and to students in general. This year we were very lucky in our choice of lectures.

The Society got off to a very encouraging start with the Freshers Social early in October. New faces mingled with the old and a most enjoyable night was had by all. Our thanks to Tony Leavy, Ciaran McKenna and John Cregan for leading a rousing sing-song (not forgetting members of the Department).

Our stall attracted substantial numbers at the Annual Societies Fair in the Aula Max. Maps, magazines, photographs of various field trips and information sheets were displayed. The success of the exhibit was mirrored by the substantial increase in membership, amongst whom were a number of non-geography students.

Our first lecture of the year—"Planning in the Dublin Sub-Region" was delivered by Mr John Martin (Dublin County Council) on Monday Nov. 6th. Mr Martin gave us a very informative and well-illustrated talk on the growth of the Dublin suburbs and the "new-town" phenomenon.

November 20th saw Mr Bill Crawford (P.R.O. Belfast) address the Society on the topic of "The Historical Geography of Ulster from the Plantation to the Famine". This was one of the best attended lectures of the year.

Deirdre Kelly (Living City Group) concluded our functions for the first term. Her topic "Dublin—the odds against it remaining a living city" was one of the best illustrated talks of the year and gave a great insight into inner-city problems. Our thanks to Michael Halpenny for providing us with the opportunity of hearing her speak.

The programme for second term commenced with our Society, in conjunction with the Geography Societies of U.C.D., T.C.D., and Geography Society of Ireland, sponsoring the annual joint Societies Lecture of

1978-79 on Monday, January 29th in Trinity. The lecture, entitled "Conservation and Water Resource Development in Norway" was given by Dr Gunnar Ostrem from the Norwegian Hydro Electricity Board.

Mr Jim Hanson (U.C.D.) addressed the Society on February 5th with a fascinating lecture "The Islands at the world's bottom". Mr Hanson gave a first-hand account of some aspects of life in the Antarctic (not forgetting the penguins).

The Irish Congress of Geography Students was held in mid-February. The climax of the Congress is the competition for best paper delivered by an individual delegate. This year Maynooth was represented by Eddie Henry (B.A.) whose paper was entitled "The Regional Impact of the North-Connacht Co-operatives". Despite stern opposition Eddie carried off the laurels and collected the Fahy Memorial Trophy. Our heartiest congratulations are extended to Eddie on his fine achievement.

This was followed on Monday, February 19th, by a lecture given by Pdraig O Riagain (Q.U.B.) on "Planning in a regional context using the Gaeltacht areas as a case-study".

March 12th saw Dr M. O Cinneide (U.C.G.) addressing the Society on the topic of "Aspects of precipitation in Ireland". Dr O Cinneide discussed the question of regional variations in precipitation.

The Society would like to thank the entire staff of the Geography Department for all their help, advice and encouragement in the past year—a special word of thanks to Harina Healy who acted as liaison between the Society and the Departments. Thanks also to Peter Finnegan, Societies Secretary, for his work in arranging dates for our lectures, and to you, the students, who made all the effort worthwhile by supporting our functions.

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity of expressing my sincerest thanks to all the committee members and class reps. for all their help and work during the year.

MARY SMITH  
(Auditor)

**COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND CLASS REPS.**

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Occasional Papers Series, Dept. of Geography, Maynooth College.

The Department of Geography has initiated the publication of a series of Occasional Papers. The objective of the series is to publish the findings of high quality original research by staff and students in the Department. Outside contributions will also be welcome. All publications are refereed by an Editorial Panel. Copies of papers may be obtained from the Series Editor (Dennis Pringle).

Occasional Papers No. 1:

Peter Connell *Changing forces shaping a nineteenth century Irish town: A study of Navan*  
May 1978, 54pp. £1.00

Using the evidence of the manuscript censuses in 1821 and 1901, Peter Connell looks at the changing demographic, social and economic structures, and urban morphology in Navan town in the nineteenth century. This is a particularly interesting analysis of shifting social and economic controls on the town's development, with all their implications for population, poverty and infrastructural improvement. The estate system, which was such an important influence in pre-famine rural Ireland, is shown here to have played an equally important rôle in the geography of Navan town in the last century.

Occasional Papers No. 2:

Patrick Walsh. *A Geographical Analysis of Crime in the City of Dublin*

-To be published Summer 1979.

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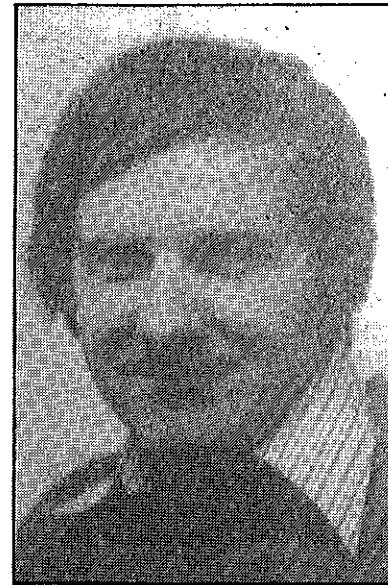
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## HOW AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION CAN IMPROVE THE *GENRE-DE-VIE*, AND HELP TO SOLVE EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS IN RURAL IRELAND.

My aim in this paper is to show how agricultural co-operation can improve the *genre-de-vie*, and help to solve the employment in Rural Ireland. I propose to do this by using (mainly) my own study on the Regional Impact of the North Connacht Farmer's Co-Operative Society Limited. (NCF).<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

In recent times, Regional Planning, Rural Development, Industrialisation, and growth centres have become common everyday terms within geographical literature as planners struggle to understand and provide solutions to the problems of regional imbalance in Western Ireland and indeed throughout the world. However, in Ireland planners and geographers in general have given little attention to the role which agriculture might play in furthering our economic and social development, often dismissing it with the cliché that the greater the number of people engaged in agricultural activity in a given area, the greater the backwardness of that area. Indeed Irish Regional Development plans are often drawn up which only see agriculture playing a minor role in development. Manufacturing industry is put forward as the main solution to the problems of Western

Ireland, apparently failing to realize that by applying modern and sophisticated methods to the development of agriculture, a greater proportion of our people can be retained directly on Irish land with comfortable incomes. This paper, using the efforts and achievements of the North Connacht Farmers' Co-Operative in the Northern Region of Connacht as an illustration, is an attempt to show that agricultural production and processing with the aid of an efficient co-operative movement has an important role to play in the economic and indeed social development of rural Ireland.

The study area that I am using is that served by the North Connacht Farmers' Co-Operative which covers all of Co. Sligo and Co. Mayo, together with smaller parts of Donegal, Leitrim and Roscommon. This area has traditionally been regarded as an under developed area. Generally speaking the retarded development of the western region has a number of distinct factors. These include difficult physical conditions of production, an adverse situation in terms of land tenure, also demographic, educational and other factors all of which hinder development. The region's main resource is its agricultural land but here again the fertility of the soil is low; for example 52% of

all the territory is made up of either mountain, wet drumlins or wet lowlands, with only 24.8% dry lowlands. So there is very little land amenable to intensive crop production. This area has also tremendous rural congestion with 65% of all farms under 30 acres and 86% under 50 acres; there is, also great fragmentation of farms. As a result of this you had selective out-migration of its young people especially in the 1950s and 1960s which meant that much of the remaining population was either very young or very old with very few in the productive age groups.

In 1971 56% of the total population was over 55 years, only 19% were less than 40 years and 35% of the population were unmarried in 1973. To make the position of the western people even more gloomy, in 1969 the Mansholt Plan envisaged the elimination of the small farmer. It was against this background that the North Connacht Farmers' Co-Operative Society was formed.

N.C.F. aimed from the beginning to oppose the Mansholt Plan and to have it replaced with a positive development programme which would ensure the maintenance of the maximum number of people on the land with an increased standard of living. They proposed to do this by the amalgamation of ten exist-



ing co-operatives into one so that the economies of size in terms of the purchasing power of a big society would have to be available to western farmers if costs were to be contained. At the other end the objective was to provide the kind of Processing and marketing facilities which would ensure the best possible prices to farmers for their production. The society also aimed to educate the farmers—in 1971 97% had no post-primary education. Another aim of the society was a massive drainage and reclamation programme. These then were the aims of NCF at its time of formation—July 1972. Now you might ask how successful has the society been in delivering on its objectives and what effects has it had on the region? I propose to deal with these points under the following headings:

#### Agriculture Impact Economic Effects

Employment & Social Effects, and the implications of the success of this operation for the rest of the country.

#### Agricultural Impact

The main agricultural impact has been the dramatic switch from the traditional ways of agriculture in the West, e.g., tillage and store cattle rearing to the most profitable area and most suitable for the region—namely dairying (See Table 1). As Mr Clinton said on a visit to the West, there is no point in being a rancher when you have not got a ranch and this attitude has been a problem in the West. Traditionally farming has been adopted to the main topographical features of the region rather than to the prevailing size of the farm. The switch from tillage has indeed been dramatic; between 1970—1975, for example, there was a decline of 24.75 as against a national average decline of 13.62; at the same time there was an increase of 30% in the number of dairy cows as against a national average increase of 22%. That this was not a mere accident can be seen from the fact that the increase in cows took place mainly in the Friesian breed, a renowned milking-strain at the expense of the more traditional breeds of Shorthorn and Hereford. (NCF has its own plan to increase milk production by bringing Friesian heifers each year from Northern Ireland and selling them

to farmers of the region). Milk intake between 1972 and 1975 increased from sixteen to twenty six million gallons or 61.3% or twice the national average increase. Average supply per supplier increased from 2,000 to 3,110 gallons. This switch has led to a greater specialisation, something that is vital today if we are to remain competitive. NCF increased the number of stores in the region from five to fourteen all of which are strategically placed; this has led to an increased use of fertiliser and feed-stuffs which in turn has led to an increase in milk yields. Marketing and processing plans have also been provided. Bulk collection of milk began in 1975 and now 60% is collected in this way. This would not have been possible but for the educational programme carried out by the co-operative's advisory service, as no milk was of the standard required for bulk collection in 1972. Indeed NCF members have even gone to Brussels to picket an EEC Council Meeting in 1973 that was rumoured to bring in a price levy on milk, and in January 1979 they once again showed their interest in their people by picketing Agricultural House in protest against the 2% levy, a levy which may not alone be punitive but also unconstitutional.

#### Economic Effects

The Economic Impact goes hand-in-hand with the Agricultural Impact. The switch from tillage and store cattle to the more profitable area of milk production has increased income dramatically. The Agricultural Institute on the model farm at Balinamore has shown that an acre can, when correctly managed, rear one cow and this is about the poorest land in the country (See Table 2). An acre rearing a milch cow will produce approximately three times the gross income that an acre rearing a store animal will produce.

Working on this figures I have calculated that on 30 acres a Dairy Farmer (even in the western area) can make a realistic income). Thirty acres is capable of rearing 30 milch cows —

Gross per cow....£165	=£4,950
30 Cows it is presumed would have 30 calves at £80	=2,400

Gross Income....	= £7,350
------------------	----------

This is a gross income of £7,350.00, a fairly substantial income I think most would agree. Even allowing for fairly large outputs I believe this would constitute a better living than that put forward as the solution for many years to the rural problems (the panacea for all ills) namely part-time farming and increased rural industrialisation. Working on the figure of £3,000 which I have given as the average industrial wage in the region and allowing the part-time farmer the same 30 acres on which he could rear 20 stores at £50.00 per head profit we would end up with a gross income of £4,000.00 (it would not be possible for a part-time farmer to have milch cows). So it seems that at last the NCF has left the solution of the small farmer's problem in his own hands, something that was not the case when amalgamation took place in 1972.

#### Employment & Social Effects

At the time of amalgamation July 1972, NCF gave total employment to 157, in creameries, stores and marts. (See Table 3.) By 1977 that figure had increased to 388 or a 147% increase. This increase was accounted for by the expansion of the co-operative in processing, but with Mart expansion and bulk collection also contributing to this position. A meat processing plant acquired in Sligo has given employment to 100, one hundred jobs that would have been lost were it not for the intervention of NCF as the company was "going to the wall". Indirect employment resulting from the formation of the NCF co-operative has also increased greatly since 1972. With indirect employment however, numbers can only be estimated. This NCF have done and their figure for 1972 was 200; this figure is now put at 700 or 250% increase. That is the employment given—what about the potential it offers? A compound mill being built at Ballaghaderreen will give employment to 50 males when completed in Autumn 1979. The massive reclamation scheme already referred to will give 200 jobs when in full swing. The great thing about NCF is that they are prepared to look at every possibility of improving the position of the people of the west. For example, they are now investigating the potential in tree farming because, due to the increased grants being given by the

Forestry Department (£90.00 instead of £35.00 per acre), it may now be an economic proposition. NCF sees good prospects in Forestry as it provides much employment. The key to the high level of employment in forestry is the ratio of employment in the processing sector to employment on the land. For every man engaged in forestry on the land two are engaged in the primary processing sector. In agriculture nationally for every six farmers there is only one person engaged in primary processing. Because of the bulky nature of timber processing it is mainly carried out within 30-40 miles of the forest. Thus timber processing would contribute greatly to regional employment. The NCF co-operative have estimated that under the present grants, employment in forestry could be increased by 600 in the region by 1990.

#### Social Effects

The increase in employment plus the increase in farmers incomes have had important social effects. This region has suffered very much from migration and even in 1971 the population was still declining. John Healy summed up the death of a western community (Charlestown) due to lack of jobs, income and local leadership.<sup>2</sup> Most of the jobs provided by NCF are male orientated, milk and meat processing, bulk tank drivers, etc., and the girls still go to Dublin for jobs. However, they now commute home at weekends, as there are now men with steady jobs and farmers with decent incomes—so much for love! Another reason why they now come home is the fact that money that was required by the father and mother in the 1960s is not now required. The boot is on the other foot so to speak, as the fathers often buy cars for their daughters so that they can now come home. The result of all this is that the rural dance halls which were closing down in the late 1960s and early 1970s have now reopened—for example, Ballaghaderreen, Tubbercurry, Charlestown and Pontoon—and each has a packed hall every weekend. Lounge bars are also doing great business and it is now common to see a farmer and his wife out for a night in one of these, something that would certainly have been a novelty in the

1960s. Teenagers in a community have a great effect: the sense of demoralisation described by Brody in *Innishkillane* as one of the effects of migration on the West is removed by their presence.

