THE ACCIDENTAL TIGER: AN EXPLORATION
OF THE IRISH ECONOMIC DISPOSITION
DURING THE BELATED GOLDEN AGE OF
DEVELOPMENT

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Title: The Accidental Tiger – An exploration of the Irish economic disposition during the belated golden age of development.

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Abstract:

This thesis begins by confirming Ireland’s status as a ‘tiger’ economy when measured against internationally recognised benchmarks. Wholly unanticipated, yet generating the most remarkable economic transformation in the history of the state, the underlying causes of the accidental 'Celtic Tiger' remain problematical.

Evidence is presented which suggests that two specific socio-cultural factors, or Absolute Pre-suppositions, Catholicism and nationalism, continue to generate a unique economic disposition in Irish society. This orientation gives the metaphysical and experiential world precedence over the economic and sets a personal maximum limit of ‘enough’ on material aspirations. Moreover, the ‘Celtic Tiger’ appears to have adapted itself to live comfortably as a third placed priority in many people’s lives.

In this study, conducted between 1998-2001, which includes contributions from government ministers, executives and staff of multinationals, farmers, students, unemployed persons, homeless persons and Travellers, a unique profile of the Irish economic disposition is revealed. This profile challenges the traditional position of many sociologists and economists by underlining the positive but conditional contribution made by a Catholic ethic to the ‘Celtic Tiger’.

A number of classical and modern sociological insights were employed to interpret this profile. As their universal mandate was based on cultural suppositions and expectations of advanced non-Catholic western societies, the contradiction of relatively low levels of secularisation and unprecedented levels of economic performance posed a formidable challenge to these insights. The emphasis of the Irish economic disposition on optimising rather than maximising wealth was almost incomprehensible.

The thesis concludes by presenting a small Theory of Limits, where these contradictions are explained as an outcome of a specific internal constellation of socio-cultural factors. Ultimately this study de-stabilises the concept of a universal blueprint for economic development.

Key Words: Absolute Pre-supposition, Celtic Tiger, accidental, enough, Theory of Limits, economic disposition
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THE INTRODUCTION

Eire's 3 millions eke out an existence that would be considered poverty this side of the Irish sea—unlike the English...they don't normally want more than they have (Ireland in the Thirties - MovieTone News 1999).

This study from a sociological standpoint, makes a unique and original contribution to our understanding of the dynamics of economic development. It identifies two specific cultural factors and reveals their role in determining the nature of the economic disposition of Irish society. This orientation, characterised by individuals being 'in' yet 'detached from' the 'Celtic Tiger' appears to have a significant impact on Irish economic development. The research sample itself is unique because it captures a contribution from the mosaic of Irish social life that includes those responsible for the economic and pastoral welfare of Irish society, executives and workers in a traditional and a recently arrived multi-national, some of the most efficient farmers in Ireland, students and the most disadvantaged in Irish society. So too is the research methodology, adopting as it does a multi-faceted approach tailor made for Irish society where its success becomes an exposé and commentary on the value of personal networking in Irish society and reflects the ascendancy of personal and sectional rather than national economic objectives.

If the study 'proves' anything, it is that the exclusive use of an empirical scientific approach is insufficient to uncover the hitherto unknown impact of a small constellation of cultural factors that give the Irish economic disposition its particular shape and structure, and only partially successful in revealing known economic outcomes featured in the 'Celtic Tiger'. The study is also careful to avoid generalising from the specific, avoiding an error of logic frequently found in economic discourse. This 'logic' maintains that a generalisation which is by and large true can always be applied to an 'accidental' set of circumstances and that the reverse
also holds true, in that an ‘accidental’ case can be presumed to apply to the majority of situations (Copi and Cohen 1998). Because this examination of the origins of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ will give testimony beyond a reasonable doubt as to its ‘accidental’ pedigree, it provided a ‘heaven sent’ opportunity to address a number of important research questions.

Firstly, how was it possible that the emergence of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ not only caught off guard, every academic and economic commentator, even the government itself, but flew in the face of well regarded economic developmental theories? Secondly, because the Irish economic disposition was regarded as the chief culprit causing poor development in the past, was there now a fundamental shift in that disposition towards actively assisting economic development? Moreover, would that shift be in line with what many considered a necessary pre-requisite for development i.e. a strong Protestant ethic. Thirdly, could we rely on the insights of the fathers of sociology to make sense of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ sporting its ‘new’ economic disposition, or if not, would we then need to take a fresh look at how these insights could be made more relevant and inclusive to accommodate this new reality?

To address the first question, the study set out to trace the origins of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ over a long term period of economic development and to isolate recurring or durable patterns of economic thinking and behaviour. We then attempted to establish the extent and nature of the impact that these patterns exerted on the dynamic of Irish development before and during the ‘Celtic Tiger’. Following this particular line of enquiry led to some revealing insights into the reasons for Irish society’s ‘contradictory’ choices such as rejecting some institutions like Protestantism while attracting its stablemate, capitalism, creating a compliant workforce as part of a highly
competitive environment conducive to the growth of global capitalism, while simultaneously promoting equity as the number one national priority.

As this sociological study was conducted during such a dramatic improvement in economic circumstances, it provided a golden opportunity to test a long standing ‘fact’ about the path of Irish economic development. Many commentators had connected Ireland’s consistently poor record of development with Catholic religious beliefs and a colonial history, that made Irish society in general and workers in particular, indifferent at best and inimical at worst, to economic development. The most obvious aggregate effect of these beliefs and this history, could be seen in a general antipathy towards industry and a weak work ethic. The expectation was, that when workers would eventually internalise a more secular and acquisitive economic ethic, significant economic progress would follow. We needed to construct a profile of the Irish economic disposition during this high performing phase of progress and compare the results against these expectations. In so doing, we could establish the reason(s) for the type of profile that emerged and how it shapes the individual’s economic behaviour.

Thirdly, the ‘Celtic Tiger’ provided one other ‘not to be missed’ opportunity. We could re-visit and re-examine a largely forgotten and somewhat unfashionable sociological debate, concerning the impact of religious beliefs on economic development and to litmus test their universal mandate against the socio-economic context of the ‘Celtic Tiger’. The importance of using the ‘Celtic Tiger’ in this debate should not be underestimated, for as long as countries such as Ireland remained Catholic and poor, certain long standing insights, such as the natural link between the Protestant ethic and capitalist development, could not be challenged. However, if Ireland became rich while still remaining predominantly Catholic, how relevant then
would this insight remain? Furthermore, if it could be established that Catholicism was a key influence in shaping socio-economic development before and during the ‘Celtic Tiger’, then Marx’s economic relations model would also find itself under great stress.

The research questions outlined above were addressed using a straightforward four step approach. The first step was to trace, in some detail, the improbable origins of the accidental ‘Celtic Tiger’. The second step was to conduct research on a representative mosaic of Irish social life and construct a profile of the Irish economic disposition while the third then applied sociological theory to explain the nature of that profile. Finally universal sociological insights were then refined as required, to provide a more inclusive interpretation of Irish economic behaviour. The results of this refinement are presented in our Theory of Limits. The four steps provide natural lines of division which are reflected in the four part structure of the thesis.

Some initial observations on the Irish socio-economic context

While the special or 'accidental' nature of the 'Celtic Tiger' may present analytical difficulties from an economic and historical perspective, the fact that this study has an Irish backdrop presents an even more formidable challenge from a sociological point of view. There are two reasons for this. The first concerns the political complexity of the island of Ireland which exists as two distinct yet interrelated societies, one in the north and the other in the south, each having its own dominant tradition, world view and economic history. Our study explores the economic disposition of one of these societies - The Republic of Ireland. In order to position our exploration in this specific social context, it has been necessary to deploy a number of historical, political and economic backdrops. This requires the use of terminology which can be interpreted in a variety of ways. Examples of such terms include ‘Éire’, ‘Ireland’,
‘The Free State’ and the ‘Celtic Tiger’. To ensure a consistency of interpretation throughout the study a comprehensive glossary is provided in Appendix 1.

The second reason concerns the nature of the sociological forum in Ireland. According to Brewer (2001) the sociology community in the North and South of Ireland is very small, parochial in focus, with little inter university engagement on the Island in the field of sociology. Apparently the same sociologists appear time and time again resulting in the failure of sociology to interpret the daily experiences of people living on the Island of Ireland even though the Northern part is comparatively speaking the most studied place on earth.

As for the Republic of Ireland, attempts at a sociological interpretation of ‘Celtic Tiger’ society such as the 'vox pop' contributions published in the Sociological Chronicles of Ireland¹ (1995-1996 and 1997-1998) again written by a small cadre of individuals belonging to one Irish university, are good cultural studies with some examples of strong sociological reflection but fail to include important sociological dimensions impacting on the topic area (Brewer 2001). Moreover, the serious impact of Irish insularity is reflected in the lack of substantive debate on critically important ideologies. Ireland’s Marxist historical tradition for example, has been so marginalised and neglected, encountering significant resistance within Irish historiography, that the Irish Marxist/Nationalist debate has prevented generalising models such as those of Wallerstein and Hirst to make any impression on Irish historical thinking (Brady 1999). Up to 1990 there wasn’t even one successful application of a classical Marxist analysis to any component of Irish life (Akenson 1991).

¹ A two volume series of ‘unorthodox’ essays edited by Eamon Slater and Michael Peillon with an emphasis on understanding contemporary Ireland both North and South and aimed mainly at the lay reader.
As we will see later, this sociological context is then confronted by a number of 'anomalies' relating to the 'tiger' status of the modern Irish economy and some stereotypical views embedded in sociological discourse that can lead to relatively misinformed assumptions of Irish socio-economic matters in general and the Irish economic disposition in particular. An informed evaluation of the arguments and explorations that are presented in the early part of the thesis is, therefore, vital in understanding the nature of the Irish economic disposition and the analysis of it that follows. Consequently the aim of the remainder of the introductory section and the content of the three subsequent chapters in Part I is to equip the reader with the facts and data essential for an informed appreciation of important Irish political, economic and cultural dimensions that differentiate the ‘Celtic Tiger’ from other socio-economic entities. The anticipated outcome of this approach is that the elements of the Irish economic disposition revealed in Part II of the thesis will be seen as a ‘natural’ outcome of a specific socio-historical pattern of development.

**Initial observations on the post independent Irish economy**

In 1922, Ireland became one of the first nations in the 20th century to secure its independence from a colonial power, Britain (Breen, Hannan, Rothman and Whelan 1990). Since then, the history of its economic performance can be divided into five distinct phases;- the early period of 1922-1939, the war and early post war period of 1939-1957, the first recovery period of 1958-1969, the set back period of 1970-1986 and finally the second recovery period from 1987 to mid 2001 which includes the ‘Celtic Tiger’ period from 1993 onwards (Whitaker 2001). The recent second recovery phase can be further sub divided into three periods;- the upturn from 1987-1990, followed by sluggish growth from 1991-1993 and then a very significant spurt of growth from 1993-1999 (O’Connell 2000). Broadly speaking then,
economic performance can be described as poor to the late 1950’s, good to the mid 70s, very poor to the early 90s and now at last in the apparent belated ‘golden’ age (O’Grada 1997). This late catching up is due to an uninterrupted 40 years’ strategy of global integration (Nolan, O’Connell and Whelan 2000) and increased educational participation (Nolan, O’Connell and Whelan 2000a).

The so called ‘belated’ golden age featured a very high level of economic performance. With GNP at 8.6% in real terms, the year 2000 was not only the seventh successive year of very strong economic growth (Forfás 2001) but in those seven years Ireland had the highest consecutive growth rates in the EU (Economist Intelligence Unit 2001). At the beginning of 2001 unemployment stood at its lowest level (3.7%) in modern times (Central Statistics Office 2001) and a 'record' trade surplus for the period Jan-Feb 2001 of £IR3,749m (£2,811m sterling) showed an increase of 67% over the same period in 2000 (Central Statistics Office 2001a). The period from 1994–1998 in particular, has seen the most sustained period of rapid economic growth in the last 50 years giving rise to the label ‘The Celtic Tiger’ (O’Hagan Murphy & Redmond 2000). Moreover, optimistic predictions were continuously made throughout the ‘tiger’ era about the on-going sustainability of economic development because there were no signs of the underlying growth forces abating in the short term (Govt 2001) as strong competitive forces, and ‘sound fundamentals’, were firmly embedded in the economy (OECD 2001)2.

The body of literature now available 'explaining' recent Irish economic development, which is later examined in chapter 3, stands in marked contrast to the observation of O’Malley (1989) that the Republic of Ireland in terms of either a 19th century

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2 Despite the downturn in the I.T. sector in the 1st half of 2001, the 3rd Report of the Expert Group on Future Skills Needs, Forfás, July 2001, was confident of the overall underlying strength of the Irish economy, noting that employment in IT ‘software’, in contrast to IT ‘hardware’ sectors remained particularly strong requiring no downward revision of overall IT employment levels for the period 2001-2005.
latecomer or a 20th century less developed country, had frequently been overlooked by both economists and sociologists. Both the 'modernisation' and the conflicting 'dependency' approach have been used to explain economic development/underdevelopment in Ireland. The 'modernisation' theory claimed that changes in the internal value system allowed entrepreneurship to flourish while the 'dependency' theory focussed on the absence of the necessary indigenous capital for development due to colonialism, yet this belies the fact that it is now obvious that no ideal one way of capitalist development actually exists (Allen 2000).

Moreover, the regional convergence theory that the free movement of goods and capital from the industrialised core to the under industrialised periphery would de facto, eventually be successful has been found to be erroneous and in contrast Ireland has adapted to external and internal forces by using a mix of liberal and state economic controls - in other words has adopted a country specific rather than a generalised approach (Bradley 2000). Leddin and Walsh (1998) admit that the theoretical argument and empirical evidence to support convergence theory is mixed but that Ireland does appear to be a good example of a country whose living standards have somehow reached similar levels in advanced European economies. The implication is clear it - it can't really be properly explained.

While a significant body of demographic data tends on the surface at least, to provide a strong correlation between poor Irish economic development and the Catholic belief system, it was evidence gathered, according to Akenson (1991), by studying 1st generation 'ghetto' Irish immigrants in Britain, Australia, and the U. S. or other Irish emigrants living overseas but not in Ireland. The remarkable fact is, that the Weber-Tawney debate on the central role of religion as the fulcrum in indigenous Irish
culture and economics started and finished in 1905 due to the sensitivity of the topic area. For a concise summary of central Catholic tenets which are regarded as economically problematical and professed at every Mass refer to Appendix 1A.

Nearly one hundred years later, Garvin (2001) in a potted history of Irish economic development, still pointed to Catholicism as a factor in retarding Irish industrial development noting that Catholicism kept Southern Europe poor while Protestantism made Northern Europe rich. Moreover, the Catholic theologian Kung (1999) cited Protestant Northern Ireland and the Catholic Republic of Ireland as examples where economic differences were associated with religious differences so that poor countries tended to have a distinctly Catholic stamp. The Irish Catholic work ethic which was attacked by Plunkett in 1905 was still regarded as problematic by Black (1994) who maintained that Irish competitiveness was seriously threatened because of the problematical nature of Irish work values and attitudes arguing that the Irish work commitment was still weaker than workers in Britain.

There are other ‘anomalies’ surrounding the ‘tiger’ status of the modern Irish economy. While it is recognised that there is no one pathway towards industrialisation, the Asian Tiger economies demonstrate that a successful economically integrated skill formation process is pivotal to economic success (Ashton & Sung 2000). Yet the Republic of Ireland lacks this very integration (Goodwin 1997) and according to the 3rd Report of the Expert Working Group on Future Skills Needs

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3 In 1905 Sir Horace Plunkett a Protestant establishment champion of economic development and the Co-operative Movement in Ireland outlined various Irish (meaning Catholic and lazy) cultural practices inhibiting economic development. M. O'Riordan counter-argued against Plunkett's position and according to Akenson 'that was that' ever since.
Moreover, the ‘Celtic Tiger’ was characterised by both labour and skill shortages (Forfás 2000, Forfás 2001a) and yet these labour shortages were to be ‘welcomed’ (Forfás 2001b). Nevertheless ‘welcomed’ labour shortages threatened the Republic’s ability to sustain economic growth (FÁS 2000) and the skills shortages, which were ‘pervasive’ posed a real danger to current and future economic development (Irish Competitiveness Council 2000). Furthermore the potential for skills shortages to compel indigenous and foreign sectors to ‘crowd out each other’ was very real and still this issue remained unresolved by policy makers (Barry, Bradley and O’Malley 1999).

While Denny, Harmon & O’Connell (2000) offered a suggested rather than a proven correlation between human capital formation/accumulation and economic growth based on U.S., German and Japanese studies, they nevertheless continued to argue that interventions of education and training underpinned Ireland’s recent economic transformation. The Irish Government was also confident that investment in education and training was a primary contributor to the ‘Celtic Tiger’ (Govt 2000a) and the OECD was in agreement with this assessment (OECD 2001). Yet research in this area lacks a proven empirical correlation between education/training and competitiveness (Ashton and Green 1996), between training and economic growth (Ashton and Sung 2001), and between the precise contribution human capital can make to economic development (Pissarides 2000, Bassanini and Scarpetta 2001). Furthermore there is no official data on the incidence of training in many Irish companies and little evidence for assuming a link between company specific training and higher productivity and competitiveness (CEDEFOP 1998).
Moreover, there is practically no research available quantifying the relationship between training and national economic growth and where it does so it points in the opposite direction, i.e. training may actually be an outcome rather than the cause of higher productivity (Machin and Vignoles 2001). Even the objectives for the development of human capital in the government’s National Development Plan 2000-2006 were not clearly formulated (IMF 2000) despite the fact that Ireland had the lowest % of second level students in vocational education in the EU and an adult illiteracy rate of 25% of the adult population (OECD 1999). The assumption of a linkage between education/training and competitiveness should be seen as an expressed wish by human capital theorists and economists of what ought to be the case, in contrast to what business people actually see as being the real cause of competitive advantage, namely acquisitions and mergers (Coleman and Keep 2001).

However, one ‘atypical’ characteristic stood out above all others in the Irish socio-economic environment namely, the relatively low level of secularisation and continued high level of Catholic religiosity in Irish society at the very moment that the tiger economy was at its height, even though Weber (1930) argued that Catholic religious beliefs were the main reason why Catholics fail to develop an economic ethic conducive to economic development. He identified Protestantism as having this developmental capacity where his definition of ‘economic ethic’ is defined as the religiously determined impulse to take rational economic action with the notion of salvation having a profound impact on this action (Weber 1969). While the economic ethic is not determined by religion alone since history and geography also have an important role to play, the religious impact on practical economic behaviour nevertheless remains profound (Weber 1969). So the question that now arose was this, how could Catholicism co-exist and continue to flourish at the very pinnacle of
modem Irish economic development? Finding an answer to this question was a key objective of this thesis.

Some Initial Observations on Irish Catholicism and Nationalism

The Irish Catholic Church has enjoyed an almost universal mandate actively assisting the new Irish Free State to develop in a Catholic fashion since 1922 and had

*a decisive influence over the hearts and minds of the majority of the Irish people*[wielded]*immense influence over not only its own flock but also over non adherents*

(Morgan and Graham 2000: 5)

Consequently the Irish Republic remains a society, along with Portugal, the least susceptible to secularisation in Western Europe with a Catholic affiliation rate of 91% (Corish 1996). From 1891 to 1991 the Irish Roman Catholic population actually increased from 89% to 92% (Redmond & Heanue 2000). However, rates of affiliation are not the sole measure of religious commitment. Religious commitment has five dimensions namely, belief or holding a particular theological outlook which is the most important, followed by practice or religious rites and devotional acts, then experience or the feeling of communication with a divine essence, followed by knowledge or information on central tenets, and finally consequences or the impact of religious beliefs in everyday affairs completing the framework (Stark and Glock 1969).

In Ireland, the two most important dimensions, belief and practice, remain quite strong although O'Toole (2000) also argues that a slight increase in secularisation in Ireland has inevitably weakened religious attachment to the idea of summary justice at the end of life namely Heaven or Hell. While the increase in secularisation is caused by instrumental rationality spilling over from industrial capitalism into all areas of Irish life, religious practice still remained *extraordinarily* high (Breen, Hannan,
Rothman and Whelan 1990). Our study of course, has a particular interest in the 5th dimension i.e. impact of beliefs on everyday economic affairs.

Whyte (1980) argued at the time that Ireland has an unusually high number of committed and practising Catholics and over a decade later Hussey (1993) contended that as 82% of the Catholic population go to Mass once a week it makes them the most orthodox community in the western world. The Irish level of adherence was notable by European standards (Connolly 1994) and the strength of the orthodoxy of Irish Catholics was beyond dispute (Nic Ghiolla Phádraig 1995, Humphreys 1997). Although Pope John Paul II acknowledged the low attendance at Mass in some Catholic countries particularly at lower and upper strata (Reuters 1998), there was ample evidence to suggest that religious values still occupied a central position in Irish society (Whelan 1994, Humphreys 1997 Conway 1998). The Bishop of Ferns Brendan Comiskey (1998) maintained that although religious practice has diminished religious belief had remained secure.

Nevertheless while weekly attendance at Mass in modern times had declined to 55% there was still considerable institutional church power particularly in the educational development of the young (Allen 2000). For example, a study presented by pupils of Newtown School, County Waterford in the January 2000 ESAT Young Scientist of the Year Exhibition indicated that between 80-100% of young people sampled between 14-16 years, attended religious service at least twice a month (Ahlstrom 2000). Although Donnelly (2000) argued that the Catholic Church in Ireland may have lost some moral credibility, with its political influence reaching its lowest level since the Famine of 1847, and despite the combined effects of materialism and clerical sex scandals revealed in the 1990s, more than two thirds of the population still attended Mass at least once a week which was a remarkably high figure at the end of the
millennium. Not only was there still a high level of confidence (77%) in the Irish Catholic Church but the most popular political parties with young people were the nationalist/republican parties of Fianna Fáil and Sinn Féin indicating the durability of a strong traditional Catholic and nationalist identity even during the ‘Celtic Tiger’ (O’Toole 2001).

There is a three hundred year old tradition of nationalism in Ireland which is still very strong and durable (Cronin 1999). Nationalism, however, is an ill defined concept and does not easily lend itself to definition since it is a vision that mobilises an attachment of the majority to a particular imagined community, a feeling of a common heritage, an ethnic identification with a nation state (Hagendoorn and Pepels 2000). Moreover, there are at least nine academic disciplines that develop theories of nationalism and nation states (Treanor 1997). Furthermore, sociology never developed an explicit theory of nationalism nor was nationalism central to the sociologies of either Marx, Weber or Durkheim (McCrone & Kiely 2000). Ignatieff (2001) argues that identity is political and only works when institutions such as education, religion and public ritual work together to enable society to ‘imagine’ a shared identity.

Nationalism is a programme of action built on the premise that national consciousness, a feeling of belonging to a particular nationality, only finds its true expression in the creation of a nation state (Connolly 1998). Although it is almost impossible to pin down any ‘ism’, colonialism and imperialism being difficult enough and nationalism particularly so, the tendency of Irish nationalism, namely political unity on the basis of nationality, was exclusively directed by the Irish against the forcible subjugation to or alliance with a stronger nation, imperialist Britain and this
Irish ‘nationalist’ independent intention identifies the act of subjugation by Britain as both colonialism and imperialism (Hobson 1988).

Central Catholic beliefs too are very durable. Levels remain particularly high in Ireland when compared to Britain and the US, where Belief in God is measured at 98% for Irish society and 89% for British society (Whelan 1994). In the US the comparable figure is 80% (Cox 1996). Belief in Heaven at 88% for Irish Society can be compared to the 75% level for Britain (Whelan 1994) and to the 71% level for the US (Fenwick 1996). Even though there is a lower figure of 68% for Belief in God in the late 1990’s and a 64% for a belief in Heaven, it is important to remember that these lower figures reflect an ‘un-churched’ rather than a secular country (Davie 2000). Even if the figures did indicate a rise in secularisation, Hamilton (1995) warned against equating it with the absence of religious commitment because even with low attendance belief in the supernatural remains high.

Moreover, secularisation is a self limiting process and religion continues to be of central importance for individuals since only religion and not science can give meaning to life (Hamilton 1995). Even prominent members of the American and British scientific community⁴ are now beginning to question the validity of their own scientific claims to explain the natural world. Not alone are they moving away from atheism, stating that physics is nowhere near explaining everything, they also note that these disciplines seem to get stuck explaining the origins of their own natural laws so it now seems very plausible that the constant laws of nature could only have been fixed by God, the so called 3rd explanation (Channel 4 2001). Even when the numbers of conventional active Christians diminish, simple faith groups tend to flourish in their place (Foskett 1996). The relatively lower levels of institutional

⁴ Most notably J. Polkinghorn professor of Theoretical Physics and Theology, Cambridge University, also R. Penrose, F. Tipler, P. Davies and N. Turok.
affiliation to Catholic and Anglican Churches for example, must be seen in the context of increased religious beliefs without belonging (Flanagan 2001).

In Ireland, Catholic religious beliefs appear to have remained very high over recent decades. For example in a 1962 survey of the attitudes of Dublin Catholics towards religion, 90% of the sample endorsed the view that the Catholic Church was the greatest force for good in Irish society and today the Irish are still a religious and quite nationalistic people (Garvin 2000). Hornsby-Smith and Whelan (1994) pointed out that there had been little change in traditional Christian values or religiosity. In the results of both the European Values Studies in 1981 and 1990 together with the 1991 and 1998 International Social Survey Programme’s Survey on Religion in twenty five European countries, it has emerged that in Ireland not only is there little if any change in basic religious beliefs, with daily decisions still infused with religious considerations, but even more remarkable is the fact that the youngest cohort surveyed - those born after 1970 - show the strongest Catholic beliefs and identity and are, therefore, regarded as the most Catholic of all cohorts surveyed (Greeley and Ward 2000).

The 2nd Social Survey Programme results which showed levels of belief in God at 94% and in Heaven at 85% - marginally less than the levels observed in Irish society in 1991 - also revealed that Ireland had the highest Mass attendance levels anywhere in Europe (Greeley and Ward 2000). More importantly it provided critical sociological analysis to ‘disprove’ the common sense argument that the ‘Celtic Tiger’ has transformed society into a secular, materialist, consumer oriented and neo pagan country when in fact the opposite was actually the case (Greeley and Ward 2000). Moreover, Irish people under 20 years of age who have grown up amidst the affluence
of the 'Celtic Tiger' do not see economic growth as 'the be all and end all' of their lives (Valarasan-Twoomey 1998).

These observations are an important addition to the debate on the sociology of religion since Wilson (1969) argued that the significance of secularisation is that it provides de facto evidence that society does not now derive its values from religious preconceptions. Yet religious pre-conceptions continued to infuse and dominate Irish education providing a clear example of the strength of religious commitment in Irish society (Clancy 1995). As very few Christians regard secularisation as anything other than the diminution of religious commitment in favour of the secular (Parsons 1999a), it is not sustainable to hold that Ireland was a secular society during the "Celtic Tiger". Secularisation is not a harmonised model capable of cross cultural application in any age but is a historical process that ebbs and flows depending on the interrelationship of other socio-cultural factors (Robinson 1999). Moreover, even though a country's culture can become secularised, society’s religious faith can actually become stronger (Mac Réamoinn 2000). If a society’s faith in central religious teachings makes them religious then the Irish were still the least secularised and most religious nation in Europe (Greeley and Ward 2000).

Catholicism has a particular perspective towards economic matters and Catholic Social Teaching (CST) provide guidelines for appropriate Catholic engagement in these matters. According to Herr (1991) while CST declares that Catholics are duty bound to collaborate in economic development, there is no such thing as a Catholic economic blueprint only that the development of the human should be at the core of all economic activity, necessarily dictating that labour is pre-eminent in any economic order. A ‘social market economy’ where there is co-operation between capital and
labour and the needs and dignity of the individual worker remain paramount, is the preferred model that comes very close to the Catholic ideal (Herr 1991).

Catholicism is also different in emphasis to other non Catholic but Christian Churches, in particular Protestantism. For example the Catholic ‘God’ is seen in everything (sacramental), and the material world is used (meditative) to bring about the unity of mankind (communion) where the use of reason is analogical i.e. the knowledge of God is achieved through the knowledge and experience of the created world (McBrien 1994). Catholic ‘Charity’ has been defined as a habit, desire or act of relieving the physical, mental, moral or spiritual stress of anybody without recompense, the motive being the love of God although seeking spiritual benefits from the act by the giver is a legitimate albeit second level form of charity (Ryan 1908). Moreover, Catholic doctrine defines charity (good works being practical evidence of charity) as the substance of faith i.e. a manifestation of the love of God and one’s neighbour and a sure way of securing salvation, whereas Protestant doctrine emphasises that charity contributes nothing to those who give since they are already saved or doomed and, therefore, according to Moehler (1894) good works and charity only secure a temporal advantage for the receiver and nothing for the giver.

While charity is a also central precept in Islam and its practice almost guarantees salvation (Cantor 1993), Catholic charity remains a superior form as Islamic charity (almsgiving) excludes non believers (Ryan 1908). Moreover, Ryan (1908) also argued that charity in the Jewish religion only applies to Jews or their friends and in Buddhism one is exhorted not to hate enemies rather than to love them, thus establishing the inclusiveness and superiority of Catholic charity. The advent of Protestantism and political economy where compulsory self-reliance was seen as the key to developing the will for self support together with the increase in materialism,
combined to almost destroy the spirit of charity throughout Europe (Ryan 1908). Originally the Spirit of Charity which infused the newly developing economic life of Western Europe c.1000 based on money exchange, was the cornerstone of the Christian business ethic and this moral philosophy understood the poor as helpless victims of economic processes and, therefore, requiring assistance (charity) for the love of God (Duby 1974).

The importance of the Protestant notion of *conditional* charity is that it is calculated to promote a strong Protestant work ethic and industrialism and must be contrasted with the *unconditional* notion of charity which has existed in Irish Catholic culture and in particular among the poor (McHugh 1998). Catholic charity is distinguished by a detached love of one’s neighbour so that everybody, irrespective of status is entitled to charitable thoughts and action, requiring no reciprocity and based on need and it is this use of preference of need which constitutes the proof of the love of God (Peschke 1997). In other words the greater the need of one’s neighbour the higher their preference rating for charitable intervention although neglecting oneself in doing so is not permitted as it must be based on capacity to contribute.

**Some sociological observations regarding a study of this nature.**

Following the brief outline of the religious hallmarks of modern Irish society, a serious question mark now hangs over Weber's argument concerning the role of Catholicism in economic development. But because of its colonial Catholic and nationalist legacy, Irish society tends to be regarded as either sociologically invisible or seen as part of a much stronger and by implication, exemplar entity, namely Protestant Britain. In his review of the development of social science in Britain, Giddens (1996c) asserted that the great anthropologists of the 19th century never studied internal colonisation in Britain i.e. they never studied the Irish, Scots or
Welsh, only cultures in distant lands. Furthermore most sociological thought is written on

the side of the Protestants and Whigs rather than Catholics and Tories...to emphasise "progress" in the past and thus produce a "story" that glorifies the present

(Buxton 1985: 21)

Hickman (1995) maintained that Whiggism established the irrefutable link between progress and prosperity with Protestantism and according to Brady (1999), it also highlighted the natural or Providential nature of English progress towards this prosperity. So while there are numerous historical accounts of the Irish diaspora in Britain, little is known about their everyday experience in British society (Delaney 2000). It is also a remarkable fact that the historical study of emigration from Ireland to Britain and America in the 20th century has remained largely 'terra incognita' despite the sheer scale of the movement (Delaney 2001). Even with a profusion of historical interest in recent times, the Irish were still a relatively little known ethnic group in British society (MacRaild 1999) although they are the largest census defined ethnic minority in Britain, just ahead of the Indian population who number 823,821, yet little research has been conducted on the experiences of Irish born people living in Britain (Winston 2000).

Moreover, there seems to be an understanding among sociologists that the Irish have become naturally assimilated into British society because of their whiteness and are consequently 'airbrushed' out of the sociology of ethnicity at both the epistemological and policy level leaving just one published sociological text on the Irish in Britain in 1995 (Hickman 1995). Nor is this 'airbrushing' confined solely to British commentaries. In a recently published text on European nationalism by European sociologists and political scientists, sixteen nations are examined including the four countries of Great Britain. Even though the Republic of Ireland was one of the first
colonised nations to achieve its independence in the 20th century and from Great Britain, it is nevertheless, overlooked by all of the twenty six contributors.

In an industrial sense the Irish were portrayed until very recently as possibly the greatest nuisance, so much so that in Victorian times the words 'slum' and 'Irish' were virtually interchangeable (MacRaild 1999). As history is written from the perspective of the victors and the strong and the view of the defeated is seldom if ever included (Elias 1997), colonial countries such as Ireland where religion was central, were often regarded as peripheral and marginal to the great industrial centres such as Britain and the US (Gilsenan 1982). The need to proceed with caution in undertaking this sociological study was guided by the advice of Akenson (1991) who strongly recommended that in any study of Ireland and its religion one should collect from as wide an 'evidentiary basis' as possible because Ireland had probably the western world's most religiously sensitised society. The advice by Fromm (1974), who also argued that it is more appropriate when researching social issues involving human beings to use real situations rather than create an artificial environment, is also reflected in the breadth of the research sample used.

One of the main reasons for this sensitivity towards religion is that together with nationalism it forms one of the twin pillars of Irish identity, being

the most conspicuously successful fusion of faith and identity anywhere in the British Isles...became deeply embedded in the social, political and cultural fabric of society and in the first half of the twentieth century was simply the world's most devoutly Catholic country

(Hempton 1996: 72, 91, 143)

Hempton (1996) goes on to point out that the strength of this fusion rebutted secularisation and actually strengthened Catholicism in the midst of urbanisation due

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to rapid economic and social change and as a consequence, Irish identity can only be properly analysed with reference to religion.

Yet the curricula of most sociology courses present religion as part of something else such as the problem of secularisation or as part of the classical sociological heritage of Durkheim, Weber and Marx rather than holistically with its theology placed in a socio-cultural context (Flanagan 2001). Moreover, there is a glaring omission by a 'giant' of sociological thought, Norbert Elias in his study of the civilising process where he overlooked religious culture and Roman Catholicism, in particular how Christianity shaped conscience in the history of western culture (Turner 1999).

Recently the limitations of economics as a science to explain economic development in Ireland has been acknowledged as the socio-cultural context in which this development occurs is only now beginning to be regarded as vital to the success or failure to generate the necessary growth (Fitzgerald (G) 2000). In other words, country specific cultural norms and attitudes such as religion and nationalism have an important role to play in economic development. A number of important sociological considerations now emerge from this insight.

Firstly, Collingwood (1999) argued that there is no set of initial conditions which in themselves are sufficient to produce or cause a particular event but there is a certain regularity to patterns of behaviour or thought processes manifested in the basic concepts and conventions to which a society conforms and automatically follows, as it attempts to make sense of its experiences and knowledge. Billington, Hockey and Strawbridge (1998) call these patterns a durée or a structured and continuous flow of conduct that both reproduces and changes society. The commitment or compulsion to conform to these patterns ‘comes with the territory’ of understanding within a particular discourse.
These basic conceptions Collingwood called Absolute Pre-suppositions which are themselves subject to modification but are never annihilated or eliminated, citing an example of the widely used supposition in the natural sciences that all events have causes. He argued that the primary purpose of religion is to perpetuate behavioural and thought patterns expressed as core values, which then form the basis of a society's thought patterns. The relationship between different levels of cultural values and economic opportunity is complex and this interaction gives a particular economic dynamic to society. According to Fitzgerald and Girvin (2000) core values or Absolute Presuppositions such as national identity and religion (macro level), appear in Ireland to be immune to change whereas the political elites (Meso level) and institutional arrangements such as education (Micro level) are more susceptible to change.

More importantly it is not fully understood what effect the immunity of these macro level Absolute Pre-suppositions has on the other two levels and the precise normative effect of their immunity on economic activity in particular (Fitzgerald and Girvin 2000). Establishing the deterministic effect of the Absolute Pre-suppositions at national level can be further complicated since Swanson (1969) argued that each individual is 'characterised' by enduring values or pre-dispositions that silently determine many of his/her activities including the economic and that religion is one of these enduring dispositions. The Catholic religion, from the standpoint of our study remains doubly important, since it can exhibit parallel normative forces working on economic behaviour at both an individual and a national level i.e. it can be regarded as both an individual and national Absolute Pre-supposition.

Secondly it should be remembered that while Weber was clear about the effect of Catholicism on economic development, he and a number of other classical
sociologists were not value neutral commentators on religion. For example, the founders of modern sociology, Freud\(^6\), Durkheim and Max Weber were religious disbelievers, Durkheim was also a non practising Jew and regarded himself as belonging to the anti-clerical left in France (Parsons 1999a). Weber, Marx and Durkheim treated religion as an illusion and wrong when measured against objective scientific criteria but it is now evident that both the theological and subjective basis of religious beliefs as embodied in everyday action still remain a substantial sociological force within post modernity and requires further analysis and consideration (Flanagan 2001). Freud (1991g) couldn’t understand the power of religious feelings and the human’s natural aversion to work. As contemporary sociology has inherited a reductionist framework i.e. religion is perceived as some other phenomenon, such as an ideology to validate class relations for Marx, as an obsessional neurosis for Freud and as a form of self worship by society for Durkheim, the net result is that the sociology of religion is now regarded as a backwater to main stream sociology, presented as an epiphenomenon or an effect rather than a cause and almost devoid of independent impact (Aldridge 2000).

Thirdly, one notable consequence of this relegated role is that nothing is allowed to count against the secularisation thesis as it dogmatically withstands any evidence to the contrary (Aldridge 2000). Sociologists may have failed to address the proposition that some generalised behavioural patterns in society, including economic ones, can be based on religious authorisations adopted by an individual thus highlighting a notion that is not easily perceived in a typical Western setting and as a consequence much sociological theory used to explain the interrelationships between different institutions such as the economy and religion becomes fractured (Huff 1993). For example

\(^6\) Freud’s contribution to the sociology of religion is acknowledged by both Robert Bocock and George Ritzer.
Weber’s insight into the relationship of the rise of capitalism in the West with the development of rational and ethical action by individuals is clouded by the absence of a definition of rationality and by his use of this concept as both cause and effect (Crone 1999).

Moreover, considerable disagreement also exists among sociologists on a definition of the terms ‘parts’ and ‘relationship of parts’ in the discourse on social structure, while the 'subjective–objective' debate concerning the power of the individual (subject) to act on social structures (object) or visa versa remains problematical (Mouzelis 2000).

For example, in the debate on the source of agency, Ritzer (1988) uses Weigert’s definition of ethnomethodology to describe how society comes about by the practical action of rational people, whereas Craib (1992) identified in Althusserian social theory how society was accomplished by individuals who are worked like puppets. The ‘war of paradigms’ in the 1960s and 1970s (neo marxism, non conflict marxism, structuralism, and ethnomethodology) that directly challenged Parson’s functionalist and positivistic approach had the effect of compartmentalising sociology into discrete paradigms each claiming absolute validity in the 1980s and 1990’s (Mouzelis 2000).

An example of this war of paradigms is reflected in the title of Arnason’s (1997) ‘Figurational Sociology as a Counter-Paradigm’. Other approaches such as Giddens’ Structuration theory (duality instead of dualism) attempted to transcend the subjectivism-objectivism split in the social sciences (Mouzelis 2000).

Fourthly, the language, ideas and insights of sociology, which embedded, according to Giddens (1997), a singularly ‘masculine’ perspective on actors, events and ideas only to discover later that this discriminating approach had not been adequately addressed in the sociological literature so that women’s disposition and identity required an array of new sociological concepts. In fact Siltanen & Stanworth (1984)
pointed out that sociology contained a number of analytical weaknesses in this regard including the perception that most women can be classified as being more or less a type of 'mindless matron'. Attempts to redress the sociological imbalance in advancing women’s perspectives and insights still had to overcome the so-called 'standard of objectivity' which had given rise to criticism of feminist sociological writing as narrative that is committed and well meaning but apparently still showing 'weak' objectivity (Elias and Dunning 1986). Goodwin (1999) then concluded that the gender argument has fallen into the trap of the sociological imbalance of the opposite kind since an adequate analysis of men has been largely absent in empirical gender based sociology.

The brief ‘masculine versus feminine’ debate is quite significant for our study of the Irish economic disposition. The embedded discrimination against one social group, in this case women, exposes as Leacock (1986) argued, the real nature of so-called common sense and well regarded 'Protestant' economic developmental models. These models are by and large based on the subservience of women within the prevailing socio-economic order and, therefore, Leacock (1986) called for a more substantial analysis because

a certain image of development in Europe as governed by the rational and scientific attitudes embodied in the Protestant ethic [and] has been widely promulgated, along with the essentially racist inference that the central problem in a nation’s development lies in achieving Western standards of scientific and technical knowledge and skill

(Leacock 1986: 224, 225)

This thesis is a small contribution in support of Leacock’s call for this type of analytical study.

Fifthly, social science theory is packed with ideology (Gulalp 1983). At a national level in relation to the two Irelands, North and South, the concerns of social science
are inextricably enmeshed in partisanship, with academics refusing to acknowledge the fact that truth becomes not only distorted but actively reconstructed (Coughlan 1994). On a global level, it appears that industrially advanced states are somehow more acceptable for sociological enquiry than peripheral ones such as Ireland. For example Giddens (1987) defined sociology as that branch of social science that studies advanced or modern societies. While Kilminister (1987) contended that the emergence of Norbet Elias was also dependent on the advance of sociology in advanced countries. Consequently these pre-conceptions tend to confirm the argument of Elias and Scotson’s (1965) that there was a general tendency within sociological studies rightly or wrongly to regard major societies as sociologically superior, more significant and more worthwhile than minority ones.

In the case of Ireland for example, Giddens (1996c) asserted that most authors overlooked an examination of internal colonialism within Britain itself, in favour of the study of colonised peoples in distant lands so that the outcome was, that the Irish were simply regarded as 'British'. The result of this, according to Littlewood (1996), has been the categorisation of the Irish as a ‘subdominant’ group in Western society and, therefore, open to forms of idiosyncratic communication due to the fact that life for subdominant groups is lived in a dual sense i.e. separate but within a dominant order. It is not surprising then when Winston (2000) argued that Irish people placed a negative value on their Irishness and regarded their identity as peripheral and insignificant when interacting with more powerful ethnic groups such as the English. If that is the case then some attempts to explain sociological processes within so called subdominant cultures may be weakened by relying solely on taken for granted sociological concepts and terms which have evolved with particular usefulness for dominant or advanced societies.
Finally, the western fashion of segregating concepts into rational entities such as 'individual', 'state', 'society', 'self', that suit western sociological paradigms are almost useless to explain some equally significant cultures such as non western Islamic societies (Esmail 1996). Here there is little or no dichotomy between matter and spirit and where the role of sacred imagination must be taken into account when studying the human condition in these cultures instead of relying solely on narrow rationalism (Esmail 1996). As social scientists naively accepted that their primary function was to follow the natural sciences and discover laws rather than meaning (Giddens 1996), the convention of not using the pronoun 'I' in sociological writing still remains paramount because it is perceived as personal and subjective, but has the effect of turning reality into abstraction particularly when the insightful issues disclosed in the interpretation of private lives are relegated to less than useful in sociological discourse (Ribbens 1993). According to McGettigan (1999) the use of 'I' can greatly assist with the individuals understanding of empirical reality. Reliance on the 'objectivity' benchmark has had another significant sociological limitation. It can prevent the truth from being fully revealed since Fulford (1996) argued that the most objective of scientists, physicists, have all but rejected the exclusive positivist account of science as it prevents the emergence of the truth. So what then about such an important and personal matter as religion?

It comes as no surprise to learn that sociology finds great difficulty in devising a comprehensive definition of religion based on a single concept which tells us what religion is (substantive) or what it does (functionalist) and invariably creates and sets within the presented definition an agenda to establish pre-determined results in an empirical manner only (Hamilton 1995). This implies that what can be observed i.e. empirical data is the only true measure of religiosity. Yet there can be no single
agreed definition of religion because it constitutes a whole ‘complexus’ of attitudes, emotions, beliefs and rituals by which we express our fundamental relationship with Reality or God and even though religion is an explicit manifestation of faith, it should be remembered that an implicit faith alone is enough to secure salvation (McBrien 1994). Consequently, sole reliance on empirical evidence i.e. numbers attending rituals of religion, could easily undervalue the depth of religious belief. Hamilton (1995) argued, that because religion is still used by people to give meaning to their lives even in today’s modern industrial society, scepticism regarding individual religious truths has not been able to completely anaesthetise the uncomfortable question relating to the existence or non existence of a life after death, something that continues to elude science.

Given that the existence of life after death forms a central tenet of Catholicism and mindful of the other concerns already outlined above, the sociological guidelines used for presenting this thesis, are based on Durkheim's (1964) insight that there is a clear connection between economic and religious values. As such the objective of sociology must be to study some present reality that is capable of effecting the actions of the individual.

> every time we undertake to explain something human taken at a given moment in history, be it a religious belief...or an economic system it is necessary to commence by going back to its...most simple form...show how it developed and became complicated little by little and how it became that which it is at the moment in question

(Durkheim 1964: 3)

As a single perspective such as the utilitarian theory of action is incapable of enabling us to understand both the origin and development of economic attitudes (Schlucter 1999), our study, therefore, employs a multi-dimensional approach within the structure of the thesis in both the choice of research methodology and in the application of the theory.
The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into four parts as follows:- Setting the Scene, Presentation of the Research Findings, Analysis of the Findings using an array of diverse sociological insights and concludes with a Presentation of a Theory of Limits. At the beginning of each part of the thesis, the specific contribution made to the study, is set out in detail.

The four parts of the Thesis are now mapped out below.

Part I: Setting the Scene

This section is organised into three chapters. Chapter 1 provides background information on the Republic of Ireland, including physical features, population, constitution and government. Also provided is an economic overview of the 'Celtic Tiger' using key indicators, labour market developments and trends together with statistical data on national productivity, national income, external trade, prices, balance of income, vital statistics, poverty levels, sectoral employment rates and education participation levels. The development of the Irish economy is then placed in an historical context to inform the later debates relating to longer term economic developmental patterns prior to the emergence of the 'Celtic Tiger' where these long term economic trends are examined over a 150 year period from 1845 to 1995. The trends alert us to three interlinked external ‘events’ that have shaped both the definition of and subsequent response to Ireland's economic problems in the 20th century and the subsequent imprint that they have had on the nature and dynamic of the Irish economic disposition. Chapter 2 follows with an exploration and discussion of the benchmarks validating the 'tiger' status of the Irish economy. The first Part of the thesis then concludes with Chapter 3 by presenting an analysis of the debates, theories and models of Irish economic growth since independence which broadly speaking, can be divided into two ‘explanatory’ schools. The first explains ‘poor’
economic development from Independence in 1922 to the early 1990s, while the second explains the ‘good’ economic development characteristic of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ era.

Part II: The Research

This Part of the Thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 4 outlines the rationale for the research and provides a description of the sample and the methodological approach. The approach is based on using an amalgam of interview methods on a diverse range of individuals in order to capture a set of views that accurately reflects the mosaic that is Irish social life. The sample is made up of four Domains or groupings of respondents each displaying a profile of typicality. In Chapter 5, the National Domain (Domain A), presents a national economic and a national pastoral perspective including as it does contributions from senior political, employer, union and farming representatives together with representatives from the Catholic, Protestant and Islamic churches.

In Chapter 6, the Executive Domain (Domain B) includes contributions from Irish senior executives, some working in an Irish subsidiary of a British based food multinational operating in Ireland since the early 1930’s and others in an Irish facility of a ‘new’ American multi-national internet services provider which located in Ireland in the late 1990’s. The findings of Labour Domain (Domain C) in Chapter 7 captures the contributions of junior management, craft, technical/administrative and operative occupations working in both multi-nationals. Also included in this Domain are five of the most efficient 'model' farmers in Ireland including the winner of the ‘Farmer of the Year Award 1999/2000’. To establish if students in their final year of senior cycle second level education prior to labour market entry showed any similarity in
economic orientation to that exhibited by other groups in the sample, six classes from four Dublin secondary schools were also included.

The Disconnected Domain (Domain D) in Chapter 8 has contributions from those who could be regarded as separated from economic opportunity, namely, the unemployed, the homeless and Traveller Women. Finally, in Chapter 9, the research concludes with a summary and analysis of the main themes emerging from the research and these findings inform the profile of the Irish economic disposition which is presented towards the end of chapter 9.

Part III: Explaining the profile of the Irish economic disposition

This section is organised into three chapters where an array of sociological insights are employed to explain the unlikely nature of elements making up the profile of the Irish economic disposition. The approach adopted is based on employing whatever suite of insights that could potentially unravel the various complex interconnections between religion and economic behaviour. Consequently, in Chapter 10, Marx’s concept of historical materialism, the economic relations model, is used as the main analytical tool to explore the role of religious and nationalist sentiment in shaping the Irish economic disposition. The analysis is grounded in a particular group of individuals where these sentiments can be observed impacting on their socio-economic behaviour.

In Chapter 11, where an alternative to the so-called static Marxist economic relations model is used, namely the insights of Norbert Elias’ figurational sociology, the emphasis is on pinpointing the changing dynamics inherent in the interdependent relationships of individuals within society impacting on the economic disposition. The final Chapter 12, employs a range of related classical and modern sociological
insights in five sub sections, each contributing a specialised but related understanding of the impact of religion on the economic order.

In section 1, Weber's insights into the different economic outcomes induced by different world religions are explored. A comprehensive definition of and discussion on the Protestant Work Ethic is presented and his contention that Catholicism and industrial development remain incompatible is also addressed. In section 2, a number of Freudian observations reveal how an economically repressive spirit can develop within the individual as a result of established sexual mores. The 3rd section explores some of the insights of Durkheim regarding the role of religion in society and the potential of indicators of happiness/unhappiness to reveal shifts in the economic structure of society particularly in periods of strong economic growth. Section 4 includes a number of key insights from Talcott Parsons to enable us explore the effects that norms and value systems such as religion can have on the individual's economic orientation. An examination of the inter-relationship between social groups and social structures such as religion and the economy is used to broaden our understanding of forces shaping the individual's economic disposition. Finally, Giddens' structuration framework is discussed in section 5 where he concludes that individuals knowingly take certain courses of action and this insight has a significant impact on our understanding of Irish economic behaviour.

Part IV: Presentation of a Theory of Limits

In the final part of the thesis, Chapter 13, a Theory of Limits is presented that is informed by the strengths and weaknesses of the sociological insights employed in Part III. A number of concepts such as 'happiness', 'balance' and 'well-being' are woven into the Theory of Limits in an attempt to make sense of the apparent contradiction inherent in the co-existence of low levels of secularisation and very high
levels of economic development. An important contribution to this discussion, comes from the insights of Bertram Hutchinson (1964), of the Economic & Social Research Institute, who argued that the Irish economic disposition is inherently inimical to rational economic development. The Theory of Limits challenges this evidence by concluding that the Absolute Pre-supposition of Catholicism/nationalism may facilitate the development of an adaptable, disposable and rational orientation that maximises whatever economic opportunity is presented to the individual.

Concluding remarks on the Introduction

This Introductory section has defined the objective of the thesis which is to explore the nature of Irish economic disposition during the 'Celtic Tiger' phase. The important but relatively unknown impact of Absolute Pre-suppositions in shaping the economic disposition was highlighted as a key area for our study. The possibility that a number of stereotypical misrepresentations of 'Irishness' embedded in sociological discourse could prevent the development of a full appreciation of the research findings undertaken on this unique mosaic of Irish social life was addressed. Evidence was presented to single out the unique and durable impact of religion and nationalism on the development of Irish society highlighting our suspicion that their central role in shaping the Irish economic disposition in the Celtic Tiger era may be under estimated. The move from suspecting to quantifying this role now starts in earnest when in Chapter 1 we provide general background information and place the development of the Irish economy in an historical context. This provides a strong platform to conduct an assessment in the subsequent analyses in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively, of the causes surrounding the developmental path taken by the Irish economy.
Part I: Setting the Scene

Chapter 1

IRELAND IN PROFILE - AN IMPROBABLE TIGER HABITAT

Introduction:

While the aim of Part I of the thesis is to provide a socio-economic profile of Ireland, trace long term patterns in Irish economic development and establish the origin and credentials of the Celtic Tiger, the purpose of Chapter 1 is to make a threefold contribution in pursuit of this aim. Firstly, it acts as a fast track induction into the Irish socio-economic context by informing the reader of the main features of modern Irish political, demographic and economic life. Secondly, as it provides a brief but succinct outline of the main trends in Irish economic activity from the middle of the 19th century up to the new millennium it establishes the improbable origins for the emergence of the ‘Celtic Tiger’. Finally it equips the reader to make an informed evaluation of the arguments presented in chapter 2 surrounding the claim to ‘tiger’ status of the Irish economy and then, in chapter 3, to determine the validity of the ‘accidental’ nature of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ phenomenon.

Physical features, population, literature,

Ireland is a island lying on the western periphery of Europe located next to the UK and has a total area of 85,000 square kilometers with a central lowland and coastal mountains of which Carrantouhill in County Kerry in the southwest of the country, is the highest at 1,040 meters. Ireland is 3/5s the size of England or in American terms four times the size of Massachusetts (Bottigheimer 1982). Due to the Gulf stream Ireland enjoys a temperate climate where rain remains a feature of the weather
Ireland is a politically divided island consisting of 32 counties, 26 of which are under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Ireland and the remainder, more commonly referred to as Northern Ireland, forms part of the UK. The population of the Republic in 2001 stood at 3,840,000 the highest level since the census of 1881 and was no longer an emigrant country (Central Statistics Office 2001b). Little under one half of the population is below the age of twenty five.

Ireland has been inhabited for approximately 7,000 years. Christianity was introduced in the 5th century by St. Patrick and the 6th and 7th centuries saw centres of learning established in many parts of Europe by Irish monks (Curtis 1936). Ireland has been subjected to two significant invasions, the Vikings and the Normans. Around the 17th century, the old English (Normans) and the Gaelic Irish were brought under the control of the English Crown where the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 marked a significant political and cultural watershed. The Act of Union in 1800 secured the full parliamentary union of Ireland and England. During World War I, a Republic was declared outside the general post office in O’Connell St. Dublin. An armed insurrection took place between ‘republican insurgents’ and British Crown forces. The insurrection failed, with 1,306 fatalities, including 140 British soldiers, 80 insurrectionists and the remainder ordinary Dubliners (Stewart 1998). The leaders of the insurrection were executed by firing squad. After the War of Independence, the Irish Free State came into existence on January 7th 1922 (Curtis 1936). The Free State left the Commonwealth on 18th April, 1949 and declared itself a Republic (Foster 1988).

There are two official languages, Irish the national language and English. Irish is rarely spoken although it is the first language used in some isolated districts called ‘Gaeltachts’ particularly in the west regions of the country. A national radio and
television service is available through the medium of the Irish language. A list of prominent Irish writers contributing to literature and drama in English is impressive; Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) Oliver Goldsmith (1728-74), Edmund Burke (1729-97), Oscar Wilde (1854-1900), George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950), William Butler Yeats (1865-1939), George Russell (1867-1935), James Joyce (1882-1941), Samuel Beckett (1906-89), Brendan Behan (1923-64), Seamus Heaney (b. 1939), John McGahern (b. 1934) and Roddy Doyle (b. 1958). The Nobel Prize for Literature has been awarded to Beckett, Shaw, Yeats and Heaney, the highest for any country in this category. For further official information on the countryside, the people, art, and culture refer to Ireland in Brief - Dublin: Dept of Foreign Affairs, Information Booklet. For official information on the origin and use of 'Ireland' and 'Eire' refer to Ireland – The National Flag, Arms and Anthem Dublin: Department of Foreign Affairs, Fact Sheet No:3/96. One interesting remark made by Congleton (1991) in relation to the correlation between storytelling and the lack of economic efficiency would suggest that the emergence of the 'Celtic Tiger' overcame a significant obstacle when he contended that

\[ \text{a society that encourages honesty rather than creative storytelling may have a weaker literary sector but overall a more efficient economy because fewer resources are required to police contracts} \]

(Congleton 1991: 366)

It would appear then that the Irish economy should have exhibited less efficiency than many other countries but as the thesis will later show, this has not been the case. However, before addressing the question of economic efficiency a brief overview of the present political context is now provided.
Constitution and Government

Ireland is a parliamentary democracy. The National Parliament consists of The President, the House of Representatives (Dáil Éireann) and the Senate (Seanad Éireann). There are 166 members of parliament (Dáil), elected by proportional representation (PR - single transfer voting system) from 41 constituencies. There are three main political parties, Fianna Fáil (the largest), Fine Gael, and Labour and a number of smaller parties including the Progressive Democrats, Sinn Féin, The Social Democratic Party, the Green Party, and Independents. Elections must take place at least once every five years. All laws enacted by the Government should conform to a written constitution - ‘Bunreacht na hÉireann’ adopted by a plebiscite in 1937 and supersedes two previous constitutions namely, The Constitution of Dáil Éireann (1919) and Constitution of the Irish Free State (1922). The 1937 Constitution sets out the fundamental rights of each citizen in areas such as the family, education, and property etc.

Ireland has been a member of the European Union since 1973 and a willing signatory of both the Single European Act 1988 and the Maastricht Treaty 1992, (McQueen 1998) and ratified the Amsterdam Treaty in a 1998 referendum. Successive Irish Governments and the electorate are strongly committed to and supportive of EU integration although by a narrow majority the Treaty of Nice was rejected by the electorate in June 2001. Not only has Ireland’s attractiveness to non EU multinationals become consolidated but direct funding from the EU to implement regional, social and structural policies was in the order of IR£21,000 million for the period 1973-1995 (Department of Foreign Affairs 1998). For further official political information refer to Ireland—Constitution and Government Dublin: Department of
Longer term trends in the Irish economy

In order to trace the developmental path of the Irish economy and place the 'Celtic Tiger' in context, a brief exploration is now undertaken of the main changes that occurred from the middle of the 19th century up to and including the 'Celtic Tiger' and the structural peculiarities characteristic of that development. Such peculiarities, which are a feature of the combined impact of de-industrialisation, the Famine of 1848 and the emergence of the Free State post 1922 - given that the six counties of the industrial North of Ireland remained as part of the U. K. - had the overall effect of skewing the Irish economy to such extent that it lacked any significant industrial base when independence was eventually achieved. The sheer scale of this imbalance becomes clear in Table 1.1.1 below when the employment totals in each of the eight economic sectors listed are traced over the period 1841-2001.
Table: 1.1.1 Employment and Population Totals 1841-2001 (Male and Female)

<table>
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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture Forestry/Fishing</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>1459</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining/Quarrying/Turf</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>1021</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction, Electric G/Gas/Water</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport/Communication/Storage h</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fin/Professional Personal/Miscell</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Admin/Defence</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Labour Force</strong></td>
<td>3475</td>
<td>2799</td>
<td>1305</td>
<td></td>
<td>1041</td>
<td>1339</td>
<td>1709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total population</strong></td>
<td>8175</td>
<td>6552</td>
<td>2972</td>
<td></td>
<td>3115</td>
<td>3660</td>
<td>3840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population less North Ire</strong></td>
<td>6526</td>
<td></td>
<td>2972</td>
<td></td>
<td>3115</td>
<td>3660</td>
<td>3840</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** Some rounding of figures and grouping of categories was necessary for clarity and convenience as new classifications and some discontinuities emerged in the period under examination.

Figures derived from Geary, F. (1996) Irish Historical Studies xxx No:118 School of Public Policy Economics and Law, University of Ulster at Jordanstown Nov 1996, Table 1, p172.


Electricity is not included in either the 1841 nor the 1851 figures.

Communication is not included in either the 1841 nor in the 1851 figures.

This grouping is for convenience only, since ‘Miscellaneous’ is classified as a substantial category in its own right in 1841 &1851 but has no comparable category for 1926 & 1960 nor for 1975 & 1997. The category of ‘Other Economic Activity’ for 1926 does however include ‘Miscellaneous’.

The population figures for 1841 and 1851 will show a significant decrease due to the Famine of 1847 and subsequent emigration levels. The population figures for 1841 & 1851 also include Northern Ireland which is not included in the 26 county ‘Free State’ Irish figures for 1926 and subsequent years.

One notable trend can be observed for both the employment and population changes in the two periods, 1841-1851, and 1851-1926 respectively. Given that the former period includes the Great Famine of 1847 and the latter, the formation and early development of the Free State from 1922 minus the industrial North of Ireland, employment levels in all sectors except Transport and Public Administration virtually collapsed. There was a loss of 500,000 agricultural workers and 300,000 industrial workers while at the same time there was a decrease in the population of over 1.5 million. By 1926, approximately three years into the early development of the new Free State, there was a reduction of approximately 1.2 million agricultural workers, 1.0 million industrial workers and a quarter of a million professional/personal services workers recorded for the area corresponding to the boundary of the Republic's 26 counties. For the same boundary area, a 64% reduction in the general population is also recorded from 1841-1926 and the manufacturing base of the new Free State is calculated at only 10% of the industrial base for the island of Ireland existing in 1841. The labour force and the manufacturing sector in particular showed a modest increase from 1926 to 2001 while at the same time there was an inexorable decline in agriculture.

Despite the immediate post Famine decrease of 34% in agricultural employment and a 40% decrease in industrial employment, an increase of 18% in output in the former and a 30% increase in output in latter, cannot be explained by emigration and labour market globalisation alone, but by a standard neo-classical growth accounting model (Geary & Stark 1996). This model identifies the growth arising from increases in capital and the resultant productivity, particularly the rise in capital to labour ratios. In the Irish case, capital accumulation, technical progress and subsequent productivity gains in industry followed from railways from 1841, from shipbuilding in Belfast
from 1870 and from the fastest growing total factor productivity industries in the period from 1873-1913. These industries included ‘Gas, Electricity and Water’, which recorded a 500% employment increase, ‘Electrical Engineering’ an increase of 106%, ‘Vehicles’ a modest increase of 18% and ‘Insurance and Banking’ in the Services Sector where an increase of 340% was recorded with Scientific Services increasing by more than a half (Geary & Stark 1996). Broadly speaking then, the figures indicated a transition from a rural agricultural economy to a more globally integrated economy of industrial and services employment (Treacy & O’Connell 2000).

The figures for the period 1926-1996 appear to confirm the inexorable shift from agricultural employment, (down from 53% to 10% of total employment), to employment in services (up from 34% to 63% of the total). At the same time manufacturing remained relatively constant and showed all the signs of a post industrial economy in the Republic of Ireland (Madden 2000). By 2001 agriculture had declined to less than 7% of total employment whereas manufacturing doubled employment from 9% to 18% even with an increase in the total population. Construction showed a rise of 60% in employment in the period 1997-2001. The overall trend from the late 1920’s onwards clearly shows a consistent decline in the agricultural labour force and even when forestry and fishing were included in the agricultural total, it still only accounted for less than 10% of the labour force in 1998 (Whelan 1998). Bielenberg (2001) noted that while the fastest growing sector from 1850 to 1920 was services, it still remained neglected in terms of socio-economic study in favour of agriculture and industry, even though agriculture is now relatively speaking, the least important of the three broad economic sectors in terms of employment levels.
In the light of the trends described above, the Famine becomes crucial for an understanding of how Irish Catholic society continued to engage with the prevailing economic order because it has had the effect of substantially increasing the religious commitment of Catholics to their faith and reduced the possibility of the ascendancy of the rational and Protestant ethic. As Akenson (1991) argued, the Famine was not a Protestant event but was

*built into the Catholic sense of history...as an event of cosmic significance not merely a human conspiracy and...from then on until well into the 20th century, Irish Catholics became more attached to their religious beliefs a religion where the heart dominated reason*

(Akenson 1991: 144, 145)

The Famine is regarded as the ‘great divide’ in Irish economic and political history (Haughton 1991). After this unparalleled 19th century disaster, extensive economic growth (aggregate output) was precluded mainly due to high levels of emigration and as a consequence, intensive growth (increase in productivity) when it did occur, was primarily based on decreasing numbers attempting to produce the same output (O’Grada 1997). From that moment forward both the nature of the Irish economy and the scope of the definition of Ireland’s economic problems was shaped by the Famine and assisted by the process of de-industrialisation (Barry 1999).

Barry explains the long term effects of these deeply ingrained psychological events. Firstly, the strengthened propensity of the population to migrate to seek out better economic conditions to those existing in Ireland, as a result of ordinary people’s experience of deprivation during the Famine, shaped Ireland as regional rather than a national economy. Secondly, this peripheral context left the Irish economy exclusively dependent on the vagaries of other national economies. Thirdly, the British induced de-industrialisation of the Irish economy left a predominantly agriculturally based regional economy next door to an industrially advanced one, so
that the regional economy was unlikely to improve due to a common problem encountered by agricultural economies of this nature namely, that the capital intensification effects on labour rules out extensive growth in GDP. In other words, increases in GDP are almost entirely due to the presence of less people producing the same output (intensive output).

MacRaild (1999) pointed out that while the Famine could been seen to have consolidated trends in increased poverty, nevertheless, bankruptcies and emigration were already a feature of economic life which indicated that a recessionary trend was well underway before the Famine yet the event still remains a central nationalist symbol in Ireland. Another significant consequence of emigration patterns was that all pressure to reform conservative and conformist social structures that were not conducive to capitalist innovation were once and for all removed (Grada 1997). The Famine's capacity to act as the great divide in Irish economic history and to condition social structures inimical to the development of capitalism is an important contribution for contextualising the debates on modern Irish economic development which follow in Chapter 3. That contribution is further enhanced by presenting a brief discussion of the main demographic and social outcomes following the Famine.

The population prior to the Famine increased with extraordinary rapidity. Estimated at about 4,000,000 at the time of the Union (1800) it was returned at 6,801,000 by the Census of 1821, and at 8,916,000 by the census of 1841 and continued to grow until checked by the Famine of 1846-47 (Chart 1920). During the Famine over 150,000 died and in the period 1851-1860, some 1,163,000 emigrated (Chart 1920). O Gráda (1995) confirmed the spectacular increases in population arguing that the subsequent decline was unmatched in any other European country. Moreover, prior to this decade, the Irish economy proportionally speaking, supported double the numbers
employed in British agriculture and proportionally the same number in manufacturing (Geary 1995). The potato blight and the invention of wet spinning, which hit the spinning sector of the textile industry particularly hard, caused the majority of manufacturing job losses in the post Famine decade (Geary 1995, Geary 1996).

Emigration was also a key factor in the decline of the Irish population (O'Tuathaigh 1998). According to Ni Bhrolchain (1998) between 1801 and 1921

*eight million people emigrated from Ireland...a truly massive exodus*

(Ni Bhrolchain 1998: 27)

Hickman (1998) agreed with the figure of eight million noting that on the one hand, while Ireland stood out as a country having a history of substantial emigration, it was by no means the largest migrant source in Europe where Britain and Italy headed the table with 11 million and 10 million respectively. Yet on the other hand, no other country lost between 10% and 20% of the population in each decade (Ni Bhrolchain 1998). By 1890 only 60% of those who were born in Ireland were actually living in the country (Daly 1994). The loss was also distributed unevenly because from 1851 to 1926, there was a 42% decline in the population of the 26 counties, whereas the decline in the 6 Counties (Northern Ireland) was only 12% (O'Grada 1995).

Emigration was also a persistent feature of Irish life after independence and continued unabated into the early 1990s. According to Drudy (1995) over 160,000 emigrated in the period 1926-1936 and over 420,000 in the period 1950-1959. Between 1951-1961 over 500,000 Irish migrants went to Britain and by 1971 the Irish population resident in Britain was approximately 1 million (Walter 1986). In the periods 1956-58 and 1962-64, over 50,000 people moved out of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing, 20,000 moved into Manufacturing and 6,000 into Construction, yet the workforce decreased by over 48,000 and with at least 35,000 of these previously employed, it suggested
that emigration was running at well over 40,000 per annum, and was therefore the real
cause of the numerical decrease in the employment figures (Firth 1967).

Table No:1.2.2 below now shows a summary of the rates of emigration from the
whole of Ireland for the 50 years prior to independence and in the immediate post
independence years. Even with a natural population increase of over one million, the
levels of emigration were such, that overall, a decrease of over one million was
recorded for the period i.e. approximately 2 million individuals emigrated from
Ireland.

Table: 1.1.2 Natural Increase, Change in Population, Net Emigration between
1871-1926.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period of</th>
<th>Natural Increase</th>
<th>Change in Population</th>
<th>Net Emigration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871-1881</td>
<td>318,557</td>
<td>-183,167</td>
<td>501,724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-1891</td>
<td>195,999</td>
<td>-401,326</td>
<td>597,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-1901</td>
<td>149,543</td>
<td>-246,871</td>
<td>396,414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1911</td>
<td>179,404</td>
<td>-82,135</td>
<td>261,539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1926</td>
<td>237,333</td>
<td>-167,696</td>
<td>405,029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,080,836</strong></td>
<td><strong>-1,081,195</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,117,031</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: O'Mahony, D. (1964) The Irish Economy: An Introductory Description Cork, Cork
University Press Table IIa p4.

Emigration and the Famine had some ‘beneficial’ economic outcomes. For example, a
combination of the effects of the Wyndham Act of 1903 - where farmers were
guaranteed repayments that were lower than previous rent levels - and high emigration
levels resulted in over 60% of farmers securing possession of their holdings by 1914
(O'Tuathaigh 1998). Kennedy (1996d) maintained that the Famine was not the
economic disaster that it was often made out to be, because in the period 1850-1914,
income per head grew faster in Ireland than in the UK and Irish economic performance
for the whole of the 20th Century was equal to the average for western Europe.
Moreover, thirty years after the Famine, in the 1870's, Ireland had one of the richest economies in the world based on income per capital (Geary and Stark 1996) with a relatively respectable west European average living standard by the early 20th century (Kennedy 1994). But the important point about the economy is not the actual numbers emigrating but the consequential failure from 1850-1914 of the Irish economy to industrialise when it was for all intents and purposes pre-capitalist and Irish society itself very much pre-modern (Girvin 1986).

According to Kennedy (1994) the proportion of those working in industry in Ireland in 1911 was only 25% of the British proportion, although by 1914 the per capita income for the Republic increased to 60% of the British level. This figure was comparable to the Nordic countries but slightly lower than Austria and higher than Portugal and Greece. Consequently there is some justification for claiming that a relatively good standard of living was therefore achieved through low output without industrialisation.

Only much later in 1986 did Ireland experience its first recession as an industrial economy and then only as a partially industrialised one (Weinz 1986).

The Irish economy in the early part of the 20th century was almost totally agricultural based. Table 1.1.3 below shows the scope of Irish economic activity just three years before the Easter Rising. Exports were dominated by food items such as 'live animals', 'eggs', 'bacon' and 'ham', 'butter', 'biscuits', 'flour' and 'corn' together with 'clothing' and 'textiles'. Where industrial activity was recorded, such as ship building, tobacco and rope manufacturing, it was again place restricted to specific areas of Northern Ireland, Belfast in particular. Imports are dominated by clothing such as 'drapery' and 'cotton goods', and food such as 'maize', 'wheat', and 'wheat flour'. Steel appears to be the only 'heavy' industrial product imported into Ireland.
### Table: 1.1.3 Comparison of goods imported and exported from the whole of Ireland (including Northern Ireland) in 1913 in £ Sterling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items Exported</th>
<th>Value in £ Sterling</th>
<th>Items Imported</th>
<th>Value in £ Sterling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Live Animals</td>
<td>18,000,000</td>
<td>Drapery</td>
<td>6,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linen Cloth and Yarn</td>
<td>16,000,000</td>
<td>Cotton Goods</td>
<td>5,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs and Poultry</td>
<td>4,000,000</td>
<td>Maize (15,000,000 cwts)</td>
<td>4,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon and Ham</td>
<td>3,700,000</td>
<td>Wheat (8,000,000 cwts)</td>
<td>3,300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter</td>
<td>3,700,000</td>
<td>Other Grains</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ships</td>
<td>3,100,000</td>
<td>Wheat Flour</td>
<td>2,600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton Goods</td>
<td>2,700,000</td>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>3,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer</td>
<td>2,200,000</td>
<td>Flax</td>
<td>2,300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirits</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>Bacon</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous*</td>
<td>17,600,000</td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>43,600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hides</td>
<td></td>
<td>Boots and Shoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn</td>
<td></td>
<td>Machinery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour</td>
<td></td>
<td>Steel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biscuits</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Linen goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td></td>
<td>Raw Cotton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery</td>
<td></td>
<td>Timber</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condensed Milk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rope</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wool/Goods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thread</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drapery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 73,000,000

Source:
Chart, D. A. (1920) An Economic History of Ireland, Dublin, Talbot Press extracted from tabular statements pp137-142.
*No item > £1,000,000.

This level of agriculturally based economic activity featured until well into the middle of the 20th century. Only by the late 1990s had its dominance waned. For example in 1949 the total value of exports from the Republic reached £61 million, yet approximately 60% or £44 million consisted of live animals and food but by 1998 when exports had reached over £2 billion, food and meat accounted for as little as 4% of the total (O'Hagan, Murphy & Redmond 2000).
The Modern Economy

The Irish economy is now an open economy with a small domestic market and a lack of resources requiring large importation of raw material and fuel. The two main sources of exports are both traditional and new, namely technology manufacturing and agricultural products. Over 300 of the world's leading electronics companies had invested in Ireland and between 1980 and 1997 over 40% of all new US inward investment into the EU has been located in the Republic of Ireland (Department of Foreign Affairs 1998). The labour force in 2000 which consisted of 1.7 million was up from a figure of 1.4 million in 1993, an increase of approximately 22% (FÁS 2000) and by mid 2001 had further increased to 1,866 million (Central Statistics Office 2001c).

The three main sectors of the economy, namely agriculture, manufacturing/construction and services together with the underlying variations within each of the sectors at intervals during the period 1851-2000 are presented in Table 1.1.4 below. A key feature within the figures is a move from an agricultural to a services rather than an industrial based economy with a decline of (89%) in Agriculture and a decline of (38%) in Manufacturing and Construction. There was a significant increase (306%) in the Manufacturing sector although it is still lower in percentage and real terms than the increase of (369%) the Services sector. This latter sector also shows a doubling of numbers approximately every seventy years in the period from 1851 to 1996 while an average increase of 10% per annum is recorded from 1996 onwards.
### Table: 1.1.4 Employment Trends in Economic Sectors from 1851–2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1,459,400</td>
<td>652,000</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>136,000</td>
<td>190,000</td>
<td>130,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing/Construction</td>
<td>784,400</td>
<td>158,000</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>438,000</td>
<td>509,000</td>
<td>488,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>291,100</td>
<td>408,000</td>
<td>800,000</td>
<td>921,000</td>
<td>1,001,000</td>
<td>1,075,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources**


5. Regional Aspects of Ireland’s Labour Market Dublin, FÁS and tabulated from FÁS Labour Market Update Paper No:1/2000 - Table 8.


A further breakdown of the three main economic sectors into activity subsectors in Table 1.1.5 that follows, allows the relative strength of the top four sectors of ‘Production’, ‘Wholesale Retail’, Education and Health’ and ‘Financial and Other Business Services’ to be contrasted with the lower employment levels of ‘Public Administration’, ‘Hotels and Services’ and ‘Agriculture’. The Services sector accounts for 37% of total employment while ‘Manufacturing’ and ‘Construction’ jointly account for 29% of the total. In contrast ‘Agriculture Forestry and Fishing’ employs less than 7% of the total workforce.
Table: 1.1.5 Breakdown of Employment by Sector 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector No:</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>No in (000s)</th>
<th>% of Labour Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing</td>
<td>121.7</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Other Production Industries</td>
<td>318.3</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>179.9</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wholesale and Retail</td>
<td>246.5</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hotels and Restaurant</td>
<td>106.6</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Transport Storage and Communication</td>
<td>107.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Financial and Other Business Services</td>
<td>218.1</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Public Administration and Defence</td>
<td>78.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Education and Health</td>
<td>242.6</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Other Services</td>
<td>90.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1,710.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:

Where Key Economic Statistics are compared highlighting particular economic activity at the following three periodic intervals, 1988, 1998 and 2000, then a quite startling transformation of Irish economy can be observed during the ‘Celtic Tiger period. The areas covered are Gross National Product (GNP), National Income levels, External Trade, Balance of Payments, Birth and Death Rates, and Migration Trends. One of the most remarkable figures is the recorded change in the levels of both Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross National Product (GNP) showing a 270% and 250% increase respectively. Another feature is the increase in industrial production from a baseline figure of 100% in 1988 to 276% in 1998 i.e. industrial production has nearly tripled in a decade.
Table: 1.1.6 A Comparison of Key Economic Activity Data for 1988, 1998 and 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Product</th>
<th>1988 (m)</th>
<th>1998 (m)</th>
<th>2000 (m)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gross National Product</td>
<td>20,056</td>
<td>52,183</td>
<td>68,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
<td>22,718</td>
<td>59,637</td>
<td>81,472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exports of Goods and Services</td>
<td>13,634</td>
<td>50,305</td>
<td>59,958</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Income**

| National Income                        | 15,540   | 39,620   | 51,077   |
| Weekly earnings in industry            | 100      | 144      | 152.6    |

**External Trade**

| Imports                                 | 10,215   | 33,188   | 43,866   |
| Exports                                 | 12,305   | 45,042   | 65,750   |
| Of which                                |          |          |          |
| Industrial                              | 39,826   | 60,621   (92.2%) |
| Agricultural                            | 2,111    | 3,156    (4.8%)  |
| Exports to E.U                          |          | 40,765   (62.0%) |
| Of which to U.K                         |          | 14,662   (22.3%) |

**Agriculture**

| Gross Agricultural Product (GAP)        | 1,934    | 1,506    | 2,343    |

**Balance of Payments**

| Balance on Current Account              | +62      | +563     | -537     |

**Vital statistics**

| (per 1,000 of)                          | 1981-86  | 1986-91  | 1991-96  | 2000     |
| Birth Rate                              | 20.2     | 15.7     | 14.0     | 14.3     |
| Death Rate                              | 9.7      | 9.0      | 8.8      | 8.2      |
| Net Migration                           | (4.1)    | (7.6)    | 0.5      | 6.1      |
| Net increase in Pop.                    | 6.4      | (0.9)    | 5.7      | 11.4     |
| Marriage Rate                           | 5.9      | 5.1      | 4.6      | 5.1      |

**Sources:**


From the above figure we can observe that in the period 1994-1998, the annual average growth rate of GNP by volume was 7.7% which was in excess of twice the rate in the previous thirty three year period, 1960-1993 (Walsh 1999). In the period 1988-2000 Gross Domestic Product increased by 358%, Gross National Product (GNP) by 342% and the exports of goods and services by a factor of 4.39. National Income also increased by a factor of 3.28 and average weekly earnings by approximately 52%. Exports were approximately 1.5 times the value of imports and
while imports increased by 429% in the period 1988-2000 exports also increased and by 534%.

The strong contribution of industrial exports to the overall export total, can be calculated at 92.2% whereas the relatively weak contribution of agricultural exports is calculated at 4.8%. Gross Agricultural Product for 2000 showed an increase of 55% over the 1998 figure but a more modest increase of 22% over the 1988 total. Exports to the UK accounted for approximately 22% of total exports while over two thirds were exported to other EU countries. While the balance of payments showed a surplus of £IRE501m in 1998 compared to the rather small surplus of £IRE62m in 1988 yet by 2000 a deficit of £IRE537m was recorded indicating a negative fluctuation of approximately £IRE 1 billion for the period 1998-2000.

Important demographic changes are also captured in the Vital Statistics section. Net migration flow showed a marked reversal from an outward to a net inward migration rate of +6.1% of the total population giving rise to an 11.4% net increase in the population figures for the period 1981-2000. Approximately one quarter of the population are now receiving full time education with approximately half attending primary schools, one third in secondary and the remainder in third level institutions.

Table: 1.1.7 Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Educational Enrollments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Level</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th>Number of Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>3,354a</td>
<td>451,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second-level</td>
<td>796b</td>
<td>358,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third-level</td>
<td>59c</td>
<td>122,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
2 Includes 119 special schools and 49 non aided primary schools.
3 Includes 18 schools aided by other government departments such as Defence and Agriculture and 15 non aided schools such as secretarial and commercial.
4 Includes 7 Universities and 13 Institutes of Technology, 10 religious institutions and 17 Others including Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland.

Since the mid 60’s there has been a continuous increase in the investment per pupil at both primary and secondary level. For example, in the period 1965-1997, expenditure per pupil at primary level has increased from £IR450 to £IR1,600 and per second level pupil from £IR900 to £IR2,000 respectively (Dept of Education 2001). Completion rates for 2nd level education calculated by the number completing their upper secondary level senior cycle has also increased from 20% in 1965 to 75% in 1997. Furthermore, the % of any age cohort transferring from second to third level has increased from 10% in 1965 to 48% in 1996 (Dept of Education 2001).

**Summary remarks**

Ireland is a stable parliamentary democracy on the western edge of Europe with an open and vibrant economy. The Great Famine and subsequent emigration patterns were explored and the underlying impact on the various sectors in the economy over a period of 150 years was examined. The nature and durability of a de-industrialised and agricultural economy was a notable feature of this discussion where the Famine defined the nature of Irish economic problems for well over a century. The underlying longer term dynamic of sectoral employment in the economy was a move from agriculture to services, together with a substantial rise in overall national economic activity and output. Economic performance during the ‘Celtic Tiger’ was characterised by spectacular increases in employment, in productivity and in the balance of payments surpluses. The increase in infrastructural investment and participation in education are also other key observations in the data. Many of the vital statistics and demographic trends discussed above confirmed the low industrial base and the high and constant emigration throughout the 20th century all of which did not appear to augur well for creating the socio-economic foundations that would later transform an ailing economy into a vibrant ‘Celtic Tiger’. 
Chapter 2

RICH MAN POOR MAN - BUT IS IT A TIGER ECONOMY?

Introduction

While chapter 1 painted broad brushstrokes of Ireland’s economic development and revealed the longer term sectoral trends and demographic changes that characterised Irish society, the purpose of this chapter is to present and discuss specific economic data to establish whether the 'tiger' status of the Celtic Tiger economy was a deserved one. The data strongly suggests that internationally recognised benchmarks were indeed achieved if not exceeded. The data also confirms that by international standards, high levels of poverty featured prominently and where an unusually high risk of poverty for certain disadvantaged social groups was to retain a presence in Irish society for the duration of the Celtic Tiger’.

How loud was the roar of the Tiger?

In economic discourse the terms ‘economic growth’, ‘economic development’ and ‘industrial development’ tend to be used interchangeably but there can be significant differences within their emphasis. Economic growth is defined as increasing total output without a rise in living standards or increasing efficiency, whereas ‘development’ indicates a rise in productivity without a reduction in the numbers working (Oser 1967). Moreover, economic development histories which occurred in the 1960s, as in New Zealand for example, can just as easily be underpinned by an agricultural rather than an industrial base provided that skill development and social attitudes support appropriate growth strategies (Williams 1967).
‘Industrial development’ on the other hand, is defined as a process whereby productive resources in a particular economy are used to generate higher quality lower cost products than were previously available (O'Sullivan 1995). Economic development is usually understood to mean that more individuals are better off in conditions of a rising population, full employment and income growth (Haughton 1991) although the OECD (2001a), in a policy briefing document, uses the terms ‘economic performance’ ‘economic growth’ and ‘economic development’ interchangeably to refer to an increase in GDP figures.

By definition then Ireland has clearly experienced both economic development and economic growth in the ‘Celtic Tiger’ because as we shall see later, output (GDP) for the period 1993–1998 more than doubled, employment levels increased and levels of private consumption was close to 80% of the EU average. The gains in wealth, productivity and output created a more competitive economy than Japan and Britain despite reservations about EU subsidies and multinational tax dodges (Shuttleworth, Kitchen, Shirlow & McDonagh 2000). Further support for the continued increase in economic development and growth rates came from the IMF (2000) who pointed out that

*Ireland continues to achieve spectacular economic growth...reflects propitious policy decisions...[which]...has sparked a virtuous circle of rapidly rising incomes and employment and contributed to strong growth in private consumption and investment*

(IMF 2000: 34)

Yet economic development is not purely ‘economic’ in the sense that it also encompasses the concurrent development of internal social factors that assist economic development such as the decline in religious beliefs and the rising social esteem attached to economic success (Cairncross 1962). But as we already noted in the introduction to the thesis, the advance of secularisation and the corrosion of
religious beliefs and values in Irish society are not substantiated by the research. Leitch (1998) argued that internal social factors still generated ambivalent attitudes to economic development in the Republic stating that

the south of Ireland at the present time is racing, hell-bent, to become part of that industrialised society. They spend all these centuries saying we don’t want to be like these people, but they want to achieve what Britain did, in ten or fifteen years which is another of the great ironies

(Leitch 1998: 68)

Notwithstanding this assertion, Ireland was already classified as a rich industrial country by the World Bank as early as 1988 using the measure of Gross National Product per Capita and confirmed Ireland’s 27th position in a cohort of 109 countries surveyed (Haughton 1991).

The economic statistics during the ‘Celtic Tiger’ tended to underline an even higher economic status. For example, an employment level of 1.5 million by 2003 and an unemployment rate of 7% by 2005 together with economic growth of 5% per annum was targeted for the early years of the 21 Century (ESRI 1997). All were easily exceeded as early as 1998 where an annual increase of 30,000 jobs was effortlessly achieved (Sexton 1998). In fact the unemployment rate stood at 4.3% at the end of 2000 (Central Statistics Office 2000a) and the revised unemployment targets of 5% overall and 2% for the long term unemployed to be achieved by December 2000, had again been exceeded nine months earlier than expected (Govt 2001). The underlying dynamic in the workforce, calculated on an ILO basis, was very positive because total employment in the Irish economy increased by a quarter of a million between April 1989 and April 1997 and was unmatched in the history of the state (Tansey 1998).

The scale of the decrease in both the rate and number of registered unemployed from 1985 onwards can be observed in the statistics presented in Table 1.2.1 below. A key feature is the general downward trend in both numbers and percentages, noting that
the most significant variations had occurred in just the last ten years. By 2001 the actual unemployment rate was half the 1975 level despite substantial increases in the both the population in general and the labour force in particular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Numbers Unemployed</th>
<th>Unemployment rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>85,000</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>226,000</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>192,000</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>214,014</td>
<td>7.0%¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>152,871</td>
<td>4.4%²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>149,000</td>
<td>3.7%³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>154,100</td>
<td>4.1%⁴</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
¹ Irish Times Business and Finance Section, Saturday, February 6th 1999, p18.
² 2000 'Further Good News on the Unemployment Front - Tánaiste announces that Long Term Unemployment falls to under 30,000. – 270,000 extra at work. Government Press Office, Friday, 4th August.

The dramatic improvement in economic performance during the early part of the Celtic Tiger era was acknowledged by Baker, Duffy & Shortall (1998) who argued that on every relevant criterion the economy had performed exceptionally well. Then in 1998 the best ever exchequer returns for the first half of any year since the foundation of the state were reported by the Minister for Finance (McCreevy 1998). Moreover, the labour force grew by 21.9%, employment by 36.6%, while unemployment decreased by 57%, even those registered as long term unemployed i.e. those over one year on the Live Register, decreased by 68%, yet at the same time
income levels per capita increased by 32.8% (FÁS 2000). The performance figures for the period 1993-1998 were of such magnitude that they were deemed to constitute an economic ‘miracle’ (Sweeney 1998). By 2001 the population has increased to another record of 3.84 million, its highest in 120 years and because Ireland still remained relatively underpopulated at approximately one fifth of the density of the UK, it lead to the conclusion that the economy could potentially support an even higher population (Central Statistics Office 2001b). So on annual benchmark economic indicators of levels of population, of employment, of unemployment, of GNP volume and of GNP per capita, there had been significant improvements from 1994 to 2000 (CSO 2000) and if the correct policies continued to be implemented then Ireland could look forward to continuing and ‘impressive’ increases in its standard of living (OECD 2001). Speaking at an EU Summit in Nice, the Irish Prime Minister reminded the Irish people that for the first time in their history, the level of GNP achieved was 100% of the EU average (RTÉ 2000).

Moreover, the record low levels of unemployment in November 2000 which stood at 3.7% (Govt 2000c) now became a ‘positive’ economic problem because Forfás (2000) contended that the increase of 450,000 persons in employment in the decade 1990-1999 had eventually precipitated both labour and skill shortages in the economy. Yet despite this, the data still continued to underline a ‘tiger’ economy. For example, when Irish income levels measured per Head of Population were compared to those prevailing throughout the EU in July 2000, they were found to be second only to Luxembourg based on Gross Domestic Product (GDP), rather than GNP. However,

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7 The term ‘miracle’ has become common place in the media, in politics and in everyday conversation.
8 Forfás – The Policy and Advisory Board for Industrial Development in Ireland.
GNP does not include profit repatriation by multinationals and had these figures been
taken into account, then GNP would be 15% below the GDP level (European
Commission 2000). It is also well known that GDP figures for Ireland are notoriously
poor indicators of national income earned by productive Irish capital and labour and
as a consequence, GDP totals over the last few years had averaged +13% above the
more accurate GNP totals (Barry, Hannan, & Strobl 1999). Nevertheless, even using
this lower GNP figure as the real measure of economic growth, the Irish economy in
terms of output growth, ranked 1st in the OECD in the 1990s and reached a point in
2000 where GNP was approximately 90% of average EU levels, up from 60% in 1993
(IMF 2000). Moreover, by the end of 2000 the largest flow of portfolio capital in the
world came into Ireland making it a leading financial services centre
(ATKearney/Foreign Policy 2002)
Furthermore, there was clear and consistent evidence that because of wage and
employment levels in the economy, both intensive and extensive economic
development has occurred i.e. higher numbers working, earning higher wages,
delivering higher productivity (Barry, Hannan & Strobl 1999). Even in the
subsequent spiral of higher labour costs, higher wages, higher prices and higher
inflation rates already evident by 2000, there was still ‘extraordinary’ productivity
growth in the economy and most remarkably, competitiveness measured as unit
labour costs in manufacturing, actually improved in 2000 (OECD 2001). This
happened even though calculated hours per week worked in full time jobs had on
average decreased significantly from 1993 onwards for both men and women - from
44 hours in 1983 to 38 hours in 1999 - notwithstanding the false impression created
by male managers that the opposite was the case, because of their social position
where they were able to ‘talk loudest’ (Wickham 2000). In other words, productivity
increased even when the cost base increased and at the same time the working week decreased.

Published data on industrial activity also suggested that the economy had performed exceptionally well. For example, Ireland was unique in displaying an increase of 17.3% in manufacturing employment in the period 1988-1998 particularly when this rate is compared to the comparable figures in the same period for the industrially advanced economies of the USA (-3.7%), Japan (-9.1%), Germany (-30%), UK (+3.9%) and Sweden (-21%). The Irish performance was due mainly to its success in attracting foreign multinationals into Ireland (Forfás 1999). This success depended on having good national economic planning, management and implementation based on the social partnership consensus model (Travers 1999).

The multinational dominance of the economy was a noteworthy feature. Foreign owned companies accounted for 47% of manufacturing employment and over 50% of total employment if internationally traded and financial services were included (Forfás 1999). They also accounted for two thirds of industrial output and over three quarters of industrial exports (Wren 2000). Approximately 77% of all sales in the Manufacturing and Internationally Traded Services Industry was generated by multinationals (Forfás 2000a). They had a central role in the performance of the Irish economy (Kenny 1997) and were described by Suiter (2000) as

_the most powerful engine in the transformed economy of the Republic_

(Suiter 2000: 1)

Nevertheless, exports still showed a disproportionate reliance on the UK market which accounted for nearly 50% of all exports, with 30% going to the rest of the EU and 20% to the rest of the world (Forfás 2000a). According to Keenan (2000) not only were the multi-national figures higher at 75% of manufacturing output but
The Accidental Tiger - Part I: Setting the Scene

Chemical and computer multinationals accounted for 60% of all multinational exports - up 12% to 54% of total exports - noting that both Dell and Intel alone accounted for over one half of the total output from the electronics sector. According to the latest Globalisation Index, FDI inflows increased from $3 billion per year in the mid 1990s to $20.5 billion per year in 2000 more than three times the average amount of FDI per resident in Finland (A.T. Kearney/Foreign Policy Magazine 2002). The economic fundamentals were so good that the Irish Minister for Finance, echoing the former British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, claimed that people in Ireland never had it so good (McCreevy 2000).

