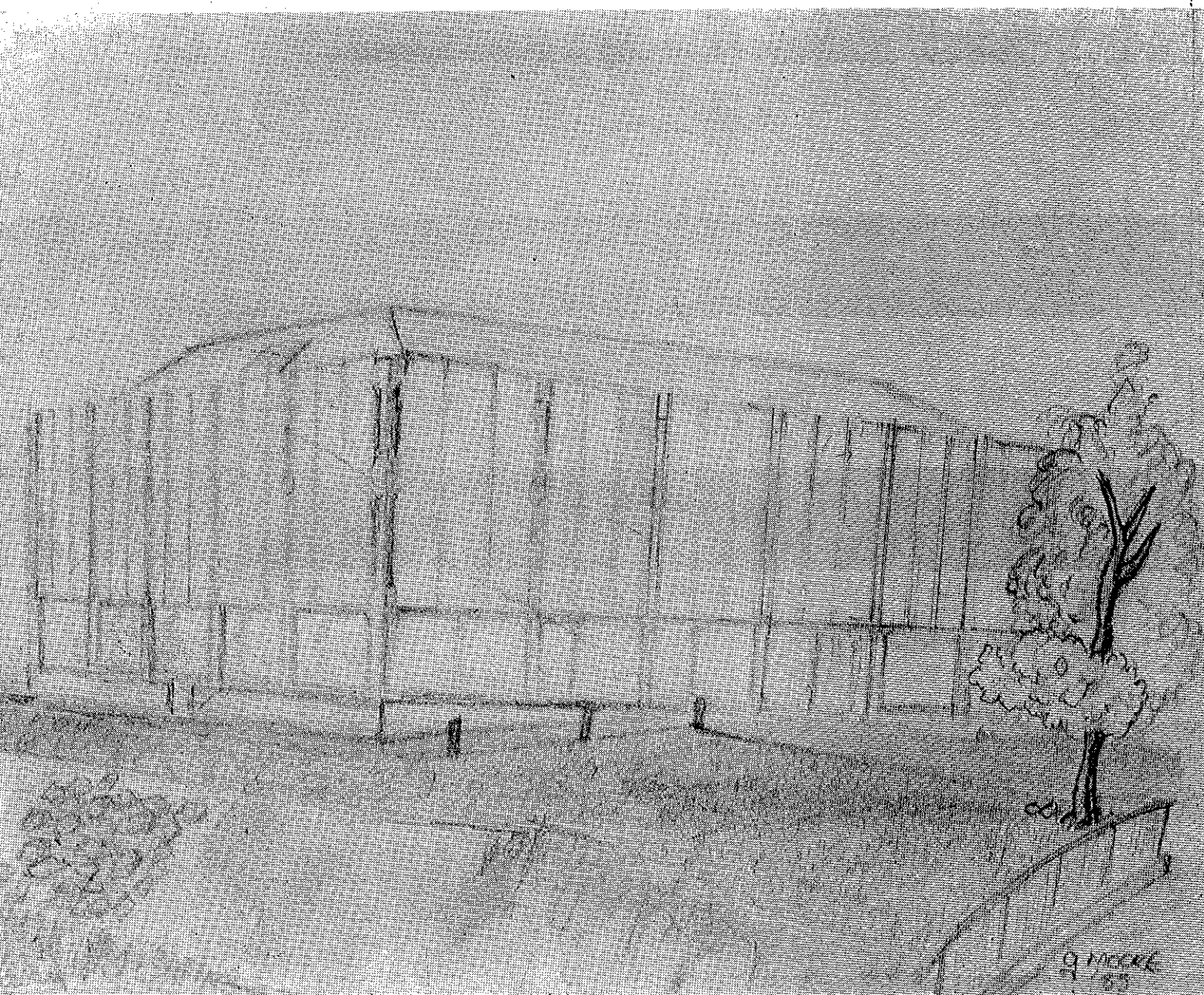


# MILIEU '84



Keeping Pace  
With The Changes

Proinnsiás Breathnach,  
ROINN NA TIREOLAÍOCHTA,  
COLÁISTE PHADRAIG,  
MAGH NUADHAT,  
Co. CHILL DARA.

## MILIEU

### CONTENTS

Editorial .....	2
Foreward .....	3
Geography Society in Retrospect .....	4
Population and Environment/ <i>Francis Amonoo, 1st Arts</i> .....	5
Obstacles to Agricultural Reform/ <i>P. O Gallchobair, Post Grad.</i> .....	7
Shannon Free Development/ <i>Thomas Nilan, 2nd Arts</i> .....	9
Colonization of India/ <i>Eileen Grace, 2nd Arts</i> .....	14
Climate and Climatic Change/ <i>Mary Fitzpatrick, 2nd Arts</i> .....	16
The French Experience .....	19
Irish Emigration to Britain/ <i>Kathleen Elliot, Post Grad</i> .....	22
Geography and Feminism/ <i>Margaret Clince, Post. Grad</i> .....	28
Political Stability in Nigeria/ <i>A. Nicholas Akwanya, 3rd Arts</i> .....	30
Tectonic Activity and Landforms/ <i>Patrick O'Leary, 1st Arts</i> .....	32
Geography Quiz .....	34

Cover: Jim Moore, 1st Arts

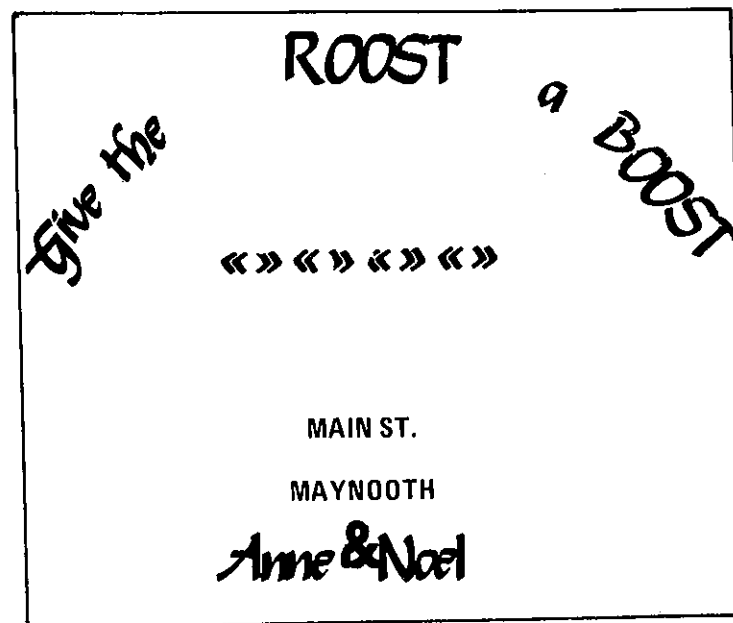
## EDITORIAL

Milieu is a yearly publication produced by the Geography Society in order to promote and highlight good quality articles which are written by Geography students. Although most, if not all, the articles will be of interest to the geographer, students of other disciplines will find the topics covered to be just as stimulating. A glance at the list of contents will illustrate the varying subject matters which have been covered by the authors. These include articles which deal with economic, political, population, philosophical and rural geographical issues.

This year's issue also sees a new venture for the magazine, a quiz, which although it may not be too taxing on the brain, it is hoped that it will prove tantalizing to readers.

The Editors would also like to welcome, on behalf of the Geography Society, Irene Quinn, who has replaced our resident physical geographer, John Sweeney for this academic year.

Kathleen Elliott  
Rosarii Whelan  
Editors



## SPORTS LOCKER

Maynooth

with our extensive range of  
Sports Gear & Equipment,  
Medals & Trophies.



## FORWARD

The present issue of Milieu, with its variety of articles contributed by post-graduates, and all levels of undergraduates, is once again a pertinent reminder of the vitality of the discipline of geography within the College and within the country in general. No other student society in Maynooth can boast of such a record of sustained publications, and within other universities there are but a limited number of rivals.

As we read this publication we can very easily take for granted its regular appearance: geography and geographical writing did not always occupy such a strong position within this country. A few months ago the Geographical Society of Ireland celebrated its golden jubilee and in remembering its fifty years contribution to the field many geographers were drawn to considering the developments within their discipline during the period. Today both our students and teachers take for granted the wide range of literature available for consultation. Articles, books, research publications, and unpublished theses all contain a wealth of information that is regularly mined by those engaged in the pursuit of geographical knowledge. The journal *Irish Geography* has achieved international status of some dimensions, and Irish trained geographers are to be found writing in many of the major international geographical journals. An important body of scholarship and scholars has developed in the intervening half century, and the geography of Ireland is much enriched thereby. As students pour over the extensive reading lists given to them in lectures, and as staff celebrate the publication of yet another article we all too easily forget the frontier conditions which existed within the discipline in 1934. In that year, as the founding fathers of the Geographical Society of Ireland summoned their meeting in the Royal Irish Academy they could refer to one geography department (Queen's University, Belfast, established in 1928), no geography was taught within the National University of Ireland, and within Trinity geography was taught in conjunction with geology. Two years later T.W. Freeman was appointed to a lectureship in Trinity College, and the basis for professional geography in Southern Ireland was laid. Not only did the pioneering figures of Evans and Freeman carry an immense teaching and administrative load within their one-man departments, but they also had to research and write the material that was to become standard reference works for their students. The research output of both was massive, and much

of it is still useful reading today. Freeman and Evans had been educated in Leeds and Aberystwyth respectively, and they both injected their own distinctive approaches into Irish geographical writing. Subsequent contributions by other geographers on this island have reflected external links also, and in large measure Irish geography is derived from British and, more recently, North American geography. The approaches, training, and research interests have been frequently formulated outside Ireland. This tradition is very evident in the jubilee volume of essays published recently by the Geographical Society of Ireland. Ten out of the fifteen contributors to that volume reserved their geographical education in British universities and only four out of the fifteen were born and educated in the Republic of Ireland. To a large extent this reflects a generational dimension of Irish geography — the discipline is so recent that those geographers hired to fill the expanding number of positions in the 1950s and 1960s are still among the most active in the field. This derivative dimension of the discipline has mitigated against any tendency towards insularity in thinking and the courses offered to Irish students rightly draw upon an international tradition of research. As we celebrate half a century of that body familiarly known as the G.S.I., and its contribution to an internationally respected tradition we should also remember the recency of geography in Ireland. It is also salutary to remember that apart from A.R. Orme's *Ireland* (1970), the best synthesis of the regional dimensions of the geography of Ireland is still to be found in T.W. Freeman in *Ireland: A General and Regional Geography* (London 1950).

W.J. Smyth

## The Elite Confectionary

HOT BREAD & COFFEE SHOP

MAIN STREET, MAYNOOTH

TEAS, COFFEES, SNACKS and FRESH CREAM CAKES

Everything served is baked on the premises

Late opening Thursday and Friday 'til 8.00p.m.  
Phone (01) 285521

The Geography Society started off the 1983 Academic year with the idea of representing different aspects of Geography. Throughout the year the programme of events was designed to have both an academic and non-academic element. We began the year with a very topical area of discussion — that of the inner city. Michael Rafferty gave a very incisive lecture on "The Inner City: Property, Politics and Power" and discussion afterwards was rife. We continued on in the same topical bent with Pat Shannon's talk on Ireland's offshore oil and gas resources. This took place in February and again the night was not long enough for the discussion which followed after the lecture. We took to the fields in February when Gerry Fahey spoke on agricultural development and the role of the Irish Land Commission.

To prove that the Geography Society is by no means exclusive of other societies, it got involved in an interdisciplinary seminar. This was held in conjunction with the one World Group and the History Society. Robin Glendenning from the Alliance party spoke on unionism and nationalism in Ireland. He offered plenty of food for thought for the body politic and the Geography Society augmented this with food for the body physical afterwards! The Inaugural lecture in November boasted one of Ireland's most prominent geographers, Frank Mitchell whose lecture on 'Man's impact on the vegetation of Ireland' was a landmark in Maynooth Geography. Willie Nolan's talk in March on the Geographer's perception of the landscape certainly placed geography and the geographer's role in its proper context.

But the activities of the Geography Society were not confined to all talk and no action. We went into the video business in January with some programmes from the Ulster landscape series. These videos lent a visual aid to historical geography and were appreciated by all those in attendance.

Fun and games also form part of the geographer's world which proves that geography is not all bookwork. First Years were treated to a social held in the Geography Labs early in the year — just as a gentle introduction to the Geography Faculty! The questions really tested their geography ability and prizes of book tokens were awarded to the lucky winners. The Punch bowl suffered a sudden depletion with the arrival of many science academics to partake in the fun!

This concludes the round up of events which took place during the year and it must be admitted that a joyous time was had by all. Finally it remains for me to thank all of last year's committee who worked so hard to keep Maynooth Geography 'going forward' and to wish the present committee all the best of Irish luck as they seek to "keep pace with the changes".

Rita Kearney (President)



C.I.E. BEWARE!

"In many less developed countries . . . population presses hard on available national resources."<sup>1</sup> This statement by a Ford Foundation sponsored organisation on Resources for the Future, very well explains the topic. The popular view of the relationship between population and resources is expressed in the words "presses hard" while "many less developed countries" defines the area of concentration in Africa (except South Africa), SouthEast and East Asia, and South and Central America. In short, the underdeveloped or developing countries.

In this essay, I will dwell on three aspects of the topic — the facts of population and environment, the relationship between them and the usual problems that arises from this relationships.

## The Facts

The basic facts concerning population — the people in a particular area and the present numerical statistics, the growth, distribution and the increase in life span.

"According to the medium variant of the UN demographic statistics, the world's population will by the year 2,000 amount to some 6,500 million, nearly 1,500 million of them in the developed regions and more than 5,000 million in the rest of the world."<sup>2</sup> This is alarming especially when we realise the fact that the doubling period or cycle is getting shorter and shorter. For example it was 2,000 million in 1930, 3,000 million in 1960 and 4,000 million in 1975. That is, thirty years between the first interval and only 15 years between the second interval.

This shortening period has been attributed to the Geometrical progressive character of population growth which has influenced people like John D. Durand of U.N. population Division to speculate that the population of the world will reach a zero growth by the year 2120, with a total of 12,300 million people.

Although the present population distribution charts gives Europe and North West of North America as the most densely populated, aside from few patches of dense population elsewhere, the rate of increase in the developing world shifts the attention to Africa, South and Central America and East and South-East Asia.

In the pre-industrial era, such increasing population would be balanced by high mortality rate, which is now considerably reduced by scientific development (e.g. medical care and improved social benefits). This increases the life span of man.

Collins Gem basic facts on Geography defines Environment as "Man's physical surroundings: soil, vegetation, wildlife, atmosphere." I will limit myself to resources — environment is a factor of this change. This impact of man on the environment in turn leads to certain implications such as exhaustion of the land and the limitation of space. Population, therefore, is an element of an ecosystem and a change in it, however small, has repercussions throughout the system. Resources then can be exhausted.

These facts lead to a relationship expressed in the concept of a carrying capacity and logistic population growth.

Malthus presented a thesis saying that sex drive, which gives a geometrical rate of population growth, and subsistence, which gives an arithmetical rate of growth, should be set in an equilibrium by either positive or preventive checks.

From this flowed the idea of a carrying capacity — that there is a limit to dependency on every environment and that when a population exceeds this limit, the environment gives way.

The logistic growth states that there is a ceiling to population growth in every environment, above which, population ceases to grow or decline through mortality and migration. All these theories are saying one thing — that population exerts pressure or friction or influences the environment i.e. "presses hard" on it. The relationship is one of control which results in poverty.

On the other hand, this "ceiling" is determined more by the carrying capacity at a desired or conventional standard of living and not by the carrying capacity at a subsistence level. Again population increase levels to new techniques, new resources and methods and per capita output. Hence the proverb: "Necessity is the mother of invention."

This view is supported by Albert Nevett who writes: "In 1952, John Jahnal, a well-known demographer, quoted the opinion of fellow experts that the world could not support more than 4 to 6 billion. At the Bucharest World Conference (1974) a document (E/Conf. 160/5) was presented by the UN Secretariat, stating that the world was potentially able to support 38 to 48 billion i.e. ten times the 1974 population; another paper, submitted by the FAO (E/Conf. 160/CBP/25), raised that total to 50 to 130 billion, provided current (not future) knowledge and technology were efficiently applied."<sup>3</sup>

Hence although there is a relationship, it is often exaggerated and the effect of it — extreme poverty — can be avoided.

In an attempt to eradicate this poverty — itself a problem — the introduction of Family Planning misuse of technology and bills, migration, economic control and the elite have created more problems.

Hunger in Ethiopia, India, Bangladesh, the Sahel nations and other developing countries are always on the news. Some blame it on the climate but there are more natural disasters in the temperate zone than in the tropics (e.g. typhnes); there have been times of famine too in the first world (e.g. Ireland). In 1972, 10 to 12 million Americans starved or fell sick "because they have too little to spend on food."<sup>4</sup> Yet in the Bangladesh flood of 1974, there were 4 million tons of rice in the country to feed people for 4 months. Hence the cause of hunger is more than climate or resources, and can be experienced in both developed and underdeveloped countries.