#### Conclusion

This study was designed to investigate the impact of the NCV Co-Operative complex on its hinterland and in general to demonstrate the role which agricultural development and the processing and marketing of agricultural products can play in regional development, the future impact of the co-operative, and the implications of the co-operative's objectives and plans for the rest of the country.

In general it was found that the co-operative had diverted farmers from the less profitable types of agricultural production—namely tillage and store cattle rearing—to the most profitable for the region, namely dairy farming. It was also found that farmers are more confident because of the good back-up services they now have, and also because they are now paid the highest possible price for products while at the same time they are supplied with inputs at the lowest possible cost. Increased farm production has directly resulted in the employment of 388 permanent staff in processing these products and supplying farm inputs, together with an estimated indirect employment of 800.

The spending power of this rural labour force and indeed the increased farm incomes has resulted in a greatly increased demand for goods and services in the region, resulting in the maintenance of at least the existing level of employment in this sector of economic activity. Finally NCF is endeavouring to ensure a prosperous future for the farmers of the west by attempting by various means to bring about the exploitation of the region's full agricultural potential: for example, by developing tree farming with potential jobs for 600; by developing and draining the land with potential jobs for 200 people etc.

#### Implications of this Paper

The success and achievements of the NCF Co-Operative, in an area where the average milk supply per supplier is only 3,110 gallons and where as a result of past migrations the population structure is still

very much unbalanced, has implications for the rest of the country. Firstly, all co-operatives could and should rationalise their activities, introducing bulk collection of milk to one central creamery which as already shown results in considerable savings and increased production. To overcome the low national milk yield a cow replacement scheme such as that operated by NCF (the bringing of Friesian heifers from Northern Ireland should be introduced. Already 400 are employed with positive results in milk and meat processing and marketing in an area which could easily double its output. From the Regional Development point of view it would appear beneficial to push money, time and effort into the development of dairy and meat processing in the western region. As Dr Ryan of An Foras Taluntais showed, Ireland's ten million acres of land could easily double production by the proper application of normal agricultural practices which, as well as giving farmers increased incomes, would double the 45,000 jobs already created in processing agricultural products. Therefore instead of giving large grants to foreign capitalists to establish manufacturing industry in western Ireland, money should be spent in developing agriculture and helping co-operatives to establish efficient processing units which would be democratically owned by ordinary Irish people. Judging by the example of the NCF Co-Operative milk and meat processing would appear to be superior to most types of manufacturing industry in that the headquarters as well as the factory unit is located in rural areas, which has obvious positive results. This is in sharp contrast to multi-national corporations who mostly only send the part of the plant that required unskilled labour to the west of Ireland. The superiority of the food processing industry over manufacturing industry is reflected in the former's much better performance in the time of economic crisis in the '70s. In the year March 1974 to March 1975 statistics show that total manufacturing jobs were down by 9.5% when employment in food processing went up by 2%.

The overall result of this study then is that although it may be a little early yet to make any firm

predictions on the future of the area, community leaders are confident that with the young girls of marriageable age returning from Dublin at the weekends, these will marry locally and that once again there will be a vital rural community similar to that of the pre-

1950s. This would not have been possible without the help and confidence which the NCF Co-Operative has given.

*North Connacht Farmers' Co-Operative Society Limited, unpublished B.A. dissertation, Department of Geography, Maynooth College, 1978.*

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**TABLE 1 GROSS MARGIN PER ACRE FOR MAIN FARM ENTERPRISES**

	1976	1977 <sup>(1)</sup>	1978 <sup>(2)</sup>
Sugar Beet	143	204	209
Wheat	86	135	120
Feed Barley	63	121	103
Malting Barley	72	141	117
Creamery Milk	104	142	165
Calves to Stores	47	50	57
Single Suckled	37	39	44
Store to Finish	38	47	50
Winter to Finish	155	132	170
All Systems	40	44	50
Sheep Fat Lamb	74	81	94

(1) Estimated  
(2) Forecast

Source: An Foras Taluntais—Food and Farm Research—Nov/Dec 1978.

**TABLE 2 POTENTIAL FARM INCOME ON 30 ACRES**

1 acre = 1 cow	=	£165
30 acres = 30 cows	=	£4,950
30 cows = 30 calves	=	£2,400
Total Gross Income	=	£7,350
Part-Time Farmers		
Average Industrial Wage	=	£3,500
On 30 acres 20 bullocks	=	£1,000
Total Gross Income	=	£4,500

Source: Foras Taluntais Estimations

**TABLE 3 NORTH CONNAUGHT FARMERS CO-OP. EMPLOYMENT 1972-77**

	1972	1977
Achonry	18	35
Rathscanlon	16	17
Riverstown	7	15
Ballymote	5	5
Kilmactranny	6	7
Killala	10	13
Castlebar	6	7
Claremorris	7	10
Ballinrobe	5	5
Kinlough	5	5
Kilbarron	3	2
Ballintrillick	2	2
Ballagherreen	6	10
Gorteen	13	9
Belmullet	2	2
Head Office	25	33
Ballinrobe/Westport Marts		38
Ballymote/Claremorris Marts		23
Bulk Tank drivers		10
Shannonside		40
Meat Factory		100
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>388</b>

Increase in employment 1972-77 = 231 or 147%

Source: N.C.F. Tubbercurry



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## THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF URBAN BLIGHT

The strategy adopted in attempting to grapple with what I interpret to be the main issues raised by the title-question of this essay is to ask and answer three key questions: What is Urban Blight?; What is Preservation; and, can preservation prevent or eliminate Urban Blight? The answers I give to these questions will, I hope, lead to further discussion of the nature and causes of urban blight and the likelihood and manner of its eventual elimination.

The first question to be examined is the one which focuses on urban blight. The "inner-area" studies of Liverpool, Birmingham and Lambeth in England, and similar studies of Dublin in Ireland, have all identified these areas as cases of deprivation. They underline the erosion of the inner city economy, and demonstrate the prevalence of poverty, poor employment opportunities and bad housing conditions as key factors making for, and resulting from, deprivation. Urban blight, these reports would suggest, occurs in any urban area which suffers in a marked way and to an unacceptable extent from economic decline, physical decay and adverse social conditions. It is the subjective element in the idea of "unacceptable extent" and the negative implications of "decline", "decay" and "adverse", which identify the nature of urban blight as being undesirable and problematic.

The economic decline in the fortunes of the inner-city often lies at the heart of the problem. Compared with their own conurbations these areas suffer from higher unemployment at all stages of the economic cycle. In inner-areas, generally, there has developed a mismatch between the skills of the people and the kind of jobs available. They have more than the national proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, the groups among which unemployment is highest. At the same time there has been a loss of jobs in the traditional industries—the older service industries like the docks and the railways—and in manufacturing industry. A large number of firms have closed or relocated outside the inner-city. This closure or movement of firms is, generally, a major contributory factor to economic decline.

One of the most characteristic features of the inner-city is the age of its housing. There exists here a great

deal of poor quality housing lacking basic amenities, in bad repair and set in a drab or shabby, and often densely populated, environment. These factors help create a sense of relative deprivation by contrasting sharply with better conditions elsewhere. They combine to make these places unattractive both to many of the people who live there and to new investment in business, industry and housing.

The inner areas also have a higher concentration of poverty than the metropolitan average. Partly this reflects the high unemployment rate, but in addition the level of earnings often tends to be lower than the national or city average. Also, the innermost areas tend to act as a refuge for those least able to cope in society—that is, for those with extreme social problems. The population of inner-city areas is increasingly coming to consist of elderly, infirm and unemployed people who are unable to move out. This 'social composition' problem is exacerbated where local authorities use the area as a 'sink' or 'dump' for those who have been delinquent in other areas. Such conditions and policies help make the "decay" of the inner-city a self-fulfilling prophesy.

The notion of decay leads to our second question: What is preservation? The idea of decay or decline implies that something is in the process of transition from a particular state to an inferior one. If the initial state is a desirable one then it follows that its existence should be maintained—that it should be preserved. Preservation should not mean fossilisation—it must always be relative to the prevailing conditions of some given period of time. Thus, what is desirable at one time may be rendered undesirable at another by changed social, cultural and economic conditions. But while there may be no physical decay observable over time a state of relative or perceived decay may still occur. To apply the principle of preservation in this case would require not that the initial state be maintained but, rather, its initial status.

It is now possible to tackle our third question: Can preservation prevent or eliminate urban blight? Urban blight, it has been shown, involves negatively-evaluated changes in social, economic and physical living conditions. The subjective element of "negatively evaluated" is important as it implies that these changes lead to a loss

of desirability or status of an area. The concept of preservation has relevance to urban blight in so far as it attempts to prevent it by stabilising the "status" of an area at its initial and more desirable level.

It is important to distinguish between the prevention of urban blight and its elimination. To use an equilibrium model analogy, prevention envisages the existence of a status-equilibrium situation in which preservation serves as a mechanism operating to maintain that state. Elimination on the other hand implies that the equilibrium state has broken down or disintegrated and needs to be re-established. The mechanism of preservation is contingent on the existence of an equilibrium state. Preservation, therefore, while it can prevent urban blight, cannot eliminate it.

This has important implications for inner city areas. These areas, as I have pointed out, are significantly prone to urban blight. The only way that preservation will have any practical relevance to them is if urban blight is first eliminated and they are given a status level which is worth maintaining. Thus, before we can talk of preservation as a panacea for inner cities' ills we must first talk about urban renewal. Where parts of the inner city have not experienced decline or decay it is, perhaps, justifiable to implement preservation measures, but where urban blight already exists preservation must be secondary to renewal—that is, the latter strategy must be accomplished before the former may be applied.

The elimination of urban blight requires that an area be raised to an acceptable, positively-evaluated status level. On a general, or city wide scale this can only be achieved if a policy of areal status-equalisation is implemented. This would mean replacing, or interfering with the operation of, the market economy, since it is the workings of this system which have generated the distribution of status inequalities to begin with. As long as the goal of status equalisation is superseded by the

goals of competitive economics then areal inequality will persist within the city; and as long as this inequality continues it is likely that relative deprivation will be experienced and urban blight identified.

Preservation as panacea is, therefore, a non-starter where economic values predominate. Its true potential can, possibly, only be realised when these values are subordinated to those of a more egalitarian nature. There is always the possibility that such a revolution in values will occur—that we will have a society where 'thing' oriented values are replaced by those which emphasise people. But the likelihood of this coming to pass, particularly in the near future, seems remote given that economic values are so firmly entrenched in modern society. Preservation and egalitarianism, although they might alleviate many of the problems we experience today, would undoubtedly encounter other difficulties, many of which they themselves would have generated. This, however, is no reason to reject them. Their adoption would be a progressive step; and one of the most valuable and useful lessons to be learned from the historical study of mankind's tenure on planet earth is that progress—no matter how defined—is not without its faults and imperfections.

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## THE EFFECTS OF FORESTRY EMPLOYMENT ON PART-TIME FARMING

The aim of this Essay is to assess the impact of Forestry employment on farming as a part-time occupation. It is based on a study recently conducted in the Slieve Bloom Mountain area, consisting of a number of in depth interviews and a survey of a 77% sample of the part-time farmers employed in State Forest there.

This paper will not concern itself with the data obtained via the in-depth interviews because of the difficulty of adequately summarising it within the limited space allowed. Suffice it to say, however, that the interview results support the general findings of the part-time farming survey.

Table 1 consists of data showing that forestry employment has aided a change from peasant-type mixed farming to more intensive commercial farming. In the traditional peasant-type farming practiced in Ireland, the farmer 'kept his eggs in as many baskets as possible'. The family farm, the chief economic unit, practised several different farming enterprises in the belief that, if one method failed in a given year, the others would save the family from starvation. In modern commercial farming, the aim is to reduce the number of farming systems to one or two, and to concentrate on, and specialise in these to such an extent as to minimise the risk of failure and to maximise economic profit.

Turf-cutting is but one example of a job done on farms in the Slieve Bloom area which is being affected by the changing economic climate. It is difficult to find time to cut turf especially if the alternative work one is doing is more productive. Similarly, when a farmer is faced with the possibility of a full-time off-farm job, he must decide whether he would thereby gain more advantage than would accrue through his retaining all his farming-systems plus his part-time jobs. By deciding to take up the off-farm job, the man is in a sense, being forced to modernise his farm. He must get rid of the more time-consuming and less profitable aspects of farming and specialise in other systems, unless he is prepared to tolerate exceedingly long working hours.

The time factor then seems to lay behind the following findings: 45% of the part-time farmers interviewed, who were growing grain and root-crops for sale before taking up forestry employment, said that they reduced the amount grown after commencing their new job.

50% of those who milked cows said they reduced their numbers for the same reason.

67% of those who kept pigs stopped doing so, again for the same reason.

The only two farmers who kept sheep said they sold them

after entering forestry employment.

As single-suckling and dry-stock enterprises are the two most labour extensive methods, it is probably for the same reason that 60% of all the farmers said they increased the size of their suckler herds, with 75% of all farmers saying they increased their numbers of beef-cattle directly as a result of forestry work. In other words, their response was to intensify their farming systems.

There are two principal ways of increasing beef-yields per acre. One method is to increase the number of cattle. And, as has been shown, this was done. The other method is to increase the amounts of grass and concentrates (cereal based feeds). Feeding concentrates is expensive, but fast in obtaining results. Feeding more grass is slower, but cheaper in the long run. In order to produce more grass, it is necessary to drain land and re-seed fields where required, but most important of all, one must spread large quantities of fertilizer on the land. Therefore one may have to wait up to two or more years after the initial investment before any real benefit can be reaped. Both these methods of increasing output require extra investment before profit can be realised.

The part-time farmer is much more likely to get a loan from a bank for these investments than

a man with only one income, especially if that income comes from such a precarious occupation as farming where yields and profits are subject to fluctuations in the weather. The part-time farmer also feels more secure because of his weekly wage and therefore has the confidence to look for investment in his farm. Also the weekly wage itself can be invested in the farm. This extra investment increases farm output and thus farm profits, providing more money for re-investment and so on.

