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Foreword to Milieu 2001

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Milieu has become one of the great survivors in terms of student geographical publications. Each year the relentless search for material is undertaken, a task that falls disproportionately on the Editor. Each year it appears that contributions are in doubt almost to the last minute, and each year I'm sure the Editor has many sleepless nights wondering how he/she can cajole/bludgeon potential authors into delivering. But somehow or other things get done and *Milieu* appears. This is the 26th issue of an unbroken run - no mean feat for a publication which spans the history of this Department. Great credit is due to the Editor and committee for the often unseen and unappreciated work, which is required to sustain this tradition. This year the Editor is producing his second issue after a break of nine years and a double debt of gratitude is owed to him.

The years *Milieu* has spanned have seen Geography at Maynooth expand beyond the wildest dreams of the early band of 811 students who studied in the Department in 1971. One professor recently described Maynooth then as being a place of 'Night Prayers and Lights Out'. The same individual referred to Maynooth today as a place of 'Light Prayers and Nights Out'. Geographers have shaped the new Maynooth and continue to shape the new Ireland. This year the First Arts enrolment exceeds 300 for the first time and total Undergraduate numbers are approximately 650. Inevitably this poses problems of how to best adapt course structures and course deliveries to ensure that graduates are equipped with the knowledge and skills necessary to follow a wide range of career paths. More so than at any time over the past three decades Geographical skills are in great demand. Whether it is in private commerce, the public sector, research or education, it is fair to say we have never had it so good. But it is important to continue to innovate with new courses and new approaches to delivering courses. Within the Department this year has seen the introduction of a Single Honours Programme and continued innovation in practical work and fieldtrip activities.

Over the past year staff members have been active in a number of areas ranging from community endeavours to national and international commitments. Partly as a result of this, postgraduate numbers have expanded enormously and a substantial number of these are funded from research grants and scholarships. This year saw the Department's first Ph.D. completion, Seamus Lafferty. Indeed the future looks good for Geographers both at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. This is a much happier state of affairs than existed during the economically harder times of the past.

Milieu is produced entirely by students in the Department of Geography. The range of articles and contributions in this issue is indicative of the diverse and vibrant activity apparent within the Department. Congratulations are again in order to those responsible for providing the content, chasing the advertisements or typesetting this excellent product.



A toast to Milieu 2001 from Dr. D.G. Pringle

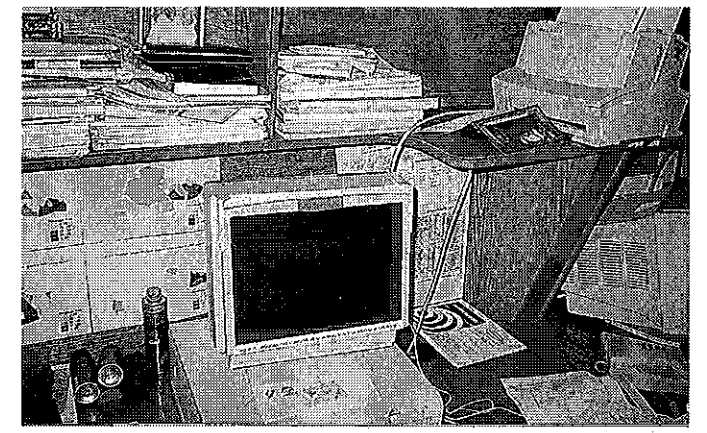


Geography Department Staff and Postgrads

From the Editor's Desk

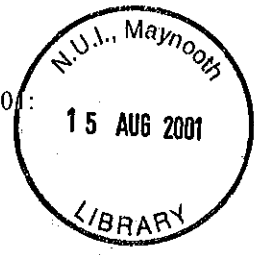
Adrian Kavanagh, PhD Research

Greetings *mes petits poulets* and welcome to this, the 26th Edition of *Milieu*, the annual journal of the NUI Maynooth Geography Society. This follows on a great tradition of geographical journalistic pursuits, starting with the 1975 edition, edited by Jim Murphy and culminating in last year's historic 25th Anniversary edition. Usually this is the spot where the Editor rambles on incoherently about the latest progress in geographical thought, even though said Editor knows diddly-squat about the same. But this year I will just take the opportunity to hail those who have contributed to *Milieu 2001*, pioneers of spatial thought, each and every one. As well as those who forwarded articles for submission, as outlined below, one would lie to take the opportunity also to hail Breata Cunningham, Olga McDaid, Linda Farrelly, Mary Weld, Jim Keenan, Proinnsias Breathnach and YT, all of whom accounted for the entirety of the visual compositions (i.e. photos) in this year's magazine. Gratitude must also be expressed to the multitude...er few...who worked "tirelessly" behind the scenes for this year's masterpiece, including Captions Editor, Mr. Rowan "Kerry Surfer" Fealy. Thanks also to all the Lecturers, who were pestered *ad nauseum* since September 2000 to give constant reminders to the student body about the existence of *Milieu* and the deadline for submissions, which shifted even more than the Saharan sands. One must also thank all those advertisers who sponsored *Milieu 2001* financially. A special note also regarding the Geography Society. They did a great job this year renewing a group that had been in decline in past years and took on the always-onerous task of procuring advertising for the magazine. *Enfin*, thanks to you good Reader for parting with your hard earned cash and entering readily into the mystery of...*Milieu 2001*.



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Modern social control, compliance and resistance:

A study of government spatial strategies and social programmes in relation to the Travelling Community (1960-2001).

Una Crowley, Postgraduate Research

In the tradition of *critical social theory* this paper calls into question aspects of the taken-for-granted or left unexamined which predispose people to accept or even celebrate the 'normal' social order. Inspired by the writings of Foucault (1979, 1984), although not entirely in accordance with them, the paper examines the strategies with which successive Irish governments have attempted to bureaucratise and control Travellers (Ireland's indigenous nomadic population) by drawing them into the state's administrative structure. By focusing on socio-spatial strategies of social control, interlocking discursive regimes, and the maintenance and regulation of spatial hegemony the project is essentially a critique of Travellers' present situation and demonstration of its historical contingency.

Since the 1990's, social partnership has been at the core of public policy and has become the primary delivery mechanism of government and EU funding in relation to the Travelling community. This new policy approach coincides with the settlement of the majority of Travellers, the enactment of the Traveller Accommodation Act (1998), and the reorganisation of the social spaces within which Travellers live their lives. Social partnership reflects a growing localism in Irish public policy as a means of responding to deprivation and social exclusion. This trend of localisation has the potential to effect substantially the experience of settled Travellers in Ireland and has been welcomed by both Traveller representatives and government officials. It is argued that, on paper at least, partnerships and community groups provide openings for Travellers to exercise power and influence within a pluralist system for devising collective strategies and for providing the necessary and appropriate services for its members. However, it may also be argued that this new policy direction complimented by tough new legislation on travel marks a major step towards a viable system of modern social control; keeping Travellers 'quiet' despite decades of unjust domination and cultural destruction by the dominant majority.

A central theme is to point out that the complicity between power and knowledge at work in this situation has, as one of its conditions of possibility, the spatial fixity and individual distinguishability of Travellers (Hannah 1993). Settlement is a pre-requisite for the success of the social partnerships/active citizenship model. Since the 1960's policies to 'rehabilitate', 'assimilate' and 'integrate' Travellers have involved spatial strategies, (such as harassment and eviction from traditional halting sites and the differential treatment in the segregation and provision of social services). However, it was not until 1998 that legislation specifically targeted Travellers. Section 32 of the Traveller Accommodation Act (1998) is emphatically concerned with controlling movement and is overtly hostile

to nomadism, yet the Act has been broadly welcomed by Traveller groups. Increased restrictions on mobility and powers of eviction are seen as a *quid pro quo* for the provision of accommodation. This new acquiescence to spatial fixity can be read as the evaporation of the last major obstacle preventing the Traveller from being controlled in the manner of the settled community.

Until recently the very shape of Traveller social life was fundamentally incompatible with modern social control based on the authoritative 'gaze'. Through geographical and residential mobility (movement in and out of various forms of accommodation over time) Travellers had, for the most part, resisted central and local government control. How have individual Traveller perceptions and practices been shaped in order that these new policies and strategies have come to be accepted, seen as progress and in most cases even favourable? Foucault's historical methods are employed in the following section as a means of diagnosing the present. It is critical of and unwilling to accept the taken for granted components of Travellers' *reality* and 'official' accounts of how they came to be the way they are.

Pre-settlement discourses.

Throughout the first half of the 20th century, the press and other archival sources reveal that Travellers were increasingly identified as a threat to private property, public health and the general economy of the propertied classes (i.e. landowners, private homeowners) who lobbied local government to take greater measures against Traveller camps and economic activities. Local authorities and the judicial system responded by fining, moving, harassing and imprisoning Travellers in an attempt to control them (Helleiner 1997:113). In 1960 complaints about Travellers obstructing roads, destroying property and leaving sites littered with scrap and rubbish had grown so much that health inspectors submitted a formal request to appoint a commission to investigate the problems caused by Travellers and to propose a solution (Gmelch, 1987). The increased pressures coincided with local and national initiatives on the part of the State to encourage 'modernisation' through foreign financed industrialisation. The settlement of Travellers was seen as a necessary part of the larger project of national economic and social development (Helleiner 1997:114).

In 1960 a commission was set up to report on the 'problem'. The Report of the Commission on Itinerancy was a key influence in the development of statutory and voluntary responses to Travellers and was to set the tone of government for the next 35 years. After its publication in 1963 a State settlement programme was initiated. The report defined nomadism as a 'problem' and proposed 'rehabilitation' and 'settlement' as the solution.

The rehabilitation policy adopted by the state on the basis of the Commission's recommendations, provided social workers, specialist education facilities, training centres for industrial skills, and halting sites as a means to prepare Travellers for assimilation, expanding the apparatus of surveillance and regulation of Travellers everyday lives. Policy makers wanted quick tangible results and settlement was considered by all political parties, the Catholic Church and charitable organisations to be the most 'humane' way of dealing with Travellers.

"All efforts directed at improving the lot of itinerants and at dealing with the problem created by them, and all schemes drawn up for these purposes must always have as their aim the eventual absorption of itinerants into the general community"

This can only be achieved by

"...a policy of inducing them to leave the road to settle down. (RCI:106).

It was assumed that these proposals would put an end to nomadism, transgression, unauthorised camping and their littered scrap. In other words it would end their transgression from sedentary life. Training centers and social workers would provide supervision and uninterrupted surveillance. Houses and halting sites would provide disciplined spaces and make the official 'gaze' geographically and socially specific.

"...spatial fixation makes possible not only an attractive ideology of individualism based on private property but also a coercive system of social control" (Hannah, 1993:414).

Settlement discourses

From the 1960's on, the Traveller became ever more specifically associated with degradation, and criminality. The media consistently constructed Travellers as a negation; of health, of discipline, of civilisation and the incorporation of Travellers into settled society was seen as a 'civilising' process. Key words used in policy documents were 'rehousing', 'rehabilitation' and 'resettlement'. The official line was one of righting an ancient wrong. Everything distinguishing Travellers from the settled population was seen as a legacy of colonial oppression, backwardness and clinging to characteristics proper to the settled community of yesteryear and/or as a direct result of poverty (Ni Shuinear 1997:45).

Voluntary bodies known as Itinerant Settlement Committees were set up in every county creating a nationwide settlement movement funded by the state. These voluntary organisations helped implement the agenda of the state, and were involved in the fabrication of a new moral geography. Committees carried out surveys, classified Travellers into those who wished to settle and those who did not, into 'deserving' and 'undeserving poor'. Those who wished to settle were rewarded with caravans, clothes and financial assistance. The published literature of the Settlement Movement portrayed Travellers as objects of charity who beneath the poverty were the same as settled people and once housed would become 'respectable', 'law abiding' citizens (Gmelch 1985:52).

Many settlement advocates in the press promoted settlement through the invocation of religious and nationalistic references. For example, the Travellers were compared with the 'holy itinerant family' ('The attack on Camp' 1968:10) that had found "no room at the inn" ("No Room' 1967:3); detractors were reminded that the Travellers "may have been descendants of our own kith and kin who were evicted during the famine" (Connacht Tribune Jan12 1968:10 cited in Helleiner 1995:114). Earlier images of dirt and criminality were also reproduced in discourses on Travellers settlement.

Many of their roadside camps and the camp surroundings are filthy; they are an annoyance in the towns as beggars, and farmers will say they are a greater nuisance in the country because of deliberate trespass in fields and gardens and damage to crops and because of a feeling of unease that household clothes put out to dry on a line may disappear when

they are about. It is probable that the sweeping generalisations are true in a great many instances-undoubtedly many roadside camps are sickeningly filthy and undoubtedly the begging habit is widespread and annoying. Understandably people do not want to see them about. (p10)

The wretched families among the itinerants are not people who rejected the normal pattern of community life... they were born and reared to the wretched life they lead... They never had a chance to sample the normal pattern of living and to develop human dignity. (p.10)

By now the very fact that Travellers existed at all had become objectionable and seen as an absolute reversal of *normality*. In characterising Travellers as abnormal and without human dignity the dominant settlement discourse provided ideological support for assimilation. Traveller life was portrayed as a problem that required eradication (Helleiner, 1997:115).

Observation

The mapping of Travellers personal mobility became an intrinsic part of government strategy. Policies were rigid in scope and bolstered by law, the Report of the Commission on Itinerancy advised;

It should be made an offence with adequate penalties, (including imprisonment), for itinerants to camp within a stipulated radius of an approved camping site provided by a local authority" (1963:75)

Local authorities around the country used the Sanitary Act of 1948 and sections of the Housing Act to prohibit temporary dwellings in their areas. Travellers were ordered to vacate land owned by the council or face summonses for trespass. The steady reduction of stopping places available to Travellers were a particular feature of the 1960's. Once on the move an unofficial 'boulder policy' was used to ensure Travellers could not return to a site. This all contributed to the shrinking of the social and geographic space within which Travellers traditionally moved.

Collection of information: Social welfare

"Surveillance describes a variety of different processes, including the acquisition and accumulation of information, the observation of individuals and their activities and bodies and, where appropriate, the interiorisation of discipline. Central to all these aspects of surveillance is the inspection, the look or the gaze." (Robinson 2000:77).

Before a government can 'act upon' a particular individual, group or community, it needs to render it 'visible' and develop a knowledge about it. For Foucault (1979) the welfare state is viewed as a set of technologies, which modulate compliance through the promotion of health and social security. Social welfare programmes were a key technique in the exercise of power and central to government spatial strategies. Programmes afforded the state an instrument of regularised individual surveillance, control and punishment and brought *individual* Travellers within the official's field of vision.

In order to receive financial assistance Travellers are obliged to provide details of age, accommodation, area of residence, children, employment status and income. Travellers had a different 'signing on' day to members of the settled community, increasing their visibility and accountability. Policy makers ensured that mobility would make it extremely difficult for Travellers to receive welfare payments.

"...the procedure which requires unemployment applicants to register at regular intervals is one that is felt that could be used to encourage qualified itinerants to settle in one locality provided, of course, that they were so allowed. The Commission can see no objection in these circumstances to a provision which would require a person of no fixed abode to register at more frequent intervals that the regulation requires for the settled population" (RCI 1963:76)

The message to Travellers was that 'good behaviour' and the adoption of a sedentary lifestyle would lead to financial assistance. For those reluctant to settle, the Commission recommended a system of rations.

"...a substantial amount of the state and local authority assistance including children's allowance given to those itinerants who have not settled down in a fixed abode or who are not regularly spending lengthy periods on approved camping site provided for them...should be paid in voucher form exchangeable for food and clothing so as to overcome abuse by dissipation on intoxicating liquor...those who settle down should, after a probationary period...be paid and treated in every way the same as members of the settled population" (RCI 1963:76-77)

The knowledge produced by these various public institutions and the media constructed discursive boundaries between the idea of 'normal' and 'abnormal' behavioural practices.

Resistance

"The sooner the shotguns are at the ready and these travelling people are out of the country the better. They are not our people" Councillor Michael Kineally, FF (Waterford County Council meeting 10/4/96).

All disciplinary strategies are vulnerable to resistance, subversion and circumvention. The same images of dirt, danger, criminality and economic threat, used to justify attempts at Traveller assimilation were also used by local residents and local government officials to resist Traveller integration. The settlement of Travellers gave rise to widespread disagreement and protest throughout the country. Attempts to provide halting sites were regularly met with resistance from landowners and commercial and industrial interests, while attempts to house Travellers in local authority housing estates were met with resistance from residents. Even where councillors were neutral or even favourable, many felt unable to cope with pressures against accommodation policies from a hostile sedentary population. As a result plans were often modified and even abandoned.

The spatial circumstances necessary for an effective system of disciplinary control were also alien and destructive to Traveller society and many Irish Travellers struggled to avoid it (Hannah, 1993:413). In the 1960's government tacitly thought Travellers would be docile and easily manipulated but they have continued to resist settlement and bureaucracy over the last four decades. Many have left houses and halting sites after short periods of settlement, and show little interest in gaining regular employment, while Traveller children's school attendance is extremely low. Local authorities are caught in the middle trying to enforce policy that is repugnant to both concerned parties.

1995-2000 negotiated surveillance

The problems and resistance encountered in the previous three decades motivated government and policy makers to find an alternative approach. What was needed was an approach that would enlist the support of Travellers, local

authorities and the settled community. To be successful, power needs to enroll its subjects, for Foucault it is a 'complex strategical situation' (1978:93-102). In 1995 the government embarked on a strategy of 'negotiated surveillance' complemented by a public relations media campaign.

The 1995 Task Force Report on Travellers was the first official government report to include representatives from the Travelling community. Government policy acknowledged that if change was to be sustainable Travellers themselves must choose to adopt certain forms of behaviour.

"Further change will require co-operation from those travellers who up to now have resisted any change from their traditional practices...a decision to explore alternatives to the nomadic way of life would demonstrate to the settled community that future strategies will not be confined solely to the provision of caravan accommodation and ancillary services but will look also to creating an environment that will encourage travellers to assume their rightful place in society and to accept their responsibilities to their locality" (Task Force Report 1995:289-290).

The ideology behind the new discourses of Traveller development is one based on the notions of individual and community responsibility, self help and bottom-up techniques which mobilise the skills and resources of the community.

"The task for liberal government, then, is to formulate strategies for governing 'at a distance'. This depends on forging alliances with subjects, and soliciting their participation in the projects of government." (Robinson 2000:86)

For Foucault the localised setting marks "the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives" (1980:39). Before the establishment of partnerships the government lacked intimacy with Travellers, in contrast the settled community personified intimacy. Partnerships can be seen as a transgression of the line between individual Travellers and the State. They constitute a 'foot in the door', what Foucault termed 'pastoral power'.

Traveller groups are co-opted into the decision making process and withdrawn from the area of conflict. It is hoped that this will help accelerate the rate of social change amongst Travellers along desired lines. Pastoral power works through negotiated relationships, advice, instruction, gentle persuasion and sympathetic listening. These disciplines are described by Foucault as 'small acts of cunning endowed with a great power of diffusion' (1977:139). Friendship has become the instrument of power, building up a trust between officialdom and the Traveller. This is a mutual process actively involving both the official gaze and the Traveller. Traveller leaders have become facilitators, functioning as rational political agents providing uninterrupted constant supervision. "People know what they do, they frequently know why they do what they do, but what they don't know is what they do does" (Foucault 1984:95).

Exposing Travellers to the private business culture initiates the transformation towards a greater entrepreneurialism. Partnerships enhance a managerialist culture within the Travelling community who up until this stage had escaped

direct control by central government and the local authorities. This personal choice is based on a specifically modern understanding of the freedom of the subject and according to Robinson (2000:81-85) surveillance practices are successful precisely at this moment of misrecognition. Travellers choose to conform to the requirements of power and become convinced of the value of a sedentary lifestyle.

"In many circumstances modern tactics of power operate by enticing subjects to participate in forms of self-surveillance. Subjects are drawn into certain forms of behaviour and thinking because their own concerns or interests are met" (Robinson 2000:68).

In order to enroll the support of the Settled community strategies of Traveller inclusion were complimented with a government funded media campaign. The 'Citizen Traveller' campaign was formally launched in October 1999. The campaign is directed at the Traveller and Settled community alike and a range of other broad reaching audiences including, social, religious, commercial and public service groups. It is hoped that this media campaign will make a significant contribution to creating the conditions necessary for government policies to succeed. Its ideological purpose is to expose local people and local authorities to positive images of Travellers. It attempts to recreate Traveller identity, improve their image and make them more acceptable to the general population. Travellers are portrayed as respectable, responsible citizens of Ireland. Travellers also internalise these ideologies. Successful initiatives are dependent on individual Travellers ability to change their attitudes, rid themselves of their victim 'consciousness' and take responsibility for their own futures.

Meanwhile back on the ground...

These powerful discourses have contributed to the creation of an ideological context that legitimates coercive state policies and everyday discriminatory practices (Helleiner, 1997). While all this soul searching and striving for justice was going on in liberal circles, with government backing, the 1998 Traveller Accommodation Act was enacted. Section 32 of the Act replaces and strengthens the powers of local authorities to evict Travellers from public spaces. It criminalises camping on the roadside or unoccupied land, outlawing the places Travellers traditionally camp. Caravans can also be confiscated or removed if they are considered unfit for human habitation due to a lack of proper services (this could relate to almost all illegally camped caravans); likely to obstruct or interfere with the use of public or private amenities; likely to constitute a significant risk to personal health or public safety. This section gives considerable discretionary powers to local authorities and legislates certain moral claims; that the right to a nomadic way of life is inappropriate and illegitimate.

Conclusion

Contemporary reforms supposedly aimed at improving the quality of life for Travellers have been structured and constrained by a pervasive view that presupposes the superiority of sedentary life over the nomadic (McVeigh, 1997). The 1998 Traveller Accommodation Act could be interpreted as a rigid and overtly hostile piece of legislation and a potentially powerful instrument in the prevention of travelling and the final settlement of Travellers. Traveller inclusion in policy making legitimates and facilitates official

decisions, with community led partnerships used as a means of accelerating Traveller social change along desired lines. Intensive media campaigns are on going in order to enroll the support and acceptance of the settled community.

The shaping of individual Traveller perceptions and practices has occurred through a process of internalisation, which makes discipline seem natural, irresistible and, in this instance, even favourable. The majority of Travellers are now sufficiently anchored in space, immobilised, and disorientated. They are living in houses or fixed caravans under the supervision of a social worker and under the official gaze where they can be judged, observed, punished and rewarded. Houses and halting sites provide permanent homes only for individuals and not for Traveller culture, from which they are being weaned (Hannah 1993, 1997).

Today we take our personal mobility for granted, but the Irish State will not risk giving this freedom to Travellers until the deterrence of their disorderly, abnormal behaviour ceases to depend on their immediate visibility. It is not that the state opposes mobility but that it 'wishes to control flows-to make them run through conduits' (Cresswell, 1997:364). When all Travellers and everything Travellers cherish is immobilised and thereby rendered vulnerable, they may be trusted to traveller just like 'us'.

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Regional Mortality Patterns In Ireland.

D.G. Pringle, Staff

There is a long tradition in Geography of investigations into spatial inequalities in the *quality* of life, whether the inequalities are perceived in narrow economic terms (e.g. regional economic disparities) or more broadly in social terms (e.g. social well-being). Geographers, however, have generally shown much less interest in spatial inequalities in the *quantity* of life (reflected, for example, in spatial disparities in life expectancy). However, if people living in certain areas can expect to live for fewer years than their counterparts in other areas, then surely this is a form of social injustice every bit as serious, if not more serious, than inequalities in living standards. Everyone has a reasonable idea of which parts of the country are the most prosperous and which parts are the most deprived, but how many people would be able to correctly identify which areas are characterised by the longest life expectancies?

Even a superficial consideration of international patterns reveals major disparities in life expectancy at a global level. Life expectancies in the developed countries are considerably higher than those found in the Third World, suggesting that life expectancy is related to economic development. However, the picture is not quite as clear-cut as many might imagine. The main reason for the low life expectancy found in many Third World countries is a high rates of infant and childhood mortality. If Third World people survive childhood, their life expectancy is often not that much less than it is for people in developed countries. Indeed, life expectancy in rural Bangladesh (one of the poorest countries on earth) at most ages after infancy is actually higher than it is in Harlem, New York (in the heart of the largest city in one of the richest countries on earth) (McCord and Freeman, 1990; Wilkinson, 1996).

Regional disparities in life expectancy within developed countries often tend to reflect economic disparities. For example, life expectancy in the prosperous south-east of England (outside of inner London, which contains large areas of poverty) is approximately 4 years higher than it is in less prosperous areas in the north of England and Scotland (Howe, 1997). These patterns have remained virtually unchanged for decades (Barker, 1994). Similar patterns have been observed in many other countries, although they are not always as clear-cut, nor do they show the same degree of persistence over time, as in Britain.

This paper examines the regional patterns of mortality in Ireland for the period 1980-1999 using data extracted from the Public Health Information System, developed by the Information Management Unit in the Department of Health and Children.

CRUDE DEATH RATES

Figure 1 shows the crude death rate for each county averaged over the 20-year period 1980-1999. The crude death rate is simply the number of people who die each year

expressed as a 'percentage' of the number of people alive.¹ The map would appear to conform with what one might expect given a knowledge of economic disparities in Ireland – i.e. the areas with the highest death rates (and therefore, one might assume, the lowest life expectancies) are found in Kerry and the north-west of the country – areas generally assumed to be amongst the more economically disadvantaged in Ireland. Most of the counties with above average levels of mortality also tend to be found in the western half of the country. The counties with the lowest crude death rates are in the eastern half of the country and include those generally assumed to be the most prosperous.

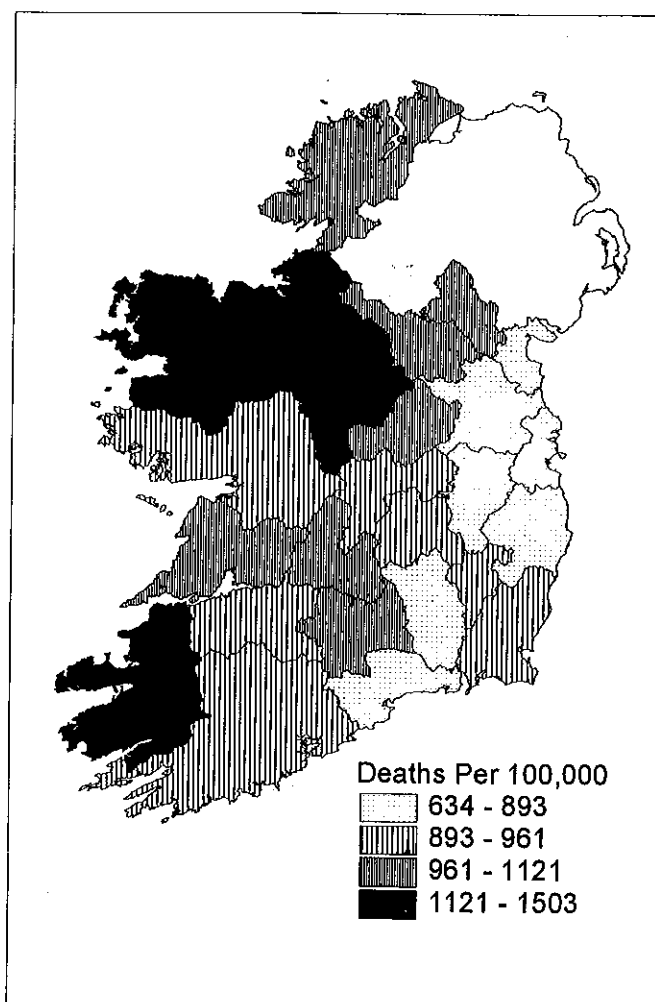


Figure 1: Crude Death Rates, 1980-1999

Figure 1 would appear to confirm a fairly straightforward relationship between the quantity of life and the quality of life. Crude death rates, however, can be extremely misleading, and this – as it turns out – is a case in point. The problem with crude death rates is that they are very strongly influenced by variations in the age composition of the population. The likelihood of dying increases very rapidly

¹ The rate, strictly speaking, is not expressed as a percentage (i.e. deaths per 100 people) but as deaths per 100,000 people, so as to produce numbers which are larger and therefore easier to interpret.

with advancing age – i.e. it almost doubles with each additional 5 years of life. Thus, although the percentage of elderly people may not differ too much between counties, those with a slightly higher percentages of elderly people will tend to have a much higher number of deaths and therefore a much higher crude death rate. Given the traditional pattern of migration of young people from the less affluent areas to the more affluent areas, the less affluent areas tend to be the ones with the lowest percentages of young people. They consequently tend to have the highest percentage of elderly people and therefore the highest crude death rates. When drawing maps to establish which areas have the highest risks of mortality, we must therefore take account of variations in the age composition of the population.

Similar considerations apply to gender. Women generally have a longer life expectancy than men, consequently if the natural balance of men and women is upset by differential migration, then the areas having higher percentages of women (traditionally the large urban areas) will, all other things being equal, tend to have a lower death rate than areas with higher percentages of men (traditionally the more rural counties in the west). This particular problem is easily resolved by considering the mortality rates for males and

females separately.

AGE SPECIFIC DEATH RATES

The simplest way to eliminate distortions arising from differences in age composition is to calculate age specific death rates – i.e. the number of deaths in a particular age group are expressed as a 'percentage' of the total number of people in that age group. Figures 2(a) and 2(b) show the age specific death rates for males and females respectively for the 65-69 age group averaged for the period 1980-99. Whilst maybe not quite a mirror image of Figure 1, it will be noted that these maps create a totally different impression of which areas have high or low mortality. The high mortality areas are found in two clusters in the south-east and south-west for both sexes, whilst there is a third cluster running in a belt from Westmeath to Leitrim for males. However, the most noticeable feature of these maps – and one that is repeated in numerous other maps – is the belt of low mortality counties in the west and Donegal. It will be noted that most the counties with moderately high mortality rates lie to the south and east of a line running from Dundalk to Limerick – i.e. the half of the country usually identified as the most prosperous by most economic indicators.