To stop this poverty, family planning has been introduced to reduce the density of population in the developing countries (e.g. India), as stated by Cipolla, "the biggest among the many difficulties that these agricultural masses have to overcome is the fact that they are multiplying themselves at an appalling rate."<sup>5</sup>

Yet density of population is not a measure of poverty if China, North Vietnam, South Korea and Taiwan, with 0.06 to 0.13 hectares per person, are better off than India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia, with 0.15 to 0.40 hectares per person. If there is no famine in Holland (0.06 hectares per person) but famine in Bolivia (0.30 hectares per person), then family planning cannot be the solution. With Theodore Roosevelt, "a nation which is not increasing is a nation committing suicide."<sup>6</sup>

Hence the tendency to resort to technology and aid to increase the carrying capacity. So Alfred Savoy and Noel Drogat consider them as a way to educate the "late starters" how to produce greater quantities and in better conditions to help themselves; and organisations like World Food Conferences stress on technology and production as a solution to hunger, although they completely disregard questions like the distribution of food, production for whom etc. aid too has become "a source of profit, a tool of economic and political control, a means of ensuring effective domination over

the world at large and especially over the wretched of the earth."<sup>7</sup>

Susan George shows the misuse of technology in the developing countries by her definition of it — "the effect of the physical environment on the social system"<sup>8</sup> Technology affects the choice of crop, kind of research, inputs required, trade system and the whole economy. She describes technology as a development model that dictates dependency and self-reliance. For example in 1972, Sanbra in Brazil lost all her profit in Soybeans to Cargil Co., an American company which uses advance technology. Hence aids and technology in developing countries presents more problems on nature (e.g. infertility and destruction of natural selection) and society (e.g. diet control and inequality).

The developed countries also use the elite of the poor nations through Charles Elliot's "Confidence — Mechanism" and Gunder Frank's "Centre-periphery" model to Siphore wealth from the developing countries e.g. "during the drought years in the Sabel, while the people starved, peanuts export actually increased."<sup>9</sup>

Migration as a way out of this population growth verses limited resources relationship is counter checked by politics such as the sudden deportations of Ghanians from Nigeria in 1983, which caused the hunger; Where it is allowed (e.g. from the Sabel to the equitorial Ghana) it produces cheap labour and increases the number of Elites.

The most serious problem is the international economic mass populations of the developing countries by the developed ones. All the developing countries have 3 things in common — if their economies fall into the web of the international free-enterprise system, ii) they produce only for the international market, iii) they are dominated by free enterprise economies at home e.g. "In Kenya, Del Monte now controls the plantations and exports of all pineapples, about 15,000 tons. Very little money comes back into Kenya."<sup>10</sup> The UN finances only projects of profit; when Ghana faced a bad crop season in 1983, the EEC agreed to give an advance pay of £70 million only to ensure future exportation; the IMF re-scheduling of debts increases the cost of the old debts; many organisations (e.g. CAFOD) are "hindered by the narrow legal definition of "charity" in the British law."<sup>11</sup>

In conclusion, although there is a relationship between population and environment, its resultant poverty in the developing countries especially can never be eradicated by simple solutions as family planning schemes, technology, aid, etc. which only serve to increase the problem, unless the infrastructure — the international economic policies — is changed. For any action to set the equilibrium between population and environment should be on resources and in favour of man, who is the most valuable of all resources, and not vice versa.

#### NOTES

1. Buchanan, K., "The white North and the population explosion."
2. Bulletin of Labour Statistics, 1874, 31.
3. Nevett, A (S.J.): People and Resources: a reappraisal. The Month, 1983, 5, 163.
4. George, S. How the Other Half Dies: real reasons for world hunger, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976, 30.
5. Cipolla, C.M.: The Economic History of World Population. Sussex: Harvester Press 1978, 81.
6. Sauvy, A; Zero Growth? Oxford: Blackwell 1975, 2194.
7. George, S. op. cit., 16.
8. Ibid., 92.
9. Brennan, I. "Strategy to end world hunger", The Monty, 1982, 6, 190.
10. George, S. op. cit., 227.
11. Brennan, I. op. cit., 190.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cipolla, C.M. The Economic History of World Population, Sussex: Harvester P, 1978. ....

Drake, M. Historical Demography: Problems and Projects. Sussex: The Open University Press, 1974.

Drogat (S.J.), N. The Challenge of Hunger, Westminster: The Newman Press, 1962.

Elliott, C. Patterns of Poverty in the Third World.

George, S. How the Other Half Dies: Real Reasons for World Hunger. Harmondsworth: Penguin 1976.

Nelson, J.A. Hunger for Justice: The Politics of Food and Faith. N.Y. Orbis Books, 1982.

Sauvy, A. Zero Growth? Oxford: Blackwell 1975.

#### Articles:—

Buchanan, K. "The White North and the Population Explosion" Hunger Outlook, 1967 "Hunger: Causes, Extent and Implications".

Bulletin of Labour Statistics: Geneve (Swisse): International Labour Office 1974.

Kay, H. (ed): The Month. London: The Benrose Press.

Uba, S. (ed): New African Development. London: Headley Brothers Limited.

Whiteman, K. (ed): West Africa. London: The Chesham Press Ltd.

Francis Amonoo

## OBSTACLES TO AGRICULTURAL REFORM

The ownership and transfer of agricultural land has been a central feature of Irish history even before Norman times. The demise of the native Breton laws and their ultimate replacement with the Norman 'Feudal system' initiated this process. Eventually under the Cromwellian and Williamite plantations over 90% of the land passed from native ownership. The land acts of the late 19th century and early 20th century rectified this situation by revesting the land in tenant farmers who then became owners as well as occupiers. This feature of almost complete owner occupation which in Ireland is thought to be as high as 92% (Scully 1977) may be partly responsible for the slow pace of farm size adjustment in Ireland today.

The history of Irish land tenure reform is a testimony to the effective use of land law. The bloodless land revolution since 1881 stands in stark contrast to earlier change achieved mainly through coercion. Modern structural reform policies in the agricultural sector face immense obstacles. The problem in many ways hinges on the stability in the total number of holdings despite a continually declining population of those employed in agriculture. Available evidence indicates many of these holdings are now virtually derelict, being operated by old people who are unable or unwilling to work them well. Land coming to the open market is often purchased as a hedge against inflation by those who have little interest in working them. Embleton's paper showed that in 1975 some 84,000 holdings had no males engaged in farm work compared with 45,000 in 1960. Such figures indicate a swing towards part-time farming on many farms.

Because of the dominance of owner-occupancy the use of land passes to new management mainly by acquisition of ownership. Such transfers of land ownership occur when land owners retire or die and their land passes by inheritance or through purchase to another owner. Farmers as a rule do not relinquish management control until they are elderly. In the period 1965-70 their age distribution was 23% under 65 years, 46% between 65 and 74 years and 31% at 75 years or older (Macra na Feirme 1983). Most important of all was that these findings did not vary significantly with farm size. Though the age of transfer may have declined it is still likely to be quite high even in prosperous agricultural regions.

The Irish system of land transfer is therefore characterised by very aged withdrawals from farming and as a result of this new entrants are often

middle aged or older. In the past it has been argued that the predominance of old farmers without apparent heirs would increase land mobility as they died and their land came onto the market for sale (Dept. of Agriculture "Report of the Committee on the review of state expenditure in relation to agriculture"). In addition, it was suggested that new entrants to farming were not as numerous and as a result average farm size would increase. However the findings of Sheehy and Cotter in N.E.S.C. Report No. 27 do not substantiate this and show that Farmer's successors who previously assisted on farms now acquire secondary education and take up off-farm employment. When their parents die they inherit the farm and take up part-time farming. Land mobility is therefore not increasing and the pace of farm enlargement is slowed. The age of retirement must be reduced if the turnover of managers is to increase and unless the overall land transfer system is modified the process will continue to be a problem.

Structural policies come from the state and aim at controlling to some extent the patterns of land transfers for both social and economic purposes. The C.A.P. has also contributed directives 159, 160, 161 (Dept. of Agric. "EEC Farm Structures Policy" C.A.P. info. series No. 3 1977). Such Directives coupled with national policies have attempted to influence the process of land transfer and lowering the age of retirement.

The voluntary farm retirement scheme is a very important component of inheritance of policy introduced in May 1974 in implementation of Directive 72/100. The EEC provides cash incentives to farmers who pass on their land either through inheritance, sale or leasing. The E.E.C. contribution to this scheme was of little addition as it was confined to participants in the age range of 55-65 years. As most retirements in Ireland were close to the upper limit or above it, E.E.C. contribution was minimized. The incentives included a retirement pension plus a premium on the price of land in the event of a farmer leasing his land. These incentives have been in competition with other state welfare benefits available to the farmer who, chooses not to retire, such as the old age pension. In Western counties it consists of the smallholders unemployment assistance and mortgage payments. In recent years the incentives to retire under the farm retirement scheme have been improved and made more competitive. It remains to be seen

whether such improvements will make the scheme successful. It is fair to say that in the past the scheme has failed in that between May 1974 and the end of 1977 only 371 retired under the scheme releasing only 15,600 acres for re-allocation.

A "family farm leasing" system which has been proposed by Macra na Feirme is another possibility for facilitating earlier transfer. The farmer would actually sell his farm to his successor at part or full value on an annuity basis rather than just hand it over free. This would guarantee an income to the seller and encourage him to retire early thus increasing land mobility. This arrangement could work between any two people not just between father and son.

The agricultural land market accounts for about 15% of land transfers and operates in an almost total laissez-faire climate in Ireland even the minimum constraints on non-nationals purchasing land have been relaxed. Little or no control is exercised over the land market particularly since the cessation of the land acquisition programme of the land commission. Criticism of the functioning of the land market is immense particularly with regard to who is purchasing the land. Since land goes to the highest bidder those in greatest need, namely small development farmers rarely get an opportunity to enlarge their farms. The problem is further exacerbated by the high price of land in relation to the return for the farmer it is capable of generating. This limits the purchasing of land to those with surplus income. These people are mostly wealthy large farmers or businessmen with a non-farm occupation. In the 1971-75 period 54% of all land passing through the land market was purchased by people with non-farm occupations (Sheehy and Cotter "New Farm Operators" N.E.S.C. Report 27). The same report outlines the difficulties of entering farming using this route with only 10% of all new farm operators in the given period setting themselves up by purchase. Some criticisms of agricultural land market are predominantly social as opposed to economic, relating rather to the type of people who acquire land not the use made of it.

The primary aim of land policy is the enlargement to a viable standard of as many undersized holdings as possible. The land commission handled an estimated 6% of all transfers in the 1971 to 1985 period. Though seemingly a small total it represents over half of the enlargements in the country (Inter-

Dept. Comm. on land structure reform, interim report May 1977, prl 6395.) Several factors such as the steep rise in the price of land, legal difficulties, procedural complexity and scarcity of large estates available for acquisition have all had adverse effects on the

operations of the land commission. In fact it has had to cease land acquisition all together and distribute what land is held in their land pool. The land commission since 1923 have distributed some 1.8 million acres of land among 110,000 allottees. However the fact that such a small proportion of land comes on to the open market means that little progress can be made on a national scale in farm enlargement. The crux of the problem with regard to the ineffectiveness of land reform policy has been the negligible impact of such politics on patterns of farm inheritance. Difficulties in reducing the retiring age and encouraging people to give up their land remain. Two constant breaks on desired land mobility.

In recent years numerous proposed solutions have been posited on both sides of the social and economic divide: credit for land purchase, subsidised loan schemes, legal bases for long term leasing, taxes on land, pension contributable taxes on land (Kelly 1982). There has never been a shortage of discussion on the subject but effective action has been scarce. Sentimental points of view on the subject are prevalent putting forward part-time farming as a solution, which in itself is only a part-time solution. Personally I can't side with any luke-warm proposals. A long term solution to the farm structure problem requires positive action of a structural nature not policies which try to accelerate growth within existing inefficient farm structures.

Padraig O Gallchobair

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Scully, J. "Newsletter on the Common Agricultural Policy" No. 3 March 1977, p.1.
2. Embleton, F.A. "Developments in the structure of Irish agriculture 1960-75 with special reference to the situation in 1975" Paper read to the statistical and social enquiry society of Ireland, December 1977.
3. Commins, P. and Kelleher, C. (1973) "Farm Inheritance and Succession" Dublin: Macra na Feirme.

5. Dept. of Agriculture, "Report of the Committee on the review of State Expenditure in relation to Agriculture" (1970) paragraph 7.46.
6. Sheehy, S.J. and Cotter, A. (1977) "New Farm Operators, 1971-75" N.E.S.C. No. 27.
7. Sheehy S.J. and O'Connell (1978) "Policies to accelerate agricultural development" N.E.S.C. Report No. 40: Dublin.
8. Kelly P.W. "Agricultural land-tenure and transfer" An Foras Taluntais 1982.
9. Stationary Office (1980) "Land Policy" (White paper) Dublin (Prl 9372).
10. Irish Land Commissioners "Annual Reports 1980-2" Stationary Office.
11. Stationary Office (1978) "Inter-Departmental Committee on land structure reform - final report" Dublin: (Prl. 7176).



Stone Mad!

12. Dowling B.R. and Durkan "Irish Economic Policy - A Review of Major Issues" E.S.R.I. Dublin 1978.
13. Kelly P.W. "The price of agricultural land in the Republic of Ireland" (1978-81). An Foras Taluntais - Situation and Outlook Bulletin No. 5, 1983.

## Introduction

After World War II, many Western World countries sought to rebuild their infrastructure through foreign investment. Initially, this took the form of polarized development, but soon, the need for geographically balanced national growth began to assert itself.

Consequently, government-sponsored programmes labelled the "topdown" approach were introduced, seeking to achieve regionally balanced national growth by integrating regional populations into the national economy. This approach had three basic capitalist-orientated elements: (1) the need for innovation and the private entrepreneur; (2) full employment through government intervention in the market economy and (3) modernisation of social and economic structures so as to attain a high level of capital accumulation and industrialisation.

This essay looks at one agent of top-down development, the Shannon Free Airport Development Company Ltd., (hereafter, SFADCO) and, in showing how it is a product of the times and how it has changed with the times, will attempt to assess how successful it has been in achieving its aims, and how relevant the main criticisms of top-down development are to it specifically. It concludes with a viewpoint on how applicable this company is as a model for rural development of other regions.

## SFADCO'S Background

(a) National Background: Even before the Great Famine of the late 1840's, regional disparities in socio-economic development were well manifested. Land in the East was good while that in the West was poor; farms in the East were large and commercially viable while those in the West were fragmented and chronically over-populated. Thus, the Famine was merely a catalyst for inevitable demographic changes: mass out-migration to the East and mass emigration to America. Hence, when Independence came in 1921, the new government was presented with the mammoth problem of trying to reverse the West's socioeconomic deterioration.

(b) Shannon Airport: Only in 1939 with the opening of Shannon Airport did the first rays of hope shine upon the West, but it was not until 1945 that the first trans-Atlantic flight was made, using Shannon as a refuelling stop. From that time forth, though, trans-Atlantic air traffic steadily increased, and the strategically-located airport became a regular refuelling

point, diverting some of the economic growth away from the East.

In 1947 Shannon became a customs-free airport, allowing exemption from examination of passengers and goods in transit through Shannon, and this prompted the establishment in 1951 of the airport duty-free shop - the world's first. In 1954 a mail order business also developed, and the result was that by 1959 almost 2,000 people were employed at Shannon, making it a key element in maintaining population levels on the West Coast.

However, in 1959 clouds of doom appeared on Shannon's horizon with the introduction of jet airliners capable of non-stop trans-Atlantic flights. Thus, in an effort to prevent the loss of this valuable source of employment, the government set up SFADCO with the prime objective of maintaining Shannon's geographical inertia, of ensuring its continuation as a major international airport.

For the airport to survive, both freight and passenger traffic would have to be created. Hence, the new State-sponsored company which had three shareholders, the Minister for Finance, the Minister for Industry & Commerce, and the Minister for Transport and Power, devised a two-pronged strategy that sought to: (1) build an industrial estate within the customs-free zone in the hope that companies which would locate there, in the course of their international trading would transport their products and raw materials by air; and (2) increase passenger traffic by development and overseas promotion of the Shannon hinterland's tourist attractions.

(c) Shannon Industrial Estate: The Lemass era was one of attracting foreign investment, and so SFADCO set about trying to encourage overseas companies to set up at Shannon by offering such incentives as non-repayable cash grants, tax-free profits, ready-made factories, a trainable labour force and post-establishment assistance.

Work on the proposed industrial estate began in 1959, and in 1960 the first overseas industries began moving in, showing just how attractive SFADCO's incentives were to foreign enterprise. Initially, the industries based at Shannon Airport were labour intensive with low levels of technology, but with the building there of a training centre and the subsequent increased range of workers' skills, these industries' manufacturing processes became more sophisticated.

Today, 90 companies operate in the estate with 50 engaged in manufacturing and the rest in warehouse and service operations, and of the 4,268 people employed, 35% are in the electronics sector. Remembering though, that the estate was originally intended to accommodate foreign industry, it is interesting to note that today, 43% of the companies operating there are Irish while 40% are American and 10% are EEC, the remaining 7% being from other countries. The estate's employment trends over the past decade can be seen in Fig. 1.

Most of the goods produced at Shannon are exported. In 1980 these exports were worth over £100 million, but by 1983 they were worth over £235 million, making Shannon a vital contributor to the national economy. However, the true worth of this contribution is best appreciated when seen graphed against the estate's imports as in Fig. 2.

Terminal airfreight in 1960 was a humble 100 tonnes, but by 1983 this had mushroomed to 23,500 tonnes, a 16% increase on 1982 and a 100% increase on 1973.

(d) Shannon Town: Essentially an experiment in "growth centre" policy, the Shannon project came full circle with the building by both SFADCO and Clare Co. Council of Shannon Town, the country's first in over 200 years. Since the cost of largescale commuting to Shannon would be prohibitive, it was desirable to accommodate workers close to it, and at the same time provide a reservoir of labour to facilitate future industrial expansion.