It is not too surprising therefore that land drainage, re-seeding, fodder and concentrates bought, fertiliser bought and quantitative farm output, all increased by 50%, 65%, 75%, 100% and 90%, respectively, on the farms of all those interviewed. (See Table 2)

Increased farm profits are naturally reflected in improvements in the general appearance and state of the farm. Thus, increases in the number of metal gates used, the number of fields with piped water, farm buildings and yard improvements, and house improvements were in the order of 50%, 65%, 85% and 95% respectively.

Thus far, I have discussed the merits of part-time without

particular reference to forestry employment as being different from factory work, which is the off-farm job usually proposed by planners and administrators. Forestry employment does however, have many advantages over other off-farm employment, particularly industrial work.

Eight out of ten men working in one forest in the Slieve Bloom area (Clonaslee forest), for example, are over 57 years of age. The mean age of all the men interviewed who were working in state-forest was 53 years, with the youngest being 43 years. It is doubtful if any of these men would get, let alone take-up, employment in a factory. They all prefer to work outdoor, in the manner to which they were accustomed until they took up forestry employment at the mean age of 33 years. These men consider working in the open air to be much healthier than working in the often cramped and unhealthy atmosphere of a factory. The busy season in the forest is mid-winter, when the young trees are transplanted from the nursery to the open spaces. This is the slack season on farms. Conversely, the slack period in the forest—mid-summer and early autumn, are the busiest on the farms. It is then that the forestry workers who are part-time farmers, take their

holidays to save the crops. Most of the foresters in charge do not object to the part-timers taking these days off, because there is no pressure of work on them, such as there is in mid-winter.

The forestry employee's day begins at 8.00 am and ends at 4.30 pm, and this early finishing hour means that the men have plenty of time left in the evenings for work around the farm, particularly when the workplace is so near to home. The *average* distance travelled from home to work for the forestry employees interviewed is 4.75 miles. The *nearest* centre for factory employment is 13.6 miles away—almost three times as far. It appears thus that the daily and annual cycles of forestry work, along with the proximity of the workplace to the farms are all well suited to part-time farming.

The population on which this study is based is small—only 26 men, but as a 77% sample was surveyed I feel the results are valid. There are over 200 men altogether employed in the timber industry in the Slieve Bloom area, and as 41% of State employed forestry workers in the area are part-time farmers, it seems reasonable to assume that at least some of the privately employed workers are also part-time farmers. However, given this

and other limitations of the work, its results are still clear: forestry employment of part-time farmers helps to modernise and intensify farming methods resulting in increased farm output and higher profits, culminating in general improvements on the farm and in the house. This leads again to higher profits and so on.

The social and economic

benefits of part-time farming are not only significant in themselves, but also, insofar as they are the unforeseen results of state investment in afforestation. The Slieve Bloom area of 50 years ago had problems of high level out-migration; small farms became increasingly uneconomic to run; poor land, difficult and expensive to reclaim; and increasing demoralization.

Today, with the help of afforestation, these problems have been practically estimated and the communities in the area are looking with confidence to the future. Perhaps, if the State were to realise the wider potential of afforestation programmes, the resulting benefits could be much greater for those areas which today, are like the Slieve Bloom area of the 1920's.

TABLE 1

Characteristic	Increased	No-Change	Decreased	None Before	None Now
Amount of Turf Cut for Firing	0	11	5	4	7
Grain and Root Crops Grown for Sale	2	4	5	9	9-14
Number of Cows Milking	2	6	8	4	4-12
Ewes	0	0	2	18	20
Sows	2	1	6	11	17
Number of Suckling Pigs	12	3	3	2	2
Dry Stock	15	2	1	2	2

TABLE 2

Characteristic	Increased	No-Change	Decreased	None Before	None Now
Land Drainage	10	0	0	20	10
Re-Seeding	15	0	0	0	5
Fodder or Concentrate	15	1	0	0	4
Fertiliser	20	0	0	0	0
Total Farm Output	18	2	0	0	0
Metal Gates	10	8	1	0	1
Irrigation	13	0	0	20	7
Buildings and Yard Improvements	17	3	0	0	0
House Improvement	19	1	0	0	0





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## MULTINATIONALISATION

A study of *The Multinational Corporation* (M.N.C.) is fast becoming a standard section of economic geography courses and indeed rightly so when one considers that since World War II multinational investment has transformed the basis of manufacturing industry on a world scale. However, by the time the undergraduate has equipped himself with an adequate definition of the term 'M.N.C.', a basic understanding of the way corporations work and a few illustrative or statistical examples of multinational exploitation he has little time left to appreciate the *real* implications of multinational investment. The ability to list off the ten largest corporations or to quote Hymer's definition of 'M.N.C.' doesn't bring one any nearer to that appreciation. Each corporation integrates culturally diverse and a very distant parts of the world into one smoothly running production line. It is only by assessing the impact of multinationalisation on the individual community, which forms but one point on that production line, regardless of whether that community is Latin American, African or Irish, that one can begin to realise the range and complexity of issues involved in multinational location.

The community which I have chosen is Athy in Co. Kildare. Why Athy? No issues of momentous concern have arisen due to multinational location there. The branch plant of the Canada Dry Corporation is probably the only one of the six branch plants located there whose name one would even recognise. The role of the multinational branch plants in Athy is merely to complement a long established Irish owned industrial base.

The singling out of Athy serves to show that Corporations, insignificant on a world scale, loom large in the individual community's perception of Corporations. Almost half of Athy's industrial work force is employed by foreign based enterprises and of the six sources of foreign investment the Canada Dry Corporation is the smallest employer.

Once one reneges the level of universal abstraction, at which it is possible to neatly tabulate the exploitative features of M.N.C.s, one realises that the debate between the advantages and disadvantages of multinational location is a very real one at the less generalised level of the individual community. Indeed, if perceived advantages of multinational location did not exist there would be no arena for this debate. The government would not actively encourage branch plants to locate in Ireland and the role of the economic geographer in this field at least would be redundant.

One can determine whether multinational impact is beneficial or detrimental by measuring the degree to which a branch plant has become integrated into the local economy or, conversely, the degree to which a community has developed an unfounded dependency upon such branch plants. The integration of, or dependence upon, M.N.C.s must be considered within two time scales. As foreign investment is a relatively recent phenomenon in Athy—the first foreign branch plant was established only eleven years ago—short term impact must be assessed. The likelihood of the evolution of long term integration is often hinted at by short term developments. However, because current economic stability can only be measured at a point in the future the likelihood of its evolution is best assessed by examining the factors which will determine future patterns.

The short term effects of multinational location can be considered in three categories—employment, the nature of production, and services or spin off benefits generated as a direct result of the location of multinational branch plants in Athy.

The prospect of additional employment is perceived by the community as the greatest advantage to the location of a multinational branch plant in its midst. The aspect of employment which most concerns employees is the concrete monetary expression of their wage or salary. Incomes earned

in Athy's foreign-based companies are comparable to those paid by home-based employers.

A breakdown of the number of production staff shows that 84% are skilled or semiskilled. It appears that multinationalisation has—to Athy's advantage—raised the skill level of the town's industrial labour force. Unfortunately, the term 'skill' lacks precise definition. Therefore, the term *semi*-skill, which is by implication a hazy area between the realm of absolute skill and absolutely no skill, is an even more elusive term. The 52% who are classified as 'semi-skilled' are alternatively termed 'machine operators'. However, a worker trained to operate a machine in one factory requires complete retraining should he wish, or be forced, to secure a position in any of the other five factories.

A worker's skills do not exist independently of his position in a single company, making him dependent on the branch plant for his skilled employment status.

However, as long as the branch plants continue in existence, employment at least shall continue to be the major advantage.

The peculiarities of the nature of production in Athy's branch plants are numerous. Two branch plants produce components—i.e. empty tin cans and soft drink essences—which are virtually valueless unless incorporated in a production process located outside Athy. In another branch plant 54% of those employed are management and office staff because the marketing and distribution sector of this particular plant is not related to its own production but to that of the entire Corporation.

The greatest service spinoff benefit of 'multinationalisation' is the six transport firms which spring up or expanded as a response to multinational location. This, however, immediately brings into doubt the possibility of the integration of branch plants into Athy's economy. Hauliers bring raw materials from, and then transport finished goods to, sea- and air-ports.

Without some degree of integration between the branch plant and its location economic stability, which can never be guaranteed, cannot even be planned for the future.

Trends at present being established which could serve as indicators of the evolution of an integrated foreign sector in Athy's economy are raw material and market sources. If branch plants are dependent on Athy, or indeed on Ireland, for a significant proportion of either their raw materials or markets, the developing dependency of the community on foreign industry is not unfounded.

Athy's multinational branch plants import 80% of their raw materials. The remaining 20% consists of goods, e.g. packing material, which could equally as well be bought at any other comparable location

in Ireland or the world. One senses that at least from the point of view of the availability of vital materials the choice of Athy as the plant's location is totally arbitrary.

Dependence on Irish markets presents a less gloomy picture. While 71.5% of finished goods are exported, one company, Borden International, sells 100% of its finished products within Ireland—an optimum response to the I.D.A.'s professed intention that this plant should fill a gap in Irish industry's service infrastructure. However, multinational operations make one redefine the terms, of which 'import substitution' is but one, which are often used as absolutes. Borden 'sells' 80% of its tin cans to another of the Corporation's branch plants located at Mallow, Co. Cork. The Mallow plant packs the cans with milk powder which it exports. An inter-corporation transfer means that effectively 84.6% of the goods produced in Athy's foreign based branch plants are exported. The reconsideration of the inadequacy of our terminology brings home more forcibly Ireland's industrial paradox.

The government provides financial incentives for export companies and thereby spends its money upon a feature of foreign industry which would develop without grant aid. The nature of the incentives offered to foreign industry suggests that the governments perspective is seriously limited. It thinks that Ireland can achieve national autonomy based on economic stability by encouraging foreign industries to manufacture in Ireland, to satisfy an export demand. However, as the study of the impact of multinational investment on an individual community underlines, the essence of foreign based industry runs counter to the I.D.A.'s perception of it.

Athy becomes a point on an internationally dispersed assembly line, all the more dispensable because multinational branch plants have, on the short term failed to become integrated into the local economy and on the long term show little prospect of so doing.

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## DEVELOPMENT OF ORLU TOWN

### Towns and Cities Development in Nigeria

Nigeria being a predominantly agricultural country most of the towns are rural. There are myriads of these so-called towns. In certain places real towns do exist, but in most places widely scattered villages with one or two things in common have, for administrative convenience, been regarded as towns. However, in recent years there has been a rapid growth in both the number and the population of real towns in the country. Some of the old towns have now grown into bursting metropolises. Some, too, have remained stagnant for many years. Many have disappeared altogether. But comparatively there have been greater revival of cities in the present time than before. In fact former old towns are starting to grow and expand again. People just come from all corners and flock into them. And here the very old question by social geographers repeat itself: Why do some cities develop, others stagnate and some disappear?

In the case of Nigeria, two reasons readily come to mind. The first is the attitude of the government; and the second is the attitude of the people who live in those cities. On the attitude of the government, we look at the government policy of development in general and on towns and cities in particular. How far has the explicit and implicit decisions of the government on the one hand and the actual policy action and interactions on the other hand, had on a given town or city? One has to go back to the colonial days to trace out the origin of this policy and its effects.

After 1900, when the British united the country, attempts were made to set up effective government under which increased commercial activities would take place. Consequently the initial steps were to open up and develop all those places in the centre of mining and agricultural activities. Rails and roads to facilitate the evacuation of the produce were quickly built. In fact, the colonial government's policy was guided by the above.

In 1960, an independent government was granted. One surprising thing as far as towns and cities are concerned, is that the native government still

pursued the old colonial policy on towns and rural development, until recently. The government would not normally step into town and city planning unless there was some economic or political interest around. Those towns are developed (or helped most) which have some economic or political potential for the government of the day. It is this fact that has been responsible, to a large extent, for the rise and fall, the development and decay of many towns and cities. Subsequent Regional/state governments have associated allocation of social amenities with government popularity, etc. As a result most towns only enjoy such government amenities as pipe-borne water, electricity, library and Postal services, etc., when they have been taken over by statutory Town Councils. The polarization of Nigerian cities on the rank size distribution has its origins in this way.

One sees from the above why so many people from the rural areas migrate to the big towns and cities. Most of them go there to share the government amenities concentrated there. Of course there are a lot of people who simply go there to run away from the rigid cultural ties of their society or from the threats to life from other human beings, animals, flood, fire, diseases, etc., which plague rural life.

The second factor of why some cities stagnate and others explode is the attitude of the people who live in them. Here one cannot help agreeing with the explanation of Alcaeus in 600 B.C., about Greek cities: "... Not houses finely built, nor the stones of walls well-built, nor canals nor dockyards make the city, but men able to use their opportunity..."

#### ORLU URBAN TOWN TODAY

On the rolling landscape overhanging the Ogidi valley; 500 miles east of Lagos; 100 miles north of Port Harcourt, situates this medium-size town, called Orlu. The name "ORLU" is the short for "Olulu-Nwafor", the name of one of the villages,

whose leaders and elders gave the site to the British troops who entered the Olulu-Nwafo from Okigwe, early in the century. The troops had camped at Umuafor, one of the kindreds of Orlu-Nwafor, where there was good drinking water. In consultation with other village leaders and elders (now chiefs) from Amaorji-Umunamna, Umuokwara-Olulu Nwafo, Obinugwu-Okwabala, and Amaifeke; the Isi-Obi Ukwu, Eze Acholonu I, the only literate and most influential leader at the time, in this area, gave to the commander the land (approx. to the present CBD) as their camping ground. The name Orlu was the English Commander's brief for this area. In the past, this place used to be a dreary forest; full of giant trees with thick undergrowth. Lying between two clans, Isu and Orsu, it was for a long time the battleground of these clans. No one person dared cross from one side to the other without an elder's staff in hand. It was known by various names, such as "ikpa-owerekwe", "ohia-ogu"; "Ugwu-apali"; and lately "owerr-lekee".

It was a great relief to the elders and 'chiefs' of these villages to have the troops live among them. But to the majority of the people it was no more than military occupation. However, over the years the attitudes of the villagers changed. The troops were no longer seen as conquerors but as friends. From the villages footpaths wind towards the Camp. As footpaths and roads radiate from the camp, they interconnect the villages. Gradually the villages drew near towards the camp and towards one another.