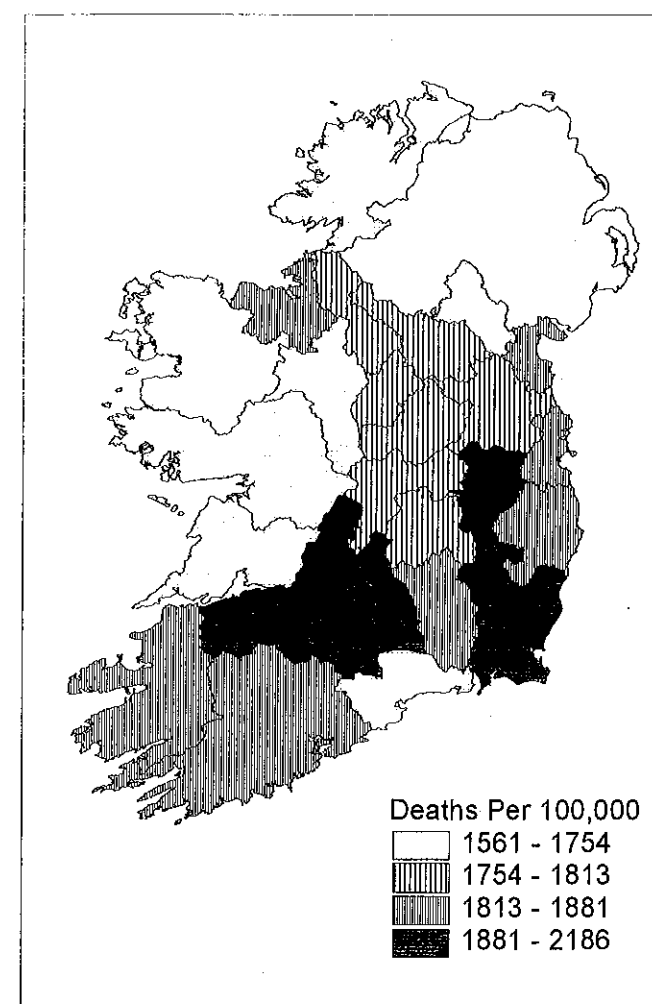
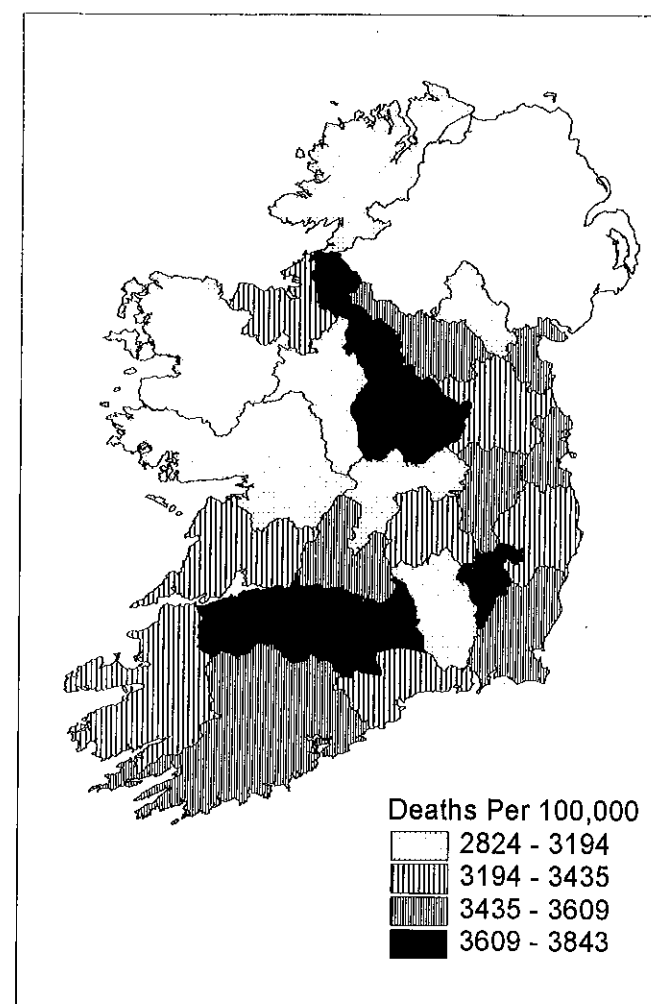


Figure 2: Age-Specific Death Rates for Males (a) and Females (b) Aged 65-69, 1980-1999.

The maps in Figure 2 show only the deaths in one particular age group. It is quite possible that the mortality patterns in this age group could be quite different to those for other age groups. To see the complete picture, it would therefore be necessary to draw similar maps for every other age group. Whilst this would be desirable for a meticulous analysis of mortality patterns in Ireland, the amount of information contained in the 36 or so maps could prove overwhelming. It is therefore desirable to construct some summary measure of mortality which takes account of variations in age composition. The normal procedure in medical geography is to calculate standardised mortality ratios.

STANDARDISED MORTALITY RATIOS

Standardised mortality ratios (SMRs) are calculated by expressing the actual number of deaths in an area as a 'percentage' of the number of deaths which would be expected if the area had the same death rate in each age group as the country as a whole. A SMR of 100 indicates that the death rate in the area is similar to the national average, whereas a SMR of 110 would indicate that the area has 10 per cent more deaths than would be expected given its age composition. Conversely, a SMR of 90 would indicate that it has 10 per cent fewer deaths than would be expected given its age composition.

Given that everyone must die sometime, SMRs could give a misleading impression if the calculations include deaths amongst the elderly. It is therefore normal to include only deaths below a certain age. In this study deaths above the age of 70 are excluded, so the analysis is based only upon deaths which can reasonably be regarded as premature. Figures 3(a) and 3(b) shows the SMRs for males and females respectively. The patterns are broadly similar to the age specific death rates depicted in Figures 2(a) and 2(b), although there are a few noticeable differences. Limerick and the belt from Westmeath to Leitrim are again amongst the counties with the highest mortality rates for males, whilst Limerick and Tipperary North, and Carlow and Wexford again form little clusters of high mortality for females. However, they are joined by Louth as an area of high mortality for both sexes. At the other end of the scale, the western counties and Donegal again figure for both sexes, although Mayo is only moderately low in the case of males (see below). A second belt of low mortality for males may be observed in the south midlands running from Offaly to Kilkenny. Kilkenny also has a low SMR for females, whilst Meath has a low SMR for both sexes, whilst the neighbouring counties of Monaghan and Cavan also have low SMRs for females.

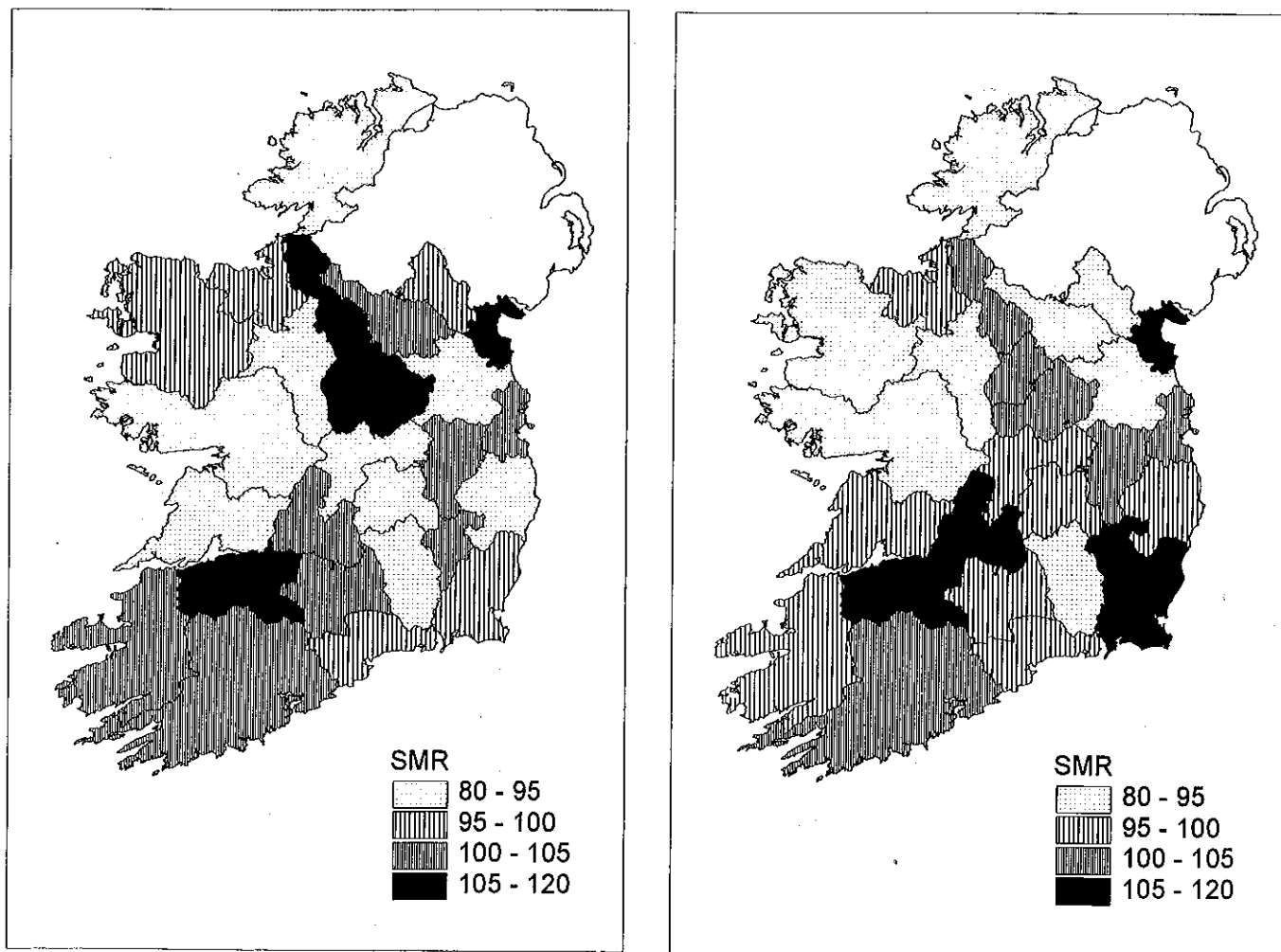


Figure 3: Standardised Mortality Ratios for Males (a) and Females (b) Aged Less Than 70, 1980-1999.

DISCUSSION

Although 'clusters' and 'patterns' can be detected in Figures 3(a) and 3(b), the patterns are by no means clear-cut. Whilst there may be a tendency for the low mortality areas to be located in the poorer half of the country, this generalisation would be much more convincing if the Westmeath to Leitrim cluster had low mortality, rather than high or moderately high mortality for both sexes. The maps would also be a more convincing if the high and low mortality areas formed large contiguous areas, rather than a series of small clusters. Indeed, one might question whether the SMR maps actually display any regular patterns at all.

There are a number of points however that indicate that the maps do display real inequalities in the quantity of life, even though the spatial patterns do not lend themselves to a simple geographical interpretation. First, there is a high degree of consistency in the patterns of mortality for males and females ($r=0.77, p<0.01$) - i.e. counties with high mortality for males also tend to have high mortality for females. Second, there is a remarkable degree of consistency in the mortality rates for certain counties: Louth had above average mortality for males for 20 years running, whilst Galway had below average mortality for 18 years out of the 20. Third, the counties at the high end of the scale had more than 10 per cent more deaths than would be expected over a 20 year period, whilst those at the low end of the scale had more than 10 per cent fewer deaths than would be expected. It would not be too surprising to find a county deviating from the national mean by 10 per cent in any given year, but to do so persistently over a 20 year period suggests that the differences are not simply a matter of chance. Finally, counties are far from ideal spatial units for investigating spatial variations in mortality. Previous studies found that Dublin County Borough had one of the highest mortality rates in the country whilst the rest of Dublin county had one of the lowest rates (Pringle, 1986). The effect of grouping the two areas together in this study as Dublin County therefore only serves to disguise both extremes through a process of 'averaging out'. Similar considerations apply to the other County Boroughs, especially Cork and Limerick, each of which had much higher mortality rates than the rest of their respective counties.

The most obvious question arising from this is why some areas should have a higher death rate than others. One possibility is that it could reflect different mortality rates for one particular disease, and that there are no major differences for all of the other causes of death. However, although the proportion of deaths attributed to each of the major causes shows some variations between counties, the prevailing impression is that an area which has a high rate of mortality from any one of the major causes of death also tends to have a high death rate for each of the other major causes. The causal factors responsible for the observed spatial variations (whatever they may be) would therefore appear to exercise a similar influence on a variety of different types of disease. There are of course exceptions. Cancer mortality in Dublin, for example, is well above the national average (especially for males), but deaths from diseases of the circulatory system (e.g. ischaemic heart disease, stroke) for both sexes and respiratory diseases for

men are unexceptional - which is perhaps surprising given that one might assume an association between these diseases and air pollution.

Finally, it should be noted that this paper, by averaging death rates over a 20 year period, may disguise some important changes in the geography of mortality which have occurred over the past 20 years. Mayo, for example, used to have one of the lowest death rates in the country for both males and females (forming part of the 'western bloc' still observable on the maps), but its death rate increased in recent years for both sexes. Carlow, which had one of the highest death rates for females in the 1980s, now has a death rate far in excess of any other county for females, whilst the death rate for males moved from close to the national average into the high category. Roscommon, in contrast, which began the period with a low death rate for females now has a female rate far lower than any other county. The high rates for Westmeath and Leitrim for males are also a recent phenomenon: both counties had fairly average death rates in the early 1980s, but now top the list. These trends clearly raise some important questions as to why these changes have occurred.

SUMMARY

Although the patterns of mortality reflected in the SMR maps may appear disjointed, they do actually indicate substantial disparities in death rates and consequently life expectancy. More detailed analysis than reported here indicates that the high mortality tends to be associated with urbanisation and social class (i.e. urban areas have higher mortality than rural areas, and areas with high percentages of working class people tend to have higher death rates than more affluent areas). These patterns replicate those found in other countries. There would also appear to be a regional pattern in Ireland, in so far as there is a tendency for counties in the north and west to have low mortality, and for those in the south and east to have high mortality. However, the pattern is not particularly clear-cut and would appear to be breaking down following a decline in the relative mortality status of certain counties in the north-west half of the country in the 1990s.

There is clearly a lot more research required to disentangle these patterns and trends at a descriptive level, let alone identify the causal factors and processes. However, inequalities in the quantity of life are too important to be ignored. It is hoped that this short paper may encourage some readers to research these patterns for themselves.

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"If I leave here tomorrow-o, would you still remember me-e"



:"I've just realised ... it's Saturday-"



Society before getting the "Millieu" publishing bill



"Look ... I can balance a board on my head"



Checking out the talent.



Geography Soc VP smiling beatifically at Trevor Hill talk



"He Never"



12. The open-air lectures proved a great success

Spatial Perspectives on the Irish Labour Party

Adrian Kavanagh, Postgraduate Research

Labour has been the third largest political party for much of the state's history. Levels of support and representation have fluctuated to considerable degrees, yet their general spatial patterns have largely remained largely intact.

This article will study the geography of the Labour Party, both in terms of support and representation, and account for it by analysing possible influencing factors. The historical background of the spatial pattern of Labour support and its current spatial patterning will be analysed. Moreover, the determinants of such support will be outlined and discussed, with the Labour vote correlated with variables pertaining to agricultural structure, urbanity, demography and social exclusion, as well as voter turnout.

Historical Perspectives on the Geography of Labour

The basic spatial pattern of Labour support has changed little over the past 80 years. Its main support bases have been concentrated, almost exclusively, south of a line drawn between Dundalk and Limerick. For most of this time period the party has - surprisingly for a socialist party - fared poorly in Dublin relative to rural strongholds in Munster and Leinster. A historical perspective on the developing geographies of Labour support and representation is required if one is to understand how such a spatial pattern of support developed.

Founded at the 1912 Congress of the ITUC, Labour declined from competing in the 1918 and 1921 elections, so as to permit these elections to essentially act as referenda on the national question, rather than having the electorate side tracked by "bread and butter" issues. This, however, was a period in which large portions of the electorate were voting for the first time and the possibility that some would cast their first ever vote for Labour was spurned. Nevertheless the party did quite well in its first ever elections in June 1922. Winning 17 of the 18 seats contested, Labour won 21.4% of the national vote, its highest ever share, rivalled only by the 19.3% won in 1992. Labour won seats in all the Leinster counties, as well as Cork, Tipperary, Waterford and Galway. The pattern of a concentration of Labour support to the south and east of the Dundalk-Limerick line was immediately confirmed. Such a pattern may have resulted in part from these being the only areas contested by Labour in June 1922, but the pattern continued into all subsequent elections. This election also marked the start of both personal and familial dynasties in certain rural constituencies. Richard Corish won a seat in Wexford, to be held for Labour by the Corish family until the retirement of Brendan Corish in 1981. Labour contested all the constituencies in the September 1923 election, but the Civil War divide marginalised its socio-economic platform. This was to emerge as the principal cleavage in the Irish political system, as opposed to the conservative-socialist cleavages of most other Western European democracies. The party was also hindered by financial

concerns, the Larkinite split and a low turnout amongst workers, relative to the rest of the electorate. This election confirmed the regional pattern of Labour support to the south of the Dundalk-Limerick line, while it did poorly in Dublin and the greater decline in support occurred in urban as opposed to rural areas. The party performed much better in the June 1927 General Election. It won 22 seats and made gains in the cities of Dublin, Cork and Limerick, as well as in some constituencies where the party would rarely, if ever, succeed in winning seats in the following 75 years - Mayo-South, Clare and Longford-Westmeath. However with the entry of Fianna Fail into parliament that same year, Labour fortunes went into decline. Its support base amongst the working classes was eroded by a high degree of emigration, as well as Fianna Fail's success in establishing itself as the most popular party amongst the Irish working class. As Allen (1997: 177) argues, the decline in Labour's fortunes occurred because it failed to match the populist rhetoric of Fianna Fail; "Labour missed hitting Fianna Fail on its weak spot. As Lemass stated, Labour was politically marginalised not because it was too radical, but because it was not radical enough".

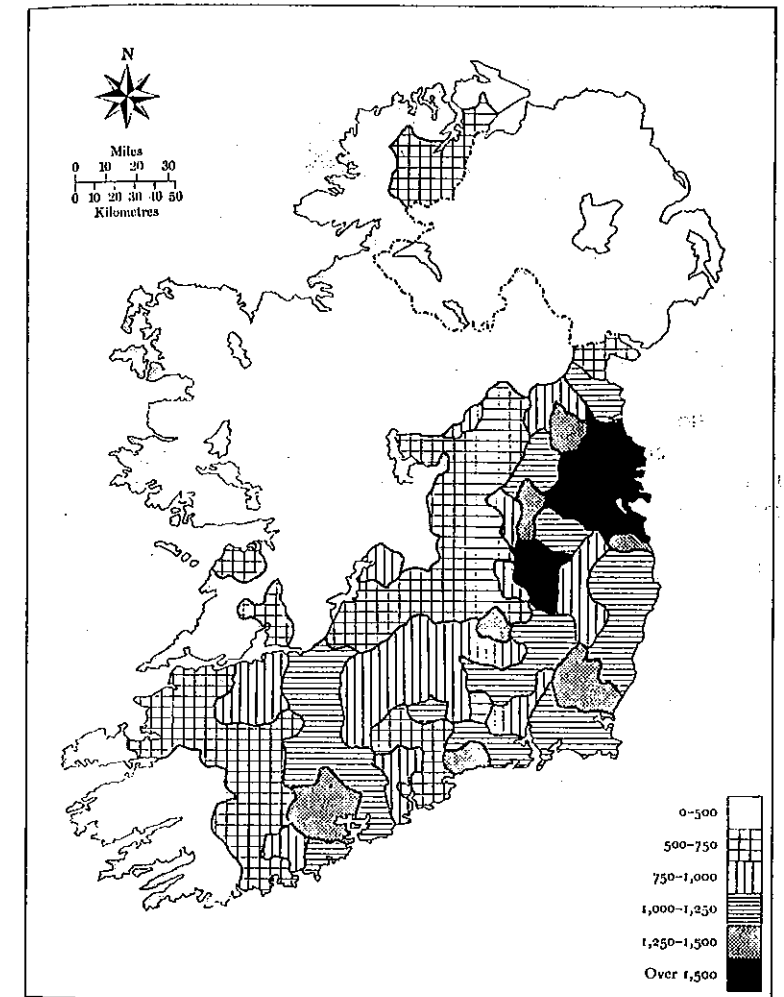


Fig 1: Map showing Farm Labourers per Thousand farmers, 1936 (Source: Rumpf & Hepburn, 1977, 65).

In subsequent elections Labour support nationally fluctuated significantly. Elections, in which the party performed well and appeared to offer the prospect of significant electoral

breakthroughs, were usually followed by elections – in some cases snap-elections – in which the party's levels of support and representation declined dramatically. Thus the successful election of 1943, in which the party won 15.7% of the vote and 17 seats, was followed immediately by the 1944 election, in which Labour took just 8.7% and lost 9 seats. An even more dramatic example was the party's considerable loss in support in 1997, following on its apparent breakthrough in the 1992 General Election.

Dundalk-Limerick line: As noted earlier, Labour support tends to be almost exclusively concentrated to the south-east of a line drawn from Dundalk to Limerick. This regional pattern of support was linked to a number of factors. The most influential of these was the linkage with the spatial patterning of agricultural labourers. Farm labourers, affiliated to the ITUC, they were encouraged by the union to vote for Labour. They were also probably more interested in "bread and butter" issues than in the national question and hence supported Labour as a party of social and economic protest. The main concentrations of these labourers were in the eastern and southern parts of the country, as illustrated by Figure 1, where the main areas of large farms and arable cultivation were located. This practically mirrored the geography of Labour support. Sinnott (1995:133), in reporting the results of an analysis to determine the main factors influencing Labour in 1965 election, notes that "the relationship was a simple one. Labour votes were higher in constituencies with high proportions of farm labourers and lower in constituencies with high proportions of farmers".

The southern and eastern parts of Ireland also have a more developed urban system than does the rest of the country. In its strongest rural constituencies in Leinster and Munster Labour support has tended to be concentrated in one of the main towns located there, which usually proves to be the power base of an incumbent Labour TD. Long-standing examples of these would include Tralee, with its strong associations with the Spring family since 1943 and Wexford Town, which since the foundation of the State has proven to be the base of the Corishes, and then Brendan Howlin. More recent examples of this phenomenon would include the association of Mullingar with Willie Penrose, of Drogheda with Michael Bell and of Athy with Jack Wall. Labour councillors have also built up personal support bases in towns outside Labour's heartland areas, with council seats in being won in 1999 by Johny Mee in Castlebar and by Sean Maloney in Letterkenny (although he subsequently defected to Fine Gael).

Labour in Dublin and the 1969 election: As well as doing poorly in Dublin relative to its main strongholds in South Leinster and Munster, the Labour vote has also tended to decline most seriously in Dublin constituencies, when the party's fortunes are in decline nationally. Up to 1965 Dublin was only represented by one Labour TD for much of the period, with there being no Labour representation there at certain times. By the late 1960's Labour developed as a real force in Dublin politics, thanks to an influx of high-profile candidates and the party's shift to the left. Another factor was the high degree of migration into Dublin during the decade, creating large new, mainly working class, communities with no ties to any particular candidate, for whom the Labour Party appeared an attractive alternative to

the more conservative parties. The party was to increase its share of the Dublin vote from 8.4% in 1961 to a high of 28.3% in the 1969 election. However this increase in Dublin was associated with a significant decline in the party's rural representation, mainly due to Fianna Fail's "Red Scare" tactics in the 1969 elections. Another factor that impacted adversely on Labour was the redrawing of the electoral boundaries prior to the 1969 election, in which Labour incumbents lost seats when 5-seat constituencies became 3-seaters. Moreover, the party's policy of running more than one candidate in certain constituencies resulted in more lost seats due to a leakage of votes from the party in transfers, while "the clatter of lost deposits formed a sort of obligation to the keening of the displaced deputies" (Horgan, 85).

In the years subsequent to the 1969 election, in which Labour formed part of three coalition governments with Fine Gael (1973-77, 1981-82 and 1982-87), the Labour vote in Dublin declined steadily, eventually reaching a low of 7.1% there in the 1987 election. In contrast to the 21.2% decline in its share of the Dublin vote, the equivalent declines in Leinster and Munster were 7.9% and 9.2% respectively. Labour's Dublin vote tends to be more susceptible to national fluctuations in its support than does its rural vote. This partially reflects the generally more volatile nature of the Dublin electorate, as well as the inability of Labour personnel in Dublin to build constituency strongholds in a similar manner to their rural counterparts. There are few safe constituencies in Dublin in which Labour support will remain sufficiently high to retain seats, in periods of significant losses of support nationally. Of the present TDs in Dublin, only party leader Ruairi Quinn in Dublin South East and Eamonn Gilmore (former Democratic Left TD) in Dun Laoghaire could be viewed as having safe seats.

The merger with Democratic Left in 1999 is likely to entail an in Labour's fortunes in Dublin. Already, as a direct result of the merger and a gain in the 1998 Dublin North by-election, Labour's representation in Dublin has doubled. However, further increases in Labour support in the capital are likely to be threatened by the vacuum left by Democratic Left being filled by the emergence of Sinn Fein as a strong working class party in the city.

Rural Strongholds: Labour has trended to do better in Munster and Leinster than in Dublin in most elections, especially in periods when it is losing support nationally. In rural constituencies Labour support generally tends to be less susceptible to fluctuations in popularity and hence rural seats have been held in periods when the national pattern of support would have implied that such seats would be lost. In such constituencies Labour support tends to be a personal vote, linked to a particular candidate or even a family dynasty, and is usually associated with a strong base in a certain provincial town. However when such dynasties come to an end, as with the death or retirement of an incumbent Labour TD, there is a danger that the seat will be lost, sometimes for very long periods of time. For instance the Labour seat in Laois-Offaly, first won by William Davinn in 1921, was lost to the party with his death in 1956 and only held again for short periods (1965-69 and 1992-1997) in the subsequent decades. Similarly Cork South West was for decades the stronghold of Michael Pat Murphy, but on his

retirement from politics in 1981 the seat there was lost to the party and Labour has not even come close to regaining that seat in the interim period.

Electoral Geography of Labour, 1997-99.

Labour's fortunes in the most recent elections have been decidedly mixed.

1997 General Election: This was characterised by an almost total reversal of gains made in 1992 election, with the Labour vote declining nationally from 19.3% to 10.4%. As previously, the impact of this reversal was felt most intensely in Dublin (down from 26.08% to 11.09%) and the other cities. The party lost eight seats in Dublin, five in Munster (two in Cork city), three in Leinster, as well as Sligo-Leitrim. It was to gain one seat in the new constituency of Kildare South. The bulk of these losses were in constituencies seats had been gained in 1992 (such as a number of Dublin constituencies, Cork East, Sligo-Leitrim or Meath) or in which the incumbent TD had retired (Tipperary North, Dublin South West and Clare). The two constituencies in which Labour had won two seats in 1992 both registered losses of seats. Following Mervyn Taylor's resignation, Labour, in effect, surrendered a seat in Dublin South-West by just running the other incumbent, Eamonn Walsh, but he too was to lose his seat. Those TDs that had held seats in 1989 generally tended to hold their seats, despite the party's decline in 1997, although there were some notable exceptions; Liam Kavanagh (Wicklow), Sean Ryan (Dublin North) and Toddy O'Sullivan (Cork South Central). Again, these constituencies were either metropolitan or in close proximity to Dublin.

As regards the regional pattern of declining support, a comparison of the geographies of Labour support in 1992 and 1997 illustrates

that the heaviest losses came in the cities of Dublin, Cork and Limerick, as well as in their immediate hinterlands, encompassing Meath, Louth, Tipperary, Cork County and Clare. It would hence appear that the decline of Labour was related to some degree to disaffection with the party amongst the urban electors who had largely promoted the party's meteoric rise in 1992. Pringle (1992, 181), in discussing the 1992 elections, warned of this some years earlier; "Voting in Dublin and in the other major urban areas, where Labour picked up most of its new support, would seem to be more volatile than in rural areas. If this

volatility persists, Labour could easily find itself on the wrong end of another swing next time around".

By contrast, the party's decline was least marked in the West, where the base from which support could decline was considerably lower than in other constituencies, and in southern Leinster, where there were no major collapses in support in any of the constituencies. Seats were lost in Laois-Offaly and Wicklow, but the losses in these counties were narrow ones and resulted mainly from better electoral performances by Fine Gael in Laois-Offaly and Fianna Fail in Wicklow. Indeed, excepting Meath, Labour support remained above the 10% mark in all of Leinster. This reflects the general historical pattern of Labour support, where support in Leinster has remained fairly constant, even when the Labour vote is fluctuating considerably in Dublin and Munster. The proliferation of five seat constituencies in the province has also helped shield Labour from the vicissitudes of electoral decline, as has the extremely personal nature of the Labour vote there.

Labour support in 1997 was concentrated almost entirely south of the Dundalk-Limerick line. Michael D. Higgins's Galway West seat was the only seat won to the north-west of this line and the only constituencies that Labour took over 10% of the vote in were Galway West and Sligo-Leitrim. To some extent, the pattern of support in 1997 had practically entailed a shrinkage in this regional pattern of support. Labour's poor performances in Cork and Limerick ensured that Kerry and the cities of Galway and Sligo were to form islands of high Labour support in the area to the north and west of what could prove to be a new "line", drawn from Dundalk to Nenagh, and then south to Youghal.

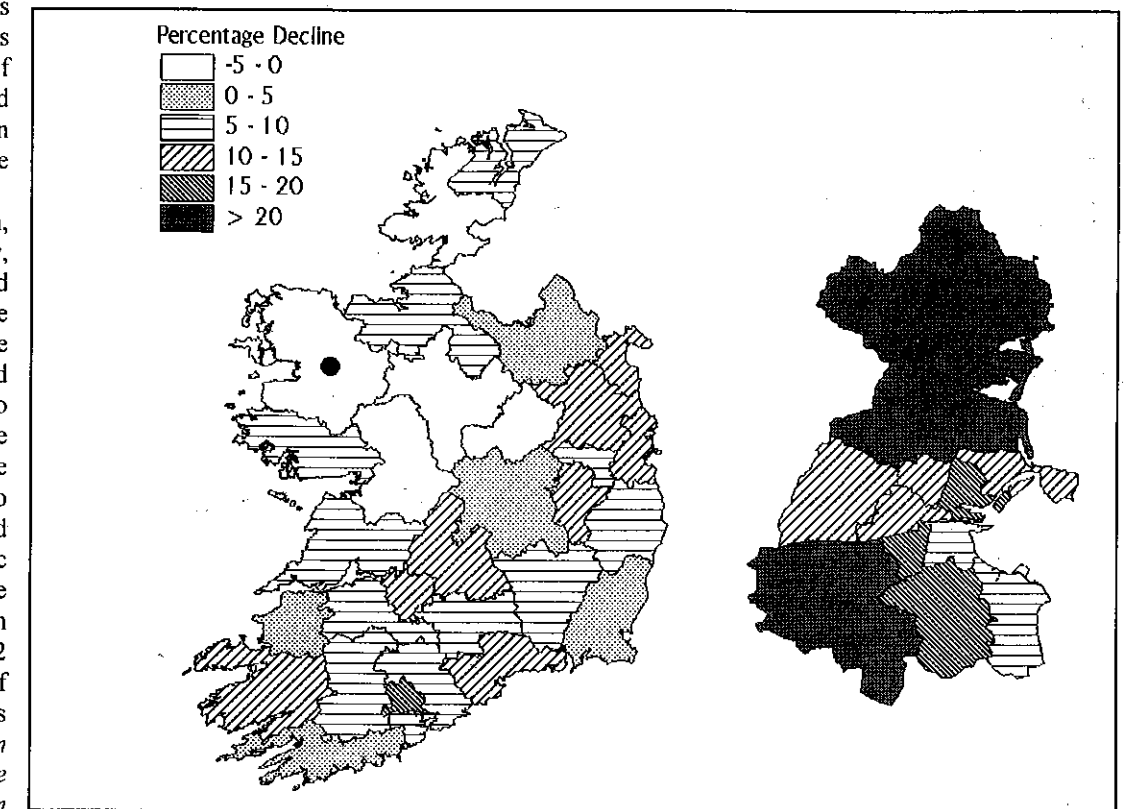


Fig 2: Decline in Labour support, both nationally and in Dublin, between 1992 and 1997 General Elections.