Today, Shannon Town's housing stock is composed of: private houses 57%, SFADCO rented houses 27%, SFADCO apartments 10%, and Clare Co. Council started on another 42, giving considerable employment in the construction industry.

Facilities in the Town include 6 schools (indicative of a growing young population), a shopping centre, a fire station and a post office to which were added during 1983: a branch of the Clare Co. Council Library, attracting 6,000 members from the population of 10,000, a new telecommunications exchange, a Dept. of the Environment's Vehicle registration Unit (representing further decentralisation of government bureaucracies), and an all-weather football pitch. Negotiations are presently underway concerning the provision of a Garda station and a health clinic, all of which goes to show that SFADCO

have not neglected the social dimension that parallels industrial development. Rather, its efforts at improving the Shannon people's quality of life show a plausible degree of civic responsibility.

(e) Tourism: SFADCO's drive to create unique tourist attractions for terminal passengers through Shannon started with the restoration of 15th Century Bunratty Castle, and its opening in 1962 for medieval banquets. The venture proved so successful that by the mid 1960's, two sister castles were added to the repertoire — Knappogue in Co. Clare, and Dunguaire in Co. Galway.

In 1964 Bunratty Folk Park was established within the grounds of Bunratty Castle, featuring 19th Century crafts, dwellings and farm machinery. In 1975 Craggaunowen Museum was opened 17 miles from Shannon, featuring replicas of a Bronze Age crannog or lake dwelling, a 6th Century ring fort, 6th Century navigator Brendan's leather-hulled boat, and part of the Hunt Collection of Celtic and medieval artifacts. In 1980 a traditional 17th Century horizontal water mill was recreated at Bunratty as part of a 13 acre expansion which later included a completely restored 19th Century Irish village street, and in 1983, two more exhibits were added — a byre dwelling from Mayo and a stone farmhouse from Clare.

Concerned that the industrial drive should not rob villages of their socio-cultural depth, SFADCO selected a number of villages for rejuvenation. In joint effort with local communities, SFADCO built over 100 cottages in eleven villages within a 50 mile radius of Shannon for their "Rent-an-Irish-Cottage" programme. Combining the rustic with the contemporary, the traditionally designed cottages have achieved annual occupancy rates of 60%, and this injection of tourism into the villages has brought both economic and cultural revival with Irish dancing, singing and music classes being organised, and summer entertainment programmes being provided. During 1983 a further eight cottages were built at Bellharbour, Co. Clare, indicating the programme's increasing popularity.

Top-down development agencies have been criticised for being wasteful due to lack of co-operation and co-ordination between themselves, but in relation to SFADCO's tourism promotion, this is not the case. Bord Failte have a Shannon subsidiary, "Shannonside Tourism", who share offices with SFADCO in the recently renovated Granary Tavern in

Limerick City. The two companies operate on the agreement that SFADCO get the tourists to come to Shannon, and Shannonside handle them once they arrive.

While total passenger traffic at Shannon fell by 5% in 1983, US citizens increased by 25%. These gains reflect the promotional work undertaken by SFADCO through its offices in Britain, America, France and West Germany which deal directly with the travel trade. In 1983 medieval banquet attendance was 107,000 a 1% increase on 1982, and 212,000 visited the day-time attractions. However, figures for 1984 already promise to be the best ever with 91,000 people attending the banquets during the first eight months of the year — 13,000 up on the same period last year. SFADCO attribute this boom to the current strength of the US dollar, and the 17% increase in American visitors on 1983. Best growth on the banquet circuit was at Dunguaire, said to have profited from Galway's quincentenary celebrations and President Reagan's visit.

Top-down development agencies have also been criticised for their tendency to overlook a region's resources whereas exponents of the "bottom-up" (i.e. locally based) approach would, supposedly, be apt to recognise them. This can hardly apply to SFADCO who have systematically developed since the early 1960's the Shannon region's tourist resources with resounding success, and it most unlikely that bottom-up attempts at maximising the region's tourist potential would have realised the fiscal returns that SFADCO'S have.

#### Changes for SFADCO

The Local Government (Planning and Development) Act of 1963 delineated the country into nine planning regions, and in 1968 SFADCO's responsibility for the Shannon free zone was extended to include one of these regions — the Mid-West. Encompassing Limerick, Clare, North Tipperary and West and South-West Offaly, in all some 3,000 square miles, SFADCO were now to act as agents for the Industrial Development Authority (IDA) in encouraging foreign enterprise to set up throughout the Region.

This meant that any negotiations between foreign companies and the State regarding setting up in the Mid-West Region were to be conducted with SFADCO instead of the IDA. However, this did not generate any rivalry between SFADCO and the IDA; rather, members from each agency sat in (and still do) on each others board meetings

to ensure that neither agency would be trying to get the same company to set up in two different parts of the country.

Over the next decade, SFADCO succeeded in establishing many overseas industries in the Region. Then in 1978, the Minister for Industry, Commerce & Tourism, Mr. Desmond O'Malley T.D., entrusted SFADCO with responsibility for the promotion and development of "small indigenous industry" in the Mid-West Region. While they retained responsibility for the Shannon free zone, the IDA, however, resumed responsibility for medium and large industry.

For Irish agriculture to be fully efficient, it needed to be allowed the flexibility necessary to make structural readjustments within itself. While small farm consolidation was one side to this, reduction in numbers employed in agriculture was another. Hence, the surplus agricultural labour would have to be absorbed by an expanding non-farm sector. Hopefully, industry and services would absorb many of these over the coming years, but it could never be enough if rural population levels were to be maintained. Thus, the government sought to arouse a spirit of small-scale entrepreneurship within this imminently redundant population by setting aside SFADCO to pilot the small indigenous industry programmes in the Mid-West Region.

#### Small Indigenous Industry

Since this was a pilot project it would take time before its degree of success could be ascertained. SFADCO started by subdividing the Region into a number of designated (i.e. disadvantaged) and nondesignated areas, and applied the programme to: (1) individuals of

SFADCO, which presently employs 200, has three main sources of income and six main areas of expenditure. These are:

Irish persons living abroad; and (3) existing companies and co-operatives, who might engage in manufacturing enterprises that would employ up to 50 people, and have fixed assets (i.e. buildings and machinery) of less than £500,000.

To help such small industries get off the ground, SFADCO offered the following range of cash grants towards:

- (1) Sites and site development — 45% to 60%.
- (b) New buildings or expansion — 45% to 60%.
- (c) Factory rent reductions — 45% to 60%.

- (d) New machinery — 45% to 60%.
- (e) Worker training — 100%, of which 55% is reimbursable to

SFADCO through the EEC Social Fund.

- (f) Feasibility studies — 50%.

- (g) Research and development — 50%.

The next step was for to inform people of the availability of these incentives, and so SFADCO established Field Offices at Limerick City, Nenagh, Ennis and Birr. Field Officers were appointed to scout the countryside, encourage and handle enquiries, and even seek out people who might be running small businesses from their homes or dilapidated premises. Such people could be relocated in small, modern SFADCO-built factories dotted throughout the Region, allowing more efficient operation and better company image. That new and existing small industries were willing to avail of such facilities was evidenced by the sharp increase in the number of SFADCO-built factories from 50 by 1979 to 340 by 1983. At year's-end, 86% of these units were either occupied or allocated, and 72 more were under construction. To raise further the level of awareness of industry and self-employment opportunities among students, 1983 saw the appointment of a School Liaison Officer to promote the spirit of entrepreneurship in schools.

However, the programme was not long in action when a number of problems in promoting small industry arose. Thus, SFADCO set up a number of departments within itself to iron out the difficulties in a specialized way. These were:

(a) Marketing Service: Recognising that poor marketing was the most significant weakness of Irish industry, SFADCO set up this service to overcome poor marketing techniques by guiding companies on product design and presentation, new product opportunities, market research, distribution outlets, trade and market information, organising trade exhibitions, and printing and distributing buyer directories. During 1983, the service created £1.2 million worth of business for 214 small companies in the Region.

(b) Manufacturing Service: Since bad manufacturing techniques waste labour and materials, this service was set up to identify the maximum potential of workers and machinery, and optimise plant layout to ensure the best possible returns as well as putting companies in touch with technical and scientific services from other State agencies.

(c) Financial Service: With poor financial management causing increased overheads and stifled expansion opportunities, this service was set up to advise on the most efficient financial management possible, and locate cash sources, both State and private, when extra finance is needed.

(d) Personnel/Industrial Relations: With inexperienced managers' invidious employment policies provoking many disputes, if not total breakdown, this service was introduced to review companies' intended employment policies, and advise where necessary so as to avoid dangerous mistakes.

(e) Matchmaker Service: With much home market potential remaining unexploited due to ignorance among companies of one another's requirements, this service seeks to identify the product and service requirements of large industries and match them to the production abilities of small firms, thus benefitting both the buyer and the seller. In 1983, the service generated £3.6 million worth of new business for small firms.

(f) Workspace Concept: This was introduced for the sake of very small businesses whose operations depend on an absolute minimum of overheads. It works on the principle of a number of small companies sharing the costs and facilities of a single building, facilities such as heating, lighting, cleaning and maintenance, telephone switchboard and extensions, secretarial services, conference rooms, canteens and security. The first Workspace Centre was built in Limerick City, and in 1983 a second one, the Tait Business Centre, was also built there. Three other centres were also established at Abbeyfeale, Nenagh and Kilfinane.

The first three years of the small industries programme, 1978 to 1980, saw the approval of 4,400 jobs in more than 300 projects throughout the Region, an average of over 1,400 a year, and it has remained steady since then; in 1983, 1,417 jobs were approved in 146 projects. That 63% of these projects were firms being assisted for the first time is a clear indication that the pool of enterprise and initiative in the Region has not been exhausted by the high level of business start-ups in recent years.

Despite a drop of 11,000 during 1983 in the numbers employed nationwide in manufacturing, employment in small indigenous industry in the Mid-West Region increased. A total of 561 jobs were created in grant-aided firms,

but these were offset by 393 job losses, giving a net increase of 168. A further net loss of 40 jobs in the non-grant-aided sector meant that the net increase in jobs in small indigenous industry was 128 for the year, marking a significant improvement on the net job loss of 38 in 1982. Since the small industry programme's inception in 1978, employment in grant-aided industry in the Region has grown by 150% to 2,100 jobs. This can be seen in Fig. 3.

SFADCO, which presently employs 200, has three main sources of income and six main areas of expenditure. These are:

#### INCOME FOR 1983

(a) Oireachtas grants . . . . .	£ 8.5 million
(b) Industrial & housing rents . . .	£ 4.3 million
(c) Miscellaneous sources such as: EEC Social Fund grants	
grant repayments	
house loan interest . . . . .	£ 2 million

TOTAL £14.8 million

#### EXPENDITURE FOR 1983

(a) Industrial development . . . .	£ 2.7 million
(b) Grants to industries . . . . .	£ 4.9 million
(c) Traffic development . . . . .	£ 1.5 million
(d) Property management . . . . .	£ 2.9 million
(e) General administration . . . .	£ 1.4 million
(f) Interest on loans . . . . .	£ 1.3 million

TOTAL £14.7 million

That SFADCO, being in the risk business, can lay out such large sums of money over a long period and still make a £100,000 profit is a credit to their management. Furthermore it gives confidence to small business people receiving financial advice from SFADCO, and at national level, marks a poignant contrast with the Udaras na Gaeltachta scandal.

The criticism that top-down development policies are standard and therefore inflexible seems to have no relevance to SFADCO because, essentially, they are not imposing a rigid format for development on any given place, rather, they are encouraging both community enterprise and entrepreneurially inclined individuals to come forward with their own ideas. In this regard, SFADCO are the embodiment of a compromise between top-down and bottom-up development.

By the end of 1983, community projects were being assisted in seven locations by SFADCO's "Community Enterprise" scheme. A Macra Na Feirme feasibility study on industrial farmyard enterprises, jointly funded by SFADCO and the Youth Employment Agency, was also completed. A total of ten

potential agribusinesses were researched and five were put into action as a result of the study. A Community Co-Operative Support Programme was also launched, and a pilot scheme initiated in conjunction with AnCO for the provision in local communities of workshops and equipment for prototype manufacturing and the test marketing of new products.

That the projects supported by SFADCO in a given community are based on ideas conceived by people from that community, and that they employ for the most part people living in that community, somewhat negates the criticism that top-down development provokes culture-clash, i.e., the moving of outsiders into a community. SFADCO's policy of regional dispersion of industry has as one of its goals the preservation and growth of existing communities; there is no need to bring in outsiders.

While bottom-up development has its advantages, all too often projects gotten underway by community-spirited individuals have failed due to lack of prior project appraisal. SFADCO, however, thoroughly research every proposal before grants are sanctioned, thus preventing waste of public money. Stemming from the matter of project appraisal is the question of the skills, training and education of those intending to run community projects. Even if these individuals have a good product idea and access to the means of production, it is unlikely that they will have two or more of the skills required for the production process. Modern production of even simple items has seen the greatest division of labour in the history of industry, and so suitable training is almost invariably needed for some of the staff, including the management. SFADCO can accommodate this need by matching the prospective trainees with the right instructors through its fully subsidised training programme. Thus, community projects are afforded more scope and a better chance of success than if they were to go it alone.

Admittedly rural development means more than jobs and factories, but once a life-line of industry has been cast into areas of economic decline, social degeneration can also be reversed, and, in time, enough finance raised by community councils to undertake non-commercially orientated development such as social and recreational facilities. Marx himself postulated that the politico-ideological superstructure, of which the social milieu is a part, depends primarily on the material, economic substructure.

Again, in relation to the social dimension, top-down development has been criticised for changing the way of life for rural communities, and thus causing a multitude of social problems such as alcoholism and drug addiction. To this it may be contended that television, radio and mass media in general, to which all communities now have access, have been the most cogent instigators of change, good and bad, in social structures, from the traditional "gemeinschaft" society to the cosmopolitan "gesellschaft" society.

#### Conclusion

The basic barometer for detecting whether a rural community is experiencing decline, stability or growth is the population level. Analyses of demographic changes over the 1960's compared to those of earlier decades suggest that the policy of industrial promotion and development was successful in reversing the major debilitating population trends of national emigration and declining young adult age cohorts. In the postFamine era up until 1966 the population of Co. Clare fell by 200,000. But in 1966 the population of the Mid-West Region began to increase. This growth was maintained until 1971 when it suddenly accelerated, reaching

300,000 by 1979 compared with 265,000 in 1966.

That these trends should come at a time when it is increasingly recognised that farming needs to be restructured in order to remain viable indicates the expanding role of industry and services in the rural economy. That employment in small industry has managed to increase during a period of severe economic recession is proof of the resilience of small industry and an indication of its potential as a source of employment for the country as a whole. It now accounts for a quarter of all manufacturing workers, and, being highly innovative and flexible, brings employment to communities too small to attract large industry.

The provision of third level educational institutions such as the NIHE and the Regional Management Course in Limerick inevitably make a significant contribution to enabling young people to stay at or near home to get their education rather than follow the pre-existing trend of having to go to Dublin, Cork or Galway if not abroad. The more recent idea of locating technology-based industries beside technology-teaching colleges such as WANG COMPUTERS

new factory beside the NIHE at Plassey Park further encourages young people to plan their future around opportunities at home rather than those in far away places, and in turn reduce the "brain drain" factor.