When the troops moved away to Oguta the land was taken over by the then colonial government as an administrative headquarters. The original plan was for a tiny settlement, confined to the small area offered by the people. Though the land was about one square mile, the part for residential purposes was less than half. There were few streets, three roads, the widest of which was less than 10 feet. There were less than 30 structures, including office blocks, depots, staff quarters, and police barracks. With the exception of the police, none of these offices had staff over 5 in number. There were many people living in the quarters; staff, their relations and dependents.

The small town continued to grow in population and size and role. At first it was administered as part of Okigwe zonal office. In 1946 it was declared a District administration headquarters for the class of Isu, Orsu, Oru, Mbanasa/Ndizuogu. These clans were regimented into villages of various sizes and had a population of led to increase in staff, in population, and space required.

The population at this time consisted of six

occupational groups of people.

(1) The Government Administration staff included all those people working in the various administration departments. There were about 15 of them.

(2) The Security Personnel included the uniformed court messengers/bailiffs and constables of the B.W.A. Police force. There were less than 24 of them.

(3) The Judiciary staff included vernacular interpreters at court, court orderlies, court clerks, and private 'handymen' of the various chiefs and elders who attended the weekly sitting of the native court. There were self-employed "petition writers" whose writings and presence were allowed by the District Officer. The judiciary staff numbered up to 30.

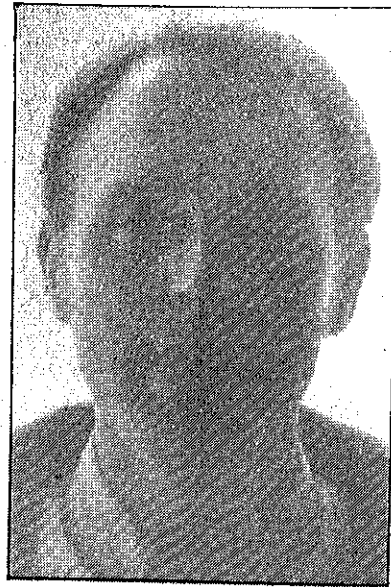
(4) The Traders were among largest group in the town. They included streethawkers, shopkeepers, fruities, and itinerant traders, of various stuffs. There was no market square at first in the plan, the buying and selling were carried on along the streets, but later the street trading was stopped and a site allocated for it. There were more than 80 of them.

(5) **OTHER CIVIL SERVANTS:** Other civil servants included roadmenders, building-staff, health workers, postal clerks, cleaners, drivers, etc. There were more than 40 of them.

(6) **TRADESMEN:** There were self-employed tradesmen of various typed—carpenters, tailors, bricklayers, "tinkers", blacksmiths, weavers, shoemakers/menders, etc. There were up to 60 of them. The population as a whole has been estimated to be more than 300. It is important to point out that this number is distinct from that of the outlying villages. The population continued to grow very rapidly, and eventually in 1952 the Government extended the town inland, southwards, into the villages or Orlu-Nwafo and Umu-Unama. Similar extensions were repeated in 1960; Today it is difficult to say where the town ends and where the rural villages begin.

*Orlu Town today:* Today the city extends to three square miles of business houses, residence, and recreation grounds. It now includes the villages of Orlu, Umuna, Amaifeke, Ihioma, Oweri-Ebeiri, Umuowa, Amike, Eziachi, and Okporo. Apart from the fact that the population of the individual villages have greatly increased, all the villages now form one large political and economic unit. At first the urban area constituted the nucleus of all economic activities; but as the expansion continued the shift in residence, communication lines, etc. affected the various businesses, so that gradually too, the CBD (the original site of the town), became isolated, and also became the least populated area.





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## The Transformation of Ireland from Medieval to Modern: The Role of English Plantation and Colonization.

This article involves an historical-geographical description and interpretation of the era preceding, during, and immediately after the English Plantation of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In this early modern period, Ireland was a potential laboratory for colonization by the "New" English, when the genesis of a flood of European colonization and settlement was getting under way in the New World. In many ways, it is within this context that the transformation of Ireland from medieval to modern has to be seen, for the instrument of change was English colonization. However, it was over the next two hundred years that the completion of this process was achieved, centred on the perception of land as a resource by the landlord.

To examine pre-Plantation Ireland is to see part of the justification for the various schemes put forward, their revolutionary nature and the force and intensity of their effects. The earlier Anglo-Norman conquest had remained spatially defined on the Irish landscape, although the Gaelic resurgence had re-asserted a native tradition and assimilated or gaelicized the alien civilization in many parts of the country. The old English Pale area, the purely

Gaelic territories and a transitional zone between both cultures can be recognized. By using economic, landholding and law systems, society and administrative units as indices, we can predict the degree of conflict which would emerge from the meeting of the Gaelic or Old English (descendants of the Anglo-Norman colonizers) with the new English. This approach will also indicate the intensity with which Plantation would have to be enforced before Ireland could be moved into modernity.

The purely Gaelic culture, particularly in the North and West, had a proven capacity for assimilating outside influence, institutions and individuals. The perception of land, its nature and its utilization is the best indication of a culture surviving on its own terms, but containing within itself the inability to cope with any incursion by a foreign people. It was owned corporately by descent groups (septs) which, in practice, catered for a constant transfer of land from declining to rising and expanding families of the various territories. Internally, the Irish lordships had little of the political organizations of the "state", its administrative system, if such a term is deserved, was

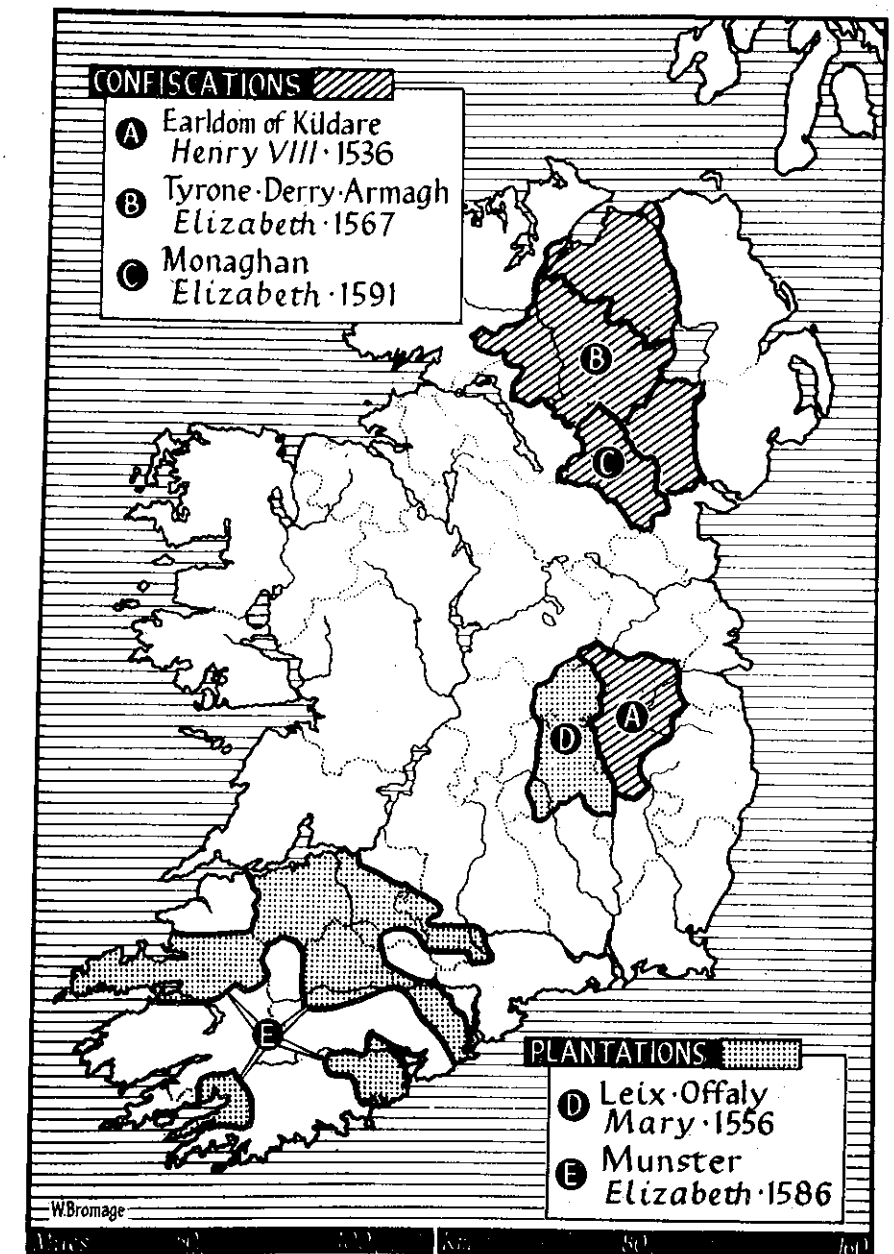
personalized and underdeveloped and its political stability, in most cases, was under perpetual attack from within the ruling lineages. The pastoral economy of these regions—these being as evidence for the survival of a manorial system in the Desmond territories or even in the smaller Norman settlements in Munster—was exceptional, even by European standards of the time.

The low intensity of land utilization was reflected in, and influenced by, the system of landholding, which militated against the creation of enclosures or any other improvements. The practice of transhumance, the relative abhorrence of sedentary agriculture and the increase in local wars gave the new English colonists and 'adventurers' proof—if they needed any—that the Irish were uncivilized. A transformation of the economy, based on a complete alteration of landholding structures, was necessary before English law could be enforced, an acceptance of English rule established and the fruits of Plantation reaped.

The Pale area would seem to have been more attractive, having a disciplined market economy, a network of urban centres and an apparently civilized society consisting of an old English

landowning class and a subservient Irish class of tenants. The Normans has introduced the three field system accompanied in some places by a stratification of society, and the region might be seen to conform more closely to English Feudal society, and therefore more preferable to that of the Gaelic world. The colonizers of the mid-sixteenth century were equally aware, however, that Irish feudal society was more independent and authoritarian than its English counterpart and was still at a stage of development beyond which England had advanced. England was now the new Rome, the centre of civilization; to English eyes the Irish were not only socially but culturally inferior. Looking at the transitional zone, consisting of buffer areas like West Kildare, the Ormond country and parts of Wexford, we see that besides Irish tenures and the leasing of land to Irish tenants, the Irish language and Gaelic social customs were re-asserting themselves, paradoxically illustrating the flexibility and resilience of the Gaelic culture.

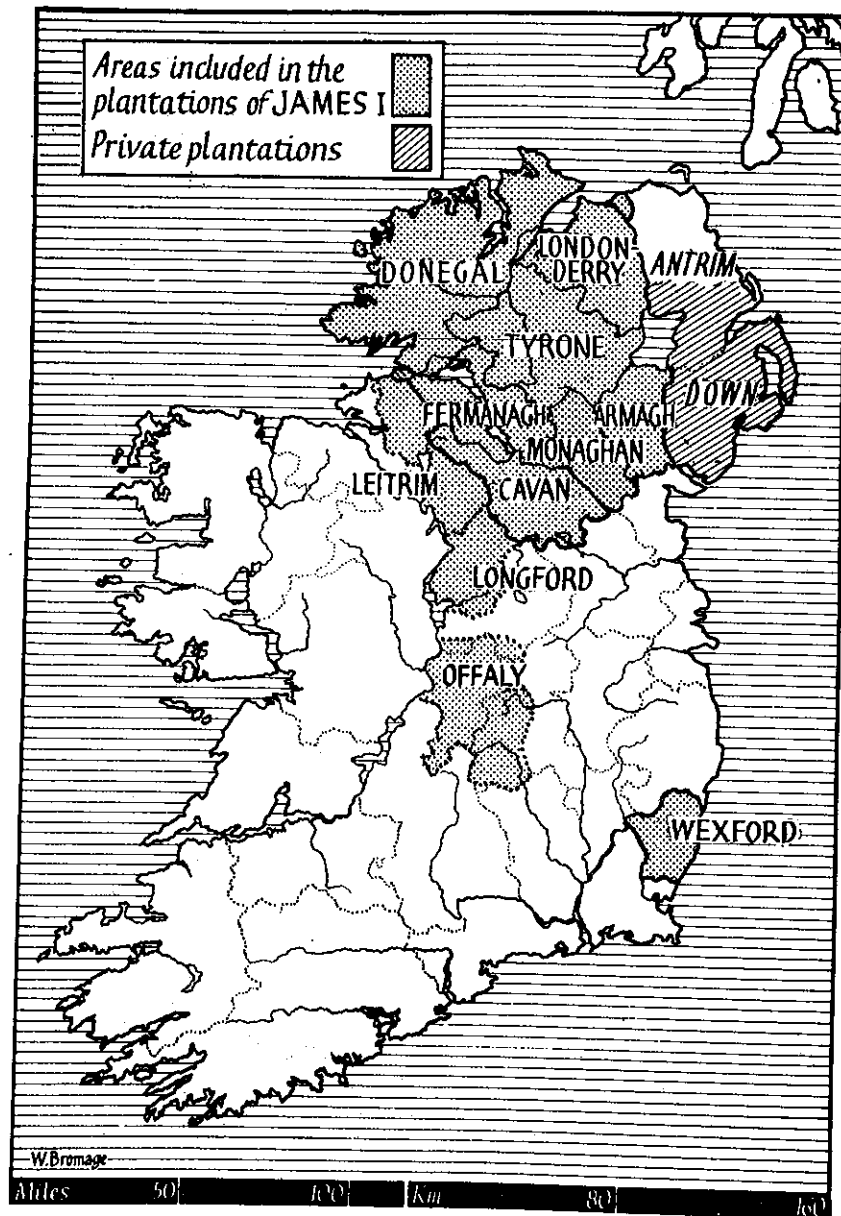
Initially, Plantation was of military importance. Progressively, however, it was shaped by aspects of social and economic thinking and geared towards transforming a society which was essentially tribal and pastoral into a structure which was recognisably modern. Parallel to this progress from strategic to economic pre-occupations was the relative success of the Plantations, from a rather emaciated effort in Leix-Offaly to a more successful infiltration in Ulster. In Leix-Offaly, if the Gaelic lords could not be brought into a feudal relationship with the monarchy in England and the old English could not be trusted to force them into subjection, then plantation was necessary. The most important of the Tudor plantations was centered on Munster, a testing ground for plantation theory. Basically, it was a landlord plantation, which materially affected the landscape and culture of Munster. The insecurity of land titles was one of the underlying causes of the predominantly old English Desmond rebellions which ravished Ireland, and particularly Munster between 1569–1583.