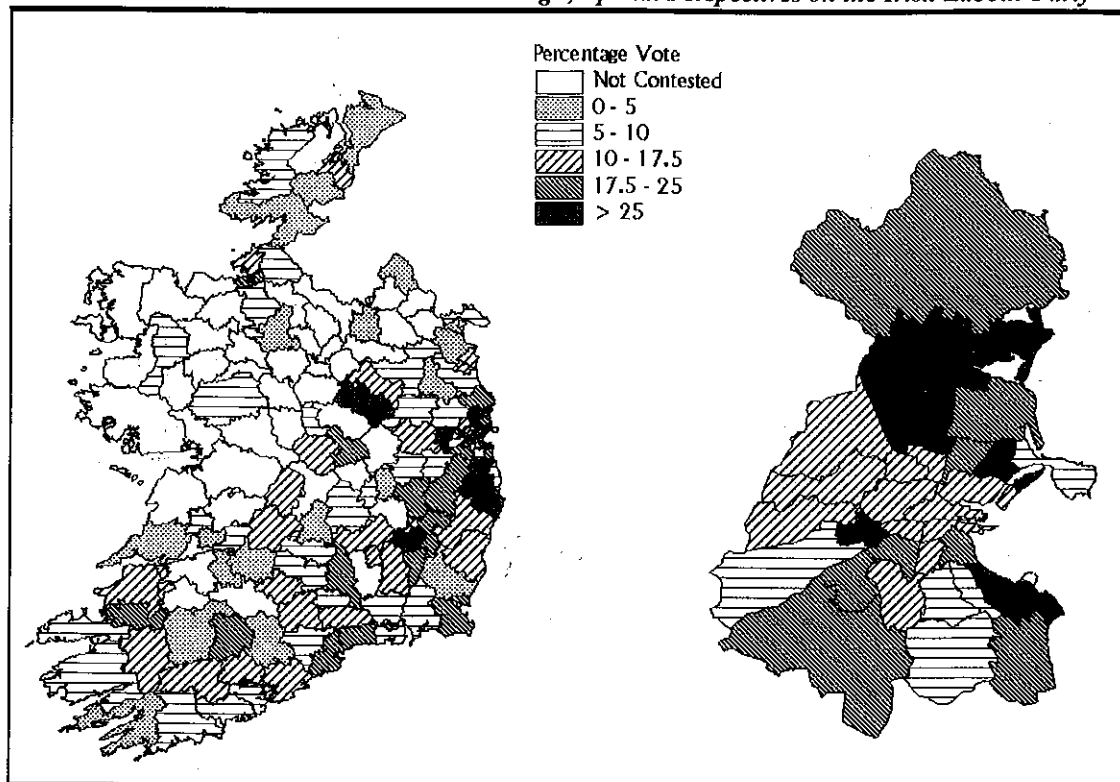


Figure 3: Labour support in the 1999 local elections, both nationally and in Dublin.

The 1999 local elections: These proved to be of mixed fortunes for the newly enlarged Labour party, in the wake of the merger with Democratic Left in January 1999. Labour did well in Dublin, but fared poorly in the rest of the country. In Dublin, "New" Labour took 17.42% of the vote, whereas it took just 8.95% of the vote elsewhere. 32.64% of the 1999 Labour vote was won in Dublin, in comparison to 28.02% in the General Election. The assimilation of strong, formerly Democratic Left, candidates into the party pushed up support in a number of constituencies. In the provinces, disquiet at the merger amongst more conservative supporters may have cost the party votes. When former TD Brian Fitzgerald and other councillors left Labour in the wake of the merger, it's support in Meath declined by 63.85% of its 1991 vote and it also lost all the four seats it had held prior to the elections.

In general, the Labour vote in rural Ireland was to decline in most of the counties, apart from those:

- where strong electoral performances by individual Labour candidates increased the vote: Offaly, Sligo, Waterford and Westmeath,
- where Democratic Left had been a political force: Cork, Wicklow and Kildare,
- which Labour had not contested in 1991: Leitrim, Monaghan, Roscommon and Longford.

Labour generally tends to perform better in rural constituencies in General, as opposed to local, elections. There are a number of reasons for this. First, as illustrated by Fig. 3, Labour may not contest some LEAs in a county in local elections, thus automatically pushing down its percentage vote. Moreover, as noted earlier Labour support in a Dail constituency is usually focussed on one candidate. In local elections support for this candidate will be restrained to one particular LEA. Electors in other LEAs,

who would support that candidate in General Elections, may choose not to support other, less-established, Labour candidates.

Areas in which Labour performed especially well in Dublin included the most northerly parts of Fingal and the Coolock-Artane area, as well as two fingers extending southwards; one from Ballyfermot and Crumlin down to Tallaght and the other along the south-east coast, encompassing Dun Laoghaire and Blackrock. These areas, however, all

pertain to Dail constituencies where Labour currently holds seats, hence limiting opportunities of further seat gains to the five-seaters of Dublin South Central and Dun Laoghaire or the four-seat Dublin South West. By contrast, areas in which the party performed poorly - Clondalkin and contiguous area in south Dublin (LEAs of Dundrum, Stillorgan and Glencullen) - refer to the constituencies of Dublin Mid West and Dublin South, where Labour will hope to win seats in the next Dail election.

By-elections: Since the 1997 General Election Labour has contested five by-elections, three of which were caused by the deaths of sitting Labour TDs. The party has done well in these, retaining their seats in two of the constituencies, Limerick East and Dublin South Central, while in the 1998 Dublin North by-election Sean Ryan regained the seat that he lost in 1997. As can be seen from Fig. 4, the Labour vote increased in all of these by-elections, even in Tipperary South where the party failed to retain the late Michael Ferris's seat and where the Labour seat would appear to be

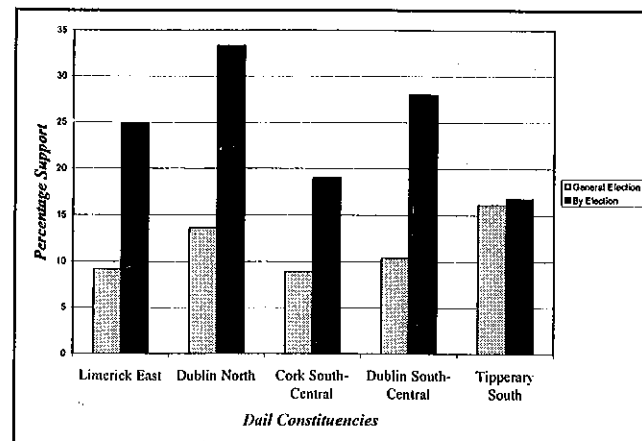


Figure 4: Labour support in by-elections, 1998-2000.

lost for some period of time to the Independent Socialist candidate, Seamus Healy.

Labour support and Voter Turnout

As Labour's main support base, the working class electorate, are usually expected to have low electoral participation rates, one would expect a strong association between Labour support and low turnout. Nationally this indeed proves to be the case. As Fig. 5 illustrates, Labour support in the past three local elections has consistently been associated with significant associations with low turnout.

	LAB 85	LAB 91	LAB 99
Voter	-0.559	-0.508	-0.652
Turnout	(p = 0.001)	(p = 0.002)	(p = 0.000)

Figure 5: Correlations between Labour support and Voter Turnout in Irish local elections, 1985-99.

A comparison between the change in the Labour support and the change in turnouts over the 1991-99 period, reveals a significant positive correlation of 0.388 (p = 0.023). However, this finding in itself is not particularly significant, as it just illustrates that Labour support went up in western counties by default, as it had not contested these in 1991. In general there are significant negative correlations between Labour support and that of Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, with correlations with Fianna Fail support in the 1985, 1991 and 1999 local elections being -0.339 (p = 0.050), -0.522 (0.002) and -0.580 (0.000). The equivalent figures for correlations with Fine Gael support were -0.575 (p = 0.000), -0.635 (0.000) and -0.602 (0.000). Correlations with support for small, socialist parties tend to be positive and significant, with the exception of Sinn Fein, due to its strong support in border areas where Labour has traditionally done poorly. There were correlations of 0.403 (0.018) and 0.435 (0.011) with Workers Party support in 1985 and 1991 respectively, and a correlation of 0.536 (0.001) for Green support in 1999.

For General Elections, significant correlations do not exist between Labour support and turnout. This could be explained, in part, by the figures being skewed by strong support for individual Labour candidates in high turnout western constituencies (Sligo-Leitrim, Kerry North and Kerry South). Moreover, turnout differences between constituencies in General Elections are not as pronounced as for local elections. Differences between the highest and lowest constituencies, by turnout, in the 1992 and 1997 General Elections were 16.22% and 18.91% respectively, whereas equivalent figures for the 1985, 1991 and 1999 local elections were 39.79%, 34.43% and 39.83%. Hence one is less likely to detect significant figures amongst the General Election figures than for local elections. As illustrated by Fig. 6, one still observes negative correlations between Labour support and turnout however, thus maintaining the association of high Labour support with low turnout constituencies. Significant correlations with turnout existed in 1997 for other political parties, with positive correlations for Fianna Fail and Fine Gael and negative correlations for the smaller parties. Similar correlations for the Progressive Democrats and Democratic Left alerts one to the fact that urban-rural differentials rather than socio-economically generated factors are generating these correlations - small parties tend to do better in urban rather than rural constituencies. Thus the insignificant results for

Labour can be explained in that, like the larger parties, it does well in certain high turnout, rural, constituencies, whereas like the smaller parties, it also does well in low turnout, urban, constituencies.

	Turnout 1997	Turnout 1992	Turnout Change 92-97
Labour 97	-0.186 (p = 0.244)	-0.122 (p = 0.446)	-0.150 (p = 0.348)
F. Fail 97	0.306 (p = 0.052)	0.253 (p = 0.110)	0.184 (p = 0.249)
Fine Gael 97	0.402 (p = 0.009)	0.372 (p = 0.017)	0.197 (p = 0.218)
P. D'crats 97	-0.515 (p = 0.000)	-0.347 (p = 0.026)	-0.407 (p = 0.008)
D. Left 97	-0.439 (p = 0.004)	-0.215 (p = 0.178)	-0.443 (p = 0.004)
Greens 97	-0.521 (p = 0.000)	-0.368 (p = 0.018)	-0.391 (p = 0.012)
Sinn Fein 97	-0.037 (p = 0.817)	-0.144 (p = 0.371)	0.112 (p = 0.485)
Labour 92	-0.494 (p = 0.001)	-0.232 (p = 0.145)	-0.511 (p = 0.001)
F. Fail 92	0.645 (p = 0.000)	0.346 (p = 0.027)	0.614 (p = 0.000)
Fine Gael 92	0.630 (p = 0.000)	0.457 (p = 0.003)	0.457 (p = 0.003)
P. D'crats 92	-0.369 (p = 0.017)	-0.241 (p = 0.130)	-0.301 (p = 0.056)
D. Left 92	-0.441 (p = 0.004)	-0.228 (p = 0.152)	-0.431 (p = 0.005)
Change in support of			
LAB 92-97	0.201 (p = 0.208)	0.498 (p = 0.001)	0.554 (p = 0.000)
FF 92-97	-0.163 (p = 0.310)	-0.472 (p = 0.002)	-0.557 (p = 0.000)
FG 92-97	-0.171 (p = 0.285)	-0.391 (p = 0.012)	-0.418 (p = 0.007)

Figure 6: Correlations with Voter Turnout in the 1992 and 1997 General Elections.

There is a significant, positive correlation between the changes in Labour support and in voter turnout between 1992 and 1997. This infers that the highest losses of Labour support in 1997 occurred in constituencies marked by significant declines in turnout. This can be partially explained by Labour's biggest losses being in urban constituencies where turnouts declined significantly. Associations for 1992 Labour support with the 1997 voter turnout and the change in turnouts over the 1992-97 period were likewise analysed. In both case negative and highly significant correlations occur. This implies that the constituencies, where Labour did best in 1992, were marked in turn by the lowest turnouts in 1997, as well as by the greatest turnout declines for the 1992-97 period. Thus, one could claim that Labour's decline in the 1997 election was partially caused by some electors, who had supported Labour in 1992, not turning out to vote in 1997. Hence it could be inferred that Labour's decline in 1997 was related to the party failing to mobilise their core vote to the extent that the Fianna Fail and Fine Gael organisations did. (Both these parties had significant correlations for their 1992 support levels with the 1997 turnouts and the changes in turnouts for 1992-97.)

At the sub-constituency level, however, significant, negative correlations with turnout do not always emerge, as the nature of such associations is usually determined by a

factors peculiar to the Labour candidate or the constituency itself. These can include the turnout characteristics of the candidate's home area or main support base, the political ideology of the candidate and the nature of the competition faced there. In the 1999 Dublin South Central by-election, there was a significant, positive correlation of 0.435 ($p = 0.000$) between turnout and support for the Labour's Mary Upton, due to her main support base coming from the high turnout Terenure and Templeogue areas, bailiwicks of her deceased brother, Pat, in the 1997 General Election. Similarly in Dublin South West in 1997, Labour's Eamonn Walsh, had a significant, positive correlation of 0.195 ($p = 0.029$) with turnout, because his strongest support was drawn from his home areas of Greenhills and Templeogue, both high turnout areas. By contrast there was a significant, negative correlation of -0.381 ($p = 0.015$) between voter turnout and support for Labour's Joanna Tuffy in the Lucan LEA in the 1999, as a result of her having actively sought the working class vote in low turnout areas such as Quarryvale. This strategy was motivated by the strong competition in her home area of Esker in Lucan, from which two other successful candidates contested the election. Moreover, a similar negative and significant association was detected between support for Labour's Pat Gallagher in Laois-Offaly for the 1997 General Election; the correlation coefficient was -0.271 (0.000). This reflected his strong support from his Tullamore base, which had a low turnout relative to the rest of the Laois-Offaly constituency.

Determinants of the Labour support

There are a number of factors, which are hypothesised as having a bearing on the geography of Labour support. *Tillage Cultivation and Urbanity*: As noted earlier, there were strong links in the past between Labour support and the agricultural labourer population. In general, as a Labour-voting tradition became established in an area, it would remain an area of high Labour support, even with the size of agricultural labourer population declining significantly relative to other socio-economic groups. Correlation analysis was engaged in to investigate possible associations between the Labour support, by county, for the 1985, 1991 and 1999 local elections and the percentage of land suitable for tillage farming in those counties. There were a series of significant positive correlations, of 0.558 ($p = 0.002$), 0.606 (0.000) and 0.580 (0.001) respectively, between tillage cultivation and Labour support in the 1985, 1991 and 1999 local elections. Thus the association of high Labour support with the main tillage areas has remained, although the original reason for this has long since diminished. This also may reflect the reliance of Labour on high support levels for individual candidates within certain towns in this area. A strong urban association with Labour support is illustrated by significant positive correlations with the urban population - correlations between Labour support in 1999 and the percentages living in towns with populations greater than 500, 1,500, 5,000 and 10,000 were, respectively, 0.682, 0.672, 0.663, and 0.624 (all with $p = 0.000$). Moreover, correlations between the change in Labour support for the 1985-99 period and the degree of urbanity illustrate significant, positive associations for all town sizes. A coefficient of 0.421 ($p = 0.013$), for instance, was calculated for the correlation between Labour support and the

percentage living in towns, with populations greater than 5,000. Thus it could be inferred that the share of the Labour vote won in cities and large towns, relative to the more rural areas, has increased over the past 15 years.

Socio-Economic and Demographic Factors: Labour support in the 1999 was correlated with a number of socio-economic and demographic variables, drawn from the 1996 census. Labour support was seen to be associated with areas with low levels of age dependency, with a correlation of -0.675 ($p = 0.000$). This was more to do with a strong negative correlation of -0.596 ($p = 0.000$) with those in the 65 and over age bracket, than with a weaker correlation of -0.152 ($p = 0.390$) for the 15 and under age bracket. Thus counties with a higher than average population of pensioners, such as those in western Ireland, generally prove to be areas of low Labour support. In relation to the male unemployment rate, a positive correlation of 0.229 ($p = 0.192$) was calculated, which was non-significant, largely because due to the high unemployment rates in counties of traditionally low Labour support, such as Donegal. Sinnott (1995: 135-137) also observed weak associations between Labour support and socio-economic variables, for the 1981-92 period. He concluded that "local and candidate factors appear paramount" in determining the pattern of Labour support, which for the 1981-89 period was "dependant on the personal following of a diverse group of incumbent Labour deputies". He also observes, for the 1992 General Election, that there was "no evidence of a pro-Labour working class effect at the constituency level".

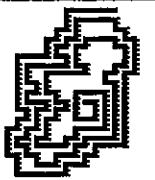
Associations between Labour support and variables pertaining to social exclusion do not always emerge at the sub-constituency level, as associations tend to be determined by factors particular to the individual candidates or constituencies. In the Dublin South Central by-election correlations with Upton support tended to be significantly negative for a host of social exclusion variables, including correlations of -0.495 ($p = 0.003$) with the SAHRU deprivation index¹ and -0.435 (0.010) with unemployment, thus implying that she did best in the more middle class areas. Similarly for the 1999 local elections, in the area pertaining to the new Dublin Central constituency, statistical analysis infers that Labour did best in middle class areas, with a negative, significant correlation of -0.330 ($p = 0.000$) between the SAHRU index and Labour support. For the two local electoral areas (LEAs) within this area however, different results emerge. In the North Inner City LEA there was a positive, but weak correlation of 0.125 ($p = 0.367$)

¹ The SAHRU index is a small area deprivation index for Ireland, developed by the Small Area Health Research Unit in the Department of Community Health & General Practice in Trinity College, Dublin. This uses 5 Census based indicators:

- ◆ Proportion of the economically active population (15-64 year olds) unemployed or seeking a 1st time job,
- ◆ Proportion of the population (social class 1-6 only) in social class 5 or 6,
- ◆ Proportion of permanent private households with no car,
- ◆ Proportion of permanent private households rented privately or from a local authority, or in the process of being acquired from a local authority,
- ◆ Average number of rooms per person in permanent private housing units.

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Cumann Tireolaíocta na hÉireann



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The Effects of Lithological Variations on Ireland's Landscape

Kiaran Sweeney, 3rd Arts

The varied landscape of Ireland is greatly due to the complex nature of its bedrock geology. Ireland's lithology offers an enormous variety of rock types ranging from the very old Dalradian rocks of some 2000 million years up to rocks formed during the Tertiary and Quaternary periods. The oldest rocks are generally found around the rim of the country for example the gneisses of Inishtrahull off the coast of Inishowen in co. Donegal, the Annagh gneisses of North Mayo and the Precambrian rocks of Rosslare in Co. Wexford. These are metamorphic rock produced by strong metamorphism of igneous rocks. The younger rocks of the Carboniferous period tend to occur in low-lying areas in particular the centre of the country and also include the Tertiary basalts of Co. Antrim. These rocks not only have been sculpted by weathering and erosion, but also by the effects of the different ice ages and mountain building processes of folding and faulting. These processes combined have operated on the different rock types giving us our present day landscape.

Ireland may be divided into several sub-units of markedly different aspects in which the topography and scenery reflect the underlying geological structure. A simple subdivision can be made between the heart or middle of the country occupying low-lying Carboniferous Limestone, while the edges or outer rims of the island generally occupying ridges of pre-Carboniferous and Tertiary igneous rocks. The landscape within this simple division is striking due to the nature of the underlying rock. There are two obvious trends when we look at the geology of Ireland. "In the northern two-thirds of the island the rock alignment is generally from north-east to south west, whilst in the southern third in the province of Munster the trend is approximately east to west." (Whittow 1975: 19) The first of these trends is the Caledonian trend which is a continuation of the mountains of Scotland, Scandinavia and Newfoundland, while the second trend is termed 'Armorican' from the older rocks of Brittany, formally known as Armorica. These trends represent former mountain building processes, where existing sedimentary rocks were folded, metamorphosed and uplifted to give us the mountains such as Donegal, Mayo, Cork and Kerry. Igneous intrusions also occurred during these upheavals giving us the granites in east Leinster, the Mournes, Galway and Donegal. The Caledonian and Armorican mountain building are responsible for some of the most striking features in the Irish landscape.

The province of Ulster along with the western counties of Sligo, Mayo and Galway, and the eastern county of Louth, it could be argued, offer more diversity in its landscape than any other part of the island. The area has every geological system from the Moinian to the Quaternary, together with the widespread glacial modification giving us an extremely varied landscape. Variations in this region include the

highest sea cliffs in Europe, fjords, the Giant's Causeway and the largest lake Lough Neagh in the British Isles.

One of the unique features of the north east region is the wide Antrim plateau of Tertiary basalt lavas covering Cretaceous, Jurassic and Triassic rocks. Along the Antrim coast, one can see many examples of underlying chalk being protected by the basalt giving us rugged coastal scenery. The Antrim plateau owes its origin to volcanic eruption of basalt on a large scale some 50 million years ago. Tievragh and Slemish are two conical hills on the plateau that are the remains of volcanic centres. The Antrim plateau is gently folded on a north-south axis to form the long valley which is drained by the Lower Bann. South of the Lower Bann lies Lough Neagh which was formed during faulting where parts of the plateau subsided. "The eastern face of the plateau is spectacularly notched by the deep U-shaped trough valleys of the Antrim Glens." (Orme 1972: 19). These glens are the products of faulting with basalts lying on top of Cretaceous and Jurassic rocks.

To the south of the Antrim plateau there is a break in the topography with a low plain of Palaeozoic rocks with little relief apart from some drumlins. This area is in marked contrast to the southern part of Down and Armagh with its high Tertiary granite mountains, the Mournes and the intrusive rocks of Slieve Gullion and its encircling ring dyke. This area of high relief of igneous rocks continues into Louth on the south side of Carlingford Lough with the Carlingford mountains. These intrusive Tertiary granite mountains include thirteen peaks of heights in excess of 600, metres giving a magnificent landscape. The granites were intruded during late Silurian and early Devonian times and were emplaced as molten rock that rose up large active faults in the crust, cooled and crystallised several kilometres below the land surface. Volcanic rocks and granites are found elsewhere in the country, creating dome shaped mountains but also granite plateaux. The Leinster batholith is the largest intrusive granite plateau in the British Isles. The Wicklow Mountains occupy part of this extensive plateau. The Derryveagh Mountains in North Donegal produce similarly rounded features on the landscape. Granite also occupies some areas of lower ground for example, the Rosses in Donegal and in Galway. These areas of granite have been lowered through faulting. Fractures in the granite mountains have been exploited to produce long straight valleys for example, Glevagh in Donegal. The landscape produced by the granite intrusions is in marked contrast to the landscape of the extrusive basalts. Within each rock group, there are more marked differences in the landscape that has evolved.

To the west of the Tertiary lava plateau in North East Ulster runs a belt of metamorphic rocks which extend from North East Antrim, Tyrone and Donegal into the West of Ireland. These rocks are part of the Dalradian super-group. Throughout this area of mainly metamorphosed marine sedimentary rocks lie contrasting mountain or upland regions such as the Sperrin, Donegal, Mayo and Connemara Mountains. These mountains are part of the Caledonian trend which resulted in the landscape been dominated by

mountains, hills drained by rivers and streams. Quartzites and schists, metamorphosed sandstones are common in this region. These rocks are very hard and resistant to erosion, thus giving the landscape of mountain peaks with scree covered slopes such as Muckish, Errigal, Croagh Patrick, Nephin and the Twelve Bens in Connemara. It must be stressed however that the landscape in this metamorphic region has also been modified by extensive glaciation, which has breached watersheds and sculpted many of the valleys we see today.

In contrast to the upland areas of the northern half of Ireland with their hard older rocks, the heart of the country or central lowlands is characterised by softer younger rocks flooring valleys and plains. The central lowlands are the principle areas developed on the younger rocks of Carboniferous Limestone buried over pre-Carboniferous strata buried far below sea-level. This limestone with corals and fossils represent the former presence of warm carbonate rich seas. The landscape in this area is generally flat with small areas of higher ground which are usually younger rocks sitting on top of the limestone or outcrops of older rock protruding up on it for example, the Slieve Bloom Mountains. The topography of the central lowlands is broken up, not only by inliers for example, Chair of Kildare, which are relics of old volcanoes but also by features left by the ice age such as swarms of drumlins, lakes, bogs, terminal moraines and eskers. The low-lying central plain generally does not rise above 400 feet in stark contrast to the ridges around the coast. In some places, isolated blocks of limestone however survived for example, Ben Bulbin is a striking feature on the landscape rising to a height of 535 feet. The limestone plateau has withstood weathering and erosion while the less resistant limestone has been eroded around it.

The Burren is another area of limestone worth mentioning in the relationship between lithology and the landscape. The landscape of the Burren in north Clare is barren, bare and rocky due to the porous qualities of the underlying limestone, and also the scouring of the ice sheets. The area is composed largely of Upper Carboniferous limestone once covered by old Namurian rocks but now exposed by denudation. There are a wide variety of Karst features in the area, such as sink-holes, poljes, blind valleys and dolines. There are also karstic features in the limestones of Fermanagh, west of Lough Erne.

The southern part of Ireland provides us with a very good example of how rock structure can control the evolution of the landscape. The best example of folding can be found in the region stretching from west Waterford, across Cork and into Kerry. "The Armorican movements imposed a tectonic grain of east-west folds on Devonian and Carboniferous rocks, continuing the trend of similar structures found in Wales and south-west England." (Orme 1972:17). The main rocks involved in the folding were the hard Old Red Sandstones with Carboniferous strata resting on top with thick layers of limestone underneath. The horizontal layers of strata were folded into anticlines and synclines giving us the mountains of Cork and Kerry. The mountains dominate

the area with synclines running west, west-southwest, with rivers such as Bandon, Blackwater and Lee flowing along the synclinal valleys. Old red sandstone has been exposed on higher ground due to the denudation of the limestone and carboniferous strata but some of the valleys still contain Carboniferous and Limestone. Old red sandstone is one of the hardest rocks in Ireland; thus, due to this resistance, we find a topography of craggy mountains and hills. Ireland's highest mountain, Carrauntoohill, composed of Old Red Sandstone lies in this region. Glaciers, giving us the great U-shaped valleys and breached watersheds have heavily modified the topography of the landscape in this area, as in the rest of the country. The lowland areas of Munster often contain Carboniferous rocks for example, the Castlecomber and Abbeyfeale plateaux. The topography in these areas follow once again a more gently sloping landscape, interrupted by the hills of former volcanic plugs and sills between the sedimentary rock.

Although it is not possible to look at every geomorphological region in this essay, it is perfectly clear that lithology has a profound influence on the variation of our landscape. "While the Caledonian and Armorican movements set Ireland's main structural framework, subsequent denudation shaped the country's present landforms." (Mitchell 1986). This denudation affected the landscape of regions in different ways due to the nature of the underlying rock. In general, the igneous and metamorphic rocks tend to form upstanding mountainous and hilly areas while Sedimentary rocks form valleys, lowlands and plains. Valleys tend to form on the weaker sandstones rather than on hard igneous rocks. Rock hardness influences the shape and gradients of basic landforms, such as valley sides and mountain slopes. Rock type also influences the type of drainage patterns with the major rivers running through areas of younger Carboniferous foundations for example, the Shannon, Boyne, Slaney and Suir. Other major rivers such as the Bann occupy former fault lines. Rock type has also a great effect on the coast of Ireland. We generally tend to find high cliffs on regions of older rock, for example, the cliffs of Moher and Slieveleague, while erosion of the softer rocks such as the glacial sediments along the east coast produce less striking landforms. Ireland's landscape is intrinsically intertwined with the complex lithology of its underlying rock.

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Amerindian Maps

Sonja Moore, Postgraduate Research

European conception and Spanish territorial administration became historically the 'true representation' of the New World and the Occidentals (Mignolo, 1995). In other words, Eurocentric mapping of the south and middle Americas for administration and power relationship came to surpass and dominate the centuries-old, traditional, native concepts of representing their inhabited natural and manmade world. Many of the Amerindian maps were deliberately destroyed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries during the Spanish conquest of this continent. Those, however, which did survive display vivid and extraordinary cartography examples of how different a world could be interpreted and mapped out. Even today, unravelling these maps is still very difficult as they are in complex coded forms. Nevertheless, intensive work and extensive progress has made it possible to decipher some of these remaining maps. Thus, because of the inherent limitation, the focus is centred around various aspects of how the Amerindian elite represented their environment, such as the material being used, their calendar, city lay-out, world image and other graphic conceptualisations.

Before any Amerindian map can be assessed however, it is imperative to understand the Amerindian ideology of map-making. Denis Wood describes maps as 'mirror, a graphic representation, some aspect of the real world' and that the 'map should offer a transparent window on the world'. Harley (1988) adds that 'map interpretation usually implies a search for geographical features'. Certainly, since the days of scientific enlightenment, European cartography has changes its way of producing worldly realities onto paper. During the Tudor times lively, picturesque maps were produced, which were followed by the 'Europeanisation of the Earth' due to Mercator's projection. Eventually scientific, thematic cartography proceeded, such as geology and road maps, maps locating diseases, agriculture, languages and so on. All these maps reflect in an easy recognisable, symbolic fashion what is geographically visible to the eye, or representative of a scientific analysis. In any case, these maps illustrate a certain selected environment at a specific time in a cohesive manner and order, so that they can be used for administration purposes, decision-making, law enforcement, taxation, planning policies, etc.