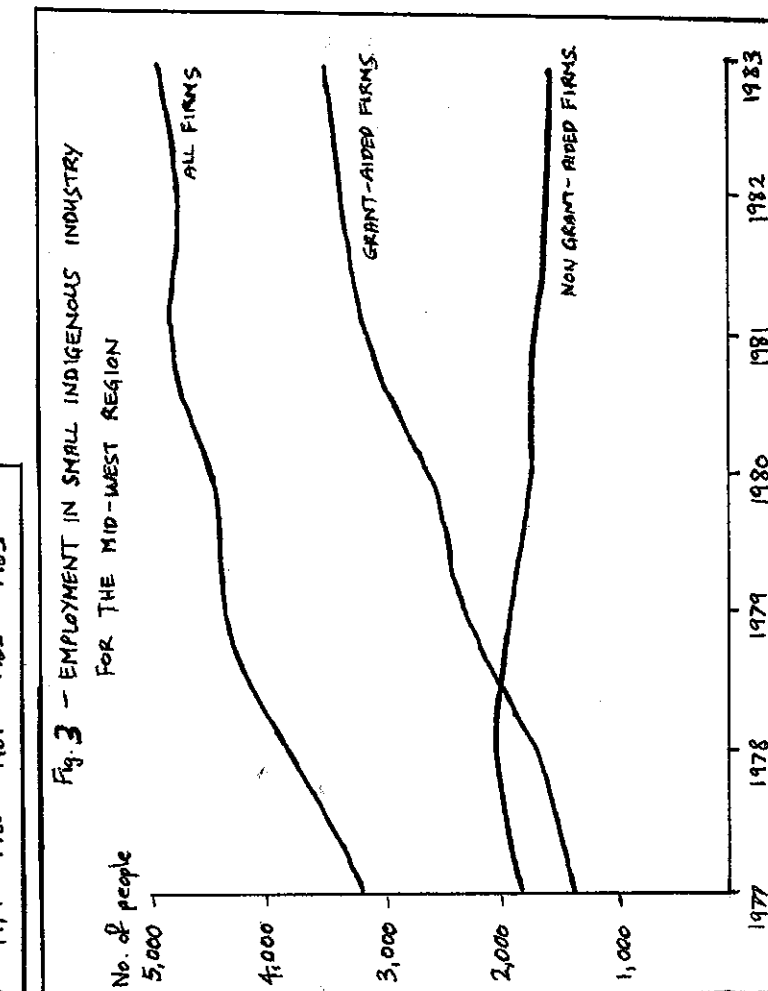
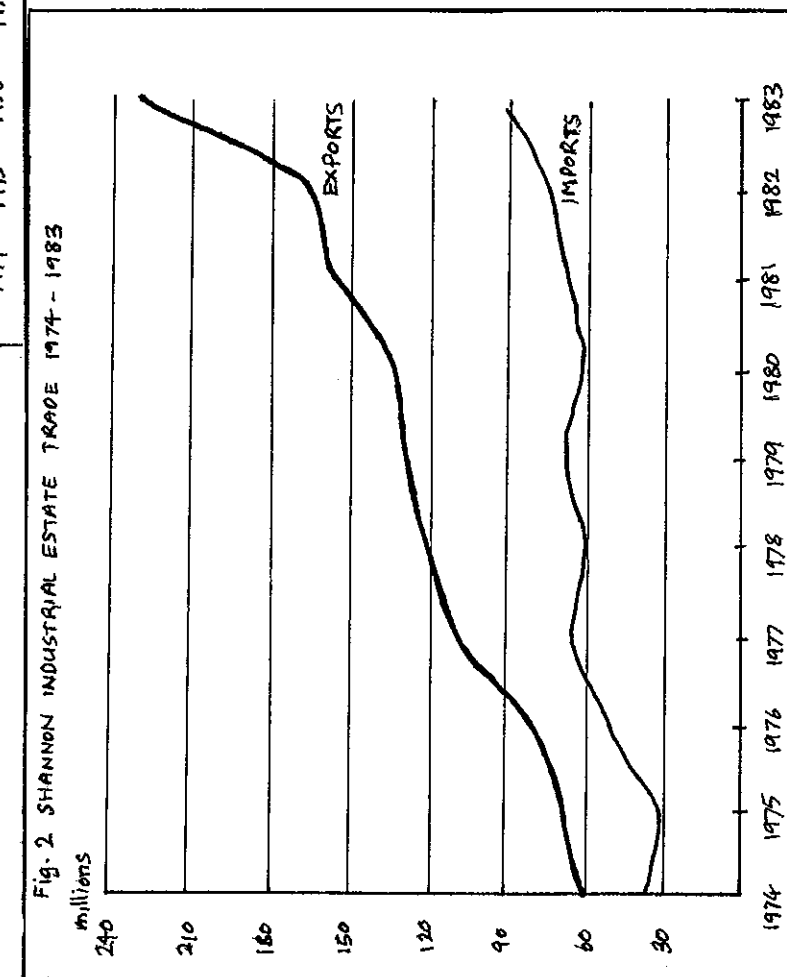
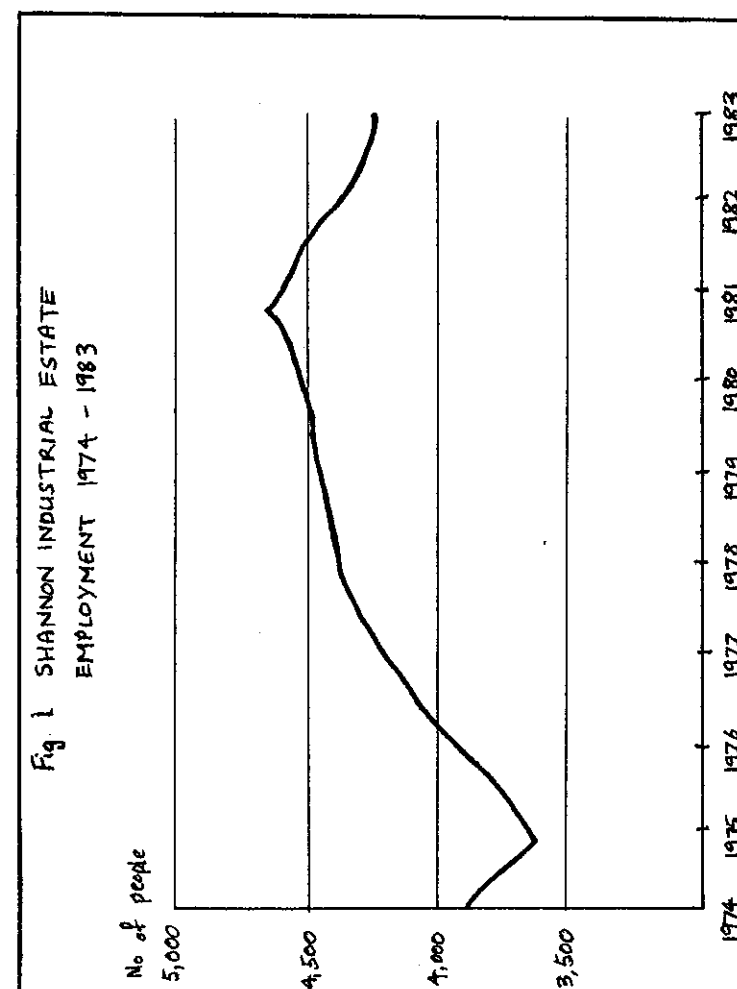
Thus rural areas seem to have benefited substantially from these industrial policies, but full evaluation of these policies would require analysis of their effects on urban areas in terms of jobs forgone, and on the total economy. Such a full assessment would also require a time perspective extending beyond the period for which grants and tax advantages are applicable.

Top-down development agencies have been criticised for assuming that all regions are equal. Obviously the problems related to socio-economic structures vary from region to region, but SFADCO's programme only applies to the mid-west region. Since SFADCO's incorporation in 1959, the statistics have consistently shown that it has succeeded in achieving its main aims — the maintenance of the Region's population, and the provision of an expanding non-farm sector alternative: industry. Even when the philosophy of the Company's strategy was changed from developing Shannon as a growth centre to promoting regional dispersion of industry, it showed itself to be highly adaptable and capable of achieving its new aims. Although SFADCO are just a regional development agency, the IDA are a nationwide one, and that the latter has sought to emulate the former's method of promoting small industry indicates that in the IDA's view, promoting small industry indicates that in the IDA's view, and the government's, SFADCO's approach to rural development is sound, effective, and applicable to the country as a whole.

Thomas Nilan  
2nd Arts

#### REFERENCES

1. Clyde Weaver — Development Theory and the Regional Question: A Critique of Spatial Planning and its Detractors. (Geography Xerox Library).
2. SFADCO Annual Report for 1983.
3. IDA Annual Report for 1983.
4. NESC Report No. 41 — Rural Areas: Change and Development. Chapters 7 & 8.



# COLONIZATION OF INDIA

In order to understand the impact of Colonization on any country, one must first of all have a clear understanding of what the term means. Essentially Colonization may be regarded as a formal device by which large parts of Latin-America, Africa and Asia, became incorporated into the International Capitalist economy; although of course it must be said that the degree to which this incorporation took place varied, both spatially and historically.

It is said, and will be examined later in this essay, that it was this integration which created underdevelopment. Frank, in his book *Dependent Accumulation and Underdevelopment*,<sup>1</sup> argues that when a capitalist society sought to colonize a less developed society, four basic changes took place.

The first, and basic was the immediate acquisition of the most important production services, for example minerals, and land. The second aim was to liberate labour power, and to coerce it into service. The third was to introduce a commodity economy, and finally to separate trade and agriculture. This is because the primitive associations of natives are the strongest protection of their social organization, and their bases for existence.

Going by these guidelines it would seem that each new colonial expansion, is accompanied as a matter of course by a relentless battle of the capitalists against the social and economic ties of the natives. The natives on return are robbed of their means of production.

Basically colonial dependence consisted of a variety of elements. Not only did the mother country exercise strict control over the key positions in the country but also completely monopolised the trade of the colony. The colony was forced to trade exclusively with the mother country, producing the raw materials needed for that country, and acting as a ready market for its manufactured goods. A man has defined such colonial type trade as follows:

"An exchange of agricultural commodities by a peripheral society shaped in this way against the productivity of a central capitalist industry which are imported, or produced on the spot by European enterprises."<sup>2</sup>

This unequal exchange took place (and still does today) within specific spheres of influence. Whereas on the other hand, the trade that developed amongst the metropolitan powers was primarily

conducted as between partners of a relatively equal standard.

It must also be noted that within the colonial economy itself, the fields into which capital flowed were predominantly guaranteed loans for various kinds of public works, for example railroads. In other words it was all to further the cause of the mother country.

In order to see the effects of colonialism, and to ascertain the relationship between that, and present day underdevelopment; it is first of all necessary to examine at least one of the countries affected by this particular form of rule.

India is perhaps the most spectacular example of all. It was the most advanced society to be subjected to colonization. In pre-colonial times India was a major source of cotton, silver, glass, and gold artifacts. It exported most of these to Europe on return for gold, and silver, as Europe didn't really have anything else that India wanted.

However the independent transfer of goods was not to continue. Between 1750 and 1800 Britain gained full control of India. Though the British were not the first to win a foothold on India, they succeeded where their Western rivals failed. Their victory was due to slow, and patient penetration which eventually paid off after 150 years of contact with India.

Moreover the British learned from the errors of earlier Western arrivals; they also benefitted from the technique evolved after long experience by the Portuguese, Dutch and French.

Once Britain gained control of India, they made good use of the resources available. They also introduced a very effective tax system. Eventually the tax collectors 'zaminders' were given control of the land. This made life even more unbearable for those beneath them. The peasants were forced to live entirely on a subsistence basis.

The next phase was to destroy India's economic base, placing the colony in a "catch 22" situation. The British taxed any Indian goods being imported into Britain, while goods being imported from Britain into India were tax free.

By 1880 the indigenous Indian manufacturing industry was almost non-existent. India now found herself on a classic Colonial situation, with a much greater supply of labour than of demand, and frequent outbreaks of famine.

This poses the question as to whether or not it was colonialism which caused

the breakdown of the whole economic system, and which consequently lead to the underdevelopment which India experiences today. By examining the situation, it would certainly seem that the degree of underdevelopment today is very substantially proportional to its degree of colonization. The most underdeveloped and miserable areas today are those which were subject to the most brutal colonial capitalist expansions.

As Jawahard Nehru said in his book about Indian development:

"Nearly all our major problems today have grown up during British rule, and as a direct result of British policy; the prices; the minority problem; the lack of industry and neglect of agriculture; the extreme backwardness of social services; and above all the tragic poverty of the people."<sup>3</sup>

Two of the principal instruments which Britain used to drain India of its capital were<sup>4</sup> 1) Railroads, 2) Debt. The railroads were not the only physical instruments used to restructure the economy, an order to be able to suck out raw materials, and pump in manufactured goods. But worst still the Indians were obliged to pay themselves for the installation of the railroads. And this 'Indian debt' made it permissible for the British to extract the economic surplus from the colony to the metropolises.

The Princes and Lords held the original vested interests of the British. But gradually a new class grew in importance, one which was even more tied up with British rule. This class consisted of Indian members of the British service, usually in subordinate positions. Indians, so employed were so dependent on British administration and rule that they could be relied upon, and treated as agents of the rule. Gradually these people became more interested in their own wellbeing, than in the good of the country. As Bucharian says:

"Most disastrous of all, the impact of Capitalism created a new class, the colonial middleclass. This is largely administrative, and commercial in its functions, and actively collaborated with the Colonial powers in the Government. It was little interested in Economic progress, but was largely a parasitic group."<sup>5</sup>

In conclusion therefore, it must be said that colonization for the most part had a detrimental effect on India, and indeed on any other country subjected to it. Through its structure, and policy

implementation it brought about the transformation of the existing mode of production, economic structure, and class organisation. It made the colony completely dependent on the mother country in terms of trade and for the most part, it furthered the cause of the mother country in every possible way, regardless of the disastrous effects on the bulk of the population. It is therefore easy to see helped from the basis for the underdevelopment which third world countries experience today.

Eileen Grace, 2nd Arts

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. A.G. Frank, "Dependent Accumulation and Underdevelopment".
2. D. Staler "Underdevelopment and Spatial Inequality."
3. A.G. Frank "World Accumulation 1492-1789".
4. A.G. Frank, "World Accumulation 1492-1789".
5. Aman "Unequal Development".



*Maynooth Geographers — on the move*

EMBASSY DRY CLEANERS

SPECIALISTS

IN

LEATHER, SUEDE, FUR, TEXTILE CLEANING

Open 6 days a week

In recent years, especially within the last decade, there has occurred a noticeable increase in unexpected climatic fluctuations. One points, for example, to the Sahaelian drought of the late 1960s. Also one cites the abnormally hot summers and cold winters experienced in the British Isles since the mid-1970s.

The occurrence of such freak climatic anomalies has caused climatologists to reconsider the role of the causal mechanisms of climatic variability. New insights produced by this kind of research have brought about a general re-appraisal of our present understanding of climatic and climatic regimes.

In view of this trend within climatology this essay aims to highlight questions regarding the role of one particular mechanism of climatic variability as they have been presented by the occurrence of one particular climatic fluctuation. It aims to examine the role of volcanicity as a possible causal factor behind the occurrence of an abnormally intense Southern Oscillation in the Equatorial Pacific.

Firstly one must outline what climatologists have understood to be the "normal" sequence of events which constitute the Southern Oscillation.

The term Southern Oscillation refers to a fluctuation of sea surface pressure in which pressure is lower than average over the Equatorial Western Pacific and the Indian Ocean. At the same time sea surface pressure is higher than average over the South Eastern Pacific. Research into the nature of the phenomenon has caused one climatologist<sup>1</sup> to suggest the existence of an atmospheric circulation in longitude height planes with eastward flow in the Pacific equatorial upper troposphere and westward flow in the lower troposphere. This circulation is commonly known as Walker circulation named after the climatologist G.T. Walker. Walker and Bliss<sup>2</sup> established a relationship between global variations in sea surface pressure, rainfall levels and a southern oscillation index. The index is considered positive if pressure is higher than average in the Southern Pacific anticyclone at a time when it is lower than average north of Australia. The phenomenon occurs on a quasi-periodic basis at intervals of from five to seven years. It involves complex interactions of sea surface temperatures and atmospheric circulations. These are by no means confined to the equatorial Pacific. Julian and Chervin<sup>3</sup> have presented evidence that 850 and 200mb zonal winds at Canton Islands varied according to the southern oscillation index, implying a modulation of

the Pacific branch of Walker circulation. Evidence also exists by which Newell, Selrirk and Ebisujaki<sup>4</sup> correspond the onset and passage and areas other than the Eastern and Equatorial Ocean. They report warming/cooling in the north-west subtropical Pacific one year preceding the onset of the Southern Oscillation. Also they report that there exists evidence for increased/decreased westerlies in the southern mid-latitudes during a time period of from three to nine months before the onset of the oscillation. However, the primary sea surface temperature response, occurring during the course of the oscillation is in the Eastern Equatorial Ocean.

This is the region usually associated with a phenomenon known as El Nino. El Nino also occurs on a quasi-periodic basis usually around Christmas time. Van Dyk, Mercer and Peterson<sup>5</sup> have detailed the pattern of events which occur during El Nino. Very simply what happens is that an increase in air pressure occurs over the region of Easter Island in the South Eastern Pacific. It is accompanied by a transfer of warm water from West to East across the Pacific, sending a surge of warm water to the west coast of South America.

This summarises what climatologists understand to be the typical sequences of events which make up the Southern Oscillation, Walker circulation and El Nino. However recent untypical fluctuations of these climatic events have been accompanied by drastically altered climatic patterns. These have occurred not only in the region of the Eastern Pacific but in the entire Western Hemisphere. This has demonstrated the potentially extreme and worldwide effects which variations in the normal weather patterns of this region can have.

The 1982 El Nino differed in both its intensity and its timing. Instead of occurring in October or November as is normally the case, the 1982 El Nino arrived in May. Normally the effects of El Nino are chiefly confined to the South Eastern Pacific region, as far as the West Coast of South America, bringing high rainfall to Peru, Northern Chile, Ecuador and Columbia. But in 1982 as W. Sullivan<sup>6</sup> has reported, El Nino affected the entire Eastern Pacific from Chile to Alaska. The dramatic increase in the intensity of the phenomenon is best appreciated when one considers incidents of these extremes. Von Dyk, Mercier and Peterson<sup>7</sup> have reported that El Nino was responsible for 108mm of rainfall in Ecuador, in November of 1982. The normal rainfall figure for this time of year is 8mm. The occurrence of droughts in such coun-

tries as Namibia, Angola, and Venezuela in South America, is a usual feature of El Nino. In 1982 droughts occurred over a much larger area as far as the east coast of Africa in Mozambique, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Somalia. Climatologists very much suspect that the above mentioned climatic anomalies are the result of a fluctuation of the Southern Oscillation. The event which most strongly indicates that the fluctuating Southern Oscillation as its primary cause, is the drought in South-east Australia.

The drought was caused by an abnormally long period of high pressure over the eastern part of Australia. This blocking high prevented the passage of rain-bearing low pressure systems and cold fronts which normally travel from the antarctic. Van Dyk, Mercer and Peterson<sup>8</sup> have attributed the persistence of abnormality high pressure to the early onset of the southern oscillation. They point out that the drought set in in November as the Southern circulation began to flow from West to East at low levels, hence the persistence of high pressure.

Climatologists have still to fully evaluate the extent to which the oscillation fluctuation has affected world weather. The most fundamental problem here is the question as to what was the primary cause of such an irregular distribution of atmospheric pressure and sea surface temperature.