On the other hand, significant sections of Irish society 'never had it so bad' during this belated golden age of development. The Government candidly admitted when it launched its RAPID initiative (Revitalising Areas by Planning, Investment and Development), that there were over 165,000 individuals in the 25 most concentrated disadvantaged areas of the country who had not benefited at all from the wealth generated by the 'Celtic Tiger' (Govt 2001a). The most disadvantaged communities were prioritised using the Trutz Hasse Social Deprivation Index which included variables such as the unemployment rate per household, income level per household, family and social structure and high levels of rented public housing. Moreover, a 'street head count' of the homeless in Dublin carried out between the 15th and 21st of October 2000 and undertaken jointly by Focus Ireland, Dublin Simon and Dublin Corporation, established that there were 202 homeless individuals in Dublin which was more than the combined total of Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, Oxford and Nottingham and equated to two thirds of the London total (Irish Times 2000a).

According to the UN, Ireland had the highest levels of relative poverty in the industrialised world outside of the US and almost 23% of the Irish population was
functionally illiterate, unable to read for example labels on common packages of food or medication etc. (Cullen 1999). Despite the progress made in Ireland’s Human Development Performance being ranking 20th from 174 countries - measured by school enrolments, GNP per capita and life expectancy since the 1980s - the Irish level still remained well below the average for industrialised countries (UN 1999). The level of poverty in Ireland, as measured by the % of the population below the median adjusted disposable personal income threshold, was high at 11% of the population thus leaving Ireland in second last position from 17 industrialised countries surveyed (UN 1999). When measured as a % of the average equivalent household income in the EU, the numbers of individuals existing below the 40% poverty level was relatively low but when the 50% and 60% threshold levels were combined they the gave a rate comparable to the that existing in the UK, Greece and Spain with only Portugal of the remaining EU countries having higher rates of poverty (Callan & Nolan 1999). Moreover, increases in socio-economic well-being when they did occur were ‘place’ restricted to Cork, Dublin, Limerick, Galway and Waterford leaving the remaining counties of the Republic lagging behind and reflected Ireland’s position at the top of the table for the greatest ‘social polarity’ in terms of income within the EU, with double the number of children living in poverty since 1971 and the largest differential in economic status between the sexes throughout the EU (Shuttleworth, Kitchin, Shirlow, & McDonagh 2000).

Following an analysis by this author of the official income tax receipts for 1998, recorded in the Statistical Report of the Revenue Commissioners (Govt 2000b), some striking examples of income inequality were found. For example 62% of Ireland’s 1.5 million taxpayers earned less than £IR15,000 gross per annum and accounted for only 28% of the ‘national’ income, while the top 3% who earned more than
£IR50,000 gross per annum, accounted for almost 16% of national income. If those earning more than £IR30,000 gross per annum are also included, then the top 15% of taxpayers accounted for almost 55% of total income. The income earned by the top twenty five Irish businessmen/women in the tax year 1999/2000 exceeded £IR400 million (Sunday Times 2000). This level of income inequality had only marginally improved when compared to the position in the early 1980s, because Kenny (1984) contended at the time, that less than 5% of the population owned between 57%-63% of the national wealth, whereas now the figure had tripled to 15% of the population. According to Callan and Nolan (1999) the trend towards greater income inequality and poverty rates in Ireland has not generally re-occurred in other OECD countries except in the UK and the US.

But it is at the individual level where the true face of endemic poverty is made visible. As Table 1.2.2 now shows, and just at the outset of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ in 1994, approximately one fifth of the population had an income below 50% of the average Irish household income level and were classified as ‘poor’ using the Combat Poverty Agency’s ‘Poverty Qualification Threshold’. This is a report by an individual household of an enforced lack one of the everyday eight items listed below

| Table: 1.2.2 Household Poverty using the Poverty Qualification Threshold |
|---|---|---|
| **Item** | **Description** | **below 50% Poverty Line** |
| 1. | Getting into debt for everyday expenses | 56.9% |
| 2. | Went without Main Meal | 23.4% |
| 3. | Went without Heat | 23.4% |
| 4. | Enforced lack of New Clothes | 38.3% |
| 5. | Enforced lack of Two Pairs of Shoes | 33.9% |
| 6. | Enforced lack of Warm Overcoat | 28.5% |
| 7. | Enforced lack of Roast or equivalent per week | 38.4% |
| 8. | Enforced lack of Meal without meat, fish equivalent | 24.1% |

The figures indicated that about one in five households in Ireland experienced a lack of at least one of the eight indicators listed and over half of these poor households experienced debt difficulties to meet daily living expenses. Callan & Nolan (1999) concluded that the above table of eight categorical measurements was a better indicator of both the scale and trend in generalised deprivation rather than numbers and percentages below poverty lines or the often quoted poverty threshold figures. Furthermore, these deprivation levels were not expected to improve significantly in the period 1999-2000 (Nolan 2000) i.e. at the maximum impact point of the ‘Celtic Tiger’.

In fact the Combat Poverty Agency (1999) indicated that there were ‘worrying signs’ of a general tendency to stigmatise many of those in poverty and to label them according to two categories, namely ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ poor, mainly as a result of the Irish society becoming atomised and individualised. Even though 8% of the population fell below the 60% average income threshold and were therefore, classified as experiencing basic deprivation, over half of the 'single adult household' category experienced a poverty rate that was 50% below average income, a figure that was over twice the rate for the next category ‘2 adults with four or more children’ (ESRI 2001). The risk of falling below the 50% threshold was greatest for households where the reference person was ‘disabled’, with a 72.6% risk assessment, followed by ‘unemployed’ reference person with a 56.2% risk assessment and 28.7% risk assessment where the reference person was ‘retired’ (ESRI 2001). According to a former Fine Gael Prime Minister, Dr. Garrett Fitzgerald (2001), Ireland had become the most right wing country in Europe based on the % of resources allocated to poverty reduction and the most unequal society in Europe based on the after tax income of the rich measured against government resources allocated to social action.
Summary remarks

In summary, this chapter has presented details of the developmental dynamics of the Irish economy and complemented the discussions on the broad socio-economic profile presented in the previous chapter. Data on the nature and level of economic activity evident in the transformed modern Irish economy strongly suggested that strong and sustained economic performance was an underlying feature of the ‘Celtic Tiger’. The decline in unemployment from 1975 onwards marked a fundamental transformation in Irish economic fortunes.

A number of benchmarks were also examined that verified the ‘tiger’ status of the economy and from the results we then concluded that the Irish economy probably deserved the label of the ‘Celtic Tiger’. Yet despite strong underlying empirical support for the status of a ‘tiger’ economy, the Government admitted that large sections of Irish society had still not benefited from the economic transformation. Further examination of the data revealed that a significant section of Irish society still suffered unusually high deprivation in their daily lives. While we still maintained that the ‘Celtic Tiger’ was more a reality that an myth, the reasons why or how it had become so at this particular juncture in Irish history had not yet been explored. The presentation and exploration of the various debates surrounding the causes for the particular path of Irish economic development prior to and including the ‘Celtic Tiger’ now forms the central narrative of Chapter 3.
Chapter 3

THE ACCIDENTAL BIRTH AND GROWTH OF THE CELTIC TIGER

Introduction

In the previous chapter, the view of many commentators that the Irish economy met and at times easily exceeded 'tiger' performance benchmarks was upheld. The purpose of this chapter is to establish exactly how the economy came to be transformed so unexpectedly given the unlikely socio-economic backdrop depicted earlier in chapter 1. To achieve this objective the debates on Irish economic development are divided into two categories where it then becomes possible to undertake a comparative analysis on the merits of the various arguments presented in these debates. Category 1 includes explanations of 'poor' development for the period 1922-1993, while Category 2 presents the explanations for the underlying cause(s) of 'good' economic development that characterise the Celtic Tiger phase of development. It is worth remembering that the much longer timeframe taken by the Republic to achieve levels of economic development to that achieved by other similarly sized nation states was almost universally overlooked by the commentators. This oversight contrasted with the contention of Singh (1994), that even extremely adverse conditions after colonial rule in the period 1950-1980 failed to prevent or retard the 'Golden Age' of economic development in South East Asia. Ironically this very colonial influence which places the ultimate cause within an external framework is presented by many Irish commentators in Category 1 as prima facie evidence for the generally poor economic performance since independence.
Category 1: External factors explaining 'poor' economic growth

As early as 1870, Ireland along with Spain and Portugal, appeared to have had the potential to become first world industrial countries but had not done so by the late 1980’s, well over a hundred years later (Bradford De Long 1989). The social capability and desire to accumulate through hard work i.e. an observable commitment to the Protestant Work Ethic, was highlighted as the crucial missing factor. But he also cautioned that the 'Protestant' option may have had serious repercussions on the levels of national well being experienced in industrialised countries while the low material well being experienced in less industrialised countries may have been much more preferable in the long run (Bradford De Long 1989).

Girvin (1997) argued that Ireland was not in fact prepared to go this Protestant accumulative route due to the 'colonial' factor i.e. it defined itself as 'Catholic' and 'Nationalist' while furthermore there was always the suspicion that Irish society had neither the inclination nor the will to industrialise because of the presence of certain behavioural features calculated to impeded economic development. In any event, Nationalists preferred the achievement of an independent state to the almost guaranteed development of Irish material resources and the subsequent prosperity guaranteed on foot of a genuine commitment to a union with an industrial supreme, Britain (Manseragh 1965c).

Again and again this external 'colonial' factor is cited in one form or another by many commentators. O'Brien (1968) contended that the lack of Irish legislative independence after the 1800 Act of Union⁹ worked against an economic policy favourable to Irish circumstances. Although Johnson (1989) confirmed that, from 1914 to 1920, the years immediately prior to independence, there was unprecedented

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⁹ A measure on Jan 1st 1801, creating The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with 100 Irish M.Ps sitting in the British House of Commons. Both exchequers and tax systems were later unified.
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economic prosperity in Ireland due to a rise in agricultural prices during WW1. However, because this boom was agricultural, it consequently suppressed any desire to address issues relating to industrial development (Sweeney 1992).

Mjoset (1993) blamed overt British policies of de-industrialisation in Ireland prior to independence as the main reason why slow industrialisation occurred thereafter. The whole debate on whether the Act of Union with Britain in 1800 debilitated or assisted Irish economic development remained problematical, as two commentators insisted that the economic outcome for Ireland was ruinous, nine taking the opposite view, while a further nine remained neutral (Kennedy & Johnston 1996). Hickman (1995) however, had little doubt when arguing that Ireland was at the centre of the capitalist industrialisation but in a colonial and subservient role, permitted to produce agricultural produce only and then on condition that it did not endanger British products. As a result Ireland became an emigrant nursery to supply industrial workers from the thousands of its displaced agricultural labourers. There was some support for this view since Connolly (1996) contended that there was in effect, a policy of excluding Ireland from British colonial commerce but without local compensatory action. The resultant lack of industrial development was a clear case of British mis-government (Kennedy 1995).

Moreover, Ireland had experienced considerable progress as an industrial and capitalist economy by the time of the Industrial Revolution, where six of the twenty counties that later formed part of the Republic of Ireland actually had more people engaged in industry than in agriculture but that from 1800 to 1922 the free operation of market forces within the union of Britain and Ireland had a 'catastrophic' effect on Ireland's economy in the first ten years of independent government 1922-1932 (O'Malley 1989). The emphasis on laissez-faire policies within the Act of Union
were responsible for the decline of Irish industry up to 1922, leaving a mere 8% of the workforce in industry and even less (4.5%) in manufacturing (Fitzpatrick and Kelly 1985).

This meant that Ireland had to start its industrialisation process right from scratch and was unique insofar as it had followed to the letter and for longer than anyone else, the received wisdom of developmental economics i.e. protectionist from the 1930s to the 1950s and outward, open and free market policies from the 1950s to the present, dependent on substantial FDI, and giving all the appearance of a successful economy (O’Malley 1989). Yet the state of the British economy had still a very significant impact on Irish development and Burke (1995) maintained that the inertia in the Irish economy was due to the longer term decline evident in the British economy particularly in recent decades.

**Internal Factors causing poor development**

Despite the colonial arguments some commentators continued to place a more important emphasis on internal factors. As it was pointed out towards the latter end of Chapter 2, the Great Famine defined the nature and scope of Ireland's economic problems for most of the 20th century. As a result of this, one crucial course of action was denied the Irish economy. The key strategy of comparative advantage used by late industrialisers such as Germany after the industrial revolution and the post WWII Asian Tiger economies, where they both concentrated on the development of low wage sectors to generate economic growth through human capital accumulation, was unavailable as an option to Ireland because emigration induced an artificially high 'minimum wage' level throughout the Irish economy (Barry 1999). The impact of emigration is also singled out by Leddin and Walsh (1998) because the resultant
intensive inward orientation contributed significantly to a poor record of economic development.

Then when independence was eventually achieved, there was a lack of will on the part of successive Irish governments to develop an integrated industrial base (Firth 1967) which left the economy with a grossly underdeveloped industrial infrastructure and an anti-industrial ethos (O'Donnell 1979). Furthermore, protectionist policies adopted by Fianna Fáil and culminating in the economic war with Britain in the 1930's resulted, until the mid 1950's, in a shortfall of 25% in the level of national income that the economy was actually capable of generating (Sweeney 1992). Moreover, from 1932 to 1966 the Irish economy was the most protected in the world and this was by far the most important reason for poor economic development (Leddin and Walsh 1998).

The protectionist policies from 1932 onward and the decade of stagnation in the 1950s was due in the main to the failure of export oriented internationally competitive indigenous industries to realise foreign exchange, and when employment growth happened in the 1960s and 1970s, it was primarily recorded in foreign owned export oriented companies and this highlighted just how weak the indigenous Irish industry really was (Fitzgerald, Geary, Lalor, Nolan and O’Malley 1996). Little appeared to have changed over more recent decades because the increased skills evident in the workforce was a key factor but only in attracting foreign investment because indigenous industry still continued to suffer from a considerable absence of internationally competitive firms (Fitzgerald, Geary, Lalor, Nolan and O’Malley 1996). Moreover, Irish outward FDI stock was only 27% of inward FDI stock and this ratio was very low compared to levels in other EU countries and even lower when compared to the 130% ratio in the OECD overall, although by it had increased in the
period 1985-2001 to the point where over 60,000 were employed in the US by Irish companies compared with 100,000 employed in Ireland by American companies (Forfás 2001a).

One of the probable causes of the lack of focus on indigenous industry was that the Irish political system ensured that politicians were enmeshed in patronage and 'backscratching', so that a hapless state bureaucracy was powerless to formulate let alone implement an appropriate economic policy so that the exclusive focus on FDI and the pressure relieving impact of emigration allowed agencies to 'skirt around' the problem of indigenous development (O'Riain 2001).

With emigration averaging out at 10.6 per 1000 of population, it induced attitudes of mind and patterns of behaviour that led to mental disorientation in the general population prejudicial to economic development (Fanning 1983a). This disorientation was re-enforced with the imposition by the industrial Protestant British of individualistic capitalism on a pastoral communal society such as Ireland, which inevitably led to an outcome of underdeveloped industrialism (Crotty 1986). Yet the very group which should have shown a positive disposition towards industrialism, namely employers, were also unwilling to change behavioural patterns inimical to economic development (Weinz 1986). This was not surprising since there was an endemic low value placed by Irish society on economic development (Kennedy 1992) which resulted in the absence of a culture conducive to the spirit of enterprise and was directly responsible for the poor performance of Irish industry (Bielenberg 1995).

According to Lee (1989) and echoing Plunkett, the Irish culture which was not conducive to enterprise was simply the fact that the Irish had a lazy work ethic. This pre-disposed them to adopt and apply a possessor rather than a performance ethos because the tangible rewards to be gained by adopting such an approach in Irish
The society was quite significant. Laziness was also highlighted in the 1960s by the then Taoiseach, Seán Lemass, who was however, sternly rebuked by the opposition T.D. Mr. Donegan in the Dáil (Parliament) criticising Lemass’ morose justification of his own economic policies by arguing that fun and games were equally valid political objectives (Dáil Éireann 1965). Later in the thesis it will be shown that the emphasis on this-worldly enjoyment was not confined to the 1960s but emerged in our research as a prominent feature of the ‘Celtic Tiger’, being a valid Catholic focus which runs directly counter to the main thrust of the Protestant Work Ethic (PWE).

Regarding the ‘drag’ of Roman Catholic doctrine on economic development, Inglis (1989) was confident that the Catholic Church’s teaching against materialism in the schools and in the pulpit worked directly against the formation of an industrial ethos. However, proof of this influence was quite tenuous (Kennedy 1996) and in any event European industrial development in general was not a particularly Protestant event (Haughton 1991). In the early 20th century, Catholicism had been singled out as the most important factor in the lack of economic development in Ireland because it was diverting significant domestic capital from industrial into Catholic church building projects in the late 19th century (Plunkett 1905). Yet there was strong evidence that at that time, church building actually contributed to economic growth although it could be conceded that it was a reflection of a social structure inimical to economic development (Kennedy 1996). What does appear to be undisputed however, is the energy of the clergy in promoting Danish style agricultural co-operative development in preference to the industrial development approach of Britain (Kennedy 1996a).

Other observations on the cause of poor economic performance included factors such as the vagaries of the Irish PR system of voting which ensured that it was almost impossible to pursue collective over individual and sectional interests particularly in...
the economic field (Mair 1992). Consequently the immediate need of politicians remained firmly focussed on *local* clients and interest groups rather than on national aims and objectives (Kingston 1995). Nor was ‘Localism’ a peculiarly modern phenomenon because throughout the 19th century it superseded all *national* aspirations for the everyday attention of politicians (O’Tuathaigh 1999). It was still evident in the ‘Celtic Tiger’ where it was not uncommon for politicians to regularly interrupt their state work to attend to the individual needs of constituents such as fixing a back door on a council house and as a result major national issues such as reducing poverty never received enough attention (Donnycarney Unemployment Group 2001).

Another argument stated that the lack of relevance of Irish Catholic education to the world of work and other inherited past attitudes inimical to economic dynamism, inculcated a strong preference for safe jobs in the professions and public service (Kennedy Giblin & McHugh 1994). Yet the religious ethos in Catholic schools in the US had been identified as the primary reason not only for the permanence of orthodox Catholic religious and moral values among Catholics but was *simultaneously* responsible for the advancement of Irish Catholic American students into the top echelons of American society, second only to Jews in average annual income and educational attainment and third after Americans of British Protestant origin and Jews in occupational prestige (Murphy 1997). Finally the contention of Bradford De Long (1989) that honest government was required to generate the social capacity to undertake sustained economic development was according to O’Toole (1999) largely absent in Ireland and allowed a culture of corruption to flourish throughout the 1970s and 1980s.
Category 2 Debates explaining the emergence of the 'Celtic Tiger'.

The 'Celtic Tiger' was not the first and only example of a high performing Irish phase of economic development. In the 1960s and 1970s, following the policy shift of the then Taoiseach, Sean Lemass, from an inward protectionist to an outward open economy based on foreign direct investment, a measure of sustained growth was achieved that generated the highest GDP growth rate in the EU (Fitzpatrick & Kelly 1985). However, this short burst of growth was an exceptional 'one off' experience due to the success of the Irish Government in attracting a significant proportion of the available mobile global investment in those decades (O'Malley 1989).

O’Malley (1989) argued that a significant difference in the industrial policy of Japan, Taiwan and South Korea - and to a lesser extent Singapore and Hong Kong, who used the same exclusive inward investment strategy policy as Ireland – was that they all departed from the neo classical conventional and orthodox view on industrial development. They moved away from the philosophy of free operation of the markets, the very approach which dominated much of the thinking behind many Irish industrial policy makers since the 1950s. These countries used protection and selective intervention in indigenous industries to overcome barriers to market entry experienced by latecomers. Another common economic development strategy of Asian Tigers was their adoption of an approach with a significant manufacturing orientation and it was this orientation which enabled sustainable and superior economic growth to occur (Fingleton 1999).

On the other hand commentators on Celtic Tiger development argued for a different approach citing a combination of variables responsible for Ireland’s economic transformation and some of these models are now presented in Table 1.3.1.
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<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
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<td>education levels</td>
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<td>outward looking attitude, most important factor in economic recovery</td>
<td>totally dependent on vagaries of U.S. economy</td>
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The 'Accidental' Birth and Growth of the 'Celtic Tiger'
While the wide array of variables cited in these models highlight the general
disagreement among experts on the precise origins of the Celtic Tiger they are not
without some similarities. For example *FDI* is included in Models 1, 4, 5 and 6, with
*EU Structural Funds* in Models 1, 3, and 6 and *Education* cited in Models 4, 5 and 6.
The correct *Fiscal Policy* is identified in models 1, 5 and 6. In his assessment of the
the 'Celtic Tiger’ models 1-4, in comparison to Asian Tiger economic models,
Goodwin (1999a) concluded that serious structural dissimilarities existed in the Irish
case, such as the absence of integrated human resource strategies situated as they were
within a framework of sectional interests dominating national goals.
The perceived link between increased investment in education/training and economic
growth in models 3, 4 and 6 was identified by Leddin and Walsh (1998) as the key
contributory factor to recent economic growth. Using the Solow growth model
(growth in labour and capital stock together with technical change) to calculate the
supply capacity of the economy, the human capital measure of the rising education
levels in the workforce, namely the Education Adjusted Employment Level (EAL),
had contributed nearly one third (2.1%) of the total GNP growth rate of 5.8% for the
O’Grada (1997) stated that the empirical literature has uncovered a positive
correlation between levels of investment and the economic growth rate and as the
levels of capital and human resources invested in the Republic of Ireland up to the
mid 80s were well below other countries at a similar stage of development, growth
rates were also bound to be low. Yet we already presented evidence to the contrary in
the introduction and Pissarides (2000) argued that this correlation only existed
theoretically and not empirically, since most economists relied on three narrow
macroeconomic aggregates of employment, schooling and participation rates to make
their case. Nevertheless, Krugman (1997) argued that both the levels and quality of the investment in the Irish education system was the outstanding factor underpinning the success of the Celtic Tiger even though the OECD (1999b) warned that the correlation between human capital formation and national economic success was extremely difficult to verify. Apple (1990) provided an instructive observation on the critical role of ‘intellectuals’ in providing legitimacy for political and economic ideology when he stated that they support the predominant political and economic ruling class who both then reciprocate by supporting the educational system. However, nearly all theories concerning the Asian NICs place the accumulation of investments in physical and human capital at the core of any explanation of their success, together with other variables such as technology transfer, learning capability and the crucial aggressive ethos of entrepreneurship that develops in the absence of government interference (Nelson & Pack 1997). But as already noted in the opening section of the thesis, the IMF (2000) warned that the training and education objectives of the Irish National Development Plan 2000-2006 were not clearly formulated. So on that score alone, it is difficult to be optimistic on the validity of any of the eight models because their own brand of variables imply a systematic ‘safe cracking’ of a formula using the right sequence of inputs which will unlock the mystery, when in fact, nothing more than a mere fortunate conjunction of circumstances, luck, was responsible.

Ireland is a world leader in a number of aspects of economic performance...the 'Celtic Tiger'...has demonstrated peerless performance...this amazing turnaround was hardly predicted and its causes have only recently begun to receive widespread examination...it seems likely that Ireland was merely fortunate in undertaking much of its fiscal correction at a propitious moment with respect to world economic developments

(OECD 1998: 25, 29, 47)
This ‘lucky’ reason then began to receive some serious attention from a number of Irish analysts. For example, Walsh (2000) exhorted other economists to come clean and own up to the fact that not alone was the Irish miracle unforeseen but its duration was actually beyond forecasting. As there was still no economic model which predicted the Celtic Tiger as late as 1990, most analysts therefore focussed on reasons for past economic failure implying that the ‘Celtic Tiger’ was either an aberration or that all along from 1922 onwards unknown sociological preconditions for economic development were being formed (O’Grada 1997).

As it so happens, the ‘Celtic Tiger’ was the least predicted phase of economic development yet it went on to have the most dramatic transformation on the economy (Whitaker 2001). The unexpected nature of this transformation and the incredulity expressed at the level of Irish economic performance had the effect of making commentators and the general public wary that it would all end in failure due to the Irish inexperience of and poor preparation for, managing sustained and strong growth (Hannigan 2000).

The public’s hunch appeared a sound one because quite suddenly on the 7th of November 2001, the Governor of the Central Bank of Ireland, Maurice O’Connell declared to a joint Oireachtas (Legislature) Committee on Finance, that the ‘Celtic Tiger’ era was officially over (Irish Times 2001). Just a day previously McCoy, Duffy, Hore and MacCoille (2001) of the Economic and Social Research Institute, stated in their Quarterly Economic Commentary (QEC) that as a result of the September 11 attacks and the Foot and Mouth disease, the economy had moved into a new phase of lower below potential output growth. This was coupled with a significant deterioration in public finances, the re-emergence of a budget deficit and an end to a decade of declining unemployment. Moreover, they pointed out that 1st
quarter GDP growth in 2001 of 13.2% had tumbled to a 6.4% average for the year, with a further sharp fall to 3.4% predicted for 2002. Shortly after that announcement, the Central Statistics Office (2001c) confirmed that GNP had dropped from 11% growth in the 1st quarter of 2001 to a mere 1% in the 2nd quarter and unemployment rose for the first time since 1996 from 3.7% to 4.3%. The rate of employment fell to 2.8% which was below the 4.1% recorded for 2000 although surprisingly the labour force still managed to increase by 50,000 in the period from January to November 2001.

Then in early December 2001 the CSO figures showed an increase of 7,500 in monthly seasonally adjusted unemployment (Central Statistics office 2001d) and was the largest increase ever recorded in the history of the state. By late December, Forfás (2001) stated that for the first time in over fifteen years employment had decreased in companies supported by the Industrial Development Authority where many multinationals were concentrated. An increase of 14,928 jobs in 2000 turned into a net loss of (3,865) jobs in 2001. The accidental emergence and demise of the 'Celtic Tiger' would appear to lend substance to O'Sullivan's (1995) argument that the 'lap of the Gods' approach is just as valid as the so called empirical models, on the basis that mainstream economists are regularly caught off guard, totally incapable of constructing a theory analysing the interrelationship between economic policy and performance with the result that they are not in a position to determine let alone provide a precise explanation of how the process of industrial development actually occurs.

Yet at a cursory glance there appeared to be some similarity between 'Celtic Tiger' Ireland and 'Asian Tiger' Singapore particularly in socio-economic and demographic details. However, the differences in development strategy and social preconditions are
quite instructive. Singapore too was a former British colony, became an independent
democratic Republic in 1965 - over forty years later than Ireland - with a
parliamentary system of government (Govt. of Singapore 2000). It has a highly
educated workforce at 2.119 million (slightly larger than Ireland’s) with
approximately 40% educated above second level although it was experiencing an
unemployment ‘crisis’ of 2.6% (less than Ireland’s 4.3%) while it’s Gross Domestic
Product was down from 4.7% in 1st quarter to – 0.9% in the 2nd quarter of 2001 (Govt
of Singapore 2001, Govt of Singapore 2001a). Nevertheless, this rate is less than half
of the Irish GDP decrease for the same period. Religiosity is also similar to Irish
levels standing at 85% of the population but again is different in nature and
denomination. Singapore is a multi racial society and religious affiliation is
categorised as follows;- Buddhists (31%), Taoists (21%), Muslims (14.9%),
Christians (12.9%) of which Roman Catholics constitute approximately (4%), with
3.3% of residents being Hindu (Govt. of Singapore 2000).

But there are key institutional differences between Ireland and Singapore. In
Singapore one political party has maintained power since independence and
government policy and implementation is highly interventionist, paternalist and with
the overwhelming emphasis on matching outcomes of the education system [where
Singaporean children were the best educated in the World (The Economist 1997)] to
the objectives of manpower planning (Felstead, Ashton, Green & Sung 1994).
Manpower planning interventions are themselves guided by an industrial vision and
strategy (Green & Sung 1997). There is a continuous process of structural adjustment
to get the government’s economic vision right (Ashton 1998) which is based on high
levels of institutional integration (Ashton & Green 1996).
On the other hand, Ireland is generally perceived to be a decentralist country with some centralist tendencies (Hardiman 1994) where the Irish government is subject to a pluralist play of interest groups (Pellion 1995). The emphasis on client needs at a local level take precedence over national issues, where a premium is placed on ‘stroking’¹⁰ (Lee 1989) in a culture where truth and honesty are not valued. The inevitable outcome is the inability to define longer term economic aims (Goodwin 1997). The Irish education system is state funded and centralised and generally speaking Church controlled (Inglis 1998) while the standard of education of Irish children was below comparable Singaporean levels (Economist 1997). Crucially third level education is determined by government budgets rather than human resource needs in the marketplace (O’Hare 1999).

In their review of the literature on East Asia’s Tigers and their ‘miraculous’ economic growth rates, Haggard and Kim (2001) pointed out that while some empirical evidence existed identifying a correlation between export oriented strategy and fast economic growth there was no clear understanding of how this happened as the nature of the relationship was unknown due to an absence of a strong explanatory theory. O’Hearn (1998), acknowledged that the Singaporean government was successful in implementing and co-ordinating economic policies, but he was compelled to offer ‘guesswork’ rather than empirical solutions, pointing to a combination of both cultural and historical conditions conducive to economic development.

However, following their analysis of the literature on the sustained success of the Asian Tiger economies, Haggard and Kim (2001) proposed that the propensity for

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¹⁰ Similar to the term ‘Blagging’ used in the U.K.- conning or beating the system for personal gain - can also mean working while claiming the dole, or using a minor scam to get into an event without paying. Former Irish professional footballer and broadcaster Eamon Dunphy put a question to John Giles former Leeds Utd. and Rep. of Ireland professional footballer now sports broadcaster, on the validity of Giles’ assertion made during the 1998 Soccer World Cup Finals in France, that it was acceptable for Michael Owen, the English footballer, to attempt to ‘con’ or ‘cheat’ the referee into awarding a penalty against his opponents, Argentina. Giles responded that stroking was widely admired in politics and business in Ireland and so why not in football (Giles 1998).
growth does not rest solely on open trade but on prior social foundations such as strong state intervention and relative social equity, factors that are not easily replicated in other states. Some years earlier Bradford and Chakwin (1993) had demonstrated that Asian Tigers' output growth was not caused by growth in exports due to increased openness and trade liberalisation as was commonly advanced in the literature, but by improved export capacity due to new and continuous human and capital investment. The reason for the early and rapid industrialisation of Singapore and the other 'Tigers' was that the social and historical foundations of the new state promoted the accumulation of capital through industrial development (Hamilton 1983). Fast paced accumulation was primarily due to the substantial inward direct investment by foreign multinationals in a narrow base of industries such as electronics, a process in stark contrast to the indigenously driven manufacturing expansion of Taiwan, Hong Kong and South Korea (Hamilton 1983).

It should be pointed out that whatever the secret of Singapore's mix of variables, comparable levels of FDI penetration, net manufacturing output and industrial exports achieved by Singapore thirteen years after independence were only being achieved in Ireland twenty years later and seventy six years after its own independence. This much at least is captured in Table 1.3.2. below.

Table: 1.3.2 Penetration levels of MNCs in Singapore 1978 and Ireland 1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MNCs</th>
<th>Singapore 1978a</th>
<th>Ireland 1998b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of Employment</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Net Manufacturing Output</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Industrial Exports</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
From these figures we can see that multi-national industrial exports in 1998 measured as a percentage of total exports in the Irish economy was equal to comparable levels achieved in the Singaporean economy more than twenty years previously in 1978. Net manufacturing output in the Irish economy was also twenty years behind the 1978 Singaporean levels. Moreover, in 1978 the Singaporean multi-national sector accounted for a higher proportion of total employment than that achieved in the same sector in the Irish economy by 1998. The World Competitiveness Report (1999) showed ‘tiger’ Ireland as the 10th most competitive economy whereas Singapore was ‘by far’ the most competitive, followed by the U.S.A., Hong Kong, Taiwan and Canada, concluding that Ireland was strong on government, labour, technology and finance, but weak on infrastructure (IMI 1999). Comparing the GDP per capita of selected regions and countries of similar size and population to Ireland in Table 1.3.3, Singapore’s GDP rate still remained at a level which was 68% greater than the comparable figure for ‘tiger’ Ireland.

**Table: 1.3.3. GDP per Capita of countries/regions of similar size to Ireland**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Population (millions)</th>
<th>GDP per Capita in $US</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>32,436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon USA</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>26,554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa, USA</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>24,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schleswig Holstein (Ger)</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>21,416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquitaine France</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>19,662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ireland</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>19,269</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>18,567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brittany France</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>18,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>15,981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>13,741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxony-Anhalt</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>12,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Germany</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:**
O’Riain (2001) noted that Irish state agencies have only recently begun to create a social world supportive of innovation, industry and growth, something long taken for granted in the Asian Tiger economies. They have succeeded in this by embedding economic life in political and social relations and together with their own flexible organisational structures are now beginning to manage the connections between local firms and the global economy by becoming a ‘flexible developmental state’. This means that the Irish government allows the global economy free reign, but at the same time ensures that local workers and firms connect with it and thereby avoid the more direct interventionist approach of the Singaporean government (O’Riain 2001).

An Accident of Birth!

Despite the many varied empirical accounts of development articulated in the above debates, the OECD (1999) explained the origins of the Celtic Tiger as a simple case of accidental good fortune, attributable to

no ‘silver bullet’...no single overriding policy...rather the breaks in trend...are attributable to the confluence of a series of favourable changes in the environment and other exogenous factors

(OECD 1999: 2)

Sweeney (1998) agreed that luck was involved and suggested that many economic social and political forces unwittingly fell together by chance into the right mix to allow the economy take off. Fitzgerald (1999) and Fitzgerald and Girvin (2000) also nominated 'luck' as one of the key factors enabling the dynamic of economic growth to gain momentum together with factors such as the social partnership consensus approach, multinational investment and rising education levels.

O’Mahony (2000) too concluded that the ‘Celtic Tiger’ was just sheer good luck rather than good management, where complementary variables just happened to come together in the absence of government policy. Even the much lauded and so-called far
sighted industrial planning of Lemass' First Programme for Economic Expansion of 1958 based primarily on seeking and securing inward investment and identified by some as the cause of spectacular economic growth in the early sixties, was hotly disputed by others who claimed that Lemass got just plain 'lucky' (Lynch 1968). In her 2001 Oldcastle Lecture the present Tánaiste' also spoke about how fortunate Irish society had been to have a benign international environment that assisted with the emergence of the 'Celtic Tiger' miracle (Harney 2001).

Now the point about having a belief in 'luck' or chance is that it indicates a well developed mindset that assigns to events a pre-determined supernatural outcome rather than relying on quantitative facts to explain effects (Veblen 1953). This belief directly affects all other habits of thought affecting the individual's life particularly in the economic sphere and runs directly counter to the industrially efficient consciousness that is a necessary pre-requisite for advanced industrial societies (Veblen 1953). Nevertheless, some analysts reject the 'lucky' factor. For example the timing of Lemass' decision to introduce a sustained policy of substantial educational investment in 1967, although 20 years behind most other European countries, together with his economic policy of FDI is well regarded and both decisions were crucial in creating the 'Celtic Tiger' (Fitzgerald 2000). The underlying dynamic had not changed much since the 1960s i.e. the high technology multi-national investment sector (OECDa 1999).

Just how diverse the explanations for the existence of the Celtic Tiger were can be gauged from the list of 'most important' variables presented by both the International Monetary Fund and senior Irish government ministers as they struggled to explain the Irish economic 'miracle'. The IMF (2000) provided seven interrelated reasons for the
continued economic expansion that was happening at a ‘torrid pace’. The report identified

a) export oriented FDI,
b) low cost English speaking workforce with links to American multinational decision makers through a history of migration,
c) EU structural funding,
d) the fiscal crisis of 1987 which was addressed ‘decisively’,
e) improved education and training standards,
f) partnership models of social consensus, and finally
g) the early concentration FDI in high growth sectors which gave Ireland a competitive edge particularly in attracting a cluster of sectoral related multi-nationals.

However, the quality of key multi-national job opportunities provided by FDI was questioned by Barry, Bradley & O’Malley (1999) who expressed concern at the footloose nature of multinationals and the consequent potential for economic instability because the average duration of a multinational manufacturing job in Ireland was thirteen years, well below the eighteen achieved in both the US and the UK.

While the Tánaiste Ms. Harney identified a long list of macro and structural factors underpinning economic success such as low inflation, moderate wage increases, prudent budgetary policies, low interest rates, and the falling tax burden on employees and companies.

*these achievements are based on hard work and the commitment of people in all sectors of the economy and in all parts of the country*

(Harney 1999: foreword)

Her statement is unique because it marks one of the few recorded acknowledgements that indicated a positive correlation between the Irish work ethic, and higher productivity levels that linked directly to economic success. In other words, she acknowledged a socio-cultural factor that was usually overlooked in explanations of economic growth.

Now the curious thing is that while Catholicism was regarded as a significant negative influence on the work ethic when development was poor (Plunkett 1905, Inglis 1989
Lee 1989, Lemass 1965), it rarely featured as a positive influence on growth during the ‘Celtic Tiger’. Where the labour contribution to economic success was recognised, it was done so only indirectly. For example the National Competitiveness Council (1999) praised the Social partnership consensus approach, which included representatives of the Trade Unions, as the cornerstone of economic success. These partnerships were regarded as central to Ireland’s economic success (IMF 2000), an important contributory factor to economic growth and job creation (Hardiman 2000) and constituted the winning economic formula (MacSharry & White 2000).

However, two academics maintained, for opposing reasons, that social partnership should have been abandoned altogether. One claimed that the strength of the approach worked best to bring the economy to, rather than maintain, full employment but the 5th Partnership agreement - Programme for Prosperity and Fairness (The PPF) reached in February 2000 – had given workers excessive wage increases leading to inflation (Leddin 2000). The other claimed that the ‘Celtic Tiger’ was only a myth because Irish labour had in fact fared much worse than either Irish or multi-national capital under these Partnerships and a return to collective bargaining was recommended to address this imbalance (Allen 1999).

A call to re-evaluate the sustainability of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ was made by Anthony Sweeney (1999) who argued that the excessive growth of the Irish economy had distorted psychological perceptions where individuals and businesses abandoned fiscal prudence which in turn created conditions favourable for the usual boom/bust scenario characteristic of capitalism. He contended that all the Asian Tiger economies went bust in the 1990s and to regard Ireland as an exception to the rule, demonstrated the power of the myth surrounding the sustainability of the ‘Celtic Tiger’. Another factor that emerged was the claim by some occupational groups that they had a pivotal
role in the economic success of recent times and should have been appropriately
compensated such as the Association of Higher Civil and Public Servants (AHCPS
2000) and school teachers (RTÉ 2000, EL 2001).

**Official Government explanations for the 'Celtic Tiger'**

One can only suspect from an analysis of some 'economic' speeches and press
briefings made from late 1998 to early 2001 by the Taoiseach, the Tánaiste and the
Minister for Finance that the Government just didn't know how 'Celtic Tiger' had
emerged. For example social partnership and consensus was quoted as the most
important factor in a number of speeches made by the Taoiseach on the economy.
Other factors mentioned included education, FDI and technology transfer. Refer to
appendix 2 for a list of these 'economic' speeches. Moreover, if one examines the
speeches and remarks of the Tánaiste, as Minister for Enterprise Trade and
Employment, the following factors can be identified in descending order:-
Fiscal/Taxation Policy (5 speeches), Partnership (4 speeches), Education (4 speeches),
Economic Planning (2 speeches), Pay Moderation (2 speeches), Economic Liberalism
(1 speech), Workforce Skill Development (1 speech), Flexible Labour Supply (1
speech) and finally, the nature and diversification of current levels of International
Trade (1 speech). Refer to Appendix 2A for a list of her speeches.

In these speeches there are over twelve 'all important' macro economic variables that
are deemed to provoke economic growth. Together with the 6 common factors
already noted in the eight models, the seven variables outlined by the IMF, the myriad
of growth and non growth explanations in the above debates it appeared that the
'Celtic Tiger' was almost too well camouflaged to be visible. In fact by attempting to
isolate and prioritise a distinguishing subset of factors as the primary catalyst for the
economic turnaround, the most expert economists have only added confusion to an
area not well understood - the link between economic policy and growth - by overestimating the impact of some factors such as labour supply and underestimated others such as de-regulation (McAleese 2000). Only recently had Irish economists Fitzgerald and Girvin (2000) concluded that no one set of universal factors actually existed which were responsible for Irish economic growth, but on the contrary, the answer probably lay in specific responses and adjustments to internal and external forces.

Haggard and Kew (2001) identified a useful framework used in their own explanatory models of Asian Tiger economies to rationalise a similar diversity of variables. They isolated key variables that contributed to ‘factor accumulation’ such as human and physical capital, investment in plant and increases in education, seeing them as the main cause of sustained growth. They then shifted their attention to supplementary factors thought to improve productivity such as tax and policy reform, openness to trade, de-regulation and flexibility. Yet even on the issue of openness to trade and economic growth, they warned that not only does the reverse causality exist between factor accumulation and growth, but that the direction of causality between economic openness and growth is a highly problematical, because the process of economic growth itself is not fully understood. In Ireland this form of contested argument was overlooked by politicians.

The Tánaiste (2001) claimed that Ireland was the 2nd most open economy in the world becoming the largest exporter of computer software in the world and manufactured almost 2/3rds of all computers sold in Europe. The Foreign Policy Magazine (2002) Globalisation Index showed, that in 2000, Ireland was the most ‘global’ economy in the world measured against benchmarks such as, the use of technology, economic integration, political engagement with the outside world and travel, tourism and cross
border transfers. Yet it also acknowledged that many aspects of global integration including culture defy measurement. Eventually the Minister for Finance, in an interview with the broadcaster Eamon Dunphy, openly admitted that he neither knew nor cared much about how the ‘Celtic Tiger’ came about, because he just accepted it as a fact and exhorted everyone else ‘just to get on with it’ and make the best of it while it lasted.

[transcript]

what we succeeded in doing from 1987 onwards is, whereas it might look very complicated is actually very, very simple. What we’ve done has been, we’ve been able to give Irish business a competitive edge against our foreign competitors by keeping down nominal wage increases, increasing productivity and that has allowed all those jobs which we’ve been speaking about... The reason we’ve been able to do this is we’ve been able to maintain our competitiveness... any sane person, on any side of the table, would have to say ‘look we have found a successful formula for managing a small open economy like Ireland, why would you throw it away?’ Did you ever know a manager of a successful team, whether you agreed with his tactics or not, and if they were winning, who changed them? You mentioned, you’ve spoken, you’ve written many times on this particular area [sport] and whereas when you do find a winning formula one is inclined to stick with it, and we have in Ireland found a winning formula. Now when history is written people have all kinds of views whether we came across the winning formula by accident or design, or through necessity or whatever it may be... but we did find it, and we should keep with it for as long as we have elections, [long pause] and if the people are stupid enough or naïve enough to elect people like me, then we’re going to have to put up with the present system [laughs]

(McCreevy: 2000a)

Yet even this winning and accidental formula according to the Taoiseach Mr. Ahern, may have been too aggressive and so needed to be subjected to the mediating and positive influence of Catholicism.

In his reply to the Irish Catholic Bishops' Letter 'Prosperity with a Purpose', Mr. Ahern (2000) described how Catholicism could beneficially engage with sustained economic development particularly when it acted as both an antidote to selfish materialism and as a counter balance to the potential ravages of ‘tooth and claw
capitalism' in his quest to achieve both a competitive economy and a caring society. This philosophy sits within the fashionable quality of life debate which is itself informed by Enlightenment ideology (Veenhoven 1997). This thinking tries to ensure the greatest happiness for the greatest number by attacking ignorance, illness and poverty and then ensuring that a reasonable material standard of living is provided for all citizens who will then finally embed the practice of balanced good living in the wider society. The Prime Minister's approach also anticipated one aspect of a re-occurring theme that emerged from the analysis of the research responses to be presented shortly in Part 2 of the thesis namely, the proclivity of Irish society to concern itself with the achievement of a balanced material and spiritual state of well being.

Concluding Remarks on Part I of the Thesis

The Weber-Tawney debate on the central role of religion as the key to understanding the dynamic of Irish economic development has now been re-opened. A series of observations were made concerning the analytical weaknesses of some sociological insights and paradigms when they were applied to an analysis of developmental processes in small post colonial states such as the Republic of Ireland.

The approach used in the thesis was to present empirical data on longer term demographic and economic developmental patterns together with the evidence to validate the 'tiger' status of the modern Irish economy. By placing the developmental path of the Irish economy in an historical context a number of key events were identified as having such a profound impact on Irish social and economic structures that they determined the nature and scope of Irish economic problems right up to the 1990s.
Evidence was also presented that showed levels of Irish Catholic religious commitment in terms of belief and practice to be still unusually vibrant. Support too was strong for nationalism with the two leading Republican parties, Fianna Fáil and Sinn Féin both claiming significant support from the Irish electorate. In other words Irish society continued to be characterised by the presence of at least two durable normative forces, namely religion and nationalism and particularly so during the 'Celtic Tiger' era. This challenged the argument of Weber on the exclusivity of the role of Protestantism in western economic development.

This was followed by a comprehensive analysis and discussion on the debates surrounding the dynamic of Irish economic development since 1922. The problematical nature of the debates lent credibility to the hypothesis by some commentators that the 'Celtic Tiger' was nothing more that the accidental outcome of a conjunction of fortuitous external and internal circumstances. It was hard not to infer from the analysis of the debates that nobody really understood what actually caused the 'Celtic Tiger' to emerge when it did. The term ‘miracle’ seemed very apt indeed. This 'accidental' or 'miraculous' explanation now provides a ‘tip off’ on a line of enquiry that until now had appeared unproductive namely, the relatively unknown role of Absolute Pre-suppositions on individual economic orientation and the subsequent effect that this behaviour has on economic development. The search over a three year period using a unique representative sample and a culturally sensitive research approach and instrument searched for answers that would add to our limited understanding of these elusive developmental processes. The results of this unique study are now presented in Part II of the thesis.
Part 2: The Research

Chapter 4

THE SAMPLE AND THE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

*science cannot entertain the notion that there is any sort of difference which is inherently immeasurable i.e. there is a difference in kind as well as degree...science by quantitative analysis can only deal with the skeleton not with the life that informs it... [it can only]...furnish rules for the regular* (Hobson 1914: 154, 161)

Introduction

Part I of the thesis provided a socio-economic profile of Ireland, traced the longer term pattern of economic development, established the accidental origins of the Celtic Tiger and finally validated its tiger status. In Part II, a profile of the Irish economic disposition is presented following a detailed analysis of research undertaken on a representative sample of the mosaic of Irish social life in the 'Celtic Tiger'. Part II is subdivided into six chapters (chapters 4 to 9). Chapter 4 presents details of the sample which is made up of four groups of contributions, namely Domains A, B, C and D. In addition, the research methodology, methodological issues and a description of the research instruments used are also discussed. Chapter 5 presents the responses of Domain A contributors together with a summary of the main themes that emerged. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 then provide contributions from Domains B, C and D respectively. Finally in chapter 9 a comprehensive summary and discussion of all the main themes to emerge is presented and these summaries then provide the material to build up a unique profile of the Irish economic disposition.

The specific purpose of this present chapter is to provide a comprehensive description of the sample followed by a detailed discussion of the rationale and the research
approach used, a description of and a discussion on, the design and implementation of a tailored research instrument. The following specific methodological issues are also addressed:- choice of methodology, pre-interview testing for the suitability of the research approach and instrument, interviewer engagement levels against a naturalistic background, truthfulness of responses, and finally some ethical considerations.

**Initial observations on the sample and the methodology used.**

From the outset, it should be understood that in achieving the purpose of the thesis namely, to establish how religious beliefs shape both the nature and force of the Irish economic disposition, a unique set of research challenges had to be overcome. The nature and status of the respondents that represented the mosaic of Irish social life and the sensitivity of the topic area to be studied demanded high levels of technical and social skills coupled with an ability to elicit information in a sensitive and flexible manner.

Our experience contrasted somewhat with interviewers in a typical study, who can choose their sample, decide on a suitable instrument to gather the data, usually with the emphasis on ‘detachment’, conduct the interviews as the ‘researcher’ on respondent(s) and then analyse and present ‘objective’ findings. Such an approach reflects the controlling status of the interviewer throughout the research process. However, as Part II unfolds it will become evident that a number of ‘atypical’ conditions prevailed, with the result that, in many instances the control of the research process was a shared rather than a ‘detached’ experience between the researcher and the interviewees. The status of the researcher was transformed by the need to collaborate with each respondent to achieve the objective of the research.
Some examples of formal negotiated consensus occurred when interviewees or guardians of some interviewees exercised the power of veto over consent, or the content or on the number of questions permitted in the interview. Moreover, many interviewees set their own time arrangements which also included the duration of their interview i.e. the time that they could spare for the research, and as a result on a number of occasions the researcher had to respond almost immediately to a available ‘window’ in their schedule.

Secondly, the informal negotiation often occurred spontaneously when respondents who had agreed on the method for gathering their responses prior to the interview, e.g. tape recorder, or note taking or off the record statements – then changed their mind seconds before the interview commenced. In one case a respondent who had agreed to be taped then declined and switched to supervising the note taking of the researcher.

Thirdly, the interviewees or their guardians usually chose the location for the interview and this could vary from the Prime Minister’s Office to a farmhouse kitchen to a factory office, from a hotel lobby to sitting on a public thoroughfare with the homeless. Fourthly, some of the sample automatically pre-selected itself, i.e. there was no alternative choice of respondent because only ‘one of a kind’ existed, such as the Catholic Archbishop’s representative, the Prime Minister and ‘Farmer of the Year’.

Put simply, on some occasions it amounted to ‘their way or no way’. This contrasts with the traditional approaches identified by Holloway and Jefferson (2000), where the researcher is still seen to set the agenda and in control of generating the information. In any event it wasn’t possible to assume a completely detached role, since each interview became an ‘event’ based on trust, empathy and an ability to adapt.
to whatever unplanned interview circumstances that happened to present themselves outside of the agreed arrangements. The empathetic interaction with each participant required a flexible approach that would nevertheless competently address each set of specific interviewee circumstances, withstand the necessary modifications as required while at the same time conform to social scientific research principles.

The solution which is discussed in some detail later in this chapter, was facilitated by ‘openness’, a characteristic of Irish society previously discussed in chapter 3, where the existence of a culture of promoting group rather than national interest requires a willingness on the part of many individuals to engage with different sections of Irish society. In choosing the sample and in designing the research tool, this ‘openness’ to individual interests, and the researcher’s interests in particular, was considerably enhanced by the quality and level of personal networking enjoyed by the researcher. The result was that many prominent individuals were as willing to co-operate in the research as other groups of respondents.

But why this research and why now?

As we highlighted in our introductory remarks on page 4 of the Thesis, the debates on the central role of religion as the fulcrum in indigenous Irish culture and economics started and finished in 1905. We noted how religion was identified as having a key role in promoting and consolidating basic concepts or patterns of behaviour, known as dureés or Absolute Pre-suppositions. We also highlighted how modern Irish economists are now beginning to realise that Absolute pre-suppositions, and religion in particular religion were now suspected to be key determinants in the dynamic of economic development. Yet little if anything is known about this relationship although we were confident that the ‘accidental’ set of circumstances that was the ‘Celtic Tiger’ had arisen while Catholic beliefs and nationalism remained strong.
What we had observed was a ‘developmental’ inconsistency because of the existence of strong Catholicism and sustained economic development. The motivation for the research was to establish the precise role of Catholicism and nationalism on Irish economic behaviour.

On the basis of the data and analysis presented in the 1st part of the thesis, Irish Roman Catholicism can be equated with Irish nationalism. In other words both can be regarded as forming two sides or twin pillars of the same Absolute Pre-supposition. On that premise, Catholic status and the religious tenets infusing daily economic activity, was regarded as an indicator of a nationalist sentiment. There was no assumption made on the degree of nationalist sentiment to be implied from a particular level of Catholicism. Each respondent’s economic objectives were to be revealed and the effect of the Absolute Pre-supposition religion on their stated economic objectives was to be measured.

The sample profile was also intended to reflect the economic stratification of the Irish economy i.e. it included contributions from the services, manufacturing and farming sectors of the economy. It did not however, rely solely on these three economic sectors but consisted of four groups or ‘Domain’s of Contributors’ that would reflect and represent a more inclusive and representative mosaic of Irish social life. The 1st Domain (A) consisted of contributions from those who were responsible for developing and implementing Irish macro economic policy together with the representatives of three salvation religions, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Islam. i.e. religious leaders responsible for the pastoral care of Irish society. The 2nd Domain (B) consisted of senior executives managing the Irish subsidiaries of two multinationals, one a British manufacturing company and another an American service provider. Middle management and staff from a cross section of occupations in both multi-
nationals together with farmers and students formed the 3rd Domain (C). The 4th Domain (D) included the unemployed, the homeless and Traveller women.

For convenience purposes the contributing Domains are labelled as follows, National Domain A (National and Religious Leaders), Executive Domain B (Senior Multi-national Executives), Labour Domain C (middle and junior management, technical, administrative, craft and operative levels and finally students) and Disconnected Domain D (the homeless, Traveller women and the unemployed). Specific details of the sample, the unique but complementary contribution made by each Domain to the study and the issue of accessibility to individuals within each domain are now discussed.

Sample Profile

The sample of four Domains consisted of 159 individuals in total. See appendices 3, 3A, 3B and 3C for a breakdown of the sample by Domain. Two criteria were applied to the notion of typicality for inclusion in a Domain. The first, was the capacity of the occupational holder to determine the life chances of others to acquire material and/or spiritual well-being. The second related to the concern in the research to establish attitudes and norms impacting on economic development. Therefore, social and psychological affinities were used because these affinities are to be found in the type of economic activity undertaken by individuals (Wright-Mill 1957). Individuals with similar economic functions were grouped together since the nature of this grouping can have an important role in the formation of an overall national economic disposition since the way a society produces its goods establishes its social and cultural shape (Storey 1993).

The economic contributors of Domain A (National Domain) included the two most senior members of the Irish Government, the Taoiseach (Prime Minister) and the
Tánaiste (Deputy Prime Minister) who also held the portfolio of Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Employment. Also included were a senior representative economic affairs of the Irish Business and Employers Confederation (IBEC), one of Ireland’s leading trade unionists (‘X’ UNION), and a senior economic advisor to the Irish Farmers Association (IFA). The spiritual contribution came from the three Church leaders or their nominees:- the Economic and Social Affairs Representative (a Jesuit Priest) of the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin and the Cardinal of All Ireland who is the most influential Catholic Churchman in Ireland (McGarry 2000), then a prominent Anglican Church Minister belonging to the second largest religious denomination in Ireland, followed by the leader of the Irish Islamic Community, who provided a religious/economic perspective from an important non western world religion. We established the nature of each of their individual economic dispositions and those in Domain (A) became the 1st set of dispositions attached to a notional grid that would eventually build up into a profile of the Irish economic disposition.

Domain B (Executive Domain) included senior Irish executives of two multi-national companies because the data provided in Chapter 3 had confirmed that multi-nationals were the critical component underlying the dynamic of the ‘Celtic Tiger’. Both a services and a manufacturing multinational were chosen to reflect the two most important Irish economic sectors. The first company, a British multi-national manufacturer in a traditional sector of the Irish economy, established an Irish subsidiary in the 1930s, and is now the 4th largest supplier of its products in the world. It dominates the home market (50%) and has nearly 2,000 Irish employees. The second multi-national is the Irish subsidiary of one of the world’s largest communications companies and employs approximately 750 people in the Irish Information and Communications Technology sector (ICT). We also determined the
individual economic disposition of these executives who managed the 'engine' of the Celtic Tiger and these constituted the 2nd set of dispositions attached to the grid.

The selected multi-nationals also provided a range of typical traditional and non-traditional industrial occupations which were captured in Domain C (Labour Domain). These included a number of middle and junior managers and a selection of administrative, technical, operative and craft occupations. This Domain also included five 'model' Irish farmers i.e. some of the most competitive farmers in Ireland, most notably the 'Irish Farmer of the Year 1999/2000'. These farmers were nominated to participate in this study by the Irish Agricultural Advisory Research Service (Teagasc). We also determined the disposition of each 'miracle' worker or future worker in this Domain which formed the 3rd set of dispositions attached to the grid.

Domain C was also strengthened by the contribution of senior cycle Leaving Certificate students from four Dublin schools together and some of their career guidance teachers. The importance of the school context for the development of cultural norms and behaviour is underlined by Vygotsky (1994). We compared the nature and the level of students' economic disposition with the other respondents to establish if variances existed in their economic disposition prior to labour market entry because this group is the very cohort identified in the opening chapter of the thesis as the most religious cohort of all in Irish society. We also determined the economic disposition of career guidance teachers because they influence and inform pupils' work related career options and these options, as will be shown later, can have an important bearing on the development of the adult worker's economic disposition.

The choice of school type was based on the fact that 60% of all second level schools are of the secondary or grammar type followed by Vocational (27%), then Community (10%) and finally Comprehensive (3%) (NCCA 1999). One school,
O'Connell's School was of particular interest as many of its former pupils played a significant role in the 1916 Rising. One hundred and twenty past pupils took part and three, Con Colbert, Eamonn Ceannt, and Sean Hueston were executed leaders of the 1916 Rising (see Manuscripts Box No:189, Allen Library). Another past pupil was Sean Lemass, who as Minister for Industry and Commerce and later as Taoiseach, was credited with initiating Ireland's modern economic development programme under the First Programme for Economic Expansion in 1958 (Daly 1998).

Finally, Domain D (Disconnected Domain) included the unemployed, Traveller women and homeless individuals. We use the term 'Disconnected' in the sense that these groups were by choice or by circumstance marginally attached to mainstream economic activity. They nevertheless formed an integral part of the mosaic of Irish life albeit one that was devoid of many of the economic benefits of the 'tiger' economy. All the unemployed who were interviewed lived in Ballymun, a north Dublin suburb with a population of 16,566, and one of the most concentrated areas of disadvantage in Ireland. The Government (2001a) conceded that this community had not benefited at all from rising living standards generated by the 'Celtic Tiger'. It also exhibited some of the worst deprivation in Ireland (The Ballymun Community Action Programme 2001) where 2,814 flats are divided into tower blocks of 4, 8 and 15 stories, with another 2,400 houses concentrated in an area of 1.5 sq. miles, although work had begun on demolishing the blocks and rebuilding Ballymun. Over 70% of those living in the tower flats were dependent on Social Welfare. With a high marital breakdown rate of approximately 20% and a serious alcohol and drug problem, approximately 52% of tenants were single parent households and 46% of all children in Ballymun were reared by lone parents. Less than one quarter of children from Ballymun completed second level schooling. According to Roynane (2001),
Ballymun had one of the highest unemployment rates of any community in Ireland (14.4%), three times the national rate (4.3%) or over four times the Dublin region rate of 3.4% (WRC Social & Economic Consultants 2000).

The Traveller Women also made a unique contribution to the research. In a 1991 E.U. Report, published by the European Parliament Committee of Enquiry on Racism and Xenophobia, the committee drew attention in reference 5 to the plight of Travellers in Ireland by stating that they are the single most ‘discriminated-against’ ethnic group in Europe. According to the Report of the Task Force on the Travelling Community (1995), Traveller women not only contributed to the well-being of their community through their primary responsibility for rearing large families and to the Traveller economy of ‘dealing’ and recycling, they also occupied a central position in maintaining Traveller culture and identity (refer to Section H, p271). Moreover, the 1999 Health Statistics Report published by the Department of Health and Children, recorded 10,891 Travellers nationally for the year 1996. Approximately 5,000 Travelling Community households or 23% of the national Traveller population was located in the Greater Dublin area (Table D1, p103 p105). According to the National Traveller Accommodation Consultative Group, 408 families lived on unauthorised sites in Dublin City, (Irish Times 2000) although the Traveller Women in our research maintained that more than 2,000 families nationally were living in unauthorised roadside campsites.

This Domain rather than Domain (A) was also adjudged more appropriate to place the contribution of Sr. Stanislaus Kennedy, a nun who was a national advocate of the homeless, and a member of the Irish Council of State, being a nominee of the President of Ireland Ms. Mary McAleese (refer to Appendix 9). Her contribution was deemed to speak on behalf of the homeless in Ireland. The number of Homeless
people living rough in a relatively small city like Dublin had increased so significantly in recent years that it by 2000 it reached over two thirds of the London level (Irish Times 2000a). We determined the economic disposition of individuals in this domain anticipating that by being the 'poorest' in a material sense, that they would then exhibit a disposition that would be the most inimical to economic development. The contributions in this Domain were the 4th and final addition to the grid.

**Access to the sample**

On the usual problem facing researchers namely, access to suitable respondents to conduct in-depth interviews (Pettigrew 1981), the researcher can use personal judgement as to who is suitable and so for this reason, the group of respondents described above in the four Domains can be regarded as 'purposive samples'. The principle of selection is the researcher's judgement as to typicality (Robson 1995) and the degree of typicality of respondents is measured against this subjective judgement. Due to the high level of personal networking enjoyed by the researcher the respondents met the criteria of Robson (1993) for assigning the label of 'convenience' sampling to them in so far as they were 'handy' and within easy reach. However, the terms 'convenience' and 'handy' could imply that almost anyone would have done, whereas specified groups were chosen for inclusion in the sample. The label 'convenience' used in this discussion should be defined as a handiness and availability existing only through the researcher's particularly strong personal networking capability and therefore, is merely a variant of the normal definition of the term 'convenience sampling'.

Nevertheless there were conditions attached to gain access to some respondents. For example, one respondent agreed to be interviewed provided the questions were sent in advance and written replies could then be discussed later during the interview. This
of course worked against any spontaneity during the interview. Most respondents however, did not request sight of the questions prior to the interview. Some potential interviewees directed my request to participate in the study to their personal secretaries who then refused permission for an appointment. Only when a personal friend of the researcher directly intervened with the prospective interviewee was there any progress made. Some would not allow tape recording while others welcomed it. Generally speaking though, many readily agreed to any interview format. Some national figures advised the researcher to 'mention my name' to other prospective national respondents indicating that this would have the desired effect of giving the research an aura of credibility by association and therefore, other VIPs would then volunteer to collaborate. This was good advice and provided a critical mass of well regarded respondents with a highly visible national economic profile so that other individuals and groups when made aware of the special status of some contributors became only too willing to have their views included in what they concluded was an important research project.

The multi-nationals insisted that no details of their manufacturing process or product/service specification be allowed into the public arena. Nor was any detail of production specification or processes to be shared, however insignificant, with other non company interviewees or work colleagues of a respondent participating in the research. A undertaking to assure total confidentiality was key to gaining trust as the senior director in both multi-nationals responsible for co-ordinating the research was already well known to the researcher. A negotiated compromise saw the researcher prohibited from moving outside of stipulated areas of the on-site facility in both multi-nationals while on the other hand, employees who were regarded by their company as 'hard workers' in pre-specified occupations identified by the researcher, were invited
to be interviewed on company time, i.e. they were to be paid by the company for their
time at the interview. Of course many of the employees were then only too willing to
participate in the research.

As the Teagasc advisor had vouched for the genuineness of the study, the farmers
were much more research friendly and each one invited the researcher into their
homes to conduct the interview. Some of the interviews took place in the kitchen,
others in the parlour, while all provided refreshments and frequently a tour of the
farm. The school interviews were possible because a number of career guidance
teachers were well disposed to the aim of the study and being professional colleagues
of a friend of the researcher obliged by making themselves and their classes available.
Both the unemployed and the Traveller women agreed to be interviewed due again to
the networking of the researcher who was well known to administrators in charge of
overseeing the personal and skill development programmes of both groups.

A one to one interview was the technique used for most respondents with the
exception of the students, the homeless and the Traveller groups where a group
interview was used. The reason for the student group interviews was both logistical
and ethical i.e. the teachers agreed to give access to a class for a specific period of
time usually between three quarters and one hour. Secondly conducting a private and
confidential interview with teenage boys and girls without the presence of another
adult was deemed inappropriate and also the presence of a teacher was likely to
inhibit full disclosure on the part of the student. Thirdly as an independent researcher,
it made sense to use a format that would give access to a substantial number of
students at any one time.

In the case of the homeless, it was again deemed prudent to interview them in a group
and in a public arena to safeguard the integrity of both the researcher and the
interviewees. Interviewing homeless individuals was procedurally difficult given their usual location on a main Dublin thoroughfare with its potential for the usual interruptions and distractions. Moreover, the homeless continued to ‘work’ at getting cash while being interviewed and would randomly interrupt the flow of the interview to speak to a passerby. Finally an ‘either’ ‘or’ situation was presented to the researcher in the case of the Travellers. On the one hand they could be interviewed as a group around a table, on condition that the interview was monitored by their ‘guardians’ sitting in one corner of the room to ensure that no advantage would be taken of the Travellers' vulnerable social and educational status. On the other hand, permission for the interview would be withdrawn if this was not acceptable. Obviously the first option was accepted.

In summary then, the choice of structuring and recording the interview was on many occasions not solely determined by the researcher but by the occupational or personal circumstances of each particular respondent. In other words, the research methodology and instrument needed to have an in-built flexibility given the array of special circumstances and protocols pertaining to the diversity of contributors to this study.

**Issue 1 relating to the Methodology.**

*The Choice of Methodology*

Qualitative research can facilitate the generation of sensitive responses (Mason 1996), where the emphasis is on interpreting those responses that help define the elements of an attitude rather than focussing on frequencies (Van Maanen 1979). However, Robson (1993) noted that ‘attitude’ is a very fuzzy concept akin to opinion, belief or value and usually means the everyday definition assigned in a particular context. Nevertheless, Gagne and Medsker (1996) defined attitude as an internal state of mind
which can be regarded as a singular influence on the subsequent choice of the individual’s personal action. Hobson (1914) summarised the weakness of the quantitative approach when used to capture the essence of values and attitudes in both the economic and social contexts

*the economist can find the facts but he cannot find their human importance or value because assigning human value means referring to an extra-economic standard, one whose distinctive character consists in it's being the expression and operation of the organic complex of forces composing the social personality*

(Hobson 1914: 165)

Because the research was intended to disclose the particular attitudes and beliefs which influenced the individual’s economic behaviour, the findings are of a culturally sensitive nature, mainly because the responses included explanations of private and individual historical accounts that overlaid deeply held religious convictions. High levels of trust and confidentiality were at a premium if the willingness of respondents to fully participate in the research was to be realised.

It was also important to establish, if possible, some *measure* of the economic disposition of these individuals because an empirical measure, even if it only pointed in the general direction of a link between religiosity and economic engagement, could set the agenda to prioritise the issues to be addressed by the theoretical analyses in Part III of the thesis. Consequently, an integration of both the qualitative and the quantitative methodological approaches was deemed the most appropriate strategy as each contributed in a complementary manner to the achievement of the overall aim of this study. The qualitative approach had a particular advantage for eliciting responses as Bryman (1994) argued that because it concentrates on the point of view of those being interviewed it allows therefore theoretical ideas to emerge from the data. Open-ended questions also helped the respondents to formulate and present their own point of view about the topic under discussion (CLMS 1998).
On the other hand, the quantitative approach enabled certain attitudes to be ‘quantified’ using measures such as means, variance and standard deviation, to gauge for example, the extent of individual focus on this world as against the focus on the afterlife. Using such indicators it was then possible to expose certain relationships such as the possible link between levels of religiosity and the subsequent importance that the individual attached to work as a means of achieving material and/or religious objectives. This emphasis on measurement, the positivistic approach to the nature of knowledge, being reductionist (Sapsford and Jupp 1996), allowed explanations to follow from measurements when the various relationships within the whole are then linked together by a ‘scientific’ researcher. However, because qualitative analysis could also provide the basis to construct or amend a theory (Robson 1995) a research strategy incorporating both qualitative and quantitative approaches was adopted.

Since there is no harmonised suite of techniques appropriate for every phase in the research, it is valid therefore, to construct a pastiche of procedures, instruments and particular theories to facilitate the emergence of creative research based on a strategic interplay between qualitative and quantitative methods (Strauss & Corbin 1998). The choice of a particular technique should allow the emergence of a central or core category with no forcing of data (Strauss & Corbin 1998). At the same time, there was a requirement in the research to speculate on the relationship, for example, between the degree of religiosity and the nature of principles governing economic behaviour. A focus on statistical probability was demanded (CLMS 2000) because we needed to ensure that both internal and external validation occurred and would

minimise the chances of ignoring contradictory propositions outside the theoretical scheme...allows an opportunity to try out alternative interpretations...where alternative explanations can be developed

Burgess (1984: 160-161)
Our preferred integrated research approach also followed another recommendation of Robson (1993) who maintained that the researcher should address real world enquiry i.e. the solving of a particular existing sociological problem, by adopting a multi-method, flexible and interactive approach towards the solution. Since no methodology is epistemically superior to another, a multi-method approach is likely to minimise the failings of any one instrument and also guard against sole reliance on traditional notions of reliability and validity that may not be appropriate for assessing each criteria in a piece of scientific research (Johnson and Cassell 2001). In order to develop the most suitable instrument to achieve the necessary balance in approach, strategy and methodology while still ensuring validity, pilot testing of the research process was undertaken. The issues and results that emerged from these tests, which are now briefly discussed, were incorporated into the final interview instrument and strategy.

Issue 2 relating to the methodological design

Testing / Validating the Research Instrument

Because of the need to attain honest communication if the true economic disposition was to be revealed, an initial pilot test was conducted to ascertain the most suitable and sensitive research instrument and interview procedure to achieve this. The test consisted of a comparison between the difference in responses elicited through a questionnaire on a specific yet sensitive subject matter and responses elicited through an unstructured face to face interview based on a 'natural' discussion of the questionnaire responses. The procedure was as follows:- a questionnaire was completed by an individual on the topic of ‘Femininity’. It required a respondent to rate a number of listed statements relating to the concept of ‘Femininity’ using a six point Likert Scale questionnaire to establish the degree of agreement/disagreement
with the listed statement. In this instance, the respondent's profile was that of a married person, aged 40 years, in full time employment who did not have children. For the respondent's completed ratings in the questionnaire refer to Appendix 4.

A face to face discussion using a note book then followed capturing the participant’s thoughts about each of the questions in the questionnaire and reflections on the answers given. Kvale (1996) calls this discussion a professional conversation i.e. a structured exchange of views with a specific purpose in mind. In this instance it was a comparison of the nature of these collaborative responses with those given by the same respondent through the initial questionnaire. The purpose of this professional conversation was to explore and uncover unguarded views, feelings and attitudes by probing about the experience of answering sensitive questions about ‘Femininity’. The result of the conversation highlighted the superficial nature of the questionnaire answers when compared to the substance of the views which came to light during the professional conversation that followed. To illustrate the qualitative advantage that emerged from the professional conversation, details of the piloting of this procedure and the results obtained is now provided.

During the professional interview after completing the questionnaire, a process of reflexivity occurred through the active participation of the interviewer whereby the ‘truth’ of the feelings, attitudes and beliefs were partially and then openly disclosed and a new and higher level of honest communication was achieved. In fact the interviewee’s real understanding of the concept of femininity, ‘love’, was disclosed only during the latter stages of the conversation. The qualitative measure of success is reflected in a move from unacknowledged to acknowledged attitudes and beliefs. See Appendix 4A for the complete transcription of the professional conversation.
Moreover, an additional yet significant influence emerged, namely the occupational role of the interviewee who was an adult guidance counsellor. Her occupational role seemed to determine the choice of answer given to a particular question. According to Huff (1993), Merton defined a role set as the human interactions peculiar to an individual's social status. In this instance, interactions with other counsellors, managers, lecturers, employers etc., shaped the formal and moral nature of the adult counselling and guidance process to ensure socially acceptable 'happy' rather than 'utilitarian' outcomes for a client seeking advice. There was a perceived institutional requirement on the part of the counsellor to provide 'empowered' choices to females, influenced by the need to achieve the 'happy' norm for clients. In other words, the choice of career for a client should be one that is calculated to provide happiness rather than wealth. When the transcript of the subsequent 'professional' conversation is examined the concept of 'femininity' captured in the questionnaire and defined by the impact of the interviewee's counselling role set is seen to generate another meaning altogether namely, love, a sentiment never mentioned in the questionnaire responses. The active and subjective participation of the interviewer in a 'face to face' professional conversation is pivotal to achieve this higher level of disclosure.

The level of open communication required to reveal religious and economic attitudes would require an empathetic, reflexive and participative exchange. These requirements were unlikely to be facilitated by using structured interviews and questionnaires. Following the choice of an appropriate methodological approach, i.e. active participation of the researcher in a semi-structured interview, further tests were conducted using a revised Topic Guide where specific questions relating to the impact of religion on individual economic engagement were asked. Piloting the suitability of the Topic Guides was conducted on a retired civil servant, a senior manager of a small
to medium sized enterprise, two work colleagues and two unemployed persons undertaking skills training on a state supported training programme. The draft Topic Guide consisted of 20 questions where 10 core questions were supplemented by 10 others to be used as and when a suitable opportunity arose during the interview. The format of the validated topic guide was dependent on the number of suitably tested questions.

However, it quickly emerged that questions relating to a national vision were beyond the interest of 'ordinary' respondents whereas the relatively long responses of the former civil servant on his 'national' vision had to be terminated to address the other issues listed in the Topic Guide. All respondents provided interesting insights into their religious beliefs and their economic commitment and visibly relaxed when the researcher also disclosed some personal details about his personal circumstances and religious views. In other words, they were comfortable talking about themselves and their area of interest and more so when the researcher also revealed some personal details.

It also became evident that certain questions were more appropriate for addressing some issues and less so for others. For example the importance of weather for farmers was almost irrelevant to many others respondents. The outcome was that a number of questions were deleted while others were modified to suit anticipated preferences among the different Domains. This required the provision of a tailor made Topic Guide for each Domain. Moreover, in Domain A, the objective was always to capture how religious beliefs informed policy and implementation regarding national economic development and this would necessarily demand a specialist emphasis within the interview that needed to be reflected in Topic Guide A. In the other
Domains the objective was to establish how religious beliefs influenced their economic behaviour within a relatively *local and personal* context.

Topic Guide 1 was used for interviewees in Domain A (refer to Appendix 5 for this guide). Topic Guide 2 was used for respondents in Domain B, Domain C and Domain D (refer to Appendix 6 for this guide) with the exception of the Leaving Certificate Students in Domain C. Their tailored Topic Guide did not include questions on work relationships (refer to Appendix 7 for this guide). Another tailored Topic Guide was used for Sr. Stanislaus Kennedy, Nun and advocate of the Homeless since her ‘not for profit’ work was deemed to be different to the business ethic informing the multinational and farming sectors (refer to Appendix 8 for this Topic Guide).

All Topic Guides with the exception of Topic Guide 1 for Domain A – who contributed a national rather than an organisational or individual perspective - included a request to rate, their degree of commitment and *measure* their attitude in the following four areas :-  

a) the degree of self focus on this life as against the next life,  

b) the degree of focus that they believe Irish society has towards this life as against the next life,  

c) the degree of self focus on work as the most useful human activity, and finally  

d) the degree of focus that they believe Irish society has on work as the most useful human activity. 

These areas were of particular interest as they could establish a link between religious beliefs and the instrumental value of work to exploit given economic opportunities presented in the ‘Celtic Tiger’. However, as 25% of the Irish population was functionally illiterate (refer to chapter 2, Part 1) the usual Likert Scale format had potential to disadvantage some respondents with literacy and/or numeracy difficulties. Moreover, this improvement was also intended to overcome problems encountered by any contributor with dyslexia who may have been embarrassed to disclose this disability.
Consequently, a graphic integrating the usual measures used in language based Likert Scale questionnaires was devised but later modified following its testing using a number of individuals with low levels of literacy/numeracy skills. An example of a completed graphical Likert Scale is presented below and this scale was incorporated into each of the Topic Guides 2, 3, and 4 to be used by respondents in Domains B, C, and D respectively. The rating exercise always took place at the end of the interview when the four continua were revealed separately and in the same order. The minus figures (from 0 to -5) indicate a tendency towards the stated position to the left of the graphic and a plus figures (from 0 to +5), indicate a tendency towards the right and opposite extremity of the continuum. Zero indicates an equal focus by the individual on both criteria. Irrespective of being positive or negative the numbers refer to a measure of the degree of commitment to the given position where for example 1 = a slightly stronger tendency towards, 2 = a definite tendency towards, 3 = a strong tendency towards, 4 = a very strong tendency towards, 5 = a total focus on the terminal point. Each continuum is divided into 11 segments i.e. zero and twin sets of measures from zero to 5 and from zero to -5.

In a given sample below, three individuals A, B and C, complete the 4 continua and mark the four lines as follows

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line 1</th>
<th>Line 2</th>
<th>Line 3</th>
<th>Line 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual A:</td>
<td>-3.0</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>+4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual B:</td>
<td>+1.0</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>+1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual C:</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>+3.0</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Accidental Tiger - Part 2: The Research

Line 1: Degree of Self Focus (Line 1)

On This Life

-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

On The Next Life

-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

Line 2: Degree of Society's Focus (Line 2)

On This Life

-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

On The Next Life

-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

Line 3: Degree of Self Focus (Line 3)

On Working to Live

-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

On Living to Work

-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

Line 4: Degree of Society's Focus (Line 4)

On Working to Live

-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

On Living to Work

-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

The Sample and Methodological Approach

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In the above example, Line 1 or Continuum 1, suggests that Person A has a strong tendency to focus on this life (-3.0), while B has a slightly stronger tendency to focus on the next life as against this life (+1.0), while C at (-1.0) has a slightly stronger tendency to focus on this life as against the next life. The average rating for all three is calculated at -1.0 and so the overall focus for the sample of three is measured as a slightly stronger focus on this life as against the next life. The same exercise can be undertaken for the remaining three continua (Lines 2, 3, and 4).

This part of the interview had the advantage of providing interest to respondents while allowing individual differentiation of views to be recorded and which according to Robson (1993) achieves the primary objective for the use of Likert Scales in interviews. Likert Scales also enable the researcher to codify ordinal response rankings (CLMS 1998) and the above scale was formulated and designed to be user friendly and to prod the respondent to ask questions and allow the researcher to check for understanding. The use of this rating exercise, and the experience of validating the content of the Topic Guides, revealed the high level of researcher engagement that was required to sensitively elicit the interviewee’s views and attitudes.

**Issue 3 relating to methodological design**

*The Level of Interviewer Engagement in the Interview*

Any research account can only be produced collaboratively where the interviewer’s questions are embedded in the entire interview and data analysis because both the researcher and interviewee are subject to the introduction of feelings and ideas by each other (Holloway and Jefferson 2000). The concept of reflexivity requires the researcher to become aware of the methodological implications of being positioned in the research field as much as the problems posed by very sensitive topics such as religion (Flanagan 2001). This requires disclosure or biography to be provided on
the part of the researcher, namely stating where he/she is coming from and a duty to ensure that 'the little voices' of the weak in society as well as the powerful are heard (Flanagan 2001). Nevertheless, the key reflexive criterion for all pieces of research is that the method(s) used to generate the data such as the interviews, the questionnaires etc., should reflect the epistemological assumptions underpinning the research approach (Johnson and Cassells 2001).

In this respect, the research according to Gephart's (2000) topology of paradigms, was partly located within interpretivism because it was a search for meaning produced in natural contexts and partly located in critical theory/post positivism since another important objective was to uncover hidden interests and values. Others, such as Guba and Lincoln (1994) would see a basis for placing the 'natural' interview approach in the postpositive paradigm because it uses natural settings and solicits the views of people to determine the meaning that they ascribed to their actions.

Because the respondent may be inhibited by a number of barriers including the inability to actually admit to holding certain attitudes, projective techniques can tap into a deeper level of conscious awareness (Oppenheim 1997). An effective projective or indirect method is called 'association' which according to Oppenheim (1997) is

the say-the-first-thing-that-comes-into-your-mind-approach...based on the assumption that a fast response to a stimulus, word, picture or question will be less 'guarded' and more revealing of underlying attitudes and motives

(Oppenheim 1997: 212)

The subjective evaluation of states of mind cannot be measured objectively nor through external assessment but is best served by simple questioning in common survey interviews (Veenhoven 1997) by using projective questions (Veenhoven
2000). Since humans are capable of overall appraisals of how well they are doing, it is also valid to ask respondents to estimate or 'strike the balance of their life'. Empirical studies show reasonable reliability levels in these self reports (Veenhoven 2000).

Despite the advantages of applying a naturalistic research design to measure the impact of a religious belief system on the individual's economic disposition, the social scientist's benchmarks of 'objectivity' and 'reliability' remained methodological concerns of paramount importance throughout the research process. However, 'objectivity' and 'reliability' are problematical issues in contemporary social science because the former is based on the belief that knowledge can be secured only when it corresponds with observed facts, while the latter applies to consistent and repeatable results (Holloway and Jefferson 2000). Psychoanalysis has recently conceded that the interpretation of data is not a science, but an art form using intuition, because meanings are unique emerging as they do in situations under analysis and are not therefore, replicable (Holloway and Jefferson 2000).

Collins (1998) noted that Bourdieu regarded even the 'unstructured' interview with its emphasis on objectivity and standing apart and aloof from the interviewee, as false as it is only limited to capturing and relating the 'official' account. Polsky (1998) maintained that sociologists needed to abandon scientism i.e. the construction of social reality at several removes from the human being using 'scientific' methods, because it provided the illusion that scientific sociologists only talked 'about' people (hard quantitative methods) rather than feeling and thinking with them and listening to them in their natural habitat (soft qualitative methods).

Furthermore, Stanley & Wise (1998) stated that the social sciences and conventional research methods claimed to provide objective knowledge independent of the personal

The Sample and Methodological Approach
situation of the social scientist yet this very approach led to misunderstanding and distortion of social 'facts'. By 'tuning out' personal experiences in conventional research, the researcher is liable to miss important responses from the interviewee due to the failure of the researcher to share his/her own experiences during the interview (Kelly 1998) i.e. they fail to intuitively connect linked meanings due to a lack of reflexivity.

Reflexivity requires a contribution to and an awareness and on-going evaluation of a piece of interaction as it happens (Potter 1996). In an epistemological sense Collins (1998) contended that Bourdieu warned that the process of disclosure required the interviewer to

\[
\text{stand back and scrutinise the relationship between our methodology and the information it has enabled us to collect...[and how]...methodology and the kind of information collected determines the eventual form of our accounts}
\]

(Collins 1998: 2)

Moreover, there is a myth surrounding 'objective' scientific observations because observations require an observer and observers have a point of view which implies that science couldn't possibly give an account of the world from a non point of view (Fulford 1996). The objective world can only be experienced subjectively (Fenwick 1996). From the perspective of the religious frame of reference namely, having faith, the objective view actually impedes an understanding of the sacred imagination in society and this is quite unfortunate since a focus and concern with the sacred is immutable in the human condition (Esmail 1996). Given that the nature of the subject observed is changed by the very observation conducted by the observer (Fanning 1983), there is a 'falseness' regarding two aspects of the debate surrounding structured and unstructured data collection methods and their objectivity.
Firstly, there is no such event as an unstructured interview but ascending levels of structuredness, where the higher the level the more reliable the results and where the lower the level, the more personal disclosure is likely to emerge (Wilson 1996). Secondly, all interviews require a certain degree of social interaction and that includes even the postal questionnaire (Wilson 1996). Giddens (1998) noted that a real problem existed for the social scientist around how much the interviewee knew about the intended outcome of their actions and the fact that this knowledgeability regularly shifted made it almost impossible for the researcher to measure in an objective sense.

In the controversy relating to subjectivity and objectivity inherent in the autobiography or personal interview, Ribbens (1993) held the view that socially patterned experiences such as class and ethnic grouping with their embedded psychical and common-sense nature could only be uncovered through the analysis of personal relationships and life courses. This approach required the interviewer to listen attentively and become actively engaged in the interview process. When that occurred linkages could be very revealing. Feminist sociologists Cotterill & Letherby (1993) note that Oakley also challenged the notion of ‘proper’ interviewing techniques which attempted to place a premium on ‘detachment’, ‘control’ and ‘objectivity’ since

\[ \text{life histories tell it like it is...and do not fracture life experiences but make them relational to significant others highlighting the social construction of a lived experience. This should ensure that the values of society too are embedded in the narrative for analysis} \]

(Cotterill & Letherby 1993: 74)

Since most ‘unstructured’ personal interviews tend to uncover some elements of the interviewee’s life course, the researcher needs to be aware of the importance of this part of the disclosure for analytical purposes.
Therefore, the schedule of topics as outlined in each of the Topic Guides 1, 2, 3, and 4, was structured with a three phase interview process in mind namely, introducing the research, addressing general topics and finally eliciting very sensitive personal accounts of beliefs and meanings. This approach ultimately relies on unstructured naturalistic interviewing to create the illusion of a ‘conversation’, a technique that has been used very effectively in a study that elicited sensitive details of those in long term residential care (Wilson 1996). While the questions were integrated into the planned interview process in our study, they were not always effected in so smooth a manner in every single interview. In some instances another follow-up interview was required to complete the three phase sequence.

The 1st phase included the explanatory covering letter about the research and the schedule of questions which were forwarded days/weeks prior to the interview. The simultaneous completion of phases one, two and three at one ‘interview’ sitting usually consisted in the sharing of a brief personal biography by both researcher and interviewee. This was followed by a move to general economic and religious concepts and topics. Using conversational episodes, phase three often took the form of a professional conversation. The analysis of the expressions and narrative of the 3rd phase of the interview process sought to isolate recurring values and attitudes where the qualitative emphasis of the ‘conversation’ would

accurately reflect the meanings of those investigated...generalisations can be made...the emphasis here being on external validity...[consequently]...objectivity will be linked to certain values

(Williams and May 1996: 132)

In this respect a phenomenological inflection underpinned the research methodology because it enabled the respondent to set the course of the dialogue where personally relevant issues could then repeatedly emerge.
Moreover, phenomenology has an important influence on the sociology of religion since it provides concepts that give meaning to existential problems of life, where human action is conscious and has meaning and is contrary to the idea that humans are the host bodies of all powerful social forces (Aldridge 2000). So the balance to be achieved in each interview is that the respondent sets the course of dialogue while the researcher sets the menu of issues to be addressed. This approach conforms to Kvale's (1996) position that as phenomenology is the understanding of the world as it is experienced by individuals, then this experienced reality is the most important one and the job of the researcher is to find the common essence or constant nature of the individual's experiences.

However, it would be misleading if the above discussion gave the impression that the research was based on a schedule of 'Do-It-Yourself-Science' highlighted by Heller (1986) where scientific principles are abandoned. In our study a systematic process of enquiry with approved techniques and strategies was implemented and despite the unusual challenges presented to the researcher, it was still possible to consistently implement the phasing of the interview structure and to manage to follow the topic schedule throughout all four Domains. An 'objective' research principle was rigidly applied namely, to follow an approved systematic methodological approach at all times.

While the integrated research approach and the level of personal networking facilitated a high degree of open disclosure by respondents, the very strength of this openness became itself a concern about validity. However, while the researcher may know the participants at one or two removes, validity can still be ensured because biographical similarities or 'common ground' can actually assist the researcher to generate higher levels of analysis by intuitively noticing inferred meaning in the
respondent’s narrative, (Holloway and Jefferson 2000). For example, Ellingson (1988) used her own experience of being a cancer patient to produce unique insights into other cancer patients’ experiences of treatment procedures. We are confident that the collaborative approach adopted in the research, the pre-tested instrument and the interview phasing satisfactorily addressed concerns about validity. From an analysis of the naturalistic interview, a model of the social world can then be constructed on the basis that meanings are a product of history and social structure (Sapsford and Jupp 1996). This gives the historical context which we highlighted in the opening paragraphs at the beginning of the thesis a central role in this exploration of the Irish economic disposition.

Ironically while their familiar environment allowed respondents to relax and be natural it sometimes had the opposite effect on the researcher. For example the surroundings and formality of the Taoiseach’s offices, the Presbytery of the Archbishop’s nominee, the offices of the Multi-national employees and the thoroughfare in the street for the Homeless individuals, were all quite intimidating locations in their own way. Yet in so far as the results of the findings justified the emphasis placed on having naturalistic settings for all respondents and even the discomfort experienced by the researcher, this very strategy of facilitating naturalness alerted us to another concern, namely to generate truthful responses in these natural settings.

**Issue 4 relating to the methodological design**

*Improving Open Communication*

Our questions in the various topic guides reflected the warnings of some commentators to be aware of the real possibility that weak intrinsic truth could be generated in many responses. Goffman (1955) argued that the replies that an
individual used enabled them to have control over how they presented themselves to others i.e. as a matter of course individuals tended to give low levels of self-disclosure. This is known as the dramaturgical approach namely, an analyses of the socialisation process through the concept of a drama or play and it is essentially impression management i.e. putting the most appropriate ‘face’ forward by ‘masking’ or suppressing facts about the individual which would be contrary to the impression actually presented. Masking is very effective in civilised contexts and only in barbaric conditions is there any 'guarantee' that the real self will emerge (Hart 1991). This is the second reason why the conflict generated in the process of early Irish state formation is selected as a suitable context for grounding the abstraction of the analyses in Part III of the thesis.

One of the problems that is encountered in ‘unmasking’ is that the dramaturgical approach is based on a modern western social norm of endemic deceit in social activity which is highly instrumental (Baert 1998). Individuals protect vulnerable aspects of themselves, are motivated to disguise their feelings and are comfortable managing ‘deceitful’ self impressions to maximise their self-interest (Holloway and Jefferson 2000). Research methodology such as questionnaires and structured interviews tend to facilitate the presentation of the superficial and ‘observable’ self described by Jung (1985) as

\[
\text{the principle of a persona projected...to conceal the true personality used for adaptive or convenience purposes}
\]

(Jung 1987: 32)

However, the instrumental approach is also based on allowing a free play of inferences to optimise our understanding of meaning and consciousness and as a consequence Thomas (1951) stated that it was vital to grasp that individuals lived their lives and made decisions by inference and not statistically or scientifically.
However, the use of inference by individuals or concluding from the facts presented is itself problematical.

Husserl’s phenomenological perspective of consciousness stated that the systematic analysis of things external and internal to ourselves which we experience constituted the real world for the individual (Magee 1998). Because individuals are unaware that they are ordering the social world and accepted it as already pre-structured, then the key task of the researcher was to penetrate the various layers constructed by individuals to access the essential structure of their consciousness (Ritzer 1988). This interpretative process becomes inseparable from and subject to the language culture (Pollio, Henley, and Thompson 1997). Esmail (1996) argued for the crucial importance of language in adding to our understanding of meanings expressed by individuals

\[
\text{language does not just express the mind...it conditions the mind...the terms in which a problem is stated amount to a constitution of the very problem being described...for this reason critical attention to language is of the utmost importance in understanding society}
\]

(Esmail 1996: 146)

According to Laney (1999), Garfinkel maintained that there are undertones in any conversation that are not always verbalised and until these are exposed then honest communication is impossible. Garfinkel (1967) asserted that people refuse to permit each other to understand what they are really talking about in a purely rational discourse.