46. Tudor plantations

For example, in the late 1550s, Sir Peter Carew, a new English adventurer, claimed the vast Kingdom of Cork as his own. His claim was taken seriously by the Governing Council of Ireland and his entitlement confirmed over the protests of the native chieftans that their ancestors had held the land, in theory and according to Gaelic custom, before and since the Norman Conquest. His success was a dramatic demonstration of the way in which the application of the English feudal law could devastate and nullify the customary system of property holding in Ireland. Vast tracts of Kerry, Limerick, South Tipperary, East and West Waterford became vested in the crown

after the failure of the Gaelic Rebellion (1579–1583). A plan for placing an English group of settlers in Munster in 1585, described with geometric precision how the land was to be divided into seignories of twelve, ten, eight, six and four thousand acres. Each full seignory was to be planted with 90 families, 42 of them copyholders (100 acres each) 6 freeholders, (300 acres each) 6 farmers (400 acres each) and 36 families as tenants in 1500 acres of demesne. The settlement pattern turned out to be a compromise between nucleation and dispersal, the actual planting to be a function of the geography of the region. (See fig. 1).



47. Plantations of James I

Implementation of this plan was another matter. Surveying and map-making, a precursor of any settlement scheme, had to cope with local land-units which had no precise areal extent—merely being defined by the number of ploughs it could carry and the number of cattle it could support. In fact, the efforts to transform older Gaelic land measurements into English acreages continued to baffle surveyors down to Pettry's Down Survey in the 1650s. The English proprietor, at the top of the social pyramid was discouraged by the fluid nature of property boundaries and the rebellion of 1598 meant an exodus from Cork and Limerick and a substantial lessening in the conflict between both cultures. In fact, even by 1592, there were only 32 seignories, 20 of which

belonged to absentee landowners. In effect, this pattern of land allocation meant that the 12,000 acre limit on land grants had to be abandoned.

Theory had to be adjusted in the light of this inherent weakness. Richard Boyle, an English entrepreneur, sought, by buying up Sir Walter Raleigh's 42,000 acres in Cork, to lay the cornerstone of an immense Munster empire. He realized that successful plantation could only be achieved by reasonably intensive settlement by English people of all social classes, the creation of towns and villages and the encouragement of trade. In Co. Cork, Bandon, Clonakilty, Lismore and Castletown were principally established as fortified settlements—since

plantation ultimately depended on the fortified town—to defend Boyle's estates but also because these sites were good for the development of a linen industry. In addition to this, Boyle brought in settlers from South-West England which meant that there was a greater incentive for landlord and tenant to develop the urban and rural landscapes. English ideas, methods of working the land, the importation of better stock to improve the local breeds of livestock, the propagation of a timber processing industry in forested areas, led gradually and inexorably to a re-shaping of the old Gaelic way of life, to conform more closely to that of the English intruders. In Munster during this period, and elsewhere in Ireland, the landlord system took root, the town was the spatial expression of the growth of English influence. The post-Cromwellian census of 1659, shows that a high proportion of the population of the new towns—both in Munster and Ulster,—were new English or Scottish settlers. This high proportion of aliens, the defensive nuclei and strong fortifications reveal that these urban settlements were basically colonial in origin and therefore were out of place on the Irish medieval landscape, while at the same time ushering it into modernity.

In Ulster, the flight of the Earls in 1609 led to a reversal of a policy of maintaining the Gaelic aristocracy as English-style proprietors, with the result that large tracts of land were confiscated in counties Cavan, Armagh, Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh and Soleraine. (See fig. 2). Learning from the failures of the Munster Plantation, an attempt was made in Ulster to avoid the successive dispersal of settlement, that had endangered the earlier venture by reducing the maximum size of individual seignories or proportions from 12,000 to 2,000 acres. On this basis a provisional hypothesis can be formulated that a powerful system of landholding once established—particularly on the smaller size of estate—provides an enduring base for continuity and conformity. The scheme in Ulster had a tri-dimensional strategy: the planting of whole communities, the

settling of these communities in nucleated settlements and the segregation of the native Irish from the colonists. As in Munster, there was no attempt to measure the proportions individually. Nevertheless, land was divided into three types of proportions, known as large (2,000 English acres), middle (1,500) and small (1,000). It was intended that every proportion would constitute a parish in which a Protestant Church was to be built.

Formerly, a loosely structured Church, Irish speaking and constantly being criticized by the English for its apparently pagan practices and quasi-allegiance to superstition, had flourished in Ulster. The imposition, not only of a new religion, on the Province but its strict territorial definition was in sharp juxtaposition with what can be called a medieval spatial arrangement of the Irish Church. If the overt and much publicized aim of the Plantation was the secular one of driving Gaelic Ulster to civility, then the grantee's "Bawn" and fortified house, combined with the Protestant Church, illustrated the nature of the colonizer's intentions. His plan for the further development of his estate was often complimented by the establishment of a village whose morphology has remained most persistent. These often become the centre of the linen industry, a facet of a growing industrial age which individualized Ulster in the context of Ireland as a whole and which marks not only the movement from medieval to modern but also its dynamic movement from agriculture to industry.

But the time-span has to be extended for the completion of the modern urban hierarchy in Ulster. The development of the Ulster village reflected a lesser degree of conscious planning than the regional plan for 23 "new" Ulster towns would admit. It appears that the selection of sites under this plan (1609), like the distribution of proportions, was really considered on a county, rather than a regional basis, reflecting a form of administration that, at Government level, has only been rationalized in our own time. Large areas were to be without a town.

The district lying on either side of the Blackwater river, in the Tyrone-Armagh border for example, was to house five towns such as Dungannon and Omagh, while the whole North-West side was to be completely without a town.

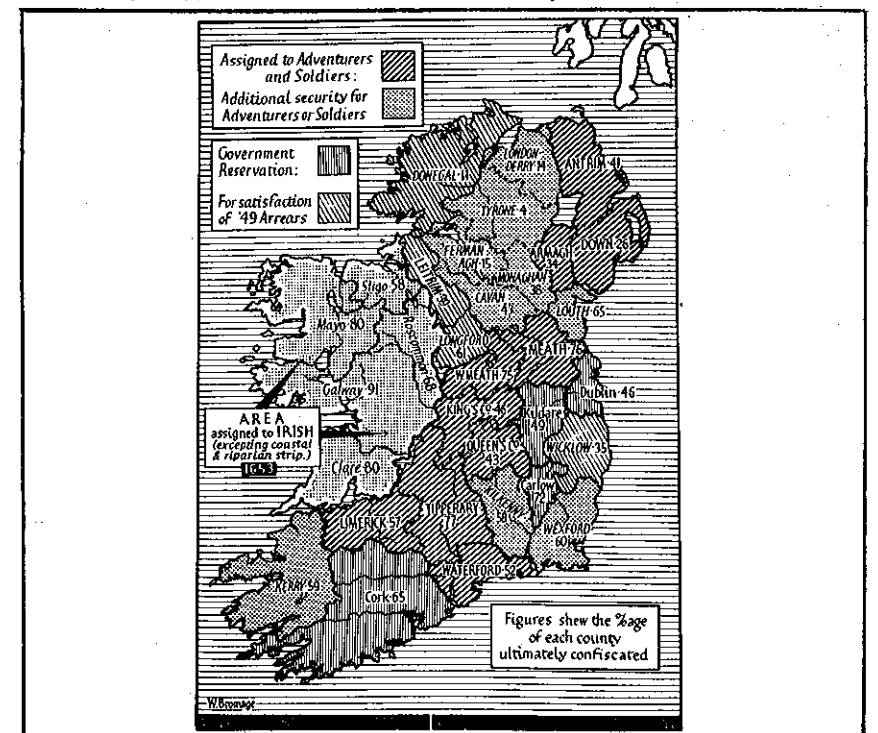
The natural attraction of Co. Down and Co. Antrim for Scottish immigrants in the seventeenth century was and often still is characterized by almost exclusive Protestant landownership. But generally, the attempt to colonize the confiscated areas to the exclusion of the native Irish failed. The Pynnar Survey of 1619—undertaken to see if the plantation had been successful—showed that in many places the opposite of the original objective had been achieved. The native population was large and could just as easily fulfil the grantee's requirements as tenants on his estates, as immigrant settlers. And the legacy of the whole plantation is seen in both the social and economic landscapes of modern Ulster. If bankruptcy eliminated some grantees, then consolidation—the direct antithesis of the plantation scheme—tended to occur.

In summary, it can be said that by 1660, the greatly augmented new English had acquired the greater part of Ireland. (See fig. 3). However, the occupancy, as distinct from

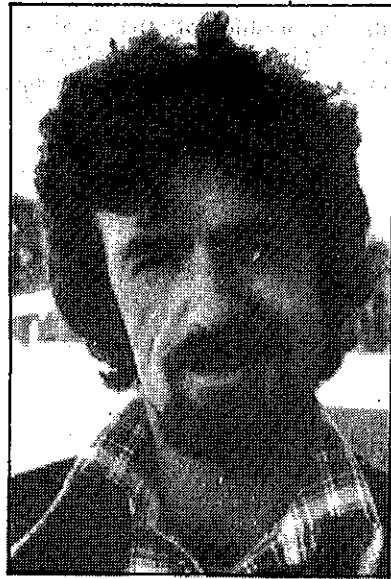
the ownership of the land did not change considerably in character and almost everywhere the native Irish continued to form the majority of those who lived on it. Ireland's countryside, in say 1660, was largely one which had been hacked out by the planter. The really effective landscaping when it came in the next century, particularly under the landlord's influence was an economic though leisurely occupation by the victorious colonists and represented the final disintegration of medieval Ireland.

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48. Cromwellian land distribution



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## Industrial Development Authority activity at National, County, and Local Level.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the role of the Industrial Development Authority as a factor in the spatial distribution of industrial development at a national, county and urban area level. The intention of the analysis is to demonstrate, notwithstanding the IDA's declared objectives and statutory obligations, the imbalance in performance with regard to officially designated areas of need, and non-designated areas, which, on the basis of employment demands alone, many would hold to have an exceedingly high priority for the organisation's work.

The data used has been extracted from official IDA publications, census material, the "South City Area Resources Project" of 1978, as well as a recent survey conducted by "Business and Finance" magazine. Some of the composite data will be presented as published at source; most, however, has been computed independently for the purpose of this paper. The spatial areas analysed are those of the 26 counties of the Irish Republic, the administrative counties of Dublin and Galway, and the Dublin inner-city postal area number 8.

The Industrial Development Authority was established by an Act of the Oireachtas in 1969, which combined the pre-existing An Foras Tionscal (grants) and the I.D.A. (promotions) into one national organization with overall responsibility for industrial development in the Republic. State involvement in this sphere began in 1952 with the setting up of An Foras Tionscal through which industrial grants were introduced to encourage manufacturing in the immediate post-war era. As the ensuing decade continued to develop into one of high unemployment and emigration, particularly in rural Ireland, it became apparent that the solution to these two national problems could not be left solely to the operation of free market forces. Direct intervention by the state was deemed necessary in the creation of industrial employment in order to stem the exodus from the country and to bring unemployment levels

down to manageable proportions. Since it was obvious that the stagnant manufacturing sector of the native Irish economy, with or without state help, was incapable of producing those extra jobs, the only alternative appeared to be to attract overseas enterprises to locate in the 26 counties. The mechanism through which they were to be thus attracted was a system of incentives, including grants and preferential taxation.

The thinking behind this policy formed an integral part, and indeed, the leading component of a whole re-orientation of national planning philosophy in the 1950's which centred on the Whitaker-Lemass-inspired "First Programme for Economic Expansion". Thus, the operations of the I.D.A. and its' predecessors have taken place within an overall framework of state planning policy which has sought to influence and direct not only the volume of economic growth over the last 25 years, but also its' geographic location.

Viewed nationally, the I.D.A. has had considerable success, a fact attested to even by left-wing critics of Irish capitalism such as Sinn-Fein The Workers Party who are strongly supportive of the I.D.A.'s role in helping create what they term the "Irish Industrial Revolution". And, notwithstanding recurrent problems, such as "fly-by-night" companies who pack up after the incentives have run out, and some large discrepancies between jobs promised and jobs generated (e.g. Asahi—193 out of 600)—there is no denying the impact of the I.D.A. on the economy.

In the period 1952—1970 more than £50m was paid out in grants at an average grant per head of population of £17.50p. Of that total amount, nearly 70% was distributed in the form of new industry grants to produce an estimated 65,000 jobs. In line with I.D.A. policy, the vast majority of firms benefitting from new industry grants were foreign-owned multinationals locating in the 26 counties for the first time. For example, 70% of the 500 new

industrial enterprises in the period 1960 to 1969 were non-nationals; the majority being U.K., U.S., or West German-owned. In the more extensive period 1960 to 1976 a total of 662 overseas projects were sponsored by the I.D.A., one third each were provided by the U.S. and U.K., slightly more than one fifth by West Germany, with the balance being provided by 19 other countries, mostly European. However, it is worth noting that whereas the U.S. accounted for one third of the total number of projects, it actually accounted for almost 50% of the total capital investment. The U.S. multi-nationals, then, are the leading sector of the new industrial scene.

In order to direct investment to areas of need, development-wise, the I.D.A. have divided the state up into two types of areas:

"Designated and Un-designated".

Designated areas are those in need of development and which are intended to receive a high priority and preferential treatment in the giving of incentives.

Un-designated areas receive a much lower priority.

Generally speaking those counties lying west of the Shannon plus all the northern counties in the Republic tend to be designated areas. The majority of those east of that line tend to be un-designated. The overall strategy of the I.D.A. then seems to be to correct this regional imbalance.