Basic to our understanding of the evaluation and behaviour of weather patterns is the view that weather and climate are produced by the effects of heating and cooling of the earth's surface and the circulation of the atmosphere and oceans. Therefore the above mentioned climatic fluctuations could be said to be the result of variations in the normal strength and position of pressure gradients. Climatologists focus upon the possible means by which the main thermal gradients may be altered in seeking the primary cause of all climatic change. Research has been concentrated on the causes and effects of variation of the solar constant. This is because the temperature of the earth is primarily a function of solar radiation.

J.C. Lockwood<sup>9</sup> has made a distinction between two possible forms of climatic variations. Firstly those arising from variations in actual solar radiation levels. Secondly those arising from changes in the earth's orbit often referred to as the Milankovitch Mechanism. Lockwood has stated that such variations affect only the seasonal and geographical distribution of radiation as longterm solar radiation output remains constant.

Regarding variation in solar output Mason<sup>10</sup> has stated, "At present there is no convincing evidence that the total annular incidence on the top of the atmosphere varies by as much as one per cent. Even during solar disturbances. So the present shortterm changes cannot be caused by solar variability.

On the strength of this view it seems that one must focus upon internally induced means (i.e. those deprived from earth and atmosphere), which could possibly vary daily and seasonal thermal gradients. One possible means proposed by such climatologists as Lamb and Gildosleeve's is the existence of volcanic dust in the atmosphere.

Volcanic dust veils have been proposed as a cause of climatic variability because volcanic ash particles scatter and absorb solar energy reducing the amount of solar energy reaching the lower atmosphere. Also particulate matter can trap infra-red heat below the atmosphere thereby creating a warming greenhouse effect. The role of volcanically emitted sulphuric acid droplets is not yet fully understood. It is believed that like particulate matter sulphuric acid droplets act as condensation nuclei creating cloud formations. Lamb<sup>11</sup> has stated that these effect the flow of westerly winds and depressions at the latitude of the eruption and cause the formation of blocking highs. Lamb attaches primary importance to eruptions that throw dust 20-27km into the stratosphere. Dust injected into the lower layers of the atmosphere influences climate only in the region of the eruption. This is because at a lower level dust is soon washed out by rain. Dust injected into higher levels can cause the formation of high ultracirrus clouds but few eruptions inject dust to such a high level and Lamb has concluded that these eruptions have little significance for climatic change. Lamb has also made a distinction between volcanoes erupting in low or high latitudes of each hemisphere. Eruptions which take place 20 degrees north or south of the equator have the greatest effect on climate. This is because of the net poleward drift of stratospheric air. In the case of eruptions in the middle and higher latitudes, stratospheric winds carrying dust particles encircle the earth at the latitude of the volcano and only the hemisphere concerned is significantly affected.

Most climatologists acknowledge the view that a series of volcanic eruptions can effect long term climatic change. Lamb, who pioneered the study of links between historical eruptions and climatic

change, has compiled a dust veil index from which the effects of major historical eruption can be estimated. The index has been used to estimate the relationship between volcanic activity and global average temperature variation. For example, G. Gribbin<sup>12</sup> has cited evidence which would suggest that the cold climate of the early decades of the 1800s were related to a period of high levels of volcanic activity. He also states that the twentieth century warming of the northern hemisphere occurred as the stratosphere became cleared of volcanic aerosols during a period of relative volcanic quiet.

The dominance of this longer term historical approach has served to somewhat undermine the significance of volcanicity as a cause of short term climatic change. G. Grubbin has stated that "a single volcano, especially one erupting at high latitudes is not going to change the climate noticeably, whereas a series of eruptions could have important influences on a time scale of from several years to centuries depending on how long the burst of volcanic activity persists."<sup>13</sup>

Gribbin bases his view on studies of the eruption of Mount Saint Helense. The influence of the eruption was estimated according to its relatively low index value of one hundred computer models using this value estimated a cooling of the earth's face temperature of 0.1 degrees C. This is well below the normal temperature variation, hence Gribbin's conclusion: the recent eruption of El Chicon in Southern Mexico has provided climatologists with their best opportunity yet to study the immediate effect of volcanic dust veils. Research has been carried out into the possibility that a causal connection exists between the eruption and recent climatic fluctuations, most notably the Southern Oscillation. As a result of the research many of the above mentioned theories regarding the role of volcanicity in climatic change, have come into question.

El Chicon erupted in April 1982 emitting dust load estimated at 16 million tonnes. W. Sullivan<sup>14</sup> has reported that the dust veil was at first confined to a band situated at 40 degrees latitude. By the end of the year the dust veil had spread to cover most of the northern hemisphere.

From a superficial time perspective one would suspect that there existed some kind of causal connection between the eruption in April and the early onset of the oscillation in May. Indeed the last out of season oscillation was in 1963 just after the eruption of Agung in Indonesia — a further indication that

the recent fluctuation may have been volcanically induced. But as Brian Silcock<sup>15</sup> has pointed out the fact that the two events occurred around the same time presents difficulty in establishing the exact nature of the link (if any exists) between them. This is because of the many weather fluctuations which come about as the Southern Oscillation actually occurs. It is therefore difficult to disentangle the exact extent to which climatic variation is due to the effects of the spreading dust veil or to the early onset of the southern Oscillation. Research into the existence of a possible link between variations in British weather and the El Chicon eruption has lessened the confusion. By bringing into question some of the conventional theories regarding the role of volcanicity, the degree of variation to be attributed to each climatic influence can be more precisely evaluated.

In April 1983, approximately one year after the eruption of El Chicon the average temperature in Britain was 2 degrees C below normal. Lamb has stated "It is reasonable to attribute present events here (i.e. Britain to the dust veil. It seems to be the greatest load in the upper atmosphere this century and perhaps for longer". Computer models have predicted an average cooling of 0.5 degrees C with maximum effect predicted to come into effect from Autumn 1983 until Winter 1984. However as G. Gribbin<sup>16</sup> has pointed out, these predictions are based on the conventional view that maximum temperature variation in the northern hemisphere occurs 18 months after the eruption. This is when the dust veil has spread uniformly and contains a higher proportion of sulphuric acid droplets than volcanic dust. Research carried out by Kelly and Sears<sup>17</sup> indicates that maximum temperature fluctuation occurs much sooner after the eruption. These climatologists have concentrated on the immediate effect of volcanicity. They have compiled a total dust veil index which is used to estimate the quantitative effect of the dust veil in the months and years immediately after the eruptions. Their evaluations are based upon the use of this shorter term historical perspective. They have pointed out that the above mentioned predictions for cooling of the Northern Hemisphere are all based on studies of eruptions which occurred in the Southern Hemisphere. The El Chicon eruption however occurred in the northern hemisphere. Having studied eruptions which occurred in the northern hemisphere Kelly and Sears have found

evidence to suggest that volcanic eruptions here effect climate in a very different way. They have found that a rapid fall in temperatures occurs immediately after the eruption reaching a maximum decline after two months. By this reasoning maximum temperature variation on British weather should have occurred in June, two months after the eruption. This agrees with the actual pattern of temperature decline which occurred at that time.

Kelly and Sears' findings have also brought into question conventional theories regarding the role of sulphuric acid droplets. It had previously been believed that the time delay was due to the fact that a dominant proportion of sulphuric acid droplets was necessary before cooling could take place. However it has been found that in the case of eruptions in the northern hemisphere equal proportions of dust and acid seem necessary to onset cooling.

Perhaps the most significant result of Kelly and Sears' work is the fact that they have undermined the conventional theories upon which computer predicting models are based. This must surely cast doubt on their accuracy or reliability in predicting future climatic variations. Climatologists have sought to determine the primary cause of the southern oscillation in order to determine the exact nature and extent to which the phenomenon contributes to weather variations. Newell, Selkirk and Bisuzaki<sup>18</sup> have stated that, "the Southern Hemisphere circulation change precedes the Southern Oscillation so the idea that the atmospheric circulation in the middle latitudes is the ultimate cause of the Southern Oscillation cannot be discarded." The immediate mechanics are not fully understood but it is noteworthy that the strongest sea surface temperature anomalies occur in mid-latitudes when Southern Hemisphere circulation is most vigorous. It certainly seems that events in the equatorial/tropical Pacific region where the input of solar energy is at its highest can have an enormous impact on the entire world weather circulatory system. Climatologists now seek a better understanding of the role of southern circulation in world weather.

## REFERENCES

1. Troup, A.J. 1965. "The Southern Oscillation". Quart. Journal Royal met. Soc. 91. 490.
2. Walker G.T. and Bliss E.W. 1932 "World Weather". Meteor Soc. IV. No. 36, 53.
3. Julian, P.R. and Cherwin R.M. 1978 "A study of the Southern Oscillation and Walker Circulation Phenomenon". Review 109. 813.
4. Newell R.E., Rennie Selkirk, Wesley Ebuisuyaki: "The Southern Oscillation Sea Surface Temperature and Wind Relationships in a 100-year data set." Journal of Climatology Vol 2. No. 4 Dec. 1982.
5. Von Dyk, Mercer, Peterson, "Australia's drought and the Southern climate". New Scientist, April 1983.
6. Walker: "El Nino plays a havoc with the weather". Irish Times (4) 1983.
7. Op. cit (5) p. 33.
8. Op. cit (5) p. 32.
9. Lockwood J.C. Progress in Physical Geography, Vol. 2. "Long-term Climatic Changes" p.105-111.
10. Mason: 1976. P. 108.
11. Gribbin, G. "Do volcanoes affect the climate?" Climate, history and the modern world, 1982, p. 58.
12. G. Gribbin, op. cit., p. 151.
13. G. Gribbin, op. cit., p. 151.
14. Sullivan, op. cit.
15. Silcock, "Dusty Weather" April 1983, Irish Times.
16. G. Gribbin - "El Chicon & Britain's Weather. Vol. 98. 1358, p. 88.
17. G. Gribbin, op. cit., p. 88.
18. Selkirk, Nevell, Ebisujaki, op. cit., p. 371.

## Country Shop



Mill Street,  
Maynooth.

Light Lunches  
Country Teas

Handcrafts  
Jewellery  
Antiques  
Paintings  
Books  
Pottery  
Leather Goods  
Irish Pewter

Gifts to suit  
all ages and  
pockets

Late Opening: Thursday & Friday 'til 9.00pm

Toys - Well made and reasonably priced

## "TOP OF THE CROP"

Greengrocer

finest selection of fresh fruit and vegetables,

fish, poultry and eggs,

pot plants

MAIN ST. MAYNOOTH

Before our band of weary travellers set out from Maynooth the question on everyone's lips for a few days was whether or not the professor of anthropology, sorry Geography, W.J. Smyth, B.A. and present M.A. qualifier student would be able to accompany us. But even though he looked a little "off colour" he would soon reveal that his mind had returned to its usual insane state as he and his other guide Dr. J. Sweeney B.C. who is at present doing his Ph.D. on library students in U.C.D., combined to spout on the Leinster landscapes as everyone except Martin Tracey tried to get some sleep.

Our trip from Rosslare to Le Harve was to be the least "memorable" part of our journey for some of our group. The aforementioned Mr Tracey and Kevy Sullivan don't remember a thing that happened that night at all. Brian McGarvey who has having trouble holding down his vodka had less trouble with and Fergal Rooney's jovial mood of the previous night had well disappeared by the next morning, St. Patrick's day. When Nicholas celebrated Mass his main problem was that the congregation kept disappearing to the nearby loo's. It had proved to be a "moving experience".

At Le Harve we picked up our driver for the week Jean-Louis, who was going to have a busy week trying to fight off certain Irish girls. Anna Kavanagh being foremost among these and Kevy Sullivan was truly able to share his American origins with Amie for the rest of the week.

We arrived in Paris safely, Eileen Grace still on a high from having spotted her first French horse somewhere en route. Our meal in the youth hostel could have contained horse or anything, no one knew but it made Ma Gaffrey's dishes seem out of this world. A trip to see the city centre was so brilliantly organised by Rosarii, Regina and Patricia that everyone got lost!! Our start was delayed the next morning by Anna Kavanagh turning up late.

## THE FRENCH EXPERIENCE EASTER 1984

(Too Loose a Trek)

Anna showed an ability to do this all during the week that nearly made our Professor, with the Belfast-Canadian accent, pull his hair out.

After studying Paris from the Seine during which it was a struggle to keep Enda Power under control, we had a five-hour journey to Dinan-Tadaen. Our super luxury hotel Les Alleux was to be plagued for the next week as Eileen Grace kept raiding their sugar bowls so that she could fill up her suitcases with sugar to bring back to her horses in Ireland. The next day we split into groups, trying to divide French speakers equally among

the groups with Mary Healey and Fiona Gallagher (of Kerry fame) being to the fore here. During our work interviewing French farmers, Eileen managed to get tipsy on one glass of wine and at the evening seminar the s--t was really flying with Anna's group giving details of the farm they had visited after kidnapping the mayor -- and university students??

The famous episode of the leek or some root crop was recounted with specimens supplied by Michael and Enda and there was a moments silence for Linda who had been savagely attacked by a French dog. (There is no truth in the rumour that this dog was any relation to the one that Gerry Morgan later picked up in the university!!)

The next day our adventures would be centered to the north in Dinard and St Malo. By this stage Michael McGrath had joined with Marie Murray to help her in her 'research'. Sheamie, as our Professor was now known, was spotted posing beside a long-standing friend -- Jacques Cartier -- and was to display the mean side of his character by giving a clear cut message with his fingers to some innocent by-standing students. The best memory from our visit to Mont Saint Michelle is (Dessie's) sorry Annette Ashe's mud-covered bottom. Her being in such a state because she was over anxious to get a photo. Martin

Tracey, having started a 'Lionel' trend was rumoured to have a follower, but numerous are totally rumours unreliable and untrue -- aren't they!!!

Next stop was Rennes which is not an industrial sea port as Enda found out. Gerry Morgan purchased a Sony Walkman and a Lionel Richie cassette and proceeded to spend the rest of the trip walking around singing "All Night Long" to himself. At the disco that night there was plenty of action with Fergal and Brian breakdancing on their backs and taking photos. Eddie Meaney, John 'Squire' Flynn and John Hunt were seen dancing a waltz to AC DC with Mary, Fran, and Linda (who shall remain nameless) which is not surprising after all the Iranian drink. Tom and Sandra disappeared for the evening -- ask no questions -- leaving Eddie and Liz to disco. The Iranian pilots were still handing out the whiskey and one of them seemed very impressed by the floral design on Regina's dressing gown (which led to a marriage proposal -- fast!!)

### J. BARRY

MAIN ST., MAYNOOTH  
Phone 286304

GIFT STATIONERY	HOURS 6.30 a.m. -- 9 p.m.
GROCERIES	SUNDAYS 7.30 a.m. -- 7 p.m.
PARKER PENS JEWELLERY	NEWSAGENTS
ALL LATEST GAMES IN STOCK.	COOKED MEATS

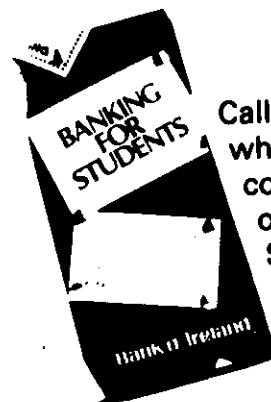
Our departure the next morning was delayed as the hotel manageress appeared with some articles of clothing that Fergal and Annette had lost the night before. On the way home Enda was yet again stopped by the police — obviously a corrupt looking character — and questioned. They obviously don't like Gerrymanders at all! Our formerly ill professor had enough drink with him to make himself turn green when he got back to Ireland while Eddie and Squire drank all their "perrier" on the bus and so sang songs that kept Ger Brophy from catching up on his lost sleep. Jock Sweeney had all sorts of perfumes and drinks and possibly a ring while Dorothy Laffoy's fingers were still appearing occasionally.

So ended the Geography department's first real trip abroad. Paddy Duffy's proposed field trip to Tunisia seems to have gone "higeldy pigeldy" so it's off to exotic Westport, this year. Congratulations to the 'famous Sheamus' and 'Jock the Rock' for taking such an adventurous step in going to France and organising it so well. Also a word of thanks to Rosarii, Regina and Patricia for all their help. And last but not least a special word of congrats to John and Patricia — who knows— we may soon hear the pitter patter of little feet around Humanity House!!

# Banking for students.

As a student there are many reasons why you should have a bank account:

- to help you manage your money
- safety
- any spare funds you have can earn you interest
- helps to establish a banking relationship which is of great assistance when you come to borrow, either as a student or after graduating.



Call to your Student Office which is located on or near your college, and pick up a copy of our brochure "Banking for Students" for further details.



**Bank of Ireland**  
The bank of a lifetime



ATTENTIVE AUDIENCE !



The Happy Couple



Who's the boss here?

# IRISH EMIGRATION TO BRITAIN

Irish migration to Britain has historically been marked by distinct fluctuations and can broadly be related over the past century to:

- Economic conditions in Ireland.
- Gradual imposition of immigration controls in the U.S.
- Labour market demand in Britain particularly in the construction industry.
- Patterns of upward occupational mobility among settled Irish workers in Britain with a consequence of allowing vacancies in traditional employment-entry areas for newly arrived immigrants in periods of new expansion.

More recently, a high and specific correlation probably exists between fluctuations in emigration rates and comparative earning levels and employment openings in Britain and Ireland. In addition, there has always existed a tradition of "poly-annual migration" between Ireland and Britain in that many emigrants worked for only a few years before returning to Ireland with their savings. It is probable that large numbers arrived with such an aim but, while psychologically adhering to it as a goal, found it financially or socially impractical.

The 1845 Famine and its aftermath witnessed the first great population movement but this was a relatively short-lived phenomenon and census returns from 1861-1921 onwards revealed a significant reduction in the number of Irish born in Britain, a reduction that has continued to the present day.