What is required then is to facilitate an exchange of honest communication with attention paid by the researcher to the words used and in particular to metaphors, because as Sandford (1987) argued, metaphors are the tracks along which thoughts and beliefs tend to run. Metaphors are comparisons that cannot be taken literally but used to make a correspondence between qualities in this world with the primary
subject under consideration (Mezirow 1990). Metaphors therefore, become crucial in verifying and interpreting respondents' religious views and attitudes with regard to their engagement with the economic environment. Moreover, metaphors become even more important in an Irish context because Jeanrond (2001) argued that Catholic beliefs and teachings rely heavily on metaphors and narratives as a meaning-making tool and as Robson (1995) contended the structured interview does not facilitate this use of narrative. The framing of meaning is more important in social science than the discovery of laws (Giddens 1996e).

Particular attention therefore, was paid throughout each interview to record any metaphors used by respondents to describe their attitudes and views and the inferred meanings expressed in their everyday language. Paraphrasing what had been said, namely checking the meaning of the metaphor and narrative without actually recording the response at the moment it was spoken, appeared to suggest that the request by the researcher was not that important. This inference at times provided the key to the research because respondents usually gave 'off the record' statements to the interviewer in addition to intended disclosures i.e. higher levels of open communication were achieved. To enable inferred meanings emerge and be linked with other responses later by the researcher, not only required selling the importance of the research to the different groups of individuals participating in the research, but required the building up of trust and generating empathy and sensitivity to each of the respondent's particular set of circumstances. This required a sharing of private life histories and belief systems by both respondent and researcher and this sharing demands strict adherence to ethical guidelines.
**Issue 5 relating to the methodological design**

*Ethical Issues*

Subjective engagement in the research approach lends itself to understanding 'real time' human behaviour as 'in vivo' and not 'in vitro' i.e. in the real process of living and not in the laboratory (Fromm 1974). When respondents are unaware of the experimental nature of the interview ethical questions such as consent may arise (Holdaway 1998). The issue of autobiographical consent has been addressed by Harrison and Lyon (1993) who noted that consent could easily defeat the purpose of autobiography which is to present the real 'self' as experienced by the respondent. However, the basic ethical principle of total protection of the respondent namely, that no harm is done to him/her on foot of the interview (Sapsford & Abbott 1996, Oppenheim 1997) applied at all times before, during and after our research.

The recommended adherence to ethical guidelines was upheld in the research by always providing the aims and purpose of the research either in written format and/or orally to *each* respondent or group of respondents as well as verbally assuring confidentiality prior to and during the interview (CLMS 2000). The primary concerns such as consent and confidentiality were addressed and specific steps taken to protect each contributor such as coding of respondents. All participants were also informed that they could pull out of the research before and during the interview. Sometimes the questions that would be asked at the interview were sent in advance on foot of a request made by a particular participant such as, for example, the Taoiseach. At other times there were 'guardians' present such as those working with the Traveller Women. Confidentiality was important to all respondents, because even though the responses of individuals holding high office or those working in the multi-nationals may make them very vulnerable, other groups such as the
unemployed and Travellers were equally so particularly when they shared views and
details of circumstances that could have potentially brought them to the attention of
the authorities and where sanctions could be then applied retrospectively.
Furthermore, some of the employees in the multi-nationals demanded absolute
confidentiality since they declared that their commitment to their employer was less
than might be appreciated. As each respondent’s contribution was considered
equally valid, all disclosures warranted and received absolute confidentiality. The
Ethical Principles for Conducting Research with Human Participants published by
The British Psychological Society (Robson 1995), at all times informed the ethical
conduct implemented in the research approach.
Yet despite these precautions a unique problem arose for maintaining the anonymity
of Domain A respondents. They are readily identifiable in the public arena by their
very uniqueness with or without ‘anonymity’ coding applied to their responses.
Consequently, it required the separation of this group from the other three Domains
because the presentation of the analysis and the summary of their most sensitive and
remarkable revelations could not be incorporated with other anonymous Domain
responses without violating Ethical Guideline number 8, namely, Protection of
Participants. This potential breach of confidentiality was deemed unacceptable.
Any possible future publication or library access will now require approved
modification to the presentation of Domain A responses. Finally, respect for
individuals, their particular circumstances and status was always observed by a
sensitive awareness and conformance by the researcher to each interviewee’s
expectations of acceptable dress code.
Summary Remarks

This chapter has provided a description of a representative sample of the mosaic of Irish social life and grouped the respondents into four Domains of Contributions. This was followed by an outline of the rationale for and purpose of the study. The methodology which incorporated both qualitative and quantitative approaches armed the study with the optimum instruments to secure full and honest participation of respondents.

A comprehensive description of the methodology and a discussion of design issues, was also presented. The process of piloting and validating a tailored research instrument was described where a number of specific methodological issues relating to the sample, the status of the interviewees and the 'scientific' role of the researcher were addressed noting that the implementation of the interview guidelines also gave rise to some concerns around the 'atypical' nature of the research approach. A number of problematical issues such as interviewer engagement levels, the naturalistic setting, truthfulness of responses, and ethical guidelines were also addressed. We open the next chapter with a brief discussion on the format of the presentation and then follow it immediately with Domain A contributions.
Chapter 5

PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

Introduction

The purpose of this and subsequent chapters is to present the responses of the individual contributors from Domains (A), (B), (C) and (D). Two points about the presentation format of the findings should be borne in mind. Firstly, the Domains are presented in alphabetical order with no implicit priority assigned to this order. Each respondent brings equally valid contributions to the research. Secondly, while the central purpose of Part II is to explore the core elements of each individual’s economic disposition on a Domain by Domain basis, the sum total of the contributions, present an insight that is greater than the aggregate of the individual parts. The integrated result is presented as a unique profile of the Irish economic disposition in the latter sections of Chapter 9.

The approach used to collate the themes is by categorisation, an effective tool used by researchers to integrate qualitative and quantitative data for analytical purposes and is based on themes and statements where similar or related expressed values by individuals provide a valid measure (Dey 1993). The postmodern sociological concern of ensuring that sociological studies attend to individual subjectivity and short term small durable theories rather than grand, unitary and objective explanations (Billington, Hockney & Strawbridge 1998) was also an important objective influencing the presentation format of the contributions. The Theory of Limits which is formulated as a result of applying sociological theory to explain the findings of our research attends to this concern and is presented in the concluding part of the thesis.
Initial remarks on the presentation format

The presentation of the research followed Christian's (1994) approach of providing minimum commentary which had previously been used very effectively by Goodwin (1999b) in his presentation of sensitive and personal face-to-face research conducted on working class men in Dublin in the late 90s. In that instance he let the interviewees as it were, speak for themselves. Also by including the questions asked of our respondents we too are able to place the narrative in context and make the whole interview process as transparent as possible.

All the contributions were inputted into a Dell Laptop Computer in Microsoft Word format including the professional interview conducted with the Career Guidance teachers when no note book or tape recording was used. This approach can legitimately form part of a valid research methodology. Polsky (1988) argued that memorised accounts can

\[
\text{be written up fully and accurately after you get home at the end of the day...[since]...historians accept an account by a disinterested eyewitness written immediately after the event as decent evidence even when by an untrained observer}
\]

(Polsky 1988: 326)

The 'universal' Catholic profile of the sample (only 4 non Catholics) was but an 'accidental' outcome of other criteria of typicality used for inclusion in each Domain. The categorisation of each respondent's level of Catholic religiosity was based on the topology of Fulton, Abela, Borowik, Dowling, Long, Marler and Tomasi (2000) who subdivided respondents into three types of Catholic as follows: - a) Core Catholics who practice on a regular basis, and this level is indicated by the number 3 in the summary statistical tables in chapter 9, b) Intermediate Catholics who range from those who do not attend regularly but often, to those who only attend intermittently and this level is indicated by the number 2. Finally c) Lapsed Catholics are Catholics
who do not now attend to their religious duties but once did, and number 1 is assigned to these respondents. Here the Islamic Leader and the Church of Ireland Minister are also assigned the number 3, since similarities exist between their beliefs and Catholicism in relation to economic engagement and this linkage between Islam, Anglicanism and Catholicism is an important contribution to the analyses of the profile of the Irish economic disposition presented in Part III of the thesis.

To track the emerging themes and categories of themes identified in the interviews each line of statement by a respondent was tagged, i.e. preceded by a special code. The coding acted as a referencing system for the data and allowed each statement to be cross checked and the validity of the researcher's interpretation of emerging categories can be subsequently evaluated by the reader. For example Line AR 39 indicated that it was the Archbishop's nominee where AR stands for Archbishop's Representative and 39 represents line 39 of the interview. Again Line AMULEL 1 represents the multi-national company in the traditional sector signified by AMUL, while EL represents Electrician and the number 1 refers to Line 1 of his responses. Please now refer to Appendix 8A for a listing of all codes assigned to each respondent in each Domain. This tagging was temporarily suspended in the presentation of the school responses because these group contributions were collated in summarised format and then taken directly from the blackboard in the classroom.

Managing the data - old and new technology

Two qualitative research (QRS) software packages were chosen for the purposes of categorisation and modeling, namely NVivo and QSRNUDIST 4 of Qualitative Research Solutions Pty. Ltd. Australia. The former allows field notes and commentary to be incorporated into the coding of text by the use of a chosen Node. An example of a node label for capturing a re-occurring theme in the research was the
word ‘Jesuits’, since reference to this religious order was made by both the Union General Secretary and by one of the Homeless. The ‘modeller’ feature of this software generated groups of linkages with a format similar to mind mapping but it proved to be a complex function and only partially successful. It failed to establish several crucial links between related values which were obvious to the researcher in the reading of the responses. The reason for this oversight was that the package was not sufficiently sensitive to the style of language in the narrative used by the majority of the Irish respondents. For example insights such as *I'm not into that* with reference to Mass going, which implied that they still believed, had faith, but did not now attend Mass and other rituals, was not picked up. Of course these and other statements are central to an understanding of the link between the various respondents’ belief systems and their impact on subsequent economic behaviour. In short only the culturally sensitized human researcher was adequately equipped to make many important connections from the narratives.

The 2nd software package was very useful to highlight re-occurring phrases and patterns particularly word frequency lists. It quickly emerged that phrases such as *happy enough* were effortlessly identified. The line coding allowed the respondents to be immediately and effortlessly identified by Domain. However, the researcher could not avoid the old fashioned approach of examining each recorded line from all the responses within each Domain. Here categories of themes were noted and potential links between religious beliefs and economic objectives were identified. These links were then inputted into a separate MS Word document. The result of this approach (content analysis) is presented in the form of a short interpretative narrative that accompanies the presentation of the original responses that follow. Overall then little or no data reduction resulted from using this approach. The challenges presented
in analysing the research findings, i.e. making culturally sensitive linkages to emerging themes, suggested that Holloway and Jefferson (2000) had indeed identified a significant weakness in packages such as Nud*ist. These IT based qualitative packages are necessarily based on the fragmentation of data in code yet this fragmentation prevents the data from being held as a whole in the mind, decontextualises it and then hides links that can only be interpreted with reference to the whole and then mainly by the researcher’s intuition.

Finally a summary of the content analysis identifying specific religious and economic interconnections for Domain A and then for Domains B, C and D is presented towards the end of Chapter 9. All the Likert Scale ratings on the four continua which were completed by the respondents at the end of each interview in Domains B, C and D were collated and analysed using the appropriate Microsoft Data Statistical Analysis Functions on each of the specified arrays. The appropriate arrays, coding and correlation are presented as a summary table by Domain, in Chapter 9. This not only avoids the calculations being presented in a fragmented manner as part of each interview but actively enables ‘big picture’ themes to develop throughout all the chapters in Part 2. The subsequent correlation between religiosity and individual and Domain indicators of economic engagement are then used to support a number of conclusions which in turn form the evidence to build up the profile of the Catholic economic disposition with some confidence. This profile then acts as a benchmark to engage the universality of the sociological insights employed in Part III where conclusions arrived at are then used to ‘ground’ a short theory explaining the Irish economic disposition in the final part of the thesis. In keeping with the running order outlined at the beginning of Chapter 4, the first contribution from Domain A is from An Taoiseach (Prime Minister) of Ireland.
The Taoiseach

The duration of the Taoiseach's interview was approximately 45 minutes. The Taoiseach attends Mass every day and must therefore, be deemed a devout Roman Catholic and is categorised as a 'Core' Catholic and allocated the number 3. When questioned by the Leader of the opposition Mr. John Bruton of Fine Gael in the Dáil, regarding the Government’s position on removing references to God from the Presidential Oath, the Taoiseach publicly confirmed his opposition to any such move.

*The Government has not considered that... I am not big into removing God from references anywhere, to be honest with you*

(Irish Times 1998: 10)

The 1st question on Topic Guide ‘A’ invites him to articulate his economic vision. His response, even after some weeks of reflecting on the question, is marked by the absence of unambiguous and precise economic measurements. For example, the Taoiseach’s first statement provides only broad guidelines for economic performance.

[What would you consider the ideal or target to be achieved in relation to the economic well being of the Irish people?]  

*Line T1:* Structurally...build on current wave of success and lay foundation for a prosperous 21st century...To put in place a quality economic infrastructure...  

*Line T2:* Integrate fully within the EU and participate fruitfully in facing the challenges and potential of enlargement...  

*Line T3:* Build new bridges of economic co-operation with the North, with England, Scotland and Wales in a new wave of innovative intra-national enterprise...  

*Line T4:* Create new synergies with countries of the Pacific Rim, particularly China, Japan, Korea, Malaysia...

Here we can see the broad aspiration to build on existing economic relationships with Britain and Europe and also develop new economic ties between Ireland and the Pacific Rim tiger economies.

*Line T5:* Peoplewise to provide employment for all who seek it...  

*Line T6:* To invest in world class education and training particularly in information technology...  

*Line T7:* To develop an appropriate and adequate social infrastructure...
To buttress the economic life of rural areas and devise innovative solutions to maintain family life on farms...
To spread economic development right across the country...
To empower local authorities to become local engines of growth...

Some potential problems could now arise with assisting agriculture, since the Taoiseach is committed to keeping farming families on the land at a time when this shrinking sector only accounts for approximately 4% of economic activity as noted in Part 1 of the thesis. His vision also incorporates lower government spending, lower personal and corporate taxation while the country continues to act as 'hunter-gatherer' of foreign direct investment even though the capability of the multi-national sector to generate continued growth in the economy has been challenged in Chapter 3 of the thesis.

Governmentwise to keep a tight rein on Government spending and ensure strict value for money...
To lower the personal and corporate tax burden...
To encourage and facilitate more foreign and indigenous investment in Ireland...
To tackle disadvantage and the causes of disadvantage...
To ensure quality of life by having strict law and order regime particularly with regard to drugs, to ensure quality of opportunity for all and to maintain the highest standards of environmental control...

The reason for the lack of specific targets results from balancing the social tensions that arise from attempting to provide social equity through a more efficient and competitive economy. One of the key strategies of government in creating and sustaining a competitive economy appears to be based on a policy since the early 60s of relying on the continuous flow of foreign direct investment (FDI). This policy is complemented by an equal emphasis on exploiting the potential of indigenous firms to remain competitive and maintain and generate higher employment levels in Irish companies. From our discussion in Chapter 3 this indigenous potential has not yet been realised.

[What do you consider the main advantage/disadvantage of our democratic system to enable you to achieve this ideal?]
Well we don't have any other system broadly speaking so it's just a matter of getting on with it...
The essence of the job is getting out to meet people in their workplace, in their clubs, in resident groups, in their professional groups and lobby groups and to listen to them and build your policies and action plans on that. In government you seek to distribute Government largesse based on principles...

what you must finance...what you should finance...what you would like to finance...
In deciding on those the Government would use the following criteria...social partnership...social equality...having more money in peoples pockets...giving financial support to specific industries such as agriculture...attracting investment and employment...
The major advantage of the social partnership model of national consensus which we have evolved in Ireland is that it creates a sense of ownership among the different sectors...

The political system is geared towards distributing government largesse following meetings with various interest groups and only confirms the capacity of these interest groups to deflect policy and implementation from a unified national economic approach towards more local issues. Localism it appears, still flourishes.

[Outside of economic imperatives, what value(s) would you consider ordinary people place on the role of work in their lives i.e. the Irish work ethic?]

Most people see the importance of work as a source of income, social worth, and social contact as well as an opportunity for self expression...

however, people also recognise the importance of unpaid work in our society, in the home, as carers or as volunteers...

The concept of a ‘fair day’s pay for a fair day’s work’ probably encapsulates the dominant view. People have to make their contribution, but they expect it to be recognised and as appropriate, rewarded...

Irish people generally expect to have a meaningful role at work where their contribution is acknowledged, their opinions are valued and their efforts are rewarded not only in financial terms...

Irish workers have been found to be highly adaptable and well able to put the generally good quality education which they have received to good use...Irish workers have particular strengths in communications and flexibility...Increasingly, these are core sources of competitive advantage in the global economy...

The willingness of Irish people to emigrate to find work over the decades and the extent to which long-term unemployed people have responded to opportunities in the social economy in recent years demonstrate the importance attached to work...

People do not see work and the incomes derived from it as the sole basis for dignity...on the contrary there is strong ethical conviction that people’s dignity is independent of the type of work or the level of income which they enjoy. Equally they believe that people must make a contribution to society in accordance with their capacity...

The Taoiseach believes, that the rule of a ‘fair days pay for a fair days work’ remains the generally accepted norm followed by individuals in relation to the value of work (Line T23). He maintains that this particular ethos is formed from Catholic religious beliefs (Line T29). Although he states that religious beliefs facilitate both a strong and a weak work orientation he does not point directly to the connection between Catholicism and economic development. However, he declares that money is an independent variable. i.e. has little or nothing to do with meaningful existence, thus
implying that it cannot be a primary objective for individuals. Moreover, the benchmark of a fair day's pay etc., only requires individuals to contribute according to their capacity and they should not be extended beyond that point (Line T27). He maintains that work is so important that Irish people showed a willingness to emigrate when it was unavailable in Ireland (Line T26) and this, de facto, demonstrated that a positive disposition existed towards work. This is a particular benign understanding of a problematical economic and demographic outcome from the Famine as discussed in chapter 2 of the thesis.

Do you see any evidence to suggest that people's belief or unbelief in an afterlife influences their total commitment to industrialisation?]

Line T 28: Religious beliefs probably has more of an influence on other aspects of behaviour than on attitudes to work or industrialisation...

Line T 29: Religious belief is probably associated with most peoples sense of fair play, the concept of a fair reward for a fair day's work...

Line T 30: Religious belief is as likely to result in exemplary work effort for personal and social advancement, as it is to weaken work effort on the basis that there are higher values...

Line T 31: Religious belief may affect many people's idea of what it is legitimate to do in the interests of employment and incomes...areas like arms dealing or polluting activities would not be acceptable to most people...

Line T 32: Religious belief is as likely to influence people's views about how incomes derived from work are spent, as much as how they are earned...

Line T 33: The social philosophy associated with religious belief, particularly the development of Catholic Social Teaching over the past century has had an effect which is discernible in our approach to industrial relations...

Line T 34: Social partnership embodies concerns about equity and distribution and the right to participate, which would be central themes of that social teaching...

Line T 35: These are embedded in our political and civic culture, as well as being an explicit aspect of the belief system of the majority...

The Taoiseach points out that Catholic social teaching has influenced Irish economic policy makers since independence, especially so in the formulation of policy affecting those who own capital and those representing labour (Line T33). Since equity and the re-distribution of wealth have been priorities in this social teaching, this must be interpreted in a Catholic sense, as illustrating a fundamental condition of the Irish economic system namely, the 'charitable' ethos or as discussed in the introduction to the thesis the long standing 'Spirit of Charity'. This may weaken the desire to accumulate wealth and provide the basis for avoiding the maximisation of affluence in
order to concentrate on providing equity or 'enough' in society through the Social Partnership consensus model. During the short wrap-up stage of the interview, the Taoiseach declares that wealth is not among his personal economic priorities. Following a general chit chat about the PhD studies at the end of the interview, stating how the researcher is a 'great man to be doing that level of study' while also holding down a job, the Taoiseach then asks

Line T 36: Have you found anything yet? From your research?
Interviewer: Eh...well...yes...I have actually...its early days but what I'm finding at the moment is that most people are happy enough you know...generally speaking they're happy if they have enough...generally...not everyone is happy with what they're got...but overall it looks like wealth ain't everything!...
Line T 38: Well I'm big into that myself as you know!... It isn't everything...it isn't really...

The Tánaiste (also Minister for Enterprise Trade and Employment)

The response of the Tánaiste to question 1 indicates a certain unease in articulating a set of measurable and agreed economic targets. In her brief response she alerts us to the use of GNP measurements but only in a presumptive rather than factual sense because she uses the verb 'suppose' in her narrative.

[What would you consider the ideal or target to be achieved in relation to the economic well being of the Irish people?]
Line Tán 1: I suppose it would be...eh...well...eh...well to increase GNP per capita...I suppose to have the highest in Europe...our GNP isn't the same as our GDP...as you know there's 14% in the difference, so I suppose if we get the two of them the same...I suppose...

She then points out the failure of her own Government's wealth creation strategies to address social inequality and she continues by acknowledging the primacy of competitiveness over equity and consequently, differs somewhat from the Taoiseach's position.

Line Tán 2: the second thing, is to end the alienation in Irish society...there's huge prosperity in the country at the moment, yet there's huge unemployment black spots, so we need to turn the tide on third generation unemployed...now it will require a huge effort...the third thing, I'd like to see more regional development, it's in the National Plan, the Objective One category areas, y'know the BMW's (Border, Midland and West Regions)...we have to make sure that outside the cities there's high potential for sustainable living in rural communities...giving people a good reason to live in their local community. Next, there's a tragedy not to avail of this prosperity, the work ethic is not there for these families, I think....there's a culture of unemployment in these areas, and apart from anything else it's a very slow process, turning this around...
There is no specific strategy for improving employment, except the general aspiration to ‘turn the tide’ with the acknowledgement that the unemployed do not have the appropriate work ethic. She is baffled that high levels of illiteracy still exist in Irish society despite the ‘excellence’ of the education system.

*Line Tán 3:* as you know, there’s very high levels of illiteracy in the population, in spite of the fact that we have one of the best education systems in the world... it’s amazing really, that... so we’ve still a lot of work to do, to make people more reliable and independent...

We can infer from the following statement that she is unsure of the cause(s) for the underlying dynamic of Irish economic development.

[What do you think has been the most important factor in getting to where we are today]  
*Line Tán 4:* membership of the European Union in the 70’s was the best thing for us because it helped to make us more aggressive competitively, in fact it forced us to do so....  
*Line Tán 5:* now ourselves and Singapore are first and second, about the same on per capita output, so we must be doing something right...

However, according to the World Competitiveness Report 1999, presented in the latter section of Part 1 of the thesis, Singapore was 1st and Ireland was 10th in order of standing. The Tánaiste is more certain of the effects that the formation of the new state had on our economic disposition from 1920s to 1970s.

[What do you consider the main advantage/disadvantage of our democratic system to enable you to achieve this ideal?]  
*Line Tán 6:* Well, at the establishment of the new state, it was a matter of building up our institutional capacity, but we suffered a real lack of confidence in ourselves, and this was reflected in our thinking in relation to economic development.

Due to the absence of Socialism most of the political parties in Ireland adopt a centrist political disposition. This disposition has given long term stability providing investors with confidence and gives Ireland the edge in the contest to attract global multinational investment.

*Line Tán 6:* Secondly, one of the most important advantages we enjoy here is the consistency of policy... You see most political parties are moving around the centre and there’s this certainty, and has been for a while now, about a consistent uniform approach... investors prefer that... Socialism as you know never took root here in Ireland, so there’s been no big swings from left to right... I mean political stability here has put us ahead of other countries, I mean by any standards some of the investment here is enormous and without that policy of stability, it just wouldn’t have happened. in relation to economic development...
Although the Tánaiste does not directly refer to the religious influence on economic development, she notes the failure of Socialism to gain a foothold in Ireland. As we shall discuss in part III, the strength of Catholicism worked against the development of a general pro-socialist sentiment in Irish society. She points out that the penetration of heavy industry in Ireland was weak and consequently, the low skills economy almost became a knowledge based one 'overnight'. Again the localism of interest group influence on national economic policy is highlighted. Nevertheless, political stability is seen as the crucial factor in successfully marketing Ireland as a prime location for FDI.

Line Tán 7: On the other hand, decision making can be slow because there's a lot of access to the decision makers, you know to politicians, and there's a lot of bureaucracy, so there's lots of layers then, and each layer adds on to the next I suppose...

[What strengths and weaknesses do you consider inherent in the personality of the Irish workforce (Irish Work Ethic) to affect positively or negatively the likely success of achieving this ideal?]

Line Tán 8: Well we have a very young and adaptable workforce, although it's stopped growing now. Women's participation is 40% now so we're getting closer to the EU average, so there's capacity and flexibility in the workforce...We quickly have become a knowledge-based economy, almost over night...we weren't heavily industrialised, we'd no heavy industries to get rid of but a low value-added economy and the challenge of course was to retrain workers...We don't have a culture of upskilling, it's a huge weakness in the economy...The spend by Irish companies is way below the national average...except for the multinationals, if you take that away, training in indigenous companies is very low. So for the last 10, 15, 20 years we're just not accustomed to upskilling...as I've said before, there's huge levels of illiteracy in the population and it's not just being literate, it's being computer literate as well...even though there's been a huge concentration of resources and penetration of computer literacy in the schools, there's a huge cohort in the workforce who are just not technology friendly, and they haven't yet grasped the concept that they need to be...

[Do you observe any evidence that Irish workers may not be fully committed to supporting this economic development?]

Line Tán 9: I suppose the trade union movement have taken on board the need for lower corporate tax rates and that's a major success, particularly in the traded services, and that in turn helps the growth of sub sectors in the indigenous base...but although the trade union movement is enlightened, at local level there's still naivete about what it takes to make it happen...In some sectors, there's different responses, and management at some local levels still have huge problems...On too many occasions people don't want to change...Local level adaptability needs to be changed, otherwise it won't make things happen nationally...

Her emphasis on adaptability echoes the contention of O'Riain (2000) that successful management of the economy depends on linking local workers and firms to the global economy, so that the government surrenders any influence on global corporate decisions in exchange for access to FDI. The flexible firm and the flexible worker are key elements in exploiting this access.
There’s a huge reluctance to engage in training, or retraining...[why is that do you think?]...Well I’ve just met with workers who have lost their job, well who are going to lose their job soon...I found it very difficult to sell them training, now it wasn’t that I was sending them back to school, just only on a 14 weeks course in FAS [The Training and Employment Authority]...they hadn’t a mindset on training...now they’ll need to get used to the idea that people will be working in several different jobs, and having one job will be the exception rather than the rule...I’ve just come back from Singapore last week, and there is a mindset on retraining...that’s one of the key differences...

Nationally speaking, the human resource imperative is now about upskilling and retraining workers but according to the Tánaiste training by indigenous companies is very low. A critical weakness in the economy is the absence of a culture of upskilling or retraining. Consequently, high levels of illiteracy and in particular digital illiteracy still characterise large sections of Irish society. She provides an example of how this resistance to retraining manifests itself at the very moment when workers are subjected to the negative impact of non competitive strategies within firms or industries. Workers, she contends, are not willing to change their mindset nor are they motivated to 'engage' in training or retraining. This would suggest that work does not have the priority it should have in a competitive economy, particularly when it is compared to the ‘mindset’ exhibited by one of the world’s most successful economies, Singapore. The resistance to training alerts us to one aspect of these workers’ economic disposition. Insofar as the raison d’être for training is vocational i.e. work related, their reluctance to re-train for employment implies that something other than work has a higher preference value.

The Union General Secretary

The Union Secretary had already received the questions a week prior to the interview and after the usual introductions indicated that he had reflected for some time on each of them.
Line U 6: C'mon out into the conservatory... Well... can we get started?...
Line 7: You had a look at the questions?...

Overall the Union secretary found the questions difficult to answer.

Line U 8: I thought they were strange questions!.. Had to think about them... Still not sure...
Line U 9: O.K. then... well... let's take the first one about your vision for society... as 'X' the man... try not to give me the union line on this one... your own views, personal views you know... not the official line... absolute confidential, absolutely... I can guarantee it...
Line U 10: We are very close to my vision now... very close... unemployment down to 3% or 4%... for all intents and purposes we've got full employment...
Line U 11: there is competition in the labour market... people can buy or own a house...
Line U 12: What I'd really like to see is free health and education at the point of entry i.e. irrespective of income...
Line U 13: access to a high level of education... can go to university irrespective of income... health care... if you need a bypass... free to everybody...
Line U 14: Society builds on previous progress... my father's vision for me is not the same as mine... next generation wants more... his generation just kept afloat... Now they take things as natural and God given...
Line U 15: Church convinced them (parents) that poverty was O.K... Line U 16: old people conditioned to expect nothing...
Line U 17: no correlation between wealth and happiness...

His economic objective of full employment has been achieved. Employers are now competing among themselves for workers’ skills thus driving salaries and wages to a premium and as a result workers have the opportunity to own property. He states that there is no link between wealth and happiness (Line U 17). Early in the interview he speaks of 'enough' i.e. a set of criteria that deflects each individual’s acquisitive impulse away from continuous accumulation because happiness comes from having 'enough'.

Line U 18: Sweden an engineered society... were very unhappy... always unhappy...
Line U 19: greed versus need... I delivered immediate needs to the unemployed... a job...
Line U 20: Happiness means having enough...

He then explains that the ‘enough’ measure is part of an adaptive and coping strategy citing his own lack of interest in money and a his proclivity to enjoy life just as his father did.

[What strengths and weaknesses do you consider inherent in the personality of the Irish workforce (Irish Work Ethic) to affect positively or negatively the likely success of achieving this ideal?] Line U 22: A few years back before the Partnerships (National Agreements) there was a feeling that the country needed to be saved... they said that because they felt it...
Line U 23: people's attitude in 1987 was 'last man out switch off the lights' now in 1999 its 'why am I not getting my nose in the trough'...
Line U 24: impression is that everybody has his nose in the trough...
Line U 25: I never had any interest in money... the sun will shine in Florida... I tell her (wife) that we'll be long enough dead... so off she’s gone to the Patrick's day parade in New York with her sisters...
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Line U 26: Holiday in Florida is better than accumulating it...my father liked to enjoy himself...
Line U 27: Most workers know that they can't have everything...
Line U 28: they would like to accumulate but can't really...
Line U 29: they would like to have the good life but they know they can't have it...it doesn't stop them wanting it...
Line U 30: The women in Markevicz flats...you know in Ringsend...[south inner city Dublin]...they buy 'Hello' magazine to see how the other half lives and pass it on to one another so that when the politicians come along and others they can say 'what d'ye think of so an so getting pregnant by so and so...terrible isn't it? ...
Line U 31: Peoples horizons are to get a house, a holiday maybe win the lotto...
Line U 32: not entrepreneurial...they like to work for others...don't like responsibility...
Line U 33: When xxx Co. was been privatised...we had a job convincing the workers to buy shares at a special rate of 75p...they increased in value to £6.50 in two years...some workers have shares to the value of £200,000 pounds...don't have the business culture...
Line U 34: In America 79 million people own shares...
Line U 35: that was Thatcher's great success...getting ordinary people to buy into the country...have a stake in things...
Line U 36: us Irish aren't like that...don't like taking responsibility...because the nation was dominated for centuries...

Individuals set a limit on their expectations i.e. they have a target of 'enough', which is typified by a house, a holiday or a win on the lotto (Line U 31). He also echoes the view of the Tánaiste, that Irish society before 1973 was essentially closed and almost wholly Catholic, where the disposition of people was one of resignation due to an aversion towards taking responsibility after centuries of British rule. This colonial interpretation echoes many of the arguments made for sluggish Irish economic development discussed in Chapter 3 of the thesis (Lines U 32, 36). He maintains that the Irish are not like the Americans i.e. they are not committed to having a stake in the economy.

[Outside of economic imperatives, what value(s) would you consider ordinary people place on the role of work in their lives i.e. 'the Irish work ethic'?]
Line U 40: people who enter now see improvements as natural and given so they naturally want more...more wealth...
Line U 41: about wealth...the most discontented people are in the best jobs...
Line U 42: Take Guinness's for instance...they have great facilities...a pensioner is still entitled to free medical care and his lunch everyday...that was a great job over the years yet they always had a gripe...getting hundreds of pounds a week...great facilities always moaning...always...
Line U 43: on the other hand I went as a branch secretary to a printing company in Bray...they were covered full of ink sitting beside their machines at lunch time drinking tea out of milk bottles and eating sandwiches...they were more grateful for what I did...
Line U 44: there's more gratitude from those with very little...
Line U 45: take the contract cleaners...women on little money...working and with a family...very happy with me and told me that they really appreciated what I was trying to do...
Line U 46: Better off...more discontented...
Line U 47: The Irish work ethic...well there's the Protestant one in the North...very much against the lazy Catholic...they cornered the market...
Line U 48: now there is a change...people are a little more materialistic...
Line U 49: but they must put in more effort... more women going back in... increasing materialism
...Irish young are full of vim... or so the American companies say...
Line U 50: I was at a conference in Columbia University in the 70s and Ma Bell was putting in extra
phones for the conference in a small town... the vice president actually came down to the switchboard
operators and personally thanked them... they were amazed that anybody that high up would even know
that they existed let alone visit them... this was in the 70s...
Line U 51: they are way ahead of us still, the American multi-nationals...
Line U 52: take CIE [National Transport Company] for example... a bus driver busts a gut getting from
Whitehall to Conyingham Rd. in the rush hour... and what does he get?... an inspector checking him
and telling this that he is two minutes late and don't let it happen again...
Line U 53: The Corporation... I got the Corporation to introduce a system of quota's on the bin
round... when you finished you can go home... They did a task analysis and set a figure... the binmen
rushed and completed the task before one o'clock and off home... but most went to the pub... (laughs)
Line U 54: In America he doesn't go home... every Catholic puts their kids into the Catholic education
system... private school... and it costs... but they want their kids to be professionals... they'll do anything
to get them through the system... the reason that a lot of Catholics are professional is because their
parents bust a gut paying for a Catholic system... they have at least one other job, maybe more...
Line U 55: There is an element of it creeping in here in Ireland...
Line U 56: though people still like a good quality of life... but there are a number of activities which
shows that it is creeping in... the work ethic is getting stronger... trying to jettison the laid back
approach... but it is still there... though more are behaving here like they would in the States... punching
in long hours...
Line U 57: The Church has now lost its moral right... who would've believed that O'Connell
(Archbishop of Dublin) would have been laughed at (concerning his statement that children who were
'planned' were less loved by parents)...
Line U 58: they have lost... irreparable damage has been done... all these paedophile scandals, and
Bishops telling ordinary people how to live and they themselves not doing what they preach...
Line U 59: Of the three pillars of Irish society... the G.A.A. (Gaelic Athletic Association), Fianna Fail
(largest political party and the Taoiseach's at its head)... and the Church... they were in every parish in
the country... two have been irreparably damaged... young people are not attracted to either Fianna Fáil
(corruption tribunals presently on-going) or the Church... You will see it very clearly in a few
years...

Individuals earning the least appear to be the most contented i.e. the happiest of all.

The lazy Irish work ethic is changing and even though there is a noticeable increase in
work effort and in the strength of the acquisitive impulse, most Irish people still prefer
a quality of life more than wealth. This 'laid back approach' is only now beginning to
change (Line U 56). In his experience there is a definite link between more wealth
and increased personal unhappiness (Line U 41-46).

[do you think that your religion has an effect on your decision making at national level?]
Line U 60: I am a Catholic Mass going Union Official... I am what you could describe as an overt
Catholic...
Line U 61: I am very close to the Jesuits over the years...
Line U 62: I was trained by the Jesuits when they were the Panzer Corps of the Church...
Line U 63: they picked out leaders for the trade union movement... me... and so you conduct business in
this life with a view to the afterlife...
Line U 64: so hopefully if I couldn't do any good then I wouldn't do any harm...
Line U 65: I'm told that I'm not aggressive enough with my enemies....
Line U 66: Look I'm subject to Jesuit psychology... it's only natural... If you hold a grudge the damage
is only done internally to yourself... you were on the side of the Angels so you did what was needed...
Line U 67: morality would not enter into it... professionally no room for emotion... always acted on the understanding that you didn’t need to damage the other person... never went over anyone’s head... it may damage them... even though I had sufficient reason to do so only recently...

Line U 68: Bertie (Taoiseach) asked me to organise something and this obnoxious little assistant secretary in the Department of X kept pontificating and obstructing things on an ego trip... now I could have easily said to Bertie to get rid of him...

Line U 69: If I went on oath I couldn’t lie like they do... business men and politicians at tribunals... the prevailing wisdom is that you win, how you win doesn’t matter... It would cause me great difficulty...

Line U 71: I think I have high standards...

Line U 72: Fianna Fail originally was driven by a better future and they never sought to accumulate wealth... they were from a background that they were all driven by ‘economic nationalism’... most of them left politics without an arse in their trousers... even Lemass [Sean Lemass former Taoiseach] had to try and get company directorships before he left... he hadn’t money when he left politics... So it was easier to deal with the old Fianna Fáil...

Line U 73: now though,... there is a lot of corruption at a high level... quality people are not being attracted into politics... that’s going to cause great difficulties later on...

Line U 74: The work ethic at high level is ‘how to make money without working for it’... The tribunals are only the tip of the iceberg...

He describes himself as a Mass going individual with a close affinity to the Jesuits who trained him for his union work (Line U 61). He gives a remarkable account of and an original sociological insight into, the link between the Jesuits, the Irish Trade Union leadership and the development of his own ‘charitable’ ethos. This ethos underpinned the economic and welfare objectives that he sought to achieve through negotiations with the other social partners. He was a prime mover in establishing this model in the first place which was regarded by many commentators as the lynchpin of Irish economic transformation in the models and debates discussed in chapter 3. The General Secretary was assisted by the Jesuits in securing high union office but was unaware of their intervention at the time. He provides a detailed account of how it worked through a well established and efficient secret networking system at the highest levels in government (Line U90-93). This disclosure emerged as a result of a follow-up phone call some days after the original interview to clarify his original statement that he was trained by the Jesuits. He describes how the process worked.

Interviewer: you remember the interview which I did with yourself about economic development?

Line U 87: Yeah!... How’s that going for you... your PhD...

Interviewer: Fine... fine... ’X’ from IBEC has agreed to be interviewed and I also got ’Y’ from the IFA... so thanks for that...

Line U 88: Good... well what can I do for you?...

Interviewer: remember you said that you were chosen by the Jesuits for Union Leadership?
Line U 89: Yeah...
Interviewer: well... well how did they actually do that?

Line U 90: In my time there was no such thing as second chance education... they [Jesuits]... were the only ones doing it... I enrolled for a 5 year evening course with them... there was 40 in the class starting off... 27 in the 2nd year... 15 by the 3rd year and in the 4th year I started in the union... now the Library was small enough... so the librarian who was formerly an economics professor at Oxford started providing me with economic books himself... he only did a small bit of lecturing... a token lecturer... a lecturer in name only... I got the feeling that he was a member of Opus Dei... you know the crowd? [theologically conservative lay organisation introduced into Ireland in 1950 very active in education and noted for obedience to the Papacy]

Interviewer: yeah

Line U 91: Well he only gave one lecturer a week and then rang me up regularly... then I was asked back to give lectures and talks... asked to contribute to... you know their magazine...

Interviewer: the Studies Magazine (Jesuit Periodical)

Line U 92: Yeah!... suddenly I was talked to by 'X' the top man in the Department of Finance... suddenly sent me stuff about money flow... GNP and all that... they seemed to take an interest in me... asked to do bits and pieces... then I became Deputy General Secretary of the Union and almost immediately I was asked onto the board of the National College of Industrial Relations... I was advised to run my speeches across certain people... all the time building up contacts whom they wanted me to get to know... so it happens almost imperceptibly... all of a sudden you have contacts in government organisations and elsewhere with similar views... like in '82 I was asked to address on an awful lot of things... a range of things... knew your name was being pushed otherwise it would be impossible... For example I was asked to speak to the Law Society... I asked... 'where did you get my name?'... 'Why me?'... they never answered the question... never... their [Jesuits] network was notorious for that but not so much now... 'cause its run by us the Social Partners... there is only one Jesuit on the Board now and he's usually a lecturer from UCD (University College Dublin)...

Interviewer: they seem to have great support to build the new 3rd level college in the Docklands and move from Sandyford although the Minister (Education and Science) Michael Martin appears to be against it...

Line U 93: It's a state of the art college... it'll be something else... she [Professor Joyce O'Connor] will eventually get her way... anything else? ... [not really]... O.K. then see you... thanks... bye... bye...

[end]

The belief in an afterlife and the consequent cognitive, spiritual and temporal obligations imposed by his faith and his loyalty to the Jesuits was to determine the agenda behind his national decisions. The Jesuits were committed to a policy of selecting the Irish Trade Union leadership including the General Secretary himself (Line U 63). At an individual level he concedes that he has always been 'subject' to Jesuit psychology (Line U 66). His behaviour is governed by his conviction that he was on the 'side of the Angels' (Line U 66) where the overriding principle was not to damage the other person. The maxim of winning at all costs is really not acceptable to him. He contends that most Irish people have a 'generous' disposition towards those who do good for society (Line U 82).
The Jesuit influence explains his pivotal role in devising and setting up the present Social Partnership consensus and he sets out in some detail the effort that was required to achieve his objectives (Line 79-81). Both he and the Taoiseach are powerful individuals committed to both the Catholic faith at the individual level and infusing national economic policy with a central principle of Catholic Social Teaching namely re-distribution of wealth i.e. the Spirit of Charity.

**The IBEC Director of Economic Affairs**

Initially he articulated a very transparent and unambiguous economic target which was to become the wealthiest nation in Europe based on self reliance. This is different to the vague aspirational responses of other leaders in this Domain. However, he refers to the tension between competitiveness and equity and acknowledged that a total commitment to competitiveness may not be possible, may in fact be unwise and have to be weakened in favour of social equity.

[What would you consider the ideal or target to be achieved in relation to the economic well being of the Irish people?]

*Line IBEC 1: Well...we should have standards of living among the best in Europe...the best in the world...*

*Line IBEC 2: We would need a dynamic enterprise based society...*

*Line IBEC 3: Effectively on the basis of our own effort...*

*Line IBEC 4: A well educated highly motivated self-reliant society...*

*Line IBEC 5: Also equality of opportunity...*

*Line IBEC 6: In every aspect the basis of life difference would be reduced...*

*Line IBEC 7: Probably...economically...aiming to maintain the vibrancy present at the moment...*

*Line IBEC 8: Putting in policies to sustain that...maybe a trade off between self reliance and equality...*

Later in the interview he began to openly doubt the existence of a common or harmonised economic philosophy guiding the apparently co-ordinated strategies of the Social Partnership approach. Yet he is a key supporter of and contributor to that same approach. He later reflects on the validity of his initial economic vision as it assumed continuous expansion of the economy. He alters it by stating that there is an optimum limit in the push for continuous rates of growth.
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Line IBEC 48: Maybe we should have... some vision... is the aim to optimise growth?... I think this is what it should be... growth is not the aim year on and year on... but to optimise the growth...
Line IBEC 49: We should attempt to formulate a vision of Ireland that is growing... there is a sustainability factor... social and economic terms which has to be built in...

[What advantages and disadvantages do you think the Irish workforce possesses to affect the achievement of this vision?]

Line IBEC 9: Well again... if you compare us with other workforces... there is openness to change...
Line IBEC 10: Although it is not present to the same degree in mature industry here and to a large extent in Germany, Britain even post Thatcher Britain...
Line IBEC 11: Here there is a disposition to on-going learning particularly in the younger Irish workforce...
Line IBEC 12: There is a tendency though to put in the effort and then sit back on our success...
Line IBEC 13: We are struggling this year in particular... there is an unwillingness now in certain sectors to change...
Line IBEC 14: My overall comment on the big reason is the disposition and availability of a workforce suited to the needs of high tech companies who come in here... it's a critical factor for them...
Line IBEC 15: They're way different from the tradition and culture of mature industries...
Line IBEC 16: We don't have a lot of subliminal baggage in our history... there are exceptions of course... it's not about unionised and non unionised...
Line IBEC 17: Non union high tech companies provide an extraordinary positive work environment...
Line IBEC 18: The Irish worker is well adapted to this type of environment...
Line IBEC 19: On the union side there are two types... unions which are positively disposed to change and those who adopt the confrontational approach....
Line IBEC 20: Again I think the key is a lack of complacency now in many Irish people...
Line IBEC 21: We have been through a period where exporters gains were eroded overnight and at the same time manufacturing companies growing through development...
Line IBEC 22: They have become more productive because they implement the positive aspects of HRM...
Line IBEC 23: In the non manufacturing side, techniques have become much more sophisticated, there's more competition... there is competitive realisation that it can be like the past if you don't stay competitive...
Line IBEC 24: Irish people have a good capacity to relate with people... good at managing and working in teams and it's a key quality that we have that others don't...
Line IBEC 25: Management is much more professional... more continuous than in the past...
Line IBEC 26: Unfortunately there is still a tendency to short termism...
Line IBEC 27: We still have a tendency to look inward rather than outward and we lose opportunities because of that... it can be a serious problem for us...
Line IBEC 28: Still among parts of Irish management even though the rules and environment for business has changed they are reluctant to seize opportunities... they are not building trust with their employees...
Line IBEC 29: In some parts of business small by definition, management look at their lifestyle and say... 'well we've got there... that's it now...'

He too argues that the absence of confrontational political ideologies of left and right has assisted the Irish workforce to adapt to the needs of high tech FDI industries which dominate Irish manufacturing because the Irish workforce was not carrying much 'subliminal' or ideological baggage.

On the other hand, he indicated that Irish businesses have yet to move forward in the global economy because they still have short term perspectives and priorities (Line IBEC 26) and still look inwardly rather than outwardly (Line IBEC 27). This allows a
fairly complacent approach to develop where competitiveness is based on a narrow measurement of getting there, rather than staying there i.e. doing just ‘enough’ (Line IBEC 29).

Line IBEC 30: I think...people I know have contact with employers...they are constantly impressed with the humanity of people...they expect to see some dirty capitalist...
Line IBEC 31: Some Irish employers...a big number...give of their time only too willingly to a social development thing...people are open to the notion of a broader society...
[Could you identify factors or reasons affecting the commitment of Irish workers to industrialisation...or put another way how would you describe the Irish Catholic work ethic?]
Line IBEC 34: This is always difficult...what defines Irish people in Ireland and abroad?...
Line IBEC 35: Catholicism in 95% of cases...
Line IBEC 36: They are gregarious, fun loving, articulate, easy going and friendly...
Line IBEC 37: On the island you can contrast the Catholic here with the North...you can scale back the adjectives...you know hard working orderly, sets of regulations...
Line IBEC 38: I cannot put my finger on it...Catholicism is more directive...it emphasises the individual...
Line IBEC 39: Almost in a perverse we are happy to let the Church look after the absolutes...
Line IBEC 40: So we have a good advantage...We have the capacity...the capacity of the Irish to deal with change is probably better against someone who alone is responsible for certainties and absolutes...like the Protestant...
Line IBEC 41: There are certainly advantages...the real winner takes both...don't take the super conservativeness of the Protestant but do take the more likely one to succeed...hard work and planning...

The disposition of the Catholic is fun loving and easy going (Line IBEC 36). He argued that Catholicism is more 'directive' towards the individual in the area of absolutes. The subsequent capacity to enjoy life is increased in the knowledge that answers for the ultimate questions rest with the clergy and lifts a burden from workers (Line IBEC 35-41) enabling them to perform better at work.

Catholicism is the ethnic badge of Irish identity. He noted how Scandinavia which is usually held up as the model of economic development, has also experienced concomitant levels of unhappiness (Line IBEC 47). This demonstrates that there must a link between too much wealth and lower levels of well-being. He highlighted a crucial question mark over future economic policy i.e. is it optimising or maximising economic growth? He is unable to answer it.

[What about employers?]
Line IBEC 42: Some employers assure us that all is rosy when it's not...
Line IBEC 43: The European model is too rigid and there is a tendency to move towards a more U.S. type of Social Welfare...
The Accidental Tiger - Part 2: The Research

Line IBEC 44: In the U.S. the social welfare net is practically non existent, and it is not appropriate for here...but it is going more towards the individualist...it may go that way...yes...
Line IBEC 45: The other is complacency...we have shot up the income league and it is easy to slip down again...
Line IBEC 46: There were Scandinavians with me recently examining the 'Celtic Tiger' phenomenon...I was conscious that they were held up as the as the model of economic success...
Line IBEC 47: Although they are still very wealthy...they are experiencing severe structural problems and severe dissatisfaction with their lot...now that I think of it go back to your first question...
Line IBEC 48: Maybe we should have some vision...is the aim to optimise growth? I think this is what it should be...growth is not the aim year on year on ...but to optimise the growth...
Line IBEC 49: We should attempt to formulate a vision of Ireland that is growing...there is a sustainability factor...social and economic terms which has to be built in...
Line IBEC 50: That's where Partnerships may work...but in some respects there are a lot of negatives about social partnerships...some like X are saying we need to look for this amount and a free for all...he just serving his own constituents, but it is not the way...
Line IBEC 51: How can we maintain sustainability...that's the question...
Line IBEC 52: Look I have to go to another meeting...I'll bring you to the reception...Are you working and doing your PhD?...
Interviewer: I am actually... its very difficult, I has a nine handicap in golf but now I don't play at all...I used to referee and now I don't do that either...every spare moment I study...an hour on the train in the morning and an hour in the evening and all day Saturday practically... As well as each evening
Line IBEC 53: and where do you work?...
Interviewer: In 'A' down the road...I also worked in AMUL for about ten years...
Line IBEC 54: So you must know X...
Interviewer: Indeed I do...worked with him for years in the same department...he's given me the O.K. and has arranged the interviews for me with the staff in AMUL, teed it up with all the unions as well...
Line IBEC 55: Well, he's a good example of what I was talking about...he does great work on the Partnership...very involved in social issues and a really nice fella...well the best of luck in your studies...bye...

The Irish Farmers Association, Chief Economist

The Chief Economist first gave a brief outline of the Association and his role and function within it.

[Can you tell me a bit about the IFA?]
Line IFA 1: The IFA is relatively young...formed in 1955...it's a voluntary organisation and depends on income from its members...it has a democratic base with local branches...usually three branches in the parish...there are about 950 branches countrywide...
Line IFA 2: The National Council is the decision making body...there's one representative from each county on the Council...there are 20 separate National Committees...one for beef...another for Tax...
The president is elected by the Branches and he is the chief public spokesperson for the organisation...etc with lots of detail)
Line IFA 4: As for me...well I'm the chief economist...there's no economic policy unit as such...but I'm answerable to the President, the General Secretary and the Council...my main role is in formulating policy...the macro more than the micro...I identify problems and draft papers...and do a similar job for E.U. policy, monetary policy and I'm the EMU expert representing Farmers interests...on the Steering Committee on the Euro Introduction...that's enough about on me...
Line IFA 8: What really motivated us to get involved in the PNR (Programme for National Recovery, the 1st National Agreement 1987-1991)...Partnership was not agricultural policies...which were small in any event but the general macro issues...there was only some commitments given to the farmers in it...so to your 1st question
What would you consider the ideal or target to be achieved in relation to the economic well being of the Irish people?

Line IFA 9: I suppose a bit of balance... a combination I suppose... living standards... I presume that they would be the typical standards of Europe... in broad terms comparable to the E.U. ... clearly a lot of things come from that...

Line IFA 11: Redistribution in the level or spread of income... social inclusion is part of the package... the level of social spending and safety nets...

Line IFA 12: There should be social solidarity in the broad sense... equal opportunities... access to education... even though not everybody is going to achieve the same there should be still equal access to education... farm families give a high priority to education...

He too was unsure about the detail of his economic vision. Like the response of the Tánaiste', his use of the verbs 'suppose' and 'presume' also pointed to some uncertainty in articulating a structured response. His answer has a euro-centric focus similar to the Economic Director from IBEC where he noted a similar imperative to balance competitiveness and equity but more so in favour of the latter. This emphasis is different to the 'equal' emphasis of the Taosiseach or the 'competitive' one of the Tánaiste.

[What do you consider the main advantage/disadvantage of our democratic system to enable you to achieve this ideal?]

Line IFA 19: We're fairly confident that either Fianna Fail or Fine Gael will get into power in any election... so a centrist kind of party leading all the time... farmers fit into the centre... or even centre right... 40% of farmers vote Fianna Fail and 40% vote Fine Gael... very few are voting anywhere else but more lean towards Fine Gael... this goes back to the foundation of the state... anyone who owned property was interested in the Treaty... from practical terms they worked with the new government... so it works really no matter whose in power... again practically speaking the government and farmers work together...

Line IFA 20: In the U.K. it's different... there they have the Tories or Labour... the farmers are so small so insignificant... Labour has practically nothing in common with them... the Conservatives may do something for the farmer but some Labour Ministers for Agriculture were actually openly hostile to their own farmers...

Line IFA 21: Every political party in Ireland now is possibly lying centrist... from a lobby point of view the PR multi seat constituency offers its attractions... you see at election time we put together a manifesto... the local executive invites in the local TDs (Members of Parliament) or candidates... they don't refuse... they can't really refuse particularly where the final seat can be influenced by say 20 votes... so each and every politician can't ignore the farmers... Take Cork North West or South Kerry or West Limerick... Roscommon (rural south and midlands counties)... these are very rural and they get the maximum advantage from our system... Privately I agree that it is not the most efficient system... politicians are focussed on doing favours... but if the hard question is asked do we want change... No!... puts manners on them [politicians]... it gives us clout... big clout...

Line IFA 22: Ireland is a small economy... we're not really a national economy but more a regional economy... we don't do everything... we don't make cars... ships... so as a regional economy we are exposed to global determinants... and most out of our hands... so it's worth our while to have the system we have rather than squabbling all the time...

Since the political system and the proportional representation model of voting in particular, compels politicians to listen to interest groups, 'centrist' farmers can
sometimes determine the success of a politician and his/her party who may depend on securing as little as twenty votes in an election. Consequently, politicians cannot avoid dispensing largesse to the farmers. Again localism pre-empts any co-ordinated national approach to economic and social development. He privately declares that the political system does not generate economic efficiency but that Irish society accepts this.

Line IFA 23: This 4th strand (block of interest groups) to the Partnerships...the Voluntary Sector they can be a bit difficult...seen to be putting forward unreasonable demands...you know like more public expenditure...this of course gives rise to higher taxation which in turn can undermine our competitiveness and we are back where we started...Now I'm not speaking publicly...off the record...take 'X' of Irish Congress of Trade Unions...well he has 500,000 paid up members, IBEC (Irish Business Employers Confederation) have lots of companies...We have over 60,000 farmers on variable debits to the organisation and another 25,000 on a lesser debit...so we have and the others have a democratic base...we represent somebody...Now take Father 'Z'...he represents the religious orders...they're a very small group...hardly any of them left...the question is what weighting does he have...hogging the meeting on some issue and who does he represent?...INOU (Irish National Organisation for the Unemployed) are also represented at Partnership...I'm sure that they have a structure and a membership...so these people [the clergy] are close to self-appointed spokesmen...stridently making cases but not really representing anyone...of course I can't really say that in these politically correct times...it's a big disadvantage...having someone like him around the table...

The problem that arises in the Social Partnership model is the disproportionate voice that small groups in the Community Pillar (community and religious representatives) have in the overall weighting of the various interest groups at the negotiations such as the Conference of Religious in Ireland (CORI). CORI hardly represent any members yet talk loudest – he claims.

He states, that from his experience Irish people do not have a total commitment to industrialisation. He argues that we have a different attitude from other industrialised nations such as the Japanese and Germans. The crucial difference is that our economic objectives are mostly individualistic whereas theirs are 'en masse' (Line IFA 30-31), in other words they have a national mandate and focus. The main priority of the Irish worker is to secure the good lifestyle and our history has also given us a more balanced outlook in the push to become economically advanced (Line IFA 31-32).
Since farming actually denotes self employment there is a premium placed on the motivation to adapt and to become competitive which demands long hours of work. In a lot of cases most farmers reject this and trade off a reduction in their income for taking it a little easier at work (Line IFA 29). Farmers are becoming more accustomed to the industrial ethos imposed on them by the multinationals particularly those who supplement their farm incomes or those who leave farming altogether to work in industry (Line IFA 32). At the same time, the European quota system now in operation prevents the progressive farmer from becoming more competitive and wealthier and the quota in practice acts against promoting work hard. Consequently, farmers spread their working effort to the farm and to the factory (Line IFA 33) with the result that they fail to achieve either competitiveness on the farm or the necessary commitment to industry.

[What strengths and weaknesses do you consider inherent in the personality of the Irish workforce and Irish farmers in particular?] Line IFA 26: On the positive side there are a core of farmers who have adapted well to new technology quite easily for example...making silage...better breeding...hygiene practices...all giving productivity improvements... Line IFA 27: Big picture of a core of innovators who invest and modernise...the character of this population is young less than 45 years of age...very adaptable at taking ‘off-farm’ employment...you see 29% of all farmers have full time ‘off-farm’ jobs...here look at Table 21 [Paper II Structure and Competitiveness of Irish Agriculture, IFA July 1999 p15]...you see we didn’t have any industrial history to speak of...passed us by really...fellas around me at home in Clare drive 20 miles into Shannon to work in a factory and then come home and do a bit of farming...they jump at it...they can organise their farm work around the job in industry... Line IFA 29: But in saying that farmers are by their nature self employed and you need to motivate yourself...need to be highly motivated to work...only the better farmers, the higher educated and motivated ones who innovate get over these problems...most of the others just say...well its not worth my while so they sell the milking cows, go into grazing or some other easier alternative with a reduced income...and say to hell with it...

[Do you observe any evidence that Irish workers may not be fully committed to the principle of total industrialisation? If ‘yes’ could you describe factors or reasons (political, religious, educational etc.) that may be influential in this respect] Line IFA 30: No...don’t think that we want to go top of the league...go totally industrialised...most Irish people are individualists...the Japanese and Germans may blindly follow orders but not us and certainly not farmers... Line IFA 31: There’s more to life than work...the demands of modern family life...they seek lifestyle...good house...two cars... Line IFA 32: It comes from our history...we’re nearly all 1st or 2nd generation workers we are a lot more balanced in our outlook than modern Europeans... Line IFA 32: Although I will say, that before, I could go into town, lunch and a half bottle of wine...now they ask ‘can we not do it over the phone?’...so we now don’t take a big slice of the day to meet people...People are working harder...the marginally surplus workers have been shaken out...I think a fair share of young people are being forced into total industrialisation...the nature of foreign
investment dictates the pace...for example some of friends work in factories in Clare...the penalty for coming in at 8.15 is severe...for coming in at 8.30 am is more severe...the nature of work now is to bring in the industrial ethos...we can’t do anything about it now...

Line IFA 33: Farmers are like other groups...some work very hard others are only good for the horse racing... some have a good work ethic early on, others are poor, always taking it easy...comes from underemployment...less discipline its not conducive to working hard because a lot of our guys are frustrated and want to expand but come up against the ‘quota’...and consequently, you get them doing two jobs [factory and farming] which sometimes just don’t mesh that well together...can be an incentive to take the easy option and do little...

Line IFA 34: I think that farmers are at the more conservative end of the spectrum...more aware of risk and the elements they see animals being born and dying and so are all the more conscious of the role of God or nature or God/nature in daily life...you’d often hear them say “great day thank God’...or ‘God be with you on your travels’...farmers are more aware of the recognition of God...I’ll give you a practical example...last year the weather was only dreadful...there were many priests in rural parishes offering prayers for a better weather...there’s a consciousness at local level that you are not in control of your own circumstances...farmers would also be at the higher end of church attenders[sic]...belonging to Church groups and collecting at the church gate...that sort of thing...

[What do you consider the main benefits and damage to individual workers in particular and Irish society in general, from the process of recent rapid industrialisation?]

Line IFA 35: The Celtic Tiger has become particularly significant in the last tow years...its drawing people out of agriculture as never before...our average farm size is about 70 acres...that’s bigger than the EU average but in the US its over 500 acres per holding...you know most would say that “I’ve had an inadequate income from farming particularly with dependants...the wife gets a job and we double our income”...they’re taking up jobs outside of farming like no one’s business...

He identifies the measure of ‘enough’ in terms of a house, two cars and a balanced life style (Line 31). In short, farming is ‘too much work’ and does not appear to give farmers enough income to achieve an acceptable level of material well being.

Farmers are very conscious of God in their daily routine (Line IFA 34) where the farming community possess a consciousness that many life issues are not controlled by man but by God. They are among the groups that attend Mass regularly. One of the benefits of the Celtic Tiger has been to keep many potential emigrant men and especially women at work in Ireland. Village and community life can therefore, be sustained. The irony is that economic development has actually preserved rather than destroyed the rural community (Line IFA 37).

Catholic Archbishop of Dublin & Cardinal of Ireland (Representative)

[What would you consider the ideal or target to be achieved in relation to the economic well being of the Irish people?]

Line AR 1: The Church’s vision for Irish society needs to be viewed in the context of political, national, communist, democracy...

Line AR 2: The Church is opposed to Marxism because it offers Materialist Salvation...transformation of matter and material...
Line AR 3: democracy in Ireland tends to be Liberal Pluralism...tends to undermine objective truth and is therefore, suspect...determines what action is allowed and therefore, there cannot be a common truth...

Line AR 4: the state becomes a referee in matters with the intention of giving people maximum freedom...the group is free to pursue its own agenda...however, the state cannot be neutral in certain areas...

Line AR 5: Liberal ideologies are for the strong...financially and politically...

Line AR 6: Essentially individualist and its emphasis is on human rights and liberties and claims...it tends to reduce community claims...

Line AR 7: for example if a person is ill in the street he/she has a claim on the doctor...the more claim the less liberty...more liberty expansion the less claim...

Line AR 8: the Church has more emphasis on the marginalised as the touchstone of society...

Line AR 9: how do we see society...as a hospital or a jungle...one, the emphasis is on strength, the other on sickest...

Line AR 10: Thatcher focussed on society as a jungle...the poor and weak would not survive...

Line AR 11: focus should be on the non elites, sick, calling of individuals, suicide, unwanted people...pluralism goes against a dominant vision...

Line AR 12: The Church is interested in a fair dialogue for all...in certain areas rights for women...since they have always been unequal...

Since the Church is concerned with providing guiding principles only Her economic vision is not immediately obvious. His economic vision drew an immediate response on the rejection of Marxism on the basis of its materialist emphasis. The Church also contends that democracy in Ireland follows a liberal pluralist agenda which favours the strong over the weak and this also is suspect. The Church however, does state its position in relation to the ideal economic vision and its focus is squarely on the side of equity, in particular to improve the position of the marginalised in society. Access to employment for everybody and ‘belonging to’ i.e. membership of the community, are key social objectives of the Church.

[What do you consider the main advantages/disadvantages of our democratic system to enable this ideal to be achieved?]

Line AR 13: the Church is concerned about wealth and economic inequality...

Line AR 14: wealth tends to give rise to much class disparity which in turn fractures social solidarity...St. James’s letter on class chapter 2 & 4...

Line AR 15: Ireland is now becoming secularised in its thinking...

Line AR 16: the Church is the only one to hold the banner of social solidarity...

Line AR 17: A job gives income...money...allows participation in society...and opportunity for personal development...

Line AR 18: there is a means/end approach to salvation...after death you will become what you have become...there is no changing it...that what makes it a 'Heaven' or a 'Hell'...

Line AR 19: there are three images of work...the first in Genesis chapters 1-2, verse 4, gives a positive state of work...

Line AR 20: the second is a negative one of work and is found in Genesis chapter 3, verses 7-9, The Fall...work is very negative...'in toil shall you work'...and...'sweat of your brow'...

Line AR 21: the third image is that creation hasn’t stopped in the universe...work is seen as a way of co-operating with God in his creation...

Line AR 22: the 1st and 3rd view would be the developed Church’s stand....
The definition of 'Heaven' and Hell' is explained (Line AR 18). The instrumental role of work in achieving 'Heaven' is then highlighted. Instrumental work can be viewed in one of three ways, positive, negative or creative (Lines AR 19-21). The first and third are the accepted position of the Church, namely the participative and collaborative approach to God's continuing creation through work. The Church's Catholic Social Teaching does not direct the individual to take any job merely because it is better than nothing. On the contrary, there is strong doubt expressed that work could have any intrinsic value for the individual (Line AR 28). As a consequence, a Catholic work ethic remains problematic although the contribution of unions in creating a working environment that is conducive to providing 'true' meaning is explicitly supported by Catholic Social Teaching (Line AR 29). The maxim of 'a fair day's pay for a fair day's work etc.' is, broadly speaking, the essence of this guiding principle with the emphasis on *maybe*.

The uncommitted tone of 'maybe' (Line AR 29) only serves to highlight the absence of a directive outlining the expected economic behaviour of the Catholic in a global and competitive economy. Since the Church sees the Irish democratic system as supporting pluralism the absence of one dominant vision becomes a reality. This ensures that those who are strong will benefit more than those who are weak. This gives rise to class disparity and social solidarity becomes significantly weakened (Line AR 14). Because secularisation is becoming more prominent in the thinking behind certain political and social policies, community values are diminishing,
leaving the Catholic Church as the sole advocate of social solidarity. In other words individual selfishness is trying to over rule community needs.

[What strengths and weaknesses do you consider inherent in the personality of the Irish workforce]
Line AR 28: the Catholic Social teaching has no firm views on this (some job is better than no job)...its firm on general principles but implementation is relatively flexible...
Line AR 29: It's difficult to define a Catholic work ethic...maybe 'a fairs day work for a fairs days pay'...
Line AR 30: there is explicit Catholic Social Teaching supporting the unions...
Line AR 31: things are going badly for the unions at present...
Line AR 32: The Church supports worker co-operatives, group initiatives...looked on very favourably...
Line AR 33: the problem with State Socialism was that it directed rather than supported them...
Line AR 34: The Church is also unhappy with Capitalism...
Line AR 35: leading a good life means a balance between wealth and happiness...giving to the poor...everybody needs goods and property yet shouldn't take over one...

[Do you observe any evidence that Irish workers may not be fully committed to the principle of total industrialisation? If 'yes' could you describe factors or reasons (political, religious, educational etc.) that may be influential in this respect]
Line AR 36: the balance is don't get rich and don't glorify poverty...be wary of wealth...acquiring wealth is not morally wrong...it is wrong when speculating...when it is got at the expense of poorer people or using it in a destructive manner....
Line AR 37: this balance leads to happiness here and good morality...
Line AR 38: the value of the action of the good and just has a transcendence value (in the afterlife)...
Line AR 39: if you are destitute you cannot be happy...it is destitution which destroys people...
Line AR 40: the ideal set for human happiness is when you have enough...it is soul destroying if an individual is in poverty...

[What do you consider the main benefits and damage to individual workers in particular and Irish society in general, from the process of recent rapid industrialisation?]
Line AR 41: The parable about the talents is not about profit making or increasing wealth by investing or using your money wisely...it is not even about money, but about it being better to do and make mistakes than not to do anything at all...use your talents...but remember who owns your talents...and you will have to give an account of your stewardship of your talents...that's the moral of the story...
Line AR 42: You can make as much wealth as long as you use it for the common good and the common good increases...
Line AR 43: The more wealth you have, the more your soul is likely to get wrapped up in it and the more likely wealth will steal your soul...
Line AR 44: Its better not to make profits screwing others...
Line AR 45: remember that you have to leave it...parable of the rich fool (St. Luke)...
Line AR 46: it's a social statement...no use at making money now, focussing exclusively on money now and then looking at doing good works later...you may not have time...
Line AR 47: It sounds balanced to keep family etc. before work...
Line AR 48: Aristotle says that virtue is a balance between two extremes...laziness versus workaholic...in-between is the ideal...

[what about stroking the social welfare system?]
Line AR 49: 'stroking'...well it's difficult to say what is the right from the Church's point of view...
Line AR 50: 'stroking' social welfare...its difficult to say...stroking per say is wrong...but each individual case...depends of the sums of money involved...you have to apply Christian and moral principles...the state has a role in promoting the common good...in combating poverty...so at a practical level its difficult to say...

[What do you consider the main benefits and damage to individual workers in particular and Irish society in general, from the process of recent rapid industrialisation?]
Line AR 51: My experience is that Ireland is a Catholic country...
Line AR 52: they don't go to confession to tell sins of speculation...
Line AR 53: sins told to us are the same as before...no change...still tell us about sex sins...we're not that interested...though you couldn't say that in the pulpit outside there (in the church at Mass)...
Line AR 54: As for stroking...we couldn't be totally against it, each individual case must be examined...always remember...action in this life must be based on the afterlife...
While the Church opposes Marxism it also remains suspicious of capitalism. The approach to be adopted in engaging with the economic order is more clearly stated i.e. 'leading a good life means a balance between wealth and happiness...giving to the poor...everybody needs goods and property...[they] shouldn't take over one (Line AR 35). The key virtue is charity and the economic objective is a balance between wealth and happiness and between working too much and laziness. The implication is that wealth and unhappiness go hand in hand.

However, despite an increase in secularisation and in the breakdown of community values, he believes that Ireland is still largely a Catholic society (Line AR 51). The ideal for human happiness is 'enough' material well being. Furthermore, he appears to support a form of socialism that is free from the direct universal intervention of the state (State Socialism), which is best realised in support for worker co-operatives which are very acceptable to the Church (Line AR 32, 33). On the other hand the Church is also 'unhappy' with Capitalism (Line AR 34). The Church is particularly clear on the life goal of each individual, i.e. to lead a good life. This good life depends on finding a balance between wealth and happiness through charity (Line AR 36) i.e. the presence of the 'Spirit of Charity'.

As wealth is not intrinsically wrong an individual can be as rich as possible (Capitalism). Yet it becomes a source of very real spiritual danger to the soul if it is achieved through speculating at the expense of the poor (Line AR 36-37). Wealth must be used for the common good (Socialism) and this form of morality has a transcendence value. It is best encapsulated in the Catholic ideal that happiness depends on having 'enough' (Line AR 40). The Church explains the principle of balance through the Parable of the Talents where the individual was rebuked for burying his talents, which is not about profit making per se but about the directive to
achieve the optimum use of an individual's gifts from God for the greater good of society (Line AR 41). The message is that wealth can prevent balance since it can 'steal the soul'. The ideal to be achieved is a balance between laziness and unbridled commitment to the job. An 'in between' is the optimum position (Line AR 48). The Church is not totally against those who work and claim social welfare (Line AR 54) as each individual case needs careful examination before judgement can be passed.

**Church of Ireland Minister**

The Church of Ireland Minister expresses views that echo the Catholic vision for society stating that the individual occupies a central position (Line COI 1-3). Money should have a very low priority. At the very least, the profit motive should be abandoned.

**What's your vision or ideal for Irish society?**

(Line COI: 1) The individual is central... Primarily because man is made in the image of God and the world is God given...

(Line COI: 5) I think money would be lower down on our value list if people were important... dehumanisation would cease... society would not be soulless...

(Line COI: 6) I would like to get rid of the profit motive...

**How near to economic ideal are we?**

(Line COI: 7) Actually we are very far from it...

(Line COI: 8) People are hungering for reality...

(Line COI: 9) There is a core of people seeking something 'more'...

Irish society is far from this 'not for profit' ideal and as a consequence there is more suicide and very little trust among individuals. He holds the intrinsic value of work in high regard.

(Line COI: 10) There is a lot of suicide and depression as people engage in a struggle against a meaningless society...

[What is the something more?]

(Line COI: 11) It is a Christian community and sharing... people sharing everything... they should share everything... their wealth...

(Line COI: 12) What we feel is what we are...

(Line COI: 13) Expression of emotion threatens society... there is even bouncers on the doors in Wexford...

(Line COI: 14) On a recent visit to Henry St. in Dublin I noticed a security guard with a mobile phone on every door... there is very little trust in society today...

[What is the role of work then in today's society?] (Line COI: 15) To provide economic survival... work has a positive psychological effect...

(Line COI: 16) It is stimulating... the human body is designed for labour... a satisfying day's work is good for the human body...
Work is a natural condition for the individual which brings a certain satisfaction since man is designed for work. This view contrasts with the instrumental emphasis taken by the Catholic Archbishop’s representative.

[What is the link between wealth and happiness?]

He acknowledges the strong link between happiness and work and suggests, unlike the Catholic view, that any job is better than none. He insists that work is a vocation thus supporting Weber’s assertion that this vocational ethos is a key element in the Protestant work ethic. He continues by outlining a serious outcome for the Protestant should he/she fail to secure work and become unemployed namely, guilt, because for a Protestant, work is prayer (Line COI 37). He compares these powerful guilt feelings
to the Catholic who usually experiences it as a consequence of sexual transgressions. This suggests that both the Protestant and Catholic work ethic is influenced by conscience although in the Catholic’s case it had traditionally been applied to the moral rather than vocational arena. As we shall see later in Domain B, vocational conscience is not an exclusively Protestant experience. Yet he signals that his work ethic may have significantly softened.

Line COI 38: I had cancer five years ago, you know so time is precious...so now I do what’s important...I don’t worry about life expectancy...I will be your servant but you are not my master [about work]...

Wealth generation and the work effort that accompanies it refocuses society from giving glory to God to giving glory to man (Line COI 39).

Line COI 39: in today’s society...epitomises glory to man in the highest...Jesus said ‘I have not come to call the righteous but the sinner’...

Line COI 40: I was out to Sunday lunch recently with my wife and I accidentally met a parishioner who hadn’t been at Church that morning...and she was full of apologies...meeting her spoilt my day and hers...as if she had to apologise for not going...

Line COI 41: The Church is the only club that is set up for non members...

[Do you see a link with industrial progress and happiness?]

Line COI 42: yes...when people have more money they have more spending power and they can do things like take holidays...

[Who is responsible for providing work opportunities?]

Line COI 43: well I run a CE scheme (community employment schemes for long term unemployed) with twelve workers and one supervisor...when the Church debt is eventually paid I hope to provide permanent jobs...

Line COI 44: the current level of job expansion is a consequence of industrial progress...

Line COI 45: the best measure of industrial growth is the construction industry...look at the number of trucks on the road...

Line COI 46: there is no unemployment in Japan but it is a robot culture...totalitarian...is society better now and are people happier than in the eighties when there was a recession?...No!

Line COI 47: life is more impersonal now...there is less kissing...and touching is taboo...except after ten pints and then its not real...

He cites the increased activity in the construction sector (Line COI 43-45) as an example of recent Irish industrial progress. He then asks a rhetorical question implying that a deep recession such as the one experienced in Ireland in the 80’s, can actually create a spiritually better off society in contrast to one that is totally committed to industrialisation such as the ‘totalitarian' Japanese economy (Line COI 46). He identifies the ascendancy of individual over community needs.
This view is similar to the position of the Catholic Archbishop's representative, but
the Anglican Minister explains it differently.

Line COI 48: there has been a development of anomie... meaning a breakdown of social cohesion into
individualism... the demise of the nuclear family is related to industrialisation... we don't need each
other anymore... all our deep freezers are full... and we don't need to call in to borrow things...

He points out that there are serious implications for society following the change in
the status of women from housewife to independent and successful businesswoman
(Line 49-55). This emancipation is likely to interfere with traditional social structures
such as marriage.

Line COI 49: do you remember in 1981?... peoples mobility was restricted... people were forced to talk
because they had to walk to the shops because we couldn't drive in the snow...
Line COI 50: but now life has become depersonalised... we pass each other in cars...
Line COI 51: years ago... women were the anchor at home but they are independent... and rightly so...
Line COI 52: they're in the workplace but there is more affairs...
Line COI 53: the pendulum of emancipation has swung... there is more women on committees...
Line COI 54: nowadays women want to be free... women say I will never get married again... even
happily married women or women in good relationships wouldn't get married if they could do it all
again...
Line COI 55: women want their freedom...

He sees the increasing dehumanisation of Irish society (Line COI 59) caused by
industrial progress.

Line COI 62: industrial progress dehumanises us... makes us into robots...

As a consequence of his re-evaluation of work and the shift in focus in the 'Celtic
Tiger' from giving glory to God to giving glory to man, both his behaviour and
attitude to work has changed.

Line COI 60: I never bring work home with me anymore...
Line COI 61: I just do 'enough'

Yet again the interview highlights the maximum degree of commitment by an
individual when engaging with the process of economic development. This nth degree
can be described as

Line COI 61: I just do enough...

The transformation from the fully committed Protestant work ethic to a less intense
'enough' measurement is explained by his aversion to the breakdown in relationships
and the ruthless 'get them off the dole' approach of the Tánaiste and Minister for Enterprise Trade and Employment towards unemployed persons. He concludes therefore, that he should not assist with economic progress.

Line COI 63: I don't agree with the outcome of industrial progress...therefore, any motivation to assist industrial progress is suspect...
Line COI 65: I think success in industrialisation breaks down relationships...
Line COI 66: that Mary Harney [Tánaiste and Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Employment]...she's a cool fish...she's trying to force people off the dole...

The Leader of the Irish Islamic Community

Again it became obvious that Question 1 caused him a problem in articulating his economic vision. It seemed to him as if the question was almost meaningless. As a result his response was short and to the point.

[What would you consider the ideal or target to be achieved in relation to the economic well being of the Irish people?]
Line IS 1: do you mean economic well being?...
Line IS 2: well, it should be used for Good...helping the poor, fighting...what I mean is defending the nation...
Line IS 3: it should not be used for wrong purposes...
Line IS 4: it's not an end in itself...
Line IS 5: The important thing is the way you achieve wealth...
Line IS 6: it is very good if you use it for the Community and for God...it is better to be rich provided everything is under control...that's what the Quran says...
Line IS 7: a Muslim does not have an option to be poor...
Line IS 8: it is not his option to be poor, but he may have to be poor if he is honest...it's a form of trial...and he gets to Heaven...it's part of getting to Heaven, the trial is part of getting to Heaven...
Line IS 9: it is better to be rich, and be faithful to Islam...
Line IS 10: poverty is not a virtue...
Line IS 11: poverty is something hateful and not desirable...
Line IS 12: poverty is a test and of course you are rewarded if you are patient and honourable...
Line IS 13: an industrialising system free from control is not acceptable to Muslims...

He asserted that for a Muslim, there were more important issues than economics.

Although generally speaking, he favoured the equity imperative over wealth creation, thus echoing the views of the Taoiseach and the other religious leaders. The economic system that is uncontrolled capitalism or socialism is not acceptable to Muslims.

Line IS 14: you ask me again about my vision, well...wealth belongs to God, and we are only acting as trustees...
Line IS 15: We are not free to do anything with our wealth, and neither are employers...
Line IS 16: the economic system as a whole should be based on equality, be gracious, fair and benevolent.
Line IS 17: The Irish...well...work is very important, but they don't live to work, but the emphasis is more on work than religion...
The Accidental Tiger - Part 2: The Research

Line IS 18: They spend more time on work than on worship... Muslims are more cautious about wealth.

However, he also points out that it is almost impossible for him to form and articulate an economic vision for His Irish community since the Islamic philosophy of balance should permeate economic activity.

Line IS 26: It is difficult to come up with a vision, it is difficult...
[What is the Muslims’ attitude to wealth?]
Line IS 27: The Muslim is allowed to earn money provided it is earned in a lawful way...
Line IS 28: There is no limit to what he can earn... even an indecent amount...
Line IS 29: We would not discourage getting rich if it is lawful...
Line IS 30: There are limits on profit, we cannot cheat people...
Line IS 31: Sometimes we mark up a third... generally speaking... be reasonable on basic necessities, a little higher on luxuries...

He suggests that Irish society is becoming more materialistic or at least less religious (Line IS 17). He does not elaborate on the democratic strengths and weaknesses of Irish society since he already expressed his difficulty in articulating an economic vision. He contends that the Muslim is wary of wealth and tries to achieve a optimum between living in this life and securing salvation in the next (Line IS 21, Line IS 25).

He holds a similar position to the one held by the Catholic Church in relation to acceptable levels of wealth, provided that it is earned without cheating and is then used for the common good (Line IS 27-30). Having this disposition and performing acts of charity by giving to the poor almost guarantees salvation in the next life (Line IS 32). Again the similarity of Catholic and Islamic warnings on the danger that wealth presents to the salvation of the Muslim’s soul is particularly striking (Line IS 34).

[Do you observe any evidence that Irish workers may not be fully committed to the principle of total industrialisation? If ‘yes’ could you describe factors or reasons (political, religious, educational etc.) that may be influential in this respect]
Line IS 32: You know we Muslims must pay 2 and a half of salary to the state, or needy, or the poor... a fourth principle of Islam... give to the poor... it is like a great deed for the day of judgement... it secures your salvation... this charity... by giving to those less well off gets you a reward from the Almighty, but if you tell, you lose benefit... we say you should give with your left, without your right hand knowing...
Line IS 33: Worship the Almighty... everything else is secondary... The Almighty will judge... He will be more merciful on those rich who have accumulated by lawful means...
Line IS 34: Being rich is a very big onus on the individual... it is very difficult to get rich lawfully...
Line IS 35: You know we cannot sell alcohol... preventative religion, alcohol causes many accidents, unmarried mothers...
Line IS 36: A Muslim who makes profit in this way, through alcohol, will be punished in hellfire.
There has to be a balance regarding wealth, based on religion. You know Muslims were economically wealthy when they stayed with religion, it is the opposite in the west, the economics of the west flourished when they abandoned religion. Work is a virtue... any type of work is better than no work, provided it is honourable, so we encourage work. You have to work to support yourself and your family, it is a protection from begging and benefit... it is better to eat from your own hand.

'Balance' is a key economic objective for the Muslim and is used in this instance to provide a guideline on acquiring and managing wealth. The warning about ill-gotten gains and punishment in Hell, mirrors the sentiment of the Archbishop's Representative on the danger of excessive wealth to the soul. According to the Islamic leader there is a positive correlation between an Islamic nation's commitment to its religious principles and strong economic development whereas the abandonment of God for science is the hallmark of economic development in the West. He implies that Ireland religious commitment has weakened during the 'Celtic Tiger'.

Work is honourable in the hereafter... you are rewarded for honourable work. Redundancy causes worry... sins are only expiated by one's worry... if you worry and become sick you are forgiven... Money for a righteous person can be good. It is bad if you get money through illegal means and cheating, say through higher prices, so what is important is the way you earn it, and the way you spend it... So gambling is not permitted, since it is not earned in a lawful way, and the habit causes bad...

With wealth you can become arrogant, look down on your fellow Muslims, and jeopardise the hereafter... you must spend it wisely, be moderate, not wasteful...

[Do you observe any evidence that Irish workers may not be fully committed to the principle of total industrialisation?]

God comes first, if you need to you must sacrifice work...

The work ethic that enables a Muslim to manage wealth without jeopardising his salvation is the honourable and correct one. In a summary of Muslim obligations, the duty to employers is placed last behind duty or God, to family and finally to the individual themselves, and encapsulates the Islamic priority of salvation even to the extent that work can be legitimately rejected should it interfere with this goal (Lines IS 46-47). It is then a small step for example, to claim Irish social welfare payments while not being entitled to do so. This action is unlikely to affect one's chances of
securing the ‘afterlife’ in Heaven (Line IS 50). One is immediately reminded of a similar position taken by the Archbishop’s Representative.

Summary Remarks

With the exception of the Tánaiste, all respondents referred explicitly to their strong religious beliefs and in the case of the Union Secretary, Jesuit influence was both religiously and economically very significant. Each respondent had different degrees of difficulty in articulating a national economic vision while none of the respondents were in a position to provide specific and measurable targets. In many cases there was a different emphasis on the competitiveness and equity imperatives.

In a remarkable declaration, the Minister for Enterprise Trade and Employment disclosed that she was unsure of any specific economic aims while others concluded that targets should be based on living standards, while the IBEC Representative in particular supported the view that it was better to focus on optimising rather than on maximising economic growth.

The religious influence on Irish economic development at a national level was Catholic Social teaching. The Spirit of Charity as encapsulated in the equity objective in particular, was a feature of all responses of the non religious leaders. The ascendancy of the religious over the economic was as expected seen in the responses of all three religious denominations. Finally the measure of national economic success was clearly identified as providing ‘enough’ for all citizens. Generating and acquiring large amounts of wealth were almost universally regarded with some concern.
Chapter 6

PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

EXECUTIVE DOMAIN (B)

Senior Irish executives of two Irish subsidiaries of foreign multi-nationals

Introduction

The inclusion of the religious and economic leaders in Domain A provided insights into the link between macro economic policy and Catholic social teaching. We also noted the similarity of both Anglicanism and Islam to Catholicism regarding the central objective of securing salvation in the next life. The Spirit of Charity or the so called equity imperative featured prominently as did the measurement of 'enough' material well being as a preferred national economic objective.

On the other hand the individuals comprising Domain B do not have a national economic or religious profile. They are senior Irish executives of multi-national subsidiaries – one a recently arrived American services multi-national and the other a much longer established British manufacturing multi-national. The importance of the contribution of these executives is that it captures the views and attitudes of the very individuals who manage the so called ‘engine’ of the tiger economy in such a competitive manner. They also represent the views of the multi-national sector that dominates the Irish economy. We reveal the connection between their strategic multi-national executive role and their religious beliefs and thereby affix an additional set of attitudes and views to the profile grid of the Irish economic disposition. The first contribution comes from the senior executive in charge of production in AMUL – the longer established Irish multi-national subsidiary.
AMUL Senior Executive Production

'X' regards himself as middle-class and states that he is happy with his present lifestyle. This includes time and money for golf, holidays and a 'jar' [alcohol]. He also intends to secure his future while providing a good standard of living for his family now.

[what kind of lifestyle do you have?]
Line AMULSEP1: my lifestyle is reasonably good...I work from 8.30am to 6.30pm and sometimes visit at the weekend...usually come in once each weekend...the job is definitely first...yeah, I have a good lifestyle...holidays...golf...jar (drink)...I've put the family through college, so yeah, reasonably well...

[what kind of lifestyle would you like to have?]
Line AMULSEP2: happy as I am...
Line AMULSEP3: I'm set up for retirement...
Line AMULSEP4: I've taken care of all the family needs, and I feel secure...
Line AMULSEP5: I've had a good run here...I started as a fitter...buyer...into industrial relations, and then as executive in charge of production...
Line AMULSEP6: I'm quite happy with things...
Line AMULSEP7: No gripe...if you have a gripe you don't give everything...

He admits that while the job is his main priority he holds back on effort.

[would you say that you give everything to the Job?]
Line AMULSEP8: No, I don't give absolutely everything...I give what I think is reasonable...
Line AMULSEP 9: I have a reasonable balance...I make decisions and I take them, but the job is number 1...
Line AMULSEP 10: I come in, as I told you, at weekends, and even during the holiday...my friends say 'you went in during your holidays! That's some job'...but someone is responsible during the holiday, and it's me...So I come in and make sure it's okay when we start up after the holiday...

[would you say Irish workers generally give everything they've got?]
Line AMULSEP 11: Definitely no...Particularly the hourly-paid...they do what they're told...
Line AMULSEP 12: It's the company structure, y'know supervisors, foremen, they're not allowed use their initiative, but it's changing...
Line AMULSEP 13: For example, fitter and electrician now report to a production manager, not to a maintenance manager, so they're more responsible for their actions...that's the way it has to be...

He maintains that hourly paid workers in AMUL are 'definitely' not committed to their work (Line AMULSEP 11) in contrast to his own high level of commitment.

[when you reflect on your working life so far, what do you think?]
Line AMULSEP 14: I was on the point of leaving at one stage...but I got 'made up' (promoted) and moved up very fast...
Line AMULSEP 15: I'll do anything, even if they change me into sales...no problem...I want...I have myself secure for the future, that's most important...
Line AMULSEP 16: I'm happy with my work...I like work...
Line AMULSEP 17: I've only been out sick for 8 days in 31 years...Twice I got the flu...
Line AMULSEP 18: I wouldn't take my holiday entitlement...I take my needs...I just take what I need...
Line AMULSEP 19: I'm not one who takes all my due...
Line AMULSEP 20: People would say it's stupid, but I don't know...
Line AMULSEP 21: I had to postpone holidays regularly, even let them go...so be it...
He is a ‘Core Catholic’, attending Mass every Sunday as prescribed by the Catholic Church. He does not accept that being a good Catholic in the sense of mass going is a sufficient guarantee of Heaven. Rather it is the Spirit of Charity that distinguishes a good Catholic.

[which is more important to you, to be rich or to be happy?]
Line AMULSEP 23: To be happy is much more important...
Line AMULSEP 24: I’m not one for the big house and loads of money, just a reasonable standard of living... a reasonable standard... I was brought up... my own father died... I have a lot more than he had... a lot better than that...
Line AMULSEP 25: I have never been short of money... really short... no one chasing me...
Line AMULSEP 26: That’s a comfortable lifestyle...
[do you think all your hard work goes towards anything, or is it over when you die?]  
Line AMULSEP 27: Hopefully it contributes to the success of the company... someone else will benefit...
Line AMULSEP 28: I suppose that’s the end of it then...
Line AMULSEP L29: I’m a Catholic... I go to Church, Mass, every Sunday... I don’t get into this view that if you’re a good Catholic you’ll go to Heaven...

Living a principled and disciplined life is also important and those who ‘do’ the tax man may regret it when they die. Rich people often try and buy their way into Heaven.

Line AMULSEP 30: If you do good for people, if you apply those principles and live by them, it’s important...
Line AMULSEP 31: The way you live should be an example... I believe in a disciplined life...
Line AMULSEP 32: I feel good because I’ve done a good job... rich people sometimes try to buy their way into Heaven... Heaven is if you live a good life... conforming to work pressure, not over-doing the tax man... if you ‘do’ the tax man, well, you never know...

So called ‘dole’ people do not lead this disciplined life and do not put in the effort so this implies that they do don’t really want to work (Line AMULSEP 38-39). This echoes the view of the Tánaiste describing the anti-work ethic of the unemployed.

[do you see any advantages / disadvantages to the Celtic Tiger?]
Line AMULSEP 33: You don’t notice the benefits... I always had a job...  
Line AMULSEP 34: It’s nearly hard to understand what happened... what’s happened, and how it’s happened...
Line AMULSEP 35: I got married in ’72, bought a house, saved some money, even now I wonder how I did it...
Line AMULSEP 36: I bought a two year old Hillman Hunter, three kids fairly soon, I dunno...
Line AMULSEP 37: Today it’s lowly-paid jobs... it’s desperate... even for professionals...
Line AMULSEP 38: Now my family have all got jobs... you put in the effort you’ll get a job...
Line AMULSEP 39: These ‘dole’ people are either not suitable, or they don’t want to work...
Line AMULSEP 40: If the whole things flops, with the housing prices and all that... young people are going to find it terribly difficult...
On the other hand he emphasises the punishment awaiting those who do not pay sufficient wages to workers while at the same time making exorbitant profits and warns that

Line AMULSEP 41: everybody's ripping-off everybody with prices... people are paying 'buttons' in wages but they too have to meet their Maker...
Line AMULSEP 42: you begin to wonder...
[what is the quality/strength of the workforce which contributes to profitability?]
Line AMULSEP 43: The vast majority want to do their job right...
Line AMULSEP 44: They're trying to get their sons set up... they realise it's a very well paid job... gives them more disposable income... they don't feel stressed-out...
Line AMULSEP 45: people work, just get by, educate their children... that type of thing... management is committed, very focused and hard-working... you don't get to play golf when you take one of those jobs... very focused and entitled to what they have...

He admits that most of the AMUL workforce try to do a good job since they realise that it pays well and they don't feel 'stressed out'. He regards his honesty as his key strength as a senior manager where he is continuously emphasising trust with his staff (Line AMULSEP 46).

BMUL Senior European Manager

This manager sees himself as lower-middle class because of his background, but because of his occupation he has moved to upper middle class. He has responsibility for the local Irish facility and all continental European employees. He states that his lifestyle would be improved by having less stress with more money (Line BMULSEM 3). He notes that the need to constantly keep ahead of competitors causes a 'stressful' working environment (Line BMULSEM 6).