However, a brief analysis of aggregate new industry grants and estimated jobs generated in each of these classifications for the period 1952—70 reveals a remarkable uniformity in performance which appears to run counter to this overall strategy. In terms of grants per head of population, both zones score similarly at around £24.00. Both achieve the same score of 0.03 jobs per head of population. Only in average cost per job do they diverge, with the un-designated zone costing slightly more at £1,119 to the designated £1,057. Thus, analysis at the macro-level reveals that far from redressing the regional imbalance, the I.D.A. appears to have failed and to have ended up by treating the country as one unit. The statistical evidence at this level raises the question whether these broad classifications by themselves are workable criteria for planning policy?

On the other hand, closer examination of the figures reveals that some counties which are termed designated, received much more preferential treatment than others which fall within the same category. For example, in the same period, both Mayo and Clare are termed designated counties, yet, whereas Clare received an average new industry grant per head of population of £56.10p, Mayo only received £6.10p. Similarly, among the un-designated counties, Louth received £32.30p, while Dublin got only £7.90p.

At first glance then it would appear that a straight comparison between Dublin and Clare bears out the I.D.A. strategy of positive discrimination. But the problem arises when we try to compare remote and rural Mayo with Louth in the developed East. Here Mayo, with an obvious need for development actually received five times less than a county with relative advantages. Alternatively we can compare Mayo and Clare between which there is a ten-fold difference in grants allocated.

It is obvious, then, that both within and between designated and un-designated areas discrimination takes place, and that additional factors are operating to influence industrial investment and job-creation, other than the criteria of need alone.

The answer is in part supplied by the I.D.A. themselves in their review of activity for the period: "Individual counties such as ...Clare have done well in relation to their regions. *These are counties with an operating port, urban centre and an international airport*".

Viewed nationally, then, it must be concluded that in practice the I.D.A. operates to direct the flow of investment to those areas which have pre-existing infrastructural advantages, and that geographic location or remoteness operates as a secondary consideration. Where positive discrimination occurs, it does so between different urban foci which are essentially pre-selected historically. If geographic remoteness and a crying need for development were the major criteria, then surely Mayo would have received a much larger injection of capital aid?

### DUBLIN AND GALWAY

To get a clearer picture of how positive discrimination works between competing foci, it is proposed to make a comparative analysis of one designated county in the west with an un-designated one in the east. Both are long-established urban foci with ports and other infrastructural elements. The major differences obviously lie in size, population and industrial experience. Dublin county with its' national capital, being the most heavily industrialised area in the state, had a population in 1971 of 852,219. Galway with its' western capital of the same name had a total population in the same census of 149,223, one sixth of Dublin's.

In 1976, Co. Galway was allocated an average total grant per head of population of £15.80p, while Dublin received roughly half of that at £7.60p. However, a breakdown of figures under the different grant headings reveals a much more differentiated picture.

Under the heading, "New Industry Grants", (which, as already pointed out, are given in the majority of cases to overseas multi-nationals), Galway received a grant per head of population of £14.40p. Dublin in turn received only one quarter of that, £3.50p. Perhaps up to half of that difference lies in the "normal" high cost of siting in Galway; the balance, though, is certainly reflective of the I.D.A.'s positive discriminatory role.

Where Dublin does score higher than Galway is in the category of re-equipment grants to existing industry. Here Dublin county received £4.20p per head against Galway's 80p. The thrust of the I.D.A.'s effort in the Dublin area, then, went to re-capitalising existing plants. However, such activity does not necessarily fall within the definition of job-creation. For example, in the case of the Guinness Brewery, which was apportioned over a third of the total Dublin re-equipment grant for 1976, redundancies actually followed as a result of this type of funding.

Further comparison can be made between new



Industry projects brought to each area, by reference to a recent investigation conducted by *Business and Finance* magazine into what they term the "top 100 grant-aided companies". Of these 100 firms, Galway has 8, providing 2,819 jobs, at a cost to the I.D.A. to-date of £5.9m. This group of companies accounts for roughly one quarter of all I.D.A. sponsored projects in the area up to mid 1977. All are U.S. owned and all but one are creations of the 1970's. Dublin county accounts for 13 of the 100, providing 5,488 jobs at a cost of £5.7m. This group comprises one sixth of all I.D.A. projects in the Dublin area for the same period. Eight are U.S. owned, the others being U.K. or European. Only three have been established since 1970.

From these figures, a number of conclusions derive: Firstly, twice as many jobs have been generated in the Dublin area for the same I.D.A. capital outlay as in Galway. Part of this difference must be accounted for by the different average dates of commencement in each county. Equally, part can also be attributed to the fact that it costs more to create jobs in the west than in the east. By dividing the number of jobs by the number of plants in each county, it can be seen that the average number of jobs per plant in Dublin is higher than in Galway.

This suggests that new industry is of a higher capital intensity in Galway than in Dublin. Since both groups of companies operate in the same high growth sectors of electrical and electronic goods, pharmaceuticals and chemicals, plastics etc. the difference in capital content may also be accounted for in part by the different dates of commencement. The majority of the Galway plants being newer, they have come into production with newer equipment and a higher initial capital content than the Dublin units, which are relatively older on average.

#### DUBLIN 8

A total of 74 I.D.A. sponsored multi-nationals established themselves in the Dublin area and were still in production at the beginning of 1977. Of these, 32 were U.K. owned, 27 U.S. owned, with the balance coming from 6 other countries. They are engaged in nearly every industrial sector, from engineering through to service.

With regard to location; 25 have sited in areas outside the city boundaries but within the greater Dublin-Dun Laoghaire area (with the exception of the Wavin plant in Balbriggan). 41 are spread throughout the outer-city postal districts, while only 8 are located in the inner city areas of Dublin 1, 2, 7 and 8. Of these 8, 4 can be termed only marginally as manufacturing projects, since they are concerned with research or service operations. Thus the vast majority of I.D.A. companies have located at or towards the city periphery according to conventional industrial location theory.

However, if we refer back to the original discussion with regard to designated areas of need, and the necessity to combat unemployment and emigration, we can see that within the greater Dublin area there are large pockets of unemployment and job-starvation which contrast sharply with the areas

lack of designated status. The inner-city Liberties, within Dublin 8 is one such local area. In the 1971 census, the Liberties area yielded a population of 40,857, with a total labour force of 15,296. The then rate of unemployment was 9.6%, higher than the national average.

By mid 1977 that rate had risen to at least 15%, with some wards in the Liberties displaying up to 33% unemployment. This high rate is due in part to long-term decline in "traditional" industry in the area (e.g. more recently Jacob's moving to Tallaght, redundancies in Guinness's,) as well as to the overall economic situation. Over half the unemployed fall into the unskilled and labouring categories.

On the face of it Dublin 8 fulfils all the criteria of an area in need of industry. Therefore it is proposed to treat it as such for the sake of a theoretical exercise and to compare it with Galway county which has an aggregate urban population of approximately similar size, 43,000 (in 1971). (The validity of using the urban area of Galway county is borne out by the fact that in 1976, 13 of the 20 new projects receiving grants in the county were located in the Galway city and suburbs, the rest in smaller urban centres such as Ballinasloe.)

Taking the new industry grant figures for 1976, Dublin 8 received an approximate average grant per head of £5.30p. This was accounted for in total by the Van Hool-Macardle coach-building company sited on the periphery of the district, and since gone into liquidation after only 5 years operation. It should also be pointed out that Van Hool's was the *only* I.D.A. overseas new industry ever to locate in the district to-date. As already stated, Galway county received £14.40p per head. However, if we take account only of the aggregate urban population of the county, then this average figure jumps to almost £50.00p per head. Similarly, with grants for small industry in the same period, Dublin 8 was allocated only 13p per head whereas Galway aggregate-urban received £1.71p per head.

However, as with Dublin county, Dublin 8 scored high in the re-equipment grant category (excluding the Guinness grant,) receiving £3.94p per head, as opposed to the £2.86p given to Galway aggregate urban.

More interesting still, though, is the manner in which these re-equipment grants were distributed in Dublin 8. Disregarding the Guinness grant of £1,331,223 on the grounds that a) it is a primate national industry and b) that the re-equipment grants for 1975 and 1976 caused redundancies anyway, the remaining total of £157,587 was divided up among 20 enterprises. Of these, 50% were engaged in the garment industry, the remainder in printing, food and drink, and light engineering. The main effort of the I.D.A. in Dublin 8 in that year was the financing of one new industrial project which was destined to fold up within two years, and the subsidising of one of the most backward sectors of industry, in terms of economic impact, pay and conditions of employment. This is in glaring contrast to its efforts in Galway for the same year when a new industry grant ten-times that of Dublin 8 helped, among other things, to establish 2 of the top 100 I.D.A. aided companies now employing a total of 760 workers.

#### CONCLUSION

Working from the data under survey, it is clear that in the formative period 1952-71, the I.D.A.'s policy of dividing the state into designated and undesignated counties did not provide an effective working criterion. A county's possession of an urban focus etc. has been generally more significant than administrative classification. While dispersal of new projects has undoubtedly taken place, this has been countered by clustering around regional centres which in turn has tended at the very least to impede if not neutralise the original official policy of maximum dispersal. Thus the pattern of new industry in this period must be seen as a trade-off between the existing urban infrastructure of the state, the aims of the multinationals and the efficacy of the I.D.A.

Success has been achieved in the siting of industry in designated urban centres, though it must be pointed out that undesignated centres such as in Louth and Waterford have also done well. While new industry has been brought to Dublin's peripheral industrial estates, the thrust of I.D.A. efforts here appears to have been to recapitalise existing concerns, a policy which does not of itself necessarily create new employment and may even be viewed as a fire-brigade action to prevent more unemployment. The fact that the I.D.A. has effectively by passed large pockets of urban underdevelopment raises again the question of the validity and allocation of the term "designated".

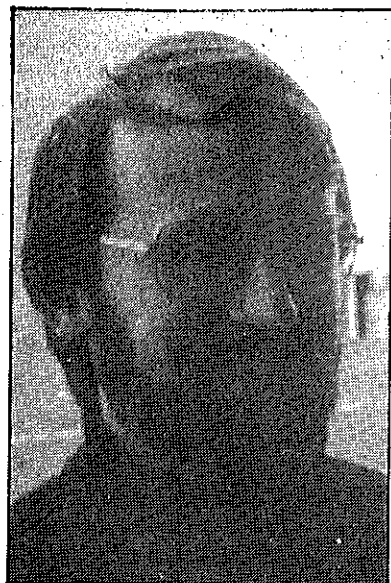
While the government, through the I.D.A., can influence free-market forces through incentives etc. a review of activity over the past 25 years suggests that such incentives do not substitute for a clearly-

defined policy. Nor do they guarantee that the locational aims of the client company will coincide with those of the sponsoring organisation, however, ill-defined. F. Walsh suggests that successive advocates of the "growth centre concept" have failed to revise the official I.D.A. programme of maximum dispersal.

This dichotomy may be more apparent than real, since it appears that the state is operating a policy of both by default, an effect which is ultimately the result of its essentially subservient role in relation to the multinationals. This "mixum-gatherum" policy, or indeed "no policy", operates to the detriment of areas of real need, both urban and rural. Therefore the role of the I.D.A. in influencing the industrial geography of the state may well be less as director and more as cashier to other directive agencies.

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## THE GROWTH OF TOURISM IN CORK/KERRY REGION

The growth of tourism in Ireland as a major industry has been a very recent development. It is true that centres like Killarney and Blarney have been attracting tourists since the middle of the last century, helped first by the stage-coach network and later by the railways. Even as recently as mid-50's, the majority of overseas visitors were Irish immigrants returning from the industrial centres of Britain or first or second generation Irish-Americans making a life-time awaited return to the old country. It was only in the middle sixties that we began to seriously think in terms of tourism as an industry and it was only as recently as 1972 that official records of visitors, bed-nights, and revenue created by the industry were introduced. (Table I). Thus tourism, in the short space of some twenty years, has grown into one of our major industries.

Each part of the country has contributed to, and gained from, tourism. But one area, that of Cork/Kerry region, commands a much higher percentage of the market than any other region. What factors have contributed to its exceptional success in the tourist trade?

The basis of tourism in Cork/Kerry region is undoubtedly the very high scenic quality of the area. The natural environment includes the Lakes of Killarney

and McGuillicuddy Reeks, the Gaeltacht areas of West Cork, the spectacular mountain passes of the Beara peninsula. It also includes the valleys of the Lee, Bandon and Blackwater Rivers, while the long indented coastline gives rise to the peninsulas of Mizen Head, Sheep's Head, Beara, Iveragh (ring of Kerry) and Dingle. Thus the region provides a suitable mixture of mountain and coastal scenery.

This natural environment leads directly to many of the outdoor activities and attractions of the region. Fishing on rivers and lakes is a popular attraction, while sailing, yachting and sea-fishing enthusiasts are well catered for in many centres along the coastline. This long coastline also provides many fine sandy beaches, suitable for bathing. The popularity of sailing has been increased, due to the opening of two sailing schools in the region, at Baltimore and Castletownbere. Golf-courses are available in most towns and some are up to championship standard, e.g. Waterville. The state forests, under the protection of the Forests and Wildlife Section of the Dept. of Lands, are open to the public, and are laid out in scenic walks and picnic-areas. Hillclimbing and orienteering are other outdoor activities growing in popularity.

The suitability of this area for tourism has been further helped

by the fact that no Industrial Revolution occurred in Ireland: thus, no heavy industry exists and the region contains few large urban centres. Consequently, the importance of the natural environment on tourism is incalculable.

The communications with Britain and Europe are of prime importance in attracting tourists to the area. Before Cork Airport opened in 1961, the only transport link was with Britain. Since then, Irish-Continental Lines have introduced car-ferry services; Rosslare-LeHavre, in 1973 and Rosslare-Cherbourg, 1976. In 1969, B + I Lines introduced the Cork-Swansea car-ferry, with the Cork-Pembroke service coming into operation in May, 1979. A third company, Brittany Ferries, introduced the Cork service in 1978. The air links with Britain and Europe and the ferries operating out of Cork bring tourists directly into the region, rather than losing them to Dublin and the east coast. The region is sufficiently close to Shannon Airport to attract TransAtlantic visitors, and this potential market was further boosted by the introduction of the Kilmer-Tarbert ferry across the Shannon. The new low-rate transAtlantic flights between New York and London have enabled many Americans to make the Grand

Tour of Europe, which usually includes a visit to Ireland. Internally, the region is well served by C.I.E. expressway routes and C.I.E.-operated coach tours, while the many car-hire firms have encouraged the new "fly-drive" type of holiday. However, the loss of the railways in parts of the region is difficult to estimate.