Emigration began to substantially increase after 1931, although the second great emigration wave only began after the war and continued until around 1970. It should be mentioned that census returns, while the most detailed data available, are in some measure only a coarse range of emigration patterns. For example, although the census figures indicate a reduction of over 100,000 in the Irish Population between 1811-1891 almost 80,000 new immigrants arrived during that decade. The census figures do not reveal poly-annual migration or, in terms of simple numerical summary as below, patterns of ageing or life expectancy.

The end of the nineteenth century saw a subsequent reduction in the Irish immigration population largely because it was a population suffering high mortality rates among the post famine influx. This same phenomenon will repeat itself over the coming two decades since the Irish Community, is

now, as then disproportionately older than the rest of the population.

From Table 1 which portrays the census data one can see that the Irish-born resident population declined by 14% over the decade 1971-1981 or from 709,235 to 611,941 persons in England and Wales and from 66,545 - 27,044 in Scotland. Available data appears to indicate that migration to Britain halted around 1974-75 and that a reverse pattern occurred and generally persisted right up to the 1981 census. The decline of over 100,000 in the Irish born population is somewhat surprising in that most people had expected a larger overall reduction. There can be no doubt but that the years 1971-1979 were characterised by significant net immigration to Ireland and it is reasonable to assume that much of this represented return migration of Irish in Britain. However, it has often been erroneously assumed that this implied that emigration from Ireland ceased or was insignificant during this period. F.X. Kirwan in "Recent Anglo-Irish Migration - the evidence of the British Labour Force Surveys" in the Economic and Social Review April 1982 p. 191-203, estimated net emigration from Britain at 71,000 Irish born persons in the period 1971-1977, the vast majority in the age range 30-44 with significant numbers aged 55-69. The evidence suggests that most were primarily attracted to a relatively buoyant Irish economy rather than pushed out of a contracting British one. Kirwan calculated Irish born emigrants to Britain as 9,380 in 1972-73 and 7284 in 1976-77. The 1981 census also indicates that 5985 Irish born persons settled in Britain during the year preceding the census.

Irish immigrants to Britain have tended to settle in the larger conurbations, particularly in areas where the demand for labour has been relatively high. This would explain, for example, why Merseyside has a surprisingly low Irish born population in that this area, together with Tyneside and Clydeside, has experienced a continuous post-war unemployment rate well above the national level. A secondary reason for Irish concentration in particular conurbations was the tendency, common to most ethnic groups, to settle in areas where an Irish population already existed. Fig. 1 illustrates the geographical location of persons born in Ireland who were domiciled in Britain in 1981.

A comparison between the age structure of Irish Emigrants in both the 1971 and 1981 census shows further

trends. The Irish population is unusual among ethnic groups in Britain in containing a higher ratio of females to males. As would be expected it is also "older" than other ethnic minorities with for example 32% of Irish economically active males in 1971 aged 45-59 as compared to a new common-wealth level of only 16% in this age bracket. It would require considerable additional data to analyse reasons for the higher percentage of females to males in the Irish born population. The explanation probably lies in two areas:

- it reflects the job opportunities open to females in Britain such as: Nurses, Clerical workers etc.
- it reflects the nature of Irish Society and particularly rural society in post-war years.

Professor Liam Ryan in 1972-73 surveys for his thesis "Assimilation of Irish Immigrants in Britain" established that the primary motivating factor in Irish emigration was economic and more women (64%) than men (56%) gave economic factors as a primary motive. In post-war rural Ireland, there can have been extremely few employment, possibilities for girls leaving school and it became socially unacceptable for both boys and girls to become a burden on the family farm. Emigration to Britain would have appeared an attractive temporary expediency to many. It was only with economic expansion programmes from 1959 onwards that the haemorrhage was slowly checked.

A look at the 1981 census reports show that those figures indicate a heavy age imbalance in the Irish born populations as compared to the overall national levels with 58% of the Irish population aged over 45 and 22% of pensionable age. In comparison to these trends Northern Ireland's emigration figures display different characteristics - there were 251,109 persons born in Northern Ireland resident in Britain on census night 1981. Of this total 123,255 were male and 127,764 female. This compares to a 1971 Northern Ireland born population in Britain of 248,595. As compared to the reduction of 100,000 in Eire between 1971-1981, the Northern Ireland born population in Britain remained numerically virtually static. This can probably be explained by:

- the higher ratio of emigration from the North to Britain during the 1970's.
- unlike the pattern of return migration to the Republic there

was virtually no population movement from Britain to the North.

Having established the general trends of Irish emigration to Britain especially during the ten year period of 1971-1981 one can now turn to a brief examination of the establishment of Irish clubs and centres in Britain.

Irish priests who had worked for years in London parishes, served ghettos and areas with a high concentration of Irish people. They became acutely aware of the hardships and exploitations to which Irish labourers were exposed by landlords in squalid, overcrowded lodging houses. Lonely for the wide open spaces and the cool, clean air at home for the easy pace of life, there was little available to them at the end of a toilsome, dust-ridden day of construction, demolition or maintenance but the companionship and seanchai of their own kith and kin in the pub. Driven there through sheer loneliness, drink became a temporary palliative for their gaucheness and sense of inferiority and for many heavy drinking and became a way of life, devouring their hard earned money and destroying family life. Those with drive and ambition, shrewd and intelligent, if uneducated became self-made men and women and needed no supportive props to keep them in social and occupational circulation.

It was the plight of the former group of immigrants, projecting the image of an ignorant, inarticulate race with a propensity for booze, belligerence and crime, especially in areas like Kilburn and Camden Town, that evoked sympathy and concern and gave impetus to a small group of people, lay and clerical, to improve the lot of the Irish in Britain.

Through lay and clerical co-operation in the 1940s the first Irish Club was opened in Eaton Square. Urged by a need for cohesiveness "ni neart go cur le cheile" and a sense of national identity, clubs and associations began to mushroom in London and throughout the countryside. Fig. 2 shows their distribution at the end of 1981.

The objective of such clubs and societies included:

- Providing hostels with chapels, canteens, libraries, living rooms and residential accommodation in a Christian atmosphere for workers unable to find or afford suitable lodgings.
- Setting up workers in suitable employment.
- Assisting poor or homeless workers in finding respectable lodgings.

- Providing in any way for the spiritual or moral welfare of such workers.
- Relieving poverty, sickness and distress.
- Running a social club and providing amenities for social recreation and sport.
- Raising funds for these objectives by voluntary contributions, grants, legacies and functions.
- Co-operating with other organisations having common objects and interests.

Having weighed anchor in the fifties, the Irish Centre, embarked on a voyage which would be fought with many shoals, but sustained by the courage and dedication of many men and women who would give reality not only in bricks and mortar to a cherished vision, but would capture and perpetuate the rich heritage of our Irish spirit, culture and tradition.

By 1981 there were 17 such clubs alone in the London area with names such as:

- Marrow Irish Society
- Ilford and District Irish Society
- Irish Club - Eaton Square

All over the country other Irish clubs and societies sprang up so that there are now 53 centres in various parts of Britain including:

- Petersborough Irish Centre
- Stafford Irish Centre
- Wythenshawe Irish Centre.

The main aim therefore of the Irish Centre is to attempt to bridge the gap between the two worlds of Britain and Ireland and it often plays a crucial role in helping those "just over" to adjust to their new environment and surroundings. However it must be remembered that it is an emigrant club, not merely a recreation of life at home in Ireland. Of course, not every new arrival needs help from the Irish Centre. Some of those who do, require mainly what can be termed as reception services involving help with basic problems including work and accommodation. Many more, while initially presenting these primary needs, have secondary problems of a far more complex nature, difficulties which may have prompted them to leave Ireland in the first place and the Irish Centres all over the country seek to solve as many problems as they are able to.

The social and welfare dimension of the Irish Centre have always been inextricably bound together and the former could be considered as an

extension of the latter. The social facilities, while providing a milieu where the immigrant and his friends can meet and socialise in the accepted Irish tradition are also the strong financial arm on which the welfare leans.

The Irish Centre is better known to the majority of people as a social centre and an average 2,500 people come and go each week. People to a great extent are a product of their culture and family environment and to deny them the opportunity to develop their personalities along set values would not only be an injustice, but would create social problems. Britain is a multi-racial community which acknowledges the rights of immigrants to their unique cultural identity.

Because such a large volume of Irish clubs and societies exist in Britain it is not possible to take each one individually and discuss its development over time. Along with this the hard fact data for each club is not available because of the failure at the early stages of development to keep accurate data and information. As a result of this and along with the idea that hopefully this essay is not mere description I think that a comparison over a 10 year period of two such clubs would serve to highlight

- the aims
- development
- need
- value

of these organisations to the Irish immigrant. Again because the data was available from annual reports it is easier and more illustrative to focus on the Irish Centres in London and Ham-mersmith as epitomising the Irish Centre as a whole in Britain.

The large number of Irish welfare problems developing in the postwar years, highlighted the absence of adequate social and recreational facilities. The founders of the Irish Centre and the social committees which subsequently developed, considered they had an obligation to enhance the quality of Irish social life and promote cultural pursuits. The Irish Centre developed over the years because it responded to the needs of the immigrant people. It is still in the process of change. A look at the cases dealt with and the numbers catered for in both sample areas will demonstrate just how much change has taken place.

As can be seen from the graphs in Table 2 the numbers attending both centres can be subject to fluctuations. 1975 saw the greatest numbers attending the London centre for the first time and noticeably a great increase in the number of male attenders. After this

period a general slackening off of attendance can be seen until the sudden drop in the 1980-81 period. This decrease is in the nature of 20% in the number of first users of the services provided by the Irish Centre. This was probably due to the work of the Irish Welfare Agencies in Britain under the auspices of the Federation of Irish Societies who mounted an intense and concerted campaign on Irish television, radio and press to dissuade young people from coming to Britain. The British media, easily available in Ireland, daily highlighted the decline of the economy and a level of unemployment unparalleled since the thirties. In addition to the "stay-at-home" campaign organised by the Irish Welfare services, the London West and voluntary organisations also used the media exclusively to discourage young people from coming to London. The combined effect of these programmes, must undoubtedly have influenced many young people to think again before leaving home to seek better opportunities in London and so the West End agencies also noted a sharp drop in their Irish intake. Opportunities provided in other EEC countries, may have contributed, though in a smaller way, to the current decrease in numbers.

Hammersmith, on the other hand, and in contrast to the London Centre, has seen an increase in the total number of people using the Centre. It is also noticeable that the fluctuations are not as pronounced as in the London Centre and except for the sudden rise over the period 1979-1980 the numbers attending have been constant. This rise is probably due to the increasing number of marginal people that apply to the Centre for the assistance that normally takes the form of accommodation or finance. These are, according to the annual reports of the Centre, those who are socially and economically non-viable before emigration and who have no idea of what emigration is except that it could offer a "new beginning". Again, referring to specific cases dealt with by the centre, many such marginal people arrive at the doorstep without money, clothing or a place to stay. Some, and the numbers are increasing annually, are on the run from parents or the law. A comparison of age structures of applicants at both centres also proves interesting and serves to demonstrate the type of individual the centre deals with. Table 3.

Because Hammersmith does not distinguish between males and females it is only possible to compare the overall trends. Perhaps the most obvious

difference between both centres is that each is catering for a different age group. In the London Centre it is the 18-25 year age group that accounts for the greatest percentage of persons attending the services. It is also interesting to note that while female numbers are not as great as males both sexes are balanced in the dominant agegrouping. Hammersmith on the other hand, caters more for those in the 26-40 age group and overall the vast contrast between age groups is not to be seen. Perhaps this is due to the greater numbers that attend the London Centre because they are drawn by the prospects of better opportunities in London. According to the annual reports of the London Centre the greatest percentage to attend the services in the 18-25 year age group are school leavers who, because of the lack of opportunity in Ireland leave to seek a better life. The number of males approaching the centre's services always greatly exceeds the female intake and this may be due to the fact that in both London and Hammersmith they can provide more accommodation for men. It may also mean that the Irish Family structure is more protective of its girls and parents are more reluctant in allowing their daughters to emigrate, unless they have made advance provision for them in a hostel or with relatives or friends. In both centres the general trend is that girls on the whole arrive, better equipped financially, educationally and occupationally.

As already stated it is usually those on the margin of society that make their way to the services of the centre and a brief look at the problems that are encountered will reflect the type of person that attends. Accommodation is the greatest service given by both centres, although the numbers catered for in each case would be different. 16505 in London as compared with 2,224 in Hammersmith. Again this reflects the greater percentage of individuals that find their way to the London Centre perhaps because it is better known. Another interesting fact is that although the overall figure for the number arriving in England from Ireland may be decreasing the actual figures of application at Hammersmith for accommodation are actually rising — 306 in 1981 as compared with 234 in 1979 — and again this could reflect the type of person that is emigrating — namely — those with no job and no where to go. On the other hand the London Centre has seen a great drop in the number of people seeking accommodation — from 1412 to 1980 to the small figure of 405 in 1981. Again this

great reduction in a one year period could be as a result of the massive 'stay at home' campaign already discussed.

Finance and employment come high on the lists of needs of new emigrants and this fact can be seen from the Centre's reports. In Hammersmith a total of 501 jobs were found for new arrivals as compared with 9,317 in the London Centre. Both centres shared a high percentage of unskilled workers coming from Ireland and the chances of finding employment for most of them in the late 70's and early 80's was minimal due to the employment situation and recession in England also. The London Centre also noted the growth of Anti-Irish feelings which also restricted the job opportunities of its applicants.

Ex-offenders, the mentally disturbed, unmarried mothers and those with marital problems also found their way to both Irish Centres over the ten year period. 1975 in both centres was the year with the highest numbers in all cases and it is an increase that is hard to account for. The majority of offenders and ex-offenders known to the centres who land themselves in the dock or behind bars are usually only guilty of petty crime. Every effort is made to re-habilitate the younger people who are anxious to "go straight".

The increase in 1975 of psychiatric patients coming to the centre is again difficult to account for. Disorders included a variation of depressive and schizophrenic states and the psychoneuroses. Occasionally, both Centres recorded that the degree of illness was so acute that functioning was impaired at every human level. In all 594 married people in London and 226 in Hammersmith presented themselves regarding marriage problems arising from desertion, separation, divorce, battering, alcoholism or gambling. Runaway wives were found work and accommodation and helped to come to terms with their problems — but as homelessness in London becomes acute, mothers with children are usually left with only one alternative — to return to the familiar misery and hardship at home. Both centres recorded the fact that local social services had brought to other notice an increasing number of families who go back to Ireland, fail to adjust and on return to London are homeless and must join the 5 year housing queue.

Now to turn briefly to the origin of people who applied to the Centre for assistance of any nature. As can be seen from Fig. 3 large numbers of the clients come from counties with big urban populations — Dublin, Cork, Antrim &

Limerick. This group of people, as both centres noted, had characteristics and needs which varied from those of the traditional rural emigrant. The map also shows that no country has been exempt from the migration process to Britain and indeed if emigration figures to the U.S. and Canada were included the numbers would be much greater.

The counties that are surprisingly high on the list of attenders were Tipperary, Kerry and Mayo and these are directly after the urban settlement counties. Tipperary especially is surprising because it comes fifth on the list with a total attendance of 1,266. Although this is a rich agricultural area this trend probably reflects the nature of change and decline in Irish agriculture over the past few years. With low returns from the land people seem to be moving out to seek their 'fortune' in Britain. Kerry and Mayo, two typically rural counties, are easier to explain in terms of migration. Here, with lack of industry and restricted agricultural possibilities the only option for many has been to clear out. While these figures only deal with centre applications they do highlight the type of individual who avails of the services.

Thus we have seen that the Irish Centre developed out of a need to help those who were coming to a foreign land, enticed there by the prospects of wealth and a better life. It attempted to deal with a rising Irish population who began a second wave of migration in the 1970s, possibly because of the attraction of a stable British economy and lack of opportunity at home. Today, however, while the actual figures for emigration are decreasing, those attending the Centres are increasing and the range of problems is becoming more varied and complex.

As was already stated it seems from the 1981 census that numbers are increasingly returning to Ireland after having spent some time working in Britain. It was also obvious from the census that the Irish as an ethnic group are somewhat unique in the fact of having a greater percentage of females emigrating and also of being 'older' than most other ethnic groups.

No county in Ireland has been left unaffected by emigration to Britain and while one would have expected the rural areas to be predominant it is the urban centres that are exporting the greatest percentage across the Irish Sea. This again probably reflected the depressed state of Irish industry as people sought to escape from it to a new world. The fact that people are returning to Ireland

does not mean that prospects are improving here but rather that they have been also squeezed out of the British either through unemployment or retirement.

Thus the Irish Centre has helped many thousands who have come to Britain but its role is not only confined to "welfare", each evening and at weekends it becomes the meeting point for many thousands of Irish immigrants where they can wine and dine; sing and dance and reminisce and socialise in the accepted Irish tradition. Integration into the host society is necessary for happy co-existence but this does not mean a forfeiting of national identity which the centres are happy to foster and maintain. While the numbers emigrating might have temporarily halted the services of the Centre must adapt to the needs of the Irish in Britain as it continues to be the half-way house for those coming from an Irish situation into the unfamiliar territory of a new land and a new people.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kirwin R.X. "Recent Anglo-Irish Migration in the evidence of the British Labour Force Surveys". Economic & Social Review 1982.

1971-1981 Annual Reports. Irish Centre London and Hammersmith.

Kathleen Elliott

## Bartons Transport

MAIN STREET  
MAYNOOTH.