[what kind of lifestyle do you have?]
Line BMULSEM 1: I'm busy, I work hard and play hard... I play a great deal of sports when I can and I like socialising when I can...
Line BMULSEM 2: Work is a key element...
[what kind of lifestyle would you like to have?]
Line BMULSEM 3: a better quality of life... more relaxed environment... less stress, more money...
Line BMULSEM 4: I would also like to see a more relaxed environment, the traffic problem, you know it gets very congested... and also a healthy environment...
[what is preventing you from having this lifestyle?]
Line BMULSEM 5: my own ambition... you know the constant desire to get ahead, and of course this leads to a degrading of stress-free life...
Line BMULSEM 6: I'm always trying to get ahead... and of course the workload, this business is growing phenomenally...
Line BMULSEM 7: I am working as per the company strategy, and so at times I have a terrible lack of focus... I need to have better time management... I need to get organised... I'm dragged all over the place sometimes... it's nothing for me to fly to 6 destinations in a couple of days... I don't intend keeping that up...

[would you say you give everything to the job?]
Line BMULSEM 8: sometimes... sometimes not... I'd say 80% of the time I give it my best shot...
Line AOMGR 9: I get fatigue a lot so there's human characteristics... I take time out to chill in this job, you need it...
Line BMULSEM 10: I'm not giving enough to number 1... it all goes to the job and so the work quality suffers...
Line BMULSEM 11: and sometimes you know if I don't agree with what they decide, I may go on a bit of a go-slow, you know...

[would you say that Irish people in general give everything to their work?]
Line BMULSEM 12: No... about 20% give top quality work, and the other 80% get the job done and they're happy... that's the Irish pace of life...
Line BMULSEM 13: though they do work hard, I've seen other nationalities at work, both here and overseas, and I can tell you that the Irish have got what they don't... cop-on!... They can handle themselves better with the customer... any of the yanks will tell you the reason, or one of the reasons they come here... is the quality of the workforce, you see it here everyday...
Line BMULSEM 14: I would have to admit that generally, no... they're inclined to have a good time, you know their priority is family and friends and not work...

While he focusses very intently on his work (Line BMULSEM10) he does not always give everything to the job. He declares that he may actively work against decisions with which he disagrees. From his experience within his organisation he is confident that only 20% of employees give maximum effort. This is a remarkable figure suggesting that 80% of the BMUL workforce does not give 100% commitment and effort. He asserts that the primary objective of most Irish workers is to attend to their family and friends and have a 'good time' (Line BMULSEM 14). This is the very objective that he has set himself when he takes early retirement(Line BMULSEM 16).

[when you reflect on your working life so far, what do you think?]
Line BMULSEM 15: well I think I need to improve my quality of life... that's my goal now... I'm going to retire at 50 so that I can enjoy life...
Line BMULSEM 16: I see myself working part-time then, maybe in a non-executive role... but my focus will definitely be on my golf game...
Line BMULSEM 17: I have a romantic view of retirement... I want to be a good grandfather... but I still don't see myself not working...

He admits that the most important consideration is the quality of life. He defines it as family time and relegates money and wealth below it as a preference and re-asserts this view on three separate occasions.

Line BMULSEM 18: money is not the be all and end all...
It is more important for him to be happy rather than to be rich because happiness is a ‘state of mind’ and cannot be achieved through wealth and riches (Line BMULSEM 22-23). He describes the ideal that he wants to achieve when he stops working and this is the motivation for the effort that he gives now. This future target is his measure of ‘enough’. He then reflects on what he sees as the real point of the question i.e. is work of any value in getting into Heaven?

[which is more important to you, to be happy or to be rich?]
Line BMULSEM 22: happy, of course...you’ve heard of Maslow, haven’t you... [yes, yes I have]...well I agree completely...the basics first, security and comfort, and then strive for a feeling of being loved...
Line BMULSEM 23: It’s a state of mind, happiness, and being rich doesn’t get it for you...
Line BMULSEM 24: Ideally my kids will have a decent inheritance, pay for their education and comfort, so when I die it will give them that security...do you mean anything towards the next life?...well, I’ve really no opinion on it...the jury’s out...

He concludes that if a Heaven does exist then one sure way to get there is to be charitable. Therefore the amount of work done by the individual has probably nothing to do with qualifying as a good Christian and by implication would not have any value in getting into Heaven.

Line BMULSEM 25: probably not...souls and all that...oh, I don’t know, there’s a huge amount of people believe in that, but I don’t know...I’ll cross that bridge when I come to it...it’s a very philosophical thing...you know...
Line BMULSEM 26: I don’t really think what happens to me, let me think...[pause]...
Line BMULSEM 27: don’t think that work affects Christianity at all...
Line BMULSEM 28: If there’s a Heaven...I think that you can be good...good to your neighbour...eh, being good to people is better than being rich...yeah...it’s not determined by the amount you work...definitely not...

He points out, that in Ireland, the three bastions of Irish Life were Fianna Fáil, the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) and the Catholic Church - as the Union General Secretary had in Domain A. However, this executive insists that the Catholic Church is still very strong in Ireland stating that there are thousands of very devout Catholics like his parents who will never change and live their lives accordingly.

Line BMULSEM 29: there is still a huge religious fervour in the country...
Noting that the Celtic Tiger has brought a substantial increase in the quality of life for the majority of Irish society, he expresses concern for excluded minorities and sees it as a negative outcome of following the ‘American Dream’. He would like strong government action to deal with it.

[do you see any advantages or disadvantages to this Celtic Tiger?]

Line BMULSEM 30: well there's a huge advantage... the quality of life has improved...

Line BMULSEM 31: though there's a minority not experiencing the Celtic Tiger, there's a minority left behind...

Line BMULSEM 32: there are improved conditions of life... taxes coming down, better cars on the road, but there's still a huge amount of homeless people... I'm concerned about that, and I'd like someone to address it... we're following the States, there's no doubt about it, we're trying to follow the American Dream...

When saying ‘farewell’ following completion of all the interviews in BMUL he politely enquired whether anything interesting emerged from the interviews. When the researcher remarked that he hadn't really examined the responses in detail but that in other interviews many said that they just worked 'enough', he agreed that the Irish were softening the American aggressive approach to business and that overall it was a much better way to do business.

BMULSEM 33: how did it go?...
Interviewer: great, really good...

BMULSEM 34: did you find anything interesting?...  
Interviewer: yeah, they were great, they were great...

BMULSEM 35: did you find anything interesting, were we different or the same as others?...  
Interviewer: Well... I haven't really examined the transcripts yet but the amazing thing about the other interviews (not in BMUL), y'know I'd have to say that anyone I talk to tells me the same. We seem to just eh, how would I put it?, eh, I think we just work enough y'know...

BMULSEM 36: yeah, I'd of thought that... it's kind of like making the American way Irish, isn't it?...  
Interviewer: yeah, we have a habit of doing that, don't we?...

BMULSEM 37: I think we have a much better way of doing business here... That's good... that's good... Well if you need anything else, give me a shout... Nice to meet you, I hope your studies go well...

Interviewer: Thanks very much, thanks for everything...

The AMUL Senior Production Manager

This respondent maintains that she works very hard in order to become acceptable to the men (Line AMULPM 2, Line AMULPM 10). She comes from a poor background because he father died when she was young but now her life has been transformed. The job gives her the affluence to buy clothes, have a holiday, play golf...
and live independently in an apartment (Line AMULPM 5). She admits having a weak materialistic impulse just to have 'enough'.

what kind of lifestyle do you have?

Line AMULPM 1: I spend a lot of hours at work...it wouldn’t be unusual to have to spend 10 to 11 hours a day in production...

Line AMULPM 2: I work harder because I’m a woman...I have to work really hard at being acceptable to the men...

Line AMULPM 3: I stop and think all the time the way I say things...female anguish is acceptable you know...it’s okay to cry...I laugh...when the fellas are going for a pint, they say ‘F’ has to go home and iron the clothes’...it’s okay for me to be a plant manager, but I don’t get invited to the golf...I’m different...I play golf regularly yet they invite a fella who only tips around...

what kind of lifestyle would you like to have?

Line AMULPM 4: My father died when I was young and we couldn’t afford money to buy things...

Line AMULPM 5: this job...I have money for clothes, holiday, golf, no doubt about that...I have an apartment...

Line AMULPM 6: I wouldn’t have an aspiration for loads of money...just enough...

Line AMULPM 7: I’m not pushed about material things...eventually I’d like to get married and have children...eventually I might get a job which gives me more time...

Line AMULPM 8: I don’t expect to be working my ass off forever...If I got money through the lottery or something, I’d leave straightaway...you know I’d like to get into a situation where it wouldn’t be necessary to work that hard...

At work, her commitment to excellence stems from her Catholicism where receiving payment for a job triggers off a compulsive desire to work hard to justify the pay. If she slackens she feels is driven on by guilty feelings (Line AMULPM 12).

Line AMULPM 9: wouldn’t be far off...I have a real duty thing to AMUL...

Line AMULPM 10: I have a drive because I’m young...you feel you need to earn every penny you get...

Line AMULPM 11: I’ve never been out sick...ever!...

Line AMULPM 12: It’s not good, but I have to drive myself...I would try any job they gave me...I’d even try sales...It’s a Catholic guilt, I think...it rings a bell, what I’m saying...I’m just thinking about it now, as I speak to you...you know if someone pays, then you must work hard to earn it, yeah...I think it’s a Catholic thing...

This latter comment highlights the presence of a Catholic vocational rather than sexual conscience i.e. one that enforces continuous high levels of commitment to work. Although she admits that while men can underachieve by 30% and still receive a 100% reward, women must work to 100% and consequently, men tend to have a more balanced life (Line AMULPM 16).

[would you say that the Irish generally give everything they’ve got to their work?]?

Line AMULPM 13: no...I would not!

Line AMULPM 14: some have a slightly more balanced approach than I have...

Line AMULPM 15: females, they have to do too much...

Line AMULPM 16: men can say to themselves ‘ah, I’ll just do fuckin’ 70%, and it’ll get me 100% reward’...women can’t do that...and you [men] are probably more balanced because of that...

Line AMULPM 17: we’re not Japanese types...but some people will be workaholic types, you know...
She observes that most Irish workers do not totally commit themselves to their work and agrees that money is a secondary objective, a means to an end.

[when you reflect on your working life, what do you think?]
Line AMULPM 18: there's more to life than work...
Line AMULPM 19: work generates money, and I want to do things well...
Line AMULPM 20: I do something active, like the football, it gets you away from all the pressures...
Line AMULPM 21: money is the key...not the job...my enjoyment is crucial...I have a self-discipline, you have to when you study like I did...no one pushing you...

She re-emphasises her ideal and sets out her position regarding wealth and money by identifying the target of 'enough' once more.

[which is more important to you, to be rich or to be happy?]
Line AMULPM 22: Happy, definitely...I'm not rich...relatively speaking though, I am...
Line AMULPM 23: there's not much point in having lots of money without my having golf and sports...
Line AMULPM 24: other things really don't matter...it won't matter if you're happy...a bigger car would not improve my situation...
Line AMULPM 25: I'm not hugely materialistic...
Line AMULPM 26: money is not the be all and end all...
Line AMULPM 27: I give regular charitable donations, believe it or not...
Line AMULPM 28: I don't really accumulate money, as long as I have enough to do what I want...

The 'Spirit of Charity' is the most important aspect of an individual's behaviour in this life. She strongly believes in the existence of Heaven and it is important for her to achieve the afterlife. Moreover, she highlights the insignificant role of both work effort and work excellence in securing this afterlife. She also relates how her management style reflects this charitable ethos since the real benchmark is the everyday treatment of individuals.

Line AMULPM 29: I believe in the afterlife...
Line AMULPM 30: the way I treat people is the most important thing...
Line AMULPM 31: I don't think how hard I work will give me the keys to the kingdom of Heaven...
Line AMULPM 32: you need to be a more decent type of person, not focus on somebody doing something wrong...you know everybody does something wrong...being a decent person is more important...
Line AMULPM 33: If your ass is kicked, like in here, you shouldn't also kick ass...it's not an 'achievement' philosophy, but I feel it's right...
Line AMULPM 34: I just try to be decent, and as right as I can be...at the end of the day it won't be 'how well is your production?'... 'how well did you do the stock?'...no definitely not...
Line AMULPM 35: how well did I treat this person...or that person...yes...if you do something good someday it will come back...
Line AMULPM 36: If I was being assessed [by AMUL] they would say I'm a charitable type...you know...a woman...soft wimpy side...too 'people conscious'...not hard... you know?...but hey fuck them!...

Work is a means to an end yet at the same time she has to commit her self to the job in hand and not lose sight of the importance of the afterlife. She sees most of Irish
society in the same frame of mind i.e. trying to do well at work in order to secure the means to live at a reasonably comfortable level while simultaneously interacting with others within a charitable framework to secure Heaven. This instrumental view of work is the dominant view taken by most individuals.

The AMUL Production Planner

Mr. 'X' sees himself as a middle-class person. Because his wife also works as a teacher he has disposable income. He doesn't believe that he has money problems. He is also content with his present life style and is clearly confident that he has achieved the balance between work and social activities outlining his preferences as, work enjoyment, family life and golf (Line AMULPP 1-4).

[what kind of lifestyle do you have?]
Line AMULPP 1: I am very happy and I enjoy my work...
Line AMULPP 2: I enjoy my family life...
Line AMULPP 3: I have a good life between social and work activities...
Line AMULPP 4: I spend the weekends with the kids...play golf...use my time as best I can...I've built a new house in 'X' in Co. Louth...[a county 30 miles directly North of Dublin and smallest county in Ireland]...
Line AMULPP 5: I like to split my time between work and social things...the two are definite...I work to live, not live to work...
[what kind of lifestyle would you like to have?]
Line AMULPP 6: I'd like to be closer to my work...travel is the bogey...it's the only gripe really...
Line AMULPP 7: I've had quite a successful job profile in AMUL...
[would you say that you give everything you've got to the job?]
Line AMULPP 8: no, I couldn't give 100% total commitment...
Line AMULPP 9: I'd never put the job before family...
Line AMULPP 10: there would be extreme cases where I would give my social life a miss, but it's a very extreme case...
Line AMULPP 11: I don't think it's right to give 100%...I don't think it's normal...
Line AMULPP 12: It may be okay for the self-employed, they have to work hard all the time...Even when they play golf, it's to do business...

He clearly signals that work is a means to an end only and admits that he does not give 100% commitment to his work. He classifies any work that requires him to forego his family or social activities as 'extreme' while he regards it as abnormal for other individuals to commit themselves 100% to their work (Line AMULPP 8-10). He notes that most of those who are employed are 'fairly solid types' with a normal
The self employed are compelled to conduct their business even when they are relaxing such as playing golf (Line AMULPP 17) and consequently, have less real socialising opportunities. Although he points out that he has been promoted regularly and has a good company profile, he remains confident that he still gives only what he can to his work (Line AMULPP 23).

[which is more important to you, to be rich or to be happy?]
Line AMULPP 24: I'd like to be both...
Line AMULPP 25: I don't particularly want to be rich, but I definitely want to be happy...
Line AMULPP 26: I have enough to live a comfortable life, so maybe I am rich...
[do you think all the hard work goes towards something, or is it all over when you die?]
Line AMULPP 27: I'm a Catholic, but I'm not big into religion...
Line AMULPP 28: I never treated my religion as having an effect on my job...
Line AMULPP 29: I keep my religion separate from my job...Protestants, though, have a different way of carrying on...you know...ways of expressing themselves [yeah?]...good manners and that...

Having 'enough' to enjoy a comfortable life is the equivalent of being rich. He declares that he is a Catholic but as he is not 'big' into religion this signifies an intermediate status so he is assigned the number 2. He is confident that his religion does not have any impact on his job commitment (Line AMULPP 28). He separates his job from his religion, unlike Protestants who clearly connect both, inferring a weaker connection for the Irish Catholic approach to work (Line AMULPP 29). He
believes in Heaven and understands that the life an individual lives in this world has a direct bearing on the outcome in the afterlife although he is unsure of what exactly the outcome will be. He adds an important caveat by maintaining that everybody who lives a proper life will be taken care of by God.

Line AMULPP 30: there is a Heaven...there is definitely something there, and how you live your life is going to have an effect on that...I don't know what effect, but as they say 'my father's house has many mansions'...

The Celtic Tiger gives him a sense of 'reasonable' security and he needn't live frugally. Ordinary people who are the source of the 'Celtic Tiger' seek just 'enough' in contrast to some politicians such as former Taoiseach Charles Haughey who only seek excessive wealth and power (Line AMULPP34).

[do you see any advantages/disadvantages to the Celtic Tiger?]

Line AMULPP 31: there was a time when things were bad... I was redundant for months...
Line AMULPP 32: now I feel more secure...
Line AMULPP 33: now we can decide to take on a higher mortgage... she's a teacher, there's a reasonable security in our lifestyle, you know we don't have to batten down the hatches...
Line AMULPP 34: I don't see any disadvantages... but I do think that it's the people in the country who work, who cause the Celtic tiger, not the politicians, you know Ritchie Ryan, Charlie Haughey and all those, they're only interested in power... it's the working person has to generate the riches...

Moreover, he is reasonably 'happy' and content with his present lifestyle.

Line AMULPP 35: education in the country has brought us through... you know the Christian Brothers, Government policy... my generation is one of the best educated in Ireland... good at communicating you know... it's a major factor encouraging companies to come here... you know...

Finally he identifies the Irish education system as the key factor in securing the foreign direct investment which has become the hallmark of the Celtic Tiger.

**BMUL Technical Support Manager**

Mr. 'X' works 50 hours a week on average and is 'happy' with his present lifestyle (Line BMULTSM 5). Although he would like to be independently wealthy (Line BMULTSM 2) he is striving for job security which he notes is not possible in the new technology services sector (Line BMULTSM 7). He doesn't see hard work as the key
to achieving financial security, but getting ‘lucky’ by playing the stock market (Line BMULTSM 8).

[what kind of lifestyle do you have?]
Line BMULTSM 1: I work a lot, about 50 hours a week on average... Some weeks it’s 35, some weeks it’s 75...
Line BMULTSM 2: I’m married, my wife doesn’t work... I live in ‘Y’ near Naas in a three-bedroom semi and we have one child, and in some ways we only have what others have... but they’re in their mid 20’s... so... we’re ten years behind really...
Line BMULTSM 3: Our house is not yet fully furnished, but we still have a lot of guests over...
Line BMULTSM 4: We have some financial constraints just at the moment... there was a bit of a credit card crush lately, yeah the credit card got out of hand recently, but that’s because we were able to send over our daughter to Sweden to learn Swedish for four months...
Line BMULTSM 5: So we enjoy a fairly relaxed lifestyle you could say...
[what kind of lifestyle would you like to have?]
Line BMULTSM 6: I’d like to be independently wealthy... a solid base to work from...
Line BMULTSM 7: I have a mid-term target... I want to have £100,000 by the time I’m forty... I want to feel secure... You can’t with this job, you know... They never last these things...
Line BMULTSM 8: I’m trading on the internet... I’m playing the stock market on the internet... it’s the only way at the moment to make any money... You know you leave your money in the bank and you get piss-all for it... but even average on the stock market is 30%, and then you keep playing it and you keep informed and you’re bound to strike lucky... You just have to find the right industry, the right stocks... that’ll give me financial independence and security...
[what is preventing you from having this lifestyle?]
Line BMULTSM 9: Nothing really... if my wife was working maybe it would be a little bit easier...
Line BMULTSM 10: Still we’ve reached phase one... and I’m hoping that [wife’s name] can work from home and we’d have £200 a week extra and we’d be doing great... but I’m quite happy actually...
Line BMULTSM 11: I’m firmly convinced that the country needs labour... I don’t know what’s keeping the five that are left on the dole... [laughs]...

While he declares that he gives total commitment to the job, he initially states that most Irish workers do likewise but then suddenly changes his mind.

[would you say that you give everything to your work?]
Line BMULTSM 12: Yes I give everything to the job... Six years ago I was on the floor as a rep, then I was a supervisor, then a manager... I’ve been very lucky... I came back from Germany and things just went off for me... [hands mimicking an aeroplane taking off]...
[would you say that Irish people in general give everything to their work?]
Line BMULTSM 13: I think so... I think that the work ethic has changed...
Line BMULTSM 14: Eh... mmm, actually I don’t think so... I’ll give you an example... the Semi-States [Government Bodies such as the Electricity Supply Board]... it’s just not acceptable what they get away with... it shouldn’t be acceptable in this country...
Line BMULTSM 15: Someone should give them a good kick up the arse...

His motivation for giving 100% to his work stems from having no choice but to work since it is an economic imperative (Line BMULTSM 18). Moreover, working hard and punching in the long hours confers respect and guarantees security.

[do you think all your hard work goes towards something, or is it all over when you die?]
Line BMULTSM 17: I’ve never really thought about this... but the reality is you have to work, it’s an economic imperative...
Line BMULTSM 18: Maslow’s Hierarchy... all those reasons... you know, power... a sense of respect... a lot of respect... that’s why I work harder...
The Accidental Tiger - Part 2: The Research

Line BMULTSM 19: I think the longer you live and work...you get a very solid pension,...so I can remain Independent...
[which is more important, to be happy or to be rich?]
Line BMULTSM 20: everyone wants to be rich...
Line BMULTSM 21: a certain level of wealth brings with it a certain level of happiness...it’s a fallacy saying being penniless brings happiness...
Line BMULTSM 22: you have to have gas and food, and how else are you going to get it?...
Line BMULTSM 23: I’m looking for about a million in shares, well actually 100 grand, shares and 20 years of work...
Line BMULTSM 24: I’ll work harder now, then I’ll get my 100 grand, a kick-back, and then go...
Line BMULTSM 25: the stock market is the best place to get money, and I think I’m getting more familiar with it every day...the DIRT (tax on savings) and SSA (Special Savings Accounts) are just a complete and absolute fuckin’ waste of time...no...what you want is to be lucky and hit a major breakthrough on the stock market, that’s the goal...

While he refers to Christian charity, he emphasises his support for a Protestant ethic and the merits of American individualism.

[do you think all your work goes towards anything, or is it all over when you die?]
Line BMULTSM 26: I have come from a fundamentalist Church in my teens, although I was a Catholic and I still have this sense that there is more to life than meets the eye...
Line BMULTSM 27: a lot of my religious tendencies are distilled to see justice and order in this world...
Line BMULTSM 28: that the classic Christian theology...you know you’re saved by Grace...it’s a paradox... working hard...
Line BMULTSM 29: I’d subscribe to a Protestant ethic...but we’ve gone from a careless lackadaisical couldn’t give-a-fuck approach to becoming more Americanised...but we’ve still a long way to go...
Line BMULTSM 30: the reason for this is that we’re right smack bang in the middle of the two richest trading blocs...we are a card-carrying member of the EU, and an honorary member of the USA...people are now more enterprising...

He contends that there is a correlation between wealth and happiness particularly in relation to securing the basic necessities of life and provides a description of his target in this regard. He does not mention the word ‘enough’ during the interview and his descriptions are more materialistic than other respondents. He also differs from others in one important respect namely, his commitment to the Protestant work ethic.

He declares his belief in justice and that working hard in a Christian context is actually a paradox since you are saved by grace which is a supernatural gift i.e. by divine intervention and not by hard work per se. In this respect this individual can be classified as a Lapsed Catholic and the number 1 assigned to him. Yet he also notes that Irish people have become much more enterprising due to the American work ethic gaining some ground in Ireland. He states that life should be enjoyed and the Catholic taboos which prevented this enjoyment have practically disappeared such as
gays, pre-marital sex and getting drunk on a regular basis (Line BMULTSM 32). Despite his commitment to a Protestant ethic he still remains tolerant of Irish staff who

Line BMULTSM 32: go out on a binge and come in and they smell of drink sometimes...so I ignore it...I might say something...but really I say fair enough...they're here aren't they?...

While Irish management practices in American multinational subsidiaries in Ireland are more lenient than in US based companies, where this behaviour would not be tolerated, yet he too is confident that the Irish way is better.

Line BMULTSM 33: but I can tell you something for sure...we're more lenient than in the U.S...Little bit of a slave economy the U.S...wouldn't be tolerated...they squeeze every last bit out of you, and it's bad for people and bad for society when they do that...

The existence of relative equality in Irish society is probably due to the economic turnaround which is itself as a result of the influx of foreign multi-national investment (Line BMULTSM36).

[do you see any advantages or disadvantages to this Celtic Tiger boom?]

Line BMULTSM 34: yeah, well the proximity to the U.S....as I said before we're members of two huge financial clubs...

Line BMULTSM 35: and the other thing by the way is this...the key decision makers don't give a fuck about the North or the South [of Ireland] as long as they are not kicking the shit out of themselves...It doesn't matter who's running the country...

Line BMULTSM 36: there has been a huge influx of capital and it has brought us into the first world, and so there's relative equality in society, and we're in a position to deal more efficiently with businesses which we weren't before...

His views concerning economic efficiency are reflected in his overt support for the Protestant ethic. The change in Irish society from a lackadaisical to a more enterprise focussed one (Line BMULTSM29) is nevertheless still far removed from the level of personal effort demonstrated by his own Protestant work ethic.

**BMUL European Project Manager**

Almost immediately this manager states the view that attaining ‘enough’ rather than continuously accumulating wealth is preferable. He maintains that he is happy with his present circumstances and clearly demotes money in favour of a more balanced approach to life.
His description of 'enough' carries with it the implied understanding that there is a limit to his material aspirations. They include a house, a car and some spare money to pay for any unexpected expenses.

While admitting that his own work commitment is fairly close to 100% (Line BMULEPM 10), he remains confident that most Irish people have a different attitude to his one. He articulates his economic objective, namely to have 'enough' and asserts that this objective of 'enough' also holds true for most Irish workers. Most of them just do the minimum using work as a means to an end and this attitude has been passed down from generation to generation.
He re-emphasises his economic objective of ‘enough’ and this is expanded to include the term ‘happy medium’ or when ‘balance’ is achieved particularly with a view to enjoying life.

[When you reflect on your working life, what do you think?]

Line BMULEPM 18: Well... I say well I’ve done all that... I’ve got that satisfaction... as I’ve said there’s great satisfaction... over 300 people using my system... that a good feeling... money can’t give you that... that’s how I get my kicks...

[Which is more important to be happy or rich]

Line BMULEPM 19: Happy definitely!... emotional and physical is better than money... that’s it... yep... that’s it... nothing else...

[Do you think that hard work goes towards anything when you die]

Line BMULEPM 20: mmm... I don’t really know about that... I’m a Catholic... not great... I believe in ‘Heaven’ or something like that... well when I hit the bucket I can say that I have achieved something...

Line BMULEPM 21: That’s important... I work hard all the time... life in general makes me... happy... y’know...

Line BMULEPM 22: As long as I have enough... y’know... enough... not skint... enough... y’know... enough...

Line BMULEPM 23: Like a happy medium... financially reachable and other things don’t suffer... enjoy life... a meal once a week with the girlfriend... though if I had a mortgage that would suffer... a meal even if it’s only a single [chips from the take away] on Friday nights [laughs]...

As an Intermediate Catholic he found it difficult to articulate the relevance of work in achieving the afterlife but works hard as a way of ensuring his personal happiness.

Line BMULEPM 24: Yes the economy is booming... financially people are better off... but now I think that only certain select people are better off...

Again similar to the response of BMUL Senior European IT Manager and the Tánaiste, he notes the inequality evident in Irish society and reflects that the ‘Celtic Tiger’ is only benefiting a select number of individuals.

The BMUL Recruitment Specialist

Ms. ‘X’ classifies herself as middle class due to her parents’ occupations as both were senior Irish civil servants. She tries to enjoy a ‘good’ social life while also supporting a fairly strong work ethic (Line BMULRS 2-5). She outlines her economic objective and emphasises the peripheral role of work.
of having no money worries, taking holidays and being comfortable (Line BMULRS 6).

[what kind of lifestyle do you have?]
Line BMULRS 1: I'd say I have a good lifestyle...
Line BMULRS 2: I do a lot of overtime, and this tends to affect...well...limits my social life and my study...
Line BMULRS 3: I have a large group of friends and go out a lot socialising...I can afford to go on holidays and on breakaways if I need to...
Line BMULRS 4: live in a nice house...it a good place to relax...don't have a car, can't afford one...I'm not...really good at saving money...spend it as soon as I get it...yeah! [smiles]...
[What kind of lifestyle would you like to have?]
Line BMULRS 5: I'd like to have a car...own my own home...
Line BMULRS 6: I would like to have no debts...to be comfortable...to take breaks...go on holiday...do whatever I wanted without worrying about money...
[What is preventing you having this lifestyle?] 
Line BMULRS 7: I think the salary in relation to BMUL in Ireland is a big factor...and I've told you that I am not the type that can save money...I like to spend...
[Would you say that you give everything to the job?]
Line BMULRS 8: Yes...more or less...I think I do...
Line BMULRS 9: I've decided to study to improve myself...it'll help me do better in my job...
Line BMULRS 10: I'm always willing to take on new tasks...I like to see projects to the end and don't like to rush things...like to see quality...

She is totally committed to her work and will stay late to complete tasks if required (Line BMULRS 11), noting that most Irish people will do the same.

Line BMULRS 12: On the whole I'd say 'yes'...from my experience they work hard...take pride in their jobs...and place a lot of value on the job they have...

There is no link between wealth and happiness noting that money has limited potential to secure personal happiness (Line BMULRS 16-17). Being quite certain of the existence of 'Heaven' he is also sure that work does not have any role in achieving it. 

[Which is more important to happy or rich]
Line BMULRS 15: To be happy...definitely!...
Line BMULRS 16: I think if you're not happy in yourself now matter how much money...how well you're doin' in your job...you'll never be content...because over the years I've had different wants and needs...pass my test [driving]...have a boyfriend...a job...got all of those things...and yet wasn't actually happy with the person I was...
Line BMULRS 17: It meant nothing...
[do you think that hard work goes towards anything when you die?] 
Line BMULRS 18: Do you mean a 'Heaven'... 'Hell'...an afterlife? [yes]...I believe that you go to this place called 'Heaven'...I'm a Catholic and go to Mass quite regularly...and I believe in Heaven and Hell...
Line BMULRS 19: Work would not have anything to do with...not come anywhere in relation to 'Heaven'...no where...

She outlines the procedure for attaining 'Heaven' where the Spirit of Charity is central and emphasises the peripheral role of work.
The ‘Celtic Tiger’ has provided a good quality of life and standard of living (Line BMULRS 24). She draws attention to the fact that Irish society may be unaware of the difficulties facing each working individual including stress, high taxes, high house prices and more time spent commuting to work (Line BMULRS 24-27). She also remarks that Irish people are not convinced that the boom will last (Line BMULRS28) which we noted in Chapter 3 was proved to be correct. She acknowledges that BMUL staff work hard.

[Do you see any advantages or disadvantages to this boom [The Celtic Tiger]
Line BMULRS 23: Well... it’s brought so much employment and as a result we are a lot more positive in general...
Line BMULRS 24: I think that it has made us more proud as a country because everybody is working and earning money...we have a good quality of life and standard of living...though this has disadvantages...
Line BMULRS 25: It puts pressure on a lot of people...house prices are very difficult for young couples and they a under pressure to borrow over their limit...
Line BMULRS 26: We don’t have infrastructures to cope with all these new cars...and the effect of people travelling to work is a huge effort...Ireland is romanticised but it is becoming more like any other setting... commuting now takes between 1-2 hours a day...
Line BMULRS 27: I don’t think people understand what is actually happening...Dublin is booming...people are complaining about the high standard of living...industry is growing...government is seen to be doing little about high taxes...
Line BMULRS 28: Irish people are very cynical...waiting for it all to come tumbling down...although I don’t think that it will...
Line BMULRS 29: for example the Minister for Finance tells the others ‘you know the other ministers [in government]... that’s your budget...now get on with it that’s it’...such a simple thing why someone never did it before I don’t know...they have to stick to their budget or else...[or else?]...there’s no more...that’s what else...
Line BMULRS 30: I think there’s a plan behind it...The IDA went out on a limb to promote Ireland for foreign ministers...well they didn’t sell the regions...just Dublin...
[as recruitment specialist in BMUL what do you think are the special qualities of the workforce here that make BMUL a successful company?]
Line BMULRS 31: They work hard as a workforce...they don’t give up easily...and they believe in the product...but the other thing is that they enjoy working here...the culture is important...its young sociable society...they dress casually but work hard...
Summary Remarks

A number of common themes have emerged from Domain A and B responses. The Catholic 'Spirit of Charity' figures prominently in most respondents' narrative as does their belief in Heaven and the relative unimportance of work in securing salvation. Various respondents identified the main elements of their economic objective of 'enough' such as cars and holidays and although there may be some variation in the degree of material acquisitiveness, many express an individualised target of 'enough'. One outcome of the holistic approach adopted so far in the presentation of the narrative, is that where the Protestant ethic is observed so too is the absence of a declaration of the Spirit of Charity. Another insight revealed was the existence of a Catholic vocational conscience that enforces high levels of work commitment. Finally the high commitment to work expressed by respondents is generated not because of any intrinsic value attached to work but to achieve a more important preference namely a reasonable standard of living or 'enough'. As this preference is attained the work commitment then weakens so that the work effort is directed at maintaining current standards of 'enough' i.e. from a competitive to a maintenance level of engagement with the economic order.
Chapter 7

PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

LABOUR DOMAIN (C)

Multinational middle management, technical, admin, craft, operative staff, and farmers and students

Introduction

The narratives in Domain B confirmed the presence of the ‘Spirit of Charity’ at the multi-national senior management level and was also a notable feature of the contributions examined in Domain A. The narratives in Domain B also confirmed the preference of a measure of an individualised economic target of ‘enough’ complementing the national target of ‘enough’ cited in the contributions of Domain A.

The next set of contributions from Domain C represents the views of those who ‘operationalise’ decisions made by Domain B senior managers within the economic environment created by those in Domain A. Domain C responses are deemed to represent workers in various traditional and IT occupations working across the three main economic sectors in the 'Celtic Tiger' economy, namely services, manufacturing and agriculture together with pre-labour market students. The contributions are presented in three subsections. Subsection 1 features below senior management occupations of both multinational companies, Subsection 2, the farmers and finally Subsection 3, the schools. The link between religious beliefs and the economic engagement of the contributors is revealed and this subsequently enabled us to affix a 3rd set of attitudes and views to the profile grid of the Irish economic disposition. The first contribution of Domain C comes from the craftworker in the traditional multinational AMUL.


**SUBSECTION 1**

**Craftworker 1**

Mr. ‘X’ is a craftworker and union shop steward who is content with his present lifestyle (Line AMULFT 2) but would like more disposable income since his children are a very significant expense (Line AMULFT 3-5). Yet he admits that although he has these money worries he still considers that he has ‘enough’.

[what kind of lifestyle do you have?]
Line AMULFT 1: ordinary, just an ordinary lifestyle...
Line AMULFT 2: well, maybe enough for a good lifestyle, if I have a house, a car and a holiday, yeah according to that I’d have a good lifestyle...
[what kind of lifestyle would you like to have?]
Line AMULFT 3: it’s hard to say... more money... more disposable income...
Line AMULFT 4: you know you have X for the mortgage, Y for the electricity, it’s hard to budget your income with the kids...

The main purpose for wanting more disposable income is that

Line AMULFT 5: I’ve three kids... 17, 10 and 7... and it’s like throwing money into a black hole... so I’d like more disposable income to know where I am...

The recent productivity deal in the company guaranteed him an income in excess of £IR35,000 per annum and as he exceeds the income threshold for free government health insurance, he is annoyed that he has to purchase health insurance even though he pays tax and national social insurance contributions but is still not entitled to the benefits. He resents this.

Line AMULFT 6: I can’t complain about the company deal we’ve just done... we’re on 35 grand or more, sometimes, the tax system you know... they fuckin’ try to take as much as they can off you...
Line AMULFT 7: you have to take on VHI (private voluntary health insurance) as well, you know, in case you get sick or the kids get sick...
Line AMULFT 8: PRSI is so high, you get nothing, absolutely fuck all out of it...

He was a Catholic who was brought up to be diligent at work and ‘do his best’ yet he concedes

[would you say that you give everything to the job?]
Line AMULFT 9: don’t know whether you can say I give everything... no I don’t think so...
Line AMULFT 11: I think it’s the way I was brought up... a Catholic... y’know?...

The work commitment displayed by employees in other organisations falls well short of his own standard but he is quick to point out that he cannot comprehend the reason...
for this difference (Line AMULFT 12). On further reflection he concedes that other successful companies may also have workers with a similarly high level of commitment (Line AMULFT 13). He is the first individual to explicitly acknowledge that his labour was exploited when he was more inexperienced (Line AMULFT 14).

As the pressure of added family responsibilities became greater, job security became paramount and he then stopped agitating against the employer. A secure and safe job with low pay was better than a high paid but insecure one and this view echoes the argument of Lee (1989) that Irish workers prefer the possessor rather than the performance ethos.

[would you say that the Irish generally give everything they’ve got?]
Line AMULFT 12:no, I wouldn’t say it’s the norm outside...
Line AMULFT 13:don’t know why they are not like that really...I think the longer-term workers and successful companies, yeah maybe...
[when you reflect on your working life, what do you think?]
Line AMULFT 14:well, when I was younger I saw them exploiting my labour...
Line AMULFT 15:but as you get older you have more responsibilities...
Line AMULFT 16:you don’t look for the most rewards, you look for the most stability and the least risks... I don’t see everybody paying their fair share...
Line AMULFT 17:I see college education available for those outside the PAYE net...I don’t see them paying their fair share...

His main aim in life is to ‘be happy’ and does not see a specific correlation between wealth and happiness and so the role of wealth must be suspect.

[which is more important to you, to be rich or to be happy?]
Line CADCW 18:happier of course...
Line CADCW 19:if you’ve got problems...relationship problems, money can sometimes make them worse... one doesn’t depend on the other... as long as you have enough...
Line CADCW 20:you know, rich doesn’t depend on being happy, and happy doesn’t depend on being rich...You have to sort out the problem within yourself first...

The craftworker does not support the notion that a rich man cannot get into Heaven and so the status of being ‘rich’ or ‘poor’ does not adversely affect any spiritual outcome in the afterlife. Again we note the inclusion of the ‘enough’ measurement.

[do you think all this hard work goes towards anything, or is it all over when you die?]
Line AMULFT 21:I don’t think I’m fully committed to work, no...no... no I’m not fully committed, I don’t think so... don’t think that business about a rich man and Heaven comes into it...
Line AMULFT 22:Catholicism in Ireland is ‘à la carte’...
Line AMULFT 23:Ireland has to grow up to and do the right for right’s sake, not because the Church says it’s your civic or moral duty...
He implies that the moral authority and influence of the Catholic Church remains high since he accuses Irish society of still choosing particular paths of action on the basis of Church directives or exhortations. The Social Partnership consensus approach is acknowledged as having had a positive impact on the country’s global competitiveness. He is also fully committed to local management/worker partnership negotiations in his company. The company’s competitiveness is assisted by an open management style and his visionary leadership has made an important contribution to the acceptance by his members of a more strategic long term view, necessary for the future viability of the company. This willingness of craftworkers to support the capitalist system will be a feature of the analysis presented in Part 3.

Line AMULFT 25: the EU investment has been wisely spent, I think, and so we should be able to compete on our own terms...
[what is the quality/strength of the workforce that contributes to profitability?]
Line AMULFT 26: the workforce I think is just the normal run of the mill one... There is good rapport with most groups...
Line AMULFT 27: in normal circumstances, there isn’t a stand-off, you know, they’re not stand-offish, management to workers...
Line AMULFT 28: at the moment, you probably know about this deal, it’s causing some problems, people are worried, production workers don’t like it, they think we’ve done well, and they haven’t... so it’s a difficult time...
[what is your strength, both as a maintenance fitter and a shop steward?]
Line AMULFT 29: I’m good at my job, you know I’m technically good... and I also get on well with people, I think they’re the two strengths that I have...
Line AMULFT 30: as a shop steward, I’m not confrontational, I try to get an overview...
Line AMULFT 31: I try to solve the problems, the job of shop steward is to solve problems... so I’m diligent in doing groundwork, you have to be...

As the interview progresses, he points out a weakness in the company’s strategy which is a common feature of most Irish subsidiaries of foreign multi-nationals based in Ireland namely, the lack of R & D investment. The company requires new products and both the capital and human resources are under utilised although the viability of producing it’s main product line ‘Y’ in Dublin seems assured in the short term at least.

Line AMULFT 32: and I can articulate the problem... but there is one problem here...
Line AMULFT 33: you know we need research and development here... we badly need new products...
Line AMULFT 34: the ‘A’ product you know is the most important... we export it all... that’s most important... and I think it’s okay... but if anything was to go wrong we’d be all fucked...
He believes in a more comprehensive enforcement of the partnership approach [by management] something that is a feature of other successful Tiger economies such as Singapore (AMULFT 35).

Line CADCW 35: I'm a firm believer in the partnership thing, but certain managers in this place leave a lot to be desired...they haven't made things better... there's a minority on both sides I'd have to say that try to disturb things...I was tellin' you about Singapore...I bet they all pull in the one direction... [probably]...

Line AMULFT 36: you know what motivates people depends on the job you're doing...you have to feel a sense of worth... most people in here take great pride in doing even the most menial tasks, others are just the opposite...

His final comment is that the majority of the AMUL workforce are very committed to their work in spite of the menial status of some operative work while acknowledging that there are some who do not feel this sense of worth through their work.

Craftworker 2

Craftworker '2 classifies himself as an 'Intermediate Catholic'. He expresses his satisfaction with his personal circumstances and he provides a description of the 'enough' measurement very early in the interview.

[what kind of lifestyle do you have?]
Line AMULEL 1: I have a good lifestyle... we're on 35 grand y'know, and we have bonuses and shares as well... my family have grown up... some are working, and one is just finishing his Leaving Cert... [Leaving Certificate State Examination for end of senior cycle secondary education]...
Line AMULEL 2: I have a car, a holiday, me few jars [drinks]...
Line AMULEL 3: the house is practically paid for...
Line AMULEL 4: I have anything within reason, really....
[what kind of lifestyle would you like to have?]
Line AMULEL 5: nothing in particular, really... no, I'm happy enough with things...

All of the above has been achieved without giving 100% effort. He describes the psychological contract or 'deal' he has internalised between his family and AMUL.

[would you say you give everything you've got to the job?]
Line AMULEL 6: no...
Line AMULEL 7: I make a good effort...
Line AMULEL 8: no... I give 100% more to family than to AMUL's... even though that's not always possible... but I think I'm changing...
Line AMULEL 9: remember I told you I had a problem with 'X' (family member)?... Yeah... well... I chose a compromise... I chose a compromise... I took a half day to go to the doctor with him this morning, and now I'm seeing you this afternoon... and then going straight back to the plant...
Not only do other workers adopt the same approach but the company, only requires a 'good' or 'enough' effort from each employee.

[would you say the Irish generally give everything they've got to their work?]

Line AMULEL 10: In general they would have the same approach as myself...

Line AMULEL 11: Irish workers abroad are more concerned about getting on... they have to put in a real hard effort to get on...

Line AMULEL 12: it's more relaxed here, you only have to put in a good effort... that's all...

This is an interesting observation as the implied standard required by the company is less than 100% work commitment, and is precisely the one expressed by the executive in BMUL. He notes also that the effort demanded by companies in other countries is much greater than that required in Ireland. Furthermore, staff are purchasing Additional Voluntary Contributions or AVCs in order to retire earlier to enjoy life and at the same standard of living that they would have enjoyed if they had remained working.

[when you reflect on your working life, what do you think?]

Line AMULEL 13: generally speaking, it has been a good experience...

Line AMULEL 14: the trend now, here, is to finish work earlier... Pensions [dept] are inundated with people to get out at 55... they have this guy, he is the pensions liaison officer and it's his job to answer all questions and make decisions about their pension and their future... and every day you'll see people talking to him about getting out... what do I need?... how many AVC's will I need?... He can't cope with the amount of questions he's getting...

Line AMULEL 15: I probably feel the same myself... didn't, though, 10 years ago...

Line AMULEL 16: I've seen people work till 65 and they haven't lasted too long after that...

Line AMULEL 17: the quality of life... I would hope to retire at 57, maybe earlier, and enjoy life... I think I'll be near enough to the standard of living I have now, and I'll be able to enjoy life... get out and enjoy life... that's what's important...

He has also changed his attitude to working up to the official retirement age of sixty five, since he notes that many people don't survive too long after they retire at that age. He wants to enjoy life before his dies, hence the demand for the early retirement and the need for AVC's.

Line AMULEL 18: there are 38 'sparks' (electricians) in here... the younger guys now tend to retire early...

Line AMULEL 19: I think people want to enjoy life more... more time to relax, play golf, y'know... do whatever they want... It's the complete opposite to years ago... y'know everyone then was going up to personnel looking for extensions to stay on... that was the norm then...
The affluence of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ now makes it possible to stop working much earlier. While he could be classified as rich in comparison to many others in Irish society (Line AMULEL 22) he observes the relative uselessness of money.

[which is more important to you, to be rich or to be happy?]
Line AMULEL 22: From my experience anyway, all the money in the world, what good is it to you? ‘I’d say I’m comparatively rich from some people’s point of view’... yeah... I could be rich...

His views on the afterlife are clear and unambiguous. He regards work as almost irrelevant to secure the afterlife and states like many other respondents that the practice of charity and generosity is much more important.

[do you think all this hard work goes towards anything, or is it all over when you die?]
Line AMULEL 23: well I think there’s a better life when you die... I believe... yes... I believe in an afterlife... a Heaven if you like...
Line AMULEL 24: work could help achieve this, but I think in the main, treating other people properly is the main thing... being good to people... so work, in that sense does not necessarily work!... people who have not worked... it affects them negatively alright... not able to cope, y know... the ’70’s really knocked the stuffing out of them... they found it hard to relate to others... y know?... so work can actually screw you up if you don’t have it... but as for anything to do with Heaven... no... nothing... nothing at all...

He contends that he contributed to the profitability of the company due to the quality of his union leadership and this has ensured the ‘good life’ for himself and his colleagues.

[what quality/strength of the workforce do you think contributes to profitability?]
Line CADELEC 25: people are always happy to work, and if they’re not happy you don’t get the productivity... so I think they’re happy here...
Line CADELEC 26: some are unhappy on the floor... production are unhappy, they feel hard-done-by... the biggest problem is disgruntled workers... 12 months when maintenance went out onto a new deal, there were people putting obstacles, didn’t want us to have a new deal...
Line AMULEL 27: my contribution? I would say was organising the electrical craftsmen... y know the fitter now can take an electrical motor apart, and I say to them ‘ look, it’s not a big deal, how many times in a week will he have to do that?’... The fitter will never know the core job of an electrician, he hasn’t grown up with it... You know they call us a confectionery craftsperson, not an electrician, mechanic or fitter or anything like it... we need to do these things to make us competitive... so, I got the lads to agree to it, and it’s been good for us... we have it handy now... real handy...

His focus on this life is always mediated by his concern to secure the afterlife.

The Secretary

Ms. ‘Z’ likes her work but she tries to leave the job behind her at 5.00 p.m. each day.

[what kind of lifestyle do you have?]
Line AMULSEC 1: I have a good lifestyle...
Line AMULSEC 2: yeah, I play golf... good social scene mix... good social mix...
Line AMULSEC 3: I like work, but I definitely try to leave every day at five...
She is happy with her present lifestyle.

[what kind of lifestyle would you like to have?]
Line AMULSEC 4: No debts!... You know, mortgage and all that...
Line AMULSEC 5: If I had no money worries... that's what I'd really like...
Line AMULSEC 6: I can't crib though...
Line AMULSEC 8: I'm happy with my lot... I have enough...

Not having debts would improve her lifestyle (Line AMULSEC 4-5) while she confirms that she does not see a link between money and happiness (Line AMULSEC 8) and states that her work effort is less than total.

[would you say you give everything you've got to the job?]
Line AMULSEC 9: well, when I'm here I'm sure I hold back some energy for myself...
Line AMULSEC 10: At my stage in life, I'm not going to be an MD, so I give it my best shot... I strive to do a good day's work... but that's it!...

She describes two approaches to work in the company.

[would you say the Irish generally give everything they've got to their work?]
Line AMULSEC 11: Being honest, there's a group of people who are now very career orientated... the young crew out of college...
Line AMULSEC 12: there seems to be two very distinct types nowadays... the first don't seem to have much education, don't really care about work, and don't want much out of life... the second have education, and they go for it...
Line AMULSEC 13: those with a lack of education don't seem to worry too much... they have a couldn't-care-less attitude to things...
Line AMULSEC 14: the first group are very conscious that they are ambitious, and gobble up everything... to gain the experience and take whatever goes with it...

The position of the 1st group is precarious in AMUL since even with a Leaving Certificate there is a limit to the level of promotion possible, a 'glass ceiling' operates although nobody openly admits to it. Only graduates can rise above this invisible barrier.

Line AMULSEC 16: they're hot stuff, and companies will pay to get them... years ago a Leaving Cert was good enough, but not any more... you won't get anywhere with just a Leaving Cert... There's a glass ceiling for anyone with just a Leaving Cert...

She knows that work is important and that it has some intrinsic value.

[when you reflect on your working life, what do you think?]
Line AMULSEC 17: I like working... I've enjoyed it... although I've had some bad days... had my head eaten off...
Line AMULSEC 18: It's all part of life so I just get on with it... I don't really reflect... just get on with it...

Affluence does not guarantee her main objective of peace of mind, so she does not have a high regard for money or property (Line AMULSEC 20). The need to be
charitable to others to achieve the afterlife takes precedence over the value of working hard. As a consequence her conscience is clear when she slacks on some days (Line AMULSEC 22) since she has reciprocated in proportion to the amount that the company has given to her. She emphasises that she has a definite cut off point in relation to work i.e. each evening and the weekends (Line AMULSEC 23).

[which is more important to you, to be rich or to be happy?]
Line AMULSEC 19: happy... why?... just brings contentment... peace of mind... and peace of heart...
Line AMULSEC 20: money doesn’t suggest that it can bring that... I could have a fortune and still not be happy...
[do you think all your hard work goes towards anything, or is it all over when you die?] 
Line AMULSEC 21: when I get older, you get to a stage where you take stock... opportunities are not suitable for you then... so what I’ve done is, I work from 9 to 5, and the evenings and weekends I have to myself... I was never lazy...
Line AMULSEC 22: I’ve worked here most of my life... I’ve contributed, I’ve done what I’ve been asked to do... the company has given me a reasonable lifestyle...
Line AMULSEC 23: I have a clear conscience, out of the 99 days available I would work quite well...
Line AMULSEC 24: I believe in an afterlife...
Line AMULSEC 25: your body dies, but your spirit lives on... there’s something there alright...
Line AMULSEC 26: hard work does not affect this...
Line AMULSEC 27: it’s how you live your life that counts...
Line AMULSEC 28: As I said before I am a Catholic, being decent to people, treat people well... though I don’t know if work will help you into Heaven...
Line AMULSEC 29: I don’t think it’s to do with your work ethic... No... I don’t think you’ll be judged on that...
Line AMULSEC 30: I do think you’ll be judged on how you treat people... I pray at Mass... I’m not a devout Catholic... I’m a Christian and there’s definitely a next life alright... so you’ve got to be charitable...

It is not surprising that given her intermediate Catholic status she emphasises the central role of charity rather than work in achieving Heaven.

AMUL Process Technologist

While Ms. ‘A’ is ‘happy’ with her lifestyle and has a good salary, she points out that although the day and evening shifts are fine, the night shift is interfering with her personal life.

[what kind of lifestyle do you have?] 
Line AMULPT 1: I’m quite happy with my lifestyle...
Line AMULPT 2: AMUL pays quite well...
Line AMULPT 3: I work a three-shift pattern and this has a direct effect on my personal life...
Line AMULPT 4: I enjoy working two shifts but nights don’t suit, they definitely don’t suit me...
Line AMULPT 5: It’s the type of job I can switch off at the end of the day when I walk out... not like the production managers...
[what kind of lifestyle would you like to have?]
Line AMULPT 6: I would like more money and no night shift...
The Accidental Tiger - Part 2: The Research

Line AMULPT 7: a lot of changes are going to happen in the lab... so I'm assessing my career really... I would be looking for promotion... okay it's a condition of employment, this shift business, nothing really to do with AMUL...

At the end of each shift she can “switch off” and go home and she regards this as an advantage particularly when compared to the production managers (Line AMULPT 5) who are on call throughout the night. Like many other respondents she would like more money and no shift work but nevertheless, she states

Line AMULPT 8: I take pride in my work and I want to get on... I want to be seen to be capable...

Yet she is guilty about ‘switching off’ and attempts to justify her strong work ethic which focuses primarily on achievement.

[would you say that you give everything you've got to the job?]
Line AMULPT 9: I leave AMUL behind me at the end of each day... it sounds very selfish... it's a Catholic thing... why do you feel it's selfish I ask?... you're being paid to do a job... it's not that selfish to get on and do a good job... I only go to Mass when I can and I don't feel guilty about that... so I don't know why I feel that about work...
Line AMULPT 10: I don't think it's possible to give 100% all the time...
Line AMULPT 11: work is not the most important thing by any means...
Line AMULPT 12: work is a means to an end... it gives an improved quality of life...

She argues that Irish society adopts a similar approach and in particular she states that there are much more important preferences than work. She identifies the instrumental character of work defining it as a means to an end.

[would you say the Irish generally give everything to their work?]
Line AMULPT 13: I think Irish Society is just the same...
Line AMULPT 14: the job is just a source of income...
Line AMULPT 15: the price of a job, may not be worth it...
Line AMULPT 16: any job is not better than having no job... but I do feel employers are taking advantage of labour...

Unlike the Protestant Minister who argued that

Line COI 35: I still think that it important to have a crap job than none...

she is closer to the Catholic position as pointed out by the Cardinal’s representative, who contended that having any job wasn’t necessarily more preferable than having no job (Line AR 28). She also notes that employers are exploiting workers (Line AMULPT 16) and she refuses to plan to work ‘right into the future’. On the contrary she intends to secure a good lifestyle for herself.
[when you reflect on your working life, what do you think?]
Line AMULPT 17: you have to work, unless you win the Lotto, but this night shift is a real problem...
Line AMULPT 18: I don't see myself working right into the future...
Line AMULPT 19: a lifestyle is much more important...
Line AMULPT 20: I'm content... you know the dole isn't bloody easy... I was on the dole and it's very frustrating...
Line AMULPT 21: the primary reason I work is for the money...
[which is more important to you, to be rich or to be happy?]
Line AMULPT 22: to be happy...
Line AMULPT 23: I've met rich people who are very unhappy, they have everything and are not genuinely content... being rich does not solve all other problems...

Part of her reason for focussing on a good lifestyle rather than on work is her conviction that wealth can cause unhappiness and she outlines her Catholic and anti-acquisitive ethos as follows.

[do you think all this hard work goes towards anything, or is it all over when you die?]
Line AMULPT 24: If you spent your time accumulating, you may be missing out on things you might enjoy... you know if you work hard you can miss out on things... work does not get you into Heaven... honesty and basically not consciously hurting others, that's what counts... it's not a vocation, work... it may be a big part of your life... but a vocation it ain't... not for me anyway!...

When Catholic charity infuses daily life the after life is almost is guaranteed. As she is also determined to secure a good lifestyle she must, therefore, focus on this life.

The Production Operative

Mr. 'B' is a long serving employee of AMUL. The now often mentioned measurement of 'enough' can be observed in the opening section of his narrative where he describes the material benchmarks of a 'good lifestyle' i.e. a house, a car and holidays (Line AMULPO 3).

[what kind of lifestyle do you have?]
Line AMULPO 1: I have an enjoyable lifestyle...
Line AMULPO 2: I'm married since 1961 and I have three children and two grandchildren...
Line AMULPO 3: I have enough for a house, a car, and I go off on holidays, and I'm happy with my lifestyle...
Line AMULPO 4: I'm not too far away from retirement... I've been lucky enough all the same...
[what kind of lifestyle would you like to have?]
Line AMULPO 5: wouldn't mind winning the Lotto...
[would you say you give everything you've got to the job?]
Line AMULPO 6: I've been a shop steward since 1973...
Line AMULPO 7: you give what you can if it makes it easier on you...
Line AMULPO 8: It's a policy with most people to give 100%... the odd one skives off... and they get away with it... that's what makes it difficult to give 100%...
[would you say the Irish generally give everything they've got to their work?]
Line AMULPO 9: no, I couldn't say that... I'll give you an instance... I went to the shop... people are very slow in those shops, they're very rude as well...
Line AMULPO 10: I don't know why they're like that...
He notes that most workers in AMUL give 100% but that some ‘skive’ off and this makes it difficult to be self motivated to work harder. In other words the ability and success of the ‘stroker’ employee only succeeds in de-motivating those who work diligently. This feature of Irish society was noted by some commentators in chapter 3 as being one of the main reasons for poor economic development in Ireland. Most Irish workers lack the higher commitment that is required in today’s competitive environment. He alerts us to his intention to retire early and ‘enjoy’ his retirement. His objective is to have ‘enough’ and thereby secure a balance between happiness and wealth.

He then points out that achieving this balance can be difficult, and in particular, becoming wealthy is not permissible if and when the Spirit of Charity is violated. He notes the hypocrisy of some Irish Catholic businessmen who have secured wealth through cheating and points out that as a result the poor suffer.

He strongly believes in the afterlife since it where his father went and his more recently deceased mother. Being lazy in work makes absolutely no difference to your chances of getting into Heaven. Should charity become automatic, it probably remains the surest way to get to Heaven (Line AMULPO 22-23).
In order to do good one must also go to Mass each Sunday. Although he notices a reduction in the number of Church-goers he is confident that the level of Catholicism in Ireland remains high since his church is usually full for Mass each Sunday. This would confirm the findings from the religious survey data presented in chapter 1 of the thesis which showed the consistently high levels of Catholic belief and practice in Ireland during the ‘Celtic Tiger’ era.

The Training Instructor

The responses from Ms. ‘X’ are notable for their higher materialistic emphasis compared to other narratives in this Domain. Yet while she seeks material things she doesn’t accumulate but rather spends and ‘lives for today’.

[what kind of lifestyle do you have?]
Line AMULTI 1: I’m well travelled, very well travelled and I have every modern convenience except a PC... I don’t have a PC...
Line AMULTI 2: I’m street-wise and intelligent and I know exactly what I want in terms of material things...
Line AMULTI 3: Material things are important... I have them now, but I didn’t always have them... I had to work hard to get them...

Nevertheless, she expresses the same approach to work and the same emphasis on security of employment as many other respondents.

[what kind of lifestyle would you like to have?]
Line AMULTI 4: I’d like a bigger home...
Line AMULTI 5: and preferably not have to work anymore...
Line AMULTI 6: I left school at aged 14 and I’m now 42, so... 28 years, it’s a lifetime working and there are a lot of other things I’d like to do...
Line AMULTI 7: I’d like to be financially more secure... I don’t save, y’know I live for to-day... We had the options of getting some shares, y’know to invest in the company, but I took the money and went on holidays because I love to travel...
Line AMULTI 8: You know I still live at home... I’ve only a couple of grand in the bank... but I’ve really very little collateral...
Line AMULTI 9: I have to work to do the little things, the rest, well... it’s only a pipe dream...
[would you say you give everything to the job?]
Line AMULTI 10: No... no... no not committed 100%, no... no, tedium causes problems, y'know there has been a lot of changes with training over the years... taking 'personalisation' away...
Line AMULTI 11: You know, I feel it's harder to know people, y'know the new people...
Line AMULTI 12: Before this, two of us, two teachers, met them... initiated them, and then they were friends with us really... now they get one and a half hours in the office upstairs, they're met by somebody upstairs for an hour and a half, then they're put down to us then...
Line AMULTI 13: I hate the paperwork, y'know ever since that ISO 9000 came in to 'X' work area and 'Y' have it as well... it causes hassle... I'd say, to get back to your question, oh I'm working to 70%...
[would you say the Irish generally give everything to their work?]
Line AMULTI 14: some Irish people do, like bank and office people do... They're more dedicated and under pressure...
Line AMULTI 15: smaller groups can get lost in a large factory...

Despite her love of material things she too has a low commitment to her work and rates her own level of application at approximately 70% of her potential. She notes that some groups in Irish society are more dedicated to their job such as bank officials and office people and implies that factory workers are not similarly dedicated. Not only is Irish society working a little harder than it did previously, mainly because of the threat of competition, but a new type of worker is now at the forefront of this change i.e. the knowledge worker.

Line AMULTI 16: a lot of people here are here a long time... there's old knowledge they shouldn't have... there's a big mixture here, old knowledge and new knowledge, but I think there's more for doing the job now...
[when you reflect on your working life what do you think?]
Line AMULTI 17: I'm a machine worker, really....
Line AMULTI 18: there is little I'm taking home with me... what's it all about?... work, it means very little in technical terms...
[which is more important to you, to be rich or to be happy?]
Line AMULTI 19: I'd like to be happy and rich...
Line AMULTI 20: I'm not in a relationship, and material things make me happy...
Line AMULTI 21: In a relationship, there were more important things than material things...
Line AMULTI 22: but things didn't work out... it broke up... so I compensated closeness with material things...
[do you think all this hard work goes towards anything, or is it all over when you die?]
Line AMULTI 23: I don't believe in an afterlife... I was a Catholic... but I don't believe anymore...
Line AMULTI 24: I don't think people believe in that Roman Catholicism stuff... I think they're doing it for the satisfaction of the moment...
Line AMULTI 25: You know sometimes I feel I've cheated alright... sometimes I feel guilty... why can't I be the woman dedicated to the job?... Well, I like the good life... that's why...

She focusses on acquiring things as a substitute for the lack of a relationship yet work has little intrinsic meaning in her life. She remains unconvinced that some individuals really believe in Roman Catholicism because their behaviour is inconsistent with their beliefs. The role of conscience once again emerges when she expresses guilt at not
dedicating herself to her work and admits that satisfying her needs for the good life is paramount.

The Teleservices Agent

This is a relatively modern occupation in Ireland. Ms ‘X’ initially worked similar shift patterns to the more traditional ones such as those operating in AMUL (Line BMULTA 2). However since her promotion to senior technician she describes her circumstances as follows:

[Tell me what kind of lifestyle do you have?]
Line AOLTSR 1: I have a good lifestyle... I’m senior ‘Tech’ on the floor... that means I do the normal 8.00 to 4.30 shift... I used to work to 10.30... when I was a junior rep...
Line AOLTSR 2: When I was doin’ shift in the evening I use’n’t have [sic] a life... that happens when you get started here...
Line AOLTSR 3: I don’t work Saturdays... only junior people do that... Oh... I own my own car...
[what kind of lifestyle would you like to have?]
Line AOLTSR 4: Lots of money and not have to do anything... no work to do...
Line AOLTSR 5: I’d love to travel all around the world... wishful thinking... I think?...
[What is preventing you having this lifestyle?]
Line AOLTSR 6: money... education... if I had a degree then I would be closer to what I want... or if I could win the lottery [smiles]...
[Would you say that you give everything to the job?]
Line AOLTSR 7: No!... I’m bored... the average turnaround in my job is about a year it seems as if I’m here for ages...
Line AOLTSR 8: I just don’t do as much as I used to...
Line AOLTSR 9: I used to answer 50 mails {e-mails} now I answer about 20 to 30 calls at most...

Her goal is not to have to work but to have money. She reckons that she needs to get a degree since she already experiences bouts of boredom in her job. She states that most young Irish people and most of her colleagues concentrate on weekend activities and on their social life after office hours.

Line BMULTA 10: Young people in Ireland today think about what they will do after work and at the weekends... its like that for most people in here...
Line BMULTA 11: They give enough in my opinion to do the job properly and no more...

Noting that an interesting low paid job is probably better than a boring well paid one, work is not regarded as a high priority and she reckons that many do just ‘enough’ to satisfy their employer.

Line BMULTA 12: Still its something to do...
She observes from her own experiences that money and wealth are no substitute for being 'happy'. Believing in 'Heaven' she is certain that work has no role or function in preparing the individual for the afterlife.

[which is more important to be happy or rich?]
Line AOLTSE 14: Happy...I know what it is like to be unhappy and rich does not make you happy...not necessarily so!...

[Do you think that hard work goes towards anything when you die?]
Line AOLTSE 15: do you mean something after I die?...[yes]...I believe there is something afterwards...like a Heaven...I am a Catholic or at least I used to go to Mass and all that but not any more...but I still believe in a 'Heaven' and all that...
Line AOLTSE 16: I think everybody goes there...work does not have anything to do with it...how much you work means nothing...
Line AOLTSE 17: kindness to other people is what counts...working very hard has no influence...you can work very hard and be a total bitch...it won't help you a lot then...

Although she is a lapsed Catholic, she explains that the 'Spirit of Charity' is still her guiding life and work principle, the sure way to secure Heaven and is comforted in the knowledge that those who do not practice charity will not have much reason in the afterlife to celebrate their hard work in this one. There are advantages from working in the 'Celtic Tiger' when she points out that she recently bought her first car and then followed this up by a going on a holiday. So by those standards she is successful (BMULTA 18).

[do you see any advantages/disadvantages to this boom, the Celtic Tiger]
Line BMULTA 18: Well you have money to do things...like get my car and go on holidays...
Line BMULTA 19: I bought my first car and went on holidays...
Line BMULTA 20: On the downside they are always looking for highly qualified people you need a qualification if you want any sort of decent job...so if you don't have the qualification it's very demoralising...you can get sort of depressed...I don't have a high tech job...I only work in a high tech company...but really we only take 'phone calls...that's it really...not much is it?...though I would have to say that they are a very friendly bunch here...actually they are a highly intelligent bunch of people...the others find me very approachable...give me lots of questions I'm like the mother if people have problems...technical ones...you'd listen to them...

Yet she is unhappy with her job prospects and she identifies a myth concerning 'high tech' industries in Ireland i.e. most of these jobs only require low level of skills even though they need the Leaving Certificate to qualify for the job (BMUL19-20).
SUBSECTION 2

Farmers

In this next section, the contributions of five of Ireland’s most competitive farmers are presented.

Farmer ‘A’

[Tell me about a little about yourself...tell me how you got into farming]

Farm 1: I left school after the Inter Cert around 1978...and I didn’t see the point of doing the Leaving Cert unless I was going to third level...only three of four fellas in the class went on to do the Leaving...

Farm 2: I didn’t plan to enter farming...I wanted to be an electrician...I thought that I would get an apprenticeship in Bord na Mona [The Turf Board] but I didn’t get it...so I’d always worked on the farm while I was growing up so I went back to it for awhile...

Farm 3: It was a dairy farm at the time with 14 or 15 cows...for my dad it was a way of life...he didn’t breed cows he just operated with the livestock that he had...

Farm 4: I inherited this farm and kept it as a dairy farm until 1987...I didn’t see a future in dairying...I reduced the farm...used dry stock which isn’t labour intensive and I sold the fattened cows...

Farm 5: I went over to England and planned to stay for the summer and see how things went but ended up staying four years...

Farm 6: I have lots of experience like electrical and plumbing because small farmers have to multi-skilled but I’m not qualified...

Farm 7: I came back to Ireland in 1991 for a couple of reasons...there was no work in England because of the recession and my brother was getting married and leaving the farm...

Farm 8: I started suckling cows because I thought I could run the farm as well as subcontracting but I was doing neither right...so I had to make a choice...all my money had been put into the farm so I went with that...so I built up the stock...the Teagasc advisor (Agricultural Research & Advisory Board) said ‘get your stock numbers right and build your sheds’...it was good advice...now I have a herd of 30 with 15 quota rights...I wouldn’t make any profit without the subsidies because the sales price in the mart is only the same as my production costs...so I would say that I am a 100% farmer now...

Farmer ‘A’ recognises that as there is a lot of money to be made in the ‘Celtic Tiger’.

It reminds him of his time in England when he could earn substantial sums of money anywhere but in farming. Now again he questions the wisdom of remaining in agriculture (Line AFARM 11). He draws attention to the fact that he is actually better off producing less since he gets £50 per acre to farm less intensively.

[Describe your lifestyle]

Farm 9: It’s depressing...I’m getting deja-vu...the kind of money I used to make in England is around again...the kind of money I used to make in a week...I ask myself why am I farming?...I could be earning big money in Dublin...

[What's stopping you?]

Farm 11: I put so much into farming I can’t let it go just like that...I know it’ll have to change I’m looking at it...there’s more paperwork and regulations but I’m getting less money now...to give it up would mean bringing all the stock to market and selling it...farming is a business and it used to be a way of life...
Line AFARM 12: Factories never want the animal that you produce... Europe does not want our livestock... only an animal suitable for the continent will make money... you can't get a guaranteed price for your product... no other industry produces goods without having a market...

[Do you give everything to the job then?]?

Line AFARM 13: Mind and spirit?... [laughs]... the commitment is still there... you have to put in time whether you like it or not or else you're creating problems for yourself... financially speaking if your animals suffer you suffer [would you like to put in less effort for more result]?... YES!... actually I am financially better off producing less... I'm subsidised to reduce stock... with the R.E.P.S. [rural environmental protection scheme]. I'm in the R.E.P.S. I get a £50 per acre subsidy to be less intensive... it's easier on the land... I have to reduce farmyard pollution... condition the soil and do things like trim hedges... the land quality improves and the farmer ultimately gains...

He is convinced that farming is now a business and not a way of life and consequently the ethos within farming is to 'farm subsidies' i.e. get paid for not producing.

Line AFARM 14: There is a premium available for keeping below a give production level... I'm a borderline case... I'm farming at my maximum limit at present... now we're farming for subsidies rather than farming animals... you have to play the system... y'know?...

He contends that farmers, and dairy farmers in particular, must give 100% to farming or else there will be severe financial hardship. This contrasts with employees in large companies who can 'switch off' on Friday and remain 'switched off' until Monday morning (Line AFARM 18). There is a direct link between happiness and wealth i.e. you can only be rich if you are happy and not visa versa.

Line AFARM 15: The way farming has gone you have to be able to manage subsidies... there was no suckling before subsidies and now there's overstocking...

Line AFARM 16: The payment at the mart is for the quality of the animal... you'll only sell an animal that will be exported to the continent...

[do the Irish give everything to the job... from your experience?]

Line AFARM 17: Do you mean farmers?... [nod assent]... I'd say they would... most farmers are dairy farmers... anyone whose sticking in farming is giving it everything... it's easy to mess at it when things are good... farmers are self employed... anyone with their own business has to give 100% or they won't succeed... people working for big companies don't give 100%... they don't have to...

Line AFARM 18: In every profession some people just put in the hours and some work hard... nine to fivers can say 'goodbye' to the job on Friday evening... it's someone else's problem until Monday...

His measure of success is very similar to other respondents in our research namely, 'enough'.

[would you rather be rich or happy?]

Line AFARM 19: You'd have to be happy before you'd be rich... I don't think that it works the other way around... I'm not unhappy farming... there's a certain satisfaction in it... I'd like to be in a position to have enough money coming in like to take two holidays a year... I remember in England I spent money happily... I could spend £300 or £400 on something... happily knowing I could make it again the next week... here I only spend what I have to...

[are you trying to get rich?]

Line AFARM 20: I'd like to be rich to the extent that you don't have to think about how much you'll have at the end of the year... I have to keep asking myself do I need this or that... farm wise?... does it pay for itself?... I'd like not to have to ask those questions...
He acknowledges that in order to survive he must de-stock the farm to the minimum operating level and get a job in a factory for three days every week. His present standard of living could not be regarded as acceptable since he has ‘no extras or comforts’.

Line AFARM 21: ‘I’m going to have to get an off-farm income for two or three days a week... and downsize and de-stock the farm... I’m going to cut down my labour and have the farm operating at a minimum level... I like to get rich to give us choices... we have no mortgage but we have no extras or comforts either... you pay for it in other ways... we’re operating on a tight budget but we’re not in debt...

‘A’ believes in the afterlife and goes to Mass ‘the odd time’. He is fairly certain that work has no value in relation to the afterlife and there are circumstances where ‘fiddling’ the dole is acceptable. In this respect he is close to the positions expressed by the Protestant Minister, the Catholic Archbishop and the Islamic leader. Also his reference not to hurt nor to ‘do’ any individual is an expression of the ‘Spirit of Charity’. He acknowledges the subconscious influence of his faith on his daily life.

Line AFARM 22: ‘I believe in an afterlife... a Heaven... there is something alright... I don’t think work has a bearing on the next life... it’s how you treat people in this life that counts... I wouldn’t go out to rob someone... I wouldn’t have it in my head to do someone a bad turn... working hard doesn’t make you a better person... its just a particular job would require it... I never looked at them together... work and religion... I wouldn’t do [hurt] someone... I wouldn’t add on to the price... I just want to be paid for my time...

[let’s take for instance someone on the dole who could work but isn’t... would it affect his chances of getting to the next life?]

Line AFARM 23: ‘I wouldn’t associate work with the next life... but I wouldn’t think a fella that drew the dole and worked on the black economy and gave the money to his wife and family... I wouldn’t think that was dishonest... I’d see him as doing the best he could for his family... it would be different if he spent the weekend gargling [drinking for the sake of it] in the pub...

Line AFARM 24: ‘I’m not consciously thinking of the next life on a daily basis but I’m subconsciously living the Catholic morals that my parents are giving me... rules have been instilled... I’m living to a code... a Catholic code that been given to me... the way that I live this one affects my chances of getting into the next one... I don’t look too far ahead though...

He dismisses the reality of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ and admits that he cannot understand the process which maintains it.

Line AFARM 29: ‘We didn’t get there by ourselves... we have the ability but we couldn’t do it alone... we had EU money and American investment and I don’t know what’s keeping it going... I don’t feel part of the Celtic Tiger... I’d love to know what keeping it here...

He also exposes the apparent contradiction whereby Irish farmers are demanding subsidies in the ‘fastest growing economy of the world’. This is symptomatic of the
behaviour of many Irish individuals who do not forego immediate gratification and who adopt a ‘spend now pay later’ approach to life i.e. don’t work hard for goods and services.

**Farmer ‘B’**

This farmer provides some biographical information at the beginning of the interview.

[tell me a little bit about yourself]

Line BFARM 1: Well, the family was originally from Kerry, [south west of Ireland] where we had a small farm.... Then in the 60’s we moved to Meath to this farm here, y’know...it’s a Land Commission Farm [redistribution of those living on congested land in the West of Ireland to confiscated ranches in Co. Kildare and Co. Meath in the east of the country under the powers of the Congested Districts Board and the Land Act of 1923, the scheme stopped in the 1970s]

Line BFARM 2: I spent 1 year at agricultural college after I finished my Leaving Cert... I’d consider myself typical of the farmers in this area...

[what sort of lifestyle do you have?]

Line BFARM 4: I put myself under pressure really to do things very well...I’m the sort of fella to see that things actually get done the correct way, so the day can be very long and the lifestyle is really disciplined...

Line BFARM 5: I work very hard and I work long hours, ...

He declares that he is disciplined because his parents before him were disciplined farmers and contends that he is happy ‘enough’ with his life at the moment.

[what sort of lifestyle would you like to have?]

Line DFARM 7: I’m happy enough with my lifestyle, can’t really stay out late on Saturday night though, so I could say it’s a disciplined, but enjoyable, lifestyle...[where do you think you got the discipline?]...well, my parents...the fact that it was a dairy farm...cows have to be milked and so I was living on a farm where things were done...well, you accepted it, you just accepted it...

In spite of his disciplined approach he rarely fails to set aside time to relax.

[Do you give everything to the job?]

Line BFARM 9: No...I hold something back in reserve...I could easily spend 20 hours a day working on a dairy farm...I used to play Gaelic football a lot,...I always left time aside for that...now I’m married I can’t afford to spend 18 hours a day and come back in and then everyone is gone to bed...I’m conscious of that....I’m conscious that I’m holding back....I don’t feel that farming, or any job, is worth that...

Line BFARM 10: You can’t be completely engrossed in it...

Noting that he would be representative of other farmers in the locality, he is confident to assert that most do not totally commit themselves to their work (Line BFARM 11) and are happy with ‘enough’.

Line BFARM 12: It’s a sense of pride...satisfaction that you did things well, and financially, well you’re financially secure...have enough really...

Farmer ‘B’ who is classified as a Core Catholic (number 3) makes a connection between wealth and unhappiness like many of the other respondents.
[which is more important to you, to be rich or to be happy?]

Line BFARM 14: Well rich doesn’t come into my reckoning, y’know plenty of money to slash around. I don’t have that sort of money, it’s about trying to get a balance in your life...happy and content, but still working hard...as I said before, doing things well is fairly important...wealth?...well...realistically wealth is a consideration, but that’s all it is,

He states that there is no connection between work and the afterlife and contends that luck is a particularly powerful influence on his life placing it before religion in spite of the fact that he goes to Mass and says occasional prayers. This is because nature is unpredictable and can have serious consequence for his livelihood.

[do you think all your hard work goes towards anything, then, or is it all over when you die?]

Line BFARM 15: do you mean an Afterlife?...[yes]...I’m more inclined to believe that there isn’t...there’s a very narrow line about being on top and disaster, life is very much about luck...

Line BFARM 16: I go to Mass alright, and say the occasional prayers...I go to Mass and all that...life...luck is attached to it...so I wouldn’t be putting as much store in religion...work is for this life, the commitment to work, it’s for now, for your present day...I don’t think there’s any connection between work and religion...

As the country become more wealthy he notices that more people are becoming more unhappy.

Farmer ‘C’

He starts by describing his present circumstances.

[tell me a little bit about yourself]

Line CFARM 1: Well, I love farming...I love the challenge of animals...I do my own breeding...do my own AI, y’know, I’m only beginning to learn about nutrition now...

Line CFARM 2: my lifestyle, well it’s practically non-existent...I’ve no holidays, only the odd weekend. The last two-week holiday I had was about 15 years ago...The farm wasn’t self sufficient when I got it...I spent a lot of money at the beginning and it has restricted my lifestyle, y’know the heavy borrowing, but it keeps me on the straight and narrow [laughs]...

He considers himself to be a small farmer and reckons that he needs a holiday but because he is reluctant to borrow for the holiday he will have to forego it. (Line CFARM 3).

[what sort of lifestyle would you like to have?]

Line CFARM 6: a two-week holiday and a weekend off once a month...even every two months...at the moment I work seven days a week, all year round...I’ve a 17 year old son studying for his Leaving Cert, who takes over from me on the odd Sunday...

Since he has no labourers working for him he regards himself as ‘a non stop one man show’ (Line CFARM 8) but he also recognises that he will need to change because he will be ‘burnt out’ in five years time (Line CFARM 11).
[what is preventing you from having this lifestyle?]
Line CFARM 10: cash flow, I'd say... yet that could be an excuse, I could be in a rut, and have taken on too much too fast...
Line CFARM 11: my lifestyle is more or less as I want it... but it HAS to change... otherwise I'll be burnt out in 5 years...
Line CFARM 12: it's the loneliest life a man could live... apart from a priest... only for 'Y' (wife) comes up the odd time to talk to me...
Line CFARM 13: the tax system is wrong... I'm not being justly paid for the effort I put in... I'm being penalised for the time I spend working...
Line CFARM 14: My brothers come home on a Friday evening, they're off until Monday... that's it...
Line CFARM 15: I take a few drinks [with his brothers at the weekend]... it's my saviour...

Although he gives everything to the job he nevertheless, has strong words about the majority of those who work outside of farming noting that there is wholesale abuse of the social welfare system.

[would you say you give everything you've got to the job?]
Line CFARM 17: yes... otherwise I'd get out!...
[would you say the Irish generally give everything they've got to their work?]
Line CFARM 18: No... Every job carries men... It's sad a union backs that sort of person... They should be on the dole, and fellas who want a job would get one... well, 'generally' could be a bit strong... begrudgery stops people... it's an awful habit... sick leave is abused and fellas not sick at all... getting a cert from the doctor... the whole system is wrong...

As already noted both the Archbishop's representative and the Church of Ireland Minister stated that this type of behaviour may be legitimate depending on the circumstances. He is confident that working hard does not make you a better person and with some amusement he states

Line CFARM 19: Fair play to the fella who makes more money for less work!...
[which is more important to you, to be rich or to be happy?]
Line CFARM 20: Happy, without a doubt!... I never had money, y'know cash flow, but I've always been happy... I don't know if it's the woman I married, the kids, the animals... I've yet to come in that gate and say I want to get out of this... I still get something out of what I'm doing... [so what's driving you, then?]... the Teagasc advisors, they helped me set targets, the fella at the moment is very good, some are better than others... reaching these targets is a thrill!...
Line CFARM 21: then farming moves on... and you have to set another target... I get a buzz... I bought this cow in calf, and I've been watching the calf for two and a half years... I couldn't wait to get her into the parlour (milking)... I've waited two and a half years, and she went in this morning and gave milk... she's a star!...
Line CFARM 22: 48 acres won't bring in money, so you have to go for the next best thing... achievement!

He is a Core Catholic and goes to Mass regularly (number 3). He strongly believes in Heaven, maintaining that after nine years since his death, his father is still around the farm and 'C' is clear on how to get to Heaven i.e. through the practice of Christian

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charity to others. He quotes his father’s motto which is a variation of the Christian maxim to ‘love they neighbour as thy self’.

[I see a lot of holy pictures on the wall there....and I’m familiar with them because I’m a Catholic myself...there’s a St. Martin de Porres...there!...yeah, on the calendar there, I think...well then do you think all this hard work goes towards anything, or is it all over when you die?] Line CFARM 23:yeah, I think there’s something afterwards but I don’t know what it is...my father is dead nine years, but he’s still around...
Line CFARM 24:he had a saying...eh...“don’t do to others what you wouldn’t do to yourself”...I wouldn’t rob anyone....my angle grinder was taken from my shed, three fella were seen walking down the road, and I’ve a fair idea of who they were, you can’t accuse them of course...I’d like to gut them!...
Line CFARM 25: I would say life, not necessarily work has a bearing on the other side...that sounds like you could get away with it, like the thief on the cross [at the crucifixtion of Christ on Calvary] who said the right words at the last minute, and got in [to Heaven]...Line CFARM 26:I’m not working hard because I want to, but I have to...I’m happy with my 50 cows, but it’s the fuckin’ workload that comes with it...I go to 11 o’clock Mass every Sunday and I’m proud to say it!...I get something out of the Mass...

He sees work as a punishment in this life. Because of his circumstances he regards the Celtic Tiger as a ‘con job’ on the small farmer, since 80% of the subsidies are given to the top 20% of farmers (Line CFARM 28). Not only are the rich getting richer but Irish society now seems to favour those that are wealthy and those that actually gave everything for the country such as his aged mother are now left with the bare minimum of a pension.

Line CFARM 31:The Celtic Tiger has done a fierce injustice to those who can’t help themselves...we’re not looking after those who need us...the old and the sick, yeah...
Line CFARM 32:Me mother, gets £65 a week...where for the love and honour of God would you go with it?...She was one who worked all her life...her generation kept this country going, and now they’re getting nothing in their hour of need...
Line CFARM 33:We’re getting greedier...we’re forgetting about people...the big talk to-day is about New Year’s Eve [The Millennium]...babysitters being offered and turning down £300 for a night, good fuck!...excuse the language...

On reflection he ponders that he may have been too hasty in saying what he did but nevertheless, the trend is in that direction.

Farmer ‘D’ – Farmer of the Year

He explains how he became successful in farming

Line DFARM 1:Well, in 1978 I formed a partnership with my oldest brother who had inherited the farm...
DFARM 5:I was young and inexperienced at the time, and all the advice coming from ACOT (now Teagasc) was to specialise, specialise...i.e. only beef, or only dairy...meanwhile, I got married in 1984 and bought a site a mile away from the family farm...There was a great summer that year, and I got
good hay and sold it for a good cash price... that was the first year I ever got a tax bill... by 1989 I had cleared all my loans and myself and Mary bought our own farm here...

Line DFARM 6: farming is just in your blood...

Line DFARM 7: we bought 75 acres from Mary’s aunt... it meant selling our lovely new house, and breaking the partnership with my brother... but it was a good time to do it... I moved everything in one day to Kildare... 30 miles up the road... I brought all the herd with me as it was mine, and my brother kept the farm which was now well developed and thriving...

Line DFARM 8: However, I couldn’t produce milk as I had no quota... it belongs to the farm rather than the person, so I leased land and quota from my brother to get started... but I brought my sugar beet quota with me, as it belongs to Greencore (formerly Irish Sugar Co.) rather than the actual farm... the land we bought was previously in tillage and beef, so it needed a new silage pit, slatted shed, parlour etc. to change over... I sold 30 surplus cows to fund this... my brother took all the males as I didn’t need them for dairying...

He and his wife are also very active locally where he is a member of the parish council and his wife is on the board of management. She is also the Tánaiste’s nominee on the Executive of the Rural Women’s Group.

[how would you describe your lifestyle?]

DFARM 9: busy... we both (myself and my wife) work well under pressure... we need a goal to work towards... I couldn’t just be a farmer... but you can’t dwell on the negative... I have a good lifestyle, I enjoy what I do...

DFARM 10: I have other interests outside farming of course... I am involved with the GAA (Gaelic Athletic Association) and I train the under-10’s in hurling... [game played with a long stick and a leather ball]... and football on a Saturday morning... I am on the parish council and we are both very active in the local community... Mary teaches full time as well you know, she is on the board of management of the school, and she is also the Tánaiste’s (Mary Harney) nominee on the executive of the local Rural Women’s Group...

[would you say you give everything to the job?]

DFARM 11: yes... 100%... You have to do it right, there’s only two ways to do things, wrong or right... in fact, we’re both perfectionists...

Line DFARM 12: when we started our B&B in 1992, we went for Bord Fáilte [Irish Tourist Board] approval immediately... wouldn’t start without it... By 1993 we had seen the wisdom of getting into agrotourism so we got a contract with CIE [Irish Transport Company] to host bus tours of Americans... In 1996 we won the Leinster Region of “Family Farm of the Year”... we actually doubled our throughput in the B&B between 1992 and 1996... Do you know that when it peaked, we took in 2,000 on the buses and 1,400 in the B&B over a seven month period?... We now have 2 full-time and 1 part-time staff in the B&B...

Line DFARM 13: We’re always looking for goals... we’re building on an extra four bedrooms at the moment, and we’ve got a contract for 4-night stays with Irish Ferries... I myself network with the local B&B’s and pass on the overflow of clients to them... this year, 1999, we’ve won the Leinster award for ‘B&B of the Year’ and we’re in for the national award for “Family Farm of the Year”.

He states that he is rich and successful because of hard work.

Line DFARM 16: Well, I left school with two empty pockets, and today I have an asset base worth over a million pounds...

But he remains pragmatic stating that he cannot take it with him when he dies. He also notes that many Irish individuals have a pretty lax approach to work which is quite different from his approach. He insists that he has more than enough to keep...
him comfortable for the rest of his life (Line DFARM 17) yet at a recent funeral of a friend he was unable to define the purpose and meaning for all his wealth (Line DFARM 17). A key motivation for him is that he will pass on his business to his sons (Line DFARM 16). Being a Core Catholic he sees work as a ‘punishment’ for this life and is convinced that by being ‘charitable to others’ he will almost guarantee himself a place in Heaven. Hard work has no relevance whatsoever in securing Heaven.

[what’s the point of it all?]

DFARM 16: Well, I left school with two empty pockets, and to-day I have an asset base worth over 1 million pounds...not through all my own work of course...the point is to have a sense of achievement...and leave something good for my two sons...I had a hard childhood, but I always said I would make it...

DFARM 17: I know where I came from...and I appreciate what I’ve got...I’ve more than enough to keep me comfortable for the rest of my life...I worked for it...I’d like to leave land for my sons, I can’t take it with me...I’d like to retire at 55 and do some travelling or something like that...even have a weekend away...it’s a dream at the moment...just say you’ve lived 13,872 days by the time you’re 42 years of age...it’s all about time, isn’t it...it’s a state of mind...a friend of mine died yesterday, only 38 years old...it’s times like that you ask yourself what’s it all for?...

Line DFARM 18: I believe there’s a Heaven and a God and a thereafter...but I don’t know what they’re like...and I believe you should have a purpose, you know like earn by the sweat of your brow...a fella who has the use of his hands can do something...I go to Mass, say my night prayers and ‘grace’ before meals...and I firmly believe I’ll be rewarded for my good living...doing good to others, but whether I work hard, or half as hard, I’ll have the same chance of getting it...

Line DFARM 19: A lazy fella who doesn’t work but lives a good life...you know is good to others...well he’ll go to Heaven the same as a hard worker...no difference!...

When he discusses his fortune and the Celtic Tiger, he points out that there has been a lowering of moral standards in society. There is a tendency for people to regard wealth as the important objective in this life which he concludes is a mistake.

[what makes you unique do you think?]

DFARM 20: my environment and my family influence...the kind of mentality I have...I couldn’t draw Social Welfare when I’m healthy and can work...none of the 12 of us ever did...it’s the family influence, though, children don’t suddenly become disruptive at 15 or 16 years of age...they learn the difference between right and wrong when they are young...

[what disadvantages do you see to the Celtic Tiger?]

DFARM 21: it’s not a boom for farmers you know, 80% of farmers are not doing well...prices are worse now than ten years ago, but fertiliser and meal etc. has gone up...only the strong will survive...12,000 farmers have left farming over the past three years...we’re a society of old priests, old nuns, and old farmers...no one is going into it...the youth are not following into farming...well, the hours are bad with no return...a man works with me...I pay him £40 a day...he’d probably earn more somewhere else, but he’s with me years and he likes it...

DFARM 22: all facets of society are not benefiting from the Celtic Tiger...I’m cost effective with my B&B and my agri-tourism...and I put in the hours...but I wouldn’t be in farming without my two other incomes...

Line DFARM 23: there’s also been a drop-off in morality in the last five years...we were more morally responsible at 18...society has accepted looser morals...look at the divorce referendum...people talk about ‘partners’ now, never husbands and wives...you are more ‘divil-may-care’ when you have
money...it can become a god...people think 'I can do what I want'...Ah...I suppose it would have happened anyhow...

Line DFARM 24: but I definitely see a relationship between the economic success of the 'Celtic Tiger' and a reduction in morals...they don't realise there are more important things than having wealth...they can't take it with them...it's really foolish on their part thinking this life is the only life they'll have...

He describes how charity to one's neighbours is the key to Heaven and this 'Spirit of Charity' underlines his economic and social interaction with everyone with whom he comes into contact.

[to sum up then, what would you say is your key personal quality which made you so successful?]

DFARM 25:Honesty!...I've always been honest in all my dealings, I don't owe anything and I never 'did' anyone [cheat or take undue advantage]...you can't live without charity, though, do you know that when it snowed really heavily here a few years ago, I got out my four-wheel-drive and cleared the driveways all along here...the neighbours couldn't get over it!...I would look after people...they'd pay you back in kind...no one can afford to be isolated...

He states that he will have to forfeit all of his wealth when he dies so it is irrational to focus exclusively on work as the most useful human activity.

Farmer 'E'

Farmer 'E' firmly believes that any farm is an extension of the farmer and as such reflects the type of person the farmer actually is, e.g. neat, organised and well run.

[what kind of lifestyle do you have?]

Line EFARM 1:too busy...I'm always trying to find time...I work Sundays, you know, and I've only had one weekend off since last January...

Despite his obvious commitment to farming he still regards his level of income to be totally inadequate (Line EFARM 3). Yet he refuses to leave the land and continues to get satisfaction from cultivating the land. This outweighs the money to be earned in other occupations (Line EFARM 6). His drive to farm efficiently is generated not alone by the need to earn money but also to be part of the farming community (Line EFARM 9). This feeling of belonging to the community is his real source of happiness and it outweighs any potential satisfaction that could be purchased by money.

[what kind of lifestyle would you like to have?]

EFARM 2:I actually don't know if I would change it...we always say we want more time, but would we take it?...I'd like to choose what I could do...
EFARM 3: Insufficient income, really... I'm still paying for the farm... we work too hard for the income we get... you end up doing jobs yourself instead of hiring someone else because it's too expensive... you have to work harder on a small farm... less equipment...