These cartographic images of the world are products of ethnocentric mirror images of what is perceived to be the reality of both the author and the patron. As well, maps were also 'images with historically specific codes' (Harley, 1988). In theory the same applies to the Amerindian maps. However, a vast contrast exists between European and Amerindian maps and map-making. In Europe, by the end of the sixteenth century, history and geography became two distinct and separate disciplines. Historians recorded social, political, economic, religious and natural events using the alphabetical form. Geographers mapped the natural and/or constructed physical environment by symbols. Amerindian's history and geography though remained one and the same, performed by one person known as a *tlacuilo* (scribe). He

used a complex code of picto-ideographic symbols representing both disciplines on the same medium. Amerindians were picto-ideographic literate. The written alphabetic language if the Spanish world was yet to be introduced and implemented as the dominant form of communication. Mignolo explains that this was a 'culture in which the *tlacuilo* (scribe) painted the both the pictographic signs in which past memories were preserved and those in which spatial boundaries were traced'. These were written/mapped on *amoxtli*, which were both a geographical map and a historical book. Thus although Amerindian maps were like their European counterpart 'an organisation of space, a localisation of places and an indication of distances' at the same time they also 'kept historical records of the past and social events', thus giving us a much larger time-span than any European map. The map of *Cuauhtinchan* of the *Toltecs Chichimecs* is an astounding example of this interwoven Amerindian concept of time/space, historical/geographical map-making concept, recounting in glyph code the migration chronicles of the Amerindian communities from the *Valley of Puebla*.

The glyph writing in itself is a highly complex form of communication, whereby people rather than European symbols, such as lines, numbers, different shadings, cartouches, etc., illustrate the territorial, temporal, spatial, hierarchical history of their ancestors and their contemporaries.

Fig 1: Structure of the City and grid of the cosmos: frontpiece of Mendoza Codex (Mignolo, 1995, 241)



Amoxtli was the Mexica word for the map/book format; *Vuh* was the word used in the Mayan culture. *Amoxtli* was indeed the bark of a local fig tree, whitened with chalk on which the glyphs were painted onto. The *Popol Vuh* (Book of Council, a Mayan-Quiche narrative of origin) is only one example of these *axmotti* book/map forms. Although time was also mapped onto this particular bark material, it too was carved onto large standing stones. The cosmos, so vital for their pastoral survival and every day life, was not only painted onto bark, but also onto clay pottery, according to the vision of the Amerindians, especially in Peru. A very complex code of interlocked mapping called the Inca Key occurred on woven material. This way of communicating did not only disclose social standing in society, but as well the place of origin. But how these symbols worked may never be fully understood nor decoded.

The aforementioned artefacts were found in various burial grounds, again in particular in Peru. They were placed alongside nobility or human child sacrifices. Were they produced specifically so that the deceased would find his or her way into the next world? It would have taken a great length of time to produce these distinct maps and they were equally valuable as materially expensive. Just as European maps were fabricated for the upper echelon of society, so too were the Amerindian maps display objects to illustrate the owner's prestige and power.

Furthermore, unique but very mysterious geoglyphs survive in the Amerindian countryside, for which many theories exist as to why and how they were built, but as of today, nobody has been able to decode nor identify their meaning or ownership. They consist of large stone maps built into the landscape, which are only visible in its full form from high up in the atmosphere. These geoglyphs must have been extremely important, as it would have taken many men many months to construct. Though until now, it is still impossible to explain as to who build them, who benefited from them, what was their purpose and how they were built to such an exact measurement.

The *Oaxaca* calendar, established ca. 500 BC, was and is still used by many communities in the Americas, such as the *Aztecs*, *Mayas*, *Zupotec*, *Olmec* and *Toltec*. As already stated, the standing stone (the *stelae*) and the bark material picture their calendar. Although being scientifically extremely familiar with the movements of the heavenly bodies, only limited astronomical influences were bestowed upon the calendar, for instance to mark the important days for festivals and ceremonies, administration of their sacraments, omens of their days, divinations, prophecies and antiquities. Naturally, it was not European mathematical lettering that governed the numerical ordering of the calendar. Once more, picto-ideographic glyphs served to illustrate the equivalent of European days, weeks, months and yearly cycles, yet again combining the regulation and co-ordination of time and space. The Amerindian magical number 4 (strongly noticeable also in both the city and world maps) represent the four seasons, the four elements, and the four horizontal corners of the world. Therefore the calendar would show:

Tecpatl (Flint): south, fire and one of the four seasons
Calli (House): east, earth and one of the four seasons
Tochtli (Rabbit): north, air and one of the four seasons

Acatl (Reed): west, water and one of the four seasons
 The seasons depend on the dominating factor of the year, i.e. if the dominant factor is *Actal* – thus springtime – *Tecpatl* is summer.

The *Oaxaca* calendar primarily consists of three parts. The first is the *calendar round*, which encompasses 52 years and has three numerical interlocking cycles of 13, 20 and 365 days and years. The latter is a day cycle known as a *haab*. Every *haab* is separated into 18 named *unials*, similar to the European months. Every *unial* has also a repeated day cycle, called the *veintena*, whereby every day is given a different name. To make up 365 days within the year, after the *haab* 5 days are added, thus $18 \times 20 + 5 = 365$.

The calendar round, also known as the round circle, combines other elements in its complicated coding system. The merging of time and space is again emphasised. The calendar is separated into four sections, whereby every section encompasses 13 years and every one is given a horizontal direction combined with an equivalent earthly symbol.

1st section: east, reed
 2nd section: north, flint knife
 3rd section: west, house
 4th section: south rabbit

There is also a fifth section, which is the centre of the axis. The centre unites the four elements just described, it is also where the human spiritual universe and the geopolitical sphere meet and the 'horizontal organisation of the universe in 13 places above (Omeyocan) and 9 places below (Michtlan)'. This combination and the geographical location of time and space designated the religious temples to become the powerful administrative machines in the Amerindian world.

The second part of the calendar is the long count, which was developed long after the calendar round. It depicts a serious of units, whereby every unit has various numbers of days:

20 *kin* (days) = 1 *unial* = 20 days
 18 *unials* = 1 *tun* = 360 days
 20 *tun* = 1 *katum* = 7200 days
 20 *katum* = 1 *baktun* = 144000 days

The third part of the calendar is the great cycle, which is 123 *baktuns* long, after which the world as the Amerindians know it, would be annihilated, in order for it to be restored again for another 13 *baktuns*. It is believed the great cycle began in 3114 BC and the next one would come around again in the year 2012 AD.

The *Oaxaca* calendar provides other information, such as the phases of the moon, over which one of the nine Lords of the Night presides during the day. However, as the calendar is not in symmetry with the astronomical cycle, it is adjusted every so often, so that the festivals can coincide with the seasons. Time, according to the Mexica is divided into 5 ages, each one being a sun representation. The present storyteller in the fifth sun in the centre is able to recite Mexica's 4 ages of the world, which were probably invented. These stories within the calendar would recount of how the world came into existence, not by art of verbal or written communication, but by the development of nourishment. Again the temporal and the spatial sphere were totally intertwined. The first age, or sun, was Tiger, and the main nourishment was holm oak acorn. The second age was

wind, when humans took to eating water-maize. The third age was fire-rain, where the water-maize was supplanted by a kind of root of the maize plant. The last age is the movement, at which time the maize became the most single element of recounting the origin of the Amerindian people. Therefor, as Mignolo points out, 'the calendar became a map where place and time were two sides of the same coin'. (Information gathered for the calendar from Richards, 1999, *Mapping Time*)

The city for the Amerindians was not only a place for economic, religious and social activities, it was most of all the centre of their universe. To display the different attitudes between Eurocentric and Mexicentric concept of representing a city on material, the city of *Mexico-Tenochtitlan* shall serve as an excellent example.

The Spanish considered this city from a military point of view. Cortes, in a letter to his king, Charles V, described the city lay-out in geographical dimensions. He referred to Tenochtitlan in specific measurements, such as lengths, and indicates the arrangement of the roads. Mode of transport and bridge constructions were also mentioned. He, too, furnished his letter with a plan map of the city in European

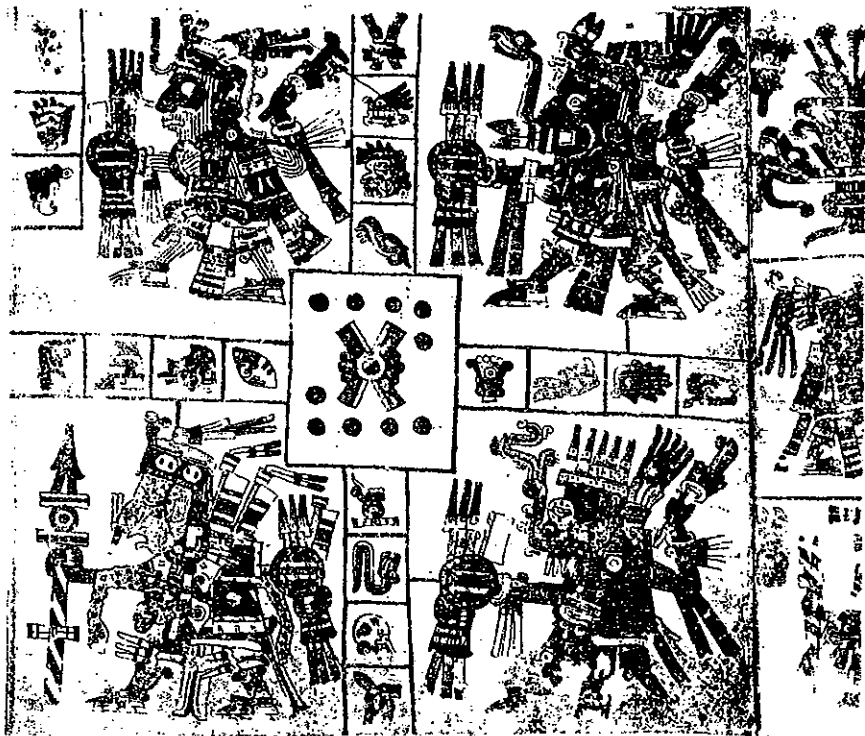


Figure 2: Shape of the world in Mesoamerica, from the *Codex Borgia* (Mignolo, 1995, 160) fashion.

The mapping of *Tenochtitlan* by the Aztecs is very similar to the frontispiece of the Mendoza Codex. However, it is clear, that this map shows no resemblance to the Cortes one in any way. *Tenochtitlan* was, according to the legends of the Mexica, the location indicated by their supreme deity as their new territory, when they moved away from their old region of *Antlan*. In the centre of the map stands the all important calendar stone. From this point, armies were sent forth in all four directions of the universe. As this city represents the cosmological dimensions of the Mexica people, roads, buildings, city shape, institutions and the

outer and further geographical and/or geological features were not represented, as it is so common with European maps. According to Mignolo '...lines dividing the four quarter are not perpendicular to each other but diagonal. Each quarter is dominated by a god-creator and is linked to the element of allegorical significance and to a colour (rain god, fertility red, on top where the sun rises – wind god, knowledge, white, where the sun sets – earth god, death, black, left hand facing the sunrise – fire god, uncertainty, blue, right hand facing the sunrise) again blending time and space. *Tenochtitlan*, in the centre, is surrounded by the four quarters of the world and by the concepts of the years. ...the city is also surrounded by water, as indicated by the blue border in the picture. In the centre the city is indicated by a stylised rock with an eagle landing on it, fulfilling the prophecy of their gods announcing the place in which their peregrination from the *Aztlan* would end.'

The mentioned diagonal lines could be viewed similarly to the roads of ancient Rome, when it was at the height of its power. Then, when all roads led to mighty Rome, why should not all the roads have led to *Tenochtitlan*, the centre of the Mexica universe?

It is obvious that the object, *Tenochtitlan*, was mapped to each author's imagination and perspective of reality and importance. Where the Spanish choose to ignore to illustrate the significance of the city's geopolitical and historical past and present in time and space and its wider association to the cosmological dimension of the Mexica world, the Amerindians failed to give a practical, physical and man-made constructed lay-out of the same city. *Mendoza Codex's* frontispiece would be quite useless as an orientation map, but excellent as a historical/social guide.

As mentioned above, the world on the map was divided up into four equal parts, depicting the four temporal sections. These were, in identical graphic representation, combined with the corresponding territorial sphere, the Four Corners of the World, yet again each quarter being illustrated by a godly deity, and glyphs indicating time. The concept of the universal territory looks rather like a large

version of the city map. In contrast to the European cartography, the Amerindian world maps are void of any geographical features, such as mountains, rivers, city boundaries, buildings, fields, names, border frames, and so on. As exact measurements of distances and places were unnecessary, no indications of any mathematical dimensions can be observed. The significant concept of the Amerindian maps lies in that the ideological territory of the heavens is combined and associated with the physical earth of the Amerindians, whereby the cosmological centre, the Amerindian realm, is the naval of the world.

Unfortunately, presently, there seems to exist a lack of knowledge of these world maps. Further investigation might reveal the crucial identities of the four gods, their associated

instruments, and the relevant importance of the other picto-ideographics along with the colour representation.

Graphic representation can take on many more forms, such as the cartographies of peregrinations, for instance the *Map of Cuauhtinchan*, the spatial narrative of the *Toltecs-Chichmecs* from the *Valley of Pueblo*. *Tira de la peregrination* and the *Mapa Siguenza* are the tales of the Aztec people as they moved from the *Aztlan* to the *Valley of Mexico*. In the *Map of Cuauhtinchan* people, not geographic symbols reconstruct the migration process. To a picto-ideographic illiterate person, this map shows no more than an insane, jumbled up assortment of incomprehensible symbols in a crazed labyrinth. To the one who is however educated in this discipline, these stylised, detailed, representative signs correspond to a map of the geographical, physical sphere through which these people travelled. The mapped images are merged together with their temporal symbols, where each one could also be representative of religious festivals, historic land social events, trials and tribulations, whereby little black feet lead the reader through the voyage.

However, *Tira de la peregrination* and *Mapa Siguenza* show the first signs of European interventions. Latin writing was added, probably for clarification for the Spanish colonial officials. *Mapa Siguenza* is maybe the first one where symbolic road representation marks the way on which the Amerindians presumably travelled. It, too, displays other signs of interference, such as full length of people, hills, vegetation, which differ greatly from the Amerindian stylised ones. And the whole map is set into a frame.

In conclusion, to state that 'European maps and Spanish territorial administration became the true representation of the new world of the Amerindians', is a short-sighted, inane declaration of surrendering one kind of cartography to the imagined superiority of another. Every map, Amerindian or European is an equally value-laden statement representing a particular area, large or small. In general, European cartography was and is a systematic method to create temporarily some order of a constant changing world and to represent it, for most of the time, on some sort of portable material in an easily understandable graphic design.

European maps are powerful tools for the reader on safety, defence, administration, law, religion, and various government issues and for decision-making. They display generally chosen, isolated images, such as the city lay-out without the significant meaning for the inhabitants, geological analysis, weather, cadastral, portolan, travel, world maps, etc.

Amerindian maps encompass with every symbolic design long time periods, space, history, religion, their origin and their universe. Only medieval religious cartography would be the closest comparative to the Amerindian maps in aspect of the aforesaid factors. Without an alphabetical written language, coded glyphs, colours and their symbolic ordering on a specific chosen medium became the very ingenious techniques, invented by the Amerindian elite, to pass on

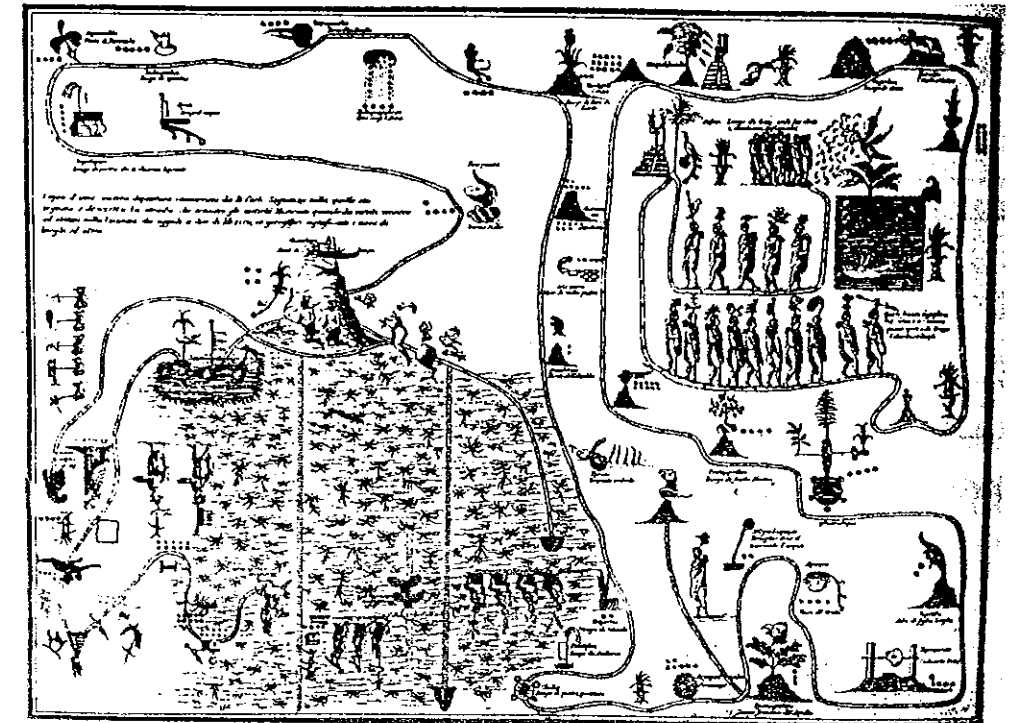


Figure 3: Alternative territorialities (*Mapa Siguenza* c. 1550), origin & peregrination of the Aztecs (Mignolo, 298) their envisaged aspects of their environment. Like their European counterparts, maps helped them to establish a power base. And again, like Europe, it was within these religious settlements, that the elite was educated and from where they exercised their geopolitical power. Their centres became the universe, the cosmos for the Amerindian people, as can be clearly seen in their city and world maps.

European and Amerindian maps were and are equal in value and in representing their world, neither being inferior to the other. They were similar given the authorisation and the power these maps held. Yet, both continents were worlds apart when symbolising their 'cartographic reality'.

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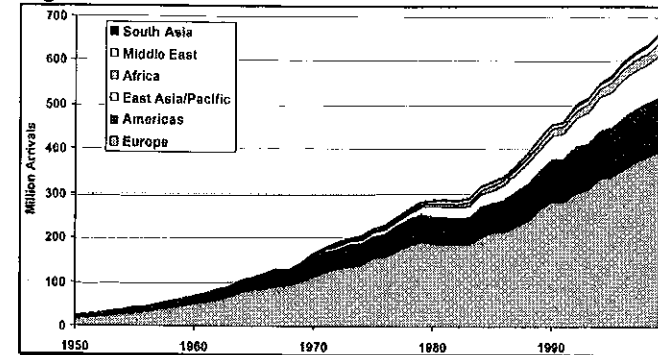
World & European Tourism

Kevin Griffin, Staff

Section A. World Tourism

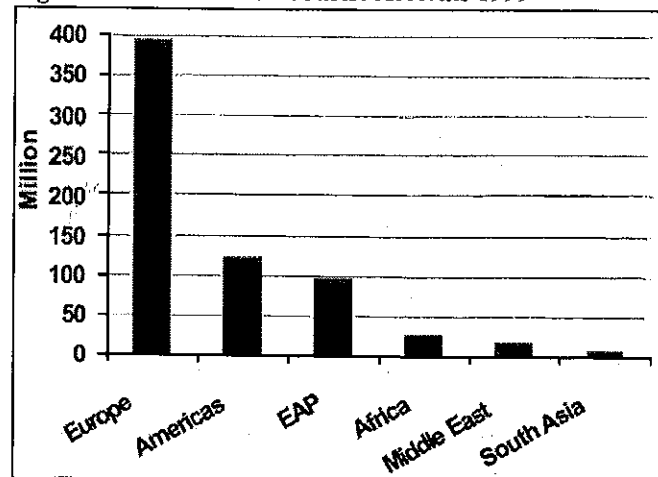
The purpose of this brief paper is to bring together some recent statistics on the growth and importance of the tourism industry. The majority of these data are drawn from the recently released reports of the World Tourism Organisation.

Figure 1: International Tourist Arrivals 1950-1999



As can be seen in Figure 1, the growth in tourism in the past 50 years has been staggering. From 1950 to 1999 tourism arrivals have grown from 25 million persons annually to 664 million persons annually. In addition to the overall growth in tourism, this graph illustrates the international diversification of the industry. In 1950 the top five destinations were the United States, Canada, Italy, France and Switzerland, which between them accounted for 71% of world arrivals. By 1999 the top five destinations (in this case France, Spain, the United States, Italy and China) only accounted for 36% of world arrivals. The main emerging destinations at a global level are Asia, North Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. In 1950 15 countries accounted for the 25 million tourists. Now over 70 countries and territories annually receive over one million tourists each.

Figure 2: International Tourist Arrivals 1999



As can be seen in Figure 2 the most important global region visited by tourists is Europe, which received 394.1 million tourists in 1999. Second place was the Americas with 122.9 million tourists and third place was the East Asia / Pacific region receiving 97.2 million. Africa received 26.9 million, the Middle East 17.8 million and South Asia received 5.7 million. Globally these figures represent an increase of 4.4 percent over the previous year.

Figure 3: Share of World Total % 1999

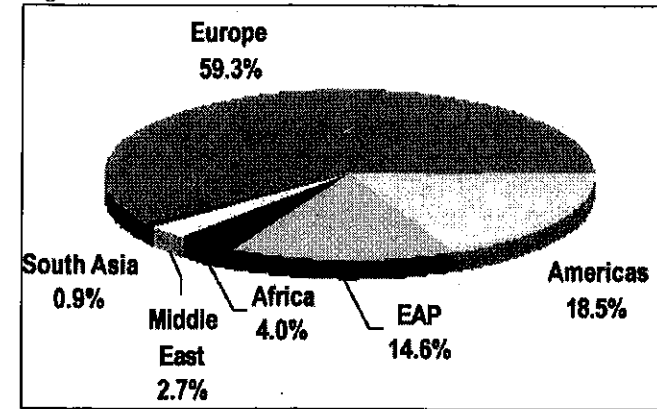
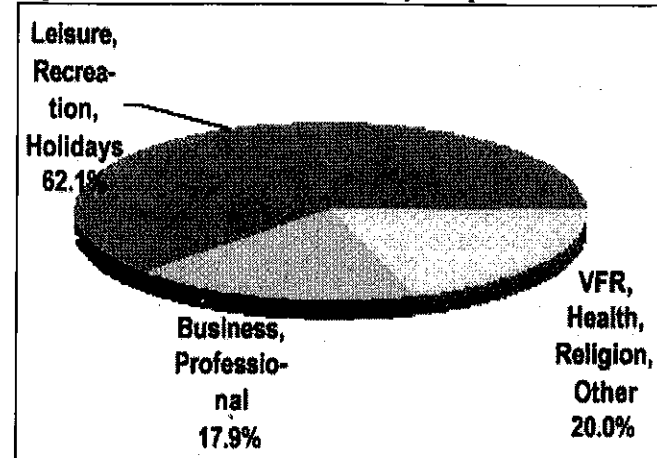


Figure 3 illustrates the share of tourists received by each region. Europe with 59.3% and the Americas with 18.5% are still the main receiving regions. It would appear however that other regions are growing at a faster pace. Thus, while European tourism grew by 2.7%, and the Americas by 2.4%, African tourism grew by 7.8%, while South Asia grew by 8.3% the East Asia / Pacific region grew by 11.1%, and the world's smallest region, the Middle East, grew by 16.2%. From these data, we can see that with the overall growth of international tourism, the geography of the global tourism industry is also rapidly changing.

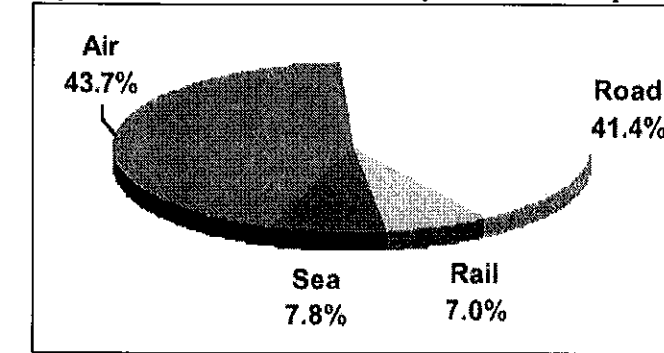
Figure 4: International Tourism by Purpose of Visit



Despite changes in the geography of the industry, the purpose of visits still remains similar (Figure 4). Leisure, recreation and holidays still account for the

main purpose of travelling, with these accounting for 62.1% of all trips. Business travel accounts for 17.9% of travel with the remainder being made up of various categories such as visiting friends and relatives, religious trips / pilgrimage, health treatment etc. This third category has seen particular growth over the last number of years, and thus illustrating the trend towards marked diversification and the division of holidays.

Figure 5: International Tourism by Mode of Transport



Air (43.7%) and road (41.4%) transport are by far the most important means of international tourism (Figure 5). Sea and Rail count for 7.8% and 7.0% respectively. While these two latter categories have remained static, the slow steady increase of air transport over road transport has been an international trend.

Figure 6: World's Top 15 Tourism Destinations

Destination	Arrivals (m) 1999	% Change 98-99	Global Share
France	73.0	4.3	11.0
Spain	51.8	9.2	7.8
United States	48.5	4.5	7.3
Italy	36.1	3.3	5.4
China	27.0	7.9	4.1
U.K.	25.7	0.0	3.9
Canada	19.6	3.7	2.9
Mexico	19.2	-2.9	2.9
Russian Fed.	18.5	17.0	2.8
Poland	18.0	-4.4	2.7
Austria	17.5	0.7	2.6
Germany	17.1	3.7	2.6
Czech. Rep.	16.0	-1.8	2.4
Hungary	12.9	-13.8	1.9
Greece	12.0	9.9	1.8

To look in more detail at 'where in the world' (apologies for those of you old enough to remember!) these people visit, Figure 6 illustrates the top 15 destinations in the world. This shows that European destinations are the most important at a global level, with 11 of the top 15 destinations in this region. The exceptions to this pattern are the United States, Canada and Mexico, which form the second large block of

destinations and China, which is the only country outside this 'North Atlantic' classification.

Figure 7: World's Top 15 Tourism Earners

Destination	Receipts (US\$ bn) 1999	% Change 98-99	Global Share
United States	74.4	4.5	16.4
Spain	32.9	10.7	7.2
France	31.7	5.9	7.0
Italy	28.4	-5.1	6.2
U.K.	21.0	0.0	4.6
Germany	16.8	2.4	3.7
China	14.1	11.9	3.1
Austria	11.1	-0.9	2.4
Canada	10.0	6.7	2.2
Greece	8.8	41.6	1.9
Russian Fed.	7.8	19.4	1.7
Mexico	7.6	-3.9	1.7
Australia	7.5	2.6	1.7
Switzerland	7.4	-5.9	1.6
China, Hong Kong SAR	7.2	1.8	1.6

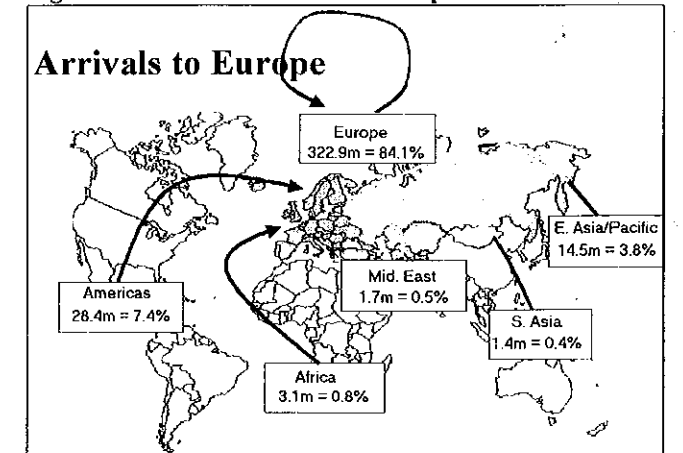
Examining the top 15 earners, we see that there are a number of changes. The United States receives 7.3% of international tourists, yet it receives 16.4% of international receipts. France receives 11.0% of tourists, but only generates 7.0% of international receipts.

Examining these two figures shows the revenue generated by tourists in each of the destinations. Thus, the US, Italy, UK and Germany receive a higher global share of revenue than would be expected based on numbers, while France, China, Canada, the Russian Federation and Mexico all receive less than would be expected.

Section B. European Tourism

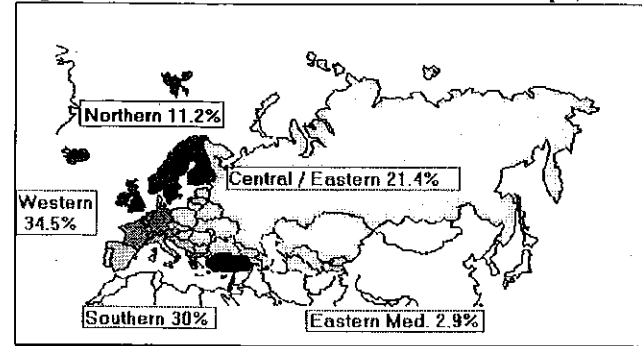
Since it is the largest market in the world, this section examines the main trends of European tourism.

Figure 8: Tourism Arrivals to Europe 1999



Not only is Europe the largest receiving market in the world, it is also the biggest tourism generating region. In examining the origins of tourists (Figure 8) it can be seen that 84.1% (322.9 million) of all international tourists to Europe also originate in Europe. As would be expected from the international trends observed above, the Americas account for the next largest segment with 28.4 million European tourists originating there (7.8%). Next in importance is the East Asia / Pacific region which accounts for 14.5 million tourists in Europe (3.8%). Africa, the Middle East and South Asia are relatively small originators of tourists, each generating less than 1% of Europe's tourists, with 3.1 million, 1.7 million and 1.4 million tourists respectively (0.8%, 0.5% and 0.4%).

Figure 9: Distribution of Tourists Within Europe, 1999



One factor that should be of interest to the geographer is the actual identification of Europe as defined by the World Tourism Organisation. In this classification, Northern Europe, which receives 11.2% of European tourists, contains: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Ireland, Norway, Sweden and the U.K.

Western Europe, which receives 34.5% of tourists, contains: Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, Netherlands and Switzerland

Southern Europe which receives 30% of European tourists contains: Albania, Andorra, Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia, Former Yug. Rep of Macedonia, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, San Marino, Slovenia, Spain and Yugoslavia.

The smallest group is the Eastern Mediterranean group containing Cyprus, Israel and Turkey receives 2.9% of European tourists.

The most diverse grouping is the Central / Eastern region which receives 21.4% of European tourists. The 21 countries in this group are: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bulgaria, Czech Rep, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rep. Moldova, Romania, Russian Fed.,

Slovakia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan.