Suitable accommodation is vital to the trade, and in this respect the area is well served, (see figures). The area contains 37% of all national accommodation stock, and this ranges from hotels of first three categories to farmhouse holidays, guesthouses and bed and breakfast establishments. Camping and caravanning sites are well located, which, along with the high number of youth hostel beds, demonstrate the importance of the youth market to the area. But the biggest increase in accommodation stock has been in the area of self-catering; there are now some 300 properties available for this purpose in the region. Special mention must be made here of the horse-drawn caravan trade; this was a concept conceived and put into operation in West Cork in mid-1960's. Since then, four other companies have been created, so that about 200 caravans are now available for hire. It attracts almost all its customers from overseas, bringing in some 8,000 visitors annually. This was a completely new development in tourism, and has since been copied not only in other parts of Ireland, but also abroad.

Bord Failte has played an immense part in improving standards here at home, while attracting an increasing number of overseas visitors and developing new markets. (See figures). Bord Failte succeeded the now defunct Fogra Failte, and one of its first decisions was to divide the country into eight regions, each with its own Regional Tourism Organization. The Cork/Kerry region has four fulltime information offices, which are augmented by 18 temporary offices during the peak summer months. These offices provide an invaluable service for visitors to the region, distributing brochures,

maps and guide-books, as well as providing an accommodation service. In 1976, Bord Failte, in conjunction with the Regional Tourism Organization, published its Cork-Kerry Tourism Development Plan, which made a detailed survey of all the facilities and amenities in the region and offered proposals for the optimization of these resources. Extensive advertising is continually being undertaken by Bord Failte, at home and abroad. This advertising takes the usual forms of radio, T.V. and press, but also includes holiday exhibitions, trade shows and familiarization tours for foreign travel agents and tour operators.

The many and varied festivals taking place attract huge numbers of visitors to the region. These range from the intellectual type: Listowel Writer's Week, Cork Film Festival—to the culinary: Sneem Lamb Festival, Kenmare seafood Festival to the sporting: Kinsale Sailing Festival and West Cork Car Rally, based in Clonakilty. The importance of these festivals is that they attract people to the region who might not otherwise come. Thus they are encouraged to return at a later date, for a long stay. A good example of this is St. Patrick's Day, which brings many Americans to Ireland for the first time. These festivals

are also important in that they take place in the "shoulder" of the season, i.e. between high-season and off-season periods, and so help to extend the season at both ends. This shoulder period is further boosted by the conference trade, a relatively new corner of the market in this country. Killarney is the second biggest conference centre in Ireland, Cork city also being popular for this purpose.

The rising standards in the hotel and catering industry have helped the growth of tourism in a very significant way. The College of catering, Cathal Brugha Street, and the Regional Technical Colleges, now run courses for waiters, waitresses, chefs and hotel managers, and these in turn have helped to raise standards in the trade, so that Ireland can now favourably compete with the rest of Europe with regard to cuisine and service. Another interesting development has been the rise in the number of late-night, "up-market" restaurants, catering for the discerning diner; these are to be found, predictably, in the more fashionable centres such as Kinsale, Baltimore, and Killarney.

The above-mentioned factors have been perhaps the most important in helping growth of tourism, but there have also been other, less obvious, factors. The introduction of Tidy Towns Competition may not seem important to tourism, but it has

TABLE I

1978 REGIONAL SHARE OF NATIONAL ACCOMMODATION STOCK

	National Stock	Cork/Kerry Stock	% of Nat. Stock
Hotels	696	168	24.1
Town + Country Homes	318	120	37.7
Guesthouses	1199	289	24.6
Farmhouses	428	140	32.0
Youth Hostels	48	13	27.6
Camping/Caravan Sites	—	22 Sites— 1221 Pitches	—

TABLE II

TOURISM FIGURES (NATIONAL)

Numbers (000s)	33%	31%	34%	32%	33%	33%	32%
% for Cork-Kerry region	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Britain	750	845	820	817	797	864	973
Continental Europe	127	148	165	188	207	252	299
North America	259	261	262	256	266	297	375
Other Overseas	28	30	28	28	27	55	86
N. Ireland	294	330	363	399	423	495	507
Total out-of-state visits	1458	1614	1628	1688	1720	1963	2242

allowed visitors to return with a more favourable impression of the country. Likewise, the increased awareness of our architectural heritage has resulted in not just the preservation of Georgian houses in Merrion Square but has also influenced peoples ideas in smaller towns and villages, where traders and shopkeepers now preserve old shop fronts, window-panes and maintain the old hand-painted names, instead of characterless, plastic neon-signs. This development, along with the preservation and sign-posting of historic monuments, and the opening of some of the houses of the former landlord class to the public, have introduced the visitor to the history and culture of the region,

thereby making his stay more enjoyable and rewarding.

However, tourism, like all industries, has had its problems. The oil crisis of mid-1970's had a serious effect on the trade, while more recently, strikes in Aer Lingus, in telecommunications and in Sealink ferry services have been serious setbacks. Surprisingly, the conflict in Northern Ireland was not as serious for the trade as is often assumed. The figures show that it affected only the number of visitors from Britain, and this for only three years, 1974/5/6. In fact, the number of visitors from Northern Ireland for this period increased, as did the numbers from abroad, except for 1974, (see Table II). As the Bord Failte report of 1978 says,

"these events once again demonstrate the vulnerability of Irish tourism to factors outside its direct control".

What of the future? 1979 is expected to be a difficult year, due to increasing oil prices, general weakening of economies and doubts about the implications of the European Monetary System. But Bord Failte is not relying solely on its present markets. Extensive advertising has been undertaken in the untapped markets of Scandinavia, Spain, Italy, North America and Japan and these new markets promise much growth. Thus it is expected that tourism will continue its present rate of growth, thereby generating badly-needed revenue for the Irish economy.



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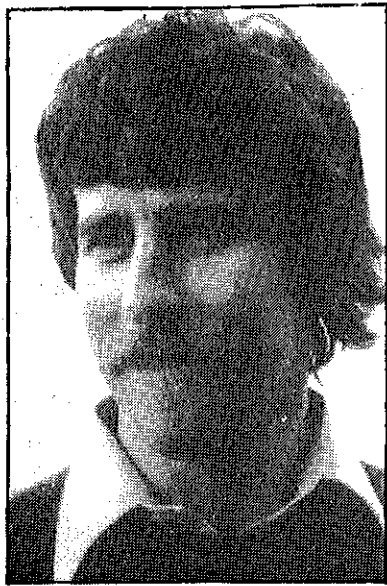


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## PRESERVATION IN THE CITY: AN ANSWER TO URBAN BLIGHT OR AN IMPOSSIBLE DREAM? CASE STUDY: DUBLIN

"The underlying philosophy of urban conservation is that towns can undergo both social and economic expansion, and physical change, without losing their essential character" (Shaffrey 1975).<sup>1</sup>

This definition, although seeming to encapsulate comprehensively the *raison d'être* of conservation, and thus of preservation, is nevertheless dependent for its success on two important factors; firstly, the policy must have the backing of the general public, and secondly, it demands a facilitating approach by the powers that be, in Ireland these being the local urban district councils and the Department of the Environment.

At first sight these conditions seem to be independent of one another but, as we shall try to indicate, this is seldom the case.

Ireland is, and certainly was, a relatively poor country. This does not imply that the means of improvement were lacking but, because of its isolated setting, off the extreme west of the European land-mass, and, more importantly because of its historical relationship of subjugation to Great Britain, these resources were withheld from the Irish native. Thus only recently has political independence brought about the potential for growth.

It is to some extent natural, therefore, given our history, that the prime goal of the Irish consciousness, aside from getting to heaven, is getting rich. All other considerations take second place. How else can one explain the attitude of the Lord Mayor of Dublin, "chosen representative" of the people, taking an opposing stance to his own political party in advocating the erection of civic offices on the site of a now-recognised national monument, the historic Viking settlement at Wood Quay? How else can one reconcile the action of the E.S.B., a semi-state body, contravening the will of the public, Dublin Corporation, An Taisce et. al. in its demolition of lower Fitzwilliam Street, the longest uninterrupted terrace of Georgian houses in Europe? How else does one explain a planning policy that is so littered with caveats

and provisos, generally economic, that it is rendered virtually worthless?

Thus even in cases of acute public outcry, as happened in the case of the Central Bank building, the appeals board was so dogged by economic considerations that the offending height was reduced only marginally.

In these cases, and in many others, planners and public are so interwoven with speculative forces that it is impossible to differentiate between them. There is the famous case of the government minister who bought up agriculturally designated land near his home, knowing that it was due for residential zoning by his colleague, the then Minister for Local Government.

In Ireland "money doesn't talk, it swears"<sup>2</sup>— the gombeen-man being exalted and his creation, capital, revered.

Natural as this state of affairs may be, given our history and geography, consider the accompanying losses, both aesthetic and historical, that it entails. The Irish were always a rebellious people but was it really necessary to blow up Nelson's Pillar, as if this was an indication of courageous retaliation against its builders? There had always been talk of its removal, but could some enlightened body not have replaced the statue with one of an Irish folk-hero or patriot, and thus preserve what was "the finest Doric column in Europe"<sup>3</sup>

And what of the authorised vandalism; The Metropole cinema, remembered along with the Pillar as the chief meeting place (or as Jane Jacobs would have it, "focal point")<sup>4</sup> for Dubliners, is gone, along with the beautiful Capitol with its rococo interior, to be replaced by the glass and concrete of the British Home Stores, an ironic twist of the "Patriotic" knife.

St. Stephen's Green, along with Mountjoy Square, now totters in ruins, the culinary glories of the Russell Hotel and the architectural glories of Wesley College now lying under the obligatory car-park, presumably awaiting the erection of another Sam Stephenson nightmare, the design of which is determined, not by

its blending with its surroundings, but by being as incongruously conspicuous as possible. Such is "design philosophy" in Ireland, subject solely to the whim and self-aggrandisement of individual architects.

Perhaps we are crippled by having such a rich, albeit colonial, culture. Ireland has evolved so slowly that we are surrounded by nuances from many periods of civilization and we are inclined to take them for granted.

Streets are mock-tudor, Regency, Georgian and Victorian in design and are so interlaced that the value of one doesn't supersede another. Thus all have the same cultural and economic significance. Every street corner used to be a distinct focal-point, from the old D.M.P. lamp on Kevin St. to the elaborately carved, wrought iron mini-lavatory on O'Connell Bridge. The time is gone when one would be asked in McDaid's "Do you know which corner in Dublin has five pubs on it or how many underground toilets are in the city?" One isn't asked, because Ship St. corner only has four pubs now and most of the toilets are filled in, all in the name of "progress" and the automobile.

Such tales and anecdotes remain only in the literature and art of a post generation. Would James Joyce have waxed lyrically on Sandymount Strand if he thought an oil refinery was to mark the steps of Stephen Dedalus? Do Yeats' words in the Abbey on art and the servile Irish mentality not have an ironic and hollow ring when remembered inside the concrete box which has inherited the mantle from the old?

Another factor influencing our apathy is our neutrality during the last war. Our heritage was spared, so we slay it now. Germany, which was decimated by bombing, now clutches, both at home and abroad, at any artifact or relic from the past in the hope of re-establishing a national identity. Museums are built to preserve the memory of bygone days. Here in Ireland we rip down Victorian gas lamps, intricate iron gates and, instead of putting them in museums, we submit them to the Hammond Lane smelter, which helps reinforce the concrete which reinforces the roads which obliterate all sight of the history whence they came.

Speaking of roads, it is not a small, although presumably temporary, miracle that the waterways of Dublin have not been swallowed up? Water is always restful and the tree-lined banks of the Royal and Grand Canals provide something of a link with nature, although, with the adjacent motorways, the sounds of nature are left to the imagination. Already some stretches have been filled in and some have even been converted to open parks, presumably in the interests of safety and fresh amenity. However it is noticeable that these parks are vandalised just as much as established, enclosed ones and that they are as often deserted as not. The spontaneity and charm of the waterway has gone.

This, of course, hearkens to one of Ms. Jacobs less contentious points i.e. that one cannot foster this kind of ambience synthetically; shrubs and park benches may be fine in themselves, but they are no indication that they will enliven a place. Local residents groups do their best but in the face of such overwhelming opposition, they are spitting in the wind.

Would any other country in the world permit what the authorities allow to happen to the Liffey Quays?

A river is like a life-force: let the buildings decay, collapse, and rot, let juggernaut traffic monopolise its streets, let every industry pump every conceivable effluent into its waters and it becomes a travesty, a joke, a contradiction of that for which it stands.

And yet, think of the potential of Dublin; the winding, individual streets, the imposing and varied architecture, the historical and eccentric street furniture, the miles of water-way, the proximity to both sea and countryside; There is no true reason why we cannot foster all of these aspects and dwell in a city which, even now, is a comparatively pleasant place to live.

Nor should one forget that certain concessions and positive approaches have been made although one is amused at the naivete of some; to re-erect the former building on the Central Bank site, adjacent to its former setting, but given a Western rather than a Southern perspective, does no justice, either to itself or to the Leviathan which stands on its previous site.

The local authorities lists of preserved and protected structures show at least positive intentions, even if these statues can be overruled by the "necessity" of economic Progress.

The fundamental question remains: do we wish to maintain relics, symbols of the past, both to preserve historical links and to identify with the art and society of our heritage, either colonial or native; or do we see only our future, epitomised by pragmatism, functionalism and above all, the chance of material prosperity? The answer seems obvious.

The idea of preservation/conservation is attractive because it is illusory. Economic, social and cultural forces are diametrically opposed to the type of society which preservation represents. We live in a technological, impersonal age whose God is "progress". This pretty much obviates any personalization or individuality. Consumerism rules. Georgian terraces were the functionalism of the eighteenth century. Now they are regarded as anachronistic. Thus the title question: "an answer to urban blight or an impossible dream?" is subjective, depending on the direction one wishes society to follow. Society has always borne the fruits of its mistakes. Presumably it always will.