EFARM 4: Oh yes... 100% and it goes beyond the farm gate...

EFARM 5: I think most people have 100% commitment, unless they really dislike what they're doing... I think the Irish are very conscientious, more so than other countries...

EFARM 6: I know I've said this already but I see the farm as an extension of yourself... some people make more money outside of farming, whereas some people love looking after animals and cultivating the land...

EFARM 7: I'm a 'within the farm gate' person... and I'm always in my workshop tinkering... I often spend Sunday servicing equipment, like my tractor or things... I don't know if it's more work or hobby...

EFARM 8: A way of life that you have to treat like a job because you have to make an income out of it... there are some gentleman farmers of course, leasing out their land, and that provides an income... it's a big risk occupation... if you make a wrong decision, say sow a wrong crop, you live with that for the next 12 months until you can change it...

EFARM 9: Items... the battle with nature to do it better... the need to earn an income, of course, and the great sense of community that's in farming...

EFARM 10: I'm not religious... I don't go to Church every Sunday... some Sundays... after you die you spend time doing things you love... if you don't love doing anything, you have to go somewhere else maybe Hell or Purgatory...

EFARM 11: I'm a 'within the farm gate' person... and I'm always in my workshop tinkering... I often spend Sunday servicing equipment, like my tractor or things... I don't know if it's more work or hobby...

EFARM 12: Anyway, if you're not happy, what else is there?... nothing else has any value... money is no use... anyway we have enough here... were pretty well off at the moment...

EFARM 13: Personal satisfaction... expressing one's own abilities... expressing oneself through one's job... by and large, there's a good work ethic in Ireland... the Irish have a positive outlook on life, a confidence... a Christianity perhaps... parts of England seem to have lost their soul...

EFARM 14: We haven't lost ours... not yet... the Irish have a good sense of community, what with voluntary services... we have strong religious beliefs still and that's good...

EFARM 15: The greedy Me Foin'ers... [means those who only look after themselves]... they're not part of the wider community... you lose a sense of community with that sense of individualism... that's a negative aspect of the Celtic Tiger...

He then declares that he attends Mass occasionally thus qualifying him as an Intermediate Catholic (number 2).

EFARM 16: Yes!

EFARM 17: I'm not religious... I don't go to Church every Sunday... some Sundays... after you die you spend time doing things you love... if you don't love doing anything, you have to go somewhere else maybe Hell or Purgatory...

His definition of Heaven echoes the definition of the Archbishop's Representative i.e. it is what you have become the moment you die. So 'E' states that the criteria for
Heaven is the intensity of the enjoyment rather than the degree of effort that an individual has put into his work i.e. a highly experiential focus on this life.

[what about people who don't work, what is their fate?]

Line EFARM 18: emptiness...if you don’t enjoy work, you won’t carry into the next life...it doesn’t matter how hard you work, it’s whether you enjoy it...I’ll be ploughing, drilling or sowing in the next life...

Line EFARM 19: If you live a solitary life here...or if you have shallow friends.. you’ll be lonely in the next...

He then provides a long account of his involvement in various farming organisations and the useful contacts and friends that he has made (Lines 20-31). His final statement again highlights the approach by farmers of advancing their own sectional interests in their dealings with politicians, first highlighted by the chief economist of the Irish Farmers Association in Domain A.

[is that how business works?]

EFARM 32: yes...interest groups need to know where they are going and farming is one of those groups...Ireland has one of the best political systems in the world...and it has a huge impact on economic development in this country...

According to ‘E’ farmers’ accessibility to politicians makes Ireland’s political system ‘one of the very best in world’ (Line EFARM 32) and provides interest groups such as farmers with huge influence over national economic development policies.

**SUBSECTION 3**

**The School interviews.**

In the interests of preserving the holistic approach within the presentation format, the contributions of the schools follows this running order:- a) an initial exchange with the career guidance teacher from O'Connell Schools when arranging the class interview, b) the interview responses for O'Connell’s School’s sixth year class together with the individual rating scores for each pupil, c) a brief interview with the O'Connell’s School’s guidance teacher after the class interview was completed and d) a summary of the themes that emerged from the remaining school interviews and the
ratings for each pupil. Finally e) a brief interview with another career guidance
teacher from St Mary’s Holy Faith school then completes the school responses.

a) Initial Interview with Career Guidance Teacher in O’Connell Schools

In the first visit to the school to arrange the interview I was introduced to the Principal
of the school, to other teachers and to a number of classes as a former student who
was ‘doing a PhD, something most of you should aspire to’. Here the Career
Guidance teacher reveals how his Catholic perspective infuses his political and social
agenda.

Interviewer: Hello, I wondering if you could help me?...
[shake hands]
Teacher: [gives his name]...what can I do for you?
Interviewer: Bryan Fields, I was on telephone...I think I may know you...I was a pupil here...
Teacher: When?
Interviewer: In the early seventies...you were my French teacher?...
Teacher: [pause] Yes...[another pause]...yes... that’s right I am...Look here (to two students doing their
CV in a small office)...this is a past pupil of mine [arm around my shoulder and smiling]...Come in
here...take a seat...Well your name again?...
Interviewer: Fields...there was a few of us here...
Teacher: Yes I remember...it’s a name like my own...unusual... Its easy to remember...
A Short discussion on politics followed since he was a local County Councillor...
Teacher: I agreed with the PD’s [Progressive Democrats, led by Ms Mary Harney, the Tanaiste,
Junior partner in the present Government Coalition]...and their economic policies...they are
good...the PDs broke out of spending our way out of trouble...I agreed with the PD’s economic policy
but their social policy...It’s not Catholic...after that abortion thing I decided to leave them...that’s why
I joined Fianna Fáil...

More discussion on my research

Interviewer: Can you get me about ten to twelve 6th year pupils...mixed?...does that sound O.K.?
Teacher: Sure, four from the ‘A’ class, four from the ‘B’ class and the rest from the lowest
class...they’ll be from the inner city...the lowest ability...the others more likely to be bussed in...you
know...from the around outside the city...
Interviewer: Or driven in...
Teacher: Yeah! (Laugh)...I’d do it this afternoon only I’ve to go to the Park [Phoenix Park, official
residence of the President of Ireland]...I’m on the board of Gaisce [President’s Award]...Norma
Smurfit, Padraic White, all sorts of business people you know...the usual...I’ve got to go there for 2.30
so I’ll go about 1.30...what about tomorrow?
Interviewer: Well...let me see... What about next Wednesday?...next Wednesday... pm?...
Teacher: Wednesday is good...Wednesday is one of the better days here in the school...
O.K.?
b) The students’ responses - O'Connell Schools

The following Wednesday afternoon the interview commenced after a brief introduction to the research and an overview of the ethical guidelines being applied such as confidentiality were explained to the pupils.

[How many of you go to Mass every Sunday?...and how many sometimes?]

Of the group, six responded that they attended fairly regularly (Intermediate Catholic), four responded that they went the odd time (Intermediate Catholic) and the remaining two responded that they only go when the school requires it such as Religious Retreats and the school Mass (Intermediate Catholic). Otherwise if they don’t attend they’ll get into trouble with parents and teachers. Nearly all respondents stated that work was only a way of securing other important preferences although one of the Catholic views that work can be regarded as a punishment for sins is barely concealed.

[What is it that’s important about work for you?]

Group: It’s for your family... have to look after your family... Get good pay and money... Makes you feel good... Something to do... Money to get drink and for the bookies... Makes the weekend more enjoyable... It’s a necessity you have to do it... no way out of it... everyone has to work...

The strong commitment of Irish workers to their work is supported by approximately half of the pupils. While on the one hand, some stated that Irish people work hard and that foreign multinationals can back up their argument, others held the opposite view.

[Do Irish people work hard?]

Group: Some do some don’t... Yep!... Eh... I think so... Yeah!... Irish people work hard... very hard... We work very hard... Multinationals say so don’t they?...

Group: That’s a load of bollocks... a load of crap... we’re lazy... we want a good time... the reason the multinationals are here is that our education system is one of the best... high skills we have... but our wages are relatively low... were lazy and greedy... we won’t let the refugees even to get the ‘shite’ jobs... yeah... some Irish people... most Irish people are not punctual...

Although some pupils regarded Irish workers as lazy, it was the education system, ‘one of the best in the world’, that was key to the success of the ‘Celtic Tiger’. The money earned from work can ensure that life is enjoyed to the full. There is little or no suggestion of accumulating wealth for the future because their main objective is to
spend it on gear (clothes), women and drink. They also agree that there is a
requirement to be actively employed because ‘lazin’ around is not now socially
acceptable.

[Is it important then to work hard?]
Group: Yeah for your family and all that... you can enjoy yourself with money... not looked down
on... good car... good gear... and y'know... drink... women... You have to set a good example you can’t be
lazin’ around... loafin’ about all the time... Anyway what keeps people working hard is the emigration
and the unemployment in the 80s... no one wants to go back to that... you’re not sponging on society
when you have a job...

Their main objective is to have enough to enjoy life and the fact is, that working hard
is merely incidental to the claim that an individual has on the good life. One of the
most important moral imperatives is to have a charitable approach, i.e. the ‘Spirit of
Charity’ and should infuse any dealings with others.

[So what’s it all about then?]
Group: Living life to the max y’now?... yeah to the max... get money... a good job... things like that... a
good house... plenty of money... having a good time... money... women... all that... enough to do what you
want...

[Are you a better person if you work hard as against someone who doesn’t work hard]
Group: Working doesn’t make any difference... na!... fine if you can get away with it... working hard
doesn’t make you a better person... hard or lazy doesn’t matter... its how you treat people... be good to
them...

The class also believed that there was a good chance that Heaven existed and again
the way to achieve this was to be charitable and generous to others.

[Is it a problem for rich people to get to Heaven... do you believe in an afterlife? A Heaven?]
Group: Yep... s’pose so... there’s somethin’ there anyway... I believe in an afterlife... a Heaven if you
like... it’s a place where you go if you are good to people... there’s got to be something there otherwise
what’s the point?... Rich people can get into Heaven just as easily as poor people... Rich people and
Heaven... aren’t they just as much entitled to Heaven as the next person?...

Another definition of ‘enough’ was agreed upon by the group who pointed out that the
economic goal was to accumulate just ‘enough’.

[Is it better to rich or happy?]
Group: No not real rich... but to have enough to buy a house, a car and have holidays each year... [one
of the class responded] I’m going on a building site to work hard and get money... that’ll make me
happy...

It was put to them that God and Heaven may be illusions to keep them happy with
‘enough’. They noted the relative uselessness of Marxist thought and Socialism in
particular to equip them to engage beneficially with their economic environment.
They confirmed that a successful life was achieved not only by being a good Catholic but also by enjoying oneself and rated the continua as follows:

**Where I see my own focus**

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**Where I see the focus of Irish Society**

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The average rating for the degree of focus on this life was calculated at -2.5 and -1.5 for the degree of focus by Irish society. The former rating placed them approximately half way between an equal focus on both this life and the next life and a total focus on this life. The latter rating places Irish society more towards zero i.e. an equal focus on this life and the after life. The degree of focus on work as the most
useful form of human activity was calculated at an average of -4.0 and the degree of focus that Irish society was calculated at -1.5. The former rating places them very close to the maximum of 'working to live' i.e. having a highly instrumental approach. The latter rating places Irish society more towards zero with an equal focus on work and on enjoyment.

c) De-briefing Interview with Career Guidance teacher – O’Connell Schools

Following the class interview, the Career Guidance teacher neatly summarised the unintended nature of the Celtic Tiger and then followed this with a statement outlining his belief that most Irish people eventually calculate the odds in favour of the existence of an afterlife and then act accordingly.

Interviewer: what do you think about the economic situation at the moment...how did it happen?
Teacher: I don't know...I don't think anyone knows...its just a set of circumstances that happened to arrive in Ireland...a bit like a snowball on the top of a hill...when it gets tipped over it just gets to be a critical mass and goes faster and faster, gets bigger and bigger...
Teacher: They're just after a good time (the pupils) wine, women and song but as they get a little older they'll wise up and they'll see that there is a strong possibility that there is an afterlife...the older you get the stronger the possibility becomes...then they'll catch on...they won't chance it that there isn't an afterlife...they'll hedge their bets on that one...most Irish people do that...won't chance it that there's nothing...eh...listen...mmm [looking at his watch]...I'm a bit tied for time...

Teacher: I'd say a focus on both ('This life/Afterlife') particularly when you get older...say zero...and Irish society well I still think they have a lot of focus on the next life so 1.5...On the other one (Working to Live/Living to Work) well I'd say zero again for me and say -2.0 more focus on living to work now for society because I think that's the way it has to go...

Interviewer: Well thanks for everything...best of luck...bye...[end]

d) A Summary of the student responses in the other schools

In this section all the views of the classes that were interviewed in the other Dublin schools are summarised and presented in thematic format following the style and procedure used in the O’Connell’s Schools class interview. The pupils in these classes were classified as Intermediate Catholics since not one pupil said that they never go to Mass nor on the other hand did they declare that they regularly attended Mass. Nevertheless, their strength of belief in the afterlife was strong since over 90%
of pupils believed that the afterlife existed. Of those who did believe, 80% said that the afterlife was a 'Heaven' and regarded it as a place or location where life was happy and one would be re-united with family and friends. Every pupil regarded working hard or easy as irrelevant in achieving the goal of 'Heaven' and approximately 90% maintained that

Classes: being good to people' being nice to people... is what's important...

This was deemed the best way of getting to Heaven. Their economic target was to achieve enough so that they could have cars, drink, clothes and holidays. Most pupils indicated that their focus on this life was stronger than their focus on the afterlife. This position is consistent with their approach of 'enjoying life' now together with the objective of 'being happy'. Yet they were also aware that this life was transient and was followed by another and better life, a Heaven. The focus for 85% of all pupils sampled was to

Classes: have enough of the things of this life to enjoy life like a car, house, drink, holidays, clothes and 'crack'...

On the other hand they acknowledged that Irish society has a stronger focus on the afterlife with the rating on this continuum more evenly distributed towards the middle or zero range of marks. Since 85% of pupils maintained that there is a positive correlation between wealth and unhappiness they then concluded that

Classes: it stands to reason that as long as you have enough you'll be happiest...

Approximately 50% of pupils regarded the accumulation of wealth as indicative of

Classes: being a greedy person...

and consequently there was an element of undesirability about 'going after' wealth. The remaining 50% were equally divided among those that regarded happiness as solely derived from wealth and enjoying it, to those supporting the use of wealth for the benefit of others. Many pupils (95%) maintained that the focus of their work
would be exclusively instrumental i.e. to get something else and the ratings on the continuum reflected the popular view that work was

*Classes:* to enable you enjoy life outside of work...

Exploration of this theme uncovered the low intrinsic value of work regardless of income earned inasmuch as it is not possible for work to contribute to individual self-development other than as a means of securing

*Classes:* the where-with-all to have a life...

Over 90% of pupils found it almost incomprehensible that one would focus one’s life on 'living to work'.

*Classes:* it doesn't make any sense to do that...

Almost 75% of pupils indicated that everybody was doing well from the Celtic Tiger and the remainder felt that the politicians and the rich were getting much richer than ordinary individuals.

*Classes:* ordinary people were only mugs, and that we're being 'fleeced by the bastards'...

Approximately 5% of pupils said that they couldn’t be bothered with examining or analysing the pros and cons of the Irish economic system nor it’s capacity to deliver a good quality life for all. It was simply a matter of

*Classes:* just getting on with it and doing your best...

On each of the four continua, the top blue set of numbers indicate the actual number of pupils while the score (black number) assigned by those pupils is marked immediately below the line.
The rating for the average degree of focus on this life versus the next life for each respondent was calculated at -2.5 and for Irish society at -1.5. The average rating expressed by each respondent for the degree of focus on work as the most useful human activity was calculated at -4.0 and the degree of focus of Irish society at -1.5. In other words there was a strong focus on this life and a very strong focus on the instrumental value of work. Both positions were identical to the results for the O’Connell’s School.
The Accidental Tiger - Part 2: The Research

e) Career Guidance Teacher - Holy Faith School

A short discussion also took place with one of the career guidance teachers after the Holy Faith student interview, in a small career guidance office off the main school corridor. Almost immediately she stated that there appeared to be an agenda to redirect the ethos of schools away from the holistic approach of educating the whole person, towards a narrower more vocational outcome. By vocational was meant a more business and scientific curriculum. This has happened as a consequence of collusion between the Department of Education and Science and employers with the sole intention of manipulating education almost exclusively for their own advantage. This agenda, which was now an open secret was being assisted by the Department of Education who appeared to lack not just a philosophical basis for education but a coherent strategy that was directed primarily towards the well being of the student. The introduction of performance assessment management techniques into schools was particularly irksome and reflected the supremacy of the new business ethos in the ‘Celtic Tiger’ filtering into all sections of education. The link between education and business was clearly to be seen in the university sector. An example was cited of the outgoing Head of Dublin City University, who claimed that 95% of his time was spent securing funding for the University. Other examples of the O’Reilly and Smurfit business schools in Trinity College and University College Dublin respectively, were also offered as clear indicators that

*Line CGT 1:* education is now big business...

If that trend continued, then there would be no place for the weaker student.

*Line CGT 2:* The humanities was only a poor second rate option for third level students despite that fact that it provided opportunities for a more liberal educational approach as the counterbalancing antithesis of the economic imperatives now becoming ingrained in the education system...

This business influence must be seen as a particularly dangerous trend for the future of education. Already, it was noticeable that business had attracted high calibre
graduates that traditionally found their way into teaching. Now only pass graduates applied for teaching posts.

CGT Line 3: The pastoral care of pupils was an extremely important role for the teacher, but again the overriding objective now is to focus on the economic and a sense of amorality...

Although, most pupils saw work as an attraction,

CGT Line 4: they nevertheless, were made to understand [by the teachers] that their life was a transitory journey and this is the reason that the school should resist the economic ethos for the liberal educational one...

Nowadays, the more holistic approach of integrating pastoral, physical, and knowledge subjects was vital to develop maturity. Although the school itself is the victim of the economic ethos, compelling the teachers to 'hard sell' their own school at open evenings in the face of intense local competition from other schools, they have found that by adopting a more student centred approach for the benefit of the 'average' student, their enrollments had stabilised. This was ironically, a telling reminder to the business community and the Department of Education in particular that there was still a significant demand for the holistic personal development approach in education. The teacher indicated that she had a balanced view on the need to live a full holistic life now while preparing well for the next one.

Summary Remarks on Domain C Responses

The main themes to emerge from this Domain include the articulation of the 'enough' measurement, the instrumental and less than total commitment to work and the central role of charity in establishing moral and economic standards when dealing with others. Almost all respondents use work as a way to secure the means to enjoy life. Specific measures of 'enough' are clearly articulated by the respondents and many of them nominated as their individualised objective or target for material wealth 'enough', the same items and indicators declared by others in Domains (A) and (B).
In the case of the multinational employees the elements of this individualised economic target are similar to those in Domain (B) such as a holiday, golf, and a jar etc. Moreover, conscience has emerged again in the narrative of three respondents as a factor in maintaining a strong commitment to work. Many employees believed in an afterlife and pointed out that generosity and charity are key attributes in securing ‘Heaven’. Work commitment is less than 100% where many seek to enjoy life now or retire early to do so.

Farmers work long hours and many did not have the opportunity to go on holidays. All five farmers believed in Heaven and were convinced that charity is the way to secure it. In the main they were happy with their circumstances and two were still seeking their measure of ‘enough’. Many do not see farming as a way of life but as a business and so acted accordingly to generate farm subsidies i.e. farm in such a way as to focus on the area of greatest returns such as subsidies and sometimes this would mean less or even no production. The richest farmer ‘D’ did not regard his wealth as important in itself, since it will be of little use in the next life, while others insisted that they do not give everything to farming but hold back for family and the community.

It is now also evident that the measure of ‘enough’, the charitable disposition or the Spirit of Charity together with a belief in Heaven have also been revealed in the responses of the pupils and the career guidance teachers in their approach to economic matters, suggesting that the prevalent economic disposition and the instrumental emphasis on work is already formed in pupils even before many of them enter into the adult labour market.
Chapter 8

PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

DISCONNECTED DOMAIN (D)

The Unemployed, The Traveller Women, Sr. Stanislaus and the Homeless

Introduction

In this 4th and final Domain, the contributions from registered unemployed persons, homeless persons, a national advocate of the homeless and Traveller Women are presented. These respondents represent that section of Irish society which has not benefited from the prosperity of the 'Celtic Tiger'. In the sense that they could be deemed to be less than fully engaged in the economic order in comparison to the respondents in the other Domains, they have a 'disconnected' status. Their contribution now closes the loop on the sample as it completes the mosaic that is Irish social life and affixes the final set of attitudes and views to complete the profile grid of the Irish economic disposition. Their views also allow a comparison of their disposition with that of 'connected' contributors from Domains A, B and C. In other words, the profile of the Irish economic disposition is established on the basis of a set of inclusive accounts which reflect the complexity of that mosaic.

The responses are grouped into three sections. Section 1 includes the contributions of four unemployed individuals, one woman and three men living in Ballymun. These contributions are followed in section 2 by four Traveller Women. The final section 3 includes a nun who is a national advocate of the Homeless and three middle aged homeless men living in Dublin City.
Section 1- Unemployed Persons

Person ‘A’

“’A’ begins her narrative by speaking about the ‘daily grind’ for herself and her family. Almost immediately she speaks of having a guilty conscience when she goes out to have a few drinks and relax.

[what sort of lifestyle do you have now?]

Line ABMUN 1: Even now it's a struggle... when I compare it to when they were small... nah... it's still a struggle... I'm just about able to get up every day and stay healthy... being able to work and bring in a few pounds... I suppose it's work every day... all the time... I need to get to bed early... but still I get up every day knackered tired... when I come home in the evening its dinners and washing... I do be wrecked... of an evening sometimes I go around to a friend for 30 to 40 minutes 'cause if I go out then I won't have money for this or that... so I try not to feel guilty spending something on myself... If there was a man in the house mine [money] would cover bills and food and his'd cover a car a holiday... I have to face reality... I'm... 'yer own'... you have try and fix things yourself... see with a man maybe he could fix the washing machine... It's broke at the moment... I have to save up to get it fixed... with a man he'd probably fix it but now I have to depend on my friends... I don't have immediate family... there all living at home... [in the West of Ireland]... the children is all that I have...

She acknowledges that living in Ballymun is easy if you are poor and this makes it difficult for her and her children to move out. She would like a better lifestyle for them since they have ‘done their penance’. She would like to have those taken for granted things that she had when she was a child, the same things that most others particularly in Domain B defined as ‘enough’ and that made them happy such as a car, house, childrens’ education, holidays etc.

Line ABMUN 2: Well... I'd like to feel less pressure... the running of the home and family not on my shoulders all the time... I'd like to have a break... for a week maybe... I'd like to have a car 'cause it'd give me freedom... you know for jobs and I wouldn't be so confined to the home... eh... it's a physical thing I'm talking about... I'm talking about... like carrying messages from the shops... a car makes life easier... a car is a priority but its getting around to getting one... I'd like the children to do better than I have... I'd like them to have a better lifestyle... I want them to want something better... like they've done their penance here... get well educated move into higher jobs... not the factory floor... even into 3rd level or a PLC [post leaving certificate course]... I want that to be automatic then they have some chance... if I say it often enough... I would like them to be living somewhere other than Ballymun, a place with a better mix... kids don't have expectations... nobody is a Garda [policeman]... a doctor a solicitor and engineer... most people here are the same... they should see in the professions something that they would aspire... though its easier to live in a place like Ballymun... in a designated area if you are poor... there's the LES [Local Employment Service] and the Partnership... but I still can't afford to live outside Ballymun yet... I miss the people I grew up with... when we were growing up we didn't have that much... well I mean my father had a car and we went on holidays and we had a phone... I'm only getting them now and this neighbour would send 'round a note 'missus has your mother any sugar'?... maybe I'd travel back to my parents but then I can't pay the bills... money is always a factor... I'd just like to have enough not to worry about the bills and have a car... a new house... a holiday... things most people have... that's all...
[What would you like to have?]
Line ABMUN 3: Money obviously... and my own sense of self worth... I’d like to be able to choose whether to work or not...
[would you say that you give everything to the job?]
Line ABMUN 4: I work flat out... but I do feel that I’m always trying to prove something... some of the others are younger but I’m trying to prove that I can take the pressure... I didn’t tell them about my leg in case they would say that she’s not able for the job... so I have to do it better than them... I keep pushing and driving myself... when were finished in the evening I’m the first to get the brush and sweep up the floor... I’d be the one to get the brush and clean up come 8.30... I feel that I have to go at it 100%... I need the money...

She has to give total commitment to the job since she ‘needs the money’ (Line ABMUN 4). At the same time she secretly admires the laid back foreigners who work at their own pace but her conscience clicks in and prevents her from easing up. She does not like the ‘cheating’ carried on by Irish workers in the same factory and wouldn’t feel right doing as they do.

[would you say that you give everything to the job?]
Line ABMUN 5: I don’t think so... people around me... maybe for the 1st week or so but then they don’t keep it up... they get the work done without overdoing it... there are some foreigners in (x)... they’re so laid back... the supervisor gets mad at them but they won’t do it any faster... he probably says to himself that he’s not going to go any faster... secretly I admire him for that even though he is getting paid to work hard... I like their attitude... its more relaxed... some Irish workers work hard... most don’t work flat out though... they cop on when (y) is out of the room and sit back and do nothing... then they get stuck in when he comes back... I say ‘Jesus, why don’t I do that?’... I get annoyed though... ’tis not right that... they’re not really making an effort...

‘A’ highlights her Catholic upbringing and although she regards herself as a ‘lapsed’ Catholic she has a strong desire for a better place than this life, i.e. Heaven. She is also afraid that she will live her life as if there is no Heaven, only to discover the opposite and so she ‘hedges her bets’ just as the Career Guidance teacher had pointed out in relation to the pupils in O’Connell Schools.

[would you say that there is anything after you die or what do you think is this the only shot that you get?]
ABMUN 6: Well... I was reared a traditional Catholic... a staunch Catholic... my mother, grandparents were Protestant, my grandmother was a Protestant but then changed to Roman Catholic... my mother picked that up... she is very religious, y’know Mass... Novenas... the lot... we were brought up that way... like a robot the Church thought for you, the Church had all the rules... my mother’s life revolved around the Church... she washed the priests clothes... vestments... I don’t care much now for Mass... I had very strong beliefs... made me very hard... not very tolerant... my mind was blocked... I was conditioned... I don’t have strong belief anymore... I don’t know... well I don’t know really... if I don’t feel well I fall back on religion... suppose I do believe... as an insurance policy just in case there is... a part of me feels there is a Heaven and none of us has the authority to say ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to that... I hope that there is... it’ll make it all worthwhile if we could move onto a different... higher level altogether... a better place...
According to ‘A’ there is no relationship between work and Heaven. Here her charitable disposition emerges as the key value governing her social interaction. She treats others fairly and generously without looking for a return from them and not only is this view similar to that expressed in Medieval times by the Pre-reformation Church but her view on the work ethic i.e. ‘a fair day’s pay for a fair day’s work’, is also identical to the official Catholic ethic given by the Archbishop in Domain A.

[is it possible to be happy and rich?]

ABMUN 7: I suppose so...yes it is possible...I see Richard Branson...on the telly...he seems to be happy...I think he’s a nice guy...I’d like to win the lotto then I needn’t worry about money...could even have a business...get advice from the brokers...yeah...that I’d be nice...financial advice...yeah...

[does working hard have any effect on getting to Heaven?]

ABMUN 8: Naw!...the sun shines on both types...hard workers and lazy ones...that's all right...that's life...I used to think that...say he's done something bad...then he has to have a bad life but it doesn't pan out that way...well I'd say...I just see it that hard work...eh...I'm takin' wages...value honesty...a fair day's pay for a fair day's work an' all that...treating others how you would like to be treated...we all influence one another...Daddy...[husband]...was in trouble...thieving, the guards called him a 'pen pusher' for forging cheques...so I keep him away from the kids...I have to have some conscience about right and wrong...try to be honest in work and get paid for a fair day's work...

She contends that the ‘Celtic Tiger’ has fooled many into believing that you must have what others have and unfortunately this selfish non Catholic approach of 'wanting things' leaves many victims in its path. The net result is that

ABMUN 9: there’s opportunities for everybody...rising tide lifts all boats...though it’s far from that I am I suppose...

She explains her reasons for the ratings that she assigns on the four continua.

ABMUN 10: I myself...are about half way on the line [1st line] I still believe in Heaven...that's why I marked in the middle [researcher marks zero]...Irish society is a little to the left of the my mark...[-1.5]...they're definitely moving in the other direction...just want things...On the other lines well I just work to live...that's it really...if I didn't need to I probably wouldn't...[-4.0]...Irish people...we're not used to having much...we depended on our own resources...were still laid back and a bit lazy in the main...[-2.5]...well the way we look at it is...well...who knows how it will go?...no one knows...so why worry...we still get by...I think we have a good balance between the materialistic and the spiritual...we don't want to get too focussed on wealth...to have nice balance...my family they're O.K. they've enough...look at Princess Diana and Dodi Fahyed...they had lots of wealth...could have anything but they were...well y'know...[yep]...didn't do them any good...

Person ‘B’

He describes his present lifestyle and his life as a series of lost opportunities.

[what kind of lifestyle do you have at the moment?]

Line BBMUN 1: My own life is under a terrible strain at the moment...I'm left in an empty house all day...and I just can't get started in the morning...I've got this rheumatoid arthritis in the hands,
sometimes I can barely move my hands in the morning...in any case...I have a bad lifestyle...no life at the moment, I get me money and I go on the piss sometimes...it puts a strain on a non-existent relationship...the wife is going...she's got S.A.D. or something like that, so if I say anything I get a roasting or a slap...so I’m going through that...in other words, you could say (pause to light a cigarette)...my life is inoperative, as it were...[what lifestyle would you like to have then?] Line BBMUN 2: People have told me that I should’ve been a millionaire...I have the contacts, taking calls...taking on electricians, in other words I should have been the employer and not been breakin’ me bollix doing contract work for others...He reflects on the events leading up to his present relationship problems and identifies the single minded focus that he had on his work as the root cause of his personal problems.

[what is preventing you from having this lifestyle?] Line BBMUN 3: It was a series of events...another child...then another child...we started in Kilbarrack [a working class area ten miles east of Ballymun], in the flats, and there was a strike y’know...the missus didn’t bank the rent money...I lost me fuckin’ head...and so it fucked up me marriage from the word go, this...I’m not saying that I had a happy marriage before that...

[would you say that you gave everything you’d got to the job?] Line BBMUN 4: I was over-conscientious about the job, and that affected the marriage...we used to go to the pub after work...then I was late home for me dinner, and of course this caused aggravation...y’know that happened at different stages, right up to the present day...even now I look at my right and my left hand, and it’s that one fighting the other...I’ve spoken to ‘X’ and he always says to me that you seemed to be interviewing the interviewer...‘you must be a dab hand, you look everyone in the eye’...or so he says...

Like many other respondents in the sample, ‘B’ contends that the work ethic of the Irish is weak. Furthermore he identifies the class basis of social inequality despite the veneer of empowering local community groups like those in Ballymun. He interprets the Irish characteristic of acquiring ‘enough’ as the reason for the inertia that stops people for addressing social inequality, particularly when they can talk about it over a few drinks and then leave it at that.

[would you say the Irish generally give everything to their work?] Line BBMUN 5: No...the Irish are hypocrites...they’re two-faced, they talk about it down in the pub but do fuck-all about it...there’s groups for social affairs, community affairs, there’s lots of lobby groups but we’re being ripped off...the country is being run by three groups, politicians, publicans and landlords...I’d like to ask the landlords...they’re all rentin’, yet only 25% of them pay income tax...these tribunals going on... (Flood Tribunals ‘payments to politicians’ and the McCracken Tribunal ‘golden circle’) ...do you think it wasn’t going on in our day?...of course it was, and as for the Church, well they’re fucked at the moment because they can’t stand up and say anything...so we’re a two-faced people...as long as we have enough, we don’t fight for when we’re being ripped off...

As a core Catholic ‘B’ states his belief in Heaven and declares his strong faith in moral behaviour. He also points out that there is punishment awaiting those who are
corrupt and he re-emphasises class inequality particularly for the poor like himself from Ballymun.

[would you say there is an afterlife? Or is this it, is this all that there is do you think?]

*Line BBMUN 6:* I would say that there is another life after this one...I believe Jesus died on the cross and we do have a soul...if you have faith, that’s half the battle...if you have no faith, you’ve no conscience...thievin’ and robbin’ life like these guys, okay it goes on here, but these politicians seem to think they have diplomatic immunity from corruption...take Fianna Fáil, and even take Thatcher, you become so embroiled in the whole thing, if you question the system you get into trouble...take Haughey (former Prime Minister, called before the corruption Tribunals) how he could walk around and smile is fuckin’ beyond me!...When you call his bluff he says lies?...he says... oh no!...on second thoughts I thought I got a million, or was it two?...eight million is not even the tip of it!...Yet they’re on your case straight away if you make a little bit of money in here...

If he was rich he could only be contented by being generous with his good fortune i.e. to give some of it to the poor. In this way he is living out the Christian Spirit of Charity (Line BBMUN 7).

[which is more important, to be happy or to be rich?]

*Line BBMUN 7:* If I were rich I would work it for the benefit for other people, and then I could lead a happy life...yeah, helping people, that makes you happy...

While materialism seems to be in the ascendancy at the moment, he provides a number of examples where political systems appeared to be invincible and anti-Catholic but still Catholicism managed to overcome them. The inference is that Catholicism is durable and as it easily overcame both imperialism and communism it will certainly overcome materialism.

[do you think all this work goes towards anything, or is it all over when you die?]

*Line BBMUN 8:* now that’s not to say that you have to work your balls off...the best way to describe it is...if you just plod along, and get along, and try and better yourself and your family...have enough to enjoy life...y know you’re only on earth for a very short time...we’re only a blip, not even a blip...do the best for your family...don’t do anything to extremes...just try to be a good Christian, now not necessarily try to be a good Catholic ‘cos were hypocrites...try to have faith in yourself mentally ‘cos there’s so much shit going on, we’re so fucked up, and it all started with this American shit, Coke and computers, imperialist decadence...it that’s all it is?...it’s total shit...it’s all indirectly geared to taking as much out of your pocket as possible, so everyone gets corrupted...The Third Secret of Fatima, [Apparition of the Mother of God] we think we know what it is now, you take that Czech guy, Dubcek, yeah, Alexander Dubcek, after he tried to get things right, the Russians called him in and gave him a job sweeping the floor but you see the Catholic Church never really went away in Russia and now Communism is gone...see, we always win out in the end...see, look at the Pope, where was he from?...Poland!...look at Lech Walensa...he was an electrician in a shipyard, an electrician just like me...see Catholicism wins out...I don’t think the Third Secret is a disaster...I think that’s what it is, Communism is dead, we always win...

‘B’ requests that his choice of ratings be completed by the researcher pointing to where he sees his focus on the continua etc.
Person ‘C’

‘C’ appears to be more optimistic about his circumstance than either ‘A’ or ‘B’ and although he is unemployed he regards his circumstances as reasonably good and outlines his objectives over the medium term.

[What is your present lifestyle like?]
Line CBMUN 1: I’m fairly comfortable at the moment...well the tack [strategy] I’ve taken is...I’m going to do training, then try and get a job, or set up my own company, so I think I have a bright future...I’m very relaxed at the moment...I have a social life as well which is quite good, y’know a girlfriend and all that, so it’s okay...

[what kind of lifestyle would you like to have?]
Line CBMUN 2: my aim is to build up my own company...to be working for myself...have my own set of rules...make my own decisions, not have to do what anyone else tells me...

He expresses material objectives which are similar to those of the other respondents in Domains B and C, using the term ‘enough’ and describes this benchmark as ‘a nice house, nice family, car and all that’.

[what is preventing you from having this lifestyle?] 
Line CBMUN 3: Well, I’ve got to get a job...what’s holding me back is finance, a bit of experience...I’m going to do more study after this about running my own business...when I get my own business I’ll be able to live comfortably, nice house, nice family, and all that...

[would you say the Irish generally give everything they’ve got to their work?] 
Line CBMUN 4: Certain people do, and certain people don’t...I know this fella, he said he was going to set up a shop, 15 years he was, he said he’d make a million before he was 21, that was what he wanted...and he did!...he put everything into it, I mean everything...you have to have a plan and you have to have an aim in life...

He understands that to achieve his business aim requires a plan and an aim in life i.e. you must have a specific target to achieve. ‘C’ also believes in Heaven, in the existence and presence of God and admits that he regularly asks God for help in this life and sees working hard as a good approach to achieve his objectives. Despite his commitment to making money he is well aware of the pitfalls awaiting anybody who focusses too much on wealth. Happiness and wealth are not complementary, on the contrary, it appears that wealth and suicide are linked. He gives notice of his intention to make money and ‘put it away’ since having money can compel an individual to underestimate their capacity to further achieve greater business competitiveness. In any event there is no link between Heaven and working hard. On
the contrary resignation to one’s circumstances can secure a level of happiness in the knowledge that if you live a charitable life then Heaven is almost guaranteed.

[do you believe in an afterlife or is this the only life that we’ll have?]
Line CBMUN 5: I believe in Heaven, I believe that there’s a life after death alright, I believe in spirits too... I know a lot of people don’t, but I do... people are still there when they die... they’re a spirit... not the haunting type, they exist afterward alright, could be a sister or a grandmother... I ask for help of God and the family, and they’ll help because they’re there... so you don’t have to do much to get to Heaven... just live life as best you can... try and be good to people... happy with your lifestyle, you know people who rob, if they’re comfortable with it, then they’re comfortable with it... working hard is a goal, robbing is not a goal, it’s just greed...

[which is more important, to be happy or to be rich?]
Line CBMUN 6: Well I think it’s possible to be both, actually, but it’s more important to be happy... happiness is gold, being rich is a luxury... there’s no point in being rich but not happy... look at the superstars, they’ve everything they want, and they’re always committing suicide, so having lots of things is not happiness... try and be yourself, live your own life, put your money away if you have any because money draws in false hope... if you just lie back and take it easy... that’s the beginning of the end...

[do you think all this hard work goes towards anything, or is it all over when you die?]
Line CBMUN 7: if you’re going to be happy, then settle for what you have, you’ll get to Heaven... you’ll get there anyway, doesn’t matter whether you work hard or not, it doesn’t matter...

He indicates that this is first time that he has been asked to complete an exercise rating such as the one now presented to him in the four continua.

Line CBMUN 9: The reason I marked it there on ’This Life’ [-1.0] is that this life is a reality... I do believe in the next life, and you do have to focus on the Next Life, but at the same time it’s important to focus on this life just to get through to the next one... and I think most Irish people are the same... On the next one, the Americans are down at the very end, they live to work [+5.0]... Americans are stuck to this one [+5.0]... the Irish are different... it’s better to be in the centre [0]... it’s nice to have a job but it’s also nice to have a social life... the Yanks, well, you don’t wanna be working your life away... plenty of money but totally lost, you need to focus on the next life as well, so I’d say the rule is, work comfortably, live comfortably... that’s why I’ve marked myself towards ’work to live’ [-0.5] but the Irish are even closer to ’work to live’ [-2.0]... cause business is only coming in now, and they can get a certain amount of money to live a comfortable life... in America they live to work... the Americans have two and three jobs, this fella says to me ’do you have a job as well as a training course?’ I said ’nope!... I have enough as I am’... He says ’you don’t?’... he was amazed... they’re weird... it’s weird having three jobs...

Person ‘D’

His present circumstances are poor and he outlines his hopes for the future nominating the usual items and remarking that he only requires ‘enough’. He defines ‘enough’ as not to being short (of money), which again is similar to the objectives expressed by the other respondents in Domains A, B and C.

[can you describe your lifestyle]
Line DBMUN 1: Life’s a bit bad at the moment... I’m into body building... life’s not great... financially its bad... I do a bit of training about 3 times a week... see the girlfriend on a regular basis... go into town
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at the weekend maybe once every three weeks...go down to the local...the Towers bar in the shopping
centre once a week anyway...eh...oh...I have a foreign holiday booked...
[what kind of lifestyle would you like to have?]
Line DBMUN 2: I'd like to have house...a car...able to go on holiday twice a year...to be healthy...live
a long life...and have a good job that pays well...so that I can have enough...not short...

He states that a job *may* improve his circumstances but he does not regard £IR6 per
hour as a fair wage and consequently, prefers to draw the dole.

[what is preventing you having this lifestyle?]  
Line DBMUN 3: good weekly wage...if its only £5 or £IR6 an hour that's not much...that's no use at
all...I know the economy is booming but it's a farce...it's a fuckin' joke really...

He estimates that 50% of Irish people are committed to working hard so much so that
some are willing to work seven days per week which he considers to be excessive.

He also contends that the increase in prosperity and in employment opportunities is
restricted to the professions and that most ordinary individuals are not sharing in this
wealth. As a result the 'Celtic Tiger' is a 'con job' on ordinary people.

[would you say that the Irish generally give everything to their work?]  
Line DBMUN 4: Ah yeah...I'd say they would...most Irish people do...I'd say...yeah...some don't want
to work...as regards payment wise and a weekly wage I'd say about 50-60 per cent do...it's like a big
race...people want to buy more...more cars...more holidays...like a big rat race...it's crazy...It's like
they are making themselves sick...is it worth all the hassle working all seven days a week?...not worth
it at all...five days a week should be sufficient...some don't want to work...there's loads of money to be
made for career people...doctors...pilots...no money for factory people...or ordinary people...general
people...even office work...me girlfriend is doing office work for five years now and she's not clearing
two hundred quid...it's a fuckin' disgrace...they say the economy is booming but the employers are not
paying money...it's a fucking disgrace...it's a big con on ordinary people...the rich gets richer and the
us...well they don't give a fuck about us...not a toss...

'D' admits that he is a Lapsed Catholic but nevertheless acknowledges that Heaven
probably does exists. Because it does exist those who are exploited in this life get
justice in the next life just as those who exploit others now will get what they deserve
in the next. Still while he remains unsure of the existence of Heaven he is
nevertheless clear that Christian charity is a governing principle of his life i.e. the only
way to conduct business with others. He notes that the ideal circumstances for the
individual is to be both rich and happy but this is not usually the case. In any event
God seems to penalise the wealthy by not giving them children or by leading them to
unhappiness and drugs.

Presentation of 'Disconnected' Domain (D) Findings
[is there an afterlife or what do you think, is this life the only one that you’ve got?]

Line DBMUN 5: Yeah... I do... you come in with nothing and go out with nothing... it cannot be all poverty and struggle... there has to be some other life out there... I’d say there’s a good chance that there is something... there has to be something... it couldn’t be nothing... there has to be justice... there has to be some truth in it... doesn’t there?... people get caught up in wanting things... I don’t go to Mass any more but I still have belief... most people I know while they don’t go to Mass much they still believe... the key... like Baz Luhrmann [film director ‘Romeo and Juliet’ and song writer] on his CD... it’s all about life... helping people... and all that...

[which is more important to be rich of happy]

Line DBMUN 6: you see some people are happy but some aren’t happy... the rich... can’t have kids for example... in the long run it’s better to be happy... what’s the use about worrying about money... that’s what I say to my father... he’s due up in court about the rent... he makes an agreement and they’ll accept it... still he worried up to his teeth... it’s a big bonus if you are happy and rich and healthy and full of life... there very well maybe a God... y’know actors and pop stars being rich leads to drugs and unhappiness...

There are qualifying criteria to get into Heaven and work is not one of them and consequently, he recommends individuals to take it easy.

[do you think all this hard work goes towards anything in the afterlife]

Line DBMUN 7: No difference... everyone is the same... anyone can get there... you don’t have to be a politician... a doctor... but evil people like Stalin and Hitler... corrupt and evil people who have done away with millions and millions of people... not them... just work at your own pace... yeah...

‘D’ points out that Celtic Tiger is mostly benefiting the rich and powerful. This is making people angry and predicts and advocates a revolt against inequality in Ireland.

He also singles out black immigrants who are a good example of how Irish people are being further disadvantaged since they [blacks] are housed before the Irish.

Line DBMUN 8: not only for the hierarchy... y’know career oriented people... doctors architects engineers and professionals... eh... banks... business people... I’m not benefitting... factory workers and builders are not benefitting... now... the money is ridiculous... about two hundred pounds a week... and the cost of things... the price of a house... I’ll never be able to buy a house at this rate... eventually there’ll be a recession especially all this corruption... the politicians... its fuckin’ crazy... I’m not votin’ any more no way... there’s no politician... well maybe ten per cent are genuine... Don’t want to know... more people are now on the same tack as me... there should have been a rebellion years ago... look... take the blacks coming in now... I’m not racist... coloureds are getting work on the buildin’... homeless Irish are on the street... there not looking after their own... I see a revolt... more agitation... its building up inside people... this black thing... I don’t know... there be a revolt against all this lookin’ after themselves... we’ll force them to share...
Section 2- The Traveller Women

In the early part of the interview they women describe their previous nomadic life and compare it to their settled lifestyle.

[how would you describe your lifestyle?]
Line TravA 1: Travelling around, it was more like a holiday when I think of it now...we would be camping down the road, and we would be camping in different places...it was a pure scenery place...between Kerry, Clare, Meath and Westmeath (counties in the south, west, east and midlands of Ireland)...it was nearly a holiday at that time, yet we didn’t take any heed of it, y’know what I mean...we didn’t appreciate it as much as we should...when we were travelling,...because we were travelling to all them scenery places...them lakes...big mountains and things like that...we used to camp and live in those caravans...and the freedom that we had meant a lot to us...it was as good as a holiday to us...it’s now we miss it...

[what kind of lifestyle would you like?]
Line TravB 2: my wish would be going back out to the rural part of the country...get every Traveller out from every house in Dublin, and get them back travelling...have our freedom back...when I was young myself 30 years ago, that’d be my wish....
Line TravC 3: don’t think I’d like that...I’d like to settle...I don’t think I’d like to start travelling...
Line TravD 4: I wouldn’t travel, not at my age now...I worked all my life trying to rear my children...I’d like to go down to Mullingar and light a fire...there’s no fires now...

[what’s stopping you from having this lifestyle?]
Line TravA 5: What’s stopping us? [yeah] when all the trades...the tin smithin’ went, we had to go on the dole...when they went on the dole they had to have proper addresses, even though they hadn’t proper addresses, they had to come out of a city or town...and if they weren’t near enough to a city or town, they stuffed them into a field like animals...and blocked the road and blocked the camps that the Travellers used to camp in...and they wouldn’t give them the dole except that they were near a town...I thought that used happen...you had to have a fixed address...

Tin smithing was the repair of tin implements and the chief source of work of the male Traveller from the 19th century onwards, together with chimney sweeping, peddling and occasional farm labouring. Male labouring was supplemented by wives and children begging in towns and cities. The modern ‘Traveller’ deals mainly in used cars and scrap metal.

[I want to talk to you about your Religion – I’m a Roman Catholic myself]
Line TravA 6: You’re a Catholic?
[oh yes I am...just like you...why?...did you think that I was something else!]
Line TravB 7: kinda...[pause and smile] our Religion is very strong...
[I just manage to hold on to it]
Line TravB 8: ha ha...(laughing)...
[can you just talk to me about your Religion, what it means to you?]
Line TravB 9: yeah...I think it would probably be a bit different...than the settled community...a lot of Roman Catholic settled people wouldn’t go, wouldn’t really be bothered in going to wells (holy wells)...you will get people that do it, but not as much as a Traveller...or a priest, if there’s a good priest that we know that is real religious and he’d go there and he’s blessing you, he’s praying over you and he’s getting a crucifix...we know that he’s down to earth religious, we’d go to him...Travellers make a big deal, like Fr. McDonagh now...Lord Rest Him [they make the sign of cross]...he was a...what do you call that College? (asking a fellow Traveller in the group)...Warrenstown College and every Traveller used to go to him, and he did cure me because I had a very strong belief in him...and now that he’s dead they still pray to him...and...they got eh...they paid a few pound...all the Travellers throughout Ireland, and they got his head, just down to his waist,
about to there (pointing just below the waist)...and they went down the country and got it done...now he is a priest that we remember, he is...you know you'd know straight away that it's him, and even to this day now there's people getting cured...

[a statue of him, is it?]

Line TravB 10: yeah... a statue on a grave... there's a grave where he's buried... Travellers still go there... I was there about two weeks ago as well...

Thousands of Catholics travel to holy places of pilgrimage such as Lough Derg (St Patrick's Purgatory) in County Donegal in the Northwest of Ireland between June and August each year. It has an exclusively penitential focus. Another is Croagh Patrick, a 2,500 foot mountain in County Mayo in the west of Ireland and is associated with St. Patrick's fast for 40 days. It is climbed by thousands on the last day of July each year (the old Celtic festival of Lughnasa or the holding of fairs). Some pilgrims climb the mountain in bare feet as a higher form of penitential rite.

Line TravC 11: he's only about 20 years dead, and we knew him when he was alive... you know... he was a great friend of ours... we used to keep going to him...

Line TravB 12: If were any of the children were sick now, we'd rather bring the child to the priest, rather than the doctor... we'd have more belief because the priest does the blessing of the child and the child would get better...

Line TravC 13: we knew that Jesus and Our Lady the Blessed Virgin was above him... but they way we looked at it was, that he was so religious that God... he prayed to God and His Mother... to the Blessed Virgin... that they had to give it to him... you know what I mean... they'd answer him (the priest) for you...

Line TravD 14: and another thing Travellers believe dearly is the man and woman whose living together and not married, there wouldn't be an hours luck on that road... and yet they'd be living in mortal sin... which is true... yet a lot of people thought that Travellers didn't get married, didn't get their childer baptised or didn't get their childer First Holy Communion and Confirmation... there's people like that... yet... the travelling people get their childer baptised before they're a week old, you know I have a son and he was baptised on the very exact day he was born... the 18th May... because the Travelling women wanted that... very particular about that... baptised on the day he was born... now the mother couldn't get ready the food, or handle the food... had to be 'churched' by the priest, to take the sin of the birth of the child out of her...

According to the Catholic Encyclopedia (1908) the term 'churching' refers to a blessing given by the Catholic Church to mothers after recovery from childbirth. Only a legitimately married Catholic woman was able to receive the blessing. It is not a Church precept but a pious custom from early Christian times (Rituale Romanum). The woman presented herself to give thanks to God for a happy delivery. The mother carried a lighted candle and the priest blessed her with holy water in the form of a cross. Keith (1997) noted that it took on a semi-magical significance in popular
estimation following from the Jewish ritual of Purification where the 'sin' of childbirth was washed away. Catholic 'churching' was deemed important by a 'simple' people in that it was generally accepted that sexual intercourse tarnished a woman's purity and were, therefore, unholy or unclean due to childbirth because both virginity and sexual abstinence were commonly equated with holiness.

In many cultures this purification was accepted and in Catholicism, despite the absence of a decree from Rome on the matter, women had to be 'churched' 6 weeks or 40 days after the birth before becoming pure again to receive Holy communion since technically she was in sin so could not therefore, receive Communion and would go to Hell if she died. The Anglican Church only dropped the obligatory character of the ritual after the Restoration.

A taboo regarding the handling of food was also commonly upheld after childbirth. For example until a mother was redeemed through 'churching' she could not 'take up a knife and cut bread' i.e. prepare any food for the family lest she contaminate it (Kearns 1996). In the absence of a priest then a midwife could perform the blessing or 'churching' particularly if the mother was in danger of dying which was often the case. This ritual has ceased in the settled Catholic community, the exception being the Travellers. The reason for having children baptised so quickly was that if they died without being baptised or christened they would not go to Heaven but to another place called 'Limbo'.

The urgency to christen or baptise a child is based on the fear that if the child dies before being baptised, its soul will not go directly to Heaven (Catholic Encyclopedia...
Unbaptised infant souls then go 'Limbo', limbus infantium, literally the border place. Although the infant is incapable of committing a sin it has nevertheless been born with the stain of 'original sin' on it's soul and is therefore, excluded from Heaven because the soul needs to be born again with water according to Romans 5:12. Adults who are not baptised and have not committed a mortal sin are also excluded from 'Heaven' and go to Limbo because they too have 'original' sin on their souls and need to be born again of water. However, adults are excluded from seeing God forever whereas infants will eventually leave and enjoy a perfect state of natural happiness in Heaven.

("let me ask you about Heaven, tell me first, do you believe in Heaven?"

Line TravC 16: you were saying earlier about a wish... I live in a house in X, and my trailer is in Y, and so I'm caught between the two families... now my kids are mixing with the settled community, and when someone dies belonging to me they don't bother at all, yet when some one of their friends dies, they rush to it... I'd like them to admit they're Travellers, I'm a Traveller and I always will be, it's in your blood... even though you're living in a house you're still a Traveller...

[what makes you a traveller?]

Line TravA 17: You can't choose to be a Traveller or a settled person, you're born that way, and there's nothing going to change, nothing going to change her (Traveller C's) childer... the other thing that I think that if her childer are as she said, what happened to them is that they got in, they got mixed up with some settled people, and there was some discrimination going on, maybe in the schools, and they just, they want to change, they can't change... what they are, they cannot change...

Line TravC 18: they're hiding their identity...

Line TravA 19: yeah, my brother is in England and his childer were never married, he was getting several houses, he has his own site in England, his childer, it's hard to believe they're in London... they have to speak Irish and they are Travellers... they call themselves Travellers and they were never in Ireland... it's the child that's hiding their identity, they want to be a Traveller deep down, you never change...

Line TravB 20: No matter how much of a generation you go back, or go on ahead, say grandchilder in the next 50 or 60 year and they're living in houses, their parents and grandparents living in houses all their life, you're still a Traveller, you can't... you know what I mean, you can't turn a cabbage into a cauliflower, can't turn an onion into a carrot, you are what you are and that's it...

Line TravD 21: I'm a Traveller, I was born and reared a Traveller and I'll always be a Traveller, now my children don't like me saying that...

Line TravB 22: it's just that they want to hide their identity...

Line TravD 23: because they were born and reared in a house... I'm living two lives at the moment, I'm living in X and I have a trailer in Y and the rest of the family are in Y, so I'm between the two... it's very hard to kind of watch the house, watch what's going on... it's kind of two homes... and you're trying to run your own life as well, it's complicated... he worked here for years (my son), he won trophies and all, they're all over the building... I hate it...

Line TravA 24: I say let them live their own lives...

[so if I can ask you about Heaven, then? - could you tell me if you all believe that there is a Heaven?]

Line TravA 25: all nod, yeah we do of course!

[could you tell me what you think it is?]

Line TravA 26: I think Heaven is a beautiful place, with lovely green trees... ah... flowers, all the people that's dead and gone belonging to everybody that goes to Heaven, sitting in those chairs... all dressed in white, clouds is low, floating, a lot of angels, Our Lord sitting up on the big throne, what do you call it... crow... Our Lady beside him, that's the way I picture it...
The Accidental Tiger - Part 2: The Research

Line TravB 27: someone comes to the door and takes you in, there's a place for everyone... anyhow we're all going there...

Line TravC 28: I think the same, I think much like you (B), I think it's an awful hard place to get to... I know like even if you're a good living person, and personally even if there's nothing wrong in your life, it's a terrible hard place to get to...

Line TravB 29: It's hard to get to Heaven... I can imagine it up, I think if I died and went to Heaven... I'm not going to die and go straight to Heaven, I'd be years and years and years waiting to get in... I think you have to go through Purgatory... you're then taken into Heaven... I don't think it's a place at all... you can hear voices but you can't associate them with people...

Purgatory is a place literally to purify the soul, a temporal place of punishment for souls who have transgressed God's law with venial faults which have not been repented. The penalty is a temporary banishment before entering 'Heaven'. Prayers by the living and indulgences gained on behalf of the souls in purgatory can shorten a soul's stay in Purgatory (Catholic Encyclopedia 1911).

[how do I get there? What is the something that you must do..?]

Line TravA 30: I suppose, you're not suppose to, if you can live a good life, and not harm people... not do any harm at all to people... only helping people as much as you can, praying for people, things like that... I think when you die, if you're a good person when you die, that you're just taken... you go to Heaven... straight when you die... Our Lady and Our Lord promised you when you die...

[what do you think is the value of working hard in getting to Heaven?]

Line TravA 31: It has good value, if you work hard and you're a good provider for your family you're a good person, look after your children [children] and look after your work, whatever you're working at, and you really want to get there, like you're preparing for something... if you're doing well in work and you're good at it, and you're interested in it, it is yeah... and ones who don't (work)... He'd (God) probably give them a little bit of punishment, but He will forgive them... He forgives everyone...

Line TravC 32: some people only helps their own... some only believe in helping their own, their own family... another poor 'caythur' (creature) maybe that wants a bit of help, well they'd ignore that person... they'd pass them by... everyone should be helped, you know anyone that needs it...

They understand that God is a Being who is all forgiving i.e. the God of mercy is more prominent than the God of punishment. The criteria is that you work hard to provide for the family but work is always seen as a preparation for the next life. The 'Spirit of Charity' as explained by the Archbishop's Representative is also articulated by the Traveller Women whereby everyone is entitled to be helped if they require it without recompense, thus echoing the Catholic rather than Protestant emphasis of charity. The principle and measure of enough also features in the their narrative.

Wealth is identified as a potential threat to getting into 'Heaven'.

Presentation of 'Disconnected' Domain (D) Findings
[what would you say to me if I said to you that there are some people who believe that the more wealthy, the richer you get, the more likely it is that you'll get to Heaven and be saved?]

*Line TravD 33:* I wouldn't think great wealthy people... I often heard that the poorer man has a better chance of getting into Heaven... [would you say it's true?]... Yeah, I'd say it's true... I think that everyone's entitled to be rich or poor, no matter who they are they should be treated equally, because money won't really won't make them any worse, won't make them any better... do you know what I mean?... money on the earth, it'll do you good, but once you die it's no good to you...

*Line TravB 34:* you have to be poor to go to Heaven... you have to give what you have, give everything away everything to the poor people... you can keep nothing for yourself... and I knew a priest one time that took the boots off his feet and gave them to a travelling man...

*Line TravA 35:* well, you couldn't give everything that you have, I think if a person has a good heart, a happy person, good to people and does them no harm, well, not doing a lot of harm, you know...

[what about being wealthy and happy in this economic boom?]

*Line TravC 36:* the thing about the Celtic Tiger, is the people in power is the people with... [sic]... the rich people makes more money out of the Celtic Tiger than the poor people...

*Line TravD 37:* I've never been asked that question before... (Heaven)... I don't think much about it, I just do the best for me childer... there is people who don't think about it at all...

*Line TravA 38:* pray before I go to bed and I pray when I get up in the morning...

[what about at the moment, do you think your life is better because of this economic boom? – do you have more material things?]

*Line TravA 39:* do I have more money to spend?... I do have more material things... in a Traveller's life there's more material things than ever before... is that what you mean?... [yeah, over the last few years]... no... everything you buy has gone up... the money is alright, you get enough... you manage on what you get, but everything you buy in the shop has gone up... the money has gone up, but you are still managing the way you did...

*Line TravB 40:* I think anyone with childer can hardly manage at all... you're spending a lot more on food - (interjection by another traveller) 'that's what I'm saying'... anyone with children is worse... you get a rise in the allowance, they're giving it to you with one hand, and taking it away with the other... do you know what I mean?... they are giving it to you with this hand, then you're going into the shops and paying it out... everything's gone up... they said last year with the Celtic Tiger that the pensioners was going to get this... a raise in their allowance, but there isn't three pounds of an increase... so like, how can you manage... they give you eight pounds for gas, and it's thirteen pounds a bottle... if they gave you a bottle of gas, at least you'd have the bottle of gas... but there's nothing... there is for the rich, only for the rich... nothing for people that is struggling...

*Line TravA 41:* If you go out to sites there, people are discriminated against because they're dirty, so what I... well I have another wish, and I wish to God to have this wish... is to put a wealthy, one of the people who has power and put them out to a site where the Travellers stay for one month and see what would they do... where there wouldn be 30 families, maybe with one tap between them... one, what do you call it, portaloo toilet, which would get cleaned out maybe once in a month... right... a skip left for them to throw the rubbish into... that's left there maybe... could be the guts of a month there without getting took away... no way of washing their clothes... no real way of bathing themselves [sic]... no heating... no lights... I only wish to God that I could put a person, a politician or someone from the Government just put them in there for one month that would be my wish... and put them in it for life, some of them... [laughs]

[why do you think they don't do something about it, when there's loads of money?]

*Line TravC 42:* because they'll say that if Travellers want to live that way, then let them... their way of life... that's Travellers... this is what people, what the council what the Government think... they look down as the travelling people... the filth and dirt... way of life... that's they want to live... there was 12 houses built up in Villa Park, isn't that right? (asking the other women)... There was about 30 families all looking to get one... they say they're going to have them all housed but I can't see that...

*Line TravA 43:* they say we're filthy and dirty, but you could go to a terrace of settled houses some you wouldn't take a drink of water out of; rubbish up to their back windows... some of the Travellers, they have houses and they are absolutely lovely... spotless clean...

[would you say that Irish people work really hard?]

*Line TravB 44:* I do yeah, the ones that want to... there's a lot of Travellers just don't get the chance... settled people can learn an awful lot from Travellers... provided they get that chance... they're good workers if they get that chance...

[if you could get the money you were looking for, how much would you be talking about?... what would you say would be appropriate the right amount of wealth for you to have?]

*Line TravA 45:* I think if you have your health, you have enough... if you can walk around...
Line TravB 46: enough to survive every day... everybody would love to win the Lotto... if you're going to be a millionaire tomorrow... I'd be as happy as Larry... whoever Larry was... but I think, though... if you have your health and you're happy, and your children are healthy and everything else is going well... you're in a bit of a good job or any kind of a job as long as you're doing a bit of work and you have a bit of money to spare to buy something nice for yourself, treat your children to something... that would be good... I wouldn't be thinking about saving, saving all the time... it would be nice to be able to do it but it would be a bit greedy too... I think once you're working there getting enough, if you have a good job or whatever, and making enough... if you died you can't bring the money to Heaven...

The measure of 'enough' is mentioned three times, and a number of elements of this measure are identified such as ‘any job’, ‘a bit of spare money’, ‘for something nice and being able to save’. They are wary of exceeding the limit of ‘enough’.

Line TravA 47: I remember this poor man, he was dying, and he has bags of money, and he was staring at the money and our Lord was standing on this side and Our Lord wanted him to turn his head to him, but he wouldn't turn his head because he couldn't take his eyes off his money...

Line TravB 48: money problems is the root of all evil... so I think too much money is... money can cause an awful lot of money... and you wouldn't work if you have too much money you'd be sitting down there in the trailer very boring... at least you're occupying your mind... something to do with your mind is better...

Line TravA 49: I think making something of yourself is more important than the money you're getting... [would you rather be happy or rich?]

Line TravC 50: I'd rather be happy... I think happiness comes first... and rich and happy?... I don't think you could be very rich and happy... if you were very rich God knows what you would do... too much power... look at the way the Government of Ireland is forgetting about the people... they want it all for themselves [sic]...

They declare that they are more Catholic than the settled community and remain unsure whether it was actually possible for an individual to be both rich and happy.

Section 3 - Sister Stanislaus

A few sentences into the interview she informs me that she is a member of the Irish Council of State. (See Appendix 9 for the membership and functions of the Council of State)

[Can you tell me a little about your work?]

Line SS 1: I'm President of Focus Ireland... the biggest organisation for the Homeless in Ireland...

Line SS 2: there are over 100 volunteers including FAS people with a budget of £4,000,000 per year... 6,000 people are looked after by Focus Ireland... 200 are housed...

Line SS 3: I do a lot of non executive work now... new projects outside of Focus Ireland...

Line SS 4: I am on the General Leadership Team of the Congregation of my Order... so I get to help in policy and training for the order...

Line SS 5: I'm also on the Board of the Combat Poverty Agency and I'm a Member of the Council of State...

[the Council of State?]

SSS: yes... that one...

[Oh... I see... didn't know that...]

Presentation of 'Disconnected' Domain (D) Findings
Resolving the plight of the homeless rather than concentrating on improving the general economic well being of Irish society such as that expressed by national leaders in Domain A forms the central core of her economic vision. She does not have a specific amount of income in mind which would qualify as being 'decent'.

[What is your vision for Irish society, economically speaking that is...]

Line SS 7: everyone needs a decent income to live on with dignity... it's a relative amount I know but it should give a degree of independence...

Line SS 8: should have the right to free education... it is not free for many... its supposed to be... but they don't have the books, the clothes... they should be able to avail of it...

Line SS 9: everyone should have a right to housing... a home is appropriate and essential for everyone...

She agrees with the official Church position on an acceptable level of work commitment i.e. a fair day’s pay for a fair day’s work.

Line SS 10: everyone has the right to work according to their abilities... right to be rewarded equitably for this work...

She maintains that Irish society is quite a distance from her objective of providing a decent wage and access to work for all, noting that many still remain excluded due to lack of education and training (Line SS 12). Moreover, she contends that the figures support her view and she advises that the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) should be contacted for precise details. She points out that those at the bottom of Irish society such as the homeless have not received any of the enormous wealth generated by the Celtic Tiger. She also remarks that nobody appears to know what should be done to address the equity issue in Irish society.

[how near is Irish society to this ideal?]

Line SS 12: some of it is far away... some are benefiting... like the boom in the 60s there are big gaps... some have benefited, there is more people going into employment... a lot haven’t because of a lack of skill, education and training...

Line SS 13: look... check the figures for poverty with the ESRI... I won’t give you last year’s they’re out of date... but we have the 2nd highest level of poverty i.e. children at risk in Europe... single parents... long term unemployed and disadvantaged areas are not benefiting...

Line SS 14: I don’t honestly think that there has been a transfer of equity recognising people at the bottom...

[why is this the case?]

Line SS 15: maybe they don’t know what to do about it... I’ve questioned a lot of people... employers and those who can do something but they don’t know what to do... politicians don’t know what to do about it... the good people are being creamed off by the commercial world...

Line SS 16: we all have to change in ourselves...

Line SS 17: structures must change...
She highlights the tension in Irish society between the characteristic Irish charitable and generous disposition with the more individualistic and consumer oriented emphasis of modern Irish society. She also argues that the Irish economic system actually favours the property developer and this in turn creates more homelessness. Accordingly, our capitalist economic system prevents ordinary Irish people from seeing the connection between wealth creation and homelessness although most will see the connection between wealth and individual corruption.

Line SS 18: Irish society has the charity...
Line SS 19: the Government underestimates that the people are for a good society... they don't want drugs or unemployment or homelessness...
Line SS 20: the whole business of politics mitigates against this...
[how is Irish society changing to Industrialisation]
Line SS 21: we are getting very like America... want a particular lifestyle and need money... need a particular lifestyle then we need the money and so we are working much harder... it's a vicious circle...
Line SS 22: we are completely consumer oriented...
Line SS 23: it seeps into everything... education... work... yet people still say they don't want this type of life.
Line SS 24: people look down on the homeless... they're down on their luck... most don't want to work... there on the periphery of society...
Line SS 25: they think it's good that we are helping them...
Line SS 26: the right connections are missing... you see...
Line SS 27: we have a problem with poverty... yes we have a problem with poverty...
Line SS 28: waiting lists have been so high (housing) due to Government policy... it's not helping the homeless...
Line SS 29: on the other hand the housing boom is helping the developer... helping the contractor...
Line SS 30: it's actually had the effect of excluding more people... actually creating homelessness...
Line SS 31: most people live decent lives but they don't make any connections... except that they do feel that a rich man is corrupt...
[Why are these connections not being made?]
Line SS 32: community norms are gone...
Line SS 33: the Church integrated life into the sacramental life... that's what the Body of Christ means... unity... sharing... is the whole universe...
Line SS 34: it isn't fair... it isn't fair...
Line SS 35: look we're in the Temple Bar... lots of spending... money... it's what they see...
Line SS 36: the court system... others get off with fine... but not them... it's hard on them...
Line SS 37: they wouldn't be able to get their head around wealth... you know they rubbish life... that's how they cope... once they said to me when I had important visitors and I was carrying a briefcase... 'you've only got a sandwich in that case'... you know that sort of thing... helps them cope with life...
Line SS 38: the older ones have a faith not so much the younger ones...
Line SS 39: they understand respect...
Line SS 40: worst thing is that people look down on them... takes everything away from them... they can survive with little food, clothes... without washing...
Line SS 41: the older ones believe in God... that they will meet God... though I never heard them saying that their reward will be later...
Line SS 42: they want a fairer vision now for society...

She argues that the loss of community norms has caused a loss of personal connections and that the poor are subjected to institutional discrimination even by the
‘impartial’ judges in the courts. This is a similar view taken by the Archbishop’s representative where he identified the loss of community values and the ascendancy of individual rights. They cope with their disadvantage by ‘rubbishing’ wealth. The older homeless individuals have kept their Catholic faith and she points out that while they believe in the afterlife they probably want to enjoy this life also.

**Homeless Persons ‘A’ ‘B’ and ‘C’ - Dublin City**

One of the Homeless individuals gives a brief biography and reckons that money is now more important in society than people.

*Line HPDUB 1:* Wha’ d’ye wanna know?...[A little about yourself]...I was born in...[‘see y’a later Mick’ to a passing friend]...in Sir John Rogerson’s Quay [one of the quays on the river Liffey] about ten fifteen minutes walk away from here...family above working class if there is such as thing...me fath’er a painter/dec’orator...mother ownded [sic] a restaur’ant...and a boarding house...but the lodgers she took in were always broke, and she never asked them for money...they were the old days...but she always got paid in the end, one way or the other...

[What do you on an average day?]  
*Line HPDUB 2:* well, I’m a very bad sleeper...unless I get pissed, and that’s not sleep it’s just an alcoholic stupor...up about six o’clock...think about what I’ll do...not much to do when you’re on the streets, so I write about it?...get pen and paper [he is a street poet], sit down and it’ll come to me...it takes a while...

*Line HPDUB 3:* and I don’t want to be angry, that gets you nowhere, but the anger is in there, y’know...there’s a time when you look around in so-called ‘rich society’ and there’s a few of us on the street...how a person gets on to the street is their own individual...problems, and we all have them, we have everybody throwing money at us...government, social services, but not one of them is prepared to listen...as to why we end up on the street...

*Line HPDUB 4:* and until such a time as they are willing to listen, then we may have...[so what about the Celtic Tiger, then?]...it went tha’ way (pointing up the street)...the Celtic Tiger made money more important than people...it made, it made them...I’m only talking about what I feel, nothin’ else...it made people cold it made them think that, okay we can make it...and we can stand on the little people...the people of no concern...everybody has concerns, everybody has a right to contribute...and we do...in our own way...[Yeah! Yeah!...spoken by the other two mates ‘Y’ and another who wished to remain anonymous]...

He and his two ‘mates’ are quick to point out that they contribute to society and they take exception to those who claim otherwise.

*Line HPDUB 5:* maybe not in a constructive way, but we do contribute...I print my own stuff, I publish it, and I sell it...there was a woman on the radio the other night, from the homeless section of Dublin Corporation, and I’d love to get a hold of that lassie...how dare she sit there with a hundred thousand pound job, or whatever she’s on...and go on national radio and say that people who live in the street contribute to nothing...
Although there is a considerable amount of money available to the government to address the homeless problem nothing ever happens. During this stage of the interview a young Gárda (policeman) intervened.

Line HPDUB 6: I'm a poet, I get my ideas from the street, I live in the street, and we make it... [interview interrupted]...

Gárda ordered all drink to be put away (byelaw being breached by drinking on the pavement) and directed all of us to move on. An exchange of words ensued between the Gárda and 'X'. After a couple of minutes calm returns and the Gárda moves away. We all sit down again on the step and resume the interview.

Line HPDUB 6 [...cond]... He's only a prick!... clearing the streets... poxy!... that's what gets up my fuckin' nose, and I lost me drift... [you were talking about the Celtic Tiger]... oh yeah... the Celtic Tiger's brought big finances to this country, but the little people haven't seen it and never will... they've got what?... 30 billion?... to spend after the budget comes out, and what are they going to spend it on?... whoever knows?... 30 billion, even half of that could solve the housing crisis in this country...

Like the other respondents in the research he is quick to point out with the agreement of his mates that they are happy with 'enough'.

Line HPDUB 7: it's an easy answer to that... does riches make you happy or not?... well, I can't answer that... I wish I could... it'd be nice to have a few bob, but then again, you have to look at what is a few bob?... Is it millions?... thousands, a few hundreds, a few pence?... it depends on your own psychic, what you believe and what makes you happy...

Line HPDUB 8: I'm happy enough if I have a few fags, a few cans, somethin' to eat at the end of the night, somethin' to pay the printer that I owe, y'know... and once I get that sorted out I'm quite content... (Mates: Yeah Yeah... that's right... drink and fags... yep!)

He is convinced that wealth and unhappiness go together and gives an example.

Although 'X' says that he does not believe in Heaven anymore, this has the advantage of avoiding a belief in Hell pointing out that this is a 'good' Jesuit answer. His mate 'Y' maintained that Heaven obviously exists because 'only a fuckin' eejit wouldn't think so'.

[What you do think when people die?... eh, what's your mates' name there?]

Line HPDUB 9: 'Y'... [do you think that's the end of it?]... sorry?... ['X' do you think that's the end of it, when people die, is there anything afterwards?]... NO!... I found with my family that when the parents died, they left me everything because I was the youngest, and the nuttiest, coz I wouldn't do what they told me... I done me own thing... always did and eh I always will, and I'm willing to suffer the consequences... I don't moan about it... I see my brother passin' by here every day in his Merc... most unhappiest fool I ever seen... he's a Don, a Don Quixote without the ass...

Line HPDUB 10: have a look just have a look [do you think that they... people out there... think there's a Heaven?]... [do you think there's a Heaven]?... can I say something? (says 'Y'... his mate)... According to 'X', if there wasn't a Heaven you wouldn't be here, so it's a stupid fuckin' question... of course
there’s a heaven...I'm only 31, I don’t know what the hell age ‘X’ is...so there has to be a Heaven, that’s the stupidest question I ever heard anybody askin’...are you preachin’ or wha?...
Line HPDUB 11:no he’s not if he was we wouldn’t be sittin’ here, we’d be gone...ah, hiya love! [waves to a passerby]... he’s goin’ to be around until 7 o’clock... y’know that...that copper...he’s back again, is he? ‘Y? ...only till about 7...("Y’:over the other side, is he?)...Yeah...is that where he’s gone to...[I have a little sheet here]...I can’t see it’s too dark...[I’m going to talk to you, now, you can tell me where it is]...ordinary people are materialist... (‘Y’ interrupts:good answer)...(yeah says his mate) so they’re down that end...money is what they care about [and yourself]...[‘Y’ says ‘couldn’t give two fucks one way or the other’]...
[so you’d put yourself equally there]

Line HPDUB 12:No! I’m not a materialist...I don’t believe in God, and when I don’t believe in God, there’s no Hell! That’s a Jesuits answer...I think people live to pay high mortgages, I mean, people have to work...I work, mind you I don’t have an employer...my employer is my necessity and my necessity is very simple...I don’t begrudge anyone who owns a Mercedes or a 110-bedroom house, that’s their problem...

The charitable disposition surfaces in the response of ‘X’ and his mates i.e. sharing whatever you may have without expecting anything in return. This is the purest form of the Spirit of Christian Charity expressed by a respondent in any of the interviews with the exception of the Traveller Women and the Unemployed Person A.

Line HPDUB 13:but society today is built around money and not caring...and without caring, what good is money...he... ‘Y’ came by and he said, are you alright for a can?...that’s caring...okay it may be alcohol, but the point, see the point behind it...and that’s what it’s all about...it’s all about helping one another... if I’ve two blankets and I know he hasn’t got one...I’ll give ’em one...not rented out...not give him a mortgage for it...just give it to him, and that’s the end of it...[isn’t that right? he says to his mates who nod in agreement]...but we’ve come into a commercial society that money rules, and it’s a very, very sad society...and as far as the Celtic Tigers concerned, so many people make money out of it...let them!...but, it will collapse, like the house of cards it’s built of...it will collapse, and when it does, people are going to go screaming...

‘X’ and his mates point out the limitations of money and wealth. He quotes one of his poems from memory that represents and expresses his ‘outsider’ attitude to Irish society and his ‘lucky’ predicament living on the outside.

Line HPDUB 14:and money’s not everything...it’s not... it could buy you cars, houses, all the rest...("Y’:\'Can’t buy you life)....and it’s hard to say y’know...I’ve no grudge against these people...let them do their own thing...but they look down on me...because I won’t join their society, and will NEVER join their society...I wrote a little poem there, this morning ...

...“Eh, what do you see, when you look down on me?
An oul’ tramp, half drunk, whose wisdom has ran away years ago
Who’s head’s in a mess
Yes, maybe so, for today,
But tomorrow I shall look again
And I shall see the winter in the trees
The leaves are falling one by one
And I sit under this park bench and I think
How lucky I am, to walk away from the rat race
And the rats”...

That’s it...
He attacks professional beggars – the ‘white blanket NIKE brigade’ (those who wear designer clothes) - claiming that he is different from them because he works for a living and they don’t.

Line HPDUB 16: I’m not a philosopher...I‘ve discovered, working in kitchens and hotels all my life, that all you’re treated is as a second-class pest...and I’ve had enough of that...I’d rather sit on the goddam side of the road...I have a bit of wit, I think a little bit of intelligence, and I can make it... Line HPDUB 17: you get guys I’ve seen them all, the white blanket brigade in town...[professional beggars]...have a look at them, where are they on a wet and windy night?...home in bed!...where are they on the weekends when there’s no one around?...home in bed!...Where are they Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday?...the fellas that sit there with the white blanket and the paper cup...and the Nike runners...do you know how much a pair of Nike runners cost?...and they’re sittin’ out there and they’re givin’ us a bad name...
[would I be able to use one or two of your verses?] Line HPDUB 18: go ahead, you’ve got copyright...you have my permission, it doesn’t matter, don’t misquote me because I have enough of that...and I’ve a new one coming out that should be ready...[will I put down “street poet”, is that what you want to be known as?]... Line HPDUB 19: I mean I only get seventy five fifty on the labour...seventy two fifty a week...but I‘ll get through the winter...don’t worry...the only part of me that gets cold is my goddam hands...it’s the only part of me that gets cold...I have good shoes...(Y: if you look at a couple of X’s poems it gives his whole life story...the poems are his story and his life...don’t forget to write his poem?)...[no I won’t] Listen, thanks for that anyway...I have to go now...mind yourself....

During the exercise to rate their disposition on the four continua, ‘X’ declares that most Irish people seem to be more materialist but he certainly is not.

Summary Remarks on Domain D responses

The unemployed, the nun, the homeless persons and the Traveller women display a conditional attitude towards acquiring wealth and conditional work commitment similar to other respondents in Domains (A), (B) and (C). They indicated that work effort has little or no value in achieving the afterlife but that charity is the key to ‘Heaven’. While the unemployed persons had a strong focus on this life in order to survive, they are trying to become economically engaged to achieve their objective of ‘enough’. They see ‘official’ employment such as that enjoyed by those in Domains A, B and C as a step in the right direction. Their economic objective is relative inasmuch as they want to secure the equivalent measure of ‘enough’ enjoyed by those in Domain A, B and C.
On the other hand, the homeless do not hold ‘official’ employment in high esteem but provided one of the best examples of higher order Catholic charity namely, they share their meagre possessions such as beer or cigarettes without looking for a return. Once they have ‘enough’ they too are ‘happy’. In relative terms, their definition of ‘enough’ such as cigarettes, beer and a meal can be as difficult to acquire as the house and car for other respondents.

All respondents believed in Heaven and were adamant that a charitable ethos is a sure way of getting there. While the aspirations are different in relative preferences, it nevertheless suggests that the principle of ‘enough’ is also a universal feature throughout all Domains and this stated limit of material well being is relative to the possibilities given individual economic circumstances.

The ‘Traveller’ women believed in the power of holy priests and wells to cure illnesses rather than the lay doctor. Their beliefs appear more ‘innocent’ inasmuch as they implicitly trust in a loving and forgiving God. Their vision of Heaven is a ‘simple’ one with clouds and angels. They are particularly clear that the only way to achieve Heaven is to give everything away and be charitable at all times i.e. the opposite sentiment to the acquisitive impulse. Yet the women also maintained that Travellers in general work very hard and that their economic objective is also ‘enough’. While they are the most discriminated group in Europe, Travellers appear to exhibit the strongest faith of all respondents in the supernatural while at the same time their ‘enough’ objective is quite similar to other respondents. Their poverty and discrimination is based on external sources i.e. they regard themselves as victims of others attitudes and if given the same chance as others in society they would prosper equally as well.
Chapter 9

PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction:
A culturally sensitive and tailor made methodological approach has captured a broad range of contributions that reflect the mosaic of Irish social life. An interview strategy, informed by both qualitative and quantitative methods and underpinned by a phenomenological paradigm, has facilitated the emergence of a number of key themes that shed light on the nature of the Irish economic disposition. The purpose of this chapter is to present and discuss these summarised themes. The conclusions which are subsequently presented in three parts are informed by this evidence and provide the material to build up a profile of the Irish economic disposition which is then presented towards the end of the chapter.

The first part focuses on the emerging themes from Domain A. This Domain requires separation from the others because of its uniquely national worldview and previously discussed ethical issues concerning confidentiality due to the uniqueness of the contributors. Nevertheless, the findings in Domain A which are presented in summary format below in Table 2.9.1, are later incorporated into the economic profile to reflect a truly inclusive and representative outcome.

In the second part, the findings from the other three Domains B, C and D are thematically collated in two stages. Stage 1 treats the three Domains as a ‘compressed’ single unit. The statistical summary presented in Table 2.9.2. presents the ratings given by each respondent in these three domains at the end of their interview, their religious status, their charitable disposition, and their preferred
economic target. A series of measurements and correlations then follow in Table 2.9.3 highlighting the average score for the level of focus on a particular continuum and the link between religious belief (Column 3) and these ratings. These calculations are intended to provide indicators or approximations of the strength of the religious and work attitude and the effect that Catholicism may have on other variables. In Stage 2, Domains (B), (C) and (D) revert back to their original stand alone format where a similar set of calculations are completed for each Domain and the results presented in Tables 2.9.4, 2.9.5 and 2.9.6, respectively. The purpose of taking this Domain by Domain approach is to identify where differences and/or similarities in the strength of the indicators that exist within the three Domains B-D. The third and final Part of the summary discusses the themes and the linkages that emerged within the entire sample of four Domains A-D and only then does it become possible to present an inclusive profile of the economic disposition displayed in the ‘Celtic Tiger’ era.

Part 1.-Themes from Domain A only

One of the striking features of the responses in this Domain, is the difficulty that the respondents found in articulating a national vision with the result that there was an absence of a uniform and national economic vision. Each individual provided an answer that appears disjointed from the others. Some give the impression that it was an ‘off the top of the head’ answer characterised by much vagueness. Many are simply uncertain of the elements that should make up their economic vision. The Leader of the Islamic community declared that constructing an economic vision was irrelevant if not impossible. The key elements of the vision articulated by each respondent ranged from four priority areas of the Taoiseach, to the imprecise aims of the Tánaiste.
Another finding was the existence of key influences impacting on the substance of each economic vision. In the case of the Taoiseach for example, Catholic Social Teaching embodied in the Partnership approach has the capacity to achieve the balance between equity and competitiveness. Moreover, the Taoiseach as leader of the country, does not regard wealth as a key personal priority. The religious leaders tend to focus on equity whereas the Tánaiste assigns a higher preference for competitiveness. The absence of Socialism and the consolidation of stable centrist political ideology underpins the vision of the Tánaiste who insists that it is a key attraction for multi-national corporations. The centrist approach is also a feature of the narrative of the Employer and Farmer representatives and where farmers are keen to play the main political parties against each other in advancement of their own interests. The IBEC representative also agreed on the absence of a capitalist labour dichotomy indicating to its advantage that there is little subliminal or ideological baggage carried by the Irish workforce.

The Archbishop’s representative and the Tánaiste did not consider Marxist ideology an appropriate vehicle to shed light on Irish economic development nor was it perceived to be an appropriate social framework to inform individual or national strategies in securing material well being. The IBEC representative noted the importance of partnership consensus in assisting with economic development. He also argued that unlike the Protestant, the Irish Catholic worker was freed from the burden of finding answers for ultimate questions as this function falls within the remit of the priest, and allows workers to direct their energies towards engaging with the prevailing economic order. This can be a national competitive advantage. Moreover, the IBEC Representative’s national strategy was not to negotiate the maximisation of
growth but rather its optimisation. In other words there is an optimum limit of ‘enough’ in order to secure the optimum economic outcomes.

The Catholic Church’s view according to the Archbishop’s representative, has never deviated from the position that economic development must be for the greater good and states that wealth can endanger both the individual’s and society’s search for truth. Furthermore, the greater good cannot be served by either Marxism or Capitalism, where the Catholic ideal is a social free market. The Church of Ireland and the Islamic community hold positions similar to the Catholic Church.

Undoubtedly one remarkable finding is the revelation by the leader of one Ireland’s largest trade unions, that he was hand picked, trained and placed by the Jesuits into his powerful union position. He was unaware of what was happening at the time and he describes how they secretly used their influence and networking to secure this very powerful position. His approach to economic life and to his work is now governed by Jesuit psychology. The disclosure by all respondents of an acceptable national and individual measure of economic success, namely ‘enough’ is another feature of Domain A responses. For example the Taoiseach and the Union leader referred directly to the provision of enough for all, while the economic advisor with IBEC contended that too much wealth can cause infrastructural problems. The IFA economic advisor argued for a balance between wealth and a good lifestyle i.e. enough wealth to enjoy life. The official Catholic and Islamic view of the ideal economic objective is a measure of ‘enough for everybody’. The table of eight columns below summarises these themes. Columns 1–3 define the Domain, the occupation and the level of religiosity of each respondent, while columns 4–6 define each individual’s economic vision and the key influence(s) on that vision. Columns 7–8 define the expected material outcomes and their measure of economic success.
Table: 2.9.1 Summary of Domain A - Findings in relation to the Economic Vision and the 'Enough' Principle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C1</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>C2</th>
<th>Religiosity</th>
<th>C3</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Key element(s) of Vision</th>
<th>C5</th>
<th>Key Influence on Vision</th>
<th>C6</th>
<th>Hoped for outcome</th>
<th>C7</th>
<th>Measure of success used</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Prime Minister</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Aspirational aims on 4 priority areas</td>
<td>Catholic Social Teaching</td>
<td>Partnership &amp; re-distribution of wealth</td>
<td>Provision of 'Enough' for all</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Enterprise Trade and Employment</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Unsure of economic aims 'I suppose'</td>
<td>Absence of Socialism and Marxism</td>
<td>Equality of income</td>
<td>Long term unemployment eliminated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Director of Economic Affairs, IBEC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Optimising Growth rather than Excessive Growth</td>
<td>Catholic has capacity to support economic development</td>
<td>Equality of opportunity for all</td>
<td>Optimise rather than maximise wealth creation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>General Secretary of 'X' UNION</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Full employment</td>
<td>Jesuit psychology</td>
<td>Access to education and health for all</td>
<td>'Enough' for All</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Chief Economic Advisor, Irish Farmers Association</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Living standards 'I suppose'</td>
<td>Power of farmers to play off the political parties</td>
<td>Equal distribution of income &amp; opportunity</td>
<td>'Enough' by ensuring competitiveness and equity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Archbishop of Dublin's Economic/Social Affairs Advisor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Opposed to Marxism &amp; also Capitalism</td>
<td>Official Catholic teaching on wealth</td>
<td>Equal distribution re-distribution of economic wealth</td>
<td>Ideal is 'Enough' for each person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Leader of Irish Islamic Community</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>Against a free industrialising system</td>
<td>God's will must be done</td>
<td>Sharing with community</td>
<td>'Enough' for everybody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Church of Ireland Minister for St. Iberias Parish Wexford</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Welfare of individual is paramount</td>
<td>Economic development must be for the common good</td>
<td>Redistribution of wealth</td>
<td>Less wealth for everybody Lack of profit motive</td>
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Summary and Analysis of the Findings
Part 2: Section 1

Themes emerging from the ‘compressed’ Domains B, C and D.

The research findings for ‘compressed’ Domains B, C and D also reveal a number of key themes. The prevalence of the charitable disposition as the distinguishing feature of both suitable economic behaviour and a guarantee of Heaven is one of the main themes to emerge. Many were also able to define ‘enough’ as a quantifiable measure of wealth such as a car, holiday, round of golf, a ‘jar’. Their responses implied that their measure was fixed, individually tailored and limited to the economic possibilities given their particular set of circumstances. Moreover, individual work effort was less than total and both multi-nationals accepted this situation.