Figure 10: European Arrivals & Receipts

Destination	Arrivals (1000)	Destination	Receipts (US\$ Million)
France	73,042	Spain	32,913
Spain	51,772	France	31,699
Italy	36,097	Italy	28,357
U.K.	25,740	U.K.	20,972
Russian Fed.	18,496	Germany	16,828
Poland	17,950	Austria	11,088
Austria	17,467	Greece	8,765
Germany	17,116	Russian Fed.	7,771
Czech Rep	16,031	Switzerland	7,355
Hungary	12,930	Netherlands	7,092
Greece	12,000	Poland	6,100
Portugal	11,600	Belgium	5,437
Switzerland	10,800	Turkey	5,203
Netherlands	9,844	Portugal	5,169
Ukraine	7,500	Sweden	3,894
Turkey	6,893	Denmark	3,682
Ireland	6,511	Hungary	3,394
Belgium	6,369	Ireland	3,306
Norway	4,481	Israel	3,050
Croatia	3,443	Czech Rep	3,035

Figure 10 illustrates the distribution of tourists and receipts within Europe. France, Spain, Italy and the UK are the main recipients in both cases. The Russian Federation, Poland and the Czech Republic all receive a higher rank of tourist numbers than actual earnings, while countries such as Germany, Greece, Switzerland Belgium and Denmark all fare higher on the receipts ranking than their market share of arrivals. This suggests that there is an imbalance between European nations regarding the 'value' of tourists received.

Conclusion

Even from observing these data, we can see at a superficial level that while tourism is expanding at a rapid rate, there are inherent geographical trends, which must be observed in order to fully appreciate this global industry.

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A full description of global tourism statistics may be downloaded in PDF format from the WTO at:

<http://www.world-tourism.org>

Another very worthwhile site is Bord Failte's statistic page which may be accessed at:

<http://www.bfrade.travel.ie/>

Pollution, Freshwater Resources and the Global Water Crisis.

James Campion, Postgraduate Research

We are gradually reducing the available resources of freshwater by high levels of wastage and by returning to the environment polluted waters that can critically reduce the quality of rivers, lakes and groundwater (Jones, 1997:15). The second UN water conference held in Dublin in January 1992 to prepare a report for the Earth Conference in Rio publicized the perilous state of water resources throughout most of the world. It pointed out the increasing pressures on resources, abstractions from rivers at rates approaching the renewal rate and increasing number of aquifers that are being exploited at rates exceeding their recharge rate. The pollution still continues from point and diffuse sources with distinct weaknesses in inspection and monitoring processes. The nettle of pollution has been but lightly grasped. Overexploitation and water shortage has raised grave prospects of 'water wars' in the future. Pollution drastically reduces the availability of quality water and it is a primary factor in terms of the global water crisis.

Pure water does not exist in nature and its quality varies in accordance to its position in the hydrological cycle. Rainwater picks up carbon dioxide from the atmosphere which makes it acidic, stream water picks up traces of organic acids when it flows through peaty areas and groundwater may be alkaline because it contains dissolved calcium carbonate. In attempting to define pollution the Open University states that it is any man made change in water quality which renders the water less suitable for use than it was originally (Smith, 1995:33). There is no simple measure of purity of water and the term of quality only has meaning when related to some specific use of water. The concentration of totally dissolved material in raw sewage is similar to that in many groundwater supplies used for drinking water. By that single criterion both are about 99.9% pure water but they are obviously very different in other respects (Ward, 1990:300).

Water remains one of the most important natural resources and the allocation of supplies between competing users in ways that are fair, sustainable and produce acceptable levels of environmental damage remains a rather elusive goal in most countries. The United Nations Environmental Programme has concluded that there is no single best approach to sustainable water management. Water is a renewable resource. In theory there is plenty of it in the global cycle to meet all present and expected human needs. Much water use is wasteful and inefficient. Data from the early 1990s shows that a number of countries use almost all their available renewable water supplies. Israel and Egypt use more than 70% of their available resources (Park, 1997:237). Libya and Saudi Arabia use more than their annual supply and supplement with groundwater from non-renewable aquifers and desalination plants. Some countries are threatened with critical water shortages. There are imbalances in the water used in different countries. Typical consumption in the West is up to 300 liters per day nearly one third of which is flushed down toilets. A typical person in India uses about 25 liters. Some countries are threatened

with critical water shortages and problems are exacerbated by pollution.

Pollution entering lakes and rivers falls into several categories. Some of the major types and sources of the pollutants are sewage, infectious agents, plant nutrients, sediments and heated water returning from industrial processes. Domestic sewage is a major source of pollution. The sewage is about 99.9% water and the rest is organic material such as proteins, carbohydrates and fats (Smith, 33). When these substances are discharged into rivers aerobic bacteria break them down. Oxygen is an essential element in the breakdown process. The oxygen demanding pollution load that a river can cope with is determined by factors such as the dissolved oxygen present, the rate at which the river captures the oxygen, the rate of biological decomposition. This is related to the temperature and the turbulence of the water. Some non-biodegradable compounds from industry include compounds used in pesticides; herbicides and fungicides enter the watercourses in various ways. Other inorganic substances include salts of metals like copper, zinc, lead, chromium, arsenic and mercury. Like plant nutrients they can only be eliminated with difficulty in the sewage treatment process. Plant nutrients such as nitrogen and phosphorous can cause the algal blooms. Phosphorous from packaged detergents and nitrogen from fertilizers are a major cause of this type of pollution in freshwater.

Since WWII there has been a rapid rise in non-point sources of pollution. More than half the pollution entering the US rivers comes from diffuse sources. Mechanized agriculture, artificial fertilizers and overall intensification of farming have played a major role. Agriculture has long been a source of water pollution. The range and degree of agricultural pollution has increased dramatically over the last half-century (Jones, 242). Studies in the USA in the late 1980s suggest that up to 55% of total river length was polluted by agriculture, about 16% by towns and cities, 13% by mining activities and a further 13% by habitat modification (Park, 344). Other sources of pollution, accounting for less than 10% of the river length include storm drains, forestry, industrial activities, construction work and waste disposal.

Globally speaking agriculture is the main user of water supplies. The overwhelming bulk of this consumption is for irrigation. If the world is to stand any hope of feeding extra population irrigated agriculture will have to continue to expand until suitable alternatives can be found. Eighty per cent of the public water in Asia goes on irrigated agriculture (Jones, 12). China, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh also contain three quarters of the world's irrigated area. Withdrawals are particularly concentrated in the great river valleys like the Indus, Ganges, Brahmaputra, Yangtze and the Hwang Ho. These rivers are fed by discharges from the monsoon rains and snowmelt. Snowmelt is a source of pollution as snow is particularly good at scavenging pollution from the air (Jones, 243). In 1986 on Plynlimon mountain in Wales dirty snow yielded a runoff with a pH of 3.2, almost as acidic as vinegar. The concentrations are higher at the beginning of the snowmelt runoff and will reduce available freshwater. The snowmelt provides vast quantities of water for the irrigation. Demand for irrigation has expanded four fold this century. Drip irrigation however

reduces seepage and evaporation losses by up to 75%. The inefficiency of the old Soviet irrigation agriculture contributed to a plan in 1982 to undertake to divert the Arctic rivers southwards to bolster supplies. Greater fears such as possible recession of the polar ice cap led to the shelving of these plans.

Extensive irrigation causes water pollution. Salination of the soil occurs which has to be flushed away in the water. One of the most dramatic examples of damage associated with irrigation is the desiccation of the Aral Sea. It was formerly the world's fourth largest freshwater lake. It supported a thriving fishing industry. Many fishing boats are now left high and dry as a consequence of unwise and unsustainable water resource management. Pollution from irrigation has drastically reduced this freshwater resource and has caused a serious crisis. The 90% of the feed for the Aral sea came from two rivers, (Amu Dar'ya, Syr Dar'ya), and this has been seriously depleted. Evaporation has caused salinity to increase threefold since 1960 which has made the water almost as salty as the open sea (Park, 335). In addition water that drains off the irrigated fields contains high levels of pollution from toxic pesticides, defoliant and fertilizers. Local groundwater supplies are contaminated. Drastic measures such as diversion of water from Siberia have been proposed to solve the freshwater crisis.

Traditional methods of treating domestic and industrial wastewater effluents have relied upon initial dilution by the fresh receiving waters and subsequent self-cleansing processes. Unfortunately these effluents can easily spoil up to ten times their volume of clean water and the natural processes of purification are becoming increasingly stressed to the point of threatening life in some rivers. The preferred approach in western nations is to restrict industrial effluents by licensing and using the polluter pays principle to discourage infringements and to increase the provision of tertiary treatment for sewage. Water quality is of great importance and public and political pressure must be mobilized to manage our common resources. There is a need now more than ever to control the impact of man on water chemistry. No waters are free from human influences (Ward, 298), even Arctic precipitation contains constituents discharged into the atmosphere. In principle evaporation provides a source of pure water but as it moves through the hydrological cycle it becomes increasingly concentrated with dissolved materials. High solute concentration can itself lower the evaporation from water bodies and hence the fundamental supply route to the cycle. Water quality is monitored by chemical, physical and biological tests. These include checking the colour, clarity temperature, taste, hardness, solid content, toxic chemical content, pH value, nitrogen and oxygen content. It is difficult to analyze and identify all the complicated organic compounds that may be present in a river. Some are lethal in minute concentrations. Continuous monitoring will provide a lot of information on water quality. Good information must be accompanied by effective interventions.

The treatment processes on the polluted waters require the use of chemicals that in high concentrations would be lethal to life. The initial phase in the treatment of drinking water in Leixlip requires the addition of sulphuric acid to reduce the pH to enable the flocculation. Chlorine, added at the final

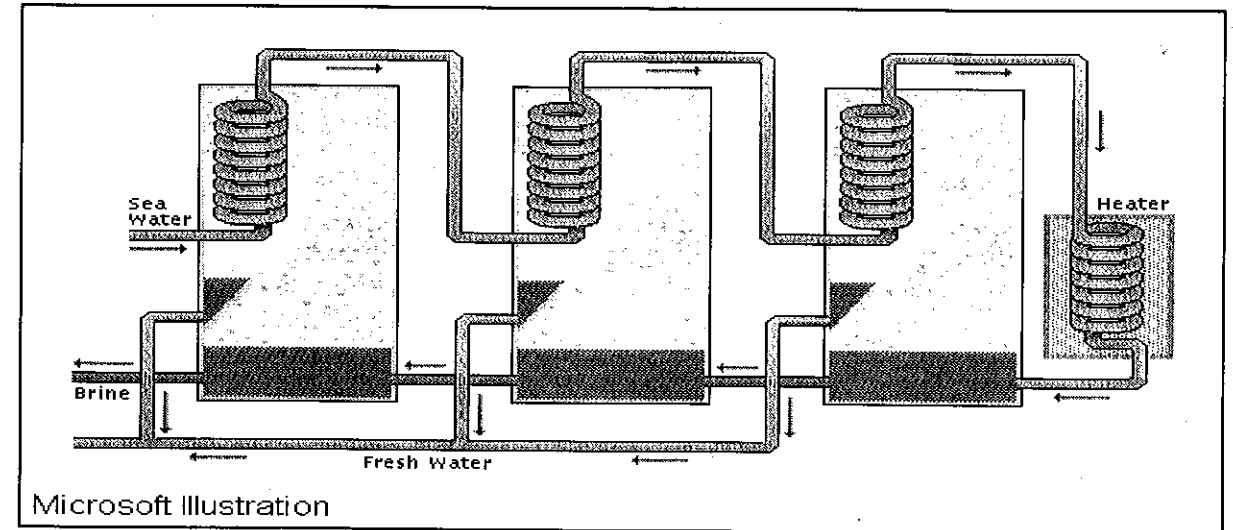
stages of treatment, has to be handled very carefully in its concentrated form. Aluminium sulphate is used to aid the separation of the unwanted solutes from the water. On the 6 July 1988 twenty tons of this chemical were accidentally released into a river in the Camelford area of Cornwall. Some 20,000 people depended on the water supply and were exposed to 2,000 times the European acceptable limit. Soon after the incident people fell seriously ill and around 60,000 fish died in the rivers Camel and Allen (Park, 344). Chemicals that were added to the water in an attempt to neutralize the aluminium sulphate caused further problems. The chemicals reacted with some water pipes and caused high levels of some toxic heavy metals (copper, lead and zinc) to be released into the drinking water. The treatment processors can be polluters and the lethal chemicals must be treated with extreme caution, as they are not very far removed from our drinking glasses.

Since it is virtually impossible to completely prevent pollution in industrialized societies anti pollution legislation is primarily concerned with controlling the quality and quantity of polluting effluents discharged into rivers. Factors taken into account when granting permits include quality of water upstream of the effluent disposal site; the volume, strength, type and duration of the discharge; the minimum flowrate and volume of the diluting river water; the rate at which the river can purify itself naturally; the distance downstream of other water users and the uses to which they put abstracted water (Smith, 15). It was stated at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit on water that the urgency of the situation couldn't be overstressed because according to some forecasts one third of the countries of the world will be permanently short of water by early in the 21st century. Agenda 21 proposed that by the year 2,000 all city people should be provided with 40 liters of drinking water daily and that by the year 2050 there should be safe water and sanitation for all (Park, 329). A general statement of intent was made which centers on the well being of people, on the rights of states to control their own natural resources and on their obligation not to damage the environment of other countries. Among other principles it recommended that the polluter pays (Jones, 15).

Control of water supplies has become a potent factor in regional peace negotiations and part of the international political agenda ("Water Wars", *Irish Times*, 23 Nov 1999, p.17). Overpopulation, deforestation, soil erosion and the growth of mega cities put severe pressures on water resources. The issue is very active between Israel, the Palestinians Jordan and Syria. As water levels are falling in the Sea of Galilee it is understandable why the Israelis are reluctant to alter a hard won state boundary that would give Syria access to the source of the river that feeds it. Without water life will not continue. The transboundary basins of the Rhine and the Danube in Europe, the Amazon in South America, the Tigris, Euphrates, Yarmuk and the Jordan in the Middle East and the great rivers of Asia and Africa which flow through many states (nine in the case of the Nile) are all potential flash points for trouble. River problems between Mexico and US have long since been settled by agreements. Joint monitoring solve any new difficulties. Agreements were reached between South Africa and Lesotho about water development in the Orange River.

The Ganges rises in China, flows through Nepal and Bangladesh. There have been disputes between India and Bangladesh but considerable progress has been made towards peaceful settlement. UN figures show that 50 countries have up to 75% of their territory within multinational river basins ("World Watch on Water", *Irish Times*, 23 Nov 1999, p.23). Upstream states can exert a stranglehold. Countries along the Rhine have regulation in

place, but in some cases no formal agreements exist. There have been predictions of water wars in the 1990s. The Anatolia project is going ahead in Turkey. The Tigris and the Euphrates are greatly impacted upon. Control of the master water taps could push dangerous men to desperate measures. The time has come to treat the subject with the priority it deserves.



[Water desalination: Flash evaporation is the most widely used method. Seawater is heated and pumped into a low pressure tank. The water is then condensed and removed]

Metering, artificial recharge and reuse all will go to alleviating water deficiencies in the future but where will additional resources come from? Schemes involving river regulation, water transfer, estuarial barrages and rainmaking will all be used. No single technological breakthrough could give greater security than an inexpensive method of getting freshwater from the sea (Smith, 51). A number of different approaches exist to the technology of the desalination of water. They include electrodialysis, reverse osmosis, freezing and distillation. Saudi Arabia has over 20 desalination plants producing 30% of all desalinated water in the world. Large amounts of energy are required putting desalination beyond the means of poorer states. The Saudis are also pumping deep fossil water reserves. Libya has two huge buried pipelines that bring 'mined water' from the central desert to the coastal towns. The supply is finite and is predicted to last 40-50 years. Large abstractions of groundwater in coastal regions can lead to intrusions of seawater inland. As the boundary between the seawater and the freshwater moves further inland soils will be penetrated, plants will be damaged and the freshwater resources will be further eroded.

In the meantime the brinkmanship continues. A report was recently issued on the Three Rivers Project. 'Ireland's rivers' it states 'have gone, in little more than a generation, from being almost pristine, pure and clear to overblown imitations of sewers and chemical drains'. The Liffey, the Suir and the Boyne are the rivers that are the subject of the study. 'In too many places clear water has been replaced by murky muck'. Whatever has been done to tackle the ecological mess has tended to be on an ad hoc and local

basis dealing usually only with one problem at a time instead of in the overall context of water quality on a national basis. The unrelenting decline in water quality in the rivers has occurred in spite of major public investment in water treatment. The deterioration can be halted and reversed only if every sector within the catchment takes full responsibility for pollution. While most municipal effluent discharged into rivers receives some treatment there are few treatment plants that achieve a high level of phosphorous removal. Urban wastewater treatment regulations do not provide adequate protection against eutrophication. 56% of wastewater generated in the Suir catchment and 50% in the Boyne catchment is discharged untreated. All effluents in the Liffey catchment receive some treatment before discharge. There is, however, still insufficient data available as to who is putting what into the rivers.

Hewlett Packard and Intel get their water supplies from the River Liffey in the Leixlip area. The water required for their processes must be of high quality. Intel requires pure water and improves the quality of the water to that state by in house water purification processes. Both companies discharge back into the river and to the Leixlip sewerage plant. These emissions are strictly controlled and thoroughly monitored. In Intel an emergency response team is on stand-by on each shift and part of their brief is rapid response to any emergency that will adversely affect discharges from the plant. The emissions to sewer from both plants go to the Leixlip sewerage plant that at this time is undergoing major civil engineering work to cope with additional inputs. The EPA licence stipulates voluminous regular returns on monitoring procedures and results. There

is concern in both plants that the high standard imposed on them can be compromised. Hewlett Packard shares a discharge pipe to the river with runoff from the motorway. Compromise is possible. High tech efforts can be totally neutralized by the irresponsible actions of an individual who dumps toxic effluents into the river with impunity. There is an open door policy imposed on these companies whereby any individual may inspect the environmental records at the plants. Until a similar type of control is applied right across the board to all possible polluters rigorous stipulations to 'individuals' would seem to be in vain. This is a universal problem.

In 1968 an American biologist called Garret Hardin wrote a paper called the tragedy of the commons in which he compared the then attitudes to the environment with the attitude of the medieval villagers to the common grazing land within their village. There were no field boundaries. Each herdsman was inclined to graze as many cows as possible on the common land to get maximum return. Once the carrying capacity was exceeded environmental quality decreased. Each man was locked into a system that compelled him to increase his herd without limit in a world that is limited. Hardin concluded that freedom of the commons brings ruin to all. Ruin is the destination towards which all men rush each pursuing his own best interest. The water commons is suffering at this time. Regulations are improving and will have the effect of enclosing the commons. The rules aspire to ensure and that all obey 'best practice' to secure the freshwater resources and avoid a calamitous water crisis. Failure is not an option.

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A Bus Tour of West Wicklow and East Kildare

Karen McDonald, 3rd Arts

On this trip, we learnt some points about urban development in areas from Maynooth through to, and including, Tallaght. We viewed and investigated glacial features in the Wicklow Mountains, including corries, quarries and the Blessington Reservoir. I learnt that the source of the River Liffey is up close by the Sally Gap and that it makes a meandering route down into the centre of Dublin. We also learnt about the formation of bogs and their commercial exploitation and how some of their peatlands are being used in innovative ways. I will give some details of what I learned from the trip.

While new urban planning, along with the development of infrastructure and large shopping centres, is succeeding in designated areas, it mainly appears to benefit car-owners.

Suburbs like Ronanstown and Neilstown are deprived and it is acknowledged in the local and national media that the incidence of social problems is high in these areas. The lack of a public bus service into some of these suburban areas after dark, because of concerns for bus-driver safety, further ghettoises residents.

We passed two Lough Brays, Lower and Upper, and learnt how these corrie-lakes were formed by a glacier. In Athdown, the first quarry that we visited, we saw the effects of rapid glacial movement and meltdown; a terminal moraine and flat land beyond. Doran's Pit, in Blessington, the second quarry that we visited, was a much bigger operation and is still being worked. The operation appeared to utilise every part of the rock by sorting and processing down to by-products like fine sand (for use in sandpits on a golf course). Land already worked on is let go wild; water sodden or grassed. Some sheep were grazing in one section. Over the hill and unseen from where we were, on the Naas side of the quarry, is the location of Glen Ding Wood, where there is an ongoing controversy about the preservation of the trees and the site.

Passing through the Curragh, we noticed that vegetation is sparse because of poor quality soil. We drove down a long road, raised up over the bogland on either side, and straight because the land didn't have to be purchased, or if it had to be, it was very easy to do so.

We visited a mushroom farm and learnt of one of the uses for peat, i.e. compost. So not only is peat a source of heat, but also a rich material for vegetable growth. Later, when we were standing on the Bord na Mona peatlands that had been cut away, we learnt that as long as a layer is left uncut, the land can be farmed. Vegetable production almost doubles in quantity on this land. It is also useful for mixed forestry. I found this part of the trip fascinating, learning about the resources and the huge potential of the boglands around Allen.

In the darkness we observed Coill Dubh, an example of a little town built by a company for its employees, in this case by Bord na Mona for peat station workers. I found it strange to imagine being a resident in that manufactured community, the only link being that they all worked in the same place and for the same company, although it's probable that Coill Dubh is now an established community with second and third generation residents.

In conclusion, I thought about how we used our bogs and I liken the bog we visited to Blessington Quarry. Both peatland and the quarry are like goldmines. We are mining and stripping our land of every useful resource. In some cases we mine further, reducing natural woodland sites. In other cases we redevelop the land and farm, train greyhounds or plant forests on it. There is only one thing we lose and cannot redevelop – the natural peatlands in Ireland. I am not saying that all Irish boglands should be preserved but that a representative sample of bogs should be "protected so that our bogland heritage will be inherited by future generations" (Foss and O'Connell, 1997, p.196)

Japan – Perceptions and Misconceptions

Shelagh Waddington

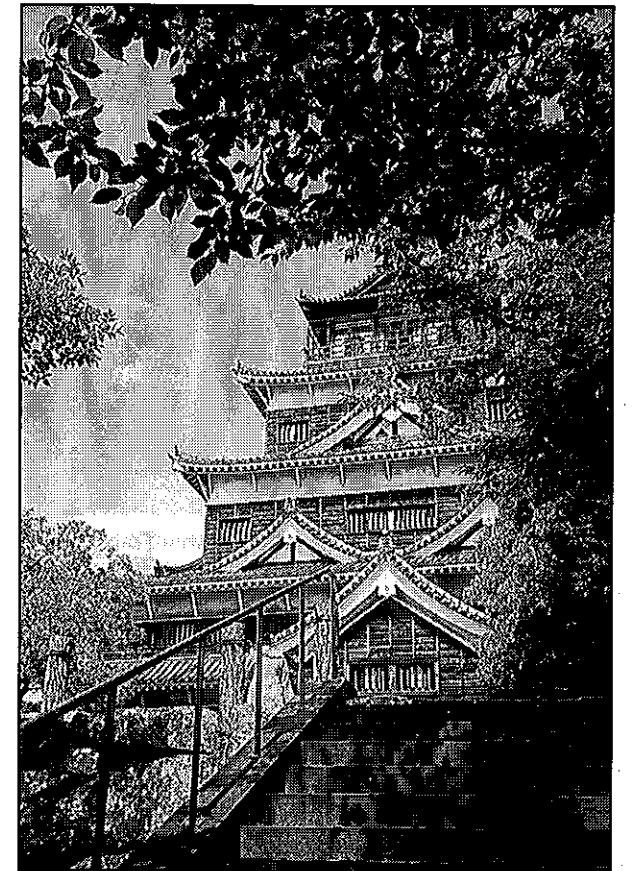
If you have never been to Japan, I would suggest that you pause for a moment before reading on. Think about your own images of that country. Do they include any of the following:

- People who all look alike, who show no emotions, are very polite, work very hard and follow instructions?
- Very densely populated cities?
- People employed to pack commuters into the trains?
- All they eat is raw fish and rice, while drinking tea (served in an odd manner) or saké
- Earthquakes and volcanoes [the Pacific Ring of Fire from Junior Cert.]?
- High tech industries with full employment?
- Or even images from war films, with suicidal pilots crashing their planes?

I'm not sure at this point whether I have covered all the images which I could have produced before I visited Japan for the first time, but I am certain these were included. Did I find any of them supported by my experiences? Fortunately, not the last one – I have flown with Japan Airlines on a few occasions and suicidal pilots are not something I would like to experience!

Do the people all look alike? No, they are no more alike than Europeans, with the possible exception that there is rather less variation in hair colour, or at least *natural* hair colour. Japanese people also do express emotions, but it would not be considered to be polite to show anger or exasperation by scowling, frowning or shouting. Politeness is, indeed, a national characteristic. This is very helpful for a tourist who does not speak the language and may not be aware when they offend against cultural standards. It means that people are helpful and do not make strangers feel uncomfortable when they do not know what to do. Many Japanese people would suggest that the reason for this dates back to when people lived in houses built mainly of wood and paper, which were built very close together. To live with such a lack of privacy it was essential that people lived in harmony – tumult in one home would have meant disturbance for a large number of others. They also argue that working in harmony (rather than blind obedience) is also related to this way of life – if one house went on fire all the houses in a district were in serious danger, so co-operation and taking care of other people's lives and property were vital.

Yes, Tokyo is very densely populated and it is a huge city. Very high land values mean that living accommodation is expensive and houses or apartments are very small. Hotel rooms are much smaller than those in other countries are (or even elsewhere in Japan) and it is a sign of a more expensive room if there is a small wardrobe, rather than hooks on the wall to hang clothes! There are very many high rise buildings and often the separation between plots is very small. However, there are also parks and gardens within the city, although none on the scale of the Phoenix Park, and walkways and play areas along the side of the

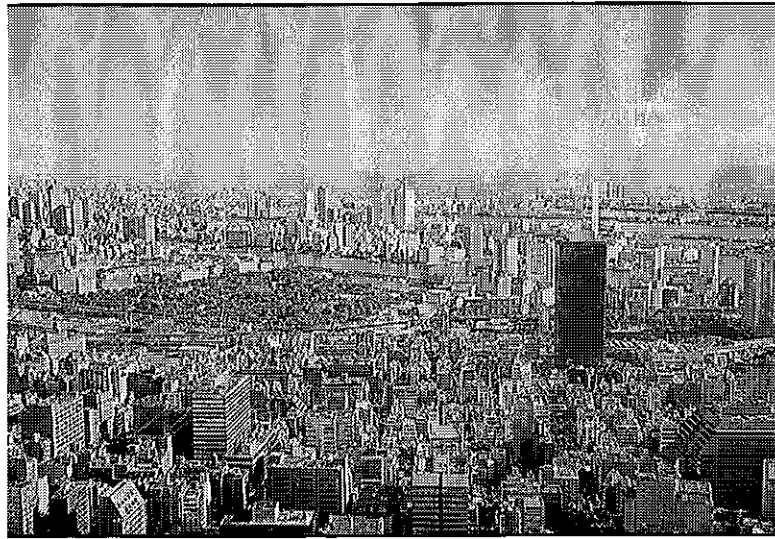


Hiroshima Castle

Sumida River. Some of these open spaces were created originally not because of a feeling that recreational space was needed, but to provide fire breaks in the city, or as hunting or pleasure grounds for the aristocracy. In other cities, the population density is much lower and more houses have gardens and hotel rooms are the size that you would find in Ireland.

Are there really people employed to pack commuters into trains? I am told that this is true, but I have certainly never seen them, despite travelling in a train when I did not need to hold onto the strap when I was standing as I was too closely packed in to be able to fall over. Many people in Tokyo commute long distances and, as the traffic problems are considerable, plus there are road tolls in many places, a large number use the trains to do so. However, the trains run very frequently, have large numbers of carriages and run on time, so this is not so difficult as it is elsewhere. Even on Sundays it is unusual to wait more than 10 minutes for trains in the city. Travelling long distances by train is also very easy (although quite expensive), with frequent, fast and reliable services. During my most recent visit one line was, in fact, closed because there had been several metres of snow, which had defeated the snowploughs. However, elsewhere the trains were still running on time despite 60+ cm of snow.

A considerable amount of raw (and cooked) fish is eaten and a great deal of rice, but this is not the whole of the diet. Apart from sashimi (raw fish) it is also fried in batter (tempura), cooked in broth and cooked on a hot plate at the



Tokyo – as viewed from the Tokyo Tower

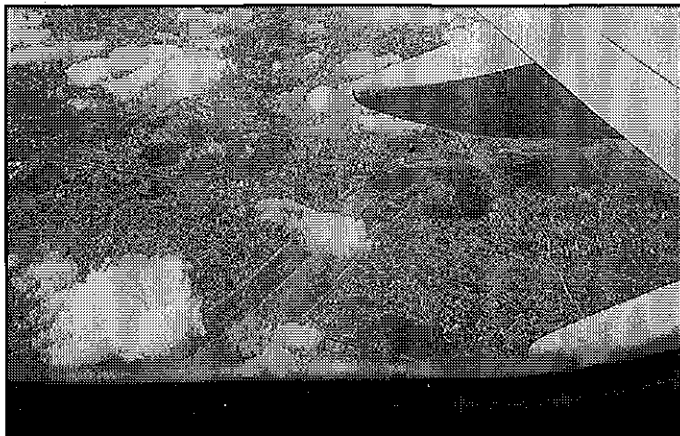
table (amongst other things). Apart from rice, noodles of different varieties are also eaten. While I have tried all of these things (and others) I did reject a couple of items in one restaurant on a recent visit to Hokkaido - 'Sea squirt with salty guts' and 'Refuse (bony parts) of fish'. I suspect that if they had been translated by someone whose English was rather less literal than even these might have been more attractive. On the same visit, I did learn that prawns legs (removed and discarded in Dublin) actually taste rather like crisps when they are dipped in batter and fried. I have also survived one experience of eating puffer fish - which must be prepared with some care as parts of it contain a poison. It tasted very good, but I was careful to let my host, who had also done the cooking, taste it first! As for the drinks – yes, tea is a very common drink. In hotel rooms, instead of the tea and coffee making facilities of Irish hotels, there is usually a kettle plus green tea. In hotel restaurants there is usually coffee and ordinary tea at breakfast time (and at other times in non-Japanese restaurants). I have never witnessed a tea ceremony, where hostesses prepare and serve tea in a traditional manner – it is still done, but is a special event for people, not a way of making a quick drink. Saké is to me at least an acquired taste, which I have no desire to acquire, but Japanese beer is very good. There is also Japanese whisky – even more of an acquired taste, despite the involvement of at least one well-known Irish distillery in its production!