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## The Nuts and Bolts of the Irish Landscape

—P.J. Duffy

F.H.A. AALEN, *MAN AND THE LANDSCAPE IN IRELAND*, Academic Press, 1978, 343pp., £12.00

Most people are unaware of the influence of geography on their lives. Distance, accessibility and mobility are increasingly important aspects of modern life. "Space derives its structure from patterns of location and interaction" (Morril 1974). A great many of these spatial structures may have been inherited from the distant past. In view of the capacity of modern man to demolish things overnight and to construct on a large scale, it is important to be aware of the degree to which we live, work and play in inherited landscapes, fashioned and arranged in different conditions by our ancestors. Apart from the more dramatic discoveries underneath the rubble of inner city development, people should be aware of their ordinary everyday landscapes as accumulated legacies of centuries.

Rural communities especially, with a growing consciousness of rural development, will benefit from a knowledge of the past and its relevance for their lives and landscapes today. Chats to most rural people will indicate that they are aware of the past through a collection of myths about fairy forts, cruel landlords etc. There is a need therefore for an educational process in local history, with special emphasis on authentic versions of local landscape evolution, its fields, hedges, roads, placenames and cultural artefacts. In a society which is becoming more urbanised, the need to understand our rural

heritage is all the greater. The young people are especially important in rural and urban areas; if they understand the nature of the landscape heritage, they will respect and protect it in future.

There are more opportunities today than there were twenty years ago to explain and understand the evolution of the Irish cultural landscape. The appearance of a book like *Man and the Landscape in Ireland*, probably symbolises the coming-of-age of Irish historical geography. Among all the branches of the discipline, historical geography has perhaps flourished most in Ireland. A relatively solid foundation has been laid for a whole new surge of research into our past. Our history and geography teachers are now in a strong position to exploit this expanding knowledge, and to inculcate greater interest in our past, into the young people of today. The second-level syllabus, however, acts as a constraining influence, with little opportunity to look at historical geography, for example. In this context, the field trip—even the look-see bus tour—is essential to train the students to observe; so that in future as they dash through landscapes, they will see more than merely nameless places to get through as quickly as possible.

The Irish cultural landscape is the end result of many centuries of fashioning, moulding and organisation by man. The concept of spatial organisation, with as

Morril puts it, the object of using territory efficiently, is probably the best starting point in understanding the evolution of human landscapes. Two considerations follow from this, however. First, man has tended to arrange his space for greatest convenience/efficiency.

The modern landscape must be seen then, as the latest stage in an ongoing process of organisation, because the criteria of efficiency are constantly changing: the shortest distance between two points depends not only on the ability to move mountains (or tunnel through them), but also on the speed of travel; the organisation of the landscape (and settlement, especially) will have different parameters of efficiency in the horse cart and motor car ages, for example. In the second place, geographical inertia must be considered as a countervailing influence on the tendency for efficient human organisation of space. The ongoing process of landscape organisation occurs in the context of a pre-existing territorial system—old moulds are seldom completely demolished. Rural planners must be especially aware of this; apart from the exceptional circumstances of the Dutch polderlands or the American West in the nineteenth century, there are no opportunities to wipe the slate clean and impose new landscapes, which are 'efficient' by current standards.

The Irish landscape comprises, therefore, the accumulated legacies of man's organisation over long

periods of time. In making sense of the Irish landscape, however, it is appropriate to ask, where do we start? Here we probably need to draw the line between the purely academic preoccupations of some historical geographers, and the more practical objectives of educating the present generation of young people. Questions of relevance are more important in today's age of growing mass education than ever before. A great deal among geographers is made of the relative roles of change and continuity in questions of landscape and social evolution. In examining the evolution of the Irish landscape, is it possible to identify significant discontinuities in the past which mark off periods in landscape development which are largely irrelevant to the modern landscape?

Three major themes dominate studies of the Irish cultural landscape—landholding, settlement and colonisation. Modern research (say in the past quarter century) has placed great emphasis on the role of continuity, in contrast to the earlier emphasis on sudden change. In the nineteenth century, for example, students of Irish history tended to see it as a series of immigrations (or invasions) which changed everything: the Celts, the Vikings, the Normans, the English all 'invaded' Ireland and transformed "Irish" society. Modern scholars dissent from this stark approach. Estyn Evans was probably the first scholar to place great emphasis on the continuity of culture and tradition over some two thousand years in rural Ireland. The origins of patterns of landholding and settlement, and ways of farming have been sought as far back as the Neolithic period, if not earlier (Evans 1951). Students of rural settlement (many of them former students of Evans), have been especially involved in this debate (Buchanan, 1970, 1973; McCourt 1971). It may be worthwhile to ask if research is being clouded over by an over-emphasis on continuity over the millennia.

The antecedents of the rundale farm clusters of nineteenth century Ireland are sought in the mists of prehistory.

But the only hard evidence about settlement patterns in early Christian Ireland comes from the many thousands of single dispersed rath farmsteads. Research papers are filled with the ghosts of assumed clustered settlements accompanying the raths. Nothing definite has been found, however; placename evidence (the 'baile' debate) is quite inadequate. As a result of emphasis on continuity, the neolithic and bronze-age landscapes which have been uncovered in the bogs of Mayo are not regarded as quite typical because they depict a pattern of enclosed fields and, evidently, dispersed farmsteads. McCourt's hypothesis of a fluctuation between dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns has the appearance of a slightly contrived compromise. Aalen suggests that it may be less a case of continuity than "similar needs in different periods producing similar results" (p.100). But how similar? Does the modern landscape of dispersed farmsteads and enclosed fields bear much comparison with the dispersed raths of Iron Age and early Christian Ireland? Very little enclosure accompanied the raths. Other questions such as who lived in the raths and what form of landholding they practised, raise fundamental points of difference. It is difficult also to see a process of history repeating itself in the emergence of the dispersed einzelhof pattern in many places today out of an older pattern of farm clusters. The process of modernisation of eighteenth and nineteenth century landscapes is surely the unique result of the influence of the landlord and the British economic system.

It was Evans who first developed the ideas on the antiquity of Irish rural life. Many others have referred to the unchanging nature of rural life (e.g. Arenberg and Kimball, 1937). It is probably more accurate to distinguish as Aalen does in his introduction, between rural *life* and rural *landscapes*. No doubt many customs and traditions have persisted, but the framework of the landscape has experienced many transformations. The possibility of changes in country life should not be underestimated either: the Irish language collapsed

rapidly in the nineteenth century, if not in the eighteenth century. Brody maintains very importantly that many of the traditions which we associate with 'traditional' rural society cannot be traced further back than the middle of the nineteenth century (Brody 1973). William's scenario of successive 'Old Englands' constantly receding on a moving escalator of time is very valid (Williams 1975): Thomas Hardy's novels complain of changing country life; Goldsmith eulogised the depopulating countryside (in Ireland); Thomas More in the sixteenth century regretted the passing of the old order; Chaucer depicted change... Ireland experienced a great deal more revolutionary upheaval in its rural social order than did the neighbouring island. The most traumatic changes were the sixteenth and seventeenth century plantations, whose consequences were elegised in the writings of O'Rathaille, O'Suilleabhain and O'Bruadar (Corkery 1967). The Gaelic resurgence, the Anglo-Norman colonisation, the coming of the continental religious orders, the Viking incursions, the coming of Patrick, all mark off some of the more important periods which must have witnessed considerable change in rural life. It is not necessary, of course, to adopt a holocaust theory of change. One enduring fact which must be recognised is the persistence through all these broad social changes of an underlying substratum in society—the "tillers of the earth", referred to in sixteenth century plantation schemes. The peasant substratum continued to work the soil; they became the inheritors and transmitters of many of the folk traditions which persisted in places until recently. But we cannot assume that the peasantry were totally immune to changing economic and social conditions around them; that their landscapes, for example, were unchanging. The towns of the Anglo-Norman colony, embryonic though they were, did establish markets and fairs and must have influenced the rural areas around them; the feudal lordships, transitory though they were,

introduced changes in settlement and landholding which may have become garbled in marginal areas, but represented change nevertheless. The upheavals of the sixteenth and seventeenth century plantations disrupted the pre-existing social order to such an extent that the complex territorial systems, epitomised for example in the ballybetaghs in Ulster, disappeared. The most pervasive changes occurred in the modern period, when economic processes consequent on land confiscations and incorporation in the agrarian capitalist system of Britain, brought about quite extensive changes in rural areas. We can thus depict periods of great change in the Irish countryside, when it is possible to envisage some discontinuities occurring in the organisation of the cultural landscape.

To conclude this brief discussion of landscape development, we can refer back to the image of the cultural landscape as a series of accumulated legacies. Change processes at various times may have rendered many of these legacies redundant. Some recognition must be given, therefore, to the existence, if not of significant discontinuities, then of important changes in the organisation of the landscape. Some features like the medieval villages of Meath, or the Irish raths, are visibly relict, and probably truly relict in that they had relatively little influence on subsequent patterns.

This brings us back to the question of the modern landscape, and where to begin in understanding it. There is no doubt that the post-seventeenth century period is seminal, because it witnessed for the first time the all-embracing influence of a rising economic system which had the capacity to bring about great changes in the social and economic system.

The chief components of the modern rural landscape—the hedges, roads, trees, settlement patterns, fields,—originated in the processes which followed the revolutionary transfer of the land resources of Ireland in the seventeenth century to British men of capital. Probably even more significant than the actual

confiscations of the Cromwellian period (and the later Williamite period) was the accelerating peace-time land-mark in the years before and after the Cromwellian settlement. Co. Monaghan, for example, was not included in the Ulster Plantation, but by 1640 there was a significant Protestant landowning class in the county, the result of spillover from the Plantation, and enterprising speculation in land by English, Scottish and palesmen in the 1620s and 1650s. What we see in the seventeenth century is the snowballing of a process of incorporation of Ireland in the expanding mercantile economy of Britain, and the replacement of the Gaelic landholding elite, either through competition on the land market or compulsory confiscation, by a new elite of British landowners who lived off incomes from renting the land.

Throughout the eighteenth century, we see this agrarian capitalist system reach maturity, as the new landowning class (of landlords or middlemen) exploited the land to the utmost. Modernisation of the landscape for example, was one of the consequences of this exploitation. Regional differences in landscape changes reflected the varying territorial influence of the dominant British economic system (Regan 1978). Thus, for example, the fatland of Meath reflected the greatest degree of landscape modernisation with its large farms and fields and an 'efficient' pattern of settlement. In this region, population density and trends were in reasonable balance with resources; in fact the labour supply was inadequate in the harvest season in pre-famine times. In contrast, the more peripheral areas were much more underdeveloped, lacking a good transport network, with later enclosure, and a population which grew rapidly beyond the capacity of the land to support it. The estate system was the mechanism which brought about change; it 'controlled' landscape or regional development to a great extent. In Leinster, where agrarian capitalism flourished there was strict control, and substantial investment in the land; in the west, on the other hand, the landowners

had little incentive to invest in the future development of their estates. The landowners, therefore, were the agents through which the burgeoning British urban/industrial economy changed the Irish landscape.

Aalen's *Man and the Landscape in Ireland* is essentially an examination of the nuts and bolts of the landscape. There is little attempt to provide an in-depth discussion of fundamental processes. This is especially true of the discussion on the making of the modern landscape. In p. 208, Aalen simply notes that "Ireland is unusual in having the highest rural densities of population on the poorest land". This is surely one of the keystone elements in the modern landscape, a result of regional differentials in the impact of the British economy on Ireland, and a product of our colonial past. Are there parallel cases in colonial Africa, for example, Kenya, where the richer lands were taken over by extensive landed estates, with indigeneous population piling up on the poorer margins? In a short discussion on the estate system, Aalen confines himself to examining the way in which the 'great' landlords transformed the landscape, through improvements, demesne development etc. It is also important to take note of what the system failed to do. It most commonly conjures up images of Powercourts and Castletowns, but it also made a significant negative contribution to many marginal areas, where exploitation and mismanagement of estates resulted in a general degradation of the landscape. The degradation is just as significant as the splendour.

These remarks, however, are confined to a relatively small section of Aalen's book. Books such as this are few and far between today. A book which, to quote the blurb, "examines the accumulated evidence of man's settlement in Ireland from pre-historic times to the present day" is a courageous undertaking for one man. Is it possible, however, for him to do equal justice to all the periods discussed? In the light of the earlier discussion, it would seem that there is some imbalance in examining

the different periods. For example, there are twenty pages devoted to the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods, and seventeen to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There are thirty two pages on the Bronze and Iron Ages, and forty on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is true, as the author points out, that Irish historical geographers are confronted with an embarrassing abundance of archaeological sites; but so many of the conclusions must be qualified. It is difficult to establish the ratio of known to unknown sites. How many pre-historic landscapes lie buried under bogs in the west of Ireland? Only sixty raths have been excavated and have thrown little light on society in the Iron age. Indeed archaeology's scope to inform is quite limited: "One cannot dig up the tenorial obligations linked to an Iron Age hill-fort or farmstead" (Roberts 1978).

Although the discussions on the prehistoric landscape mainly relate to relict features, and Irish historical geography has generally taken its research cues from the modern landscape, the discussions are nevertheless interesting in themselves. For example, much of our linguistic heritage comes from the Celts: were there substantial immigrations of Celts in the Iron Age, or did they immigrate as early as the beginning of the Bronze Age (2000 B.C.)? It is interesting to speculate on the significance of the legendary Formorians, Firbolgs and Tuatha de Danaan: do they represent the mythologising of

actual immigrations?

The very detailed discussion of enclosures in the eighteenth century to a great extent epitomises the strengths of this book as an up-to-date examination of the construction, design and organisation of the material trappings of the Irish landscape and the state of current research. How does one summarise the book then? There are very few references to the broad processes of change, and there is a great deal of empirical detail. In relation to our introductory remarks on the need for young people today to appreciate the nature of our landscape heritage, this is a good basic text which touches on all the major themes. However, the timescale is so extensive that perhaps in the end the author only manages to present a condensed review of the major research conclusions to date.

There are a small number of mistakes: on page 102 a line seems to have been omitted. The reference to Fig 16 on p. 177 should be to Fig. 15. The author also has a confusing habit of considering 'farm' and 'farmhouse' as one and the same: "The typical rural settlement pattern in Ireland is one of single dispersed farms... but clusters of farms occur in scattered localities" (p.22).

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