In the following Table 2.9.2, the results of the ratings exercise for each respondent in Domains B, C and D are also presented capturing both their self evaluation and their assessment of society’s degree of focus on ‘This Life/The Afterlife’ and on ‘Working to Live/Living to Work’. The rating scale used was from −5 to +5 where zero represents an approximate equal focus on both positions and the assigned ratings between 0 to −5 and 0 to +5 represent tendencies towards one extremity or the other. The degree of religiosity follows the discussed topology in the methodology chapter 4. The expression of charity as the prime religious influence governing economic interaction with others is represented in Column 8.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>C2</th>
<th>C3</th>
<th>C4 Focus on This Life/Afterlife (Self)</th>
<th>C5 Focus on This Life/Afterlife (Society)</th>
<th>C6 Focus on Living to Work/Working to Live (Self)</th>
<th>C7 Focus on Living to Work/Working to Live (Society)</th>
<th>Charity Expressed</th>
<th>'Enough' expressed</th>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Senior Manager AMUL</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-3.0</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>+2.0</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Senior Manager BMUL</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-3.5</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>+0.5</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>B</td>
<td>Plant Manager AMUL</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-3.5</td>
<td>-2.5</td>
<td>-4.0</td>
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<td>B</td>
<td>Product Planner AMUL</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>-2.5</td>
<td>-4.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>U.K. Tech Sup. Mgr. BMUL</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-3.5</td>
<td>-4.0</td>
<td>+1.5</td>
<td>-4.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Europe Project Mgr BMUL</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-2.5</td>
<td>-2.5</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Recruit Specialist BMUL</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-3.0</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>Craftworker 1 AMUL</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-4.5</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>Secretary AMUL</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>Production Operative AMUL</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>Lab Technologist AMUL</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>-2.5</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>Production Trainer AMUL</td>
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<td>-5.0</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>Craftworker 2 AMUL</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>Teleservices Agent BMUL</td>
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<td>-2.0</td>
<td>-2.5</td>
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<td>Farmer 'A'</td>
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<td>Farmer 'B'</td>
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<td>-3.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Farmer 'C'</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Farmer 'D'</td>
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<td>1.0</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
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<td>Farmer 'E'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>+2.0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>School Class 'A'</td>
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<td>-1.0</td>
<td>-3.0</td>
<td>-3.0</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>School Classes B,C,D,E</td>
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<td>-4.0</td>
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<td>Teacher 'A'</td>
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<td>-2.0</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>Teacher 'B'</td>
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Table: 2.9.2 Summary of the Findings of 'Compressed' Domains B-D (-5 to +5)

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<th>Domain</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Religiosity</th>
<th>C3</th>
<th>Focus on This Life/Afterlife (Self)</th>
<th>C4</th>
<th>Focus on This Life/Afterlife by Society</th>
<th>C5</th>
<th>Focus on Working to Live/Living to Work (Self)</th>
<th>C6</th>
<th>Focus on Working to Live/Living to Work by Society</th>
<th>C7</th>
<th>Charity expressed Yes = 1 No = 0</th>
<th>'Enough' expressed Yes = 1 No = 0</th>
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<td>D Unemployed Ballymun 'A'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
<td>-5.0 = This Life +5.0 = Next Life</td>
<td>-4.0</td>
<td>+0.5</td>
<td>+5.0 = On Work +5.0 = On Living</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Unemployed Ballymun 'B'</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>-5.0 = This Life +5.0 = Next Life</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>+5.0 = On Work +5.0 = On Living</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>D Unemployed Ballymun 'C'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>-5.0 = This Life +5.0 = Next Life</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>+5.0 = On Work +5.0 = On Living</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>D Unemployed Ballymun 'D'</td>
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<td>-3.0</td>
<td>-5.0 = This Life +5.0 = Next Life</td>
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<td>-2.0</td>
<td>+5.0 = On Work +5.0 = On Living</td>
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<td>-3.0</td>
<td>-3.5</td>
<td>-5.0 = This Life +5.0 = Next Life</td>
<td>-3.0</td>
<td>-2.5</td>
<td>+5.0 = On Work +5.0 = On Living</td>
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<tr>
<td>D Traveller '2'</td>
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<td>-2.0</td>
<td>-2.5</td>
<td>-5.0 = This Life +5.0 = Next Life</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>+5.0 = On Work +5.0 = On Living</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1.5</td>
<td>-5.0 = This Life +5.0 = Next Life</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>+5.0 = On Work +5.0 = On Living</td>
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<tr>
<td>D Traveller '4'</td>
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<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>-5.0 = This Life +5.0 = Next Life</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>+5.0 = On Work +5.0 = On Living</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>D Sr. Stanilaus/Homeless</td>
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<td>-2.0</td>
<td>-5.0 = This Life +5.0 = Next Life</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>+5.0 = On Work +5.0 = On Living</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Homeless 'A'</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>-5.0 = This Life +5.0 = Next Life</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>+5.0 = On Work +5.0 = On Living</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Homeless 'B'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>-2.5</td>
<td>-5.0 = This Life +5.0 = Next Life</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>+5.0 = On Work +5.0 = On Living</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data analysis in Table 2.9.3 below includes the mean or arithmetic average of responses, the median, the mode and the standard deviation by category for the responses of the 'compressed Domains B-D. It also includes correlation coefficients indicating the relationship between the independent variable Religiosity and the dependent variables listed in the titles of each of the columns C4-C9 respectively. The statistics include nominal or categorical data (domain, and occupation for example) together with ordinal or ranked data (Religiosity for example) and interval data (the rating or scores for indicating disposition on the four continua). The latter is, strictly speaking, ordinal data since the real distances between numbers are not equal i.e. an individual marking +2 on the scale may not be twice as much focused on this life as the individual who marks +1 on the same scale. The assumption for statistical research is that they are in fact equal measurements and this is a valid approach (Sapsford 1996). For the purposes of correlation, nominal or categorical data cannot be used since they are labels and not numbers capable of being a ratio measurement (Calder & Sapsford 1996). This means that Column 1 'Domain' and Column 2 'Occupation' prove unsuitable for calculating degree of relationships although calculations and functions have been completed on the measurements in the remaining columns.
Table: 2.9.3  ‘Compressed’ Domains B-D, The Calculation of the Mean Median, Mode, Standard Deviation and Correlation Coefficient for Columns 3-9 using Scale-5 to +5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item No</th>
<th>Type of Calculation</th>
<th>C3</th>
<th>C4</th>
<th>C5</th>
<th>C6</th>
<th>C7</th>
<th>C8</th>
<th>C9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Religiosity</td>
<td>Focus on This Life/Afterlife (Self)</td>
<td>Focus on This Life/Afterlife by (Society)</td>
<td>Focus on Working to Live/Living to Work (Self)</td>
<td>Focus on Working to Live/Living to Work by (Society)</td>
<td>Charity Disposition expressed</td>
<td>'Enough' expressed</td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Mean Domains B-D</td>
<td>2.1515152</td>
<td>-5.0 = This Life +5.0 = Next Life</td>
<td>-5.0 = This Life +5.0 = Next Life</td>
<td>-5.0 = On Work +5.0 = On Living</td>
<td>-5.0 = On Work +5.0 = On Living</td>
<td>0.96969697</td>
<td>0.96969697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Median Domains B-D</td>
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<td>-2.0</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mode Domains B-D</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>-4.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Standard Deviation Domain B-D</td>
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<td>1.781507491</td>
<td>1.425385381</td>
<td>2.121766702</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>C. Efficient column 3 and 4</td>
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<td>C. Efficient column 3 and 5</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>C. Efficient column 3 and 7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>C. Efficient column 3 and 8</td>
<td>0.4265053</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>C. Efficient column 3 and 9</td>
<td>0.4265053</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary and Analysis of the Findings
The average degree of religiosity for 'compressed' Domains B-D is 2.151515 which is slightly higher than Intermediate Catholic status with the typical value half way from lowest and highest values where the median equals 2. The most commonly expressed value (mode) is also 2, namely Intermediate Catholic status. The standard deviation is calculated at 0.90558 so that there is never more than an average of one level of religiosity from the mean value 2 i.e. Intermediate Catholic status.

A summary of scores representing the self focus on 'This Life/Afterlife' by each respondent (C4) shows a mean of -1.5, namely a relatively stronger disposition towards 'This Life' as opposed to 'The Afterlife'. Irish society is perceived as having a slightly stronger focus on this life as expressed by the mean value of -1.7. The individual commitment to 'Working to Live' was relatively strong evoking a disposition with a value of -1.0757. A slightly weaker value was recorded for the perceived disposition of Irish society towards 'Working to Live' and was calculated at -0.848.

The most frequent score recorded by individuals in the rating exercises for C6 was -4.0 which indicated a strong disposition towards 'Working to Live'. This suggests a strong commitment to preferences other than work i.e. they placed a high instrumental value on work. The measurement of 'enough' and the principle of charity were both calculated as having a theoretical mean of 0.9696 i.e. they are universally present throughout all three Domains. The relatively high standard deviation values for C4, C5, C6 and C7 ranging from 2.1 to 0.17 are in close proximity to zero on the rating scale of -5.0 to +5.0. For example there is less than one level of religiosity separating all the respondents in the three Domains. Less than two units of measure separate the highest recorded value for 'Focus on This Life/Afterlife' and less than two units of measure separate the highest recorded value for the focus on 'Working to Live/Living...
to Work' in all three Domains. While the general disposition of the 'compressed' Domains B-D is moving towards a 'Focus on this Life' (see C4 and a co-efficient score of -1.5757) this does not reflect in itself a parallel increase in the 'Focus on Work'. Rather the opposite is the case where a value of -1.07575758 indicates a move towards zero or an equal focus on 'Working to Live and the 'Living to Work'. This reflects the view of the Career Guidance teacher and the Ballymun Unemployed person A who stated that most Irish people hedge their bets against the existence of Heaven.

The correlation between the level of religiosity in Column C3 and the 'Focus on this Life' and the 'After Life' in Column 4, gives a coefficient value 0.15 indicating a weak positive correlation thereby suggesting that bets are hedged by all respondents irrespective of their religiosity. The degree of focus on 'This Life/ After Life' by Irish society C5, also suggests a hedging approach close to zero with a calculated coefficient of -0.0469 i.e. a very weak negative correlation. A similarly low coefficient of 0.0712 is also recorded for C3 and C6 which suggests that a weak positive relationship exists between Religion and 'Focus on Work to Live'. The coefficients for C3 and C7 i.e. focus on 'Living to Work' by Irish society again indicates that a weak relationship exists between religion and work. This suggests that there is little if any intrinsic value in work. On the other hand the correlation for C3 and C8 (religion and charity) and for C3 and C9, (religion and 'enough') indicate a fair degree of relationship.

A similar set of data analysis to that presented for 'compressed Domains B-D above is now presented in Part 2: Section 2 for each stand alone Domain B, Domain C and Domain D in Table 2.9.4, Table 2.9.5, and Table 2.9.6 respectively.
Table 2.9.4 Domain B only - Calculation of the Mean Median, Mode, Standard Deviation and Correlation Coefficient for Columns 3-9 using Scale -5 to +5

<table>
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<tr>
<th>C1</th>
<th>C2</th>
<th>C3</th>
<th>C4</th>
<th>C5</th>
<th>C6</th>
<th>C7</th>
<th>C8</th>
<th>C9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item No</td>
<td>Type of Calculation</td>
<td>Religiosity</td>
<td>Focus on This Life/Afterlife (Self)</td>
<td>Focus on This Life/Afterlife by (Society)</td>
<td>Focus on Working to Live/Living to Work (Self)</td>
<td>Focus on Working to Live/Living to Work by (Society)</td>
<td>Charity Disposition expressed</td>
<td>'Enough' expressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mean Domain B</td>
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<td>-2.0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Median Domain B</td>
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<td>-3.0</td>
<td>-2.5</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mode Domain B</td>
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<td>-3.5</td>
<td>-2.5</td>
<td>-4.0</td>
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<td>1</td>
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</table>

Summary and Analysis of the Findings
Table: 2.9.5  Domain C only - Calculation of the Mean Median, Mode, Standard Deviation and Correlation Coefficient for Columns 3-9 using Scale -5 to +5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C1</th>
<th>C2</th>
<th>C3</th>
<th>C4</th>
<th>C5</th>
<th>C6</th>
<th>C7</th>
<th>C8</th>
<th>C9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item No</td>
<td>Type of Calculation</td>
<td>Religiosity</td>
<td>Focus on This Life/Afterlife (Self)</td>
<td>Focus on This Life/Afterlife by (Society)</td>
<td>Focus on Working to Live/Living to Work by (Self)</td>
<td>Focus on Working to Live/Living to Work by (Society)</td>
<td>Charity Disposition expressed</td>
<td>'Enough' expressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mean Domain C</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>-5.0 =This Life +5.0 =Next Life</td>
<td>-5.0 =This Life +5.0 =Next Life</td>
<td>-5.0 =On Work +5.0 =On Living</td>
<td>-5.0 =On Work +5.0 =On Living</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Median Domain C</td>
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<td>-2.0</td>
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<td>-2.0</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
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<td>Mode Domain C</td>
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<td>-2.0</td>
<td>-4.0</td>
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Summary and Analysis of the Findings

265
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<th>Religiosity</th>
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<th>Focus on This Life/Afterlife by (Society)</th>
<th>Focus on Working to Live/Living to Work (Self)</th>
<th>Focus on Working to Live/Living to Work by (Society)</th>
<th>Charity Disposition expressed</th>
<th>'Enough' expressed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mean Domain D</td>
<td>2.1818182</td>
<td>-0.545454545</td>
<td>-1.681818182</td>
<td>-0.77272727</td>
<td>-1.090909091</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Median Domain D</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mode Domain D</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Standard Deviation Domain D</td>
<td>1.0787198</td>
<td>1.507556723</td>
<td>1.419026555</td>
<td>1.979439774</td>
<td>1.241333594</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Calculation of correlation coefficient for Domain D only</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>C. Efficient column 3 and 4</td>
<td>-0.208514</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>C. Efficient column 3 and 5</td>
<td>0.1985148</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>C. Efficient column 3 and 6</td>
<td>-0.039663</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>C. Efficient column 3 and 7</td>
<td>0.1776486</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>C. Efficient column 3 and 8</td>
<td>#DIV/0!</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>C. Efficient column 3 and 9</td>
<td>#DIV/0!</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part 2: Section 2

Comparison of indicators within each Domain B, C and D.

There is little or no difference in the degree of religiosity declared by the executive respondents in Domain B although on average they display a relatively strong focus on ‘This Life/Afterlife’ which is calculated at -3.0 for C4. Their assessment of the degree of focus of Irish society on ‘This Life/Afterlife’ in C5 is calculated at -2.0. There is a stronger correlation between C3 (religion) and C5 (focus on this life/afterlife) in Domain B than for its equivalent correlation in the ‘compressed’ Domains B, C and D. The focus of Irish society on ‘Working to Live /Living to Work’ for Domain B is calculated at -0.2142, where it is significantly close to zero so that there is an indication of the existence of a ‘true’ balance between the intrinsic and the instrumental work value. There is also a moderate to good relationship between C3 and C7, i.e. religion and work and a strong relationship between C3 and C8 (religion and charity) and between C3 and C9 (religion and 'enough').

Labour Domain C displays a slightly higher mean level of religiosity of +2.2. Furthermore all the averages remain remarkably similar to the corresponding values of the ‘compressed’ Domains B, C, D. However, unlike the Executive Domain B, Labour Domain C exhibits a fair degree of relationship between C3 and C4 (0.4597) i.e. a focus on ‘This Life/Afterlife’ by self. A fair degree of relationship is displayed between C3 and C6 (0.3268) i.e. religion and a focus on ‘Working to Live’ by self. A significant negative correlation exists between C3 and C5 (Focus on This Life by society) calculated at -0.655. Here the influence of religion appears to be moderate to high when compared to the average figures for the compressed Domains and suggests that for C5 the absence of religion would strengthen the disposition towards a focus on ‘This Life’ i.e. move it towards the extreme -5.0 rating. Since there is no
deviation from the mean value of +1.0 in both C8 and C9 and because the assigned values are ordinal and constant numbers, a relationship between C3 and C8 and C3 and C9 cannot be meaningfully calculated.

The highest level of mean religiosity calculated at +2.18 is to be found in the ‘Disconnected’ Domain D, and suggests that respondents with the lowest level of material well-being display a higher Catholic status than Domains B and C. The mean figure calculated for the intensity of focus on ‘This Life/Afterlife’ is calculated at -0.54545. This suggests that Domain D has by far the weakest disposition towards a focus on ‘This Life’ and the strongest orientation towards a focus on ‘The Afterlife’. This would also suggest that those with the least material well being have the strongest concern for the Afterlife. In Domain D the respondents perceive that Irish society has the weakest focus on ‘This Life’ calculated at -1.68, where the respondents themselves have the weakest disposition towards ‘Working to Live’ calculated at -0.7727. The disposition of Irish society for ‘Working to Live’, calculated at 1.09009 remains the strongest of all Domains. These last two variables suggest that while those with the least wealth are more focussed on ‘The Afterlife’ than those in either Domain B or C, they see others in society more attuned to ‘Living to Work’. They also perceive that Irish society is more interested in the intrinsic rather than the instrumental value of work. Another observation is that individual responses in this Domain D are almost identical. The Homeless, the Travellers and the Unemployed have similar and on occasions matching self perceptions and matching ratings on the degree of focus displayed by Irish society on the after life.
Part 3: Presentation of the Profile of the Irish Economic Disposition

Summary of themes to emerge from Domains A, B, C and D.

In Domain A there is evidence that Catholic social teaching informs national economic policy. Many of the respondents professed their Catholicism and the equity imperative was an important economic objective. No specific ‘hard’ economic targets, such as the highest average income per capita in the world by 2005, were articulated in their economic aims. In fact many observed an apparent correlation between increased prosperity and increased unhappiness. Most wished to create a macro economic environment whereby the opportunity would exist for all individuals to achieve their individualised measure of ‘enough’ material well being. In this respect a disposition that can achieve a balance between national and individual material well being and spiritual happiness appears to be best served by a Catholic disposition as revealed by the individuals in the research. The limit of ‘enough’ appears to successfully address the tension between living in this world and creating the opportunity to achieve acceptable levels of material well being, levels that do not endanger the ultimate objective of ‘Heaven’. Moreover, the target of optimisation rather than the maximisation of economic growth was paramount.

The analysis of the both the empirical and qualitative responses suggests that within Domains B, C, D, there are only minor differences in the degree of individual belief in charity as the most influential principle that guides engagement with other individuals in economic matters. Moreover, each individual who declared a strong religiosity also regarded the objective of achieving ‘enough’ as the main successful and legitimate measure of material well being. The ultimate objective of individuals in Domains B, C, D is to achieve ‘Heaven’ and this almost pre-determines their less than fully committed approach to economic life. Almost all hold back from giving a 100%
commitment to their work. These results tend to support the Career Guidance Teacher from O’Connell’s schools, and the Unemployed person ‘A’ who highlighted an important strategy when both noted that many individuals hedge their bets against the existence of Heaven. Individuals also appear to accept the economic circumstances confronting them, with only the unemployed group exhibiting some level of dissatisfaction with their socio-economic circumstances. On only one occasion did a respondent suggest revolutionary action to redress inequality. The statistical analysis appear to confirm that religious beliefs are particularly strong across the Domains B, C and D. The presence of a Catholic vocational rather than sexual conscience was also revealed. The prevailing political and economic ideology is apparently almost universally accepted. Moreover, the common themes which emerged within all four Domains point to a generalised pattern of behaviour, a durée of economic engagement that enables us to construct a profile containing that part of the economic disposition containing known influences on this engagement. The evidence suggests that the central role of the Absolute Pre-supposition of Catholicism remains especially important in understanding how an array of internal socio-cultural variables can determine the economic disposition at a national and individual level.

The predilection not to commit oneself too strongly to material things and the attachment to privatism - to keep back the best part of oneself for the individual’s private world after work such as the family, mentioned by many of the respondents in our research – are identical to the basic tenets of Stoicism, one of the ancient world’s most influential and conservative philosophies which together with Platonism infuses much of the Christian morality found in the New Testament (Cantor 1993). Stoicism’s emphasis on ‘enough’ has transcended the ancient, the Roman, the mediaeval and industrial epochs, while Platonism denigrated the material world in
favour of attending to the spiritual requirements of the soul in order to attain salvation. According to Cantor (1993), Stoicism is, technically speaking, a hybrid of Platonism, the most influential of ancient world philosophies. Aristotle’s position was to adopt a scientific and empirical basis for understanding reality by relying on facts rather than ideas to inform this understanding. On the other hand Plato believed that man had two aspects, the transient and the eternal, and this insight is the origin of the philosophical distinction between the body and soul. The most important aspect was the soul. This idea appealed to early Christians and the evidence in our research strongly suggests that a degree of Stoicism and Platonism still informs the economic world view of Irish society.

We are now in a position to complete the profile of the Irish economic disposition which follows in Table 2.9.7. It contains four aspects or emphases that draw heavily on the Catholic worldview. The first aspect confirms the existence of the Absolute Pre-supposition Catholicism/nationalism. The second is a statement describing the sociological outcome of the presence of the Absolute Pre-supposition. The third aspect identifies the revealed variables of the Irish Catholic Work Ethic (CWE), while the fourth and final aspect describes the corresponding derived behaviours that characterise the Irish economic disposition.
Table: 2.9.7 A Profile of the Irish Economic Disposition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect 1</th>
<th>Aspect 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Known Ultimate Value</td>
<td>Known Outcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolute Pre-Supposition (Religion)</td>
<td>The main force or durée in a constellation of internal factors having a durable impact on the individual's attitude to economic opportunity i.e. Catholic Economic Ethic (CWE).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect 3</th>
<th>Aspect 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Known parts of CWE</td>
<td>Known Derived Attitudes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Belief in ‘Heaven’.</td>
<td>- Main religious objective to secure ‘Heaven’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Vocational Conscience.</td>
<td>- Control of deviation from charitable conduct.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Capitalism versus Catholicism (Individual level).</td>
<td>- Norm of individually assessed measure of ‘enough’ material well-being.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Happy with ‘enough’.</td>
<td>- Conformity and acquiescence to economic and political systems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Experience of this world and enjoyment of life.</td>
<td>- Norm of most useful human activity possible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Instrumental approach to work to achieve balance between material and spiritual well being.</td>
<td>- 100% commitment to achieve individualised ‘enough’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Tension between material and spiritual well being.</td>
<td>&lt;100% commitment when individualised enough is achieved.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the striking features of this profile is the known element number 6, the limit of 'enough' on the acquisitive impulse. It highlights the higher preference to enjoy this life over work as the most useful human activity. Work is used as an instrument to achieve this higher preference. Consequently, an individualised measure of 'enough' economic well being is the maximum target set by the individual. While a strong work ethic is a feature of the individual's commitment to achieve this measure it diminishes significantly after the economic measure of enough has been attained.

Because of the presence of element number 2 i.e. the Spirit of Charity, the acquisitive...
impulse is weakened to the point where active and full participation is rejected in favour of a detached position within the economic order. As belief in Heaven is also strong then the most rational behaviour possible is not to jeopardise its achievement by deviating from the charitable way. Hence the emphasis at an individual and national level on equity and generosity.

This ‘proven’ presence of the Catholic Work Ethic contrasts with the Protestant Work Ethic deemed by Weber to be responsible for the economic development of the West. So while some success has been achieved insofar as the interconnections between religion and economic engagement have been identified in the above profile, it still does not explain how the process actually works i.e. it does not define the precise relationship between the Absolute Pre-supposition and the economic disposition. In Part III many important and diverse sociological insights including Weber’s are enlisted in an effort to answer this very question.
Part 3: The Theoretical Analysis

Chapter 10

EXPLORING THE NORMATIVE IMPACT OF RELIGIOUS AND NATIONALIST
SENTIMENT ON THE IRISH ECONOMIC DISPOSITION USING HISTORICAL
MATERIALISM

Freedom alone substitutes from time to time for the love of material comfort, more powerful and more
lofty passions, it alone supplies ambition with greater objectives than the acquisition of riches
(A. de Tocqueville 1856)

Introduction

From an analysis of the research findings in Part II we were able to build up a profile
of the Irish economic disposition. Here the Absolute Pre-supposition,
religion/nationalism was seen to generate an adaptive yet detached approach on the
part of the individual when confronted with economic opportunity. The purpose of
Part III of the thesis is to explain how that disposition has developed and how and
why the known elements profiled in Part II of the thesis appear to coalesce and
function as a co-ordinated unit. The approach draws on a suite of primary and
secondary sources and employs an alliance of sociological insights to increase our
chances of understanding of what is actually going on in this coalition. The inclusion
of an alliance of insights follows the advice of Akenson (1991) to use as wide an
evidentiary base as possible when studying the mosaic that is Irish social life, an
approach, in the first instance, that proved to be effective in exposing the various
interconnecting elements that make up the essence of the economic disposition.

The first sociological contribution comes from Marx’s insights on historical
materialism in chapter 10. This is followed and complemented in Chapter 11 by the
use of an alternative interpretation of social development namely, Norbert Elias’
figurational sociology. In the final Chapter 12 of Part III, a composite of the insights
of Weber, Durkheim, Freud, Parsons and Giddens is employed to build on the
strengths of both Marxist and Elisian insights because many of these insights specialise in interpreting the religious and economic nexus in society. Of course the specific challenge presented to all of these insights was to explain the power of religious and nationalist sentiment to shape the Irish economic disposition and leave a specifically Catholic imprint on it at a time of very low secularisation and ‘tiger’ performance. By grounding the analysis undertaken in part III of the thesis in a specific historical war period, where according to Hart (1991) normally latent sentiments become fired up, we anticipate a greater chance of capturing the impact of religious and nationalist sentiment on economic behaviour when the abstraction of these Absolute Pre-suppositions is captured at work in real individuals and groups responsible for social development.

We begin our exploration in Chapter 10 using the war period of Irish state formation, namely the 1916 Rising and 1921 War of Independence as both provide the necessary ‘fired up’ historical context to explore how the economic disposition is shaped. This context re-emphasises the historical backdrop as a crucial factor in economic development pointed out by Weber and previously discussed in the Introductory section of the Thesis. Chapter 10 also explores how the Absolute Pre-supposition infused Irish society with sentiments that have been successfully mobilised against any ideology deemed to challenge the essence of Irish Catholic identity including both ‘left’ and ‘right’ ‘isms’ and this capability is shown to be bound up with a specific Catholic ethic of economic behaviour.

Chapter 10 is divided into two sections, A and B. Section A includes an examination of the national religious and class context confronting Marxist ideology in Ireland at the time of state formation and which influenced the emergence and eventual rejection of an Irish or ‘green’ version of Marxism as championed by James...
Connolly. Section B then focusses at the individual level on the occupational profile of the revolutionary fighters and their leaders and the key craftworker group, where we begin to unravel a profile of their economic disposition as an outcome of their religious/nationalist ideals. We expose how their ideals were shaped by a number of interconnected strands such as the religious sentiment within the Irish workforce, the ethos of the school curriculum, the exhortations of the Catholic Church and post revolutionary conservative economic policies. Before proceeding to the main exploration, a number of observations are made on some Marxist ideology to prepare the groundwork by which we can judge the relevancy of Marxist ideas to explain the Irish economic disposition.

According to Morrison (1995) a central tenet of Marx’s theory is that the state itself has a material origin and is dependent on the economic structure obtaining at that time. Morrison (1995) explained that Marx understood that the material world preceded the world of ideas and that the change dynamic in society was derived from economic development through the structure of economic relationships and therefore rejected Hegel’s belief that the principles of social development (Contradiction, Affirmation, Negation, and Negation of the Negation) were manifested in historical ideas. In its place Marx preferred the concept of the dialectic to explain social development. Ritzer (1988) described the dialectic as a non linear cause and effect dynamic, initiated by the interaction of connected but conflicting parts of the social world and while one factor may influence a second the second may also influence the first i.e. there is reciprocal causality. The Hegelian philosophical perspective is that reciprocal causality is the basis of the governing law of the dialectic and insists therefore, that reality is an on-going historical process. This process can only be understood by identifying the historical causes (historical materialism) of the present
situation and the need to change it and this forms the basis of all Marxist sociological insights (Magee 1998).

According to Marx (1857) the basis of all social interaction is material production. Marx (1857) maintained that men were treated like machines and called for labour to rise up against owners of capital and the subsequent dialectical interaction would determine the outcome in their favour. The socialist objective of Marx was to transform the capitalist economic system so that the surplus value of the work performed by an individual should then go to that individual and not to the capitalist (Veblen 1906). This outcome could only be achieved through a class struggle, because the nature of capitalism, with its cycles of boom and bust, worked against 'labour' and therefore the working class would eventually initiate a revolutionary movement in defence of its own interests. Yet Schumpeter (1908) contended that nobody could get all that his productive contribution is worth, namely, its total value, because while the work itself may be very useful, the profit generated by this work may be insignificant. The core of historical materialism insisted that labour and nature, not religion, were the true basis of society since existence comes before consciousness (materialistic approach) and social evolution is determined by the constant struggle of conflicting forces, capital and labour (Trotsky 1939).

Three working definitions act as benchmarks to evaluate the premise that religion

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11 Marxism
an economic and political theory and practice originated by Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels that holds that actions and human institutions are economically determined, that the class struggle is the basic agency of historical change and that capitalism will ultimately be superseded by communism

Socialism
any of the various social and economic theories or movements in which the common welfare is to be achieved through the establishment of a socialist economic system

Communism
the advocacy of a classless society in which private ownership has been abolished...[and]...any social economic or political movement or doctrine aimed at achieving such a society...[and]...a political movement based upon the writings of Marx that considers history in terms of a class conflict and a revolutionary struggle

(Collins English Dictionary 1999)
is not the true basis of Irish social development, but on the contrary that the class
struggle should ‘explain’ more comprehensively key Irish social developmental
conflicts such as the 1916 Rising. Furthermore we should look out for a ‘socialist’
influence in this development. From a Communist perspective, history can only be
explained in terms of a class conflict rather than idealism and the validity of this
argument in relation to the Irish context again forms a central focus for the
exploration running through this chapter. Moreover the use of the word ‘any’ in the
definitions of Communism and Socialism would suggest that local variations such as
Irish Marxism were acceptable. This too is examined in our discussion on the
‘greening’ of Marxism later in Section A.

SECTION A

Strand 1: The Religious Context facing Marxism

Viney & Dudley Edwards (1968) argued that Marxism, Socialism and Communism
were often regarded in Ireland as one and same thing because Catholic attitudes
precluded open discussion about them. As we can see from Table 3.10.1, below
approximately 90% of the Republic’s population at the time of state formation was
Roman Catholic positioned on an upward trend from 89.4% in 1881 to 94.9% in
1961. This would suggest that there was little informed debate on these ideologies.

Table: 3.10.1 The Catholic Population 1861-1991 calculated as a % of the
population within the boundary area of the Republic of Ireland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1981</th>
<th>1991</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of population</td>
<td>89.4%</td>
<td>89.6%</td>
<td>93.5%</td>
<td>94.9%</td>
<td>93.0%</td>
<td>91.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Modern Ireland Dublin: Gill and MacMillan Table 1 p19.
Note: The 1991 Census was the last time religious affiliation was recorded.
Moreover the 'ordinary' Catholic in Ireland at this time could have had few if any doubts concerning the ‘evils’ of the noxious ‘isms’. A series of condemnations of Socialism, Communism and Marxism was issued by a number of Popes to Catholics worldwide. In the mid 1860's ‘bans’ on Socialism and Communism were unequivocal. For example, Pius IX (1864) condemned, reprobated and proscribed both ideologies and commanded all Catholics to reject them outright. According to Leo XIII (1878), materialism was responsible for the manifold evils of the time, causing a rejection of the teachings and institutions of the Church. He argued that this rejection was foolhardy even in a material sense because there was a positive correlation between obedience to the Church and a nation's prosperity. This exhortation appears to support Hickman’s (1995) argument that Catholicism was promoted as a counter culture to both capitalism and socialism. In another encyclical Leo XIII (1878a) declared that the followers of the ‘isms’ were

*the deadly plague that is creeping into the very fibres of human society and leading it on to the verge of destruction...* We speak of that sect of men who, under various and almost barbarous names are called socialists, communists or nihilists...[planning]...the overthrow of all civil society whatsoever

(Leo XIII 1878a: 1)

Leo XIII (1878a) promised a heavenly reward for the poor and warned artisans - who as we shall see later, were at the very core of the Irish state formation revolution - to be especially vigilant regarding the lure of Socialism. Moreover, the Catholic Church actively supported those fighting for the formation of a Catholic national independent state (Pope Leo XIII 1888). In another encyclical Pope Leo XIII (1888a) maintained that both greed and over-reliance by individuals and societies on reason alone at the expense of Divine Faith endangered eternal life which in turn led to the rise of
poisonous doctrines...rationalism, materialism, atheism, [which] have begotten socialism, communism, nihilism...evil principles...[whereas]...the whole essence of a Christian life is to reject the corruption of the world and to oppose any indulgence in it [since]...the soul must be fortified against the dangerous snares of riches...lest the soul should loose the treasure in heaven which faileth not

(Leo XIII 1888a: 3-4)

Later, Leo XIII (1889) again warned artisans to model themselves on St. Joseph the Worker and not to listen to these noxious and seditious doctrines. Leo XIII (1891) then attacked socialism noting that a limit or ‘enough’ of wealth, namely a moderate livelihood achieved through charity, would almost single-handedly guarantee the afterlife for the individual – and this of course was one of the key findings in our ‘Celtic Tiger’ research.

Then in the early years of the development of the new Irish state, Pius XI (1931) maintained the right to pronounce with supreme authority upon social and economic matters and warned the rich to practice almsgiving i.e. observable charity. Later still Pius XI (1937) attacked atheistic Communism stating that it was intrinsically wrong and banned any Catholic from becoming involved in any way. Pope John XXIII (1961) declared that economic development and the betterment of material conditions were not the ultimate values to be prized by individuals.

Nevertheless there was some inconsistency in the messages of the Popes. Schuck (1991) points out, that while communism and socialism were deemed intrinsically wrong and capitalism criticised, the Popes, significantly, failed to condemn the market system. Official Catholicism then galvanised itself against the Marxist enemy not alone because it was atheistic but more importantly it had much in common with Catholicism, such as its focus across all social levels, its idealism and altruism and had the potential therefore to compete with and fatally damage the Church (Kenny 1997).
At a local level the Irish Catholic Church also galvanised itself instituting the Marian cult to offset the noxious 'isms' of socialism and communism (Donnelly 2000). It structured Roman devotional practices under Cardinal Paul Cullen to suppress authentic Irish Catholicism that was dominated by the laity (Conway 2000) e.g. visits to holy wells as described by the Travellers in the research, to one controlled by a priestly hierarchy (Donnelly 2000a). The type of religious disposition imposed on Irish society was not only Roman devotionalism but Jesuit in its ethos and thereby imbued it with a particularly other worldly religious focus. The Jesuits, a religious order founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola, had devised a counter-reformation catechism for the instruction of the Catholic faithful particularly in the school and this Ignatian blueprint infused Irish Catechisms from the early 18th until the middle of the 20th century and Tynan (1985) described the catechism's overall effect

*religious formation was to have an extraordinary influence on our [Irish Catholic] society...our people were impregnated by Ignatian thinking, they came to be steeped in its spirit and proved so consistent in reproducing it that...they stood alone as a kind of affront to contemporary living in the West

(Tynan 1985: 13)

According to the Jesuits complete unselfishness was to be the aim of this worldly living (Nash 1956). For example, the religious Exercises of St Ignatius which have enjoyed successive papal approvals, had the primary objective of inculcating the ascendancy of the 'hereafter' over this temporal world and as De Bernoville (1937) had previously argued, the essential essence of the exercises were characterised by anti-materialism whereby riches should not be desired in preference to poverty. The Exercises were seen to have considerable social impact for good when they were grounded in the support of Trade Unionism and anti-Communism (Lafarge 1928). The Union General Secretary in our research who was chosen by the Jesuits for high
office should be seen as a modern day example of the practical application of the spirit of these exercises. Furthermore local Irish diocesan clergy\textsuperscript{12} who were highly influential in the community, accepted and promoted a harmonious and interdependent social stratification model in direct contrast to the Marxist class conflict model (Kennedy 1996a). The reality of social stratification was not only recognised and accepted by them but conceived as a system of interlocking mutually independent parts which functioned smoothly in the interests of all and was a harmony model of society. This was directly opposed to a Marxist conflict model and challenged the ‘universality’ of the Marxist economic and political approach to absorb local, regional and national cultures and still remain effective (Williams 1987). The local Irish culture evolved out of the resistance of Gaelic Ireland to the imposition of Protestantism placing Catholicism in the forefront of the fight for freedom from English and later British oppression so that an Irish consciousness developed that fused religious, political and cultural elements, so that the cultural identity one professed was determined by one’s religion (Williams 1999).

Yet Marx did not appear to understand the impact of religious beliefs on social and economic development since Giddens (1995b) noted that he did not study religion in any detail and was criticised by Weber for overlooking the impact of religious beliefs and practices to set an acceptable economic behaviour. Given the absolute and unquestioning faith of many Catholics in the period after the Famine and well into the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, where the faithful ‘gladly’ submitted themselves to the control of the priest (Connell 1968), this subservience to the priestly class was bound to present a

\textsuperscript{12} Priests not usually belonging to a monastic Order such as the Jesuits or Franciscans and working in a parish within a particular diocese ministering to the laity and reporting directly to the local bishop whereas Order priests report directly to Rome.
formidable barrier to the successful implantation of Marxist ideas. Yet in a letter from Marx to Engels in 1869, Marx called for priests to be attacked because

The dogs (for example Bishop Ketteler13 in Mainz, the priests of the Dusseldorf Congress) are flirting where they find it suitable to do so with the labor question

(Marx 1869: 590)

As Marxism is the most conspicuous large scale anti-religious movement that ever existed, its raison d'être to attack religion (Parsons 1999), it therefore unwittingly attacked the essence of Irish identity. While Marxism saw material progress as a basis of securing happiness for all and therefore attacked religions that defended those who exploited the working class (Lenin 1909, Lenin 1909a, Trotsky 1937), it appeared that there may have been some selective inconsistency in this focus.

Marx noted that religion was a protest against suffering and was de facto an expression of suffering (Marx 1844) implying that religion, far from being a device to trick and subdue people, was actually a structure to meet the emotional needs of people who may be suffering deprivation. Marx (1844) thought highly of Luther's Protestantism since it freed man from the external control of Catholic rituals and teachings thus making individual conscience supreme. Man became alienated from himself by the subservient relationship that he accepted between himself and the Catholic priest as mediator (Marx 1844a). Socialist man sees man and nature and not God as the true reality (1844a). As only matter can be perceived, God cannot therefore be known since He is not material (Marx 1845). These principles of Marx appear to be less opposed to Protestantism and so it is not surprising that Connolly (1998a) highlights that Communism has never attracted significant electoral or popular support in Catholic Ireland.

13 Founded the Catholic Social Teaching Movement to promote harmony among the social classes.
Nor indeed did socialism fare much better where it too came unstuck in the Irish social environment. For example, when Fianna Fáil was first inaugurated in 1926 as a political party, its 3rd and 7th aims of policy stated that the resources and wealth of Ireland should be subservient to the needs and welfare of all the people. This implied a very socialist economic approach and yet by the 1950’s, following periods in government, this approach was totally reversed (Coakley 1998). Even the Irish Labour Party, which adopted a new more Marxist constitution in 1936, had to formally retract it in 1939 because of the anti-communist directives of both the Catholic Hierarchy and more importantly its own party members, who demanded religious conformity and forced more conventional and conservative policies infused with Catholic Social Teaching to be adopted (McGarry 2001).

Then in the 1940’s a small political party called Clann na Poblachta\textsuperscript{14} (Family of Republicans) was part of an anti-Fianna Fáil coalition government where one of its leading members, the socialist Dr. Noel Brown, was appointed as Minister for Health. However he backed down in face of very strong criticism by the Irish Pharmaceutical Association and the Catholic Hierarchy against his ‘socialised’ medicine reforms, when he attempted to implement the provisions of the Fianna Fáil Health Act of 1947, thereby making his socialist principles subservient to the moral authority of the Catholic Church and acknowledged as much in his resignation speech in the Dáil (Horgan 2000).

\textsuperscript{14} Clan na Poblachta (Party of Republicans) was formed in 1946 and came to power on a programme similar to Fianna Fáil in 1932 i.e. radical republicanism and social and economic reform. They attracted all sorts including Blueshirts (Facists) dissident Fianna Fáilers, Catholic intellectuals and was seen as an alternative approach to the bipartisan treaty parties. They formed part of a Coalition government which put out Fianna Fáil in the 1948 ‘Red Scare’ elections joining with Fine Gael, Labour, National Labour, Clann na Talmhan (Farmers-Land Party) and independents. Dr. Noel Browne of Clann na Poblachta was appointed Minister for Health in that inter-party government and implemented the provisions of the Health Act of 1947 enacted by Fianna Fáil giving free maternity care to mothers and medical attention for all under 16 years of age (The Mother and Child Scheme). The failure of the scheme resulted in catastrophic decline in the Party's fortunes in the 1951 election which fell from 13% to 4%. See Murphy, J. (1978) Ireland in the Twentieth Century Dublin, Gill and MacMillan p117, p132-135.
Dr. Browne had a social vision but was a mere pawn in the Archbishop of Dublin’s (John Charles McQuaid) personal crusade against communism and its milder form, ‘disguised’ as socialised medicine spreading into Northern Ireland and the UK under the auspices of the welfare state and so in a sense he could be called Ireland’s first socialist martyr of the modern era (Cooney 1999). The Catholic Church at the time solidly opposed to the growth of the state, saw communistic tendencies behind the Mother and Child scheme where the moral law had to triumph over the threat of the socialist agenda (Kenny 1997). Then the broad socialist left alliance of Labour, some Trade Unions and The Irish Communist Party was almost fatally weakened when another member, Saor Éire (A Free Ireland), the political arm of the IRA, was denounced as ‘communist’ by the Bishops who maintained that it was in league with the Third International intending to set up a Soviet style republic (Cronin 1999). In 1951 the Archbishop of Dublin John Charles McQuaid declared it a ‘mortal’ sin under pain of eternal damnation for Catholics to vote for ‘Red’ O’Riordan in the 1951 General Election, who was later destined to become general secretary of the Irish Communist Party (O’Riordan 2000). When Fianna Fáil regained power they adopted a policy of more centralisation seeking out beneficial social outcomes rather than implementing out and out socialist policies (Horgan 1997).

Furthermore the focus on the noxious ‘isms’ of Socialism, Communism and Marxism should not be taken to mean that right wing ‘isms’ were supported by the Church. On the contrary, while Ireland may have had its own form of continental style National Socialism or Facism, which was popular in the 1930’s, it nevertheless experienced a similar fate to the noxious left ‘isms’ amidst Ireland’s strong socio-religious context. Sharing a common philosophy of ‘corporatism’ based on the Christian notion of fostering harmony among the social classes as an answer to the class war, Mussolini’s
Facism and O'Duffy's Blueshirts\textsuperscript{15} (O'Duffyism) were also like minded with the Church in their antipathy towards communism and both of these common objectives were singularly advocated by the Papal Encyclical 'Quadragesimo Anno' (Kenny 1997, Coakley 1998). Yet this 'green' version of Facism was also short lived.

The first reason was that although the Blueshirts appeared as a Facist style organisation opposing socialist republicans, the specifically Irish context of a three hundred year long tradition of nationalism compelled all political organisations to enshrine nationalism as a central message in their policies and this quickly sidelined one of the essential platforms of the 48,000 strong Blueshirt movement (Cronin 1999). Secondly, the Church regarded Facism as 'excessive' nationalism and opposed it on the grounds that it was not an acceptable form of patriotism because nationalist principles should always be subservient to Church law (Kenny 1997). Thirdly, in deference to the Church, all mainstream political parties were compelled to attack Communism and this removed the second central aim of the Blueshirts (Cronin 1999).

The question of whether Irish Facism was in fact real Facism remained an open question as the enemy of the Blueshirts was the socialist leaning IRA elements within Fianna Fáil and not the communists per se (Foster 1988). The obsessive fear of Communism in Ireland (Manning 1970) which was created by the Catholic Hierarchy (Cronin 1999) resulted in a successful manoeuvre against all 'isms' in the 1930s. According to Manning (1970) the nationalism of the Blueshirts was actually less...

\textsuperscript{15} Eoin O'Duffy, former Garda (Police) Commissioner was dismissed by De Valera and was then elected leader of the Army Comrades Association. He changed it's name to the National Guard. When the anti treaty De Valera came to power in 1932, pro-treaty Cumann na nGaedheal supporters joined its ranks. It took on the trappings of continental Facist movements including a distinctive blueshirt and a salute. Outlawed by De Valera in 1933 after it took on his Government in a show of strength and lost, it merged with Cumann na nGaedheal and the Centre Party to form Fine Gael. Petered out completely in the late 1930's. See Fine Gael Web site http://www.finegael.ie and Boylan, H. (1998) A Dictionary of Irish Biography; Dublin Gill and MacMillan. See also Manning, M, (1970) The Blueshirts Dublin, Gill and MacMillan Ltd. Chapters XIII-XV.
severe than either Fianna Fáil or the Irish Republican Army (IRA), so much so that it was a respectable thing to be a member of the Blueshirts because of its deference to the Catholic Church and its anti-communist stance. Yet fewer than 5,000 votes were cast nationally for the Communists in the 1932 election (Manning 1970) showing that the threat of Communism was more mythical than real.

In the final analysis, the Blueshirt movement had much of the trapping and style but little of the substance of continental facism (Manning 1970). Moreover the deeply divided Socialist Republicans preached a gospel as alien as the Facist rhetoric to the Irish people (Cronin 1999). Yet the Blueshirt episode may have been the nearest thing to a class war that Ireland ever experienced, with the Blueshirts supported by the middle class, farmers and merchants, against Fianna Fáil and the IRA who were supported by those with little or no property (Manning 1970). Overall the conclusion must be that the ‘conservative’ Catholic ethos of Irish social life (the Absolute Pre-supposition) remained strong enough to repel all ‘isms’ that threatened both religion and ‘patriotic’ nationalism which implied that the economic disposition must also have remained intact, and this was the anti-materialist and moderate one outlined by the Popes.

Strand 2: The Class Context facing Marxism

There was evidence of socially ingrained anti-Irish racism across the spectrum of British society from left to right and Marx and Engels were no exception, since little difference distinguished the writings of Engels from the anti-Irish sentiments expressed in the Times (Hickman 1995). Marx and Engels saw the question of Irish self determination as subservient to the class struggle, exhorting the Irish proletariat to work closely with the English working class to counter the forced immigration of impoverished Irish into England which generated severe antagonism between the
Irish and English worker (Woods and Grant 2001). Nevertheless some significant partisanship can still be observed in Engels' writing on the Irish working class in England.

Engels\(^\text{16}\) castigated Catholic Irishmen, women and children for degrading the English working class (Engels 1993) while simultaneously espousing the cause of the universal working man (Engels 1935) and insisting that while the British working class may not want a socialist outcome they may need to be 'galvanised' into achieving it (Engels 1913). Yet it now appears that the archetypal squalor of the 'Little Ireland' of Engels' Manchester conveniently overlooked the evidence of the enormous contribution that Irish citizens made to the economic and social development of Manchester and its environs, in addition to supplying the usual unskilled and casual labour (McBride 1999).

The Irish class system itself appeared to be an atypical one. Sullivan (1968) contended, that before Karl Marx set foot in the British Museum, the Irish were already a classless society due to centuries of British misrule with a very small middle class only appearing late in the 19\(^\text{th}\) century. Manseragh (1965) agreed, stating that at least two classes were present and one absent in the time of Marx, namely the landlord (ascendancy) and the desperately poor peasant class while the social intermediary middle class were non existent. On the other hand, O'Malley (1989) disagreed, arguing that an important indigenous Irish middle class had existed in the 18\(^\text{th}\) century. Nevertheless, Marx explained The Great Famine of 1847 as a

\(^{16}\) Some examples include the following:- 'These people [the Irish] have grown up almost without civilisation, whenever a district is distinguished for especial filth and especial ruinousness the explorer may safely count upon meeting chiefly those Celtic faces...The Irish have discovered the lack of cleanliness which is the Irishman's second nature deposits all garbage and filth before his house. He eats and sleeps with it [the pig] his children ride upon it roll in the dirt with it. The Irishman revels in drink. The Irish man's crudity places him but little above the savage...[Irish migrant worker] who have grown up among Irish filth the degrading position of the English workers has been still more degraded by the presence of the Irish competition'. See Engels, F. The Condition of the Working Class Oxford University Press and in particular Chapter 4.
struggle between just two classes, the bourgeois and proletariat, claiming that the former starved the latter into submission (Marx 1849). The working class in the south of Ireland were in his view, victims of agricultural capitalists where the conflict over tenancy rights (the land question) was simply a clash between workers and aristocratic capitalists (Marx 1864). Marx recommended a plan of campaign which included an agrarian revolution, self government and independence from England and protective tariffs against England. But according to Manseragh (1965a) Marx was relatively uninformed on Ireland whereas Engels wasn’t, having the deeper insight into the Irish national sentiment and

\[ \text{candidly admitted the profound distaste for the Communist doctrine that existed in Ireland...the Holy Isle...[whereas]...Marx simply did not understand the conservative, the fanatical character and emotional side of Irish nationalism} \]

(Manseragh 1965a: 99, 108)

Marx eventually acknowledged the unique cultural context of the Irish land question when he recognised that it was more national than economic, because Irish landlords were hated as foreign oppressors, unlike England where they embodied national ideals (Woods and Grant 2001). Moreover Marx requested all communists to side with the Irish in their struggle for independence from England (Marx 1870) and three of his recommended actions eventually came to pass, namely the Proclamation in 1916, independence in 1922 and the imposition in 1932 of protective tariffs at the commencement of the six year economic war with Britain.

However, the hoped for Irish ‘worker’ revolution to achieve independence from England was not the class based revolutionary one as anticipated by Marx. As early as 1913 the playwright Sean O’Casey identified a completely different dynamic motivating the independence movement in Ireland when he argued that it was the Gaelic ideal that would compel individuals to take up arms and fight (Berresford Ellis
1996). This was an ideal based on recapturing a pre-English identity which would coincidentally happen to throw together a wide variety of workers and other occupations under a common nationalist sentiment. Although Marx and Engels were familiar with the Irish class system and used Ireland to develop their theory of Imperialism, only Engels fully recognised the primacy of the Irish nationalist over the internationalist cause (Coughlan 1999). Moreover the nationalist sentiment actually precluded a workers’ class based revolution in Ireland and Shaw, who converted to Marxism and favoured a gradual rather than cataclysmic socialist revolution (Peters 1996), noted that the main Irish political parties regarded nationalism and separatism as their raison d'être and had very little interest in the class war (Shaw 1920). On the other hand, James Connolly (1908) anticipated a workers or Socialist Republic as the meaning of the radical nationalist party, Sinn Féin-Ourselves. However he appeared to have overlooked one important point. Historically the task of the bourgeois was one of national liberation through revolution. This liberation was a pre-requisite for the socialist revolution, namely the class struggle against the local ruling class, provided however that there are socialists who will fight (Browett 1983). There did not appear to be many so called socialist fighters around.

Irish revolutionaries were not Bolsheviks but nationalists and products of the dynamics of three emotional stimuli, namely religion, nationality and land and were, in effect, the antithesis of the worker/owner, urban/rural and clerical/state cleavages that determined continental revolutionary outcomes (Coakley 1986). Whereas the Irish revolution was similar to the French revolution insofar as the outcomes favoured the bourgeois, the new Irish elite of farmers, professionals and merchants accepted the socio-political legacy of the political outcomes with aplomb and this was possible because the Irish were very adept at accepting the social and economic status quo.
ensuring that radical ideas and policies were almost totally absent from independent Ireland (Lynch 1968).

The rise to power of De Valera’s Fianna Fáil in 1932, far from delivering on economic and social reform for all the people as promised in its 1926 policy document, was in fact the culmination of the bourgeois national revolution bringing in the rule of the last capitalist class - landless peasants who had evolved into farmers (The British and Irish Communist Organisation 1977). When Sean Lemass succeeded De Valera as Taoiseach in the mid 1960’s, he never formulated or openly declared his economic philosophy although it is generally regarded as a mix of both private and state capitalism but still very far removed from Connolly’s Socialism (Lynch 1968). Marx’s correct appraisal that the nationalist Irish bourgeoisie always adapted themselves to the prevailing socio-economic conditions in their own interests, can also be seen in their betrayal of the struggle for independence by agreeing to partition in 1922 (Woods and Grant 2001). This adaptive capability of Irish society to the surrounding political and economic environment has of course been highlighted in the profile of the economic disposition in Part II of the thesis.

In relation to the working class, who were expected by Connolly to form the backbone of the Irish Revolution, Girvan (1984) pointed out that they were small, often the object of change and so despite the theoretical attraction of socialism they frequently responded in a conservative and traditional manner. The nationalist issue also compelled the Irish Labour Party to face an impossible task during the Irish revolutionary period by making its objective of uniting northern Protestant and southern Catholic worker almost irrelevant in the universally Catholic environment of the Free State (Coakley 1986). Moreover Dublin working class cohesiveness upon which Connolly depended to carry the socialist revolt was very weak.
For example, Jim Larkin leader of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (IT&GWU) and organiser of the Dublin Lock-out of 1913 was vilified by the strongly nationalist 'Liberator' newspaper using the tactic of driving home his 'Socialist' credentials, thus equating him with Atheism and Satan (Newsinger 1993). The more extreme newsletter 'The Toiler' also attacked Larkin although neatly side stepping the fact that he was not only an advanced nationalist but also a devout Roman Catholic and this type of personal attack demonstrated the intensity of the inter-working class struggle in Ireland just three years prior to the Rising of 1916 (Newsinger 1995). The slander in these papers indicated a strong and endemic anti-socialist sentiment throughout the Irish labour class (Newsinger 1993).

Moreover there was also a strong 'imperialist' rather than 'socialist' disposition in the Irish middle and upper classes. Kennedy (1996c) maintained that

*the middle classes and gentry in Ireland participated in the administration of the imperial system world wide...Ireland was a junior partner in that vast exploitative enterprise known as the British Empire)...[therefore]...1916 was not an uprising but secession*

(Kennedy 1996c: 176, 177)

Yet despite the presence of the imperialist disposition, Williams (1999) highlighted the strong link between nationalism and Catholicism among all classes including the upper class and Coakley (1986) argued that Irish revolutionaries were natural products of emotional attachments to religion and nationalism.

These emotions are almost always associated with sentiments and feelings for a common heritage of religion and fate, together with a much sought after national state (Hagendoorn & Pepels 2000). The strength of these sentiments, and nationalism in particular, is so strong that it can transform society, motivating all types of individuals in a communal spirit, in a kind of social fever where they gel in a united manner against the enemy (Hagendoorn & Pepels 2000). The history of the Irish
nationalist independence movement was not based on inter-class but inter-community conflict - North and South, Protestant and Catholic - demonstrating that religious sentiments are more powerful than sectional interests and identifying a critical weakness in Marx's contention that materialism and its relations underpin social and political history (Manseragh 1965b). Even the two most famous examples of Irish 'Soviets', namely the 1919 Limerick Workers' and Soldiers' Council and the 1920 Knocklong Soviet Creameries were handed back by worker occupiers to their owners in exchange for higher wages and only underlined the absence within the short lived Irish soviet movement of any inclination to revolutionise capitalist management practices let alone initiate a socialist revolution (Fitzpatrick 1998). The 1916 Rising was not therefore a class revolution in the Marxist sense but a conflict between factions supporting different degrees of nationalism (O'Malley 1989). This religious/nationalist context was the very one confronting the Marxist approach of James Connolly.

**Strand 3: A 'Green' Version of Marxism**

The approach adopted by Ireland's leading Marxist, Edinburgh born Catholic James Connolly, one of the most important figures in the world labour movement, was to attempt to reconcile the socialist and nationalist ideal in Ireland by organising and partaking in a Catholic nationalist revolution as a preliminary to securing a socialist state (Greaves 1986). His involvement as a leading revolutionary in the 1916 Revolution reflected Marx's view that Ireland needed to achieve political independence to deal satisfactorily with its own problems (Coughlan 1999).

Although Socialism needed to become the political aim of the working class (Lenin 1896), Lenin regarded culturally specific Marxism - for example the approach taken by James Connolly in Ireland - as an appropriate model (Gibbons 1996). On the
other hand, Marx himself was opposed to this type of open-ended idealist or nationalist approach (Curry 1999).

Connolly regarded British imperialism as not only an armed occupation but a highly developed form of capitalism and regarded historical materialism as the only way to comprehend the morass of unconnected historical facts, massacres, rebellions and apparently purposeless strife that was Irish history (Coughlan 1999). Although Dudley-Edwards (1998) maintained that Lenin never knew of Connolly there were some ideological similarities between both in relation to nationalism and imperialism and the role of an ‘oppressed’ nation in the rise of capitalism. For example Lenin (1929) identified the exploitation of colonised workers (Irish) as distinct from the labour of the British workers for the rise of British capitalism. Mainly because of this local focus by Connolly, his influence was essentially nationalist and local rather than socialist and internationalist (Weinz 1986).

Nevertheless Connolly (1898) showed the influence of the Communist Manifesto on his political philosophy, Hiberniscised Marxism, when he outlined his ten point political/economic programme which included a 48 hour week and a minimum wage, public ownership of utilities and national schools by elected boards, free primary education and child maintenance. Connolly (1911) stipulated that the objective of the Socialist Party of Ireland was to bring about the common ownership of all the means of production and distribution. He also maintained that the real re-conquest of Ireland was to free the Irish worker from the slavery of the capitalist system (Connolly 1914).

Connolly’s (1941) idea of a free nation included economic sovereignty, prohibition of the sale of foreign goods and the supremacy of the State to alter laws against private property. The re-conquest of Ireland was possible only through the Labour
Movement which was to be far more than just replacing a British with an Irish government (Connolly 1934). Connolly (1910) attempted to show that common rather than private ownership of land was the natural order of Irish life under the old Gaelic Brehon system and that the Irish working class had been effectively ‘conned’ into developing a foreign ‘character’ by middle class ecclesiastics and politicians. Marx’s true insightfullness was to recognise class war as the factor in the evolution of society towards freedom and therefore Connolly believed that the Irish revolution was a fight for the mastery of the means of production by the workers (Connolly 1910).

On the other hand the Catholic Church almost immediately stressed the errors of Connolly’s political philosophy directly to their congregations at Masses in Dublin city. The replies of Connolly to the Lenten Discourses on Socialism by Fr. Robert Kane S.J. in Gardiner St. Church, Dublin (the sacristy where the Cardinal of All Ireland’s representative conducted the interviews for this thesis) open a window on the thought patterns of the local clergy who argued against the noxious ‘isms’. In reply to one of these sermons Connolly (1910a) highlighted a number of ‘erroneous’ arguments made by Father Kane. These included a claim that the Materialist Conception of History denied God, that Surplus Value is not the property of the Workman, that social and Christian democracy are opposites and that no Catholic can hold Socialist views. See Appendix 10 for a comprehensive abstract of the Jesuit arguments. Connolly’s answer was to show that throughout Irish history the Catholic Hierarchy, the Popes and politicians sided with the English authorities against the nationalist people of Ireland and he gave 13 examples to support his claim.

Connolly (1909) also put on record his views on religion and marriage when he asserted that he did not attack Catholic religion nor its theology because religion was
not an essential principle of Marxism. This was contrary to what Marx had written. It also appears that religion was not discussed at any meetings of Irish Republican Socialist Party where Connolly acted as Secretary on the basis that not one entry on religious or moral issues was found by this author in the Party’s 1896 Minute Book. Connolly was the only Socialist among the leaders of militant Irish nationalism and was clearly influenced in his early years by Marx and Engels’ Communist Manifesto but the advance of national aims depended on the socialist agenda and made the struggle economic in character, and this scenario was unlikely to be accepted by Irish Catholic society (Ryan 1948). Nevertheless Connolly was convinced that Socialism was compatible with religion but his credibility was undermined when he verbally assaulted certain clergy and the hierarchy and the subtlety that he was not actually criticising ordinary Catholics was totally lost on the public (Countess De Markievicz 1920) because

the majority of the people of Ireland are very Catholic and many of them shudder at the word ‘Socialist’ and see a vision of the devil

(De Markievicz 1920: 6)

Despite his public stance against the Catholic hierarchy he chose to be received back into the Catholic Church before his execution where he made his final Confession and received Holy Communion (Hyland 1997, Kenny 1997, Dudley-Edwards 1998). Dudley Edwards (1997) holds the view that Connolly held a heterodox position, adapting Marxism to local culture and traditions maintaining that it had nothing to do with religion and therefore achieved his greatest intellectual feat, Hibernicised Marxism, where he reconciled Socialism with Irish Republicanism. Others disagree on the cultural validity of Hibernicised Marxism. It was essentially a British import by Connolly and as a consequence it suffered from almost total nationalist isolation and he was then compelled to merge it with Catholic nationalism by developing a
mythology concerning the origins of Marxism in Irish History (The British and Irish Communist Organisation 1977). Connolly’s belief that a communal social system existed in Ireland prior to colonisation was clearly at odds with early Mediaeval Ireland where a rigid hierarchical tripartite social structure existed consisting of priests, lords and commoners (Richter 1988, Powell 1995, Curtis 1995).

In any event it seemed that local conditions in Dublin were being inevitably transformed by a global pattern of capitalist development. Sombart (1967) maintains that the rise of cities to over 100,000 in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century including Dublin - which at this time was as big as Moscow or St. Petersburg or Vienna - was not brought about by trade but by consumption and this occurred due to the pressure of the germinating capitalistic system \textit{irrespective} of the peculiarities of the country. This made the luxury industry which consumed the most goods, more susceptible and more adaptable to capitalism because of the compelling need to have production efficiencies and speed to the marketplace when making valuable goods.

According to Dickson (1987) the scale of Dublin’s growth from 60,000 residents in 1700 to 224,000 in 1821 can only be understood in terms of the Irish social system where the rural landlord living part or all of the year in Dublin was the real big spender rather than the business and professional classes, due to the very buoyant income derived from their properties. Their need for luxury goods was evident since Dublin’s commerce centred on the importation of wine, sugar, fine cloth and as Dickson (1987) notes, a vast array of specialist craftsmen/artisans became totally dependent on the consumption and purchasing of the landed class. This meant that many Dublin labourers and craftworkers, the very ones on whom Connolly depended to take up arms, now had a vested interest in and were dependent for their livelihood, on the on-going development of the capitalist system.
SECTION B

Strand 4: Profile of Key 'Combatant' and Leadership Occupations.

Having outlined a macro perspective of the prevailing religious and class context of Irish society, we now explore the profile of the combatants and leaders who were directly responsible for Irish state formation. The pivotal position of the craftworker occupation in that conflict is also established. This group provides a platform to study the influence of the 'fiery' religious/nationalist sentiments as they shaped the craftworker's economic disposition. To discuss this profile we rely on two primary documents from that time which list the occupations of those detained and captured in the 1916 Rising and a company of active IRA Volunteers in the War of Independence. Please refer to Appendix 11 for details of these documents.

As Hickey and Doherty (1987) give a total figure of 2,000 captured in the Rising, then the combined totals of columns A, B & C in Appendix 11 may constitute approximately 40% of all those captured in 1916. In this profile the most prominent occupations in descending order are 'craftworker' (232 including 8 apprentices), 'miscellaneous' (221), 'labourer' (133), 'shop assistant' (88), 'clerk' (85) and farmer (53). The broad spectrum of unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled professional and aristocratic occupations does not initially suggest an exclusively proletarian movement. This becomes even more apparent when all the stated occupations are compressed into one of six social class categories using the recently developed Irish Social Class Scale17. The advantage of this census based scale is that it provides an

Social Class 1: Higher professional and higher managerial; proprietors and farmers owning 200 acres of more.
Social Class 2: Lower professional and lower managerial, proprietors and farmers owning 100-199 acres.
Social Class 3: Other non manual and farmers owning 50-99 acres.
Social Class 4: Skilled manual and farmers owning 30-49 acres.
Social Class 5: Semi-skilled manual and farmers owning less that 30 acres.
ordinal grading of occupations corresponding to the social class structure, replacing
the old (1951) CSO socio-economic grouping of 11 categories and one residual and
the new scale is based on grouping individuals who use similar resources to generate
an income, and share similar situations and backgrounds (O’Hare Whelan, &

The first step was to collapse or compress as many combatant occupations as
possible into eight broad occupational definitions in an attempt to structure the scale
of the occupational diversity of the combatants. See table 3.10.2 below for the
definitions used. The ‘unstated’ category is a special category noted by the Irish
Times of Thursday December 5th 1918 p5, as indicating that the person had been
unemployed or was a non political criminal etc.

Table: 3.10.2 Definitions used to group various combatant occupations

\*CRAFTWORKER - The stated industrial occupation listed as painter, electrician, carpenter,
plumber, coach builder, wagon builder, tailor, mechanic, skilled machinist but not baker or jeweller.
LABOURER - The stated occupation of men available for labouring work, includes labouning of a
permanent nature such as carter, driver, railway worker, also agricultural labourer.
MERCHANT - The stated occupation of selling/trader, including publican, hardware, coal and
building merchant, but not in small shops.
SHOPKEEPER - The stated occupation of small shop owners, shop assistants, messengers, including
drapery, tobacconist and general grocer, but excluding publican.
POLITICIAN - No other occupation stated in the list but primary activity is attached to recognised
full time political activity such as City Councillor or MP.
UNSTATED - No occupation or status is listed against this person and again the definition presumes
the person to be unemployed, a wanted political activist, or a non political criminal.
FARMER - with not more than 30 acres
MISCELLANEOUS - An occupation unskilled or semi-skilled, but so varied, that it does not fall into
any previous category, e.g. gas lamp lighter, tea packer, but not labourer etc.

\*Prothero (1997) maintained that the words ‘artisan’, ‘craftworker’, ‘mechanic’, ‘apprentice’ were
used interchangeably to denote a highly skilled traditional craft or machining occupation and the
term ‘craftworker’ is used for convenience purposes throughout the Thesis to refer to any one of
these occupations.

The second step was to re-classify the ‘collapsed’ occupational categories together
with any residual stand alone occupation such as chemist, into the new Irish social
class scale. The result is that the overall class profile of the combatants is not a
typical ‘labour’ one. On the contrary we can see from table 3.10.3 that all six social
classes are involved and where social classes 3, 4, 5, and 6 are the most prominent.
Within these latter classes the ‘Craftworker’ in class 4, with 232 craftworkers listed
from a total of 251 combatants, is the most prominent occupational group of
combatant.

Table:3.10.3  Reclassification of Combatants occupations into the Irish Social
Class Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>Titles of Occupation</th>
<th>Number in this class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Engineer, Professional, Private Means, Accountant</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Teacher, Merchant, Chemist, Student 3\textsuperscript{rd} Level, Pharmacist, Druggist, Foreman, Farm Manager, Surveyor, Banker, Garage Owner, Undertaker, Builder,</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Grocer, Shop Assistant, Clerk, Insurance Inspector, Inspector of Telephones, Civil Servant, Cinematograph Operator, Seaman, Ex-Policeman, Book-keeper, Postman, Journalist, Newspaper Reporter,</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Craftsmen, Apprentice, Skilled Worker, Baker, Tailor, Glazier, Artist, Groom, Forester,</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Machinist, Labourer, Farmer, Van/Car Driver, Gardener, Waiter, Butcher,</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tea Packer, Miscellaneous, Unstated.</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final step was to establish the proportional degree of participation by
craftworkers and the other top occupations when measured against the labour force
profile i.e. to establish the relative importance of this occupation in bringing about
social change. Using Cullen’s estimation of All Ireland national income in 1911 in
Appendix 11A, the most numerous occupations in descending order were farmer,
industrial wage earner, miscellaneous, industrial labourer, agricultural performers,
self employed, police, soldiers and teachers while there was a very low national
figure for craftworkers (2,224) and apprentices (955). However the estimate of 2,224
artisans calculated for 1911 may be understating the numbers because the 1926
Census of Population, calculated the number of skilled craftworkers at 10,000. Ryan (1995) arrived at a similar figure using technical educational records and applying a 7:1 apprentice to craftsperson ratio. He calculated the number of craftworkers at 10,193, i.e. 16% less than the recorded figure in 1923. Yet it seems unlikely that the number of artisans/mechanics increased from 2,500 to 10,000 in the period 1911-1923 given that the industrial North remained in the UK following Free State independence in 1922. One possible explanation is that in 1911 a substantial number of individuals who did artisan and mechanical work categorised themselves as industrial workers or farmers/agricultural workers since the Census looked for their main occupation only.

Nevertheless when the most prominent Dublin ‘combatant’ occupations of Craftsperson, Clerk, Farmer, Labourer and Teacher are calculated as a % of the total Dublin workforce using the more reliable though later 1926 figures, the relative occupational level of revolutionary participation is presented in Table 3.10.4 below.

Table: 3.10.4 Comparison of ‘Combatant’ occupations as a proportion of the Dublin Workforce

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>As a % of Dublin Workforce 1926</th>
<th>As a % of those involved in State Formation (from Dublin only)</th>
<th>Craftworkers as a % of National Workforce</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Craftsperson</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>27.60</td>
<td>3.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>15.60</td>
<td>1.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>10.40</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop Assistant</td>
<td>6.30</td>
<td>7.70</td>
<td>1.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>(-3.12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At 8% of the Dublin workforce, craftworkers, still accounted for more than one quarter (27%) of all combatants and their participation rate is calculated at approximately three and half times their workforce rate. Dublin labourers, on the other hand, who formed a larger section of the workforce, still only accounted for less...
than one fifth of all combatants giving a participation rate of one and one half their workforce rate. Clerks and shop assistants have almost identical workforce levels although clerks have the higher participation rate in the revolution. While farmers were a minority in the Dublin workforce their revolutionary participation rate is calculated at 5 times their workforce rate although if calculated in absolute numbers then they become one of the smallest combatant groups. The only occupation listed which has a % combatant participation level below its workforce rate is that of teacher.

The social class profile of the combatant occupations points to the collaborative approach of craftworkers with both higher and lower class occupations. Mercier (1783) noted that craftworker’s economic well being was acutely dependent on all classes. Prothero (1997), in his study of English and French radical artisans in the 19th Century, maintained that they were the leading group in political radicalism and were very prominent in popular or plebian forms of radicalism together with other workers and especially with the lower middle class occupations of shopkeeper, small dealer and professionals. In Ireland, craftworkers’ reliance on full and part-time farmers was due to the weakening of consumer demand coming from small industrial urban centres and because shopkeepers and the professions also took to becoming land graziers renting on the 11 month system (Kennedy 1996b).

Artisans had both the individual and collective capacity to enter into collaborative radical political action due to these economic linkages, helped also by the nature of the work and ‘club’ structure of artisan life where benefit, trade, educational, and convivial clubs all catered for craftworker work and social needs (Prothero 1997). Moreover the political activity of artisans led to political alliances that were not predetermined by class and included people from non manual occupations where
radical artisans typically saw themselves as patriots willing to work alongside like-minded individuals (Prothero 1997).

Radicalism always had a religious content in religious countries and so religion was an important motivating factor in radicalism (Prothero 1997) and the majority of Dublin craftworkers had a Catholic disposition. Although only 78.1% of the population of greater Dublin area were Roman Catholic, the rate in city Wards was higher including the North City ward at 91.9%, Rotunda at 88.8%, North Dock at 85.6% and in only one of the 33 Dublin Electoral Divisions were non Catholics in the ascendancy (Christopher 1997). Some of the highest Catholic affiliation rates are therefore recorded in the same electoral ward areas where most of the combatants listed in Appendix 11 lived. Craftsmen on average declared higher Catholic affiliation rates than either teachers, clerks or shop assistants who themselves were slightly below the national average and this strongly suggests that an anti-socialist, anti-communist, moderate lifestyle would have been the norm.

Furthermore, Irish craftworkers tended to be better educated than most other workers but they had a notorious reputation for the 'bottle' and as consequence, their capacity to form a broad social 'artisan' radical consensus was weakened and a cohesive and effective leadership disposition was greatly diminished (McHugh 1998). Given that there was one Dublin tavern and alehouse for every 30 inhabitants in 1750 (O'Carroll 1987) and towards the end of the 19th century approximately 660 of Dublin's 765 public houses were visited at least once by almost half of Dublin's population on a Sunday, i.e. by approximately 123,000 customers, it now appears that like minded 'patriots' could easily and legitimately congregate. Moreover, a substantial number of these pubs were owned by 'nationalist' publicans who were also local leaders and who permitted nationalist meetings to take place in, and placards to be displayed on,
their premises (Malcolm 1986). In fact O’Carroll’s figures may err on the conservative side as Kearns (1996) states that in the late 1870s, Dublin had 1,006 public houses, 310 spirit grocers, 137 beer dealers and 209 unlicensed drinking houses or ‘sheebens’ and quotes a Dublin magistrate who stated, that ‘Dublin was saturated with drink...every third or fourth house deals in drink’. A example of this cross class radical collaboration can be seen in the aftermath of the failed United Irishman’s Rebellion of 1798 where artisans joined with labourers, grain producers and drink sellers and where blacksmiths and carpenters were tortured along with owners of alehouses, the former for making pikes and the latter for storing them (Malcolm 1986). In this rebellion Presbyterians, aristocracy and gentry fought alongside the Catholic and Protestant middle classes together with craftworkers particularly in Dublin (Connolly 1998b).

Artisans historically emphasised their citizenship and formed political alliances with different groups against the powerful. There is no simple reason or explanation why artisans become radical, because their action is triggered not only by material concerns but also by notions of fairness and freedom (Prothero 1997). A strong idealistic basis appears to inform their actions. Yet unlike the majority of Irish craftworkers Rorabugh (1986) stated that their American counterparts rose to prominence in politics and the military after the American Revolution, allowing ‘artisan’ parents explore different priorities for their children and take advantage of the new fluid social structure to fully develop their business potential.

Even where a craftworker such as Arthur Griffith became a political leader he epitomised Irish Catholic nationalist and economic conservatism inherent in the nature of Irish artisan radicalism. He was a co-founder in 1905 with Bulmer Hobson of the radical nationalist party Sinn Féin (Ourselves) and was heavily influenced by
The Accidental Tiger Part 3: Theoretical Analysis of the Findings

The German economist Friedrich List whose writings informed the basis of the party’s ideology of equal partner ‘dual monarchy’ independence i.e. same king but with independent parliaments (Davis 1976). A protectionist economic programme, advocating passive resistance characterised Sinn Féin’s ideology (Augusteijn 1998). Moreover Griffith also followed the teachings and ideals of Pope Leo XIII, particularly those set out in the Encyclical Rerum Novarum on Socialism and the Worker, and relied on the new nationalist state to resolve the class issue. As a consequence the ‘moderate’ Griffith was regarded as a pro capitalist conservative ‘Uncle Tom’ by James Connolly and many other left wing commentators (Davis 1976).

Collaborative and conservative craftworker radicalism was not confined to the city of Dublin. For example, the secret police report on the election of the Mid Cork Sinn Féin Executive on the 25th October 1917, revealed that the occupational profile of the officers and committee mirrored the occupational profile of combatants in the Dublin Rising. See Appendix 11, section (ii). Yet the relatively high proportion of direct combatant involvement by social classes 3, 4, 5, and 6 masks the reality that socialist movements generated only token support in Dublin. Not only was a small group of socialist artisans who worked in Dublin from 1841-43 forced out of existence due to attacks from the supporters of Daniel O’Connell the Catholic Emancipator (Lane 1997), but the membership for other socialist groups such as The Dublin Democratic Association, The Socialist League, The Irish Socialist League, The National Labour League and Irish Socialist Republican Party never exceeded sixty in number (Lane 1997). The overall lack of numbers in these organisations may reflect the laconic nature of Dubliners who have, according to Plunkett (1968), a sense of accepting things as they come and are happy and content if they have among other things their
pint (Guinness) and the assurance of a better life hereafter. These are precisely the sentiments expressed in the ‘Celtic Tiger’ profile of the economic disposition.

On the other hand, the social class structure of the 1916 leadership was by and large inversely proportional to that of the combatants. The occupational profile and educational background of a selection of the nationalist leadership including 16 of those executed, is presented in Appendix 11B. If the same Irish Social Class Scale applied to the analysis of the occupational classification of the fighters, is now used to classify the executed leaders, then the following social class profile emerges in Table: 3.10.5

### Table: 3.10.5 Occupational Profile of a sample of Executed Leaders 1916

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>Titles of Occupation</th>
<th>Number in this class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>academic, nobleman, diplomat, lecturer,</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>assayer, writer, teacher, tobacconist</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>soldier, barman, clerk (4), land agitator, union organiser</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>no occupations</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>stonework labourer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>no occupations</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 3.10.6, a comparison of the Social Class profile of the combatants and leaders is now possible and it shows that leaders, generally speaking belong to the social classes 1, 2 and 3 while the combatants belong to social classes 4, 5, and 6.

### Table: 3.10.6 Comparison of the social class of Fighters and Leaders of 1916

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>% of Leaders in this class</th>
<th>% of Fighters in this class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>48.00</td>
<td>21.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>28.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>25.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>25.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Two observations about the comparison of social class profiles of the leadership and the combatants are worth noting. Firstly, James Connolly was the only socialist among the revolutionary leadership which itself had a strongly professional bias with writers, teachers, academics and the legal profession most prominent. Secondly, according to Hagendoorf & Pepels (2000), these professional occupations are the very ones that gravitate towards nationalism in an effort to secure social and economic advantage that is normally denied them i.e. they have a mainly economic and political objective in contrast to the craftworker for example, who is driven by a more egalitarian sentiment of patriotism.

**Strand 5: The Economic Sentiment of the Craftworker**

Marx (1963) maintained that the craftworker is

> cut up into two persons...as owner of the means of production he is capitalist...[and simultaneously]...he exploits himself as wage labourer...[since]...he as capitalist employs himself as wage-labourer...[eventually he]...will either gradually be transformed into a small capitalist...or he will suffer the loss of his means of production...and be transformed into a wage-labourer

(Marx 1963: 398)

Lenin (1929) identified craft workers as aristocratic labour susceptible to economic bribery who are, for all intents and purposes, part of the bourgeoisie i.e. they are enemies of the proletariat. James Connolly (1914a) pointed out that the craft unions had accepted capitalism. Their very disposition was conservative and moderate (Hyland 1997). Craft unions served as paragons of moderation for most of their existence and Dublin craftworkers were often in the better off sections of society (Lane 1997). For example, the early part of the 19th century saw George Steward, a carpenter and Alexander Thompson, a plumber, both living in the most prestigious aristocratic neighbourhood in Dublin City, namely Sackville Mall now O'Connell St.
Craftworkers were traditionally a well-to-do group especially before the collapse of the textile industry in Dublin in 1826 when almost 10% of the city’s population was affected and subsequently had to go on public relief schemes (O’Toole 1987). Skilled workers in Ireland earned an average of 34 shillings and 9 pence per week almost as much as their British counterparts and nearly twice as much as a male labourer and three times as much as a female labourer (O’Grada 1998). Some craftworkers such as printers were particularly well paid experiencing a 265% increase in wages between 1913 and 1920 (Malcolm 1998). From an examination of wage levels in Appendix 11A it can be seen that craftworker income per week was higher than either industrial and agricultural labourers.

Craftworkers had the least amount of automation and alienation compared with other occupations and their work was intrinsically more artistic than routine labouring jobs (Hobson 1914). Furthermore, they always fought against labour to preserve their middle class status because their orientation was inherently conservative and reactionary rather than revolutionary (Marx 1998). Although in capitalism the larger and more powerful landowners attempted to pauperise small farmers, shopkeepers and artisans (Trotsky 1939), ‘Republicanism’ nevertheless depended for its vitality on farmers and shopkeepers - economic collaborators with craftworkers - the very ones who were opposed to social revolution since it was anathema to them, and as a result they directed their republican and nationalist sentiments towards social conservatism and away from the socialist radicalism of a ‘small clique of city men’ in Dublin (Fitzpatrick 1998).

Dublin craftsmen were also the occupational group least affected by post Famine emigration (O Grada 1998). Emigrants were made up of two very different groups at the top and bottom of the occupational ladder – the usual unskilled and the
professional and well educated where over capacity in the labour market restricted employment opportunities for lawyers, doctors and clergy (Daly 1994). Craftsmen must also have commanded a form of wage premium because the division of labour was practically unknown outside of the cities where the shortage of craftworkers and business people was seriously inhibiting industrial development in rural areas (O’Brien 1918). Furthermore entry to apprenticeship was restricted to an immediate relative (Daly 1994). Considering that the predominant occupations in Dublin City were general labourers, carters, messengers and porters (Chart 1920), and given the craftworker supply shortages just mentioned, an upward pressure on craft wage levels was highly likely. Indeed demand for their skills must have been further strengthened in the newly developing industries from 1841 to 1926 where new job opportunities emerged for fitter (from 24 to 1,219), fitter turner (from 145 to 1,223), electrical fitter (from zero to 1,392) and motor mechanic (from zero to 1,172). See Appendix 11D for the changes in the occupational profile of the Irish Labour force from 1841 to 1926. More importantly these new crafts also had a Catholic affiliation rate of 85% (see appendix 11C) and a conservative Catholic economic disposition was likely be evident in these newly emerging ‘industrial’ occupations.

Strand 6: The Catholic Disposition of the National Workforce

When affiliation rates of the Irish workforce listed in the 1926 Free State Census are examined (refer to appendix 11C), an exceptionally high average Catholic affiliation rate of 92.8% can be observed. The unskilled or semi skilled occupations such as factory worker, newspaper seller, building labourer have the highest rates. Even where an ‘owner manager’ group has one of the lowest Catholic affiliation rates of 54%, in Print and Paper for example, Episcopalians were the second most prominent group at 29%, followed by Presbyterians at 7%, Jews at 1% and the remaining 9%
equally divided between Methodists and Others. The importance of the number of Episcopalians i.e. Church of Ireland, is that they form the largest Protestant Church in the Republic of Ireland and as a member of the world wide Anglican community they share a number of key theological principles with Roman Catholicism (Ford & Milne 1998). Given the combined level of Catholicism and Anglicanism, the overall capitalist influence of the Puritan ‘acquisitive’ orientation highlighted by Weber must have been negligible. In some rural areas the number of adherents to other religions was minuscule. For example in County Clare on the West Coast of Ireland in 1911, there were 1,709 (1.7%) Episcopalians, 166 (0.1%) Presbyterians, 38 Methodists and 19 other non Catholic compared with 102,300 Roman Catholics (Fitzpatrick 1998).

Using Microsoft’s Statistical/Correlation functions on two arrays of data, the correlation between % of religious affiliation and social class for the occupations listed in Appendix 11C, was calculated at 0.849185425. This suggests that a positive correlation exists between affiliation rates and social class number, with the lower occupational skills and social classes showing the higher affiliation to Catholicism.

The ‘universal’ Catholic affiliation within the three main employment sectors of agriculture, manufacturing and services shortly after independence, is tabulated in Table 3.10.7

Table: 3.10.7 Number and % of Catholics, Presbyterians and Jews in the three economic sectors, Agriculture, Manufacturing, Services 1926

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Catholics</th>
<th>Presbyterians</th>
<th>Jews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture (All)</td>
<td>664,046 (98.8%)</td>
<td>8,083 (1.2%)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Producers/Makers/Repairers</td>
<td>867,098 (98.3%)</td>
<td>9,746 (1.2%)</td>
<td>406 (0.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial/Finance/Insurance</td>
<td>85,008 (97.1%)</td>
<td>1,641 (1.9%)</td>
<td>780 (1.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are just 9 Jewish individuals recorded in the entire agricultural sector and only 406 in the largest employment sector of Producer. The highest recorded Presbyterian level was in the Commercial and Finance sector yet they still only accounted for 2.0% of the entire workforce in that sector. Appendix 11E shows that while the overall national Catholic affiliation rate increased by 2% in the hundred year period from 1881 to 1991, the Church of Ireland population decreased by 5% giving a national affiliation rate of just 2.3% in 1991. Presbyterianism also decreased from 1.45% to 0.37% in the same period, a decrease of 1.08%, or nearly three quarters in absolute numbers, while Methodist numbers decreased by two thirds. The importance of the religious stratification is not only that it shows the absence of secularisation and the economically ‘favourable’ Protestantism or Judaism, but that the Catholic Church, as Stewart (1997) argued, supported the nationalist Sinn Féin party in its struggle for independence and sanctified this struggle in preference to the Irish Parliamentary Party.\(^{18}\)

Therefore Irish nationalism which we know is a specifically Catholic phenomenon (Girvin 1986), can now be directly linked to the moderate economic objective as set out by the Catholic Church and the Popes in particular. This Catholic nationalist marriage also prevented the development of political forces within the island, which according to Girvan (1986a), could appeal across religious boundaries although for example farmers did not always vote their own class into power even though they had the potential to over-arch this narrow appeal (Kennedy 1996b). The implication of this marriage for our benchmarks on Marxism, Communism and Socialism which we set out at the beginning of this chapter, is that Irish radicalism was confronted by

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\(^{18}\) The Nationalist Party was the generic term for the Irish Parliamentary Party in the British House of Commons. It vote collapsed in dramatic fashion in 1918 from 70 to 6 Westminster seats. The Irish Catholic Church suspected it of anti-clerical intentions, switching support to Sinn Féin.
three main obstacles which it never overcame. Firstly it failed to address nationalism which subordinated working class interests to the nationalist interest, secondly the power of the Catholic Church remained intact, as most devout Catholics supported the view that it was their duty to reject socialism and communism and thirdly, the land question, where a narrow industrial base did not make Ireland susceptible to a national conversion to socialism (Lane 1997). Furthermore the recommended economic objective of moderate or 'enough' wealth for Catholics which was clearly articulated by the Papacy and in particular by Leo XII in 1891, was unlikely to be ignored by the Catholic faithful.

The actual strength of this Catholic nationalist marriage to suffocate class issues can been from the prison poetry of captured combatants\(^\text{19}\). As we already discussed, both narrative and metaphor are the tracks for thoughts and beliefs to travel and they also provide useful Catholic meaning making tools. Prison has produced much poetry which has been used successfully to analyse subjective experiences of imprisonment because those awaiting death or execution place a premium on truth and honesty (Jupp 1996, Bould 1991). This form of primary data is consistent with both qualitative and naturalistic research methodology particularly when it is genuine, original and representative (Jupp 1996). In other words, honest communication is at a premium in prison poetry.

Even before 1916, White (1998) drew attention to the fact that Irish prisoners in London were deeply committed to their religion and separated themselves from the Protestant Ordinary and other non Catholic prisoners at the scaffold in the 18th century. In the poetry of both the 1916 Rising and War of Independence prisoners,

\(^{19}\) Forty one diaries belonging to nationalist prisoners were examined. The prisoners were held in Dublin Castle, Red Cross Hospital, Rebel Ward 1916, Knutsford and Frongach Prison Camps 1916 (Wales), Galway Gaol 1916, Mountjoy Jail Hunger Strikers 1917, Kilmainham Jail, Dublin,1921. Source: Allen Library: Dublin, Prison 'Autograph' Books Box 1 No: 189 and Box 2 No:190
there is universal use of allegorical imagery and terms relating to death such as ‘martyr’ 'sacrifice’ and ‘Resurrection’ which draws heavily on Catholic devotional imagery. It is used mainly to liken the Catholic nationalist role of patriot and martyr to the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, where the triumph of Ireland over British Crown Forces would be as inevitable as the Resurrection was after Jesus’ triumph over death through the crucifixion. The Irish poetry is characterised by an absence of any reference to the class conflict in contrast to the poetry of deserting German Soldiers in Belgium in 1918 where the class based nature of the conflict is very clear.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irish Example</th>
<th>German Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;For Ireland</td>
<td>&quot;It is all a Swindle:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The sacred fire of Ireland burst into flame</td>
<td>The War is for the Wealthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renew the failing lamp within their souls</td>
<td>The Middle Class must give way,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youthful one lie riddled by English bullets</td>
<td>The People provide the corpses&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God’s angels there keep guard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They would press through to join the host of God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nor should they fear the foe’s revengeful might</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powerless as Roman tortures affright</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Fishers of the Galilean Lake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland over all&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author: W. L. Cole</td>
<td>Author: Anonymous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More examples of the Irish poetry is provided in Appendix 11F.

The Irish poetry also differs in emphasis from the poetry of other prisoner nationalities in other ‘barbaric’ events and conflicts. For example, the prison poetry of Edith Cavel, who was executed by the Germans in 1915, which was collated by Bould (1991) focussed on a sense of loyalty and a duty to the existing state. In an examination of over one hundred extracts of Allied WWII prisoner of war writings compiled by Bassett (1978) only one composition could be categorised as 'Jesus' focussed, that of Danish sailor Kim Malthe-Bruun. Saving one’s life and escape was

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a top priority expressed in the poetry of American soldiers incarcerated in World War II Japanese prisoner of war camps and collected by McKendree (1995). Another modern selection of prison poetry collected by Marsha Hunt (1999) included contributions by nineteen 'junkie' prisoners in Dublin's Mountjoy Jail where only two references to God by Fiddler (1999) and Francis (1999) are featured and these are negative ones reprimanding God for forgetting them. It appears that different prisoner groupings such as the 1916 Irish, the Allied and American POWs and the Dublin junkies express different sentiments that are uppermost in their minds at the time. The evidence suggests that the Irish revolutionary prisoners did not have a class based motivation for their actions, rather Catholic/nationalist sentiments prevailed. These very sentiments also reflected the ethos of many of the schools attended by the combatants. Durkheim (1998) argued that teachers were the social representatives and intermediaries of society and that teaching fashioned the individual to reflect the basic values of society. A significant number of fighters, 209 approximately, who took part in 1916 were from just four Christian Brothers Schools in Dublin city centre, being part of a long history by this particular Catholic teaching order of turning out well educated young men with a passion for nationalism and ripe for Republican volunteer armies (O'Herlihy, Griffin, O Donnell and Devereaux 1995). Moreover, Catholic pupils were well motivated to accept the guidance and exhortations of the Religious in the schools to ensure life after death and as a substitute badge of ethnicity, which limited the sphere of influence of the Protestant establishment and its core values, by linking the acquisitive and greedy impulse of the Protestant to the rise of Communism (Nic Ghiolla Phadraig 1995).

Some examples of this link are revealed in the 20th edition of the textbook ‘Christian Politeness and Counsels for Youth’, where in chapter 1, section 1, ‘General...
Observations', the Christian disposition is characterised by a strong sentiment of charity towards others (Christian Brothers 1934). In another textbook, 'Fortifying Youth', the chapter on 'Economics and the Social Crisis' highlighted both the error of striving to achieve economic wealth and compounding this error by equating wealth with personal happiness. It was then quickly pointed out that the pursuit of both by Protestants had given rise to Capitalism and Communism. In chapter 27, 'Progress and the Dark Ages, Material Wealth Overrated', Communism was regarded as a 'natural' outcome of the Protestant Reformation because wealth and greed inevitably and naturally fostered the environment in the first place thereby provoking Communism to take hold in the poorest sections of society. Moreover the accumulation of riches was anything but a sign of salvation because God reserved riches for his greatest enemies. A single sheet revision examination on areas of Catholic social doctrine on the 'Social Crisis' enquired

What do you understand by the term 'Social Crisis'? Trace the development of present day social crises to the advent of Communism and describe the part played by Karl Marx. What are the fundamental errors in Communism? How are they directly opposed to the teaching of the Church?

The model answers declare

The cause of this evil is the universal illusion that more and more money means more and more happiness, though saints and sages have been exposing it since the world began...for this deplorable apostasy [The Reformation] freed its victims from those wholesome restraints which keep the passions of pride and avarice in check

(Christian Brothers 1946: 100-101)

The connection between acquisitiveness and evil is clear and the implication is that Catholicism mediated the extravagance of Protestant greed that generated the excesses of capitalism. This is precisely the view of the Taoiseach and the Cardinal's Representative which emerged in our research findings.
Nor was the anti-communist ethos confined to primary and secondary education. For example, in 1949, the authorities of the deeply Catholic University College Dublin (UCD), were 'outcatholicized' by the student body who complained about the low Mass attendance of their lecturers and the university authorities banned the UCD Literary and Historical Society and special guest Dr. Owen Sheehy Skeffington from debating the merits for humanity of the ideals in the Communist manifesto (Myers 1999). Up to the late 1960s and early 1970s, in an approved Department of Education primary level 'Civics' textbook of 25 short lessons and written by secular teacher Liam Gaynor (no date of publication presumably late 60s), community values are seen to have been replaced by the 'selfish individualism' imposed by a foreign and Protestant power, namely Britain. The lessons implied that the Irish nationalist values of charity and community were more suited to Irish society.

**Strand 7: The Post Revolutionary Conservative Ethos**

The assertion of Marx that the ruling ideas of any epoch are the ideas of the ruling class (Giddens 1971) is particularly insightful in terms of the Irish nationalist leadership and the prevailing socio-economic disposition of Irish society. The Irish leaders were nationalist revolutionaries with nothing else in mind except freedom, yet even at twenty five years of age, they were deeply conservative (Fitzgerald 2000a). Social, political and economic conservative policies became the hallmark of the nationalist leaders, who prided themselves as the most conservative revolutionaries in history (Breen Hannan Rottman & Whelan 1990). This was no surprise since the Free State government had many farmers and professions supporting it (Kennedy 1971). Even after a bitter struggle against the British administration, the pragmatic and opportunistic Irish revolutionary leadership adopted the familiar and acceptable Westminster constitutional model (Dinan 1986) and followed orthodox economic
policies common at that time namely balancing the books (Manseragh 1997). These policies were cautious, and focussed almost exclusively on agriculture (Neary & O'Grada 1991).

Conservatism was the dominant social perspective across all strata of Irish society, which had the effect of enabling successive Irish governments to successfully restrict social and institutional change (Fitzpatrick 1998). Daly (1994) also highlighted the Catholic and conservative orientation of the ruling administrative elite in the new Irish civil service where almost all of the forty eight heads of departments came from Ireland and approximately half of these were Catholic. Moreover, with 21,000 individuals transferring from the British administration into the new Irish Civil Service and with only 131 individuals recruited from the original revolutionary administration of Dáil Éireann, an administrative post independence revolution was prevented and continuity of the old conservative policies assured (Daly 1994).