There is a great deal of 'high-tech' industry in Japan and the shops have many 'leading-edge' electronic products on display. PC's are just as common in Japanese life as in Ireland. It was very interesting to see what the instructions for logging into the network and formatting a file look like in Japanese! However, there are some aspects of life that would be regarded as oddly old-fashioned here. For example, some shops employ people whose job is to greet customers and many items are wrapped after purchase [not just obvious gifts]. Japanese workers do arrive early at work – there were people in the office block opposite our hotel by 7.30 on weekdays and even university lecturers work officially on Saturdays. However, not everyone works hard and takes few holidays today. In the past many people did,

indeed, have jobs for life and there was very low unemployment. At present the Japanese economy is experiencing problems and unemployment rates are rising. When coupled with high housing costs, this has led to some people in Tokyo at least being homeless. However, the rough sleepers of Tokyo live in wood frame shelters covered in blue polythene sheeting. Just as in ordinary houses, shoes are removed in the entrance and many had small clotheslines outside. One or two even had television aerials on the roof!

The nearest I have been to an active volcano in Japan was a visit to Hakone, where I ate an egg which had been boiled (and the shell turned black) in a hot spring. However, there certainly are active volcanoes in various parts of the country and, of course, Mount Fuji, the great symbol of Japan is a volcanic peak. I am also pleased to say that I have never experienced an earthquake, since I have generally stayed on the

upper floors of hotels. The safety instructions in hotels do include advice on what to do in case of an earthquake – 'Guests should leave the hotel by the nearest stairs, holding their pillows over their heads for protection from falling masonry'. A visit to the Edo-Tokyo Museum also provided food for thought. There are photographs of the city before the 1923 earthquake and much detail of what happened to the city. This, plus another earthquake in the 19th century, provides part of the explanation for lack of old buildings in Tokyo. Destruction was caused not only by the 'quakes but also by the fires which followed – closely packed wooden buildings in which people cooked using either charcoal or gas made this inevitable. The US airforce also made a contribution in the 20th century! While I am generally keen on new experiences, I would prefer not to experience either of these natural phenomena at too close quarters.



Leaving Japan

Despite having visited Japan four or five times during the last ten years, I am still only scratching at the surface of understanding of the country and its people. I have learned a great deal and will be only too delighted to return and deepen my knowledge of this most fascinating area of the world – although maybe not suicidal pilots or volcanic eruptions!

Tipperary/Waterford Fieldtrip Montages

"Merlin's Night Club, then a squeaky bed, Bridín and Cathal always late, always sleeping, always drinking."

"The experienced geographers amongst us discovered the CPD (Central Pub District) and spent many hours observing this area."

"We are very tired and do not wish to walk around Carlow, we want to sleep!"

"Escaped convict believed to have been hiding on our bus!!!"

"Didn't get fined, spent it on booze. I met some nice bouncers, then went home and puked in the loos."

"Up real early, out real late, but was fun touring Waterford. Drinking tequilas until falling into bed. Unfortunately alone, but anyways all the men were way too God damn...? Girls got the short straw, 3 to 1 odds."

"Ro and Kevin's commentaries were just poetry and music to my ears. Thank you."

"I got the dodgy seat on the bus that kept clicking backwards."

"An entire weekend without shopping drove me barney. I'm sure others agree!"

"All crawled out of bed on Sun. morning with sore heads. At breakfast Lucy whipped out her sangwiches (has to be "g"), then as the rain got worse we set off for Clonmel and spent the rest of the day "researching" our projects in the pub."

"We're going home broke and haunted by thoughts of not being able to drink or have fun on Rag Week."

"Waterford – what can I say? Went out drinking and literally fell into bed."

"Dead seagull, dead fish and sanitary towels is what I will remember, as well as the s**** flowing out the shore of the hostel."

"Pulpit RIP 1992 from the Preachers. Well preserved historical location!!! Buzzin' and for once it wasn't designed by John Roberts! That fellow drove me soft all weekend, how about you?"

"Some of us had a great hen-night. Ain't that right Tracey, you schemer!!!"

"Our 3am historical tour was even more enlightening, thanks Elaine!"

"Finally on the way home, sleep at last but why so long! Three words to sum up this weekend; 'Whip 'em out!!!"

"I'm tired and wanna go home."

Thanks to Ro Charlton and Kevin Griffin for compiling these.

The Gathering

Sonja Moore, Postgraduate Research

Prelude: From the dawn of time we came, moving silently down through the centuries. Living many secret lives, struggling to reach the time of the gathering when the few who will solve the riddle will compete for the prize. No one knew we were among you...until now.

Way up on those steep torturous stairs
Today is the gathering for the blessed affairs
Of the clan of *Statistically Bally* – James
And – forget the coffee, tea, milk - Duff.
Despite believing they're ruling through bribe
It's Queen Maeve – neigh - Queen Mary, who's ruling the tribe.

And guarding the stronghold are the Franciscan friars –
Earthy James, John and Paul –
Merrily braving the changing weather,
With their new remote sensing under control.
A distinctive aroma is rising from that murky Kitchen,
Where Gay Shelaghs brewing one bizarre concoction
Of Codfish and Pringles – oh dear, what a taste,
But add to it wet Rosemary – there'll be no waste!
Especially with plenty of Martinis abound,
The whole celebration should get off the ground.
And just as Grizzly Adams, the quiet jester
Is taking a breath for the very next joke,
A terrible shriek from the highs above
Is distracting that bewildered, bearded bloke.
Up in that conspicuous neat, clean, tidy, organised (etc., etc., etc.) northern room,

The chronicler, Ann, can only see doom.
Computer's disk gone missing – historically valuable and rare,
Solving the Kase – who will Shine? Who will dare?
F*** searching for it on the e-mail so bright,
No need to worry, it'll be all right on the night.
There's the one with that soft Kerry touch –
Did I say touch? I meant Fealing –
Who will unravel the mystery. Oh God, no! They believe him!

So, the party's commencing on that holy rock,
Initiating the New Kids on the Block.
There are the young maidens – Nicola, Eilis, and Catherine, too
With warriors - Conor and John, by the Power of 2.
Irish Olga and Breata – what foreign names!
It's with their parents we must lay the blames.
Keane Bridin and Laura- conducting top secret investigations,
As GO's from Italy and Gael has French/Danish relations
There's also a German, but what can they do?
She's brought her Champion – so she won't go!!
As everyone here, the party's beginning,
With slippery food, and strange hat trimmings.
Precisely as the festivities are growing,
The birds in the loft are Unanimously Crowing:
"Stop! Stop! Two are missing – Look to the shore!
There's one Celin' - to Tullamore?!"
Brendan, the navigator, though stops in his track,
Turned with a smile, said "Yeah, but I'll be back"



Misses Roche and Brennan social climbing

And now I wish an evening so mighty,
A merry Christmas and great New Year's night(y)!
Tough remember:
To claim the prize, there can only be one.
So solve the riddle, or it will be gone

The Riddle

From what film are the first few sentences, as well as 'there can only be one'?

Which famous Scottish knighted film-actor spoke these words?

What was the name of the other main actor, he, who would be the only one?

Where was he from?

Who was not mentioned (first and last name)?

Why was he not mentioned?

In what film did Mel Gibson play the main character with the same *surname* as the one missing?

Where was the film shot? Name at least two Irish locations.

Who said, "I'll be back"?

And where was he from (born)?

In what county is Bally-James-Duff? (No, it's *not* in Maynooth surroundings!)

Lastly, where is the Geography Department located?

Answers please on a £5 note (naturally, we also accept £10, 20, 100 notes).

Cast of this peculiar Gathering (In order of appearance)

James Walsh – as Statistic Bally-James; Paddy Duffy – as Duff; Mary Weld – as Queen Maeve/Mary; Proinsias Breathnach – as Franciscan Friar; Paul Gibson, James Keenan and John Sweeney – also as Franciscan Friars; Rob Kitchin; Gay Murphy; Shelagh Waddington; Adrian Kavanagh – as Codfish; Dennis Pringle; Ro Charlton – as Rosemary; James Monagle – as Grizzly Adams; James Keenan (again); Ann Coughlan; Kasey Threadwell-Shine; Rowan Fealy – as Fealying; Nicola Brennan; Eilis McBride; Catherine Carroll; Conor Brennan; Conor McCaffrey; John O'Byrne; John Keane; Andrew Power; Olga McDaid; Breata Cunningham; Bridin Feeney; Laura McElwain; Giovanni Olcese – as GO; Gael Martin; Sonja Moore – as the German; James Campion – as Champion; Una Crowley – as Birds Unanimously Crowing; Celine McHugh; Brendan Bartley; ? - not mentioned (cause I couldn't find any word rhyme, to positively justify his name, and I didn't want to be callous!)

Rag Week Horror

Codfish, Butler & Milieu Social Correspondent

"One does expect certain japes and jollities during Rag Week Codfish", said The Dowager Roche, as I brought in the customary morning kipper to Room 9, "but there are limits!" "Indeed Ma'am" quoth I, right eyebrow raised respectfully. "Have you heard what happened to the good Dr. Sweeney?" she cried in a most animated manner, "he has undergone a most terrible experience at the hands of.... "The Love Squad". I coughed to display alarm and resolved there and then to bring said heinousness to light to you the "Milieu" readers.

Codfish [respectfully]: Good morrow Dr. Sweeney. You have just been accosted by the...Love Squad. Can you tell us in detail what happened.

Dr. J. Sweeney: It was a very embarrassing experience all in all. A Mr. Shane Crombie came in, a former

Geography student - and a cleric at that! - and subsequently produced a long recitation of love poetry on behalf of himself and a young female admirer. [Note: It later transpired that the good Dr. Sweeney had been quite economical with the truth, omitting to note that said romantic sonnet had been directed at him.] And I think it was her that did most of the damage to me I must admit. But it wasn't altogether, shall we say, an unfortunate experience. It did at least get my pulse going for the rest of the lecture.

Codfish [with accusative irony]: It got *your pulse going* for the rest of the lecture? Please elaborate.

Dr. J. Sweeney: Well the adrenaline flowed quite freely afterwards, put it that way.

Codfish [in manner of a penny dropping]: And when you say *you were got* Dr. Sweeney, in *what way*?

Dr. J. Sweeney: Well in a sort of Half-Nelson sort of way. And lots of sparkly things fell on me at the same time. But I was definitely caught in the clutches of an amorous student, shall we just say. [Again the economical-with-the-truth Dr. Sweeney omitted to note that he was... "snogged".]

Codfish [with very raised eyebrow]: Sounds...*exciting*. Is there any evidence of this?

Dr. J. Sweeney: Not really no, fortunately. I was in the middle of the *coriolis force* at the time ["No Kidding!" - *The Editor*]. And needless to say it did disrupt my train of thought quite considerably. But I rapidly recovered and I'm sure the 1st Years went back to sleep shortly afterwards.

Codfish [with concern]: Were your 1st years shocked?

Dr. J. Sweeney: No they were eager participants - three minutes less of me and three minutes more of a diversion.

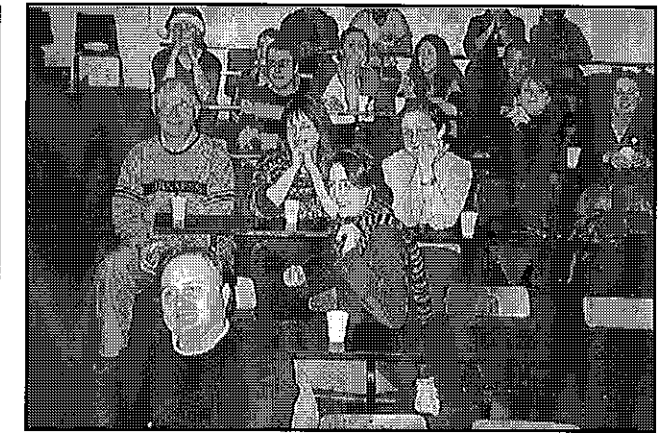
Codfish [regretfully]: Was that the only part of the class they were eager participants for?

Dr. J. Sweeney [much amusement]: I'd say that was the only part of the last five weeks they were eager participants for!

Interview concluded, I returned to my regular endeavours, only to find my other employer, Madame Crowlé, regarding me with much asperity. "Codfish", she exclaimed with gritted teeth, "that bacon you procured for my morning supps was overdone. Hand in your butler's buttons." Alas, my dedication to detail on behalf of the Milieu readers had led me to ignore my domestic duties and led to my dismissal with dishonour and with stiff upper lip. I am sure there is some moral to be drawn from this tale but I am too much of a gentleman and the "Milieu" Editor too censorious for such profanities to be exhibited before your susceptible eyeballs.



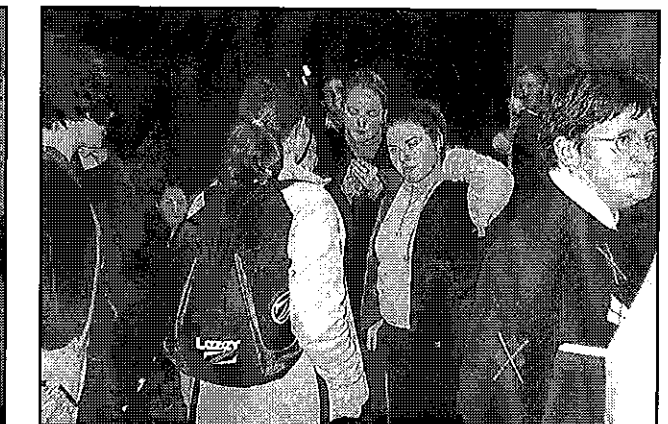
Devil Women



Hydrology Practical - throwing spit-balls at Rob



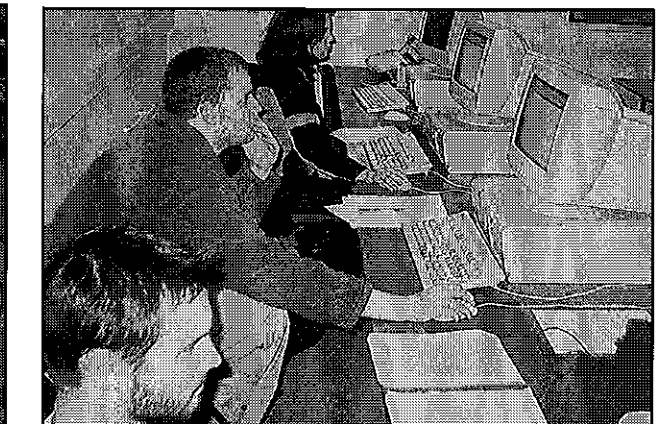
Spot the "Odd one out"



Shiny Happy people



"Oh my Gawd, its YOU ?



Cyber Chums? Cyber Glum !!!



King of the Hill



Bribing Santa

The Geography of Racism

Paul Finn 3rd Arts

This article opens with a description of racism and explains how it is embedded in factors such as historical context, economy, class, social and cultural systems and related ideologies. It will illustrate how certain forms of racism, both hidden and overt, have been constructed in the past and perpetuated through history according to the will of the hegemony in question. It will explain race and its interrelated factors and how space is used as an expression of power, using the example of South African apartheid. It will move on to a discussion of methods of resistance before concluding with a brief summary.

Racism takes on different forms in different localities and at different times, changing shape according to changing historical and geographical circumstances (Jackson, 1989: 4). Like all ideologies, racism is not a uniform subject that is concrete and fixed in human nature, but is dynamic in relation to society. It is an inherently fluid idea whose meaning, like those of class and nationality, changes in tandem with social factors such as the economy, the social structure and system and most importantly, "the challenges [and] the resistances to that system" (Jackson, 2). The traditional imperialistic approach to race stated that people could be divided into different races according to concrete physical and biological criteria, which in turn influenced social differentiation. Evidence of this is prevalent in the literature of the time, such as Bartholomew's *School Economic Atlas* published in 1921, where he described the "Negro" as being "essentially unintellectual" due to the "early closing of the 'seams' between the bones of the skull [therefore] the development of the brain is arrested". Yet in reality racism is about maintaining power relations on many different fronts. This can be observed further into Bartholomew's writings where he states that due to the "Negro's" condition "he is, therefore, of great use as a manual labourer in a 'steamy' climate, e.g. on a sugar cane plantation" (Jackson, 138). Racism is disguised and used for hidden agendas. Traditional anthropological writings such as Evans-Pritchard's study of the Azande claim to be ethnographic descriptions of different societies, yet in reality they sought to identify and figure out the workings of power structures so they could be manipulated by colonial aggressors. Racism can be seen to intersect with ideologies such as gender and class along with economic factors. For example, following a series of bad harvests in the early 1600's the Black population of England was used as a scapegoat for that society's economic problems (Malchow, 1996: 213).

Forms of racism have changed over time and must therefore be understood in their particular historical context. Contemporary racism is influenced by history, which offers an enormous amount of racist imagery and which can be appropriated both consciously and unconsciously. Racist idioms can be implicit as well as explicit, such as the belief that black people are more athletic than white people or that Irish people are more violent than other races. All of these opinions have been influenced by history and the cultural conflict history has entailed. Language has been used in

various forms to perpetuate racist ideology, as can be observed by the wealth of fictional literature, scientific writings, sensational anthropology, travel books and missionary memoirs, where the foreign has been constructed by the West as "projections of its own anxieties in an attempt to come to grips with its new marvellous possessions" (Malchow, 1996: 15). Adventure stories such as *King Solomon's Mines* (1985) depict the brave white explorer confronting the irrational "yelling masses" (Jackson, 1989: 138). Descriptions of dress, physiognomy and manners in such readings often point to sexual taboos and fears of contamination and destruction. Malchow writes that obsession in *fin de siècle* Britain over the threat of collapsing racial identity resonated strongly with similar fears over the threat of collapsing racial identity resonated strongly with similar fears over the transgression of the boundaries of sexuality (Malchow, 1991). Often racism drew a peculiar strength from powerful and emotive images. Unwhite (and therefore "uncivilised") peoples abroad were portrayed as monsters. This image was commonly used as a metaphor for radicalism and related to the Irish working man. "The Irish Frankenstein" became a cliché in mid-Victorian humour magazines and was used to comment on Daniel O'Connell in the 1840's and the Phoenix Park Murders in 1882 (Malchow, 35). Animalisation is often used to portray races, characterised by secret identities, evil masquerading as respectability or respectability built upon a hidden corruption, most notably in the recent portrayal of Jews as rats by Nazi Germany and also of the Irish as bat-like vampires.

Language and space are used to propagate racism and are both interrelated. The more powerful group in any society is able to force its language upon the less powerful, thus making it a tool of oppression. Romaine writes that if the more powerful group can impose its own language in explicit public geographical encounters, a significant shift in the balance of power between the two groups and their corresponding languages can occur quite dramatically. For instance, the imposition of Castilian over Asturian place names in this Spanish region creates feelings of alienation among Asturians (Romaine, 1994: 138). The sense of familiarity or alienation farmers feel for their land is expressed in the control they have of its nomenclature. Romaine (1994: 140) writes that they do not feel themselves "well rooted" in village life because they do not have full control of all the place names of the land that surrounds them. Territory is the one topic that enters with the greatest frequency into their everyday conversation. Land characterises and defines their past, present and future and to be excluded from this lexicon is to be excluded from "the most concrete representation of time" (Romaine, 141). Yet in another sense the oppression of one language can create a sense of solidarity between that language group. For instance, Fernandez (1993: 135) writes that Asturian is seen as being more rich and expressive than Castilian and preserves "intimations of totality" in a more intense and evocative form than Castilian. So it could be argued that one language enriches the other through opposition. Language has been imposed by colonial powers and translated onto the concrete geographical representations of their colonies. The British rule of Egypt depended crucially on surveillance in

settlements: upon seeing but not always being able to observe. For example, Timothy Mitchell writes in his book *Colonising Egypt* that the streets of Cairo were forced to carry names and numbers to make them understandable to the European mind and help to implicitly regulate the movements of its citizens (Mitchell, 1991: ix). The bodies of the colonised populations were also captured by architectural order with foreign titles: Mitchell (171) concludes that "colonialism was distinguished by its power of representation, whose paradigm was the architecture of the colonial city but whose effects extended themselves at every level".

Spacialities of society can be observed in modern nation-states through the location and movements of minorities. Statistics from Britain in the 1980's show that minorities tended to live in urban areas – 50% of Blacks live in London as opposed to 20% of the White population. Minorities tend to be marginalised, with Black households being disproportionately situated in the most deprived districts and the majority of Black families living in below average housing conditions. 43% of Blacks and 26% of Indians live in the inner city compared to just 6% of the white populations. The role of space influences factors such as cultural consumption and expression; for example minorities will shop and socialise in certain areas. Often minorities will be portrayed negatively and in stereotype by vehicles such as the media. As a result of this Blacks may be portrayed as arrogant because they don't associate with Whites and stick to certain areas, yet this is not due to the explicit intention of blacks but because these areas are spatially constructed by Whites. It is the Whites' social and political hierarchy that puts Black people in these positions and influences their movements. Space also influences employment: Black people born in the UK to West Indian parents are 4-5 times more likely than Whites to be unemployed. The labour that minorities do manage to secure is more often manual and menial, with very little opportunity for promotion to high-powered positions, thus preserving the existing social and political hierarchy.

Nowhere has social exclusion been more evident than in South Africa during the era of apartheid, where powerlessness, marginalisation, violence and cultural imperialism were all used in relation to space with devastating results. In its original form apartheid meant "separateness" or "apartness". After the National Party came to power in 1940 it became the universal term for legalised and enforced political, social and cultural separation of racially defined communities. The map of South Africa and its towns and cities were redrawn in racial lines with different rights assigned to different groups of peoples within the different zones. Apartheid was thus conceived as a spatial policy, with markedly geographical consequences. People were evicted and resettled to fit the new lines drawn on maps. By the 1970's state-partition had become the official aim, with South Africa fragmented into a series of Black nation-states and a large White controlled entity. Like other racial ideologies the whole process was fuelled by the determination of the politically and economically dominant White group to retain power over the country in the face of rising demands for political rights by the Black majority. This dominance was achieved through the inter-linking of various factors with race. The economic dominance of Whites was most clearly illustrated by the difference in income and spending power between the various sectors of the population. In 1946 the White one-fifth of the population controlled two-thirds of personal income. The enforced policy of racial job reservation and therefore the maintenance of high White incomes was emotionally linked to the preservation of continued White rule.

State apartheid operated at three levels, as illustrated by Christopher (1994: 65, 103, 141). "Grand apartheid" aimed to partition the country in an effort to ensure continued White control of the remainder. "Urban apartheid" sought to ensure the business and living areas of the city were segregated. "Petty apartheid" sought to ensure minimal personal contact between people of different races, through aspects ranging from separate entrances to buildings to separate schools.

Each of these was concerned with the control and use of physical space. Under the policy of "grand apartheid", Black areas were intended to become subject to a separate political regime from the remainder of the country. A programme of resettling Black people from the White areas of the country in the Homelands was also begun. Estimates produced by the Surplus People Project in 1985 suggest that over 1.7 million people were displaced between 1960 and 1983 alone. Under "urban apartheid" the impetus was directed towards the implementation of residential and personal segregation rather than the more philosophically based concept of state partition. It was a popular issue that enjoyed wide support within the White community of whatever political persuasion.

Population resettlement was at the fore and up to 1984

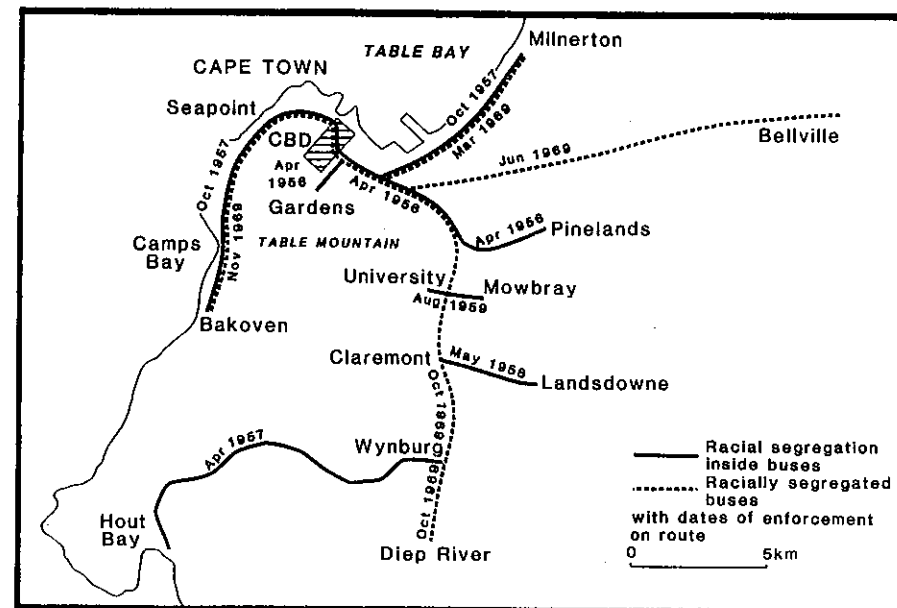


Figure 1: Racial segregation on Cape Town bus routes

126,000 families were displaced under the Group Areas Act, only 2% of which were White (Lemon, 1991: 222). The transformation of the patterns of population was dramatic, as illustrated by the Port Elizabeth example.

Economic exclusion of minorities was illustrated by the destruction of Indian commerce through dislocation, most notably in the Transvaal and the Cape, where the absolute numbers of Indians was small but the proportion dependant on commerce was very high (Lemon, 13). Apartheid also operated at the micro level where separation affected the details of the daily life of the population. The policy of personal apartheid was intended to eliminate virtually all personal contact between members of different population groups except with the master-servant or employer-employee relationship, both of which were viewed in White-Black terms. A host of laws were introduced to enforce what was described as "petty apartheid" (as opposed to "grand apartheid"), which operated at various levels, ranging from the prevention of marriage between a member of the White group and a member of another group, to the occupation of space, such as schools, hospitals and transport (see Fig. 1). The development of such policies combined with everyday problems such as poverty along with police heavy-handedness led to a high potential for violence within the Black community, for example on the 21st March 1960 at Sharpsville in the southern Transvaal, 60 Black people were killed when fired on by police, initiating national protest (Christopher, 162). Rioting was rife in the period of 1984-90 due to political and economic reasons. Blacks were excluded from the 1984 constitution, and the economy was failing to grow at a rate to provide jobs for school-leavers or provide any material improvement in living conditions. A state of emergency was imposed on the entire community and later to the entire country in June 1986. Massive levels of rioting occurred in the year 1987 in Natal and KwaZulu. Instances of rioting in South Africa support Sears McCocahay's "Politics of Violence Theory", where he argues that rioting is a functional equivalent; "a symbolic protest motivated by a variety of socialisation residues and reality-based grievances, given the widespread perception that more conventional mechanisms of grievance redress were either blocked or ineffective" (McConahay, 1973: 90). However, he puts forth an alternative theory held by many which regards urban rioting as a random outburst, unprompted by any major political significance and that "legitimate grievances do not play a large casual role in inducing the individual rioter's participation" (McConahay, 106). This theory is often appropriated by politicians, amongst others, when little concern for empirical evidence is shown. For example, Jackson (1989: 146) describes Margaret Thatcher's view that the Brixton riots were simply a "spree of naked greed" and criminal violence. It is also easier to blame riots, with complex causes related to social class, unemployment and poverty, on race. Jackson (1989: 145) uses the example of *The Daily Express* headline of 6 July 1981, concerning the Toxteth riots: "Black War On Police". Diana Hebidge (1988: 18) shows how Black people were collectivised into a stereotype of an unruly, resentful and delinquent Black mob by the media during the Brixton disturbances. She also illustrates the role of space in the

events and its constant construction and violation by powerful and less powerful groups; "The typical precipitations of clashes between blacks and the police have not been heavy handed policing of demonstrations and marches, but invasions of symbolic space; raids on blues, shekeens, clubs and cafes, the perceived violation of communal space, of spaces for consumption" (Hebidge, 1988, 34).

Racial violence and public transgression do not need to be violent, as illustrated by Freeman (1999: 268) in his discussion of civil disobedience, which he defines as "the open, public violation of a law or laws in the service of some moral or political goal". He uses the example of Martin Luther King's efforts to deliberately seek out protest sites where local authorities would react violently. King counted on disciplined civil disobedience to contrast sharply with over-action by local police. This would bring in outside support while straining relations between segregationists and their passive allies in the US government (Freeman, 270-3). Other forms of non-violent resistance to racial systems include the appropriation of Western commodities such as fashion in an attempt to subvert accepted Western identity, as illustrated by Jackson (1989: 47-53) in his discussion of "Rituals of Resistance".

In conclusion, then, this article has discussed racism in relation to its formation and perpetuation through history and hinted at its myriad forms of expression. It has illustrated how it cannot be understood as an isolated subject and must be investigated holistically in relation to other social and cultural conditions. The role disciplines such as anthropology and sociology have to play in understanding racial conflict and its consequences in the modern world is great, but the role the cultural geographer can potentially play is enormous. Territory has become increasingly contested since the break-up of states such as the USSR and conflicts over space and ethnicity will be at the fore of global events in the next millennium; e.g. Checyna. Cultural geography's emphasis on space will be undoubtedly needed in the resolution of such conflicts.

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Second Irish Postgraduate Training Conference (IPTC).

Bellinter House, Navan; 19-21 Jan. 2001
Kasey Treadwell Shine, Postgraduate Research

The suspects: Una 'Suicidal Fish' Crowley; Jim 'Finally a Champion' Campion; Laura 'Teeth' McElwain; James 'Motormouth' Monagle; Sonja 'More physical, please' Moore; Giovanni 'Giovannimorphology' Olcese; Kasey 'Rambling' Treadwell Shine; Justin 'Find the bodies' Wallace.

Nothing stirs the blood like a Geography conference in the middle of winter in a fairly cold country house bedecked with enough icons for one to start to wonder if they should be heading for a confessional booth. So it was the second IPTC conference got off with a bang (well, more of a whimper due to the delayed arrival of one half of the conference organisers).

We arrived at Bellinter House Friday afternoon full of awe (and for some, downright panic) at what the weekend would hold. After fortification with vegetable soup, sandwiches and plenty of tea and coffee (an essential temperature regulator throughout the weekend), we were welcomed to the conference by Denis Linehan of UCC and our own Rob Kitchin. They reassured us that the conference was meant to provide a forum for meeting other postgraduate Geography students, exchange ideas, and prepare us for 'events' such as giving a presentation, in a much friendlier atmosphere than other typical conferences. To this end, the weekend was a great success. Much banter and not-so-serious discussion occurred over the weekend. There were even a few cross-border contacts made (ask James about that one).