Phone: (01) 286026 &  
286338

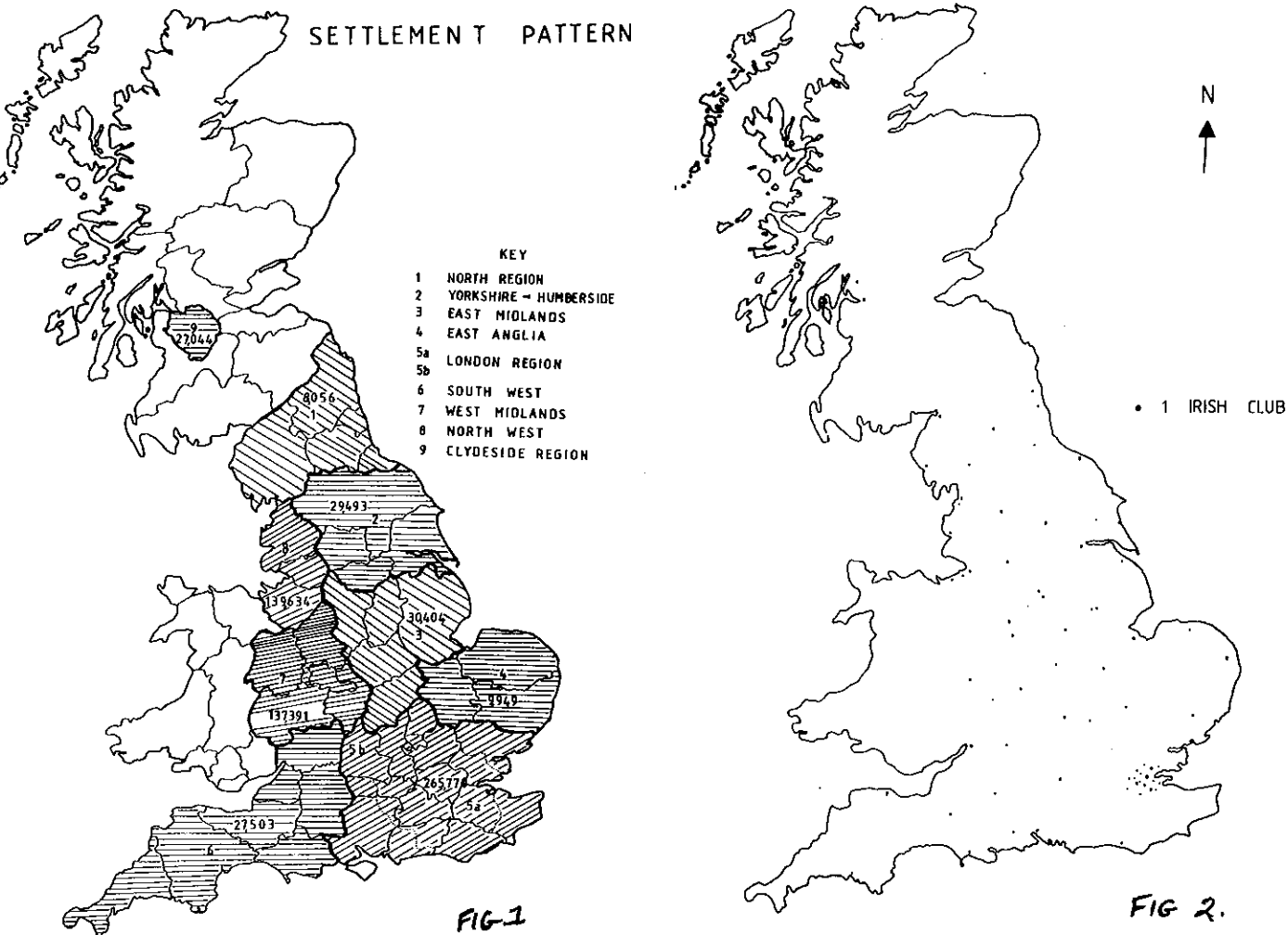


COACHES, CARS AND MINI-BUSES FOR HIRE

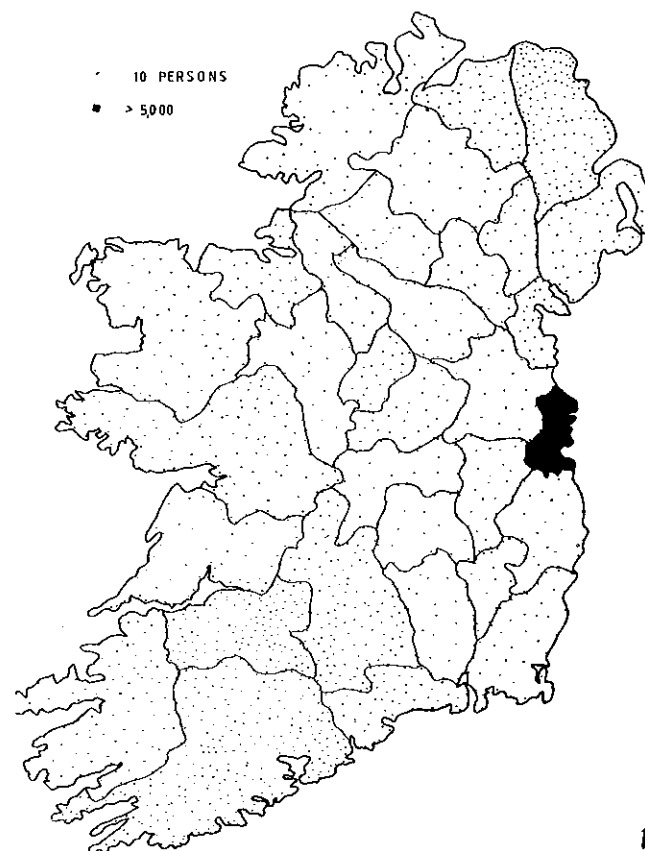
14, 45 & 53 SEATERS

Barton School of Motoring

SETTLEMENT PATTERN



1971 - 1981 ATTENDANCE AT IRISH CENTRE  
LONDON AND HAMMERSMITH  
COUNTY OF ORIGIN



ENGLAND AND WALES  
IRISH POP.

1941	209,404
1951	519,959
1961	601,634
1971	566,540
1981	502,374
1991	458,315
1901	426,556
1911	375,325
1921	364,747
1931	381,081
1951	627,021
1961	670,445
1971	709,235
1981	619,941

SCOTLAND  
IRISH POP.

1941	126,321
1951	207,267
1961	204,083
1971	207,770
1981	218,745
1991	194,807
1901	205,064
1911	174,175
1921	159,020
1931	124,296
1951	89,007
1961	80,533
1971	66,545
1981	27,044

TABLE 1

CASES DEALT WITH — 1971-81

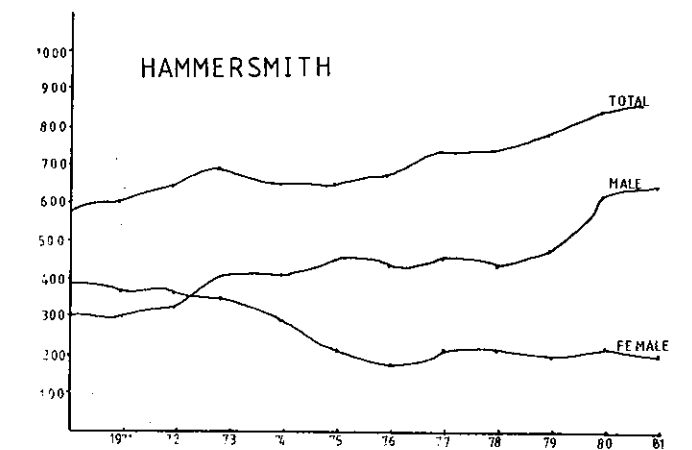


TABLE 2

CASES DEALT WITH 1971-81  
AGE STRUCTURE

LONDON CENTRE	AGE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
	<18	772	359	1,131
	18-25	7,355	3,494	10,849
	26-40	3,238	1,091	4,329
	> 40	1,571	459	2,030
HAMMERSMITH	<18			369
	18-25			1,504
	26-40			2,346
	> 40			2,157

TABLE 3

# GEOGRAPHY and FEMINISM

To argue that there is a need for the incorporation of a feminist perspective in the study of geography would seem to indicate the need for some sort of lengthy explanation. This will not be found here. It is this writer's belief that an imbalance in geographic research needs to be redressed and feminist perspectives incorporated into the theoretical frameworks, methodologies and empirical procedures of main stream geography.

To so further it is argued that since its beginnings, in line with other academic disciplines falling under the broad umbrella of the Humanities and Social Sciences, geographic research, and therefore the teaching of geography has encompassed only one gender perspective, that is, a male perspective.

Studying the literature, attendance at geography conferences and lectures, a glance at the titles offered at third level courses serves to reinforce this view. We are constantly confronted with 'man's impact on the environment and landscape 'Man' and the environment 'man' and 'his' habitat. Urban spatial patterns are constantly and continually attributed exclusively to 'man's' use of space, 'man's' journey to work patterns, 'man's' need for specific goods and services. Economic geographies are attributed to rational economic 'man' maximising 'his' profits minimising 'his' costs and when this model is modified by other factors it focuses exclusively on 'man's' perceptions and behavioural patterns combined with 'his' purely economic needs.

Historical and cultural geographies, the human impact on the environment are described, analysed and interpreted by reference to 'man's' increasing ability to control and manipulate 'his' environment to 'his' needs. The following serves to illustrate the point.

'About 10,000 years ago 'man' started to gather food and plants and to keep rather than hunt animals. By domesticating food-plants, 'man' reduced enormously the space required for sustaining each individual . . . So long as 'he' had to subsist on the same animals and fish 'he' could catch and trap, the insects and eggs 'he' could collect and the foliage, roots, fruits and seeds 'he' could gather 'he' was limited in the kind of social life 'he' could develop; and as a rule 'he' could only live in small groups . . . and in the course of a year 'he' would have to move over extensive tracts of country shifting 'his' habitation country shifting 'his' habitation so that 'he' could tap the natural resources of successive areas.<sup>1</sup>

The above use of the masculine noun and pronouns to describe 'human-kind's' development is replicated, duplicated and multiplied time without number in every conceivable type of geography textbook, article and research paper. It permeates the classroom, lecture hall and tutorial reflecting the sexist bias of academia which in turn reflects the ethos of society as a whole, that of a Patriarchy.

This raises two points. The first has to do with the reactions to such objections to the use of the masculine gender in the above context, that is 'but woman is included implicitly when we speak of 'man' in this context. This may well be and to argue about the above use of such words will be thought to be an unnecessary and time wasting semantic exercise. It is not. Our language is what we are. In its phrasing, its emphasis, in what it includes and leaves out and in the types of words we choose to use it represents our personal and cultural value systems, and our perceptions of reality. 'Language is a highly organised systematic means of representing experience, and as such it assists us to organise all other ways of representing'.<sup>2</sup> Thus the use of the words 'man' 'he' 'his' etc. in these contexts represents the reality that in our society, both historically and presently 'man', the male of the human species is held to be superior to, and of greater importance in the development of the human race. Woman, the female of the species, is, by her exclusion from being named, automatically relegated to a subordinate position in the development of Humankind.

Few would argue that our society is Patriarchal. The discipline of Geography does not exist in a vacuum but is 'open to the influences and commands of the wider society which encompasses it'.<sup>3</sup> Thus in its nature and philosophy, its research and therefore its teaching, geography reflects the sexist bias of that larger society. That bias reflected, at one level in its language and at another in the nature of its research, has led to a situation whereby Woman, her roles, activities, her impact on the spatial patterning of our historical, cultural, economic and urban landscapes has been almost totally ignored. 'Woman have not just been hidden from history, they have been deliberately suppressed'.<sup>4</sup> This statement is as true of geography as it is of history.

The nature of a discipline's teaching follows from the nature of its research. The findings of such research becomes over time intergrated into the general body of the discipline's knowledge.

This 'knowledge' is constantly being reworked and redeveloped. New approaches and perspectives incorporated into existing theoretical frameworks are one of the mechanisms by which this modification and development takes place. In this way the *raison d'être* of the discipline i.e. 'the advancement of knowledge'<sup>5</sup> proceeds. As geographers we wish to describe, analyse, evaluate and interpret an incredibly complex variety of phenomena on and around the earth's surface<sup>6</sup> In doing so, we are expected to try as far as possible to take into account all of the variables which contribute to and therefore influence the results of our area of study. The conceptual frameworks we use will reflect specific ideologies and lay the foundations for basic assumptions upon which our research is based. This in turn will influence the methodologies and empirical procedures employed.

The ideologies which inform our conceptual frameworks are exclusively patriarchal therefore one of the most universal assumptions upon which geographical research is based is that woman is a 'passive' agent in the processes which underlie dynamic geographic patterns. The result is that the methodological procedures and empirical research does not allow for the inclusion of woman's impact, perception, behaviour or decision-making on the shaping of either past or present geographies. When mentioned, which is seldom, her impact is assumed to be either the same as or secondary (therefore inferior) to man's. Neither assumption is correct. Woman does not think or act in the same way as man. Her experience of reality, her behavioural patterns, the way in which she organises her time, her role in society and her decision making processes are essentially different to those of man. This is not to suggest that woman and man's experience and actions do not overlap in all of these areas. They do but the differences are vast enough to demand an inclusion of the specifically female influences which help shape the spatial patterns of the world in which we live. In other words the concept of gender and gender difference needs to be incorporated into our conceptual frameworks.<sup>8</sup> Without such inclusion one of the most important variables in the shaping of the structures which underlie past and present geographies is, and will continue to be missing. The 'advancement of knowledge' will proceed but it must be an advancement which is retarded for lack of one of its vital components.

Attention needs to be drawn here to

the fact studies have been undertaken on the 'geography of women' per se. Ironically it is not unknown for these to be classified under the heading 'the geography of minority groups'. This despite the fact that woman forms over half the world's population.<sup>7</sup> These studies, valuable and necessary as they are, are not, however what constitutes incorporating a feminist perspective into geographic research.

One of the basic principles of feminism is that of non-sexism. Feminists therefore do not argue for a geography of woman to replace that of man, but rather a geography of humankind, a geography which incorporates the female as well as the male factors which influence spatial structures.

Within Urban geography for instance, we need to know the influence of the increasing number of women, who remain in paid employment after marriage, on land values and the housing market and in turn on overall urban residential structures. In economic geography we need to know far more of the gender relations of production. As the global economy restructures itself, what effect has this on the gender composition of labour? Are more women than men being employed by the 'new technology' industries and if so what is the effect of this on the social and cultural geographies of specific places? What are the effects of women's decision making processes on settlement patterns, migration and population structure as a whole? On a broader scale the increasingly recognised impact of the so-called woman's movement over the last one hundred years or so needs to be taken into account, along with other elements of change in seeking to describe, explain and interpret dynamic geographic processes.

The above may seem obvious areas for inclusion in geographic research but they are rarely taken seriously into consideration. Even the most cursory glance at the literature serves to confirm this view. The result is that the findings and therefore the teachings of geographic research is unbalanced, with a bias in favour of the influences of one gender to the virtual exclusion of the other. This is a situation which needs to be redressed. Good scholarship requires that we use, test and evaluate all the available and relevant data at our disposal in our search for understanding. If as geographers we were to suggest that the actions, decisions, lifestyles, roles, perceptions, and behavioural patterns of man was not relevant data for widespread inclusion in our research we

would be laughed out of academia. Yet we do precisely this with regard to woman.

The lack of this gender perspective is a denigration of good scholarship. One of the most persistent and sustaining ideals of an academic discipline is its supposed unequivocal search for the truth<sup>8</sup> in the explanation and interpretation of the phenomena it studies. Bigotry of any type, has therefore, no place in such work. Sexism or sexual bias is bigotry at its worst. The discipline of geography (as with all other disciplines) needs to be aware of this fact. The intergration of gender differences into the body of its work can only serve to broaden and deepen our understanding of geographic phenomena and the processes which shape them, thus enabling us to further proposals 'the advancement of knowledge'.

Margaret Clince

## REFERENCES

1. Andrew Gondie, *The Human Impact* (Basil Blackwell), Oxford 1981.
2. James Britton, *Language and Learning* (Penguin Press) Middlesex 1976.
3. R.J. Johnson, *Geography and Geographers*, (Anglo American Human Geography since 1945 (Arnold Publishers Ltd) London 1979.
4. London Feminist History Group, *The Sexual Dynamics of History* (Pluto Press) London 1983.
5. R.J. Johnson, *ibid.*
6. This is not intended to be a definition of geography.
7. World Bank Annual Report (1982).
8. R.J. Johnson, *ibid.*

## RYE RIVER BOOKS

MILL ST. MAYNOOTH  
Phone (01) 285626

## BOOKS: OLD & NEW

College Stationery  
at unbeatable prices!

Generous prices paid for second-hand textbooks

## LEINSTER ARMS

Luncheons daily 12.30-2.30  
Snacks served all day

Back Lounge open all day for  
anyone wanting a quiet drink

Pool Hall open upstairs  
10.30-11.30

Evening Meals  
5.30-6.30

Proprietor  
JACK McELLINEY

# POLITICAL STABILITY IN NIGERIA

It has proved difficult to make Western-style democracy succeed in Nigeria. This country has been independent for 24 years, fourteen of which have been under military administration. The conventional explanation for the difficulty in getting the democratic system firmly established is that the politicians are corrupt and that they mismanage the economy. The corollary of this conventional view is that the army, which from time to time overthrows one government to establish another, represents idealism in politics. However, capitalist penetration appears to be better able to account for the problem than the conventional analysis.