Marx (1843) had already noted that politics and Christian religion tended to be inextricably linked. Lee (1989) maintained that the two largest political parties in Ireland both shared strong Catholic and anti-Communist sentiments and that the general population equated Communism with atheism and regarded the crusade against it as a religious rather than a class war. Broderick (1994) noted that in the 1930s, Irish society perceived that a Marxist revolution was a real threat to the new state and De Valera maintained that socialism was not only anathema to Irish Catholicism, but to the personality of the Irish and to the whole Irish way of life (Milotte 1984). Widespread attacks were carried out by gangs on communists and communist property in the 1930’s following clerical sermons in Dublin’s Catholic Pro-Cathedral and, as a consequence, the label of ‘communist’ was more that just a potential violent threat (Hanley 1999).
The reason for the participation of twenty Irish students between 1927 and 1935 at the Comitern’s International Lenin School ILS – Moscow’s foremost academy for the training of foreign revolutionaries - was as a reaction to the very poor showing of the Irish Communist movement in the Ireland of the 1920s (McLoughlin 1999). The combined red scare propaganda of the Church and State in the 1930s and early 1940s helped marginalise all socialist and communist revolutionary groups (Collins 1998) and in the 1950s all the political parties asserted that communism and socialism were incompatible with Christianity and democracy (Manning 1999).

Cairns & Richards (1988) explained that Catholic nationalist leaders in the new Free state saw the desires of the body as a menace to achieving ‘Heaven’ and therefore gave priority to the needs of the soul, and as farmers embodied this national ideal it ensured that other group interests were subservient to those of the farmers. Connolly (1994) argued that the power of the Catholic Church to inculcate this anti-materialist economic ethos with a special status reserved for the poor stemmed from the fact that the Church was not drawn from the social elite and was helped by the creation of a myth concerning long standing Irish national Catholic devotion and piety. Marx (1846) also saw religion as supporting and justifying the capitalist economic relations of the day. This was precisely the relationship existing in the Free State where the clergy in conjunction with the civil service, businessmen and small to medium sized farmers formed a particularly Irish bourgeois alliance at the expense of the proletariat (Arkins 1994).

It is nor surprising then that the Labour Party has never been a potent political force in Ireland where both the Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael parties dominated so much so

---

21 The first of the eight Beatitudes “Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven” (Matthew:5:3-10), where the common meaning attached to ‘poor’ is economic distress, although scholars insist that the Heavenly Kingdom is not bestowed on the condition of poverty, but on the willingness to bear this condition and so a very rich man can be ‘poor in spirit’. See Catholic Encyclopedia Vol.II, 1907.Appleton & Co.
that the Irish Labour party was mostly a peripheral entity except in some modern coalition governments when it held the balance of power. This phenomenon seems remarkable when over 60% of the Irish population classified themselves as ‘working class’ (Breen, Hannan, Rottman, & Whelan 1990). In twenty five elections since 1922, the % of seats held by Labour has fluctuated from a low of 4.5% in 1932 to a high of 19% in 1992 (Govt 1997). As Breen & Whelan (1994) noted, class influence on voting preferences was exceptionally weak in Ireland and this was reflected in across the board support for the republican Fianna Fáil leaving Fine Gael and Labour as minor parties in the scheme of things. The preference for the nationalist and republican Fianna Fáil can clearly be seen from the figures for voting preferences presented in Table 3.10.8 below. The total intermediate and non skilled working class vote for Fianna Fáil exceeds the combined total of votes for all other political parties from these two categories of voter. In the professional/managerial class nearly half of all votes are also cast for Republican Fianna Fáil.

Table: 3.10.8 Voting preferences for Irish Political Parties by Occupational Classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prof/Managerial</th>
<th>Intermediate</th>
<th>Non Skilled Working Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fianna Fáil</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine Gael</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Left</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:**

There is further evidence that approximately 50% of those holding left wing economic values in all three occupational categories voted for Fianna Fáil, whereas only 14% of the professional/managerial, 11% of the Intermediate and 21% of the
non skilled groups voted for Labour (Hardiman and Whelan 1994). Class partisanship had been successfully avoided by a combination of the PR system which allowed ideologies to develop that denied the importance of class conflict and by the 'catch all' Fianna Fáil strategy of submerging class conflict in the call for territorial and social unity together with their policy of generating economic growth with minimum conflict (Hardiman and Whelan 1994). The Trade Union movement was also dominated by sectional interests and a restricted frame of reference which focussed on comparability issues among the same occupation and leading to an absence of class consciousness, left any co-ordinated development of a worker ideology with weak foundations (Breen, Hannan, Rottman and Whelan 1990).

This continuing problem of attempting to modify Marx's insights without damping down the revolutionary call for social justice in capitalist economies gave rise to a number of perspectives encompassing a priori, empirical, experiential, critical theory and new leftism viewpoints\(^2\) (Gorman 1982). In Ireland, revisionist Marxist history writing is 'scholastic Marxism' written by academics for journals rather than an action based guide for old fashioned working class political Marxists, and acts as an apologia for British involvement in Irish affairs (Coughlan 1999). Moreover along the way it conveniently ignores the fact that a central tenet of classical Marxism was embodied and actioned in Connolly's national struggle for independence, namely an attempt to subordinate the interest of capital to the working class (Coughlan 1999). Given that the collapse of the Soviet Union was regarded as definitive proof of failure of Communism and the ideas of Marx, the promise held out that technological

\(^2\) These perspectives include a priori Marxism or orthodox materialism, experiential Marxism where the focus is on individual rationality and its effect on the socio-historical process, empirical Marxism which focusses on a verifiable revolutionary hypothesis, Critical Theory maintaining that we are unable to act authentically within the socio-historical process and the New Left concentrating on whatever works politically.
advancement would be harnessed to minimise the working day and provide the materialist basis for advancement of human civilisation had been totally undermined by the mediation of Social Democracy in capitalist economies (Woods & Grant 1994). In this regard Ireland was no exception because

in the world wide retreat from socialism in the 1990s Ireland has had a lot less distance to travel than most countries

(Collins 1998: 518)

Concluding remarks

The above exploration of the forces shaping the profile of the Irish economic disposition has benefited from using the concept of Historical Materialism. It has allowed us to reveal a coalition of socio-cultural strands programmed by the Absolute Pre-supposition religion/nationalism to protect and adapt the Catholic ethos to the prevailing or changing socio-economic conditions. This can be seen in the failure of ‘green’ versions of both right and left leaning ‘isms’ such as O’Duffyism and Hibernicised Marxism. The direct action of the hierarchy who sent consistent messages through the pulpit, of the religious orders who inculcated Catholic nationalist sentiments in their pupils and of the workers themselves who for example, as members of the Labour Party demanded stronger Catholic Social teaching principles in more of the Party’s policies, marked out all the ‘isms’ for special attention.

The papal directives on legitimate economic engagement levels clearly articulated the approved charitable and ‘moderate’ ethic. The disposition of one of the key occupational groups in that revolution, craftsmen, following a tradition of European and American artisan radicalism is seen nevertheless, to be an almost universal Catholic one. This disposition is characterised by a coalition of ‘anti-materialist’, ‘anti-Protestant' 'moderate' and 'charitable' sentiments. These ‘religious’ sentiments
are precisely the ones displayed in the profile of the Irish economic disposition revealed in the research findings in part II of the thesis. The anti-industrial and conservative temperament of revolutionary leaders and early Irish governments was also revealed.

Marx appears to have overestimated the explanatory capacity of historical materialism since religion is a powerful cultural variable capable of profound positive and negative societal change which is independent from the change dynamic springing from material relations i.e. the economic structure (McGuire 1992). Our research also suggests that this religious variable is the pre-eminent internal force shaping the economic disposition. The nationalist aspect of the Absolute Pre-supposition has been characterised by extreme conservatism together with a long standing and deeply felt antipathy towards the Soviet Union (Manseragh 1997a). The remarkable fact is that it is possible for Irish society to hold extreme nationalist and conservative social views while simultaneously distancing the nationalist left from the socialist left (Manseragh 1997b).

Moreover the formation of the Free State can be interpreted as a move to assist capitalism to take a stronger foothold in Ireland because national economic determination is a feature or safety valve within the capitalist system to prevent explosive revolutionary situations from developing such as occurred in Russia. In addition, by assisting with economic self determination the capitalist system is actually being strengthened in the longer term (Fanning and McCarthy 1983). The critical weakness in maintaining that materialism and its relations underpin social and political history is exposed in the case of Ireland (Manseragh 1965b), where the Absolute Pre-supposition religion/nationalism has been revealed as a durable force in shaping the Irish economic disposition.
Chapter 11

EXPLORING THE NORMATIVE IMPACT OF RELIGIOUS AND NATIONALIST SENTIMENT ON THE IRISH ECONOMIC DISPOSITION USING FIGURATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

From childhood, I was aware that there were two separate and immiscible kinds of citizens: the Catholics, of whom I was one and the Protestants, who were as remote and different from us as if they had been blacks and we whites. We were not acquainted with Protestants but we knew that they were there – a hostile element in the community vaguely menacing us with horrors as Mrs Smylie’s home for orphans where children might be brought and turned into Protestants. While we Catholics varied socially among ourselves we all had the most common bond whatever our economic condition, of being second class citizens

Andrews (1979)

Introduction

In chapter 10 the Absolute Pre-supposition religion/nationalism was seen to exert a profound influence on the socio-economic context, on the ‘fire’ of the individual’s attitude and on the nature of the derived economic behaviour. Moreover, the use of a stranding approach played a significant part in unraveling the nature of the linkages between the various socio-cultural factors that determined the essence of this disposition. This same stranding approach is again particularly useful to draw out the longer term dynamic of social development driven by the changing relationship between individuals and groups, a central theme in ‘Figurational Sociology’. The use of Figurational Sociology in our analysis adds a different rather than an opposing emphasis to the so-called static Marxist economic relations model. By focussing on the dynamic of changing relationships, it becomes easier to comprehend the underlying regularity of the Irish economic disposition as part and parcel of a longer term process of western development which Elias calls the civilising process. Moreover, by placing the nationalist aspect of the Absolute Pre-supposition within this civilising process and then by employing concepts such as ‘Insider/Outsider’, some apparent contradictions manifested in recurring patterns of Irish economic
behaviour, are seen to come under the direct influence of this nationalist sentiment. Here again the Irish state formation period and some of the main protagonists which were used to successfully ground the sociological insights of Marx are also deployed to expose other linkages and a different perspective on some of the linkages exposed in the previous chapter, using five alternative strands of analysis.

Using strand 1, the concept of national identity is explored where group membership criteria and subsequent economic behaviour as a re-enforcement of that identity is examined. In strand 2, the rise of specific occupations during the formation and development of the Irish state is explored and the subsequent impact of this changing social structure on the development of the Irish economic disposition is examined. In strand 3, the impact of farmers and teachers on the national economic disposition is explored. In strand 4, we examine the vocational rather than the sexual locus of conscience, how it shapes economic behaviour given the number of respondents in our research who alerted us to its influence in their working lives. Finally in strand 5, we discuss the nature of the Irish British colonial relationship where the ‘grievance’ sentiment infusing the Irish psyche almost pre-determines an anti-industrial disposition. These new strands help to contribute to a more informed understanding of the nature of the constellation of socio-cultural factors impacting on the Irish economic disposition. Central to maximising this contribution is the concept of ‘figurational sociology’.

**Figurational Sociology**

There is no mention of Norbert Elias in modern sociological textbooks such as Ritzer (1988), Craib (1992) or Baert (1998). Yet he is one of the most penetrating and original sociological thinkers who rejected many traditional assumptions of sociology (Mennel 1997). In particular he rejected the notion of the ‘individual’ and ‘society’ as
disparate entities. Van Krieken (1997) pointed out that the concept of figurational sociology deemed that social life can only be understood by defining the individual as part of a collective, as part of a constellation of dependent relationships i.e. within a figuration. According to Elias (1996)

*the image of man as a 'closed personality' is replaced by the image of an 'open personality'...fundamentally oriented towards and dependent on other people throughout his life*

(Elias 1996: 213)

Fletcher (1997) saw the ‘simpler’ terms of ‘interdependency network’ or 'configuration' being more workable than the term 'figurational'. Haferkamp (1987) maintained that over time there was a noticeable change of emphasis by Elias in the concept of dependency from intra to inter-state societal processes, tracing a move from internal conquest and victory with the concomitant social disturbance and power relations, to a focus on relationships with other states.

Elias (1969) argued that industrialisation and nation building should be perceived as two distinct elements of the same transformation connected by the changing distribution of power chances in society and symbolically epitomised in the emergence of mass parties. Earlier Tawney (1921) maintained that the system of industrial development and nationalism which came to a climax between 1870-1914 was just one expression of individualism freed from a central source of communal authority. However, nationalism rather than industrialisation had by far the greater impact on the development of Ireland in the 20th Century (Girvan 1984). In other words, the Absolute Pre-supposition of religion/nationalism, remains one of the most important influences in Irish developmental dynamics. Elias (1939) recommended that sociological studies should focus on the
The Accidental Tiger Part 3: Theoretical Analysis of the Findings

penetrating underlying regularities by which people in a certain society are bound over and over again to particular patterns of conduct

(Elias 1996: 489)

A three hundred year old tradition or durée or Absolute Pre-supposition of Irish Nationalism - which we discussed in the Introductory section of the thesis - marks it out as a force that impacts on patterns of Irish conduct. As Irish nationalism has been shaped by the interdependency of Ireland and Britain within a colonial context, the importance of this figuration for explaining Irish economic behaviour remains the focus of this chapter.

Strand 1: The concept of Irish national identity within a colonial relationship

National identities form through the power relationships between different states and in the case of England and Ireland, the former’s stereotypical view of the latter may, in itself, have been evidence of an oppressive colonial relationship (Billington, Hockney & Strawbridge 1998). During oppression or ethnic and political domination a close relationship between religious commitment and nationalism develops (Hornsby-Smith & Whelan 1994). The creation of a homogeneous nation is always the objective of nationalism when the intention is secession or independence from a stronger nation (Hagendoorf & Pepels 2000). Yet the Irish were not a homogenous group because, a succession of colonisers from Norman lords, Scots planters and Victorian civil servants, gave rise to a number of competing identities such as old Irish, old English, Scotch Irish and Irish Catholic (MacRaild 1999). Yet in the end, Catholics became the only meaningful and distinct Irish race because ‘Catholicism’ and ‘Irishness’ were both interlinked with ‘nationalist’ and the term ‘meaningful race’ meant ‘bad’ to the British (MacRaild 1999).
Nationalism in Ireland meant the restoration of independence to a mother country long under British subjugation and was symbolised in the concept of a 'republic' (Manseragh 1997c). This new republic could not be dominion in spirit (Manseragh 1997a) although when independence eventually arrived it was a 'messy' business leading to a civil war and where the Provisional Government consisted of

simply eight young men in the City Hall standing amidst the ruins of one administration, with the foundations of another not yet laid, and with wild men screaming through the keyhole

(Fine Gael 1997: 7)

When the Republic was eventually declared in 1949 it seceded from the commonwealth unlike India who acceded, since the status of 'republic' was tantamount to independence in Ireland whereas in India it was merely incidental to the independence movement (Manseragh 1997).

Rex (1996) described identity not as differentiation of one state and its people (nation) from others, but more of a semi-sacred emotional attachment or feeling of being part of a nation. He asserted that one of the strongest mechanisms to engender this 'feeling of belonging' was the ideology of nationalism with its attendant moral significance which superceded class consciousness and denied the authority of the State to its legitimate monopoly of violence which, according to Weber (1968) was the mark of a 'state'. Ellis (1991) however, highlighted the illusion of past Irish sovereignty and although the Republic of Ireland ascribed to Catholic, Gaelic, nationalist and republican values, Ireland never existed as a unitary sovereign state. Because there had been little empirical research on the development of national identity in the Republic, since most research on Irish identity was conducted on Northern Ireland (Devine-Wright & Lyons 1997), it is not surprising that this ideal of former unification has been taken for granted.
Nic Ghiolla Phadraig (1995) argued that Irish Catholicism was deemed a powerful ethnic identity marker because it was nationalist in sentiment. While this ethnic marker defined 'Irishness', the exclusion of some from the community was a necessary prerequisite for the process of uniting and including the rest (McDevitt 1997). National uniqueness then consisted of 'invoking' an identity based on membership of a particular national community and continuously affirming the ties that the individual has to that community (Gray 1999). Delanty (1996a) maintained that Habermas offered one of the most devastating critiques of nationalism when he pointed out that European integration, supra national military alliances and globalisation made the process of integration at the level of nation state almost irrelevant.

In their appraisal of Colley's (1992) discussion on the notion of 'Britishness', McCrone and Kiely (2000) noted the British ambivalence towards Irish national identity. Although the 'Other' was perceived to be the 'French' and 'Catholicism' in whatever guise they appeared, 'Britishness' provided a catch all identity for the English, Scots and Welsh, whereas the Irish were never considered to be 'properly' British. The Irish never really sat neatly into the subject position of the 'Other' allocated to them in English colonial discourse (Murphy 1999). The reason for this is that ever since the Act of Union in 1800, Irish Catholics became citizens of Britain, yet they were discriminated against both economically and culturally and stamped as such, since Irish society represented the most powerful incarnation of the 'Other' and so Irish Catholics were ruled as an internal colony (Hickman 1995). It was to be the most significant and long lasting colonial relationship anywhere in the world, where nationalism and Catholicism identified the colonised, and by their absence, the coloniser (Christopher 1997).
Underpinning this colonial relationship was the perceived true characteristic of the British ‘Other’, namely the lack of the Protestant Work Ethic and the degeneracy of the Irish embodied the absence of a civilising disposition (Hickman 1995). The Victorian image of the Irish equated them with decaying moral values and this provided a persistent stereotype of an alien Catholic presence characterised by poverty, immorality and drunkenness which had the effect of hiding the actual reality of their lived experience (MacRaild 1999). We have previously brought attention to this ‘alien’ status in the writing of Engels. In relation to the concept of ‘Insider/Outsider’ membership values, Elias and Scotson (1965) described the process initiated by ‘Insiders’ of establishing the benchmark attitudes and behaviours deemed characteristic of ‘Outsiders’ as follows:

[the established]...can often enough induce the outsiders to accept an image of themselves which is modelled on a ‘minority of the worst’...can often impose the belief that they are not only inferior in power but inferior by ‘nature’

(Elias and Scotson 1965: 159)

Elias and Scotson (1965) explained this power relationship as one group (insiders or established) having the opportunity to exercise power over another group (outsiders) who are totally or partially excluded from these chances. The monopoly of the insider group is the prime source of their distinction over the outsider group, who themselves require the consent of the insider group to access these power chances. Insider and outsider groups can be only be studied effectively when they are seen in relation to the whole configuration or set of interdependencies in which both groups are situated. Hence the exploration of the British/Irish colonial relationship underlining this analysis.

Murphy (1999) warned that while there may be a powerful statistical argument to affix the term ‘colonial’ to Ireland based on land transfers through dispossession and...
The Accidental Tiger Part 3: Theoretical Analysis of the Findings

domination from the Irish Catholic to the English Protestant in the 17th century, it remains different from the colonisation of the New World. London’s policy for Irish colonisation was based on assimilation and civilisation of the native population. He noted that unlike the American Indian, the Irish were incorporated as full subjects of the Crown, where Gaelic Chiefs were given feudal titles and those who rebelled were tried and executed in London. In contrast the North American colonists not only succeeded in imposing their culture and administrative structure on the native population - like Ireland - but, unlike Ireland, eventually outnumbered and marginalised them politically and economically (Ellis 1991). A similar pattern of British colonisation in New Zealand, Australia and the West Indies was also different to that in Ireland, because these states attained their independence from a mother country whereas in Ireland the majority community sided with a native and Gaelic rather than colonial past to retrieve a mother country (Ellis 1991). Stewart (1998) argued that Irish colonisation outcomes were also far removed from those of 'Third World' colonies of the 19th century, as it was not a culture brutally controlled by an outsider but on the contrary, democratic freedoms were very advanced by continental standards.

Nevertheless, attempts to explain economic development in Ireland within many traditional hypotheses of English commentators, exposed a pattern relying on racial and national characteristics, where for example, Ireland’s misery in the Famine era was due almost entirely to character traits within her Celtic identity (De Nie, 1998). Curtis (1995) stated that the 1840s saw the acceptance of popular racialist theories such as physiognomy among the educated British public and De Nie (1998) maintained that this only re-enforced the perception that the Irish were a distinct alien race who lived and died inside the Union but intellectually, economically and
Speech rebuke on Irish

the British to de-civilise

Could he not find

is one small nation

several hundred

massacres, in e

Exploring the Normative Impa
Irish nationalists because (Garnham 2001). Its means it was linked to an improvement where their bands featured lower ranks. Imported
servility and subjugation to an alien power by assisting with the development of an effeminate and unsuitable sport for the manly Irish, because it lacked civilising tendencies due to its highly commercialised and anti-heroic bias. In a nutshell then, it was a foreign and colonial ‘Outsider’ badge that failed to pass Catholic/Nationalist membership criteria. While sport provided a vehicle to accentuate the differences between cultures, one Catholic, nationalist and pastoral and the other Protestant Imperial and industrial, the change in the occupational profile of the Irish political ruling class after independence aligned the institutional framework to a Catholic and nationalist economic disposition.

Strand 2: The emerging occupational profile of the political class in the new Irish state.

Elias (1939) maintained that the moulding of the individual's disposition is dependent on his/her occupation and this moulding initiates change but is then itself subject to change. Although norms are not absolute and are modified as a result of social and cultural developments, Elias and Dunning (1986) stated that they provided a permanent key to measuring attitudinal shifts. Norms are what Elias and Scotson (1997) call

'sociological inheritance' the intergenerational transmission of social codes and attitudes

(Elias and Scotson 1997: 72)

Elias (1996) noted that almost all of the structural peculiarities of western societies could be explained in terms of a slow rise of the lower working urban occupations to political power in the form of the professional classes. In the previous chapter 10, the occupational profile and social class of combatants and leaders involved in the state formation process was established. The subsequent change in the occupational profile of the political class over a longer time frame should alert us then, to the
proprietors and full time proprietors and full time occupations hardly feature occupations hardly feature

A re-classification of the Social Class Scale followed

‘compress’ combatant and

Exploring the Normative Impact with
naming interests, and such interests according to Cairn & Rice throughout the industrial large groups of combatants within the industrial sector.

Exploring the Normative Impact
of prospective candidates. This trend would appear to suggest that the majority of the lower social classes did the actual fighting, while the middle and upper classes subsequently took control of government when hostilities ceased.

The continuing rise of the landed, entrepreneurial and professional classes becomes even more pronounced in the 3rd snapshot which details the profile of successful candidates in the three elections of 1918, 1927 and 1998. Refer to Appendix 12B for this listing. For convenience purposes, the main changes are coded from blue to red.

The replacement of the top political occupations of farmer, barrister, union official and merchant in the 1927 Dáil, with managing director, teacher, politician, farmer, and barrister in the 1998 Dáil is striking. While the farmer and barrister are prominent in both periods the union official and merchant have been eliminated and superseded by business people such as managing director, teacher and politician. The pattern of the rise to power of certain urban occupations and classes is now seen to be generally consistent with Elias' insight except that it is not lower urban but middle and upper urban occupations which are prominent.

Although farmer representation has declined, it still remained significant in the 'Celtic Tiger' when agriculture was one of the smallest employment sectors, representing less than 10% of the Irish workforce. In 1927, the farming representative position was a fair reflection of its leading economic status because those in agricultural employment a year earlier accounted for 65% of the total workforce (Whelan 1998). On the other hand the craftworker's position inexorably declined, reflecting their weak industrial economic status where in 1926, industry accounted for only 10% of employment (Kennedy Giblin & McHugh 1994). In the 1920s the declining manufacturing sector accounted for a mere 5% of total employment (O'Malley 1998). The rise of the upper urban occupations is even more pronounced...
in the occupational data for 1998, where for example, the craftsman (zero) and union official (4) almost mirror the converse of the rise of the company director (18) and accountant (9). This represents further political consolidation of the business and professional class and may reflect the importance of the professional service sectors in the modern Irish economy. Only two years before the present Dáil was convened in 1998, the industrial and services sector accounted for almost 85% of stated occupations in the Irish workforce FÁS/ESRI (1996). This trend can be observed in Table 3.11.2 (part A) where the aggregate total of all occupations for the three elections are again ‘compressed’ and reclassified using the Irish Social Class Scale.

Table: 3.11.2 Social class Stratification of elected representatives in the 1918, 1927 and 1998 General Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PART A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social class 1</strong>: academic, accountant, legal, landowner, engineer, gentleman, dentist, aristocrat, doctor, company director, farmer (1927 &amp; 1998 only).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social class 2</strong>: politician, contractor, teacher, merchant, widow, shopkeeper, publican, foreman, sheep breeder, employer rep., auctioneer, economist. farmer (1927 &amp; 1998 only).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social class 3</strong>: union official, military, journalist, farmer's union, county councillor, agent, civil servant, public servant, clerk, secretary, political organiser traveller, writer, health care, insurance farmer (for 1918, 1927 &amp; 1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social class 4</strong>: baker, craftsman, jeweller farmer (1927 &amp; 1998 only).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social class 5</strong>: agri-labourer, labourer, railway labourer, stationmaster farmer (1927 &amp; 1998 only).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social class 6</strong>: no occupations listed against Irish Social Scale 'unskilled'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Special class 7</strong>: unstated/unknown.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dynamic underlying the rise of upper urban occupations also uncovers the disproportionate political influence of the top social classes particularly when their representative status is collated as a % of total numbers in each Parliament or Dáil. The results are presented in Table 3.1.2 (part B).
Table: 3.11.2 Social class Stratification of elected representatives in 1918, 1927 and 1998 General Elections - PART B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>1918 Election Seats (% of 95 seats)</th>
<th>1927 Election Seats (% of 153 seats)</th>
<th>1998 Election Seats (% of 166 seats)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>28 (30%)</td>
<td>35 (23%)</td>
<td>60 (36%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>12 (13%)</td>
<td>42 (27%)</td>
<td>70 (42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>39 (41%)</td>
<td>33 (22%)</td>
<td>25 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17 (11%)</td>
<td>6 (3.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25 (17%)</td>
<td>5 (3.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7*</td>
<td>16 (16%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTALS 95 (100%) 153 (100%) 166 (100%)

* Where this is the number of 'Unstated' occupations

The absence of social classes 4, 5 and 6 in the British General Election of 1918 has been transformed into a profile where 27% of those elected to the 1927 Irish Free State Dáil came from these very same classes. However, by 1998 their combined total had decreased to approximately 7% of elected members. On the other hand, the combined figures for social classes 1 and 2 has increased from 50% in 1927 to 78% in the 1998 Dáil. There is no representative from Social Class 6 in any of the three elections. Even presuming that all 16 of the 'unstated' politicians came from the unskilled Social Class 6, it would hardly alter the underlying pattern observed in the class profile data.

Moreover, the profile of the most prominent occupations in the present Dáil can now be compared to the general occupational stratification of the modern Irish workforce to see if the 'elected' occupations are representative of the overall stratification of the Irish workforce. For a listing of the occupational breakdown of the 'Celtic Tiger' workforce see appendix 12C. The figures reveal the absence of an elected representative from the largest occupational group in the 'Celtic Tiger' workforce, namely craft/skilled worker. So from a position where they constituted one of the most important occupations to participate in the 1916 Rising and the War of
Independence, they, unlike their American counterparts did not rise into the ranks of the political class. On the other hand, while farmers are proportionately represented teachers, managers, clerks and the legal profession are over represented. For example, the 6,000 strong legal profession holds fifteen seats in the Dáil and while the legal profession and businessmen/women category constitute some of the smallest workforce occupational categories, they nevertheless, hold 18 parliamentary seats.

We know also that 50% of those with 'leftist' economic values (socialism) in the skilled manual class (the craftworker) support the Republican nationalist Fianna Fáil whereas only 11% support the Labour Party and approximately 56% of the skilled manual class with 'rightest' (capitalist) economic views also support Fianna Fáil while only 4% expressed support for Labour (Hardiman & Whelan 1994). This would suggest that Irish craftworkers/skilled workers, the largest occupational group in the current Irish workforce, still exhibit a disposition characterised by non socialist, conservative, nationalist and republican sentiments. The conservative and non socialist disposition is precisely the one exhibited by workers in Domain C of our study.

Since the evidence from chapter 10 also suggests that the second largest occupational category, farmer, displays an inherently conservative disposition we can argue with some confidence that a significant section of the 'Celtic Tiger' workforce still displays a Catholic nationalist and anti-materialist economic disposition. The views expressed by many of the respondents including the farmers and craft workers in our research tends to confirm this and points to regularity of economic behaviour, that is, to the presence of a durée.

Furthermore, the rise of teachers, accounting for one third of all serving TDs, is a feature of this pattern and it therefore not alone places one social structure, education,
at the heart of the political structure but through education the vast majority of occupations are linked directly to Catholic social teaching and economic objectives. Of course it also place teachers in a prime position to influence government policy. For example when the occupational and educational background of a number of prominent politicians from across the spectrum of 'Celtic Tiger' political life is examined, it reveals the universal nature of their 2nd level educational background. No less than eight religious teaching orders can be identified in Table 3.11.3. The higher class occupational profile of many of these prominent politicians which include the 'Celtic Tiger' Taoiseach, two of his predecessors and the 'Celtic Tiger' Tánaiste can also be observed.

Table: 3.11.3 Selection of senior cross party politicians their occupation and educational background.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Portfolio</th>
<th>Occupation*</th>
<th>Education 2nd level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahern, B.</td>
<td>Taoiseach</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>CBS*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haughey, C.J.</td>
<td>Former Taoiseach</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>CBS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brennan, S.</td>
<td>Chief Whip</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>CBS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCreevy, C</td>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>CBS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahern, D</td>
<td>Social Welfare</td>
<td>Solicitor</td>
<td>Maristb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowen, B.</td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Solicitor</td>
<td>Cisterciansc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitzgerald, G.</td>
<td>Former Taoiseach</td>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>Jesuitsd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maire Geoghan Quinn</td>
<td>Retired Minister</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Mercy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harney, M.</td>
<td>Tánaiste &amp; Employment</td>
<td>Politician</td>
<td>Presentationg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O’Rourke, M.</td>
<td>Public Enterprise</td>
<td>Politician</td>
<td>Loretoh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*CBS, - Christian Brothers School – Teaching Brothers
b Teaching Priests
c Teaching Monks
d Well known Order of priests involved in many aspects of Church work including teaching at 2nd & 3rd level
Teaching Nuns

Because we have already established from the previous chapter that the anti-materialist and charitable ethos of Catholic teaching would have infused in pupils a moderate economic objective of 'enough', the teachers role of continuously transmitting social norms is a key linkage that merits a further exploration.
Strand 3: Teachers and the moulding of the Irish economic disposition.

The value of education for Irish economic development is continuously affirmed by a cross section of Irish political and academic ‘elites’ including Harris (1989), Brennan (1992), Breathnach (1996), Barrett (1997), Breathnach (1997), Fitzgerald (1997), Mitchell (1997), Fitzgerald (1998), Fitzgerald Kearney Morgenroth and Smyth (1999) and the OECD (1999). However, Apple (1990) pointed out that a ‘cosy’ arrangement exists between academics and the ruling class whereby intellectuals provide legitimacy for economic ideologies and these same ideologies then become reflected in the educational curriculum thus providing mutual legitimacy. This of course was one of the main institutional relationships identified by the career guidance teachers in our research where they articulated the close link between education and business as an attempt to undermine the pastoral and holistic approach traditionally adopted in the schools. The teachers in our research also identified the widespread support in Irish society for this pastoral/religious approach as evidenced by the increase in registrations to theirs and other like minded schools.

Many teachers are subject to clerical/religious boards of management and according to Walshe (1999), the Churches (both Catholic and Protestant) regard the educational process as one that transcends beyond the secular into the spiritual sphere. Walshe (1999) alerted us to philosophy of Sister Eileen Randles, General Secretary of the Catholic Primary School Managers Association, who insisted, at a 1996 Belfast conference on Pluralism in Education, that Religious faith was the basis of an individual’s outlook in all areas of life and consequently, the Church sought through a Catholic education, to create a synthesis of faith and culture that would then spill over into daily life.
This is not a new idea. The importance of embedding the religious ethos in the broader curriculum was previously spelt out to teachers in the mid 1960’s. In the official Rules for National Schools (aged 5-12), the primacy of religious instruction over all other school subjects was clear and its core objective was to mould a disposition of charity, obedience and passivity in each pupil:

*Of all the parts of a school curriculum...Religious Instruction is by far the most important, as its subject matter, is God’s honour and service and a religious spirit should inform and vivify the whole work of the school. The teacher should constantly inculcate the practice of charity. In this way he will fulfil the primary duty of an educator, the moulding to perfect form of his pupil’s character, habituating them to observe, in their relations with God, and with their neighbour, the laws of God*  

(Govt 1965: 38)

In the Primary Teachers Handbook, the transmission of *national* attitudes and social habits through the Civics and History curriculum was also among the most important aims of Irish education (Govt 1994). Both Catholicism and nationalism (the Absolute Pre-supposition) are given the most pre-eminent position in Irish education. Moreover, the Catholic ‘Spirit of Charity’ and compassion for others was identified as the core *patriotic* sentiment to ensure the continued economic well being of the nation (Govt 1994). According to Walshe (1999) there was a recent attempt made to remove History as a core subject in the Junior Certificate Curriculum (lower second level cycle) but its status was successfully retrieved in 1999 following action by the History Teachers Association. The importance of national history is that it imparts to individuals a sense of belonging, a feeling of identity and solidarity with the group (Elias 1997). At this stage we have not only established a close occupational link between the political and the educational structures but within that educational framework the identification of a charitable disposition with a patriotic one and both acting as hallmarks of the ‘Insider’ Irish national identity.
The Chairman of the Catholic Board of Education had recently drawn attention to his concern that the move might lead to greater government interference in the Catholic primary school. See...

Exploring the Normative Impact
‘traitorous’ and inimical to a specifically Catholic society.

‘all clear’ conscience wise ideals.

Exploring the Normative Impact u
The significance of the role of conscience in comprehending the concrete world still remains undiminished in various world religions and in particular Roman Catholicism (Smith 1999). It is the ‘indispensable’ factor underpinning moral decision making throughout the history of Roman Catholic moral teaching (Smith 1999). Conscience in the Catholic tradition not only has a role of evaluating past actions but determines the course of future action and can therefore be rightly regarded as a tool for constructing behavioural norms on foot of personal perceptions of reality (Hoose 1999). Conscience has therefore the potential to direct or re-align conscious behaviour and should be included in any analysis of the interrelationship between religion and economic development. The importance of conscience is that it is an ‘inner’ voice that is listened to (sometimes called the voice of God), that not only makes an individual aware of his/her own guilt but compels subsequent action in a specific direction (Heidegger 1949).

The Catholic notion of conscience embodies both ‘synderesis’ and 'conscience', where the former can be regarded as a natural habitus or disposition that shapes and orientates human behaviour in readiness to act towards good, whereas the latter is the act itself that applies knowledge of right and wrong to enable the individual to pass a judgement on his/her actions (Smith 1999). Synderesis is an inborn disposition towards good (Leal 1999) and it is this disposition that all of the Catholic respondents displayed in our study through the expression of the ‘Spirit of Charity’ and where the subsequent economic behaviour to achieve ‘enough’ is the outcome.

The cause and effect between disposition and action was described by St Thomas Aquinas - the foremost official theologian of the Catholic Church - when he described how an individual can ‘know’ he/she has a particular disposition by actually
exhibiting the correct behaviour so that the new self knowledge of the presence of the disposition then further consolidates the required activity (Kenny 1994). When this required activity fails to follow, a penalty is applied in the form of guilt (Costigane 1999). Because each individual has to account for his actions before God and since mistakes of judgement can occur because of our fallen nature (original sin), a reliance on official teachings is therefore necessary (Costigane 1999).

Consequently, the traditional view is that conformity to Roman Catholic teaching is equivalent to having a good Catholic conscience and the most pre-eminent contemporary Catholic theologian, Haring, asserted that using an informed conscience implied following the teachings of the Magisterium of the Church (Smith 1999). The Magisterium issues teaching statements on faith and morals and these teachings emphasise and facilitate the creation and exercise of a submissive or passive model of conscience (Hoose 1999). The Catholic is therefore religiously organised to display a Catholic economic disposition because by exhibiting the appropriate ‘guiltless’ behaviour, the correct economic disposition is confirmed and then further consolidated.

However, official teachings have the capacity to transform internalised free commitment to particular values inherent in the exercise of a conscience, into dependency on an external superego - explained in Freudian terms as the ego of another superimposed on an individual's own ego (Hoose 1999). This dependency regulates Catholic conduct by using guilt to compel individuals to conform to the expectations of those who are vital to that individual’s development, namely the Pope and Bishops (Hoose 1999). This could explain the conforming force of the papal encyclicals and exhortations in relation to the ‘isms’ discussed in the previous chapter and the durability of the acceptable economic disposition of ‘enough’ for Catholics.
Hence the remark of the IBEC representative, that Catholic workers were fortunate to be able to leave ultimate questions to the priest, as it allowed them to focus on more 'profane' matters such as work. Therefore conscience is not subjective at all because it becomes subservient to authority (Costigane 1999). Moreover, as conscience is not infallible it becomes the contested area for making important moral decisions which are then reached following a well defined path of, intention followed by deliberation, then by decision and finally by executing the decision (Leal 1999).

Yet, conscience is not just a Catholic notion because other religions have similar rules for adherents to engage with the economic order. For example, the eastern Orthodox view is that conscience is an innate capability to judge good and evil but this capability can be weakened because of our fallen human nature through original sin (Thomas 1999). Thomas (1999) argued that redemption is jeopardised if the individual succumbs to significant potential occasions of sin or 'bad passions' such as the desire to accumulate possessions. Orthodoxy does not know the 'autonomous spirit of Protestantism' where conscience acts to overcome barriers such as material prosperity in order to attain a fuller understanding of and intimacy with God (Thomas 1999).

In Rabbinic Judaism conscience is perceived as two inclinations namely, the good (Yetzer Hatov) and the bad (Yitzer Hara). The individual is obliged to love God with both inclinations since the Yitzer Hara consists of the very energy that is chiefly responsible for such actions, as engaging in business to provide for the family, it is only when that inclination becomes an end in itself does it then become 'bad' (Gorsky 1999). Individual Jews also rely on 'teachings' in exercising their conscience (Gorsky 1999).
Muslim conscience is concerned with discovering and carrying out the Divine Will as revealed in the Qur’an by the Prophet and because the issue of salvation and hell, ‘the dreadful penalty’, is so important, the individual does not leave room for possible error through subjective decision making (Greaves 1999). In fact the presence of God and of His two angels who draw up a 'balance sheet' of good and evil actions, helps spur on individuals to accumulate pluses in the next life by assisting as many as possible in the community in this life, for example, by giving alms or building a mosque or a school. This 'giving' leads to particular social values being internalised which shift the focus from accumulation to active disbursement (Greaves 1999). Hence the responses of the Islamic leader in the research who found it quite difficult to articulate an acquisitive economic aim.

An exception is Buddhism which is not a revealed religion and does not consequently, recognise a function for 'conscience' because matching individual internal faculties in the absence of an external Higher Authority is absurd (Chryssides 1999). Yet Buddhism like Catholicism and Islam still endeavours to neutralise the cardinal evil of greed using the Buddha as the supreme example of how a balanced approach can be achieved (Chryssides 1999).

So how does Catholic conscience impact on Irish economic behaviour? Broadly speaking an informed Catholic conscience relies on Papal teachings. When these teachings support a particular attitude and an approved course of action such as the moderate economic lifestyle and the Spirit of Charity’, then there can be no guilt attached to the behaviour and so is free from penalties. Yet one might still have expected, given the history of ‘poor’ Irish economic development, that when the temptation of economic opportunity actually arrived with the 'Celtic Tiger', it would prove too strong for the moderate disposition and set off a general pattern of
acquisition and accumulation. But not at all and the nub of the problem is revealed again since our research findings highlighted the presence of an opposite 'giving' pattern or durée throughout the mosaic of Irish social life with the co-existence of this charitable ethic with 'tiger' economic development. We can now connect the charitable economic ethic, the acceptable 'enough' measure of wealth and appropriate levels of work commitment within the constellation of variables influenced by the Absolute Pre-supposition Catholic/nationalism. We also now know that conscience plays a prominent role in policing the limits of acceptable economic behaviour and that the majority of respondents in our study displayed all or many of these Catholic behaviours.

Certain forms of wealth accumulated at the individual level through means other than work, can constitute a legitimate form of wealth such as the lotto mentioned by over half of the respondents in the research. At the national level flows of unearned funding that accrue on foot of membership of an insider group such as the EU is another legitimate course of wealth accumulation. Little wonder then that the Irish nation generally supports its integration into Europe, adopting an instrumental approach based on the received cultural tradition of deprivation (McQueen 1998) i.e. the passive and 'poor mouth' begging bowl mentality. This integration of smaller into larger units is also a key characteristic of the longer term development of societies identified by Elias as the 'civilising process' (Kilminister 1987).

**Strand 5: The Concept of the 'Civilising Process'**

The term 'civilisation' is a concept that refers to a wide array of facts such as the level of technology, scientific knowledge, the nature of religion and the manners of western nation states and expresses their self conscious belief in their superiority over earlier or contemporary primitive societies (Elias 1996). It also implies a more
The Accidental Tiger Part 3: Theoretical Analysis of the Findings

pacified and reasoned approach to interconnecting and competitive relationships including the economic. Elias (1996) described the civilising process as a movement towards the eventual supremacy of the secular over the ecclesiastical. However, we have already argued that the ‘Celtic Tiger’ has not followed this route to the same degree.

Elias (1996) maintained that the civilising process did not happen through the purposive and rational education of individuals but that by and large it happened unplanned, although it is not without a specific type of order. The autonomous ‘order’ comes about when an individual’s plans compete with the plans of others, thus causing conflict or integration of activities to occur. The continuous overlapping of these competitive plans and the subsequent unplanned action of individuals is the reason why there is an apparent contradiction to the existence of an underlying process initiating social change while at the same time preserving social structures.

Although Giddens (1996) noted that Durkheim highlighted the propensity of strongly held religious beliefs to promote a static nature of society by promising a better afterlife, Inglis (1998) argued that Catholicism influenced the Irish personality towards a more civilised disposition. Yet Connolly (1994) noted that prior to the emergence of the new Free State, it was British Protestantism that had a civilising influence in Ireland when he noted that the writer William Wilde in 1849 commented that the general tone of Irish society was becoming Protestant and that even the Catholic priest’s customs and manners were following suit. As civilised dispositions tend to transfer top down, from the elite to groups below, rather than in the opposite upward direction (Orwell 1989), then the priest, whom we have already seen was one
of the most influential individuals in the community, must have initiated the downward movement of these dispositions.

As a necessary part of the civilising process, colonisation was often justified, when in fact, it was simply land grabbing and expulsion of the indigenous people (Elias 1996). Van Krieken (1997) pointed out that some critics like Stefan Breuer have remarked that a central problem with Elias’ work overall, was that there appeared to be a reluctance to perceive the process of social integration being also accompanied by processes of social disintegration and decomposition (Van Krieken 1997). Mennel (1998) identified the violent pre-condition of colonisation, pointing out that Western society had taken for granted that it had already reached the pinnacle of civilisation, implying that only natives of colonised lands required to be civilised and so these peoples underwent, in the process of ‘civilisation’, very serious phases of de-civilisation. Although it remains inappropriate to label behaviours or developmental processes as either civilised or barbarous because they do not lend themselves to easy categorisation (Burkitt 1996), the need to civilise the ‘decivilised’ Irish by getting them to adopt a strong Protestant work ethic to eliminate their inborn laziness, informed the central message of the Quarterly Review as early as 1840.

Despite McLysaght’s (1950) warning that biased accounts of Ireland were common because of the misleading generalisations and half truths of gullible tourists, there was sufficient and consistent evidence from a variety of English, French and German travel writers and other non tourists to support the view that a serious phase of decivilisation had occurred in Ireland as a result of colonisation. For example, the chapter titles in DeLatocnayne’s *Travel Book on Ireland 1796-1797* underscored the prevailing conditions of the population.
Then in Mr. and Mrs. Hall's (1825) *Tour of Ireland*, they noted the absence of a general level of steadiness and sobriety, typical Protestant virtues and instead found that the Irish trusted too much in God and were not sufficiently industrious. This put off liberal political cotton spinning manufacturers from setting up a facility in Ireland. Johnson in his *Tour of Ireland* (1844) found the people to be resigned and totally despondent. Gibbons (1996a) referred to Gustav de Beaumont, who had travelled widely in the Old and New Worlds, and in 1839 maintained that the misery of both the chained Negro and savage Indian could not match the poverty of the Irish peasant.

A request for assistance by the poor of a parish in Donegal in the Northwest of Ireland through a letter ‘*The Facts of Gweedore*’ sent by a local national school teacher Mr. Patrick McKye to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1837 (Estyn-Evans 1992) described the fundamental lack of material well-being in the local community.

> *There is about 4,000 persons in the parish and all Catholics, and as poor as I shall describe having among them no more than 1 cart...1 plough...16 harrows...8 saddles...2 pillions...no other school...1 priest...no other resident gentleman...no bonnet...no clock...3 watches...7 table forks...93 chairs...243 stools...no swine/pigs...no bog...27 geese...3 turkeys...2 feather beds...8 chaff beds...1 national school...no boots...no spurs...no fruit trees...or any other garden vegetable except for potato and cabbage...all families sleep together in the bare buff*

(Estyn-Evans 1992: 97-99)
A number of observations can be made regarding the level of civilisation indicated in this letter. Firstly, the lack of eating utensils, with no eating knives or spoons and only seven table forks among the population of 4,000, strongly suggests that the threshold of delicacy had receded to a level lower than that normally encountered even in the barbarism of war. Elias (1996) pointed out that eating knives for meals were a common feature of military life even under the most appalling barbarity of war. Secondly, sleeping arrangements confirmed that the distance between children and adults was small since all of the family slept in one room in the 'bare buff'. The accepted norm in the time of Erasmus in 1530 was that children enjoyed separate sleeping quarters (Elias 1939). Van Kriegen (1997) argued that one of the crucial factors in the advancement of the civilising process is this very distance in behaviour and psychical structure between adults and children. These close quarter sleeping arrangements were apparently quite a common feature of Irish life since Gibbons (1996a) argued that descriptions of the 'savage' Indian were often couched in Irish terms, remarking of their sleeping habits, that they were similar to those of the Irish, with six to twenty lying stark naked on the ground in a house. Thirdly, the level of cuisine could not possibly constitute 'cuisine as an art form' which Featherstone (1987) highlighted as another signal of a move to a higher level in the civilising process.

In actual fact the general condition of the population in the mid 19th century shocked travellers of all persuasions including English economists, Italian Nationalists, Communist Internationalists, French nobility, Germans and Americans (Manseragh 1965). Visitors to Ireland from 1896 to 1909, including the Chief Secretary of Ireland, George Wyndham and the author George Russell (AE), attested to extreme poverty levels, noting that exceptionally high levels of deprivation were a feature of
both rural and urban society (Mulhall 1999). Endemic poverty also characterised the 1930s, in the early developmental years of the Free State where the poverty and backwardness of rural Ireland in particular was exceptional by Western standards (Foster 1988).

Whelan (1995) saw the English civilising process as a Protestant industrial event in the early 1800's and the global imperative of becoming a world industrial power required the Irish nationalist population to be civilised as they posed an immediate threat to the economic and political supremacy of the British Protestant establishment. Yet native Gaelic structures and institutions had already existed prior to colonisation and featured a centralised system of control, an advanced education system operating up to 1660 with strong intellectual insights, and a system of fosterage or training (O'Curry 1873).

The strength of the English reaction against Ireland's perceived lack of civility, stemmed partly from Protestantism partly from English nationalism, giving rise to the English policy of scorched earth, starvation leading to cannibalism, and theoretical suggestions for transferring the Irish population as a whole to England, a policy that even worried the 'bloodthirsty' Victorian and historian Froude (Foster 1989).

As Arnason (1987) pointed out, one of the most striking and unfortunate features of the civilising insights of Elias was the consistent refusal to examine or even to admit to the influence of specific traditions or combinations of traditions on the long term dynamics of European history. Van Kriegen (1997) noted that Elias did not have any distinctive interpretation of nationalism as socio-cultural force. This force could, in the consciousness of the Irish, turn the perception of the Protestant English civilising process in Ireland on its head. An example can be provided in an extract from a primary school reader used in the Christian Brothers schools in Marino, Dublin, at the
end of the 19th Century. The following excerpt highlights the anti-Catholic rather than
the specifically nationalist criteria that underpinned Puritan intentions to 'extirpate'
both Catholic Irish and Catholic English communities where even English 'Insider'
nationality would not be enough to save English Catholics.

Second Period - Ireland and Her English Protestant Rule

AD 1583- AD 1878 THE REFORMATION

Q. Who were its leaders?
A. In Germany the principal leader was Martin Luther, a Saxon Friar. In Switzerland, John Calvin, A Rigid Fanatic, In Scotland, John Knox, An Apostate Monk, and in England, Henry the Eight, a Voluptuous Tyrant.

Q. Did the Irish People embrace the new doctrines?
A. No! With the exception of five Bishops, three priests and a few laymen all continued to adhere to the ancient Faith.

CHAPTER V - THE CATHOLIC CONFEDERATION AD 1600 - 1641

Q. Who were the Puritans?
A. A set of fanatics who rose to power in England and Scotland in the reign of Charles I.
Q. Where these threats made by those in authority?
A. Yes! Lord Clarendon says that the Puritan Leaders 'had sworn to extirpate the whole Irish Nation...the Lord Justices had set their hearts on the extirpation, not only of the mere Irish, but likewise of all the English Families that were Roman Catholic'.

Source:
New York, Barclay St., Kelly Publisher p169 & p191

In this passage the Protestant authorities intention to annihilate the Irish people is
'obvious' and so fighting to preserve both Catholicism and national identity could be
easily conceived as an act of patriotism, defending as it did the true civilised Irish
'Insider' position. In other words, the undesirable traits of English Protestant
civilisation with its overt greedy economic ethic in particular could be interpreted as
the Incarnation of the anti-Catholic 'Other'.

Exploring the Normative Impact using Figurational Sociology
Summary Remarks

In this chapter we have explored Elias' concept of 'Established/Outsider' within the figuration of the Irish and British colonial relationship. The qualifying membership criteria that applied to Irish national identity was also explored. Difference in Irish identity also extended to sport where Gaelic games were seen to inculcate a community spirit of selflessness in contrast to the so-called selfish individualism of British games and association football in particular. The rise of certain urban occupations to political dominance was indeed consistent with Elias' insight into the nature of the dynamic underlining western development. Nationalist education featured a strongly charitable and anti-materialist economic disposition as the hallmarks of Irish society in the new state.

A Catholic rather than a secular curriculum was a feature of Irish education where charity and anti-materialism featured prominently and the transmission of these norms through the History, Civics and the Religious curricula shaped the nature of the Catholic economic disposition. This was also a patriotic disposition. Manners textbooks bolstered the existing 'religious' orientation of the curriculum also infusing pupils with expectations of adult behaviour based on moderation and charity. The role of Catholic conscience to police non-conforming and unpatriotic economic behaviour was also explored.

The level of poverty in Irish society seen to have been caused by the English civilising process in Ireland gave rise to an on-going national and traditional disposition of 'grievance' against England for the lack of material well being. This grievance isolated the British and Protestant industrial ethic as one of chief characteristics of the 'minority of the worst' and thereby precluded it from surviving as part of the ethnic badge of the nationalist Irish.
Chapter 12

ADDITIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL INSIGHTS TO EXPLAIN THE NORMATIVE IMPACT OF RELIGIOUS AND NATIONALIST SENTIMENT ON THE IRISH ECONOMIC DISPOSITION

The Church asks not are the people rich but are they good, not are they clever, but are they chaste? not is the nation powerful...but is it pious? And so when we hear the specious argument advanced...that Catholic countries are poor and Protestant countries are rich ...Catholics are not deceived by the glamour of success and the glitter of wealth... 'lay up not treasure on earth...what profiteth it a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?...these and other evangelical precepts are quite familiar and natural to Catholics

Graham (1912)

Introduction

The theoretical analysis undertaken in the previous two chapters used contrasting yet complementary paradigms to explain many elements in the profile of the Irish economic disposition. When they were employed in this collaborative manner and featuring a 'stranding' approach, it was then that the Marxist economic relations model and the figurational sociology of Elias increased our general understanding of the interrelationships impacting on the economic disposition. Until this general understanding was fully explored, the question of whether the Absolute Presupposition Catholicism/nationalism, de facto, precluded any rational economic behaviour remained open to speculation. This chapter will attempt to answer this question by establishing the rational basis for this behaviour.

As Marxism underestimated the crucial impact that religion had in shaping economic behaviour and Figurational Sociology over-looked the central role of Catholicism, conscience and nationalism on the formation of the economic disposition, the requirement now is to apply additional insights that carry a specific focus on the reality of this religious force. In this respect we employ insights from five sociologists who have already highlighted the nature of the interface between
relational beliefs and economic behaviour. We use these insights in an attempt to establish the level of rational intent underlining the Irish economic disposition.

The 1st contribution uses the insights of Max Weber because he was a sociologist of the impact of religious beliefs on the development of western capitalism and a theoretician of the nation state (Levy 1998). His argument supporting the central role of the Protestant Ethic and the subservient role of Catholicism in the rapid development of capitalism is explored in light of the emergence of the ‘Celtic Tiger’. This is followed by a 2nd contribution of Freudian insights, arguing that the embodiment of a tradition lies within ‘great men’, who then relegate the acquisitive and materialistic source of ideas in favour of the idealistic (Freud 1985). We test this insight in respect of an Irish leader, Eamon De Valera and briefly explore his ascetic vision for Irish society and its subsequent impact on the Irish economic disposition.

In contribution 3, where Durkheim’s insight that society alone shapes the individual’s dispositions (Morrison 1998) also observed that suicide rates indicate a level of unhappiness in society that usually increases at the very moment of greatest economic development. Suicide and crime rates are examined to ascertain how tenable the pattern of unhappiness that emerged during the ‘Celtic Tiger’ since many of our research respondents indicated that they were ‘happy’ with their life.

The insights of Talcott Parsons are then used in contribution 4, arguing that the norms and rules of conduct of a society come from religion. Religion regulates or equalises the conflicts and tensions that arise within both the individual and society during economic development. In other words economic norms follow from religion and reflect a social need to secure and maintain a ‘balanced’ society.
Finally in contribution 5, we employ Giddens’ Structuration Theory to examine the intentional nature of individual action and how these choices of economic action can have both intended and unintended outcomes.

**Contribution 1: The insights of Weber**

Weber argued that an understanding of the social impact of religion was improved immeasurably if it was treated as an entity attached to both the social and economic process (Eaton 1999). He also argued that the religious factor was crucial to the development of capitalism since most cultures had a common economic infrastructure yet with different religious beliefs (Peters 1999). He also noted that capitalism failed to develop at all in some cultures, Islam for example, due to this-worldly accommodation of its doctrine (Peters 1999).

Yet Peters (1999) disagreed and argued that Islamic cultures had the same elements as those of Protestant Calvinist societies, namely predestination, worldly asceticism, rationalism, frugality and austerity. Therefore capitalism must have developed due to a variable other than religion. Nevertheless, Weber concluded that religion wielded such significant transformative powers on society independent of a particular economic context, because the religious doctrine of predestination was the source of the capitalist mentality, compelling the individual to act as if he/she were already ‘ordained’, thus giving rise to the puritanical and ethical pursuit of gain (Metcalfe 1999).

Weber acknowledged his dislike of rational thinking or the instrumentality prevalent in modern society being applied to values such as belief systems and conscience (Whimster 1998). Yet Weber nevertheless, was accused of misinterpreting the effect of Catholicism on the development of western capitalism opting instead to make the case for the central role of the Protestant Work Ethic (Giddens 1996). Weber’s
Protestant Work Ethic (PWE) is distinguished by traits of industriousness, individualism, asceticism and the ranking of work as the most worthwhile way to spend one's time, and these traits correlated positively with conservative beliefs (Tang & Tzeng 1991). Yet the research in this thesis has already shown, that in the 'Celtic Tiger', both Catholic and conservative beliefs prevail, the ranking of work by the respondents indicate that it is not regarded as the most worthwhile way to spend one's time, nor is industrious behaviour held in high regard.

This particular mix of Irish variables strongly suggests that the PWE could not have been a key factor in the economic success of the 'Celtic Tiger'. Yet this absence may not be as unusual as it first appears. A meta-analysis of studies measuring the Protestant Work Ethic across 13 countries, highlighted the contradiction that the richer countries, USA, UK, New Zealand and Germany, were ranked towards the lower end of the PWE scale i.e. 7th, 9th, 13th and last respectively, whereas the least industrialised countries India, Ciskei (part of South Africa), Zimbabwe and Greece, were ranked towards the higher end i.e. 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th respectively (Furnham, Bond, Heaven, Hilton, Lobel, Masters, Payne, Rajamanikam, Stacey, Van Daalen 1991). The study concluded that there appeared to be a correlation between strong PWE beliefs in societies that value collectivism over individualism. However, Niles (1999) maintained that many modern studies of the PWE tended to focus on a very narrow band of benchmarks, from a commitment to hard work to individualism, whereas Weber's definition also included morality, willingness to defer self gratification and asceticism. As a result most religions and cultures can easily demonstrate a work ethic close to the narrower definition of the PWE.

Nevertheless, before the Reformation and the PWE there was another and different Christian approach to work. Pre-reformation Christian thought regarded work as a
punishment, where the accumulation of wealth was frowned upon and Divine Law insisted that the wealthy should give their excess wealth to charity (Hill 1996). Following from the Greco-Roman aversion to work, the Judeo Christian culture then viewed work as having no intrinsic value at all, where contemplative work was the ideal and manual work the least acceptable because its main function was to meet the physical needs of one's family and to avoid idleness, the source of sin (Hill 1996). This contrasted with the post Reformation Protestant Work Ethic (PWE), which held that all types of labour had equal spiritual dignity, including manual labour (Hill 1996). Consequently, there are two work ethics, the well known PWE and the much older but rarely articulated Catholic Work Ethic (CWE). The CWE is fundamentally different in that work is regarded as instrumental rather than transcendental i.e. where the emphasis is on work as a means to do more important things in this life (Tropman 1992). Moreover, in mature capitalist countries it can become even more influential than the PWE (Tropman 1992). This echoes many of the 'enough' measurements outlined by the majority of respondents in our research. Weber (1930) also acknowledged that the propensity to earn just 'enough' to live at that level to which the individual was accustomed, was naturally present in individuals, and was to be regarded as the greatest obstacle to the promotion of capitalist efficiency. Yet the 'Celtic Tiger' economy with its target of 'enough', was characterised by precisely this efficiency, where strong growth and high productivity became a consistent feature of the economic analyses presented in Chapters 2 and 3 of the thesis. Given the paradox that Irish Catholicism was set against the rational and wealth seeking ethos of capitalism, it was, nevertheless, one of the most successful of the
global Christian denominations to provide stability in a changing world for societies feeling a sense of alienation, although it generated the appearance of individuals being 'in but not of' the industrialising process (Fahey 1995). This very detachment was also a feature of the respondents in our research. Kalberg (1998) argued that the very same 'stability' in relation to American democracy, that Tocqueville ascribed to religion, was crucial in providing counterbalances of absolute fixed principles against a feature of capitalist development namely, indeterminate and apparently uncontrolled change. In other words, religion provided a stable counterbalance to capitalism, the very point highlighted by the Taoiseach in his address to the Bishops of Ireland.

Weber (1999) maintained in 'Catholic Economic Life', that individuals frequently felt a deep unease about economic life because the Christian ideal of charity worked against the development of the rational business spirit. In 'Religions and the World – Jews, Catholic and Puritan', Weber (1999) pointed out that Catholics were disinclined to economic acquisition since it conflicted with Papal injunctions. Given our research findings this observation is only partially true, since the acquisitive impulse is quite strong up to the point that 'enough' is achieved. He also maintained that both Judaism and Puritanism were fundamentally different from Catholicism. The Jewish perspective regarded success in economics as not having done anything wrong in the sight of God whereas

the pious Puritan, and this is the crucial point, religiosity was demonstrated through absolutely reliable business relationships with everyone

(Weber 1999: K.1.d)

Both of these religions are almost non existent in Irish society and as Weber (1999) argued, Catholics were preoccupied with a series of religious injunctions to ensure...
salvation and as a consequence the decisive outcome for them was indifference to the world.

Again this contrasts with the findings of the research where charity is not only present but happily co-exists with a strong focus on experiencing this world. From our study, it is also apparent that the sentiment of charity creates an instrumentalist focus that treats work as a means to an end. The priority is to secure both material and spiritual well being and a tailored measure of 'enough' is likely to achieve that objective. The initial effort expended on achieving 'enough' gives all the appearance of a PWE. However, when it is achieved, a weaker effort 'clicks in' to maintain 'enough' when the focus then switches to experiencing and enjoying life. This contrasts sharply with the directive of Calvin that one should not to seek easy living but strive continuously to achieve maximum returns on work (Hill 1996). It would be unfortunate however, if the impression was given in the above discussion that wealth and Catholicism repelled each other. On the contrary, both were surprisingly common features of everyday Irish life in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, an observation that cast serious doubt on the alleged Irish anti-industrial disposition (Kenny 1997).

Moreover, cold water has continued to be poured on the central role of the PWE as the underlying dynamic of capitalist development for a number of reasons. The systematic self control required by Calvin to limit worldly outcomes, which was the basis of the Weber argument, functioned on the premise that Protestantism predated the entrepreneurial spirit (Bernstein 1997). This pre-dating claim is the nub of the problem because Von Kreitor (1999) noted that Sombart identified Judaism rather than Protestantism as the driving force behind the development of capitalism.
since the Jewish ethic and Jewish psychology had uncanny parallels to the spirit of capitalism...[where]...all qualities are dissolved through purely quantitative exchange values

(Von Kreitor 1999: 3)

Moreover, as the business class already displayed a strong work ethic and an intense rationality built up over three hundred years, Calvinism only validated their lives by unwittingly re-enforcing their existing work ethic (Bernstein 1997). Circa 1100, Italian mercatores (merchants) in Latin Christendom elevated money as a prime investment tool that could, with some risks attached, realise greater profits and accordingly, Duby (1974) argued

*let us have no hesitation in describing such an attitude towards money as 'capitalist'*

(Duby 1974: 261)

By 1200, both merchants and craftworkers in the cities of southern France and Northern Italy, had already developed a strong sense of calling and an intense rationality out of a twin need to reconcile their pious asceticism while avoiding poverty (Cantor 1993). Later and still well in advance of the Reformation, capitalism and the market economy flourished in 13th century England (Cinnirella 2000). On mainland Europe, the Knights Templars were so adept at accumulating and using capital profitably, that they became the greatest bankers in Europe by the mid 13th Century, were distinguished by their ascetic dedication to banking in the service of God and so constitute a documented example of a direct link between Pre-Reformation Latin Christendom and the rise of capitalism (Cantor 1993). Then by the 16th century, the emergence of capitalism had coincided with the proliferation of luxury retail stores and the competitive approach which they were then compelled to adopt in the marketplace (Sombart 1967). Furthermore, the spirit of capitalism manifested in the emergence of the specific relationship between capital and wage labour was evident as early as the 16th century and this was well over two hundred
years before the industrial revolution (Dobb 1958). Not only can 16th century Pre-reformation clothing merchants in England be considered nouveau riche capitalists fighting against labour demands but devout Catholics who practised works of charity for the salvation of their souls (Power 1986). Because the first great capitalist upsurges occurred in Pre-Reformation Europe, making economic development independent of the impact of Protestantism, Weber's thesis, that a direct causal relationship existed between the Protestant-Calvinist ethic and the development of capitalism, is incorrect (Eisenstadt 1969).

Hwang (1995) contended that Weber in his assessment of the impact of Confucianism on the individual's economic disposition also incorrectly concluded that Confucian thought and ethics impeded the individual's ability to apply rational calculation to maximise profits. Because the Confusian 'rendao' or (way of humanity) was overlooked, Weber missed the significance of individuals working hard to obtain and save various social resources to satisfy the need of family members. This was the drive that has been responsible for the economic transformation of the East Asian countries after 1945 (Hwang 1995). The drive also endowed intellectuals with a mission to benefit society and the state with DAO (way), so that they studied hard in the West and returned to use the technology of production, imported from the west, to pursue wealth for their own families. In other words, there was a significant level of instrumentalism also in-built into their approach to work, which like Catholicism and Islam, was also directed primarily towards the benefit of the community rather than the individual, and yet it generated remarkable economic growth.

Nevertheless, the Catholic theologian Kung (1999) supported Weber's interpretation on the PWE, pointing out that the patriarchal and centralist structure of the Catholic Church and its close alignment with the nobility contrasted with the corporatist and
federalist structure of Calvinism, which made it (Calvinism) more amenable to capitalism. Schuck (1991) also argued that while the Popes mediated with the sacred for Catholics, they actually favoured the development of a balanced entrepreneurial spirit, most notably in the area of capital formation and the investment of excess income which were strongly recommended as virtuous activities.

This ‘balanced’ message of Catholic Social Teaching can be traced over the 150 year period in the first part of this study where we examined the underlying longer term dynamic of Irish economic development. For example, De Hauville (1878) contended that capitalism and Irish Catholicism could flourish together, but the reason that (Catholic) Ireland was not prosperous rested with the British government who compelled small landowners to subdivide their property unlike their British counterparts and was calculated

to impoverish the Catholic population. Catholic nations are quite as well informed as others (Protestant) on the importance of capital and the value of labour but they possess an admirable intermediary between these two sources of riches...the Church...

(De Hauville 1878: 282)

The Catholic priest, Graham (1912), later argued for the existence of two forms of prosperity namely, the social and material, and the religious and moral, insisting that very wealthy Protestant nations such as Britain were only materially prosperous whereas ‘poor’ Ireland possessed high levels of moral prosperity. He also stated that Catholicism did not permit individual Catholics to exclusively focus on business and therefore it was obvious, that Protestant Britain could subsequently excel in commerce but fail in morality, whereas Ireland perfectly illustrated the close connection between moral wealth and material poverty. This latter connection was a re-occurring theme in the responses of contributors in Domains A, C and D of our research. Then Fr. Bampton S.J., in Westminster Cathedral in the early 1920s,
argued that wealth achieved in business was acceptable provided that workers also shared in the profits. Catholics were so enthusiastic in amassing so called ‘industrial’ wealth, that the Catholic Social Guild of Oxford (1929) found it necessary to gently remind Catholic industrialists, to consider share holding by employees in their capitalist enterprises as a means of redistributing wealth.

Later, the Catholic Bishop of Muenster, Rt. Reverend Joseph Hoffner (1962), included economic activity within the Catholic Seven Fold Significance of Work Topology, although of least importance behind intellectual work (priests, educators, teachers, artists), ancillary work (doctors, nurses), and regulatory work (politics, judiciary, military). The final example is a lecture by Father Kevin Quinn (1958), Professor of Sociology at the Pontifical Gregorian University Rome, delivered in the Jesuit controlled Catholic Workers’ College in Dublin, stating that the Church’s choice was for capitalism because of the 'fundamental perversities' of communism as revealed by Pope Pius XII. In fact the ‘economic’ position of Catholicism was enunciated as early as the Council of Paris 829 (9th century), which held that commerce was not intrinsically bad, and no social stigma was attached to any merchant who acquired immense wealth by charging a ‘just price’ i.e. the market value as determined by supply and demand and which is contrary to what many commonly believed was the Pre-Reformation Christian view on commerce and riches (Riché 1978).

The balanced approach is also a feature of another salvation religion, Islam. The responses of the Islamic leader in our study indicated that Muslims are concerned with achieving material and spiritual well-being through a 'balanced' approach to economic development. Here the emphasis is to secure the 'Heavenly' paradise through charitable works. However, Weber (1999) also argued that because of its
primarily feudal economic ethos - where wealth, power and honour were esteemed in the here and now in anticipation of the soldier's sensual paradise in the next life, it made Islam antithetical towards a methodical conduct of life. Therefore the key difference that enabled rational capitalism to develop in the west and not in the Islamic world was that the God of Islam only required the performance of the five pillars of Islam namely, Faith/kalma, Prayer/namaz, Fasting/roza, Almsgiving/zakat and Pilgrimage/hajj and this paradise would then be assured. Consequently, Islam could not transform the spirit of traditional economic life (Huff & Schlucter 1999).

On the other hand, the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, namely, a predetermined outcome in the next life requiring a sign in this life, gave rise to a tension that was based on a fear of a misspent life which then necessitated a life of sobriety and hard work (Huff & Schlucter 1999). The key differences based on Webers' insights into the nature, orientation and conditioning to this world and evoked in individuals by the strength of their religious beliefs are summarised in Table 3.12.1

Table:3.12.1 Summary of Weber's insights into the effects of four early religions on the formation of 'this worldly' dispositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Idea</th>
<th>Early Judaism</th>
<th>Early Christianity</th>
<th>Early Islam</th>
<th>Calvinism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Means &amp; Paths to Salvation</td>
<td>Rituals</td>
<td>Otherworldly</td>
<td>No Asceticism</td>
<td>This Worldly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No Magic</td>
<td>Asceticism (Faith)</td>
<td>Faith</td>
<td>Asceticism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sacramental magic</td>
<td>Indifference to</td>
<td>Faith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Ethic</td>
<td>Legal Ethic</td>
<td>Ethic of Love</td>
<td>Legal Ethic</td>
<td>Ethic of Duty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religiously Conditioned relationship to this world</td>
<td>Indifference</td>
<td>Indifference</td>
<td>World mastery</td>
<td>World Mastery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transcendence</td>
<td></td>
<td>World adjustment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Ideal of Life</td>
<td>Intellectual</td>
<td>Virtuoso of</td>
<td>Hero (War)</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scriptural</td>
<td>Faith</td>
<td>Man of</td>
<td>Man of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scholar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Expertise</td>
<td>Expertise</td>
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</table>

The ‘Ethic of Love’ for Catholics against the ‘Ethic of Duty’ for Calvinists and the ‘Legal Ethic’ for Muslims can be observed. The religiously conditioned relationship to this world for the Catholic is indifference to this world, whereas for the Calvinist, it is mastery of it. Yet we know from the responses in the research that Catholics are not indifferent to this world as they actively seek out enjoyment and experience of it. They actually trade off further levels of wealth to do so. Despite evidence of this trade off in the ‘Celtic Tiger’, Weber (1930) stated that Catholicism is always in constant tension with economic rationalism, one of the foundations of the capitalistic ethos so that Catholicism remains inimical to capitalism and hard work. We know form our discussions in Chapters 10 on Marxism, in Chapter 11 on Figurational Sociology, from the above discussion and from our own research that it is not now Appropriate to hold the position that Catholicism is inimical to capitalism.

As for the issue of hard work, the ‘lazy’ ethic theory is still supported in a recent study where Blackburn (1997) contrasted the existence of the low occupational status and the spendthrift approach of Irish workers against the general dominance of Protestants in manufacturing and business sectors in Australia at the end of the 19th century. Yet an in-depth examination of Fitzpatrick’s (1994) publication of letters to Australian emigrants from their families back in Ireland, at roughly the same period covered by Blackburn’s studies, would reveal that Catholic and Protestant families exhorted their relatives to apply the same economic behaviour, namely, sobriety, industriousness and honesty. These are the very values associated with the PWE (Weber 1930).

Other evidence of the industrious Irish work ethic in Ireland, comes from ‘imperial’ British Army Officers coordinating the Ordinance Survey in Co. Donegal in 1835-1836, who collated numerous reports referring to the *industrious* disposition of
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the indigenous population (O’Day and McWilliams 1997). Hickman (1995) noted, that British employers in the mid 19th century, conceded that the Irish had the capacity for long gruelling work for low pay.

The reason for the apparent contradiction in the ‘lazy’ work ethic of Irish Catholics working in Ireland with those working abroad, was revealed as early as 1850, when Joseph Kay of Cambridge University was appointed by the Senate of the university to travel through Western Europe to compare the social conditions of the poorer classes and establish their causes. The Dublin Review (1850) recorded that he uncovered a sense of sheer futility in Irish peasants because all their hard work brought little benefit to them while it kept the landlord very wealthy. Kay (1850) highlighted the formidable Irish work ethic that developed in America and England in particular, where chances of wealth accumulation were much higher than in Ireland. This suggests that the local Irish environment worked against the development of an industriousness disposition and this environment was fundamentally a colonial one.

Even accepting Nafissi’s (1998) argument, that Weber, due to his sole reliance on an exclusively religious frame of reference, failed to take account of the role of colonialism and imperialism in the industrial development of colonised nations, then a more acute problem now arises. Given that the laziness of Irish workers in Ireland, where it existed, was due to exceptionally low returns for their hard work within a colonised context, it seems plausible enough that they would consciously weaken their work effort. However, in the transformed and independent state of the ‘Celtic Tiger’, offering very high and favourable levels of return on their labour, it now appears equally plausible that a strong acquisitive ethic such as that associated with the Protestant one would emerge. Yet on the contrary, we now know from our
The Accidental Tiger Part 3: Theoretical Analysis of the Findings

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study, that all almost respondents display the Spirit of Charity and that ‘tiger’
executives in Domain B and ‘tiger’ workers in Domain C consciously weaken their
effort, from a level required to secure ‘enough’, to a lower one required to maintain
customary levels of wellbeing.

Contribution 2: The insights of Freud

Psychoanalysis is the study of conscious and unconscious mental forces of the mind,
where the ‘unconscious’ aspect is regarded as being separate and in conflict with the
more social force of the conscious will, because this latter force is derived from
primal desires and wishes (Strachey 1985). Cooper (1996) pointed out that the term
‘psychoanalysis’ meant the examination of the soul, where the term soul is not used
in the religious sense, but as a label for the source of personal and communal
morality in a post religious society. However, bad translations of Freud have left his
writings abstract, highly theoretical and scientific and

\[
\text{attempt to lure the reader into developing a scientific attitude towards man and his actions, a scientific understanding of the unconscious... [and this]...subverts Freud's intentions}
\]

(Cooper 1996: 70)

In other words, psychoanalysis should not be employed in a purely empirical
manner, but as an aid to understanding consciousness. Nevertheless, Oakley (1990)
remained highly sceptical of the static and conservative ‘ragbag’ of Freud’s ideas on
psycho-analysis, because they provided legitimacy for the accepted subservient role
of women in western society. This subservience, as we know from Leacock’s
(1986) argument in the Introductory section of the thesis, drew upon the racialist
inference that achieving western standards of skill and knowledge would
successfully address the core problem of economic development in all societies.
Freud (1985) identified the dual source of attitudes and beliefs by pointing out that some are derived from the reality of life surrounding the individual, while others lie much deeper and emanate from hidden sources usually of a sexual origin. Determining whether beliefs and attitudes are nature-based or intellectual (free will) as Kenny (1994) argued, or alternatively, a learned behavioural function (connectionist theory) as Hill (1990) contended, remains difficult to determine. Yet the fact that these conscious and unconscious forces do exist may mean that they directly impact on the economic disposition.

One of the most basic attitudes/values of a society is its code of morality and sexual morality in particular. According to Whelan (1994), strong traditional conservative values against divorce, abortion and sexual freedom are evident in Irish society, yet paradoxically, they exist alongside a high birthrate outside of marriage (20%), making it hard to establish if Ireland conforms to any orthodox notion of modernity. Whelan & Fahey (1994) noted that sexual activity within marriage only, was breaking down, yet Connell (1968) argued that Irish peasant society reacquired a trait towards longer and life long celibacy from the early 1800s up to the late 1950s because of economic necessity and self interest. In fact the majority of people, cottiers and labourers, always married early and that the tendency to late marriage and celibacy of an extreme nature by European standards, had occurred within a hundred years after the Great Famine (Inglis 1998). From the middle of the 19th until well into the 20th century, Catholic Ireland showed evidence of sexual control rather than sexual asceticism (Akenson 1991).

Nevertheless, sexual behavior often lays down the pattern for other modes of reacting to life including the economic (Freud 1991a). The important economic consequence of enforced celibacy is that it promotes hoarding, which is a behaviour inimical to the
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capitalist requirement to re-invest wealth (Sombart 1967). Furthermore, by foregoing sexual activity (abstinence) either through sublimation (to please God and be saved), or by displacement (to get more land), or by its restrictive use in marriage for procreation purposes, a society devoid of energy, self reliance, original thinkers and reformers is then created and replaced with weaklings and followers all too willing take their cue from a strong individual (Freud 1991a). Moreover, this passivity is passed on to each generation (Freud 1991a) so that each Irish generation would be likely to display this weak economic spirit.

Freud (1991b) also noted that the norm or group consciousness was characterised by members being very credulous, with little critical thinking and by not being open to reason or argument. Thus, ties with a religious or political leader were far more important than ties with other members of the group (Freud 1991c). Empathy underpins the bond with the leader (Freud 1991d) making it impossible therefore, to understand the nature of the group without recourse to defining the nature of its leader (Freud 1991e). The key to deepening our understanding of how group dynamics impacts on the individual’s economic disposition, lies in grounding the abstraction of ‘leadership’ in the views of a national leader such as Eamon De Valera24.

De Valera was among the world’s great men, symbolising twentieth century nationalism rather than internationalism, where his very being was almost exclusively focussed on his Catholicism, his romantic Gaelic ideals, and with little or no interest in socio-economic matters (Manseragh 1997d). According to Lenski (1966), ‘great men’ unduly influence culture and social organisation particularly in

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advanced horticultural and agricultural societies. From the data provided in Part 1, Chapter 2 of the thesis, Ireland had traditionally been economically dependent on agriculture for its main source of employment and national wealth. From the discussions in Chapters 10 and 11, the economic and religious conservatism of the revolutionary leadership, that included De Valera, was also revealed. He also provides a link between the revolutionary leadership and the rise of the urban classes to political prominence as noted by Elias in Chapter 11.

De Valera cannot however be classified as a charismatic leader. The reason, is that a person with the quality of 'charisma' is defined by Weber as a leader who works against the traditional social order (Parsons 1968a). The economic developmental debates pursued in Part I of the thesis clearly indicated that the conservative economic order barely changed during the formation and early development of the state. Nevertheless, his vision of a 'balanced' industrial society highlighted the superior standing of religion over the material i.e. the conscious over unconscious primal forces

_The Ireland which we dreamed of would be the home of a people who were satisfied with frugal comfort, and devoted their leisure to the things of the spirit, a land whose countryside would be bright with cozy homesteads, whose fields and villages would be joyous with the sounds of industry. It would, in a word, be the home of a people living the life that God desires that man should live_

(De Valera 1943)

It is obvious that De Valera approved of the 'joyous' sounds of industry as it had the instrumental capacity to contribute to a balanced life of material self sufficiency and spirituality. This capacity is also reflected in many of the contributions in our own study. Boyce (1996) confirmed the subservient role assigned by De Valera to the economic order on the 50th Anniversary of the 1916 Rising. The achievement of his vision was meant to relieve pressure for material needs in order to advance the
intellectual and spiritual well-being of Irish society. The target of 'enough' frugal wealth to allow Irish society achieve this balance was barely disguised.

On the other hand, Hornsby-Smith (1992) argued that De Valera's vision merely reflected the strong Catholic suspicion of industrial capitalism and the materialism that follows it. As the Church was fearful of the industrial city, she glorified the family farm and the village as the bedrock of social and economic life (Fahy 1994). The moulding of this anti-materialist disposition by De Valera, was aided by a concerted effort of not only politicians but historians, journalists, teachers and in rural areas by shop assistants (Goldring 1993). Again many respondents in our study regarded work in the same way as De Valera did, namely, to achieve other 'more' preferable non-economic objectives.

Moreover, trying to compel individuals to work against their will has had a number of profound anti-capitalistic consequences. For example, it has only succeeded in turning the slave against work (DuBois 1899), forces the conditioning of human conduct towards obedience as a requirement for industrialisation (Weber 1918), caused the manipulation of the masses first by production, then by consumption (Baudrilliard 1988) and fractures the process of socialisation needed for 'belonging' (Fromm 1962).

Because subjugated peoples have a strong emotional attachment to their masters (Freud 1991f), substantial force is required to fracture this bond. On many occasions, the individual compensates for the opposite true feeling by the process of displacement or substitution of impulses (Freud 1985a). This repressive force is sometimes called conscience

*whereby Faith becomes the enemy of the intellect and is the basis of what commentators call irrational behaviour*  
(Freud 1985b: 365)

*Exploring the Normative Impact via additional sociological insights*  
375
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\[ \text{whereby Faith becomes the enemy of the intellect and is the basis of what commentators call irrational behaviour} \]

(Freud 1985b: 365)
Yet paradoxically the role of conscience as outlined by some Catholic respondents in the research, can lead to highly industrious economic behaviour while holding the 'Spirit of Charity' and 'enough' as paramount moral objectives in this life. 'Faith development' is based on the hypotheses expressed by Freud that man cannot live a meaningless life and so faith permits meaning to be determined and maintained (Fowler 1996). Because a direct translation from thought to word is impossible (Vygotsky 1979) and as thought can only be represented in speech (Derrida 1997), the type of language an individual speaks can determine his/her thought (Garnham and Oakhill 1994). Since words play a central part in the historical growth of consciousness (Vygotsky 1979), then the repeated use of the terms 'enough' and 'charity' in the research findings must represent the conscious economic thoughts of the individual's Catholic faith. Conscious religious forces must, therefore, compel the sublimation of unconscious material or profane ones. Because the channelling of instincts into constructive social behaviour (sublimation) forms the basis of culture and civilisation (Muuss 1996), then the economic disposition as part of Irish culture channels the acquisitive impulse towards the opposing charitable ethic as displayed in the measure of 'enough'. In other words the Absolute Pre-supposition Catholicism/nationalism gives the Irish economic disposition its rational yet sacred imprint.

**Contribution 3: The insights of Durkheim**

According to Durkheim (1964) work is a profane activity and cannot co-exist with the religious life in the same place or at the same time. He conceded that the 'contagiousness' of religion is bound to affect the 'profane' world i.e. would have an marked influence on the individual's engagement with work. Individuals have two mutually exclusive forms of life, one toward the ego, the other towards society, so
that two distinct conscious states of mind direct individual behaviour towards the profane or the sacred (Durkheim 1964). Therefore no economic system is devoid of sacred consciousness, only by degrees of secularisation. From the data presented in Chapter 1 and the themes emerging from the research responses, the level of secularisation in Ireland remains exceptionally low by European standards. This would imply that a high degree of sacred consciousness was a key feature of the 'Celtic Tiger' economy.

Durkheim (1964) contended that each individual remained subject to the sacred and these religious and social sentiments were conditioned by education. Again, in Chapters 7, 10 and 11, it was observed that Irish education inculcated in pupils, an instrumental work ethic and an anti-materialist and charitable ethos. Since the key to every salvation religion is belief in salvation by faith and because this faith is anything but illusory (Durkheim 1964), then two existences are simultaneously lived by each individual i.e. one governed by matter, the other by impersonal reason (Durkheim 1964). Because religion is in society's image, the ideal religious society is also part of the real society (Durkheim 1964). Therefore, each individual must embody both real and ideal reflections of that society at any particular moment. When the prevailing economic conditions then presents Irish society with one of its best ever acquisitive opportunities i.e. the Celtic Tiger', tension is bound to arise in balancing the profane and sacred needs of the individual.

Unhappiness levels increase during periods of high economic because the previously secure level of well being, 'enough' is breached

*people perform reasonably well as engines of necessity, they may face deep psychological and spiritual crises as they are relieved of this necessity and achieve an even more plentiful material state*

(Marshall, Brigg & King 1984: 654)
Because suicide is linked to the social environment, it increases with the development of the division of labour indicating that the general level of unhappiness is also increasing (Durkheim 1984). Yet suicide is symptomatic not of economic but of moral poverty (Bellah 1973). Therefore the causes of suicide must be found in society rather than in the individual. Because social facts are the collective beliefs of the group, suicide, as a social fact, expresses the unhappiness level in the group mind (Durkheim 1982).

In Part 1 of the thesis, all the economic benchmarks indicated that Irish society had moved from the threshold of necessity suddenly and accidentally i.e. society was totally unprepared to address the profound transformation in the actual and potential levels of material well-being on offer. Given this state of unpreparedness, tension was bound to arise and Irish suicide rates display a marked increase at this very juncture. Although a general pattern of increasing suicide levels is recorded for the five phases of economic development during the period 1971-1999, the highest level of group unhappiness is exhibited during the 5th 'Celtic Tiger' phase. The graph following the table clearly shows this longer term rising pattern.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Variation</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>+9</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>+7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>+15</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>+38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>+13</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>+21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>+30</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>+12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>+35</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>+56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>-32</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>+12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>-12</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>+17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>+30</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>+23</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>+7</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>+30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>+18</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>+41</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>+50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>-50</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>+68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>+44</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>276</td>
<td></td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>+35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These figures reveal a six-fold increase in absolute suicide numbers in Ireland for the period 1971–2001. This would appear to confirm the hypothesis of Durkheim that rates of suicide and levels of economic development are linked. When we compare the average suicide rate per annum for a period of economic ‘setback’ (1970-1986), with a period of economic ‘recovery’ (1987-2001), it almost doubles from 186 suicides per annum in the ‘setback’ period to 352 per annum in the ‘recovery’ period. Moreover, in the Interim Report on Suicide from 1976-1992, while the rate of suicide in Ireland was lower than that recorded in Finland, the U.S and Japan, the Irish rate was increasing as theirs were decreasing. It appears that as a country becomes more industrially advanced, individuals adapt and adjust more readily than a society in the early stages of ‘accidental’ rapid economic growth.

Furthermore when the increased rate of suicide is compared with other demographic trends, such as the lower overall mortality rate, then the level of unhappiness in the
'Celtic Tiger' appears even greater. Table 3.12.3 presents figures for mortality rates, suicide rates, educational enrolment rates and the population totals for the periodic intervals 1971, 1981, 1991 and 1996 respectively.

Table: 3.12.3 Suicide rates and concomitant demographic changes in the Republic of Ireland 1971–1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Suicide rate Per million*</th>
<th>Mortality rate per thousand</th>
<th>Education enrolments as a % of the total population</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prim</td>
<td>Sec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2,978,248</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>3,443,405</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>3,525,719</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>3,626,087</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:
Population figures from the Central Statistics Office - Web Site WWW.CSO.ie 'Principal Statistics, Demography, Population'.
*Calculated using absolute figures in Table 3.12.2 and CSO Population levels.

Despite a 21.7% increase in the population for the period 1971-1996, the increase in the rate of suicide per million increased by 388%, a figure just slightly below the 436% increase in absolute suicide numbers. Yet the overall mortality rate actually decreased from 10.7% to 8.7% per 000s at the very moment that the suicide rate increased from 27 to 105 per million. Both absolute numbers and increased levels of reported suicide are now seen to have increased against a backdrop of a decreasing mortality rate. In other words while more people were living longer, more committed suicide, indicating the existence of even higher levels of group unhappiness.

Suicide has also increased in tandem with increased enrolments in primary, secondary and third level education. These enrolments have occurred as a result of implementing the main recommendation of the OECD Report 'Investment in

Exploring the Normative Impact via additional sociological insights
Education' published in 1969 namely, to implement a strategy to align education to the future needs of industry and to ensure increased participation in all three educational levels. However, increased suicide rates are also an outcome of widespread education because the common faith is weakened, traditional beliefs are challenged, giving rise to a lack of cohesion in society (Durkheim 1970).

Although there are high levels of Catholicism in Ireland, the common faith appears to be under attack since group unhappiness levels are increasing. Suicide rates reflect profound and abrupt changes in the social structure and it can take some time for the increased rates to filter through (Durkheim 1970). The delayed effect may be then manifested during the ‘Celtic Tiger’. Moreover, the new and increased industrial emphasis in the curriculum, together with the increase in potential and actual wealth on offer in ‘Celtic Tiger’, may cause even more tension within the individual when it challenges the sacred, charitable and moderate ethos inculcated in the school.

Another reason for the likely increase in tension, is that the rise in prosperity accentuates the desire to have limitless well-being something which is naturally insatiable and simultaneously unachievable, and this tension becomes unbearable leading to increased suicide rates (Durkheim 1970). The limit on individual material well being that was traditionally imposed socially by the norms of society had the advantage of pre-determining the amount of luxury deemed acceptable for a individual in any particular occupation (Durkheim 1970). This ‘enough’ amount of luxury successfully set a maximum material limit to be aspired to, and as it was fixed, it was achievable and the outcome was happiness (Durkheim 1970). Moreover, during periods of intense economic opportunity no social censure exists to curb the material desires of society, because religion becomes powerless to influence the so-called supreme end of economic materialism. While beliefs may remain, integration
may weaken (Durkheim 1970), hence the existence in the ‘Celtic Tiger’ of high levels of Catholicism with high levels of group unhappiness.

Yet as Durkheim (1984) pointed out, the desire for happiness is the over riding motivation that drives social progress. In our research findings, almost all respondents working in industry were ‘happy’ with their circumstances, and had a strong belief in 'Heaven', which then challenged each individual to seek out a strategy to ensure balanced material and spiritual well being. However, one of the least susceptible groups noted by Durkheim in his studies, farmers, are the most susceptible Irish group together with veterinary surgeons and ‘caring’ professionals (Irish Times 2001). In our study, farmers were seen to be compelled to mix the industrial factory job with farming to ensure their viability, and therefore had to apply a divided disposition, one for the industrial factory and the other for their co-operative and communal farming work.

This latter form of co-operation, namely mechanical solidarity, is fostered by mutual self interest (Durkheim 1973). It exists at the expense of organic solidarity whereby specialisation of functions under the control of a central authority leads to further co-operation (Durkheim 1973a), such as that experienced in the industrial concern. Giddens (1995a) identified the main difference between Durkheim’s use of the terms ‘mechanical’ and ‘organic’ solidarity. Mechanical solidarity is where each individual remains largely unconscious of his/her ‘separateness’ due to the strength of the moral integration of the collective conscience such as that experienced in farming, while organic solidarity points to the nature of the attachment of the individual to the conscience collective, tying them together through dependency on other occupations characteristic of the industrial concern. The division of labour therefore tends to
weaken social solidarity such as cultural norms and institutions leading to a state of ‘anomie’ (Durkheim 1973b).

Elias (1965) warned against a static notion of ‘anomie’ as described by Merton who defined it as the antithesis of predictability and regularity and therefore something likely to be ‘bad’, whereas Durkheim sees anomie as a distinct and valid social structure in itself. Yet this antithesis is precisely what the farmers in Domain C experienced. The increasing suicide rate in Ireland particularly in times of prosperity challenges Halbwach’s argument when reviewing Durkheim’s conclusions on suicide - and remarked upon by Giddens (1996b) - that suicide rates tend to decline during boom periods. The opposite appears to be the case as the most significant increase is evident during the ‘Celtic Tiger’ era and strongly supports Durkheim’s insight as a valid one.

Rapid social and economic change due to unprecedented increases in prosperity and industrialisation has also coincided with a remarkable increase in the levels of indictable and non indictable crime in the Republic for the 50 year period, 1949 to 1999, and in particular after the mid 1960s (Redmond and Heanue 2000). For example murder rates have increased by a factor of 38, wounding by a factor of 4, malicious damage by a factor of 29 and burglary by a factor of 13.

Table: 3.12.4 A Selection of Indictable Offences from 1949 and 1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indictable offences</th>
<th>1949</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>% increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>+3,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounding</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>+413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (mostly Sexual)</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>1,162</td>
<td>+374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malicious Damage</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>8,223</td>
<td>+2,968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>2,065</td>
<td>28,626</td>
<td>+1,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickpocketing</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>3,202</td>
<td>+1,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larceny for unattended vehicles</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>7,688</td>
<td>+814</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both the number and seriousness of the crimes committed has also increased significantly across all the five phases of economic development from 1922 to the ‘Celtic Tiger’ era. However, the overall national crime trend has been moving steadily downwards since the high drug related levels of the 1980s with only Spain within the EU only having a lower recorded level (National Crime Council 2001).