But back to Friday afternoon; after reassurances that this was meant to be as much a 'fun' weekend as a learning one (although I'm not sure how many were convinced of this), we proceeded to break up into groups to do a SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) Analysis on doing research. If our group was anything to go on, most people spent this time getting to know each other, and only in the last ten minutes realised that we had to do this analysis thing. Nevertheless, when we came back together and started to present our group analyses, it soon became clear that many of the groups had come up with similar themes. The freedom which doing research gives people was seen as both a strength and a weakness. Teaching tutorials was a somewhat divisive issue; some felt strongly that it was a strength, especially in terms of giving confidence and experience; others felt strongly that teaching seriously detracted from research, in terms of time and effort. Most groups raised the issue of supervision and dealing with one's supervisor. Other themes that emerged were the relative poverty of student life, despite the greater availability of grants and scholarships (some felt that while these were better than nothing they still were not enough to properly 'live on'). Some felt that grants, etc. added further pressures to complete the degree in an allotted space of time. One particular threat to doing research that many identified was the fear of failure (which I put in a slightly different way,

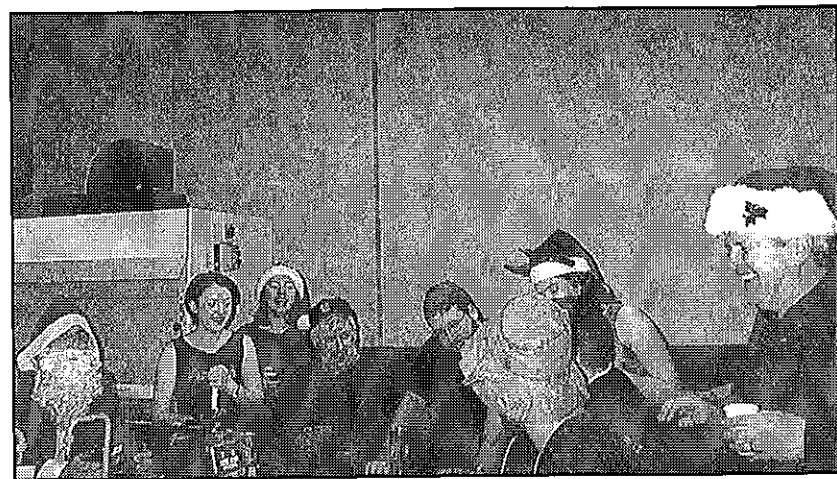


Laura-el... "Because...I'm worth it!"

in an unwitting descent into the Irish vernacular...). Overall, I felt that many present (myself included) were reassured that, no, we weren't going mad; others felt the same way about doing research.

After dinner, we had a very interesting talk on 'disorganising the PhD', given by Ian Cook (University of Birmingham). Much to the potential dismay of those more structured supervisors, Ian suggested that we discard the traditional model of reading in the first year, 'doing research' in the second, and 'writing' in the third in favour of a much more fluid read/do/write model. (He even had really cool overheads to illustrate this). Essentially, based on his experience of doing PhD research, he found that the first year of his research – done, traditionally, by 'reading' – was made virtually useless by his first experience of 'doing' (...research! Out of the gutter, please...). Instead, he argued, we should be reading, doing and writing simultaneously, ensuring that what we were reading was applicable to what we were doing, and writing reflexively as a way of generating new research questions and keeping things on track. To those of us prone to more chaotic research, Ian's model seemed ideal. However, warning voices from the audience felt it prudent to let us know that Ian's degree took rather longer than most, and that his supervisor was not very enamoured of Ian's approach. After discussing Ian's read/do/write model, it was generally agreed that it brought up some very good points (especially around writing / doing simultaneously), but that care had to be exercised – both by students and by supervisors – to make sure that the research didn't go completely off the rails.

After Ian's talk we all retired to the bar (read, section of dining room) for a meeting of minds over a few pints (read,

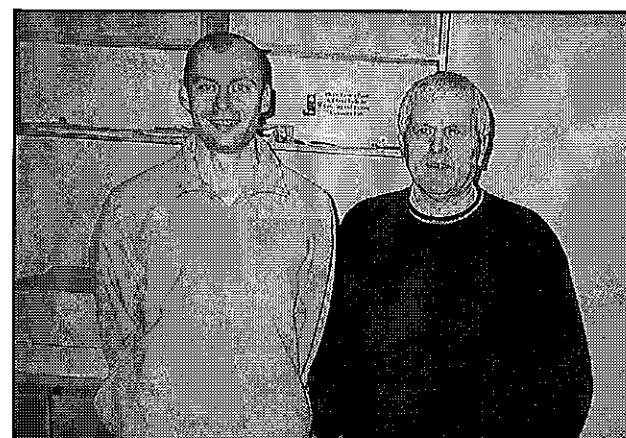


Postgraduates in academic discourse with Prof Duffy (cans). Despite this, a very good night was had. Several increasingly drunken debates got underway, and people got to know each other. I have it on the best of authority that some e-mails were exchanged (and no, they weren't looking at the programme (which listed e-mails), either...). Saturday morning started bright and early. Or, for some, not so bright and not so early. Eventually, however, the unruly mass was divided and conquered (it was Saturday morning, after all; who the hell *would* be happy that early?). A number of groups were formed, based on loose common research topics – e.g. urban, social/cultural, physical geographies; policy; and historical. These then retired to separate rooms, and the dreaded individual presentations began. Of course, they weren't so dreadful (turns out Rob and Denis were telling the truth!); in some cases, they were almost (I stress, almost) enjoyable. Certainly the range of topics presented in our group – from minority languages and globalisation (premise, they don't mix), to conservationism through gun clubs (no, I never did quite figure out how to reconcile the two), to poor Portuguese officials wasting away in Cork (I mean, compare the climate of Portugal to Ireland!) – provoked some interesting discussion. Unfortunately, the size of the groups were very uneven, which meant that some groups finished well before lunch, while others had to reconvene later in the afternoon to finish presentations. This meant that some got to see the Hill of Tara twice in the one day (so exciting!). Before the larger groups reconvened, however, Margaret Desmond of UCC spoke about the power games involved in interviewing 'elites' – scientists, heads of companies, EU and Irish officials, etc. The dynamics of these interviews proved to be an important issue in her research methodology. Particularly important were temporal and spatial considerations, identity (especially around gender), and positionality. Margaret gave some very useful tips about how to 'handle' elite interviewing – how to play the 'game' well (Summary: Ability to be 'cute' an essential skill). After yet more group presentations, those of us in the larger groups were able to escape (...if that's the right word) to the

Hill of Tara. Which was a hill. With lumpy bits (which a tour guide was explaining was the walls of the great hall over here, and the fairy fort over there, and Brian Boru's remains just in that lump there). Still, the view was fantastic. If one could see the view (it was getting dark by that stage), and if one hadn't already been to the hill. But the air was great. Cold, wet and windy. But oh so refreshing. After about five minutes of that, we all piled back into cars to head back to Bellinter; although some members had to be recalled from walking romantically off into the sunset...(ask James about that one too, or better yet Rob's account of things). Back to the house (which suddenly didn't seem quite so cold; but those icons...) and a nice hearty dinner of beef and spuds and unidentifiable dessert. Then on to Tim

Cresswell's talk on the production of mobilities, abstract (lived) versus concrete (embodied). If you didn't get that, don't worry, many didn't. Part of the problem of trying to discuss what takes a book to describe, in 45 minutes or less and it being Saturday night and all (not quite as bad as the morning, but Saturday is *still* not a day when you expect to have to think). Poor Tim also had to compete with Charlie Chaplin, whom he was using to illustrate his points (watch a video, or think: which do you think won?) Nevertheless there were a few of us who found his talk fascinating; basically, he was arguing that we need to look at *how* and *why* people move (i.e. the processes of mobility) as much as the outcomes of movement (this is where the abstract and concrete come into it). Won't even try to go into detail here, but look out for Tim's book in the spring if this sounds interesting (and no, this wasn't a paid advertisement). Saturday night, and you guessed it, more drinkies. We all decided not to retire to the charms of Navan and stay instead at Bellinter (I think those icons were growing on us), where most of us happily washed away the whole thinking-on-a-Saturday feeling. You guessed it, more drunken debates. And a brief discussion on fillings. As in teeth. Go ask Room 21. I'm not even getting into that here. Sunday dawned even brighter (groan) and lovely (still damn early). Given that most of us were incapable of intellectual thought by this stage, Denis and Rob regaled us with tales of publishing, career moves, and the importance of networks. All very useful pointers – turns out, you *can* say, 'yes, Mum, I *will* get a job with this' – but I thought the whole point of doing postgrad work was so we didn't have to deal with the 'real world'...

The final activity of the weekend, 'Stick the knife in', was a delightful, stress-relieving, highly intellectual appraisal of fictitious research proposals, involving projectiles. Those who have been on the IPTC weekend before will no doubt remember this, and for those who have not yet been on an IPTC weekend, well, we'll leave this to your imagination. After all, we don't want to give the impression that the weekend was *all* fun and games....



Before : Staid member of society & Breton Postgrad.



After: "Man ... I feel like a woman"



"Don't worry son, 5 more years & your hair too will grow"



Fleeing the silent but deadly



"Hang on a minute, this isnt the Laura-el Fashion Show"



Back to work on the computers



Too drunk to realise bottle not a microphone



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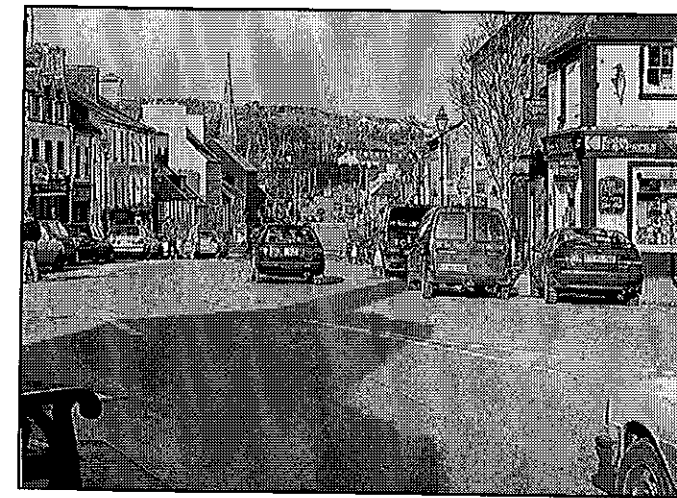
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Single Honours Week in the West

Linda Farrelly, 2nd Arts



Well, what can I say? A week in Westport with nineteen other students and the two most laid back lecturers in the department. So in truth, I do have plenty to say. But I won't stoop and dish the dirt on my 'colleagues' and 'mentors' as it may come in handy later on in the year! I will, however, be decent and give a brief day by day summary of our week in the West.

After arriving in Westport on Saturday afternoon, we had some time to settle in and do a shop. That evening, Proinnsias Breathnach gave us an introduction to the week ahead and what we hoped to accomplish. We evaluated the use of group work and the skills used and gained through the use of such methods.

We then had the evening off and so we decided to boost the local economy by purchasing and consuming vast quantities of alcohol. Some of us went on to boogie whilst the others went home to bed. The next morning, some of us were suffering with dehydration etc., while the others laughed at our self-inflicted illnesses.

The best part of Sunday was spent on Martin's bus, travelling around the South-west region of Mayo, taking a glimpse at the area, which we were soon to know only too well. That evening, we categorised expected recreational activities of the area, and decided on the methods we were to use to obtain such information on the existence and quality of such activities.

On Monday, through the gales and blizzards of snow, we walked, hitched, crawled and sniffled our way from post office to activity centre and onto anyone who felt sorry enough for us to give us any relevant information on the recreational capabilities of the region. On our return to the hostel, we defrosted in the showers, had dinner and returned to class to analyse our collected data. Divided into groups, we then continued through that evening and the following morning to research and draw conclusions on our findings. We were also shown how to enhance our presentations through the use of graphs and windows power point.

Dreaded by all, Tuesday evening finally crept along and with it an intense atmosphere of nerves. Presentation time. However, considering very few of us had any experience in such events, I think it can be agreed that they went very

well, apart from the odd fumbled sentence and the use of twelve overheads all at the one time (only joking people!). So after the presentations and evaluations were done, we decided that the best to relax after such a stressful few days was to go for more scoops. Over to Fahy's we went, where Bridie pulled some lovely 'misty' pints as she thought all of her Christmases had come at once with such business.

On Wednesday morning, we dragged ourselves out of bed, yet again, to be introduced by Paddy Duffy to our second project and its aims. This was a study of the Rural Social Structure along the south Clew Bay coastline. Our methods of obtaining the required information was by knocking on residents' doors and asking them to dish as much gossip about their neighbours as they could.

On Wednesday afternoon and evening, us Single Honours students had our mid-term break. And being the geography 'freaks' that we are we decided to climb Croagh Patrick in the ice and snow. By 12.30pm, we were about to ascend into bitter madness. However, within the first 500m or so, the group had split in two. Clodagh and the lads decided to leg it up the bloody mountain as Jimmy wanted to set up watch stalls on the summit! The other group, however, decided to take it in their stride, not to exert themselves too much and to have time to absorb the fantastic scenery. In other words, we were so unfit we had to stop every 10 metres to catch our breath and to try and ease the agony of the 12 stitches that were causing serious abdominal pain (well, for me anyway!). The climb was rough, especially near the summit as a foot of snow made it more....hmmm.. Entertaining! (Wouldn't you agree Liz?). The majority of us made it to the top and those who didn't were only prohibited by their footgear (isn't that right girls?).

By Wednesday evening we were fit for nothing. Any energy lumbering around was used to cook dinner and if lucky to play table tennis. A little excitement during the night, concerning a mad woman after a lamp (or Proinnsias, we're not quite sure!) gave us something to talk about the next morning.

Thursday was a good day. By this, I mean, no ice, no snow, no clouds and no gales-a good day. Again, we were out in the field doing some practical work but this time we were warm and dry. Our aim was to get gossip about as many as possible in the locality, from as few respondents as possible. Being in a small countryside community, this was very easily done. With the mention of gossip most of the respondents eyes lit up and we couldn't write fast enough. So after gathering plenty of relevant and also irrelevant information from our 'Key' witnesses, we headed back to meet the rest of the groups in either Campbell's or Durken's (both of which are local cafes!). That evening we learned how to categorise this new information and we also learned how to enter it into the SPSS system.

After another long pre-presentation night researching and worrying, we were again up at the crack of dawn and back at it. However, unlike the nerve racking earlier presentation, the rural one went much more smoothly. The use of power point, graphs, photos and overheads along with a much more relaxed atmosphere resulted in much better and funnier presentations.

After a quick caffeine break, we returned for the last time into the 'leaking' room to evaluate the week and finish all



Mayo Fieldtrip Group near Croagh Patrick

official fieldtrip work. The night was ours. We all pitched in for a big meal and Paddy and Proinnsias provided very sufficient quantities of wine. After *dessert*, and a great bit of craic around the table, the place was scrubbed up and we then spent the rest of the night in Fahys and the Castlecourt Hotel night-club. It was here that Regina, one of our 'mature' students, did a great imitation of B.A Burochas (spelling?) rolling around the ground and also of Mr. Softmint on the dance floor. For further details, please contact Regina Mourne.

All was fairly quiet on the return trip with most having some form of a hangover.

Overall, the week was very intense but also very good. It was good in that we have learned presentation skills and how to use windows power point. But it was also a good week for getting to know the other single honours students. We all now know who is in the same stress-filled boat and will now find it easier to approach each other if any of us need help in the future. An experience I do recommend for any upcoming single honour geography student.

On behalf of the rest of the crew, I would like to thank Paddy and Proinnsias for an unforgettable week and the eight crates of wine that you supplied for the dinner! Thanks also to the Bobsleigh team. I don't think we could have asked for a nicer or funnier bunch of people. Cheers and good luck in the exams.

Turning Postmodern

A rap by Ptolemy O'Toole

Everywhere I look I see old worlds disappearing
Paradigms collapsing, new concepts reappearing.
New words, new fads, new ways of thinking
New geographies galore, old dogmas sinking
No more certainty no more truth
No order all disorder no metanarrative....
Turning postmodern is a very sore thing
Leading to confusion and a pain in your brain

Blurring of vision and slurry of words
Turning postmodern is a really sore thing

Place has no existence outside our consciousness
So are places now creations of demented geographers?
And landscape texts are signifying practice can't you see
They're (re)written as they're read (Barnes and Duncan 93)
Text and conText intertextual memory and Meaning
Socially constructed situated imaging
Deconstructed, reconstructed,
(re)deconstructed too?
Authentic inauthentic nowhere sense-less place to go

Subjectively objective reflexive too of course
Outside inside everywhere embedded in discourse
Turning postmodern is a very sore thing
Leading to confusion and a pain in your brain
Blurring of vision and slurry of words
Turning postmodern is a really sore thing

Multiple ways of seeing facts don't just speak themselves
I know Foucault about it but you can find out for yourselves
Representation contestation and the geography of dance
If your performativity's not up to it you can all Foucault to France.
How about it babe a bit of the Other on the side
The Significant Other, Otherness, where can your others hide
Identities fragmented and invented cyber sex
Metaphorical reality and signified syntax

I know you're all postmoderns especially in your cups
When all around the concepts seem as bright and clear as muck
But I know as well there lots of unbelieving positivists
Who think it's all a bunch of balls deep in madcow bullshit
But it's a post world we live in folks post christian and post ford,
Post rural, Postproductivist postcolonial post herd,
Postwar postpeace postglacial postglobal and postpone
Poststructural postoffice post feminist postman (pat)
Postcoital interruptus, interrupt me when I'm done
Turning postmodern is a very sore thing
Leading to confusion and a pain in your brain
Blurring of vision and slurry of words
Burning postmoderns is a really sore thing

The Changing Geography of Transnational Corporations.

Kiaran Sweeney, 3rd Year

Transnational corporations (TNCs) are arguably the biggest "actors" in the contemporary global economy. Indeed the top 500 transnational companies now generate thirty per cent of gross national product, seventy per cent of global trade and eighty per cent of international investment flows (Kitchin, 1998, 291). However the structure of the large corporations and firms of the pre-Fordist era have been radically altered in order to survive in the post-Fordist period of a single integrated economic system spanning the globe. The modern economy is global because the core activities, production, consumption and circulation and their components are organised at the global scale. The geography of TNCs has changed dramatically and will continue to change as managers try to maximise and obtain the highest profits available at the global scale. TNCs have become the major players in the globalisation regime of the past decade through effective management of their structures. This domination which has been obtained through the growth of networking among firms, alliances and mergers between firms, decentralisation, flexibilisation and the use and development of information and communication technologies has caused dramatic changes in the geography of TNCs.

Up until the 1980s the structure of most TNCs was vertically integrated, hierarchically organised and involved in the mass production of standardised products. These corporations usually held their head offices in the home nation with research and development (R+D) closeby. The large factories or production centres were dispersed nationally or internationally. The global economy shift in Freeman and Perez's (1988) terms from the Fordist mass production techno-economic paradigm to the information technology techno-economic paradigm has had much influence on the shape of contemporary TNCs (Hayter, 1997, 145). Now the structure of TNCs involves "globally integrated production systems, whereby different stages of production are carried out in different countries, for example labour intensive activities in developing economies where labour is cheap"(Breathnach, 2000). Control may be retained in the host nation whilst R+D, marketing and distribution take place within the target market. In the meantime production takes place in a least cost location with market access. In otherwords MNCs are able to maximize income by the spatial separation of functions (Schoenberger, 1997). Flexibility in TNCs involves an increasing inclination towards horizontal and vertical disintegration whereby the importance of the large production plant has been changed to a complex of smaller specialised plants. The transformation of transnational corporations has been greatly facilitated by the rise of information and communicative technologies and the adoption of complicated network systems. The rise of new technologies has led to the massive growth in the service economy in which TNCs are hugely involved. Castells (1996, 31) has characterised the new industrial space and the service economy as a shift from a space of places to a space of

flows where a specific locale is not as vital. This space of flows is organised through networks and TNCs are arguably the biggest players in these networks. Networks developed in the 1980s as downsizing of the large Fordist corporations led to outsourcing of much production to independent firms. Networking had already been widely practised in the Japanese economy, which had not suffered in the same extent in the recession of the early 1980s. Networks of small specialised interdependent firms integrated at the local level and disintegrated at the level of the firm were also operating in the north east central region of Italy and in "Silicon Valley" California. The TNCs were able to adopt this type of structure by firstly "downsizing" and then outsourcing to subcontractors much of the production. Bennett Harrison (1997, 8) has characterised the emerging paradigm of networked production as one of concentration without centralisation. For example in the automobile industry the large Fordist plant where all the components and parts were manufactured along with the final stages of assembly has gone. Automation has replaced thousands of jobs. Assembly plants have been reduced to a minimum while the production of different components has been farmed out to networks of outside suppliers. A similar pattern of production exists in the computer industry. This movement away from a centralised structure to branch plant autonomy where the branch can source its needs locally reinforces the network system by establishing linkages and local embeddedness. The farming out of much of the production has led to the emergence of vertically integrated flexible TNCs. Here the different components of the final product are performed by specialised firms within a flexible network co-ordinated by the TNC. This network structure

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has given rise to clustering of specialised firm in many districts. This has occurred because subcontractors are more inclined to locate close to their customers in order to facilitate information exchange and just in time delivery (Breathnach, 2000).

One of the most recent trends among TNCs in their changing geography has been the growth of mergers and alliances among different firms. The most successful of the big firms have been busy constructing strategic alliances among one another, internally and across national borders. These alliances typically incorporate the first tier of the networks of generally smaller firms that supply parts, design services and manufacture components for the big firms at the centre of the partnership (Harrison, 10). There are widespread alliances among the major car manufacturers for example, Mazda and Ford, Mitsubishi and Chrysler. In these alliances joint funding of research, R+D and marketing often takes place.

Mergers have become widespread among TNCs for example



Out-drinking Fran

Time Warner and AOL, Esat and British Telecom. "Mergers and acquisitions provide the opportunity to combine powerful brands and marketing muscle, producing a multiplicative effect" (Irish Times, Jan. 17th 2000). In addition, assets, skills, and resources can be used together to maximize profits.

The transnational corporations not only are forming alliances, networks and mergers but also radically decentralising R+D and changing their corporate structure.

Many of the research laboratories are being moved away from the central management areas out into the operating divisions of the firms. Localising these branches gives more flexibility, integration and promotes innovation. However it should be noted that TNCs still show a strong preference for keeping their major R+D activities close to their home base (Dicken, 1992, 214). In general very few TNCs have moved their corporate headquarters outside their own country. However there has been considerable movement of divisional headquarters overseas for example U.S. and Japanese corporations have set up regional headquarters in Europe to take advantage of the single European market. In general corporate headquarters tend to be located in large cities and a large proportion are located in the "global cities" of New York, Tokyo, and London. "The most attractive locations for R+D units, distribution centres and regional HQs are nearly all in central as opposed to peripheral regions" (Young et al, 1994, 666).

Information and communication technologies (ICT) have arguably been the most important factors in the changing geography of TNCs. ICT has stimulated the massive growth of the service economy in which TNCs play a central part. In this service economy there is a visual distinction in the concentration between core and peripheral areas. ICT has allowed TNCs to adopt a strategy that Harrison (1997, 12) has termed "lean production" or flexible production where managers first divide permanent (core) from contingent (peripheral) jobs. High level well paid jobs are located in the core areas while poorly paid often female and part time jobs for example in "Backoffices" are located in peripheral regions. TNCs are attracted to the core areas because of superior international transport and telecommunications infrastructure, educational and research facilities and a pool of labour. Foreign direct investment in services has led to a concentration of TNCs in urban districts and in some cases has led to the closure of TNCs in peripheral regions which do not have the necessary infrastructure such as office space and the necessary bandwidths to transfer data and information. The spatial repercussions of FDI can be easily seen in Ireland where there has been a marked shift in TNC location to the Dublin region.

Grabher distinguishes two types of investment strategies by TNCs. The first type he terms "cathedrals in the desert", that is foreign enclaves of foreign capital (Hardy, 1998, 641). By this strategy TNCs locate to countries or regions less favourable for example states in former communist Eastern Europe. Here labour is relatively cheap and educated but this type of investment creates little linkages or spillovers for the surrounding area. It could be argued that this type of FDI was the general type brought into Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s. Secondly Grabher distinguishes "Bridgehead strategies". This form of FDI is geared towards accessing for example central European markets. TNCs in this type of investment will locate not only production plants but also R+D, marketing, and sales which bring many spillovers and forward linkages to the region. Some of the recent U.S. TNCs that have come to Ireland have created such linkages and spillovers in the economy. Bridgehead investments by TNCs generally bring positive benefits, which is why regions for example in Scotland, Wales, Ireland and England are in competition with each other to attract such investment.

Cyberspace and the Death of Geography?

Brian Doolan, 3rd Arts

Trans-national corporations are a vital part of the global economy. Through their extensive network of operations, TNCs are capable of integrating diverse economies throughout the world. Information and communication technologies are a central part of the global economy and have therefore helped transform the geography of the TNCs. Indeed many of the recent TNCs are products of the rapid growth of new technologies, for example, Yahoo!, a company whose stock was worth nearly twice as much as General Motors in 2000, has fewer than 2000 employees (Irish Times, Feb 11th 2000). Although TNCs have the power to locate anywhere in the world, market forces still seem to be the dominant force in regards location. The majority of TNCs are concentrated in the global "triad", that is the U.S., Europe, and S.E Asia. Within these regions there are marked differences in the geography of TNCs with the majority located in or around the major cities. H.Yeung (1999, 703) argues that instead of searching for geographical locations that offer the lowest production costs and/or highest investment incentives, TNCs today are looking more for production sites that complement their global strategy and networks of operations. However cost is still a very important factor. TNCs locating to Ireland are evidence of this for example the decision of the U.S MNC Cardinal Health Care to locate one of their plants here. Cardinal Health's decision to locate in Longford was influenced greatly by its need to attract the numbers of skilled staff it requires. However "even more importantly than the availability of labour, according to Cardinals chairman, is the low rate of corporation tax at 10%" (Irish Times, Dec. 11th 2000). One of the fundamental locational factors for TNCs is availability of labour, which in many instances in the current economic climate means skilled labour or a workforce with knowledge of IT. It is clear that the geography of TNCs has changed dramatically in the last couple of decades and it is very likely they will continue to change as new technologies and markets are developed.

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What is geography? The concept and scope of geography have undergone considerable change and it is highly unlikely that any definition would satisfy everyone. Most agree that it comprises the study of the earth's surface, in its areal differentiation as the home of Man and in how much it is a "science of distributions", both physical and human, of areal and spatial relationships. The field of geography has been viewed in different ways. While the traditional position is that of areal differentiation, it is possible to view it in terms of landscape, natural and cultural, in ecological terms and in locational terms. However the mainstream geographical imagination, has, for at least the past century, revolved around a dual mode of thinking about space; one fixed mainly on the concrete materiality of spatial forms and the other on mental or cognitive forms. This assertion holds the view that geography is not undergoing a transition, but merely evolving.

Ken Hills writes of "the current wave of interest in the phenomenon of cyberspace" as being "heightened by promoters describing it as a new frontier; one open to exploitation as well as colonisation"¹. Following Sterling (1990), cyberspace is best considered as a generic term, which refers to a cluster of different technologies, some familiar, some only recently available, some being developed and some still fictional, all of which have in common the ability to simulate environments within which humans interact. Cyberspace is not merely another space, nor a cerebral flight from the mysteries of matter, but a virtual reality. And yet, where is human geography in this world of detail and difference?

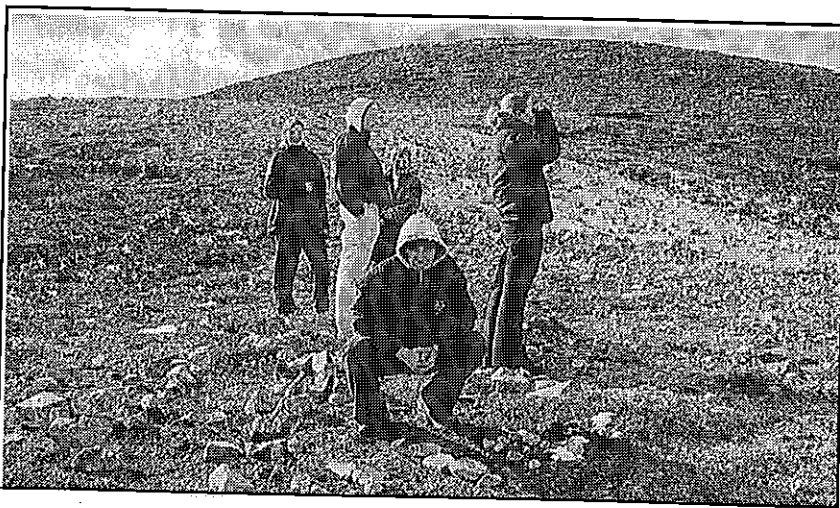
Technology is often viewed as a source of separation between people, a barrier. It appears that with cyberspace all geographical barriers have been shrunk to zero because distance has been eliminated. However, this is not necessarily so. Language will always remain as an omnipotent barrier between peoples of different lands. And while conversations are readily accessible through the world in the wires, the true expression of face-to-face correspondence rarely applies. And yet, paradoxically, as distance would seem an overpowering deterrent, cyberspace seems to have flourished, from vast communication, into a new social space or world. This is a place where people can meet and interact and an environment with, as Kitchin (1998, 16) states, "a new uncharted virtual geography which bears little resemblance to geography outside the wires".

Indeed with regard to defining geography as cultural and natural, cyberspace may also entail a separate identity. Cyberspace poses cultural problems as information is made available regardless of social and cultural boundaries and the policies of nation states. The neglect of face-to-face communities also raises fears about the decline of the public sphere into a virtual world controlled by the telecommunications corporations. Here only the privileged

¹ *A Geography of the Eye: The Technologies of Virtual Reality*, p.70.

have access and the body is disdained as an embarrassing and imperfect support for minds infatuated with virtual, representational bodies. Utopians may view the new technologies of cyberspace as offering the possibility for recreating the world afresh. We can see virtual culture then in terms of utopia, as expressing the principle of hope and the belief in a better world. However from an opposing perspective, instead of hopes for a New World, we would rather view it in terms of dissatisfactions with, and the rejection of, an old one. Raising cyberspace to utopian tendencies would inevitably seduce the present geographical status quo, in a cultural perspective, to a more apocalyptic sense. Cyberspace eradicates all notions of class - although one must be mindful that access is restricted to the privileged - and cultural backgrounds, as disembodiment allows any individual to become who, or what, they want. "At both the individual and collective levels", states Kitchin (1998, 76), "cyberspace is facilitating the deep restructuring of society, challenging traditional notions of identity and community". Technological determinists argue that cyberspace will lead to the formation of new communities and will change how we live our everyday lives. Social constructivists, however, argue that technology and society cannot be separated, but are intimately entwined with each other and with nature. These theories are part of a postmodern trajectory of thinking, which strives for a new way of understanding the world. "To other writers, the postmodern turn is part of the problem, not the solution. They see postmodernism as the cultural dominant of late twentieth-century capitalism and argue that its inscriptions mark the turbulent landscapes of flexible accumulation in ways that require the renewal of geographical materialism as a means of grounding the postmodern production of space" (Gregory, 1994, 123).