## Capitalist Penetration

The basic direction of government policy in Nigeria seems to assume that the capitalist mode of production is expected to dominate in Nigeria. But then there is some ambivalence in Nigeria about capitalism. The people accept it because it had been implanted by the colonialists as the only way to economic development and because the country is under the direct influence of Western states. However, it seems to offend many idealists in the way in which it stratifies society, producing in particular a wealthy and politically powerful class, and leaving the rest with little or no political power.

## The Emerging Capitalist Class

The way in which capitalism establishes itself is not through a process of natural selection but by the ruthless exploitation of an initial advantage. The process of the colonial transformation of the region that is now Nigeria produced the comprador class, who then gained an initial advantage. The economic and political history of the country since colonial times can be seen in terms of the quest by this class to establish a total control of the Nigerian economy. There is also a struggle for supremacy. This internal struggle is of great significance in interpreting the reasons for the shaky political structure. Internal struggle is a major feature of capitalism everywhere: this is one of the reasons why it has been characterised as a system in a "permanent state of emergency" (Schwartz, 1977).

For capitalism to take root in Nigeria, the capitalist class must gain control of the means of production in the country. It is as true in one Western state as it is in another that the control of the decision-making process both in politics

and in economic matters is in the hands of class in the upper reaches of the social strata. That upper echelon is struggling to establish itself in Nigeria. It is becoming clear now, with the benefit of hindsight, that the breakdown in the political process in Nigeria during the mid 1960s was in part the result of this struggle to get to the top; but it was especially the result of internal competition within that upper echelon. In their struggle to build up their power base they had split the country into power centres corresponding to regional boundaries. An impasse was reached because the system had not developed a way of resolving its own contradictions. There was need for a strong government that could withstand intimidation by one faction of the capitalist class or another. A second alternative was to erode the power base of the different factions so that they could no longer threaten the stability of the country. This was ultimately the course taken by the military when they divided the country into twelve states in 1967, and subsequently into nineteen states, as against the four region structure of previous years. The result is that the only way in which a faction of the capitalism class can pose a major challenge to the Federal Government is to mobilize the whole class across the nation; and this is a thing that is unlikely to happen considering the competitive nature of capitalism.

## The Resurgence of the Capitalist Class

It took a civil war (1967-1970), however, for the central government to achieve the break up of the power blocks. But after the war the nation had to rebuild. The capitalist class reappeared as winners of government contracts, and the competition started all over again. The methods which they adopted in this competition did not differ markedly from those which the multinationals tend to use in order to win customers. A good example of the method is the use of "inducements" by the Lockheed Aircraft Corp to influence high officials of the Tanaka government in Japan during the 1970s. The emerging capitalists in Nigeria sometimes offered inducements to government officials for contracts, and in turn received inducements from foreign firms in order to be hired to do the job. An Indigenisation Decree was passed in the mid 1970s which directed that businesses operating in Nigeria should offer equity shares to the public, and that their management should be transferred to Nigerians. Since this decree most of the companies that were hired to execute projects in Nigeria had to be incor-

porated in Nigeria. Often it was the very people whom the parent company had offered some inducement in order to be hired that actually get appointed as the titular chief executives of the incorporated companies. Moreover, members of this class were already in a privileged position. So when the Indigenisation Decree was announced they were allegedly able to buy up huge amounts of shares in the companies affected, and so were able to gain directorships, and in many cases also top management positions in the companies. Overall they have been gaining ground very consistently in the past decade.

## The impact of the emerging capitalist class on the nation's political economy

Nigeria adopted the mixed economy system, believing it to be a happy mean between all out free enterprise and centralised planning. But it is a system which capital can and does exploit. The mixed economy model makes the government very prominent in the process of industrialisation. Because the members of this class are particularly interested in the activities of the government they tend to form an alliance with the government officials, who manage the dispensing of government funds and the awarding of contracts. They also try to influence government budget decisions in ways that will benefit them. The net effect of this relationship between the government and the bourgeoisie is that government activities are increasingly geared toward the interests of that class; and it is not to be doubted that if the hoped-for industrial take-off actually occurs they will be in a position to gain control of the industrial establishments which government has had to set up in pursuit of its mixed economy policy.

Meanwhile, observers of the Nigerian economy scene look upon the system as essentially corrupt. Very often military intervention in politics has been on the grounds that the existing government was corrupt. There is of course no consensus in Nigeria that the army occupies the moral high ground and therefore operates in a neutral manner when it assumes political power. There is a cynical perception of the army officers among some Nigerians essentially as people who do not wish to lose out in the on-going struggle for the acquisition of power and influence. But even when they act from a conviction that they are working for the maintenance of social balance in the country when they take over the government, it would be a mistake to believe that if military control lasts long enough it will put the country on an ideal footing for in-

dustrialisation. Each successive military administration soon finds that it will have to do business with the rising capitalists, and that this class always stands to gain. When and if they return power to the civilians they will find that it is more or less the power again.

## The Armed Forces in Politics

It is interesting that some of the most critical political decisions that have been made in Nigeria since independence were achieved under military administrations. The proclamation of Nigeria into a unitary state in May 1966 by the first military administration of the country was a major effort to erode the power centres of the bourgeoisie, which were tending toward tearing the nation apart. It was a move whose political cost was so heavy that it could not have been attempted by any civilian administration. But even so it brought about a bloody counter-coup in July of the same year. The break up of the regions for purposes of creating new states in 1967 was a more conservative means of dealing with the same problem. Once again it was the military that achieved it. That break up of the regions made the country safer for competition among the business interests. The Indigenisation Decree was, as we saw, even of more direct benefit to the same class. Another piece of legislation that is of great significance ultimately for the business interests is the Land Use Decree of late 1970s, which nationalised all land, making it easy for this class to obtain land at little or no cost for their industrial establishments. All this shows that the military does represent the sort of strong government which can effectively maintain a ring within which the dominant class can compete freely, while at the same time smoothing out some of the internal conflicts that could ultimately undermine free enterprise.

## Conclusion

The capitalist system is gradually taking root in Nigeria. It has brought with it some dislocations, particularly of traditional economic systems. One side effect of the federal character of the country is that the emerging urban-industrial core has important centres in virtually all parts of the country. Peripheral areas are therefore close to urban areas in spatial terms. Still uneven development is a serious political problem in Nigeria. However, the more dangerous problem is the conflicts within the rising bourgeoisie class. This problem, which is normally associated with capitalism, has been more difficult to smooth over through the ordinary

political process because the political arm of that class had not acquired the kind of authority to enable it withstand pressure from factions within the class. The armed forces have as a result tended to provide the required political control. Essentially then, military takeovers in Nigeria and probably also elsewhere do not represent a draw back for capital but rather a means for assuring its survival.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bell, P.F. "Marxist Theory, Class Struggle, and the Crisis of Capitalism" in *The Subtle Anatomy of Capitalism*, ed. J. Schwartz, Goodyear, California (1977).

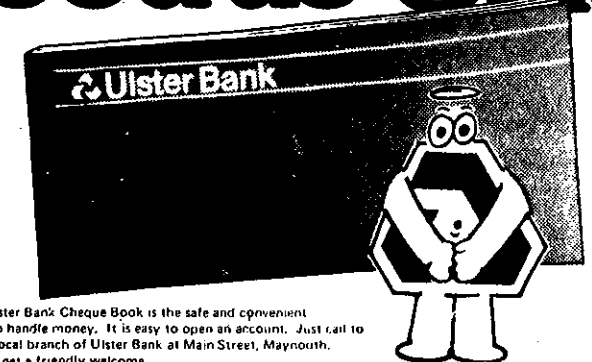
Hunt, E.K., and Sherman, H.J. *Economics*, 4th Edition, Harper & Row, New York, 1981.

Schwartz, J. ed. *The Subtle Anatomy of Capitalism*, Goodyear, California 1977.

Turner, T. "Nigeria: Imperialism, Oil Technology and the Comprador State" in *Oil and Class Struggle*, ed. P. Nore and T. Turner, Zed Press, London, 1980.

Amechi Nicholas Akwanya

# Good as Gold



An Ulster Bank Cheque Book is the safe and convenient way to handle money. It is easy to open an account. Just call to your local branch of Ulster Bank at Main Street, Maynooth. You'll get a friendly welcome. Phone 286382, 285323 or 285249.

**Ulster Bank**  
the friendly bank

# TECTONIC ACTIVITY and LANDFORMS

Mountains, the homes of the Gods and a source of awe in times past, are probably the most dramatic of earth's second-order relief features. Earthquakes are a form of environmental hazard which can wreak devastation over large areas and they are, it would seem, of all our environmental hazards the least susceptible to prediction and control. Both phenomena — mountains and earthquakes — have excited comment throughout most of man's recorded history and it would be strange if speculation as to their causes and origin has not had an equally long history. However it is only in the last thirty years or so that a satisfactory theory has been developed which would adequately explain these natural wonders and even find a common origin for them.

The theory is that of Plate Tectonics. This essay will endeavour to show how that theory can be of help in explaining the origins of mountains and earthquakes but first it is necessary to explain the theory briefly.

The term "Lithosphere" has traditionally been used to describe the entire solid earth from outer surface to innermost core. However the term is used nowadays to refer to an outer layer of rigid brittle rock which has the capability of moving (or being moved) bodily over an underlying layer called the asthenosphere. The asthenosphere, because of its higher temperature, is softer and plastic and the lithosphere can be thought of in a very general sort of way, as "floating" on the more liquid lower layer. The lithosphere of rigid rock is not a continuous shell but is broken into a number of huge segments called Lithospheric Plates, of which there are twelve major ones covering the surface of the globe. These plates vary in thickness from about

80kms. under the continents to about 40kms. beneath the oceans. Upward movement of less dense material within the earth's mantle is brought about by convection due to heating caused by radioactivity and its upward motion tends to lift the plates which are then forced to shift horizontally under the combined action of that lift and gravitational forces.

The study of these plates and the interaction between them is what is meant by Plate Tectonics and it is the theory which explains these interactions that I will explain.

The theory helps also to confirm and explain an earlier theory propounded by Wegener in the 1920's when he postulated that all the earth's landmass was once joined together in a

super-continent called Pangaea. Wegener argued that Pangaea broke into smaller components which formed the present system of continents and larger islands but he could not explain the dynamics of this separation. However the theory of Plate Tectonics states that this break-up occurred as the earth's outer covering broke up into lithospheric plates which were pushed apart as they "floated" on the asthenosphere. The thicker plates beneath the continent are composed of lighter felsic (granitic) rocks while the oceanic plates are made up of dense mafic or ultra-mafic materials.

The oceanic plates are split by a mid-oceanic rift which runs for over 30,000 miles through the main oceans of the world. As the oceanic plates are then forced apart at this axial rift — probably by the convection forces already mentioned — molten material (magma) from the earth's mantle wells up into the resultant rift. The magma solidifies to form a new crust. As a dense oceanic plate is pushed into collision with a lighter, thicker plate of a continent it dives beneath the latter, or, to put it another way, the lighter continental plate rides over the heavier and thinner oceanic plate.

As the oceanic plate penetrates deeper into the hot asthenosphere it is consumed by heat and most of it becomes part of the asthenosphere. A thin upper layer of the oceanic plate is composed of lighter material and this on melting, rises in globules — as would bubbles of hot air — through the denser asthenosphere, until, in some instances, the earth's surface is reached through surface faults. Thus the oceanic plate is accreting material at one of its boundaries, the mid-oceanic rift, and losing material from its other boundary as it is subducted and absorbed into the asthenosphere.

Tectonic activity gives rise to orogenic (mountain-building) processes the following ways: firstly, as an oceanic plate is subducted beneath a continental plate part of the latter is uplifted along a line parallel with the contact line between the two plates. The uplifted portion forms a mountain range.

Secondly, and, also at the subduction zone, those parts of the oceanic plate which melt and rise, bubble-like, through the asthenosphere are extruded at the earth's surface as magma and other types of matter. This material accumulates to form volcanoes. Some of these can be impressive peaks. Most of the Andes range was formed by a

combination of these first two tectonic processes.

A third way in which mountains can be formed is when a phenomenon known as a continental collision occurs. An oceanic plate on which rests a continental mass is subducted under a continental plate. As the oceanic plate continues its advance into the subduction zone the gap between the two continental masses narrows until finally they collide. The resultant enormous pressure causes uplifting and folding of the earth's material to form mountain ranges. Eventually the resultant pressure and heat joins the two masses together in a process called continental suture. The European Alps and the Himalayas range were formed in this way in late Cenozoic times. Earlier sutures resulted in ranges which have now become relatively low due to exogenous processes, such as the Appalachians and the Urals.

Another way in which mountains are formed occurs along the line of the mid-oceanic rift where volcanoes are formed by the extruding magma. These sometimes rise above the level of the ocean to form mountains such as Iceland's volcanoes.

Finally, mountains are also formed when a continental plate, on being pushed upwards by thermal forces already described, cracks and a rift forms in much the same way as with the mid-oceanic rift. The sides of the rift are uplifted to form mountains and the floor of the rift is filled with basaltic magma as it widens. The two sides of the plate are pushed apart, water flows in and the rift eventually becomes an ocean. Such a rift is the Red Sea with its mountainous sides.

Plate Tectonics also helps to explain earthquakes. In discussing lithospheric plates it was shown that these can have converging edges or boundaries which are subducted where plates collide, and at the other end boundaries which accumulate material at the mid-oceanic rift. As a plate moves in the direction of subduction it can readily be seen that the plate, being finite, also had lateral boundaries which move past other plates. This lateral contact-boundary between plates is called a transform boundary. Strahler likens plates to the lid of a roll-top desk in its shape and in the manner in which it moves but reminds us that the plates need not have such a simple rectangular shape as boundaries can be curved and plates can pivot as they move.<sup>2</sup>

We have now mentioned three types of boundaries: spreading, converging and transform. Earthquakes are associ-

ated with each of these. Earthquakes are movements of the ground surface of the earth. These movements or tremors travel outwards like ripples on a liquid surface, from the point of origin of the disturbance (the epicentre). In the case of earthquakes this initial disturbance is set off as built-up energy is released by sudden movement caused by tectonic plate action. These tremors are most commonly felt at subduction zones of converging plates. As the plates come into contact enormous pressure is built up as the plates' freedom to move past each other is inhibited by "interlocking irregularities"<sup>3</sup> on either side of the contact zone. When the movement of the plate(s) suddenly overcomes this inhibitory factor the constituent rocks of the plates snap back into a position of neutral tension in a process called "Elastic Rebound".<sup>4</sup> This rebound effect sets up shock waves which are felt as earthquakes. Such earthquakes

those caused by plates under subduction are felt along the Pacific margins in Japan, the west coast of South America and Alaska as oceanic plates such as the Nazca or Juan de Fuca plate are subducted beneath continental plates such as the American plate.

At transform boundaries the rocks from plates on either side may be in tension as the plates are forced to slide past each other. The sudden release in tension as the friction or holding effect of the rocks give way is again felt as an earthquake caused by the release of energy. The actual movement of the rocks can be quite small, measured in millimetres, or it can be much greater.

The most notable example of such a transform boundary giving rise to earthquakes is the San Andreas Fault in California where the Pacific Plate and the American Plate slide past each other.

Earthquakes, usually relatively minor ones, also occur at spreading boundaries, generally in mid-ocean.

I have shown that Plate Tectonics are useful in confirming centuries — old speculation that the world's continents were once joined together. The theory also shows that the tremendous forces released as large sections of the lithosphere collide and separate cause gigantic upheavals in the earth's surface. These upheavals give rise to mountain ranges. The same forces, combined with the sudden release of pent-up energy as plates slide past each other, cause earthquakes. It is well to realise that these seemingly enormous and sometimes devastating phenomenon are relatively tiny and unimportant on a global scale. Nevertheless, to humans these effects

can be far-reaching so further study and research of this phenomena is needed.

## REFERENCES

1. Based on A.H. and A.M. Strahler Elements of Physical Geography.
2. Strahler and Strahler. Elements of Physical Geography, p. 230.
3. Gilluly, Waters, Woodford, Principles of Geology, p.93.
4. Ibid.

PATRICK O' LEARY



FRENCH FIELDTRIP 1984

# GEOGRAPHY QUIZ

1. What is the longest mountain range in the world?
2. (a) What is the longest river in Africa?  
(b) Where does this river enter the sea?
3. (a) Rome is built on what river?  
(b) Lisbon is built on what river?
4. What countries make up the Iberian Peninsula?
5. Name the capital city of: — (i) Canada (ii) Australia (iii) The Netherlands (iv) Switzerland.
6. There are three basic rock types — name all three.
7. In what year was Maynooth College founded?
8. How high is the spire of the Gunn Chapel to within 10m?
9. What is the unit of currency in Japan?
10. Name the second largest county in Ireland?
11. How many seats in Theatre 1, New Arts Block?
12. What is the second level of the Library called?
13. How many study seats are there available in the Library?
14. What is the Latin College motto to be seen in the Aula Maxima?
15. Where do the Geography Department have their office?

All entries must be accompanied by the Entry Token at the bottom of this page and must reach us not later than April 30th 1985.

## PRIZES

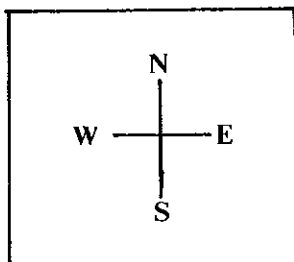
1st: £10 booktoken.

Several consolation prizes of £5 booktokens.



**Allied Irish Banks**  
*Banking for a better future*

## ENTRY



## TOKEN

PRIZES SPONSORED BY KENNEYS