In whatever way we perceive geography, landscape and location seem to be words that are always prominent. And yet I think that it is here that cyberspace differs most from our traditional perceptions. Cyberspace, a world of imitation, merely mirrors concrete human geography in the creation of communities and specific areas. The boundaries between these zones are changeable at the click of a button. The contemporary debate on cyberspace is something of a consensual hallucination. There is a common vision of a



• *Boyz and da Hood - Mayo Style*

future that will be different from the present, of a space or a reality that is more desirable than the mundane one that presently surrounds and contains us. Cyberspace has turned a blind eye on the world we live in. Stenger (1991: 53, 58) tells us that "cyberspace is like Oz - it is, we get there, but it has no location". Hudkins (1992:127) suggests that "some of us may be tempted to hide in the VR (virtual reality); after all, we cannot make of our world what we wish to make of it". It is quite possible that there is an urgent necessity to set about disillusioning ourselves. There is no alternate world of cyberspace and virtual reality. We are living in a real world and we must recognise that it is indeed the case that we cannot make of it whatever we wish.

As far as mapping the virtual landscapes is concerned, the world of cyberspace is still, and may always be, to a certain extent uncontrolled. Cyberspace is constantly changing with new features and additions emerging daily. Our current and past interpretations of our surrounding environments can certainly not compare with the flux of this virtual domain. Communities literally form overnight. It is also interesting to note that a community or domain that we may visit today may be lost to us tomorrow, due to the still vague paths which may have brought us there. Geography and its study deals with environments that are known to us and lacks the trepidation that going to bed tonight we may not find our way or locate ourselves in the same environment tomorrow. And yet geography as we have known it offers restrictions. We may look at any map and view the distances, which separate many lands and often ponder on what really happens there. Cyberspace offers opportunities to visit places of curiosity in a matter of minutes. The notion of exploring an unmapped, vast and seemingly unlimited world is intriguing.

Cyberspace bears the stamp of our age, that is to say it is chaotic, designed in detail yet lacking universal foundations on principles, continually changing, linked by centre-less flows of information; it is artificial. In terms of human interaction in cyberspace, often nothing is what it seems and cannot be taken for granted. In terms of human influenced geography, the world of cyberspace is for the most part wanton creativity and not induced out of total necessity. Yet, most importantly, cyberspace lacks true solidity or substance, which undermines most of the conventional ways of thinking about landscapes and geographical patterns.

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"It was YOU"



"Look Pall I said 'E', nt 'A Minor'"



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51. "He promised me it would be just one little drink 1 .."

Key Attributes of Regional Innovation Systems

John Keane, MA in Geographical Analysis.

Introduction

"New information technologies, by transforming the processes of information processing, act upon all domains of human activity, and make it possible to establish endless connections between different domains as well as between elements and agents of such activities", (Castells, 1996). Here Castells refers to the information links networks and systems that are integral parts of the globalisation process. Innovation has a major part to play in this process. As innovation levels in large industries increase considerable "downsizing" has occurred. This has thrown the economic spotlight back on Small and Medium sized Enterprises as agents to increase employment and to some extent correct regional imbalances. The identification of niche markets for S.M.E.s, through the innovation process, is now seen as a means for the local or regional to compete on a global scale. Regions are no longer considered as places where specific resources exist but as industrial zones with the capacity to create new strategic and specific resources, through the innovation process.

Before moving on to the key attributes of regional innovation systems it seems pertinent to first look at the concept of region and concept of innovation, (Cooke et al, 1997). A regional classification is an intellectual concept: it exists in terms of the criteria by which it is defined. Four aspects of regional definition are pertinent: 1) a region does not have a determinate size, 2) it is homogenous in terms of specific criteria, 3) it can be distinguished from surrounding areas by particular associations or related features, 4) it possesses some kind of internal cohesion. However the terms industrial zone or industrial clusters seem more apt to describe areas in which innovation processes are at work. "A cluster can be characterised as a dense network of economic actors who work together closely and who have extensive exchange relationships", (Cooke et al, 1997). Innovation as a concept is often used with the analysis of processes of technological change. However, it must be noted that innovation is not only technological but also a social and organisational process. Thus, a more general and in many ways broader definition of innovation is apparent which includes all activities in the processes of technological change, awareness and definition of problems, new solutions and ideas for existing problems and the diffusion of these solutions.

The system is the incubator in which innovation occurs. Cooke argues that the innovative system is a social one resulting from social interaction between economic actors. It can be argued that this system creates sets of informal rules and boundaries, which define an innovative cluster, as common technological, infrastructural, organisational etc. needs processes and goals are identified.

Obstacles to Innovation

Wiig and Wood (1997) in their study of the More/Romsdal area identified some of the main obstacles to the innovation process. The areas have a large percentage of S.M.E.s and

thus there is great scope for the introduction of a Regional Innovation System. However, obstacles do exist.

The fear of imitation and the risks involved with being the first to innovate is the most important obstacle to firm's innovation. The lack of risk capital is a constant obstacle to S.M.E.s in this early stage of the innovation process.

The proximity of firms engaged in similar activities in this region is also an obstacle. Firms are in competition and thus information is lost due to spatial proximity. 23% of firms in these areas are dependent on one firm for 50% of sales. Innovation levels for such companies are low, suggesting that strong economic links with key customers may not have a positive effect on innovation. Firms may become a dependent supplier, characterised by low skill operations producing to orders where the need to innovate may not be great.

The availability of a suitably skilled workforce is also cited as an obstacle to innovation. The More/Romsdal is typical of many regions with traditional technical industries. There has been very little improvement in technical skills due to the "stigma" attached to this sector. Changing educational tastes have led to the proportion of second level students undertaking vocational training and thus the share of workers engaged in mechanical or electro engineering has dropped dramatically. It is a region's ability to overcome these obstacles that defines its innovative success.

Key Attributes

a) A Shared Vision:

If a region is to successfully innovate, a shared vision by all the economic actors in that area is needed. Important here is the notion of "innovative Milieux", (Maillat, 1997). Storper (1997) describes the Milieu as "a context for development which empowers and guides innovative agents to be able to innovate and to co-ordinate with other innovating agents". The Milieu is a social construct deriving its origins generally from informal interaction between economic agents. What can be taken from this is the fact that companies within an innovative cluster do not act in an isolated fashion, they are part of the Milieu and this is what makes the innovative cluster work. Milieux incorporate all suppliers R and D centres etc. that together create "an innovation system. Through this interaction a consensus is reached where those within the Milieu establish through their actions specific skills know-how and rules which form a system in which to operate. With this consensus in place there are many burdens that can be shared. Expertise in areas such as marketing can be shared, and thus costs decrease leading to an increase in competitiveness.

Castells (1996) describes innovative Milieux as sets of production and management relationships that are based on shared social and cultural frameworks with goals of knowledge generation, process generation and product generation. He sees Milieux as fundamental in the process of industrial production in the information age.

Both Castells and Maillat suggest that proximity (the opposite of More/Randall) is a necessary condition to allow the generation of innovation. The location of knowledge centres, R and D etc. will be discussed later but it is the intangible notion of synergy, which is of particular interest for the moment. The players in the innovation process (the economic actors) need an environment in which the

necessary resources for innovation, partners to collaborate with and places for innovating and communicating are adequate. These resources and places of interaction need to be placed centrally with the town as the ideal location. (The notion of towns as nodes of innovation will be examined later.)

The "shared vision" concept espoused by the Milieux is also helped by third generation regional policies in which there is a shift from government to governance. Regional states vary in their nature and degree of autonomy. The strongest e.g. the Lander of Austria and Germany are associated with rich regionalised governance associations such as chambers of commerce, trade associations, regionalised union banks etc. They traditionally have also tended to have strong innovation policies. Traditionally smaller countries have been weakly regionalised with concentration on leading, large firm dominated sectors. However as third generation policies acknowledge the importance of S.M.E.s, governance has become increasingly important. Innovative clusters now have a certain degree of autonomy as regards policy issues within their system. Regional differences (i.e. cultural, resource, marketing methods of production) can now be accounted for. Thus a region attains individuality. The individuality of the region can then be used as a marketing tool to present the region on the world economic stage i.e. certain characteristics may be attributed to all industries within the cluster/region for example quality of service provided, speed of production etc. A bottom up approach is vital in the notion of governance, this involvement in the decision making process is vital if a shared vision is to be achieved.

b) Knowledge production and the regional technological infrastructure:

Collaboration between firms and educational institutes is vital if the innovation process is to be successful. Knowledge is the most strategic resource available to a region. Technically, though interaction, firms learn "best practice" in terms of production. But knowledge here is deeper than the obvious technical side of production. Tacit knowledge also has a key role to play in the innovation capacity of a region. Lorenz and Lawson (2000) argue that tacit and articulated knowledge are complements rather than alternatives. Inter-firm collaboration and sharing of tacit knowledge have always been a part of the innovation process. Technical knowledge as well as values, norms and language are all forms of tacit knowledge, and the successful transfer of these on a horizontal basis is one of the key attributes of regional innovation systems.

The Aarhus Growth Concepts (NESC, 1996) is particularly innovative on the subject of knowledge transfer. It stresses that business success comes from improved performance based on continuous learning support by professional resources. Firms come together in networked groups of 10 to 15 and work on an aspect of the business innovation process (e.g. marketing, product development). Seminars are held regularly over an eighteen-month period. Between seminars, firms get individual consultants support with payment shared with the municipality. Groups enable firms to access each other's resources and reinforce firm commitment to achieving common realisable innovative objectives. One example of a successful group is CD-line.

This group is involved in the clothing sector and is made up of eleven firms. They produce complementary products and share the marketing, quality assurance and business communications costs. Knowledge experience and contacts are transferred meaning the group gains contracts the companies individually could not.

c) Innovation Support System:

As has already been discussed earlier in our Norwegian example (More/Romsdal) the lack of availability of venture capital was cited as an obstacle to innovation. This is perhaps where the role of public support for innovation is most important. In the More and Romsdal, the smaller firm, the more they see lack of public support as a problem. 63% of firms were self-financed in terms of innovation while 25% of firms surveyed suggest lack of venture capital as the most important blockage to the innovative process, thus it becomes clear that some public support to offset risk must be undertaken. Other sources of indirect public support include particular legislative arrangements, taxes and subsidies. The role of Milieux once again becomes apparent here in a developed Regional Innovation System. If an innovative culture is fostered then financial institutions within the system will provide increasing risk/investment capital for innovators.

The importance of research and development cannot be under-stated here. R and D is one of the basic and most important actors in the innovation process. It is here that support at a European level is most evident. Innovation promotion under article 10 or the ERDF (European Regional Development Fund) during the 1996-1999 period is an example of such support. Two pilot schemes were introduced with the aim of developing new ways of introducing innovation in less favoured regions:

- 1) Regional Technology Transfer Projects (RTT)
- 2) Regional Innovation Strategy.

RTTs try to facilitate the access of R and TD actors into less favoured regions. Thus R and TD efforts made at European level can be introduced at a regional level. Hopefully then this introduction will cause the diffusion of best practice thereby help to upgrade the innovative capacity of S.M.E.s. Inter-regional collaboration may also be possible for technology transfer between R and TD and innovation centres from advanced regions to R and TD centres in less favoured regions and thus drive the innovation process in these regions.

Regional Innovation Strategies are designed to suggest the best methods to promote co-operation between S.M.E.s and "how best to introduce innovation in the regional agenda of the less favoured regions" (Landbaso, 1997). This pilot scheme will incorporate the public authorities but also key R and TD regional actors. The current situation will be assessed based on:

- A S.W.O.T. (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) Analysis: this includes an assessment of the regional economy, with particular reference to its indigenous innovative capacity as well as a description of present networks of co-operation with R and D and innovation capabilities elsewhere at the regional, national and international level.

- An assessment of the regional R and TD supply and innovation support.

- An assessment of the R and D demands and needs of the regional firms through for example a campaign of technology audits in firms (in particular S.M.E.s).

- An analysis of the missions and policies of the various R and TD and innovation actors concerned (Landbaso, 1997).

Knowledge of these European regional supports is where national and regional authorities can further support the innovation process by increasing S.M.E.s knowledge of these supports, and incorporating these ideals into the regional innovation system.

d) Identification of a node of innovation:

The role of proximity and its expression of economic and cultural relatedness from having something in common has been discussed earlier when the “synergy” of a region was described. There are however more tangible benefits from locating clusters of innovative S.M.E.s in a town of medium size. Maillat (1997) refers to Corolleur et al in identifying four important functions of towns in this regard.

1. An institution objectivisation function: the town is a social system made up of many players, more specifically urban players i.e. training and research organisations, trade and trade-union associations, political authorities etc. The town provides a tangible space for these players to interact and thus develop. They are then interconnected through rates and formal and informal codes of conduct. Now the urban system is capable of institutionalising these rates and thus form a tangible system within which to operate.
2. A function of anchorage in built up areas: the town is also a material unit that is characterised by density and continuity. Anchorage in built up areas makes it easier for institutions and centres of knowledge to become durable. This durability fosters the transition from diffuse actions to **grouped** actions.
3. A symbolisation function: towns are full of symbols. Some buildings are evocative of power culture or knowledge and the related social groups. This symbolic role plays an important part in the emergence of **new** professions and particularly in their social and institutional recognition.
4. A productive combination function: towns house a number of urban industries e.g. design and fashion, high finance, advertising etc. Cultural teaching and administrative facilities are often located in towns and cities. With so many varying facets of the economy centred in one tangible area, sectoral boundaries can be transcended and innovation fostered. One partner can be chosen and linkages made which are vital to the innovation process. Maillat goes on to argue that from the view-point of regional or territorial development the coherence between the territorial production system and the system of (medium sized) towns that usually structure a region is necessary. This coherence leads to innovative clusters, the town is a medium where different firms engage with varied actors and thus problem-solving etc. can be achieved through this interaction. The networks created by these interactions defines a town (which in turn defines the regional innovation system) and enables it to be differentiated from other competing towns.

e) Animation:

The process of animation and the role of the animator were originally used as tools for rural development. There is however an indelible link between innovation and animation. The animator stimulates entrepreneurialism, an important constituent of the innovation process. The animator actively engages in many of the collaborative and co-operative processes described above and may be described in some sense as a “linkage” within the Regional Innovation System. The animator has several roles but some of the most important place him/her at the centre of the innovation process, such as the identification of local leaders, talents and leadership potential. There is also a technical role for the animator, which mainly lies in the animator’s ability to recognise the community’s need for input of special skills, to identify relevant providers and to facilitate contact between the two. Thus networks are formed and varied interaction is stimulated.

Jutland: A Brief Look at A Successful Regional Innovation System

Dunford (1997) refers to a survey carried out in 1990 that revealed that 82% of owners or managers of firms in Ringkøbing County had grown up there. The question must so be raised as to the processes and mechanisms, which facilitated and made possible such a climate of entrepreneurialism in Western Jutland.

In general new firms in Jutland are not formed by ex-employees of large firms but often by ex-employees of other small firms, which then collaborate with the newly formed ones. There are extensive inter-firm linkages within western Jutland, with 60% of establishments indicating that co-operation with firms in their own industry is significant to their mode of operation. Participation in local networks allows small firms to access specialised services and facilities (e.g. CAD-CAM) without incurring the costs of investment themselves. This is facilitated by the existence of non-profit organisations such as the Danish Technological Institute. Thus network relationships held overcome potential disadvantages of being small or peripherally located. Much of the inter-firm co-operation is intra-district co-operation. Everyone knows each other’s capabilities, so that search and transaction costs are minimised within a dense web of local interactions.

A transmission mechanism exists within the region. A transmission mechanism has two components. Firstly, entrepreneurs within a given sector will concentrate where this sector is already prominent. In such places the potential entrepreneur has already learned the necessary trade specific qualifications, contacts and knowledge required. Secondly, the path dependent character of development ensures that clustering of firms in a given industry will not make the location involved particularly appropriate to the locational requirements of other firms in that industry. In short a certain location will have acquired and created the capabilities competencies and skills needed to service a certain industry.

The overall governance system is also conducive to entrepreneurialism. From the late 1980’s Counties began to create their own development agencies. This “bottom up” approach is fundamental to the innovative process and the

development of supporting environments for new or innovative indigenous small firms.

Running through all these organisations as well as the networks of economic relations between in an informal network of people who are on the various Boards and Committees or at least personally know those who are. Economic co-operation essentially takes place in a culture that encourages enterprise and innovation on the basis of social networks, which create the necessary social capital (i.e. mutual trust etc.) for development. Furthermore such a social structure facilitates the creation of very particular forms of knowledge that are seen as central to the economic process. This tacit knowledge is non-tradable and specific to that area which makes a regions position within the world market stronger.

Conclusion

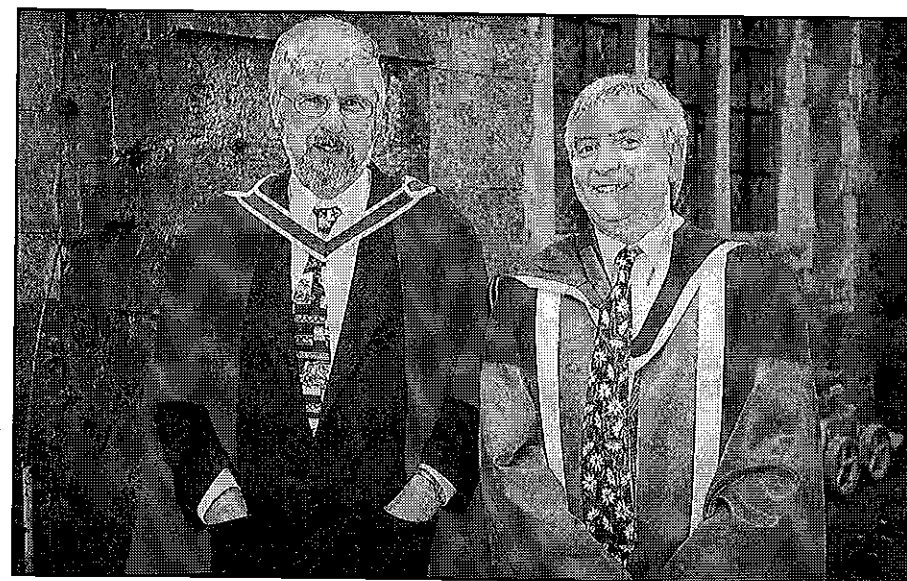
“It is beginning to be recognised that mass producing in one area of the EU results in huge packaging, distribution and transport costs including costs to the environment. It has been suggested that we should think not just of the price of products but also their kilometre-miles that is, the distance they have been transported and the damage that transport has done to the environment. This can re-ignite an interest in local products and services” (Cooley, 2000). Cooley here is referring to the environmental and cost effects of core located large industries. However, he does suggest the appearance of a local renaissance. I suggested in my introduction that local S.M.E.s could redress regional imbalances. This is only possible if regional innovation systems are created to make S.M.E.s competitive.

For a regional innovation system to work mutual trust must be present. The key words throughout my paper were collaboration and co-operation, knowledge etc. can only become an agent of the innovative process if these two notions are present. Obviously government and E.U. incentives will augment the process but the ultimate aim of all regions should be towards the situation in Jutland. A shared vision has grown organically in this region where complex networks of interdependence has meant that the S.M.E.s in this area are innovative and competitive. Collaboration between all economic actors i.e. knowledge

based actors (i.e. educational institutions, knowledge centres etc.), intermediaries (European regional and local policy makers) and firms will create a network whereby S.M.E.s innovate and become the catalysts of regional development.

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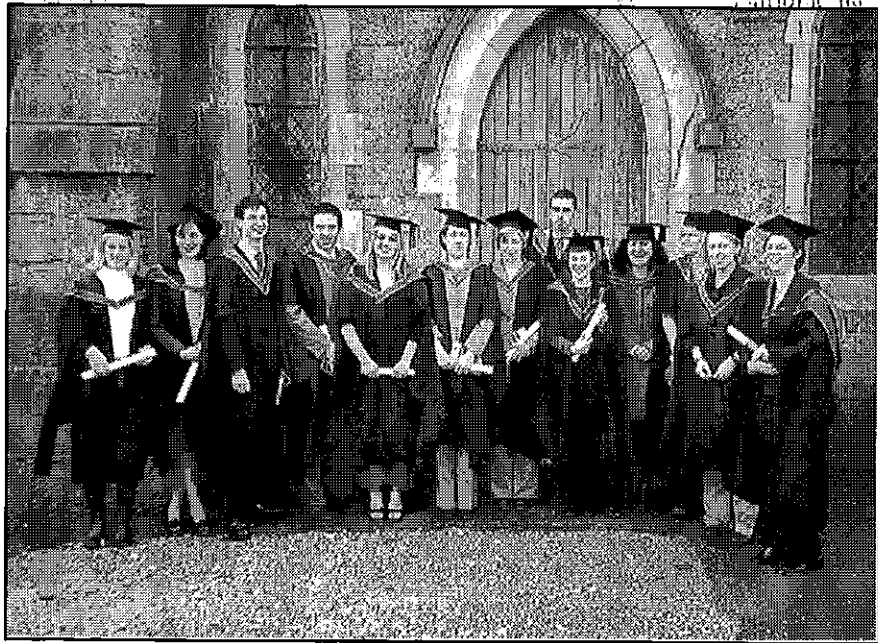
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The two Defenders stood nervously waiting for the Free Kick to be taken

Graduations 2000

Prof. Paddy Duffy and Dr. Paul Gibson, Staff



Dr Seamus Lafferty

In November 2000, Dr Seamus Lafferty became the first Geography postgraduate student to be conferred with a PhD. Seamus, a native of Inishowen, Co Donegal, was a distinguished undergraduate in Geography and Economics who subsequently obtained his MA in Economics. He was a Teagasc Walsh Fellow for the past number of years under the supervision of Professor Jim Walsh and undertook a research project into the changing profile of agriculture in Ireland. The fruits of this research were published in 1999 as *Irish Agriculture in Transition: A census atlas of agriculture in the Republic of Ireland*. This is a comprehensive overview in text and maps of the changes, which have taken place in Irish agriculture in the past couple of decades especially. The range of multi-coloured maps of everything to do with the Irish rural and agricultural scene makes it a most attractive and informative source for all students of rural society and economy. These maps are a major tribute to Seamus Lafferty's skill and science. His doctoral dissertation was entitled "The Spatial Implications of the Transformation of Production Agriculture in the Republic of Ireland" and can be read in the Library.

Seamus is currently Vice President of Business and Operations,

Stanford Products LLC, Salem, Illinois, where the management, technical and survival skills he acquired in the hothouse atmosphere of the Geography Department, NUIM have no doubt come to his aid! Everybody in the Department wishes him well in his future career.

MA Geographical Analysis

The MA in Geographical Analysis class of 2000 graduated in November with fifteen members. During the course of the year, a strong esprit de corps developed among the group, assisted by the Friday seminar and post-seminar discussions in the gradually-disappearing Roost. The following graduated: Niamh Carroll, John Condon, Caroline Cullen, Graham Diamond, Sinead Fagan, Denise Grassick, Aisling Keane, Claire McIntyre, Margaret Mulhall, Gerard Murphy, Rachel O Connor, Louise O

Dwyer, Anthony Purcell, Catherine Staunton and Gavan Ward. All are now employed in a variety of capacities in Ireland. We wish them well in their future careers.

H Dip in Remote Sensing

Thirteen students graduated with a H.Diploma in Applied Remote Sensing and GIS in Ireland, four with First Class Honours. The majority of students gained employment fairly easily. Often in the Information Technology sector, while one is presently engaged in a Ph.D programme.



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The Geography Society Year

Maura Murphy, 3rd Arts

The Geography Society held its first meeting in Room T1, Arts Block, on the 11th October. It was at this meeting that the Committee of 2000/2001 was confirmed. We set out as a very enthusiastic group of determined to make 2000/2001 the best year the Society has ever seen. Ideas and suggestions were flowing that night (as well as the wine!!!) It was decided that the first event should be a Careers Talk. This would be aimed primarily at 3rd Year Geographers – although all Geography students were invited to attend.

Thanks to excellent PRO, this event was well advertised to all the years. The date was set for 28th November. Loretta Jennings from the Careers Office and Proinsias Breathnach were the Guest Speakers for the night. This event was a huge success with over 100 students present in Class Hall H. All the students found the talk to be of great use to them in terms of planning for their careers after they leave NUI Maynooth.

With the recent success of TV Quiz Show “Who Wants To Be A Millionaire?”, the Geography Society thought it fitting to hold a similar event before the Christmas break, where students could win some money, while entertaining the audience at the same time. Held in Theatre 2, this event on December 19th was another huge success. James Monagle played the part of Chris “Kringle” Tarrant and humoured us by dressing up in a makeshift Santa outfit!!! Anyway, we got the picture. Loads of money and spot prizes were won, while Ro Charlton and Rob Kitchin also joined in on the fun. A great night was had by all.

Also this year the Geography Society got a new website. Committee members were delighted to have a new medium in which to advertise events:
http://www.nuimsu.com/socs/geography/index.html



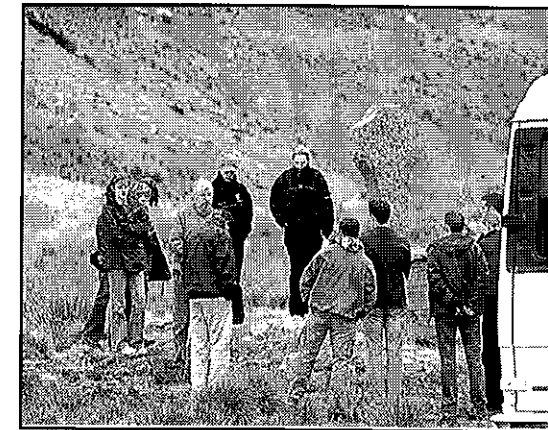
The third event was a talk from Trevor Hill on “Land Reform in South Africa”. This was held on 14th February. The talk was very beneficial to the 2nd Years taking the African course and again the event was well attended. [It was also very beneficial to Trevor who got a hot Valentines’ double-date with Society Babes, Mairead and Joanne, for his troubles, prior to the event! – The Editor.] We will also have a second African-themed talk from Etienne Nel on “Post-Apartheid Development: Policy and Praxis in South Africa” on 14th March. These guest lectures can give us a great insight into different African topics from both personal experiences and academic studies, which may be very beneficial to young Geographers here in NUI Maynooth.

The launch of *Milieu* this year will be a big event for the Society. The event will be well advertised and we hope that the 1st and 2nd Years will be present in big numbers, all enthusiastic to be the next Committee of 2001-2002.

Overall, the year has been a huge success. Large numbers attended all the events and all involved had a great time being part of the revival of the Geography Society.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank fellow Committee Members, Clare Hayes, Mairead Mitchell, Joanne Power and Brian Flood for making the Society such a success. Special thanks to Adrian Kavanagh who was willing to help and advise us when we found ourselves in a fix. Also thanks to all in the Geography Department, especially all those lecturers who were involved, attending the Society events and producing articles for *Milieu*.

I would like to wish future Committee Members “All the Best” and I hope that they will be just as dedicated in building up and strengthening the Geography Society in NUIM as we were. Best of luck to all fellow Students in the end of year Exams and I hope those of you who return to studies in October 2001 will continue your support for the Geography Society.



Images from Mayo; (a) Keen Geographer Duffy in the “Field”, (b) Dosser students stay in the bus...Nothing ever changes.

Sheep-Shearing 2001

Martina Roche, Postgraduate Research

It all started, as with most of my ideas, down in the Pub. Rag Week was approaching and, as James Monagle is usually involved in some form or other in it, I started slagging him and suggested that he should shave his beard off for charity, being egged on here by my erstwhile partner in crime, Laura “Spud” McElwain. We weren’t really serious however. Indeed Laura and I had forgotten totally about it, mainly due to the intense hangovers we were experiencing, when the following Monday our drunken haze was broken into by James knocking on our doors (ouch!) and asking us how exactly we were going to put our “great plan” into action. He also said that if he did, then I would have to belly dance on a table in the Nancy Spain’s, just like my Skydiver personality would do. Eek! [“Hmmm, we all obviously missed this. Was this a private performance?” – The Editor.]

And so Operation Money Gathering kicked into action. As it was a Geography Department venture, it was decided to restrict our efforts towards Geography students only. Hence from the Tuesday of Rag Week on, every lecture, practical and tutorial was hit by our “storm-troopers”. From my point of view it helped that I remembered people’s names from 2nd Year Practicals, but there was only a small bit of blackmail involved – as in demands, with force (I am from Kilkenny after all), of “You Give Me Money NOW!”. Some outsiders also heard about our fundraising efforts and made their own contributions; Bob in the Roost donated £5 and free sandwiches to James, while the Barbers on Main Street tidied his hair and “smig” afterwards *in lieu* of a donation.

Came the big day, the shearing was supposed to start at 12.00pm, but one of the Sheep’s (i.e. James) two *consigliere*s was missing. Yep, you guessed it, it was me! But come on, I was recovering after the Thursday of Rag Week! I was so drunk that night that I had been pestering Andy from the MA Class to also have his beard shaven off. Alas he, however, likes his beard too much, and was having none of it. Strangely enough, he has been keeping out of my way ever since! Is it to do with the scissors I’ve been carrying around?

Anyway, despite being in somewhat of a haze, I dragged my weary carcass up to the Student’s Union’s Bar and tried to

saunter in, where a number of the Department were waiting for me, most of them with smug grins. Anyway the shearing commenced. There was a few brief hiccups (no, not from Laura) at the start, when Shelagh Waddington and Kasey Treadwell Shine tried to start the shearing with various accoutrements. These obviously hadn’t seen the light of day since Laois last won the All Ireland in hurling – I’ll say just one word here – World War 1! [“Er, sorry to be so pedantic, but isn’t this technically three words?” – The Editor.] Anyway, Kasey tired of all the fiddle-faddling around and took up the battle, with a scissors, hacking in to James’s locks in a manner surpassing Delliah, rapidly reverting James to a demi-shorn status. Oh yeah, I forgot to tell you that we were only shaving off half his beard and half his hair!

The moral of the story is obviously that I must learn to keep my mouth shut when I am drinking. But I guess, seeing as we eventually raised £550 for Multiple Sclerosis, that it wasn’t all that bad. Thanks to everyone who got involved and to all you Geography students who contributed to this worthy cause. I love you all. [“Hmmm” – The Editor.]



Monagle tried everything to hide the evidence afterwards.

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