The point about the increase in anomie or unhappiness during strong economic development, is that Durkheim identified a ‘religious’ factor in the proclivity for suicide. The spirit of free enquiry of Protestantism and its attendant lack of a Catholic collective credo causes unbearable tension because of the individual's doubt about their eternal salvation (Jones 1986). This contrasts with very point highlighted by the IBEC representative when placing the central responsibility for providing answers to ultimate questions with the clergy. This allows Catholic workers to concentrate on profane work. Durkheim acknowledged the unifying role of collective and centralised Catholicism rather than the ‘individualistic’ Protestantism, even if it promoted a static view of society and condemned the poor to accept poverty (Giddens 1971).

Yet our research findings indicated that Catholicism remained the normative social influence on individual economic orientation during the ‘Celtic Tiger’. It is reasonable to suggest that the common Catholic consciousness appeared resistant though not immune to, the sudden and accidental occurrence of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ and it’s attendant prosperity. In other words the Absolute Pre-supposition Catholicism/national working over the longer term, provides an individualised adaptive strategy of the limit of ‘enough’ which acts as a counter balance to the sudden appearance of unachievable and unlimited economic possibilities. This
concept of balance is central theme throughout many of the sociological insights of Talcott Parsons.

**Contribution 4: The insights of Parsons**

Parsons is known for his theory of structural functionalism. Structural functionalism is a unique method of conceptualising society. Modern structural/functionalist focus on society as whole and the impact of various parts on the whole and even though there is change in one part, the system finds it equilibrium and the whole remains stable (Ritzer 1988). Parsons’ functionalism is an action based system. Each system has four subsystems and each subsystem its specialised function

*The organism [economy] directed towards adaptation, the personality system [polity] related to goal attainment, the social system [community] directed towards integration [solidarity] and the cultural system geared towards pattern maintenance [values and regulation]*

(Baert 1998: 52)

Parson’s model of society assigned a central role to the internalisation of values and norms and their capacity to integrate society (Giddens 1995c). Mayhew (1982) argued that Parsons accepted that there were individuals who have ends which they pursue in a world ‘out there’, full of obstacles and opportunities, and where choices of action are governed by norms which do not rest exclusively on predictable positivistic relationships. The cultural system appears to drive the social system to the point where conformity with a value then becomes a need in the individual's personality (Mayhew 1982). In our case the Absolute Presupposition religion/nationalism drives this socio-economic system to conform to the ‘enough’ economic value.

Parsons (1982) maintained that different value systems embedded in different societies should be examined for relationships existing between those different
systems. Different religious doctrines have a common feature namely, they are ingrained as part of the individual's attitude towards daily economic life. Here they embed themselves cognitively, giving rise to a religious sentiment crucial to the survival of a functioning social system because it enables the individual to make sense of difficult concepts such as evil and suffering (Parsons 1954).

Religion re-enforces sentiments that underpin the essential norms for the institutional integration of society (Parsons 1969), such as appropriate economic behaviour within the capitalist system. Parsons was committed to promoting social harmony in the capitalist nation state through the application of Calvinist principles whereby the individual and society are seen as instruments to build the 'Kingdom of God on Earth', thereby contributing to the achievement of a 'good' society (Buxton 1985). In this respect, he rejects Marx's conception of social order, since Marx failed to address the issue of individuals pursuing their own self interest while acting according to a predetermined set of economic circumstances (Buxton 1985).

Marx could not explain through historical materialism how it was, that the bourgeoisie with their ethical rejection of rampant self interest, were just as much condemned to suffering as the proletariat since both were obliged to work (Parsons 1999c). Parsons acknowledged the central role of religious values and orientation in the development of modern industrial capitalism (Parsons 1999). He regarded Calvinism as a more privatised enhancement of the Christian individualistic principle already present in pre-Reformation Catholicism which put a particularly Christian shape on society (Parsons 1999).

Parsons (1999a) acknowledged that a tension had always existed in Christianity when the Christian engaged with this world, since material well being has never been seen as an absolute end in itself. The secular world has always been regarded as a gift
from God and as such it had to be a holy rather than a profane thing. He then implied that Christianity must now be stronger than ever, since its main pre-occupation was in developing the secular world (Parsons 1999a). This view partially echoes the sentiments of the Archbishop's representative in Domain A, who he pointed out that creating God's kingdom on earth was the official Catholic interpretation of the purpose of work. However, the difference between Parson's secular and Catholicism's instrumental development, is that in the former, salvation is achieved through acquiring wealth whereas in the latter Heaven is achieved by experiencing wealth.

The concept of creating the Kingdom of God on Earth as part of the divine plan is also paralleled in Marxist socialism (Parsons 1999b). Not only does Marxism perceive man in sin (tied to a capitalistic regime), but freedom can only be achieved by revolution (redemption)

*the analogue of Heaven is clearly the state of communism and only those who have made the transition from...the capitalistic society to the state of communism by way of socialism can be said in this sense to be saved...alienation being the equivalent to Christian sin*

Parsons (1999c: 91, 97:ffn2)

Michael O'Riordan (2000) former General Secretary of the Irish Communist Party has indicated that there is strong Christian Marxist dialogue in Ireland where the relief of distress and poverty is both a common aim and a practical way of changing society for the better. This particular view of creating God's Kingdom on earth was also expressed by the Catholic Archbishop's representative in Domain A.

Puritan Protestantism and Socialism both work to achieve an earthly paradise and this idea follows a long traditional belief in a pre-existent paradise where man's true being flourished (Parsons, Fox and Lidz 1999). Christians were eschatologically orientated to eternal life in a new paradise whereas Puritan Protestants focussed on a
religious sanctification of life in this world and this kind of utopia or paradise has also dominated the desired outcome for Communists. Since life is a gift from God, it creates in the individual the need to reciprocate, which can only be achieved through death, since individual death is not only seen as the ‘supreme sacrifice’ leading to paradise, but the opportunity to give, in the redemptive sense, the gift of life to future generations (Parsons 1999d). This concept of paradise and death strongly resonated in the poetry of Irish revolutionary prisoners discussed in chapter 10.

Although the religious orientation of Catholic prisoners, ascetic Protestants and Christian socialists may differ, their commitment to a set of core principles capable of restructuring society for the better does not. Religion can be regarded as an ‘evolutionary universal’ for embedding cultural patterns or dureés regulating social action (Parsons 1999d). Parsons saw all of society’s norms and rules of conduct emanating from religion, having the particular function of motivating individuals in the face of evil when, for example, the virtuous cannot rise above their poverty threshold or where vice sometimes goes unpunished and affluence is achieved by breaking the law (Aldridge 2000). This point was mentioned by the Union General Secretary in regard to the on-going corruption tribunals examining how the wealthy conducted their business affairs before and during the ‘Celtic Tiger’.

The Absolute Pre-supposition appears to integrate different social institutions and make sense of the function of work and the purpose of existence. For example, the Taoiseach, the Archbishop, the Anglican Minister, the Islamic leader, the Union General Secretary and many of the respondents were clear that religious beliefs enabled them to comprehend and provide answers to these ultimate questions. Furthermore, because the individual is compelled to accept the orientations common to the society in which he lives (Parsons 1982b), Irish society is conditioned towards
a charitable and Catholic orientation such as the one identified in the research and will then form part of the individual's personality system.

As the role of culture is defined as a system enabling individuals to conform to predefined behavioural patterns (Parsons 1982b), norms such as religion, have the primary role of minimising conflict and maintaining stability and order (Parsons 1982d). However, Giddens argued that Parsons failed to recognise the conscious decisions of individuals in this maintenance of stability (Giddens 1995c). Moreover, behaviourism failed to take account of biological pre-dispositions and internal thoughts and feelings as important individual motivators in their own right (Myers 1988). As the implicit and distinct function of each system always borrows to a greater or lesser degree the inherent functions of related systems (Parsons & Smelser 1982), then distinctly Catholic norms such as 'charity' and 'balance' work against the promise of unlimited and unachievable wealth. The economic outcome is the acceptance of 'enough'.

Yet Parsons & Platt (1982) argue that the American value system of individualism has changed very little since the Founding Fathers, where 'instrumental activism' or the cult of the individual, has been the underlying pattern of Western development. However, the limitations of Parsons general abstract theory of structural functionalism is that it's very abstraction was regarded as the primary purpose of sociology and the classification of society as being either traditional or modern automatically led to the analysis of social development with reference only to advanced industrialising nations (Giddens 1973). This of course was a concern highlighted in the opening remarks of this thesis.

This concept of an underlying uni-directional western move towards a predetermined objective such as advanced industrialised society, has presented significant problems
in an Irish context, particularly within liberal economic policies (Goldthorpe 1994). Moreover, the logic of industrialisation is flawed because prosperity depends on combining traditional social and ethical habits with modern institutions (Fukyama 1995). Also Goldthorpe (1995) warned that the industrialising process did not shape traditional Ireland internally through its own logic as the shaping was due to external colonial interdependencies. This had the effect of positioning modernisation well ahead of industrialisation as a feature of recent Irish development. In other words, to generate a successful economy, a country specific adaptation of the economic order should incorporate its traditional cultural values and economic norms. Nevertheless, the fact that the Absolute Pre-supposition religion/nationalism remained a durable force at the height of the 'Celtic Tiger' appears to lend validity to Parsons' theory of enduring norms and values within changing social structures.

**Contribution 5: The insights of Giddens**

Giddens (1996d) contrasted the relatively relaxed approach of Catholic religious based tolerance towards 'economic traditionalism'—pre-modern economic activity—to the antagonism of the Puritan. The function of religion has been re-engineered from a centrally justified to an individually directed construction, to tolerate the tensions that follow from western industrialisation patterns. The tension from being told 'what's right to do', outlined by teachings and encyclicals, as opposed to the relying on the internalised 'choosing to do the right thing' approach, may generate psychological tension and explain the high levels of suicide noted in a previous section of this chapter. Giddens (1996e) supports the view that individuals purposive actions are indeed restricted by the very structure of society but they can still decide on different courses of action. As a result they generate both intended and unintended consequences by their intentional actions. This practical consciousness
can be defined as the social survival tools such as language and time which are known and used by every individual but cannot be intuitively explained. They have the crucial function of making ordinary life\(^{25}\) predictable (Giddens 1996e).

This is an important insight since there was an erroneous view that individuals were more in control of their lives in traditional times of small communities when contrasted against the sense of powerlessness experienced within the dynamics of a large scale global market (Giddens 1991). However, in the case of this global market, the ‘self’ it seems, can only be expressed in terms of ‘having’ wealth and this objective is meant to trigger the consuming behaviour required by the market. Instead it only leads to a lasting frustration and a sense of unhappiness because the intrinsic needs of ‘self’ development are not met (Giddens 1991).

The importance of the Absolute Pre-supposition religion/nationalism within an Irish Catholic context, is that it has shaped an economic disposition focussed on securing a predictable level of happiness in this life by not exceeding the boundary of ‘enough’ and by applying the ‘Spirit of Charity in modern economic life. In other words when economic activity is infused with the ‘enlightenment’ of Catholic Social Teaching, competitiveness and equity become preferred social outcomes. While the overall developmental trends in western culture concentrate on rational purposive action (Giddens 1996f), our research findings indicate that the religious ‘instrumental’ approach also informs economic action. This latter approach unwittingly may be far

\(^{25}\) According to Giddens, scientists forget that most of what we do as human beings we do intentionally, and that we are aware of our reasons for doing so. Knowledgeability is always bounded [institutionally]. But recovering the notion of the knowledgeable human agent is quite fundamental to reformulating what the social sciences are all about. The recovery has to be based on ‘practical consciousness’. A flaw in the traditional conception of social science was the idea that it is possible to discover laws of social life more or less directly analogous to those existing in the natural sciences. Actors always know what they are doing, but the consequences of what they do characteristically escape what they intend so that perpetuation of social institutions involves some kind of mix of intended and unintended outcomes of action.
sighted. Habermas sees future development being dependent on the recapture of the life world (Lebenswelt) i.e. the taken for granted ordinary daily life from the dominance of rationality, because further capitalist expansion and improved government interventionist strategies cannot now reproduce the required social culture necessary to resolve modernity problems such as social equity (Giddens 1996f).

If Giddens (1996d) is correct when he noted that the past tenaciously searches for its expression in the present, then the Catholic standard of ‘moderate’ wealth, may be embodied in the conscious effort of all respondents in the ‘Celtic Tiger’ to achieve equity and competitiveness, particularly those in Domain A. One of the main argument’s against Functionalism was its very inability to satisfactorily explain this conscious intentional action (Giddens 1996a). In response to this gap, Giddens used the concept of ‘duality of structure’ to explain the reproductive qualities of social action using certain social structures such as language (Giddens 1995d). His theoretical model was based on the concept of ‘structuration’, which he defined as a skilled rational act of social reproduction by individuals but where the rational input is limited (Giddens 1996a). While on a visit to Dublin, Giddens (1998) explained structuration as follows

*I got it [Structuration] from a French context, I don’t remember who used it, it wasn’t used very often...meaning not just interacting with somebody but doing that interaction in a kind of active way. Parsons introduced this idea of the theory of action. But as critics always said it wasn’t clear where the action was. But on the other side there were also various forms of what seemed to be quite deterministic Marxism. In none of the approaches did you get a worthwhile theory of agency...people capable of understanding themselves with reasons and intentions for what they do people in general are pretty rational about what they do most of the time, if you understand the context of their actions and understand the emotions that move them

(Giddens 1998: 114-115)
Giddens (1998) stated that he was still opposed to the idea that many people still didn’t really know what they were doing when they acted in society.

The findings in our study appear to confirm Giddens’ position since we observed how Catholics went about their work and practised their religion with clear intentions and expectations of their desired this-worldly and other-worldly outcomes. The profile of the Irish economic disposition revealed in the research is also an outcome of intentional and instrumental action based on a rational need to acquire limits of material and spiritual well being within a given set of socio-economic circumstances. However, repressed and unconscious wants, structural conditions and unintended consequences can restrict rational action (Giddens 1996a). One of the ways to overcome this restriction is to re-define reality (McGettigan 1998), where for example, poverty is seen to increase the likelihood of achieving Heaven.

However, the reality of salvation is already known by Catholics and does not require re-definition. Not alone is there a high probability of achieving Heaven after death by invoking a disposition of ‘enough’ and by practising ‘unconditional’ charity in this world, but an inner Catholic conscience can re-align behaviour if and when it does not conform. This knowledgeable reality challenges the argument of Giddens (1998) that

you simply have to bracket out lots of questions that if you had any sense actually you would ask about your life...I mean why do all of us just go on with this struggle when you know you are going to die? It’s not obvious is it?

(Giddens 1998: 120)

Giddens (1990) conceded that religion provided both the reliability and the explanation for events, as well as the the assurance that a Heavenly provider would dispense material and spiritual well being. By placing the Catholic ‘Spirit of Charity’ at the core of the Irish economic disposition, the individual objective of
securing ‘enough’ and the national objective of competitiveness with equity become the most conscious and intentional course of action for Irish society.

Concluding Remarks
We have brought together five diverse but interconnecting contributions of sociological insights from Weber, Freud, Durkheim, Parsons and Giddens. Their insights have assisted us to conclude that the profile of the Irish economic disposition is a highly rational social fact. While Weber highlighted the profound religious impact on economic life, the central role of the PWE in the development of capitalism has been de-stabilised and a number of alternative explanations were presented including the much older Catholic Work Ethic (CWE). The long standing Judeo Christian focus on work as an instrument to secure higher preferences, is re-affirmed in the profile of the Irish economic disposition.

Freud’s understanding of conscious and unconscious mental forces then highlighted how repressive sexual mores weakened the Irish acquisitive impulse. We also highlighted the weak nature of the Irish collective consciousness that resulted from the effects of De Valera’s leadership, focussed as it was on the ascetic rather than the material world.

From Durkheim’s insights we concluded that a high degree of sacred consciousness still existed within the Irish economic system during the height of the Celtic Tiger. Durkheim contended that levels of unhappiness or anomie, as indicated by levels of suicide, increased in tandem with economic development. This trend was confirmed in the Celtic Tiger’ era. The unlimited but unachieviable wealth on offer in the ‘Celtic Tiger’ was seen to cause great tension in individuals. One of the effects of
The Accidental Tiger Part 3: Theoretical Analysis of the Findings

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Catholicism was to provide an achievable alternative through ‘moderation’ and ‘enough’ and so stabilise group happiness.

Parsons argued that modern western society now demonstrated a more Christian value orientation than ever before. With its primary focus on creating wealth as a way of expanding God’s Kingdom on earth the economic system was then seen to incorporate some of the norms of the religious system. In this respect the ‘enough’ element characteristic of the Irish economic disposition could be explained as a balancing force within the social system. Finally, Giddens highlighted the importance of acknowledging that most individuals had choices on the type of rational economic action that they could take. The not so obvious reason why individuals carried on living and working, knowing full well that they will eventually die, is clear to Catholics who regard salvation as the ultimate objective. It was this knowledgeability through faith that establishes the rationality of their economic behaviour.
Part 4: A Theory of Limits

Chapter 13

CONCLUDING REMARKS: AN OUTLINE OF A THEORY OF LIMITS

*The world of those who are happy is different from the world of those who are not*

(Ludwig Wittgenstein 1989)

**Introduction**

In Part III of the thesis a constellar picture was developed to expose the force of the Absolute Pre-supposition on the economic disposition by employing a complementary array of diverse sociological insights. This approach went a long way towards explaining the intentional purpose of the economic measure of 'enough', a less than 100% committed instrumental work ethic, national economic policies infused with Catholic social teaching and the existence of a 'Spirit of Charity'. While the benefits achieved by employing these diverse, individual yet complementary insights to expose the nature of the Irish economic disposition is readily acknowledged, the original contradiction is still not fully resolved. Consequently, in this concluding part of the thesis, the above insights are revitalised into a new synthesis and presented as a Theory of Limits, to explain the apparent paradox of 'tiger' economic performance, low secularisation and 'accidental' development. In the sense that it builds upon previous insights, this amended theory is a valorised rather than an innovative one. It must also be acknowledged that only now has it been possible to take advantage of the emergence of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ to formulate this theory whereas none of the sociological insights employed throughout this study could claim the benefits of such an ‘accidental’ advantage.
The Irish disposition - a new species or a different variety?

The 'Celtic Tiger' profile of the Irish economic disposition revealed in our study contrasts sharply with the recent study of Hoon and Lim (2001) on Thai, Singaporean and Chinese attitudes to money and work. All three cultures display a strong Protestant work ethic - the Chinese giving the highest endorsement to the PWE - where the maxim 'the more one has the better' is generally regarded as being the most powerful stimulant for recent economic growth in Asia. Specifically, the Asian unlimited economic objective of 'more', contrasts sharply with the limited Irish one of 'enough'. In fact excess wealth in the 'Celtic Tiger' is seen by Peillon (2000) as the 'curse of affluence' a danger to social harmony which needs to be wasted in festivals and bank holidays in order not to endanger the well being of Irish society. Veenhoven (1984) stated that synonyms such as 'well being' 'happiness' 'life satisfaction' and 'balance' were differentiated but were often used interchangeably to mean

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\text{the degree to which an individual's overall evaluation of his life-as-whole concluded positively}
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(Veenhoven 1984: 36)

More importantly, there appears to be a strong and positive relationship between the role and function of Catholicism in society and higher levels of happiness (Veenhoven 2000). In a study of 48 nations conducted in the early 1990s where Ireland was 3rd happiest, a belief in God was identified as having a strong positive correlation (+0.40) on that level of happiness (Veenhoven 1997). Well over 40% of Irish Catholics at the height of the 'Celtic Tiger' indicated that they were very happy with their life - the highest proportion in the world (Greeley and Ward 2000).

Recent research concluded that job satisfaction, which promotes well being, was highest in one of the poorest of the advanced nations, the Republic of Ireland, but the reasons for this remained unclear (Blanchflower & Oswald 1999). Irish workers were
particularly positive towards work but again for uncertain reasons (Oswald 1997). This thesis points to the instrumental emphasis on work as one of these reasons, where it was seen by many individuals in the ‘Celtic Tiger as a means to achieve other preferences such as enjoyment of life. The belief expressed by many contributors in our research that more money did not necessarily bring more happiness also appears to be valid.

In the industrialised countries (Ireland included) well being appeared to rise as real national income grew, but only slightly, and there was no correlation between economic growth and a feeling of well being nor between higher income and higher levels of happiness (except in developing nations) nor does better economic performance equal more happiness for a nation (Oswald 1997). Unemployment was the single main contributor to levels of unhappiness (Oswald 1997). De Telia, McCulloch & Oswald (1997) provided evidence which showed that inflation and employment were important factors in levels of well being. During the 'Celtic Tiger' era, the Irish unemployment rate was below 4%, its lowest level for 15 years (Central Statistics Office 2000a), and so also was inflation (see chapter 2). Despite the record levels of suicide (see chapter 12), there now appears to be both an economic and religious basis for the ‘happy’ disposition in the Irish workforce, a disposition that was almost universally present in our research findings.

Yet only since the 1970s have scientific measurements of happiness been developed based on a three tier model, including national macro factors such as economic development, micro factors such as income and finally individual characteristics such as health and ability (Veenhoven 1997). Many economists were still unused to and

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26 250,000 randomly sampled Americans and Europeans from 1970s to 1990s using the U.S. General Social Survey and the Euro-Barometer Survey Series.
uncomfortable working with data on 'well being' and 'happiness' and then applying it to economic matters (Di Tella, MacCulloch, Oswald 1997). Moreover, only in the last four years have leading Irish economists openly conceded that GNP growth had nothing to do with well being. This was reflected in the fact that three of the leading industrial nations achieving high levels of economic growth could only generate a measure\(^27\) of national well being that was barely 3% above their 1950 levels (Douthwaite 2000).

While terms such as 'well being', 'happiness', 'welfare' and 'quality of life' do not have an unequivocal meaning, nevertheless, 'happiness' or the length and degree of happiness experienced by the individual, remains the most inclusive summary of the quality of life as defined by measurements of livability in the environment, life ability of the person, and appreciation of life by the individual (Veenhoven 2000). It does not include a fourth measurement, usefulness of a person's life, as a life can be happy and not useful or useful and quite unhappy (Veenhoven 2000). While a work ethic may motivate individuals and societies to increase material wealth, it does not automatically follow that they would be necessarily better off than a materially poorer but more leisurely society (Congleton 1991). Empirical research on 'happiness' can only suggest that it tends to correlate positively with economic affluence (Veenhoven 1998).

There is a problem with aggregating individual levels of well being and happiness. Because no two individuals are physically or psychically identical, there are consequently, limitations to psychological interpretations of needs, wants and behaviour (Fromm 1978). O'Grada (1998) pointed out that individual increases in material wealth did not necessarily correlate with increased levels of happiness

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\(^{27}\) Using Cobb's Index of Economic Sustainable Welfare measured against the GNP per annum of the US.
had Gallup or MORI been around say in the 1850s and 1860s...a sample of Irish people...might well have declared themselves to be on average, as happy as a sample chosen today

(O'Grada 1998: 22)

Yet the most global economy in the world, Ireland just ‘happened’ to be the happiest, although any correlation between globalisation and happiness is very ‘fuzzy’ (AT Kearney/Foreign Policy 2002). In another cross national study using subjective social criteria on perceived happiness and well-being levels in eight EU countries - Ireland, Denmark, Germany, France, Italy, Netherlands, Belgium, UK - it was found that the higher the income, the higher the well-being expressed by the individual even though there was no direct correlation between national wealth and national well-being (Davis, Fine-Davis & Meehan 1982). In other words only at an individual rather than at a national level does a positive correlation appear to exist between income and happiness.

Although high levels of happiness do not appear to occur in economically poorer countries (Veenhoven 2000), there was evidence that the ‘merriest’ Irish agricultural workers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were often those with the lowest pay and cultural explanations for this phenomenon, although quite difficult to verify, cannot be overlooked (O'Grada 1995). One explanation may be come from the Christian who has a duty in conscience

*to fight against any tendency to make a hardship of work*

(Cardinal Lecaro 1960: 8)

Proudhon (1888) contended that an increase in misery in society was proportional to the increase in wealth and the ideal to be sought after was the amount that maximised

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28 In the 2nd edition of the A. T. Kearney/Foreign Policy Magazine Globalisation Index. The index follows changes in 60 advanced and emerging markets. It quantifies economic integration by using data on trade, portfolio capital flow, income payments and receipts, technology, political engagement in world affairs and the level of cross border contacts, telephone traffic and tourism.
social well being, and in this respect Catholicism appeared to be well placed to address this objective. However, most economic theory tended to be based on individual needs and wants rather than on social needs and desires (Schumpeter 1908). Nevertheless, more recent studies have suggested that Mass attendance orientates Catholics to value leisure more highly than Protestants because the Catholic worldview regards this world as enchanted, full of mystery and therefore, worthy of being enjoyed (Jeanrond 2001). The ‘Spirit of Charity’ was the unifying link between the realm of the religious life and the individual's involvement in this world (Peschke 1997). Furthermore, having more money bought little well being or happiness and that what actually impelled people to strive for more money was to increase or maintain their income relative to others in society (Oswald 1997). Therefore, different levels of ‘enough’ are highly likely to emerge where individual comparisons and self assessment of their circumstances are measured against others in similar circumstances. This is consistent with the views of many of the respondents in our research. Even income inequality, where it existed, was not positively correlated either with unhappiness or well being (Di Tella, MacCulloch, Oswald 1997).

Fromm identified the crux of the matter as follows

*The alternative of 'having' versus 'being' does not appeal to common sense. To have so it would seem, is a normal function of our life. In order to live we must have things...it would seem that the very essence of being is having; that if one has nothing, one is nothing*

(Fromm 1978: 25)

He pointed out that because individuals had an intrinsic desire to escape selfishness, the economist's job was to re-assert selfishness and replace humanity with the need to accumulate wealth and money. The whole market system of western economies was directed towards instilling this very need to buy ever more, to confirm 'having' as a true expression of the 'self', generally known as “the commodification of society”
The Jesuit, Quinn (1958), also argued that the ideal human existence was ‘to be’ rather than ‘to have’ because the impoverishment of man was caused by excessive preoccupation with his/her material welfare.

At a macro level, Tawney (1921) identified societies that were focussed exclusively on achieving material well being and called them ‘acquisitive societies’ because their disposition was almost totally orientated towards acquiring unlimited amounts of wealth. Hobson (1914) argued that western society was so accustomed to regarding wealth as the only desirable economic end that it then mistakenly concluded that a rise in wealth caused a rise in well being and this was due to the arrogance of the industrial consciousness that precluded any other scale of values except quantitative ones. This in turn made the construction of qualitative social well-being standards almost impossible.

There was evidence in the 60s and 70s to suggest that the Irish economic disposition was ill disposed towards this ever increasing acquisitive impulse. In a review of the research on poor economic development at that time, Raven (1970) identified ten attitudes that would promote economic growth and change the Irish work ethic for the better. Refer to Appendix 13 for his list. The importance of the list for our discussion lies in the fact that at the time, Raven did not consider material possessions and money as influential factors in fostering economic development because he understood that workers wanted to lead happier and more effective, rather than wealthier lives. This contrasts with the studies of Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Bechhofer and Plat (1968) who studied affluent industrial workers in Luton, England at about the same time and discovered that while they stated that work was not a central life interest rather the family was, they nevertheless, relentlessly pursued maximum returns on their work. Lesser (1965) concluded that while industrialisation was neither a suitable nor a...
preferable objective in itself, by the definition of manufacturing value added per capita, or gross domestic product per capita, or the ratio of consumer to capital goods output, 'happy' Ireland somehow got to the top of the middle group of industrialised countries i.e. having passed the ‘take off’ stage of development. This made Irish industrial attitudes and behaviour appear totally incomprehensible when they were separated from the wider social structures (Whelan 1975).

One such integrated study of Irish social values and their impact on economic development was conducted by Hutchinson of the ESRI and his findings were presented in a confidential report in 1968. A number of claims made in that document are directly related to our research findings because he made a point of focusing on an internal set of social factors rather than external variables impacting on economic development. Hutchinson (1968) argued that the industrially advanced British establishment view of the Irish pre-independence was

*based upon illegitimate and ethnocentric extension of a foreign system of values to a society differing in many fundamental respects from the society to which the critics themselves belonged...[the people]...were blamed for failing to achieve materialist goals in which they were only marginally interested*

(Hutchinson 1968: 5)

Central to his analysis is the argument that traditional Irish life may have been a non-materialist one where people were satisfied with a decent subsistence economy, as it left them free to pursue other preferred activities rather than increasing the level of consumption.

The concept prevalent in industrial societies that if man was not working, he was doing nothing of value, was actually a minority viewpoint in Ireland, not least since leisure was an integral part of Irish traditional culture. Individuals only worked hard when the circumstances demanded it. This insight still resonates strongly in the profile of the economic disposition revealed in our research. More importantly,
former social structures where the landlord class spent lavishly did not promote the idea of frugality and thrift for others to emulate, and when they raised rents with every improvement to the farm and land by the Irish peasant occupier to support their lifestyle, they made a mockery of an industrious ethos. This resulted in a divisiveness between landlord and peasant which reinforced the development of Irish tendencies to avoid bringing them into conflict with the Establishment such as laziness and visible poverty.

Mutual aid, community and family values were more prized in Irish society than the individualism and independence required for economic life. Community norms resulted in deference to senior family members which mitigated against technical innovation on the farm in particular, resulting in static economic conditions becoming socially acceptable. The late inheritance of the family farm and the mother’s opposition to the son(s) marrying led to a comfortable life for the son(s), a consequent diminution of both the desire for the family farm and the will to initiate technical innovations, with the subsequent loss of the imperative for hard work and enterprise. Furthermore, small rural and urban family businesses - the majority of business in the Republic up to the 1950s and 1960s - were ‘family affairs’, where family members were looked after by the father/owner often at the expense of hired help who had worked on the farm for a considerable period of time yet were often dismissed at short notice in favour of a family member. The security of tenure for the family on the one hand, coupled with the threat of dismissal and the related insecurity for the hired labourer on the other, did not motivate either to develop a strong economic work ethic. With the Catholic Church contributing to almost universal social conformity in Irish society there was no social context available for enterprising individuals to flourish. Hutchinson then concluded that these characteristics were still a feature of
Irish society and argued that there must have been a raison d'etre for their continued existence. Unlike this Thesis, however, he had no suggestions to offer at that time.

Some of Hutchinson’s observations were corroborated by American historians who indicated that Irish Catholics were predisposed towards passivity, conformity, fatalism and dependence on others, having a disposition that mitigated directly against innovation, initiative, optimism and action (McCarthy 1990). Perhaps Adam Smith’s (1776) argument that agriculture was the pre-eminent disposition of man despite changes in individual circumstances, may explain the absence of the Protestant Work ethic and underline Weber’s (1930) argument that the peasant is unsuited to rational ascetic behaviour, conduct that was a key Protestant contribution to the development of the spirit of capitalism.

Even at local parish level, work avoidance of many individuals was also noted. For example, in the early 60s, Kelly (1996) recorded that the level of distaste for work by parishioners shocked the local parish priest of Granard, Co. Longford, who summed up the prevailing attitude

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\text{it is drudgery and slavery and the less of it one can get off with the better: hold on to some sort of job for thirteen weeks and then draw the ‘dole’ or stamps for six months is the motto}
\]

(Kelly 1996: 43)

So what could possibly be the source of this particular imprint on the Irish economic disposition namely only providing the appropriate work effort at the required time.

**Balancing ‘Contradiction’**

Although modern science focuses on eliminating contradictions in theories as its modus vivendi, contradiction and conflict are not in themselves a sufficient reason against something being real (Heiddegar 1991). In other words, the 'enough' objective, the ‘Spirit of Charity’ and a less than 100% work commitment could co-
exist with sustained economic development. Oppositions and dualities that arise from living in this world often compel individuals to adopt a functional and adaptive strategy called ‘balance’ to address metaphysical and secular contradictions (O’Donoghue 2000). Balance is about achieving ‘richness’ rather than ‘riches’, whereby self sufficiency is achieved without falling victim to commodification, and where the emphasis as a society is on growth management rather than continuous growth promotion (Collins 2000). This particular sentiment was expressed by the IBEC economist in the research as the optimum economic strategy for Ireland. The OECD (1999) defined the ultimate measure of economic success as the ability of the nation to support private consumption of its residents. As Ireland had experienced an average increase per annum in private consumption of approximately 7% during the ‘Celtic Tiger’, the conditions to create oppositions and dualities for Catholic society with a low materialist ethos in a ‘tiger’ economy then came to prominence. The need at an individual level for a balancing strategy to manage these dualities became even more immediate.

Hempton (1996) pointed out that the ethical and community based definition of Christian living that consists of doing one’s best and not doing harm to others had a long history in British Christian religions, and was based on the premise that given this 'charitable' behaviour the individual would be rewarded in the next life. As the research findings have already shown, this is the stated position of many of the respondents. Moreover, Catholic tenets promoted the idea that adherence to its faith brought both spiritual and material well being, provided that material acquisitiveness didn’t exceed ‘moderation’ or ‘enough’. In other words, the material rewards of the industrial ethic were superseded by the material and spiritual rewards of the Catholic ethic. The sensible thing then for a Catholic to do, was to ensure that this balance was
maintained. It appeared that this strategy also enjoyed a measure of support from other non-western and formerly colonised cultures.

Some Islamic nation states exhibited cultural 'peculiarities' similar to Ireland, insofar as they had a similar post colonial history and their state formation process took the same route with similar actors involved. For example, radical Islamic groups such as the Muslim Brothers in Egypt, were also drawn from clerks, teachers, shopkeepers and small property owners (Gilsenan 1982). In the case of Egypt, many revolutionary officers fighting against the British administration were also fiercely opposed to imperialist control, were socially conservative and had no time for socialism (Gilsenan 1982). They were drawn mostly from the petty bourgeois and ended up controlling the national institutions of culture and education (Gilsenan 1982).

Another similarity with Irish state formation was the emergence in Egypt of a charismatic leader, Nasser, echoing the emergence of De Valera in Ireland.

The ethos of both Islam and Catholicism in regard to the individual's engagement with the economic order is also of particular interest. Gumley & Redhead (1990) noted that there was a high economic opportunity cost involved in the amount of time needed to attend to the Five Pillars of Islam. Islamic history was constructed on the premise that excessive wealth led to moral weakness, hence the discomfort of most Muslims with American wealth, supremacy and individualism and their competitive disposition (Ahmed 1988). Islamic economics, as opposed to capitalist or Marxist types, were defined in terms of achieving balance where conspicuous consumption was discouraged while the Quran and the Life of the Prophet strongly supported austerity.

As Islamic scholarship in the social sciences was in a 'shambles' (Ahmed 1988), it was not surprising that Islamic intellectual confrontation with a secularised and highly
technological Europe in the 19th and 20 centuries on how development and progress could be attained within the foundations of Islamic faith, failed to change a society that still regarded religion and the non secular government as the path to salvation (Endress 1994). Many tensions arose for practising Muslims - similar to those experienced by Irish Catholics - in their dealing with the capitalist system and western paradigms appeared inappropriate to explain their subsequent Muslim economic behaviour.

"the western system is focussed almost exclusively on 'this worldly life' whereas the Islamic code merges both secular and Divine knowledge and activities and this merged perspective makes Western economic and sociological theoretical frameworks 'useless' to explain Islamic society"

(Ashraf 1991: 133)

One Muslim intellectual, Bennabi, placed religion in a central position within his social theory framework and Tahir El-Masawi (1998) noted that Bennabi regarded religion as the independent force that determined culture, civilisation and development. This immediately grounded his thoughts within a theistic as opposed to a materialistic framework.

As religion is embedded in the psyche and nature of the human race, and is the source of all social transformation, the real wealth of a nation was therefore, not measured materially but by its ideational base - the norms, beliefs, and values woven into the fabric of social relations and institutions (Tahir El-Masawi 1998). The Marxist claim that social relations were determined by productive forces was therefore, not applicable for most of the Arabic world (Tahir El-Masawi 1998). This inappropriateness resonates strongly with our conclusions in Chapter 10 regarding Marxism and Irish development. If, as Islam teaches, the individual is subject to God's role, then he must be both agent and witness in the real world. This is the secular mandate (Tahir El-Masawi 1998). If that then is correct, structuration theory
required a third ‘metaphysical’ factor which acted both as a restrictive force in
relation to acquiring material wealth and an expanding one in guiding the individual’s
spiritual frame of meaning (Tahir El-Masawi 1998).

The above insights imply that the individualistic ascetic ‘vocation’ as described by
Weber was therefore, superseded by an integrative set of priorities that included
sufficient material well being. Tonnies (1957) on the other hand, argued that the
simple fact of the matter was, that the very character of a nation and the intellectual
attitude of its many individuals would eventually become less influenced by religion
so that the importance of the spiritual would eventually be replaced by rational and
scientific rules. In contrast, in both Irish Catholic and some Islamic cultures, this
rational and scientific paradigm still did not dominate the spiritual arena. Our study of
the 'Celtic Tiger' shows that Catholicism evoked an instrumental rationalism that
sought to achieve enjoyment of life through ‘enough’ - the application of a charitable
ethic in daily and economic life. This revelation brings us right back to the apparent
contradiction presented in the opening paragraphs of the Thesis, namely to reconcile
low levels of secularisation and the limit of 'enough' at the very moment of the ‘Celtic
Tiger’.

The ‘Enough’ Principle

Evidence of strong Stoic and Platonic undercurrents in the Irish economic disposition
was revealed in our findings and discussed in chapter 9 of the thesis. Here, the
tendency to privatism and a strategy to reconcile the tensions in attending to spiritual
needs in the materialistic ‘Celtic Tiger’ is activated by restricting the acquisitive
impulse to a maximum limit of ‘enough’.
In respect of 'enough' and its relationship to modern economic activity, Baudrillard (1988) pointed out that Kenneth Galbraith maintained that the 'enough' principle attempted to structure modern society so as to provide the maximum well being there exists in human nature...a tendency towards satisfaction...not viewed as optimising, but as harmonious. What is called economic development consists rather in no small part in devising strategies to overcome the tendency to place limits on their [men] objectives

(Baudrillard (1988: 41)

The inclination in individuals to limit acquisitiveness was also observed by Murphy (1998), while the objective of being able to secure 'enough' was a significant factor in informing young adults on their vocational choice (Gottfredson 1981). In a Roper Starch survey conducted in 1995 less than 20% of Americans interviewed said that they wanted to be really rich and over 50% said that $100,000 would be enough to achieve all their dreams (Brown and Lauder 2001). In other words most Americans could define a limit of 'enough' in money terms. Handy (1997) attempted to define a Theory of Limits that would incorporate the 'enough' principle. He maintained that most people recognised when they had 'enough' and it was unnecessary to move beyond that point because it then became counter productive to the well-being of the individual. Strategies to optimise economic growth rather than generate unlimited growth should, therefore, be the objective of society. Once the level of enough was guaranteed, this never-ending spiral of accumulation should cease. Again this echoes the views of many of the respondents in all Domains but in particular the IBEC representative who was concerned to achieve qualitative rather than quantitative rates of economic growth. The Traveller women were also concerned about the spiritual dangers of excessive wealth.

Handy stated that 'enough' invited the individual to reject materialism as the Puritans had done in favour of 'being' i.e. a continuous process of self development through
searching for the 'Good' or 'God' in this world. The doctrine of 'enough' was a social norm rather than a law and originated with the elite and then cascaded down through society. Handy argued that the lower the target of 'enough' the higher the level of freedom that would be experienced by the individual. However, his affirmations came to naught as they were not backed up with any conviction or evidence since he acknowledged that he was not fully committed to his own theory stating that it didn’t match the reality where enough was never enough.

In contrast, this thesis has argued that 'enough is enough' and even in some cases is more than enough since many respondents had chosen or intended to lower work effort after 'enough' had been achieved. Our amended Theory of Limits is informed by O’Higgins (1998) argument and supported by our research findings, that individuals are always aware of the inevitability of their own death and in one way or another this inevitability influences they way they live. In other words, the religious imperative of salvation determines the on-going attitude of the Irish individual towards the economic order because salvation is not pre-ordained as was the Puritan case but is contingent on favourable outcomes from each individual's intentional behaviour.

This amended theory has also been developed as a result of the structured multi-faceted approach adopted in the thesis and is grounded in the findings and in the analyses conducted on the profile of the Irish economic disposition using an array of diverse sociological insights. The fundamentals of this theory were revealed in a number of stages. In Part 1 of the thesis we concluded that the processes generating economic growth were still not fully understood and that the 'Celtic Tiger' was nothing more than an accident of circumstance. We also noted that the 'Celtic Tiger' terminated just as suddenly and accidentally as it had started. This 'belated' golden
age flourished in a culture infused with the tenets of Catholic Social Teaching throughout the mosaic of Irish social life. Anglican and Islamic positions relating to economic matters were also shown to be remarkably similar to the Catholic position.

The research then showed that Catholics exhibited two beliefs that impacted on the nature of their economic orientation. Firstly, belief in Heaven and its attainment through 'charity' remained paramount and individuals' economic behaviour was policed by an inner voice called conscience. Secondly, the Catholic world-view held that enjoyment of this life was an important and visible acknowledgement of God's existence and of His created universe. It was rational therefore, to relegate work to an instrumental activity supporting this enjoyment. As the maximisation of spiritual well-being was paramount then the *rational* approach to work must be based on giving the legitimate minimum effort allowed by conscience.

As this evaluation is based on an individual's self-assessment criteria and as the Catholic's world view (and the Islamic also) is based on a belief that too much wealth poses a serious threat to the individual's attainment of 'Heaven', so its acquisition must be restricted to the minimum level required to experience 'happiness'. In other words, there must be limits on labour inputs, on the acquisitive impulse and the measure of 'enough'. Moreover, 'enough' is not an intangible concept. It is finite and reproduced through the material world as an object or an experience such as golf, alcohol or a 'jar', holidays, education for the kids, a home, money to buy 'gear', etc. This approach, however, does not frown on good fortune or luck such as a win on the lotto, so that an individual does not necessarily have to work in order to acquire. The vocational emphasis of work is not therefore, the most important one. Where happiness is experienced then the social and economic relations obtaining at the time are regarded as legitimate.
The Absolute Pre-supposition Catholicism/nationalism, motivates the individual to overcome the unlimited acquisitive impulse in favour of 'enough'. In that sense it works against capitalism. The initial focus is to relentlessly generate whatever level of work effort is required to secure 'enough' and only then reducing it to maintain 'enough'. From that moment forward work is used as an instrument to sustain ‘enough’ rather than generate ever increasing levels of wealth. In that sense, the economic disposition supports capitalism. Consequently, given the evidence disclosed in our study and the conclusions drawn from our analyses, our Theory of Limits states that the Irish economic disposition is essentially instrumental in character, actively assisting with economic development only until the point of 'enough' is reached i.e. when a sustaining rather than acquisitive impulse informs the individual's economic activity. Therefore, the Irish economic disposition tends to conditionally assist with economic development but within self defined limits, and as these limits are reached it then tends to preserve rather than increase the preferred measure of 'enough'. The achievement of ‘enough’ pacifies the individual’s acquisitive impulses and thereafter the individual adopts a detached disposition where a sense of being 'in' but not 'of' the economic order applies. This frees him/her to place a premium on activities regarded as more ‘rational’ than work such as enjoyment of life. This instrumental approach is adaptive and reactive to whatever economic conditions prevail.

Summary Remarks on the thesis

At the outset of this thesis we concluded that Ireland had experienced a so called belated golden age of economic development labelled the 'Celtic Tiger'. We drew attention to the tendency of both sociologists and economists to deploy 'universal' insights that had been developed using larger more industrially advanced societies, considered more valuable as subjects for sociological research. Small countries such
as Ireland were often overlooked or airbrushed out of economic and sociological discourse. Several debates were then discussed advancing reasons for the cause(s) of poor economic development since independence and another set of growth models and explanations for the underlying causes of the ‘Celtic Tiger’. We concluded that the ‘Celtic Tiger’ phenomenon was an ‘accident’ of circumstances where secularisation, the usual pre-requisite for economic development, was absent.

In Part II we employed an original multi-faceted research approach and a tailor made instrument to capture the views of a unique array of respondents, representing the mosaic that is Irish social life. Our research findings revealed that Irish economic policy was not only infused with Catholic Social Teaching but was distinguished by the absence of specific in favour of notional national economic targets. Furthermore, the findings were used as a basis to build up a unique profile capturing the essence of the Irish economic disposition where two durable ‘sentiments’ religion and nationalism - a durée or Absolute Pre-supposition - were identified as the primary cultural force shaping that recurring disposition.

In Part III, we successfully employed a stranding approach to throw light on the nature of the constellation of internal socio-cultural factors impacting on the economic disposition. Through a series of sociological analyses we established both the nature and force of this internal constellation. By anchoring Marxist and Eliasian insights in an historical event, where the ‘fire’ of the sentiments under scrutiny could be grounded in individuals and groups such as James Connolly and the craftworker combatants, the interrelationship between the variables became more accessible. Complementary insights of Weber, Freud, Durkheim, Parsons and Giddens then pointed to the intentional nature of Irish economic behaviour.
Finally, in Part IV, a 'Theory of Limits' was presented to provide a more inclusive explanation of the research data. This theory accepts that the Catholic worldview internalises a self limiting economic effort that tempers the acquisitive impulse to a level where balance between material and spiritual well-being can be achieved within the individual.

Finally, this study has provided a number of answers to the questions posed at the very beginning of the thesis. Firstly, our analysis of empirical data confirms that the process of economic development is not really fully understood, and even less so, are the causes of the emergence of the 'Celtic Tiger'. However, our research indicates that durable culture specific factors i.e. Irish society’s Absolute Pre-suppositions, play a central role in the dynamic of economic development. Catholicism and nationalism not only shaped national policy of economic development but were also the main catalysts in watershed social changes such as the independence movement from a colonial power.

The 'accident' of the 'Celtic Tiger' was, that Irish structures such as social partnership consensus and the Irish economic disposition were both heavily influenced by the tenets of Catholic social teaching, and together with the non socialist economic environment, they just happened to be necessary pre-requisites conducive to the development of global capitalism. The strong Catholic ethos exhibited in the 'Celtic Tiger', contrasts sharply with many traditional views on the central role of the rational and scientific Protestant ethic in capitalist development, a relationship that is still widely regarded as almost divinely pre-determining Western economic development. Our data shows that in the case of the 'Celtic Tiger' this hypothesis does not hold true. This latter insight now highlights the real possibility that a significant analytical weakness is embedded in relying on a universal blueprint to understand
developmental dynamics because Absolute Pre-suppositions need to be factored into the equation. Without them it is very difficult to explain non conforming or ‘accidental’ developmental patterns. Furthermore, part of this new understanding must accommodate ‘luck’, i.e. a particular confluence of unplanned circumstances, which may be more influential in economic models than previously acknowledged. A striking example of this, arrived with the constellation of variables that was September 11, and the subsequent rapid deterioration of the global economic situation and the untimely demise of the ‘Celtic Tiger’.

Secondly, the analysis of our data confounds the traditional position of many commentators that the Irish Catholic economic disposition was and still is inimical to economic development. Because the Absolute Pre-suppositions are embodied in the Catholic worldview, where poverty and a focus on ‘things of the spirit’ were regarded as virtues, many experts assumed that the resultant disposition was predisposed to rejecting material well being. What actually happens, is that the disposition endorses a ‘spirit of poverty’ rather than a state of ‘physical’ poverty highlighting the optimum balance of spiritual and physical well-being that is achieved by placing a limit on the acquisitive impulse.

The approach adopted by Irish society for managing the contest between global capitalism which fosters unlimited wealth as its raison d’etre, and Catholic religious beliefs which endorse limited acquisition, is observed in the pursuit of an individualised and conscience endorsed measure of ‘enough’. Many individuals interviewed were able to pinpoint many of the things that distinguished their own measure of ‘enough’. It is important to emphasise that individuals commit themselves to global capitalism but only on a temporary basis while he/she looks to secure the holy grail of ‘enough’. This temporary and committed work effort acts as a capitalist...
growth promoter. However, once ‘enough’ has been achieved, the engagement level diminishes to a point where the individual can maintain what is already acquired and this maintenance ethos sets limits on further acquisition. At this point growth promoting effort becomes almost spent.

The evidence that emerged from our first two lines of inquiry confirmed the continued active role of the Absolute pre-suppositions, Catholicism/nationalism, in Irish socio-economic development characterised by a strong but temporary pro-acquisitive economic disposition. Because of this evidence, our third line of inquiry, where we re-visited some of the sociological insights of Marx, Elias, Weber, Freud and Durkheim revealed that they had either overlooked, undervalued or even dismissed the influence of religion and nationalism as drivers of socio-economic development. Weber in particular, overestimated the ‘growth inhibiting’ force of Catholicism while at the same time underestimated its ‘growth promoting’ potential. The distinguishing mark between the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism and the Catholic ethic and its spirit of charity, lies in their respective levels of acquisitive intent. The latter is limited, the former is infinite. In fact, high levels of ‘accidental’ growth made available by facilitating global capitalism provided an ideal solution for the Catholic to optimise both material and spiritual well being. It is this insight into the balanced focus surrounding the Catholic dual mandate and the rationality behind the resultant instrumental economic behaviour, that eluded the fathers of sociology.

Ultimately, the dual mandate characteristic of the Irish economic disposition appears to be well positioned to take advantage of Tawney’s (1961) recommendation that economic activity must remain instrumental and subordinated to higher social purposes consistent with making a better life for everybody. Our study would suggest that by re-adjusting the limit of ‘enough’, the inherently passive Irish economic
disposition is likely to adapt, without too much difficulty, to the accidental death of
the ‘Celtic Tiger’ just as it did to its ‘accidental’ birth.
APPENDIX 1

Explanatory Remarks on the Use of Special Terms in the Thesis

Throughout the thesis a number of terms are used to reflect the complexity of the Island of Ireland since the Island is politically divided into The Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. The purpose of the definitions is to describe important aspects of Irish culture, politics people and events and clarify their application in this thesis.

The terms ‘Rebellion of 1916’, ‘The 1916 Rising’ and the ‘1916 Revolution’ are used interchangeably to denote the 1916 Rising planned by The Irish Republican Brotherhood and which took place on Easter Monday 1916 when Padraig Pearse (The Volunteers) and James Connolly (Irish Citizen Army) proclaimed an Irish Republic outside the General Post Office in Dublin. This short lived rebellion was a blood sacrifice for Nationalism and was suppressed by British Crown Forces.

The Anglo Irish War or the War of Independence was fought from 1919-1921 by the Irish Republican Army Volunteers against British Crown Forces. In 1920 the Government of Ireland Act partitioned the Island of Ireland. This was followed by the Treaty of 1921 between the Provisional Irish Government and the British Government where partition was accepted by both sides. The Irish Civil War 1922-23 then followed between Old IRA now incorporated into the new Free State Army (Pro-Treaty) - the victors - and IRA Irregulars part of a broad Republican front (Sinn Féin) led by Eamon De Valera (Anti-Treaty) - the vanquished.

The Pro-Treaty members of Sinn Féin became the core of Cumann na nGaedheal (Party of the Irish) founded in 1923 which became the party of government in the 1923 Free State elections. Fine Gaeil, Ireland’s second largest political party was formed in September 1933 following an amalgamation of Cumann na nGaedheal, the Blueshirts and the National Centre Party (Farmers and Ratepayers League) to counteract the rise of Fianna Fáil. The political party Fianna Fáil, (Soldiers of Destiny) was founded in May 1926 when Eamon De Valera withdrew his support for the Anti-Treaty Sinn Féin coalition due to tensions relating to the oath of allegiance to the British Crown given Ireland's dominion status and quickly established itself in the 1932 Free State elections as Ireland’s largest party, The Republican Party, when it immediately claimed jurisdiction over the Island of Ireland.

The Irish Free State or Saorstát Éireann as it was known in Irish was the first name of the Irish State from 1922-37 i.e. immediately after independence. In the 1937 Constitution which superseded the 1922 Constitution of the Irish Free State, the title ‘Irish Free State’ was superseded by ‘Éire’ (Ireland). It continues to be used today often derisively by both Unionists in Northern Ireland and Republicans in both northern and southern Ireland to refer to the southern Irish State. The name of the State is therefore ‘Éire’ or in the English language ‘Ireland’. In other words the name of the Island of Ireland is also the name of that part of the Island which is not part of the United Kingdom, namely the part excluding the territory of Northern Ireland.

The 1937 Constitution of Ireland under article 2 defined the national territory as ‘The Whole Island of Ireland’ but in Article 3, jurisdiction was limited to the 26 counties of Southern Ireland. The Irish Government, acknowledged the de facto position of Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom but did not abandon its de jure claim to jurisdiction over that part of the national territory until the 2nd of December 1999 following the coming into force of a referendum held on 22 May 1998 in the Republic of Ireland and in Northern Ireland endorsing the ‘British and Irish Good Friday Agreement’.

The expression ‘The Republic of Ireland’ is not mentioned in the 1937 Constitution but in the Republic of Ireland Act 1948 (No:22) and was designed to show that the 26 counties of Southern Ireland had left the British Commonwealth and severed the final link with Britain. On the international stage such as the EU and UN, ‘Ireland’ is used to refer to the political entity called the ‘Republic of Ireland’. The President is known as the President of Ireland, the Government as the Government of Ireland and the Government of Ireland and the Government of Ireland are Ambassadors to Ireland.

In this thesis ‘Ireland’ is used to refer to the 26 counties of the Republic of Ireland excluding the 6 counties of Northern Ireland within the U.K., unless the terms ‘Republic of Ireland’ or ‘Northern
Ireland', or ‘Free State’ are used to distinguish or emphasis a particular political entity or economic policy in a given era.

Although the term ‘nation’ is sometimes taken to mean those living in the Republic and in Northern Ireland together - who would then form the ‘Irish nation’ - in the thesis the terms ‘nation’ and ‘national identity’ refer specifically to the aforementioned territory only namely, the Republic of Ireland.

The term ‘nationalism’ and ‘nationalist’ used in the thesis is a political philosophy that declares that national consciousness finds its proper expression only in the achievement of a nation state and is traced as mass movement in Ireland from the 1790s with a strong sense of lost ancestral rights inherited from a Gaelic tradition fused with the broader vocabulary of national rights.

The Irish constitutional nationalist movement enjoyed a close working partnership with the Catholic Church and Catholicism remains a central if rarely acknowledged element in the imagined community of the Irish nation. Irish nationalism differed from many continental nationalisms in that it did not have a strong basis in either language or culture until the late 1880s when it was associated with Irish cultural revivalism such as the Gaelic language and became organised through the success of the Irish Home Rule Party, eventually polarising Irish politics around the dichotomy of nationalist and unionist positions.

The term ‘Republicanism’ is used to refer to a principled rejection of monarchy and aristocracy propagated by the both the American and French Revolutions. Republicanism remained a minority force within Irish nationalism. A 32 county Irish Republic was declared in 1916 Rising and it was the insistence that this Republic could not be re-considered that split nationalist forces to take sides in the Irish Civil War, where the Anti -Treaty forces were labelled ‘Republican’.

The Taoiseach (Prime Minister) is successor under the 1937 Constitution to the President of the Executive Council. In article 28 of the Constitution, the Taoiseach is unequivocally Head of Government, nominates the Tánaiste and Ministers are appointed by the President of Ireland on his/her advice and on the approval of Parliament (Dáil). The emphasis on leadership and personality in Irish political life has, depending on the occupant, further increased the authority of the Office of Taoiseach.

The Tánaiste is the Deputy Prime Minister under the Constitution of Ireland 1937, taken from Gaelic Ireland, where the Tánaiste was designated successor to the king or chief, having been nominated during the Taoiseach’s life time.

The term 'Celtic Tiger' was first used in 1996 by Kevin Gardner, an economist with London stockbrokers Morgan Stanley Dean Whitter, comparing Ireland’s economic performance with that of the Asian Tigers and publicised in 'Newsweek' of 23/12/96. However, Sweeney (1999) disputes this account, insisting that the American David McWilliams was the first economist to coin the phrase 'Celtic Tiger' from the term 'Asian Tiger' which compared the economic turnaround in Ireland to the economic progress that had occurred in Thailand, Malaysia and Hong Kong in the late 1980's and first half of the 1990s.

In the thesis the term ‘Celtic Tiger’ refers to the economic turnaround and subsequent sustained growth experienced in the economy of the Republic of Ireland from 1993 to mid 2001.

Definitions and narrative based on the following sources:-


The terms 'War of Independence', '1916 Rising', 'Rebellion of 1916', 'Anglo Irish War', 'Sinn Féin' from:


The terms 'Nationalism', 'Republicanism', 'Tánaiste', 'Fianna Fáil', 'Fine Gael', 'Cumann na nGaedheal' from:


The term 'Belfast Agreement' from:


The term 'Celtic Tiger' from:

APPENDIX 1A

The Catholic ‘Credo’ - Profession of Faith

We believe in one God
The Father Almighty,
Maker of heaven and earth,
Of all that is seen and unseen
We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ,
The only Son of God,
Eternally begotten of the Father
God from God, Light from Light,
true God from true God,
Begotten, not made,
Of one Being with the Father.
Through him all things were made.
For us and our salvation
He came down from Heaven
(All bow during these lines)
By the power of the Holy Spirit
He became incarnate from the Virgin Mary,
And was made man.
For our sake he was crucified
Under Pontius Pilate;
He suffered death and was buried.
On the third day he rose again
In accordance with the Scriptures;
He ascended into heaven
And is seated at the right hand of the father.
He will come again in glory to judge the
Living and the dead
And his kingdom will have no end.
We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the
Giver of life,
Who proceeds from the father and the Son.
With the father and the Son he is
Worshipped and glorified.
He has spoken through the Prophets.
We believe in one holy catholic and
Apostolic Church.
We acknowledge on baptism for the
Forgiveness of sins.
We look for the resurrection of the dead,
And the life of the world to come. Amen.

Source:
Mass Missalette used for Sunday Masses 4th June 2000, Liturgical Texts: Concordat cum originalii, Desmond Connell Archbishop of Dublin, Other Texts cum permisso. Texts from Roman Missal: Excerpts from English Translation of the Roman Missal 19
Address to Budapest University of Economic Sciences 'Ireland: From the Periphery to the Centre of Europe', 3rd November 1999.

Address to The Irish Business Organisation of New York, Thursday, 11th November 1999, 9.00pm local time.

Speech at the Opening of Smartforce's Development Centre Building, Clonskeagh, Dublin, Wednesday 5.00 pm 8th December 1999.

Dinner of the Ireland-Japan Association Saturday 8.00pm, 22nd January 2000.

Speech at the official opening of Dell's third European Manufacturing Facility, Limerick Friday, 4th February 2000 at 10.00 am.

Speech at Opportunities 2000, RDS, Dublin, Saturday 5th February 2000.

Remarks at the launch of 'The Programme for Prosperity and Fairness' Government Buildings 7th February 2000.

Remarks to the Annual Conference of the Irish Hotels Federation, Tuesday 22nd February 2000 at 9.00 am.

Statement to Dáil Éireann (Parliament) on the Programme for Prosperity and Fairness, Thursday 24th February 2000 at 3.50 pm.
APPENDIX 2A

'Economic' speeches of the Tánaiste (Deputy Prime Minister) 1998-2000

Address at the North Dublin Development Conference, Dublin City University, 24th September 1998.
Address to The Institute of Engineers Congress, Wellington, New Zealand, Friday 5th February 1999.
Remarks at The Limerick Chamber of Commerce EXPO99 Business Lunch, Castletroy Hotel, Friday 30th April 1999.
Remarks to The Dublin Chamber of Commerce Breakfast Meeting, Davenport Hotel, Dublin Tuesday 14th September, 1999.
At the Launch of the Western Development Commission Report 'Promoting Foreign Direct Investment in the West' (of Ireland), Carrick-on-Shannon, Friday 8th October 1999.
Remarks at The Encounter Synposium 'Managing our Economies' in the Berkeley Court Hotel, Dublin, Friday 29th October 1999.
Speaking at the Regional Consultative Forum, Ballaghaderreen '50% of IDA Jobs to go to Objective 1 Region', Wednesday, 19th January 2000.
Address to the Fifth Annual Conference to the World Association of Investment Promotion Agencies (WAIPA) Bangkok, Thailand 10th February 2000.
Speaking about Job Losses in Ballinasloe and Dundalk, Friday 18th February 2000.
## APPENDIX 3

### Interview details of individuals in Domain A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual's Occupation</th>
<th>Location of Interview</th>
<th>Type of Interview</th>
<th>Duration &amp; Media</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prime Minister</td>
<td>Prime Minister’s Office, Government Buildings</td>
<td>Discussion of replies to submitted questions</td>
<td>60 mins Discussion Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tánaiste &amp; Minister For Enterprise Trade</td>
<td>Minister’s Office, Kildare St. Dublin</td>
<td>Topic Guide 1 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>60 mins Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Director of Economic Affairs,</td>
<td>IBEC H.Q., Baggot St. Dublin</td>
<td>Topic Guide 1 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>60 mins Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Economist</td>
<td>Irish Farmers Association</td>
<td>Topic Guide Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>60 mins Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘X’ Union General Secretary</td>
<td>Home Residence</td>
<td>Topic Guide 1 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>1 x 90 mins 1 x 30 mins Note/Phone</td>
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<tr>
<td>Representative of Catholic Archbishop of Dublin</td>
<td>Church Sacristy, Gardiner St. Dublin</td>
<td>Topic Guide 1 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>1 x 50 mins 1 x 45 mins Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leader of Islamic Community in Ireland</td>
<td>Islamic Centre, South Circular Rd., Dublin.</td>
<td>Topic Guide 1 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>1 x 70 mins Notes</td>
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<td>Protestant Church Minister</td>
<td>St. Iberias Rectory, Wexford Town</td>
<td>Topic Guide 1</td>
<td>1 x 60 mins Notes</td>
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# APPENDIX 3A

## Interview details of individuals of Domain B

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<td>Senior Executive Director IT</td>
<td>BMUL Dublin City</td>
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<td>50 mins Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Technical Support Manager U. K.</td>
<td>BMUL Dublin City</td>
<td>Topic Guide 2 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>60 mins Note</td>
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<tr>
<td>Europen Projects Manager</td>
<td>BMUL Dublin City</td>
<td>Topic Guide 2 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>60 mins Notes</td>
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<td>H.R &amp; Recruitment Specialist</td>
<td>BMUL Dublin City</td>
<td>Topic Guide 2 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>50 mins Tape</td>
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<tr>
<td>Senior Executive</td>
<td>AMUL North Dublin</td>
<td>Topic Guide 2 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>50 mins Tape</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plant Manager</td>
<td>AMUL North Dublin</td>
<td>Topic Guide 2 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>60 mins Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Senior Production Planner</td>
<td>AMUL North Dublin</td>
<td>Topic Guide 2 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
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# APPENDIX 3B

## Interview details of individuals of Domain C

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<td>Teleservices Agent</td>
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<td>50 mins Tape</td>
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<td>Craftworker 1 'Maintenance'</td>
<td>AMUL North Dublin</td>
<td>Topic Guide 2 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>50 mins Notes</td>
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<td>Craftworker 2 'Maintenance'</td>
<td>AMUL North Dublin</td>
<td>Topic Guide 2 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>60 mins Notes</td>
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<td>Secretary</td>
<td>AMUL North Dublin</td>
<td>Topic Guide 2 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>55 mins Notes</td>
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<td>Production Operative</td>
<td>AMUL North Dublin</td>
<td>Topic Guide 2 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>40 mins Tape</td>
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<tr>
<td>Process Technologist</td>
<td>AMUL North Dublin</td>
<td>Topic Guide 2 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>60 mins</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trainer for Operatives</td>
<td>AMUL North Dublin</td>
<td>Topic Guide 2 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>50 mins</td>
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<td>Model Farmer ‘A’ Dairy 60 Acres</td>
<td>Farm Residence Co. Meath</td>
<td>Topic Guide 2 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>120 mins Tea/Tour Tape</td>
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<td>Model Farmer ‘B’ Suckling 85 Acres</td>
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<td>Topic Guide 2 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>120 mins Tea/Tour Notes</td>
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<td>Model Farmer ‘C’ Dairy &amp; Beef 60 Acres</td>
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<td>Topic Guide 2 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>120 mins Notes Tea/Tour Tape</td>
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<td>Model Farmer ‘D’ Family Farm of the Year 1999 and B &amp; B of the Year</td>
<td>Farm Residence Co. Kildare</td>
<td>Topic Guide 2 Questions &amp; Answers</td>
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## APPENDIX 3B  contd

### Interview details of individuals of Domain D

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<td>Farm Residence</td>
<td>Topic Guide 2</td>
<td>120 mins</td>
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<td>Tillage 100 Acres</td>
<td>Co.Kildare</td>
<td>Questions &amp; Answers</td>
<td>Tea/Tour Notes</td>
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<td>Scoil Caitriona (Dominicans)</td>
<td>Group Interview</td>
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<td>High Ability. Male + Female</td>
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<td>Board</td>
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<td>Scoil Caitriona (Dominicans)</td>
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<td>Glasnevin Dublin 9</td>
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<td>Low Ability. Male + Female</td>
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<td>Glasnevin Dublin 9</td>
<td>Topic Guide 3</td>
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<td>Leaving Certificate</td>
<td>O'Connell Schools (Ch. Bros)</td>
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<td>Mixed Ability. Male only</td>
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<td>15 in class</td>
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<td>Dublin 3</td>
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<td>St. Mary's (Holy Faith)</td>
<td>Group Interview</td>
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<td>20 in class</td>
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## APPENDIX 3C

### Interview details of individuals of Domain D

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<tr>
<th>Individual's Occupation</th>
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<th>Type of Interview</th>
<th>Duration &amp; Media</th>
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<td>The Parliament Hotel</td>
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* Member of the Council of State and one of individuals two personally nominated to the Council by the President of Ireland, Ms. Mary McAleese.
APPENDIX 4

Sample Questionnaire Results on 'Femininity' followed by 'open ended' questions (face to face interview) on the responses in the questionnaire

Please rate the following statements from 1 to 6

(1 = 'completely agree' 2 = 'strongly agree', 3 = 'partially agree' 4 = 'no feeling'
5 = 'strongly disagree' and 6 = 'completely disagree')
as an indication of your view on what being 'feminine' means.

Being independent and having your own money/income

Rating ___

Being a mother

Rating ___

Being a wife

Rating ___

Being a non married partner (having a man)

Rating ___

Being a carer

Rating ___

Being sexually desirable

Rating ___

Being sensitive

Rating ___

Being gentle

Rating ___

Being beautiful

Rating ___

Showing emotion (crying at weddings/ funerals etc)

Rating ___
APPENDIX 4A

Transcript of face to face ‘interview’ on the responses in the questionnaire (appendix 4)

[Well, what did you think of that?] [the questions]
I thought it was an unusual question, being feminine as opposed to... I wonder did the questioner mean of the feminine gender, female gender?
[what do you think feminine means?] [Being feminine?]
feminine attributes of a human being... soft, the way we joke about ‘being in touch with your feminine side’ gentle, caring, sensitive side. You could be very female, and not feminine in the least. You could be a masculine female. So, as related to femininity, I would see a lot of things there related to femininity.
[would you?]
Yeah. Any of the ones sensitive or gentle
[Being related to feminine?] [As distinct from being masculine?]
No, no, but it would... not as distinct from being masculine, but they would be what I would consider to be particularly feminine traits. I wouldn’t consider a sensitive man unmasculine, but it wouldn’t be a typical masculine trait... if you were to say a stereotypical or standard masculine trait it would be strength or aggression or power. It wouldn’t be a feminine trait, but you could be a feminine woman and be powerful – they are not mutually exclusive
[What one of those [list of statements on the questionnaire] would you say is probably the one that establishes a person as being feminine?]
Probably the ‘gentle’ one most of all.
[Why is that?]
If you had a picture in your mind of a feminine person... either the ‘mother’ or the ‘gentle’ something that makes you feel safe... soft, and you know flowing, sort of soft, muted colours. It just made me think of that immediately. Some of the others are emotive, such as ‘beautiful’, I mean everyone wants to be beautiful but I wouldn’t necessarily equate it with femininity, and then you struggle with ‘do I think I’m feminine?’ and then how do I take away any of those attributes I have?
[And what did you think about that, now? – the struggle part?]
I found eh... a tension there between how feminine I see myself, and then the other attributes I have. I value being independent and I value being feminine, but I don’t see...(pause)... being independent as a natural result of being feminine... so there is a bit of a conflict there. I would be very proud of my femininity, and very proud of my independence
[And do you think people would see it that way?]
That I am independent?
[No, being feminine, that it would be hard to be really feminine and be independent]
Yeah, I think they would see that. That’s why I gave it a ‘disagree’
[And what would you think now?]
It has connotations of dependency and sort of helplessness, with femininity.... (long pause).... em!
[Would you say you were... it affects your independence?] [Being feminine?]
No (quite definite) no
[Would you say being independent affects your femininity?]
No, I wouldn’t think it does... I would hope it doesn’t... I suppose... (laughs)... I would like to see it as not affecting my femininity... but in the eyes of others, it certainly could. But I don’t feel unfeminine, being independent – having an income, it doesn’t make me feel unfeminine. It’s also a very physical word, femininity enough. It is physical things that would make me feel unfeminine... em. would you like to know what they are?
[yeah]
I would feel unfeminine when I shout and get very annoyed. I would feel that a very unfeminine trait
[I’ve seen you get mad]
You have, yeah! And I don’t think you’d see that as my feminine side coming through.
[‘Bitchy’, people call that, don’t they?]
That’s different, you could be downright aggressive. Bitchy is a nasty... when they say someone is bitchy they mean to undermine somebody in a very particular nasty way. With aggression, you could just react... I let such a shout at this guy driving a car today... that wasn’t a very feminine thing to do,
but it was a very humane thing to do. What would bring out the feminine side of me...eh it's very, well I suppose it has connotations of stereotyping...you think of nice flower arranging and a feminine sort of a hobby, whereas now car mechanics wouldn't be a 'feminine' hobby

[No, it wouldn’t be, or would it?]
I wouldn't see it as feminine, but I could see some females being interested in it

[what about yourself? Would you see it as a masculine thing...working on a building site, say, for a girl?]
I wouldn't see it as a particularly feminine thing to do...and then I'm coloured by the fact that it wouldn't be my cup of tea, but I'm sure you could have a feminine...no I don't think she could be feminine in that role, she might be feminine outside of that role. I think she'd have to switch to unfemininity to do it

[Roughen her up?]
I think it could, I think it could. I don't think it's possible to exploit your femininity in that area, and in that sort of an environment. There are places where femininity has no currency

[Do you tell people that now, when you go to interview them?]
To be feminine?

[No, if they say 'I want to go on a building site, I want to work as a plasterer on a building site' Would you have any issues around that?]
No, not for the person in front of me. I would try and take it from the point of view of what makes them happiest – they mightn't be interested in femininity at all – they might think it's sissy. I would take it into consideration in the larger picture, but for the single person sitting in front of me, no, I would be guided by whatever they expressed as their interests or their aptitudes, or whatever. Or I would explore whether they would feel comfortable in that kind of environment, but I even have to say now, after however many years I've been doing this, if a very feminine person coming in, someone who strikes you as overtly feminine, has never, ever turned around to me and said 'well it's bricklaying I really fancy'...they don't

[and why is that, do you think?]
well, it could be an inbred femininity, just gentle by nature, or they could have been brought up in a very gentle environment where there was no rough and tumble or where they didn't play with boys or brothers or where they were encouraged to have sedentary tasks, or nice quiet pursuits, I should say. Instead of maybe playing on the ladies' soccer team. I wouldn't see ladies soccer as unfeminine, but someone, particularly a parent who wanted to have a very feminine daughter would maybe encourage her in a graceful pursuit, might like her to do dancing. I don't think they'd like her to play soccer, or rugby, or camogie.(women's version of the male game of Gaelic hurling) I think if you tried to go against type, if you sent a very feminine girl to play a rough sport, say a competitive sport like camogie (A Gaelic game played by women using a stick and hard leather ball similar to the male game of hurling played by men) I just don't think they'd, well, 'hack it'. Well, my own sister for example, I wouldn't call her masculine, but she's not feminine...she's very obviously female, she likes being female, she'd be a sexual type female very aware of her femaleness, but I've never seen her with a feminine side. She permanently climbed walls, y'know into compost heaps, played camogie, hit the head off people, drank, seriously drank vodka and pints, just....

[Is she like that still?]
yeah, she is, yeah

[Could you think of any other things that you would say, that's why she's not feminine?]
well, for example there's only a year between herself and my brother, eh herself and her brother, and they used to call themselves 'the twins' and they did things together – now she played with dolls alright. Now my parents would have tried to make her feminine, putting her in a dress for example, but sure she'd only tear it climbing a tree. I mean she just wasn't inclined towards gentle pursuits, she wouldn't sit down and play quietly like the other girls would, y'know out in the garden in the summer, playing quietly with your dolls...she wouldn't do that. She'd be on a bike that would be too big for her, and fall off it- that kind of thing. Little terror. So I think (noise as tape is turned off, then on again)

[your nature?]
And they also seem to be quite physical, the external things don't seem to make you feminine or unfeminine

[you gave 'being a mother' a '1']
Yeah, although some very unfeminine women (interviewer hmmm's) give birth...there's a biological thing about being a mother that any woman whose reproductive organs are in working order can do that, but they wouldn't 'mother' in the sense that they'd be 'motherly' or 'mothering'. I'd see that as a sort of a feminine thing
[Being a mother?]

yeah – particularly at the early stages...the physical thing of being a mother and having a son or daughter when you’re 50 and they’re 25, it’s more a fact of life – but when you are actively mothering I’d see that as feminine, actively taking care of a baby, cleaning it and feeding it...I’d see that as very feminine...funnily enough...

[mmmmm...]

So that would be active mothering rather than the fact that you are one

[So you’d stick with the ‘1’?]

yeah, yeah, as near to a ‘1’, not beyond a ‘2’ certainly. They would be strong. I think that unfeminine women would be physically mothers but they’re rough with their children and they don’t care and ‘go out and play!’ and they’re always shouting at them and I wouldn’t see that as ‘mothering’ them, if you know what I mean. You’ve seen, I’m sure most people have seen people who, the kids are just a nuisance and all they do is shout at them ‘get out of my sight’. They don’t...kids certainly don’t bring out their feminine side...or maybe they just don’t have one. I think if you have one, it’s brought out by children. Particularly when they’re small and they need you so much, you see parents who act as if their kids don’t need them at all

[ Eh well (turns off tape, briefly, then on again) how did you feel about filling out the questionnaire? As an exercise?]

I felt very strong emotions rising in me and I had to...you couldn’t dash off the answers. They’re not ‘head’ answers, they’re ‘heart’ answers. I had to stop and think how I felt about the question, as opposed to what I knew. It wasn’t ‘is two plus two four?’ ‘do you think you’ll get this job?’ or whatever, something that can be kind of semi-factual, so.....

[what sort of feelings did you get?]

Sad ones for the things I hadn’t got, eh.....resentful things for the ones I saw I was and that took away from my femininity. Emm...I suppose anybody you would ask these questions to, would base on their life experience, sooo...based on my previous experience of being a wife, maybe that irritated me. It did irritate me... not that you asked the question – just thinking about it, sort of got me worked up. Em, I’m smiling at being beautiful...I found that very amusing

[But you are, aren’t you?]

Well, in somebody’s eyes, everyone is beautiful I think

[That’s not what I mean]

mmm, I’m not beautiful all the time, no. I can be a beautiful person, but sometimes I’m not. I think there’s a horrible side to me. Looking nice, yeah, but I don’t particularly look feminine and look nice. I think I have sacrificed. I suppose it just made you think about what you had sacrificed over the years certainly as a teenager I was very feminine, 13, 14, 15, 16 year old and then I think I sacrificed it. I gradually had to move away from being a feminine person. It was a choice, be feminine and be dependent, or cop-on and get on, and sacrifice some of that, so it has been a constant, em...event, I won’t say a struggle, a conscious one as well, to try and retain my femininity and take a place in the world, but the word, it makes me think of ‘second class’.

[The word ‘feminine’?]

S – yeah. It does, yeah yeah

[And what about the word ‘masculine’?]

yeah, ‘in control’

[Really?]

Yeah, being a controlled person

[You’re just saying that....]

Not at all, not at all. Instantly I would think of dominant, the one with the say, the person who would y’know have the last word, make the decisions. And there again, particularly as I work I suppose, in an environment where there would be a lots of men and women at different grades, the traits that are valued say at management or decision-making level are the cold, the insensitive, not insensitive to people’s feelings, but the NON-sensitive rather than insensitive, non-gentle and non-caring approach. It’s the colder, logical = factual approach. So, nobody ever says in a positive way ‘lovely feminine manager’, y’know they don’t. So it seems to be an undesirable thing. So I would find it strange that people would think ‘independent’ [for feminine], it could be an attractive feature for a woman, or of her, but I don’t think you would pin it to her femininity. A man would be an interesting person to ask the question to... I would have a very subjective view of being feminine, a man would have a very objective one.
He'd have a masculine view, right]

He'd have a masculine view of femininity (interviewer and subject speaking same words simultaneously but spontaneously)

Yeah, whereas I would have a feminine view of femininity (echoed by interviewer) hmm. And I would have an experiential view of it, I've only ever been female

[and how do you feel now, after answering those questions?]

mmm. I feel quite peaceful, I don't feel too stirred up or anything like that. I feel better having explained why I said certain things. I think the questionnaire, just that there on the page, means nothing - even if you try to describe who you have been asking. I think you need to say why, and to relate the various things to each other

[Do you think you would be adequately able to express certain feelings that you had as you were going down through that questionnaire? - on paper, would you think? Or...]

I would......

[Or are some of them still private? If you know what I mean]

No, no, I'd be willing to express them once it was anonymous to other readers or anything like that

[You know when you said there something like 'being a wife']?

Yeah, well, my experience of being a wife was of being dominated, so you'll see I have that as a '4' which was disagreeing with that as being feminine...so it certainly disagreed with my experience of being feminine, yet, the technical view I would see of being feminine would be...no I wouldn't like it, I think what feminine has come to mean has been 'dominated', but I would feel myself not to be dominated and yet feminine...so that's where the conflict arises. No, it brought up feelings just that I had a poor experience of being a wife, but I think it was a coincidence, I just happened to be a wife AND in the situation, I could have had the very experience, the same experience of being a partner or a girlfriend. I don't think it was to do so much with being A wife, as being a particular person's wife. So it was, but eh...I, I didn't feel feminine being a wife I must say. I just felt used. Mmm... Although I do feel feminine being a 'non-married partner' I have to say...having a man, heh heh,

[Ah, that was only just a way of......] [explaining phraseology?]

Yeah,......just saying it

[I was just saying that]

I feel feminine.....

[Still, you gave that a '3']

Just on a scale......

[So it wouldn't be very feminine]

I actually feel more feminine when I'm with a man, than when I'm not. I think the masculine side of a man, or maybe a particular man, brings out the feminine side of me. Well it brings out the loving side, it (questionnaire) didn't mention 'love' at all in that one. I suppose 'sensitive' and 'gentle' but it didn't....I would see the loving side of me as very feminine...rather possessive unfortunately, but - feminine, it's a very much woman-to-man love, so...I would feel feminine when I'm loving somebody. No matter how I'm loving them, whether I'm washing the dishes, or making something nice for him to eat, or buying a card or a present or something like that. I feel feminine at the time I'm doing it, just... {pause while subject is scanning down through questionnaire} and then I switched while I was going down

[if you were to pick say the most important two? that would establish your femininity...off that list there?]

and my own personal femininity?

[Yeah!]......

Well some of them of course don't apply. I mean I'm just looking at my 'showing emotion' - I wouldn't see that as feminine at all, but I think the outside world would - y'know 'women always cry at weddings' and that sort of thing. But eh, I never cried at a wedding until I got married...I have to say

[At your own one, was it?]

Not during the day, ...that night, yeah. I cried that night after it was all over...

[Awww!]

But I never thought they were sad until I had been through it and then I realised - I worried that other people were making the same mistake....and I found that very sad. Before that, I thought they were very happy occasions, heh heh

[weddings tend to be all about brides, don't they?]

S - Well, my wedding wasn't, definitely. But they do tend to be. They tend to be very much focused on the bride. Another thing is, I never felt like I was a bride. I never was one, in the 'social' sense. I suppose in the eyes of God I was a bride, but...in the 'social' sense I wasn't...I mean I didn't have a wedding reception, or singing, I didn't have a cake or a dress or anything, or bridesmaids, or get
somebody to walk you up the aisle or any of that, so... I never felt 'bridal'. I would think that could be a very feminine experience... all that white material... and everybody looking at you. An then I remember experiencing my own sister's wedding, I thought she looked at her most beautiful actually the day she got married - which was quite nice. I think it was because she was so happy. Mmmm. But the most important two? I'm just thinking about what you said, that how other people thought these were important... maybe if it was their life's ambition to be a wife, and they wouldn't feel as if they had a feminine role in life unless they were as a support role to a husband or something like that - so I would see how that could apply to some people... Personally, no... 'Gentle', I think, somebody who saw the gentle side to me, I think would see the feminine side to me... so I think that would be tied up with my femininity... And... I believe, although I haven't experienced it... I believe I would feel feminine being a mother... So I would have those two... pause... let's say I would feel FULLY feminine being a mother. As opposed to having a full experience of it, I would feel I have a partial experience of it [femininity] now. Is that an odd thing to say?

[Well, I don't know, I don't really know if it is]
I don't feel unfeminine because I'm not, but I believe I would feel fully, it's like saying somebody became 'fully alive'... I think I would feel 'fully feminine'... I don't think there would be an experience to surpass it, that would make me feel more feminine... I couldn't think of one now, if you asked me to think of something... long pause... maybe something actually physical, like breastfeeding or something like that, but apart from that, I don't know. Again, if I experienced it, I might just think it's a bit boring... I wouldn't feel feminine at all

[no, no, well I was just asking there... what you, what your view on being feminine was]
Mmmm, yeah

Okay, and I forgot to put 'love' down?]
No, I didn't mean you did... I thought that was a list you might have drawn from somewhere. Well, whoever compiled the list, not particularly yourself, or perhaps the people who were asked before didn't feel that being loving was important to being feminine. I would have love myself, if I were to add something to it, because I think there's a difference between feminine love and masculine love

[Well, would you like to add anything?]
Yeah... I could put 'being loving'...

[As the most feminine, is it?]
eh, no, no, not as the most, no

[The most one was this 'gentle', was it?]
'gentle' and 'mother' yeah - you said two.

[Yeah I did, gentle and mother, was it?]
Yeah gentle and mother yeah... but if you wanted extra other ones

[Mmmmm...]
I'd put in 'loving' and 'understanding'... eh, not quite 'empathic' or anything but

[laughs... go on, yeah!]
But, understanding. I think 'intuitive' as well, that kind of understand, like intuition

[Is it easy to be feminine? To-day?]
No, no. not in today's world, it isn't. No. I suppose it depends on where you're priorities are in life. As today's successes are defined, the way a 'successful' person has to operate - I think you have to put some of your feminine qualities on the back burner to get those. So, I think people switch, I think they're feminine at home, I think they're 70 - 30. Seventy percent feminine at home, and thirty percent masculine or whatever the balance, or 70% at work, whatever the balance is

[Just say they're not at work - say they're housewives. I know they're working, I was picked up on that...]

Ah no, I know what you meant there

[y'know, that would mean they'd be feminine all the time?]
within the bounds of their own personal femininity. If they were feminine women, I think they would have more scope for being feminine in that kind of a role... this goes against all my principles to say that this... it does, it does.

[What do you mean it goes against all your principles?]
Because I... that's where the conflict arises, because I'm a girl, and maybe because of my upbringing, I wonder why I think certain things are feminine, but... I want to be feminine, but I want to be something else as well. And as far as I am concerned, they are fundamentally opposed... and much as I would want to be feminine, I couldn't be subordinate. So I would rather sacrifice my femininity than sacrifice being subordinate to somebody. It sometimes means you're cutting off a part of yourself, just for some action...
APPENDIX 5

TOPIC GUIDE 1 used for Domain A interviews.

Q. 1 What would you consider the ideal or target to be achieved in relation to the economic well being of the Irish people?

Q. 2 What do you consider the main advantages/disadvantages of our democratic system to enable this ideal to be achieved?

Q. 3 What strengths and weaknesses do you consider inherent in the disposition of the Irish workforce which affects the likely success of achieving this outcome?

Q. 4 Do you observe from your experience any evidence that the Irish workforce may not be fully committed to economic development?

Q. 5 If Yes to Q. 4 could you outline the factors or reasons (political, religious etc.), that may be influential in this respect?

Q. 6 What would you consider the main benefits and damage to individual workers in particular and Irish society in general from the recent rapid economic progress (The Celtic Tiger)?
APPENDIX 6

TOPIC GUIDE 2 used for Domains B, C, D interviews.

Q. 1 [Could you describe the type of lifestyle that you have at present?]

Q. 2 [Could you describe the type of lifestyle that you would like to have?]

Q. 3 [Could you indicate what are the factors preventing you achieving this lifestyle?]

Q. 4 [Would you say that when you are working that you give everything to the job?]

Q. 5 [Would you say that Irish people in general give everything to their job?]

Q. 6 [What so you think happens to you when your life is over? Is there a heaven?]

Q. 7 [Which do you think is more important – to be happy or rich or can you be both happy and rich?]

Q. 8 [Do you think that hard work goes towards anything in the next life?]

Q. 9 [Do you see any advantages/disadvantages with the Celtic Tiger?]

Q. 10 [Could you place a mark on each of the first set of lines below indicating, where you believe the next life fits into your life and where you believe the next life fits into Irish peoples life. Secondly place a mark on the second set of lines below indicating the importance of work to you and then to Irish people in general? ]
APPENDIX 7

Topic Guide 3 used for the group interviews held in five Dublin Secondary Schools.

Q1. [How many of you go to Mass every Sunday and how many sometimes?]

Q2. [What is it that’s important about work for you?].

Q3. [Do Irish people work hard?]

Q4. [Is it important to work hard?]

Q5. [So what’s it all about then?]

Q6. [Are you a better person if you work hard as against someone who doesn't work hard?]

Q7. [Is it a problem for rich people to get to Heaven...do you believe in an afterlife? A Heaven?]

Q8. [Is it better to rich or happy?]

Q9. [So will what you're looking for after secondary school make you rich or happy?]

Q10. [If I said that God was invented by men... He's not real...what would you say to that?].

Q11. [Well what does it tell you if socialist countries are not rich ?]

Q12. [Where would each of you (12) put yourself on this line here and here and here and here i.e on the four lines that I’ve drawn on the blackboard].
The lines are drawn on Blackboard and pupils are asked to indicate their ratings.

**Degree of Self Focus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>On This Life</th>
<th>On The Next Life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-5</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Degree of Society’s Focus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>On This Life</th>
<th>On The Next Life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-5</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**Degree of Self Focus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>On Working to Live</th>
<th>On Living to Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-5</td>
<td>-4</td>
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**Degree of Society’s Focus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>On Working to Live</th>
<th>On Living to Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-5</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 8

Topic Guide 4 used for interview with Sister Stanilaus Kennedy.

Q1. [how would you describe your work, your occupation if you like, apart from being a nun?].

Q2. [What is your vision for Irish society, economically speaking that is?]

Q3. [how near is Irish society to this ideal?]

Q4. [why is this the case?]

Q5. [how is Irish society changing to Industrialisation?]

Q6. [Why are these connections not being made?]

Q7. [What is the view of the homeless on the Celtic Tiger?]

Q8. [is there anything in Irish Society’s disposition that would assist/hinder in achieving your ideal?]

Q9. [Could you place a mark on each of the first set of lines below indicating, where you believe the next life fits into your life and where you believe the next life fits into Irish peoples life. Secondly place a mark on the second set of lines below indicating the importance of work to you and then to Irish people in general?]
Degree of Self Focus

On This Life

On The Next Life

Degree of Society’s Focus

On This Life

On The Next Life

Degree of Self Focus

On Working to Live

On Living to Work

Degree of Society’s Focus

On Working to Live

On Living to Work
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Occupational Title</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Prime Minister (Taoiseach)</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Deputy Prime Minister (Tánaiste) and Minister for Enterprise Trade and Employment</td>
<td>Tán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Union General Secretary</td>
<td>U</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Director of Economic Policy Irish Business and Employers Confederation (IBEC)</td>
<td>IBEC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Chief Economist Irish Farmer Association (IFA)</td>
<td>IFA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Archbishop of Dublin/Cardinal of All Ireland</td>
<td>AR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Leader of the Irish Islamic Community</td>
<td>IS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Church of Ireland Minister</td>
<td>COI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Senior Executive Production (AMUL)</td>
<td>AMULBL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Senior European IT Manager (BMUL)</td>
<td>BMULSEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Plant Manager (AMUL)</td>
<td>AMULPM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Production Planner (AMUL)</td>
<td>AMULPP</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>UK Technical Support Manager (BMUL)</td>
<td>BMULTSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>European Project Manager (BMUL)</td>
<td>BMULEPM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Recruitment Specialist (BMUL)</td>
<td>BMULRS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Craftworker 1 (AMUL)</td>
<td>AMULFT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Craftworker 2 (AMUL)</td>
<td>AMULEL</td>
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<td>C.</td>
<td>Secretary (AMUL)</td>
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<td>C.</td>
<td>Production Operative (AMUL)</td>
<td>AMULPO</td>
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<td>C.</td>
<td>Process Technologist (AMUL)</td>
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<td>C.</td>
<td>Production Training Instructor (AMUL)</td>
<td>AMULTI</td>
</tr>
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<td>C.</td>
<td>Technical Support Representative/Agent (BMUL)</td>
<td>BMULTA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Farmer 'A' County Meath</td>
<td>AFARM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Farmer 'B' County Meath</td>
<td>BFARM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Farmer 'C' County Meath</td>
<td>CFARM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Farmer 'D' County Kildare</td>
<td>DFARM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Farmer 'E' County Kildare</td>
<td>EFARM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Sr. Stanislaus Kennedy</td>
<td>SS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Dublin City Homeless</td>
<td>HPDUB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Unemployed Person 'A'</td>
<td>AMUN</td>
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<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Unemployed Person 'B'</td>
<td>BMUN</td>
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<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Unemployed Person 'C'</td>
<td>CMUN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Unemployed Person 'D'</td>
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<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Traveller Group</td>
<td>TRAVA</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TRAVB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TRAVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TRAVD</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX 9

Extract from Article 31 of the 1937 Constitution

Section 1

There shall be a Council of State to aid and counsel the President on all matters on which the President may consult the said council in relation to the exercise and performance by him of such of his powers and functions as are by this constitution expressed to be exercisable and performable after consultation with the Council of State and to exercise such other functions as conferred on the said council by this constitution.

Article 31: Section 2

The Council of State shall consist of the following members

a. As Ex Officio members
   The Taoiseach
   The Tánaiste
   The Chief Justice
   The President of the High Court
   The Chairman of Dáil Éireann
   The Chairman of Seanad Éireann
   The Attorney General

b. Every person able and willing to act as a member of the Council of State who shall have held the office of;
   The President
   The Taoiseach
   The Chief Justice
   The President of the Executive Council of Saorstát Éireann (Irish Free State)

c. Such other persons if any, as may be appointed by the President under this article to be Members of the Council of State.

Source:
APPENDIX 10

Extracts from Labour Nationality and Religion being a discussion of the Lenten Discourses against Socialism delivered by Father Kane S.J. in Gardiner St. Church, Dublin 1910.

"...A Socialist is one who holds the essential principle of Socialism i.e. that all wealth-producing power and all that pertains to it, belongs to the ownership and control of the state (p16).

A fundamental principle of Socialism is that labour alone is the cause of value...this is false (p17).

An invented principle of Karl Marx -- the Materialist Conception of History -- the only proof of which is in the begging of the question, in supposing that there is no God, no soul, no free will, nothing but mud and the forces of mud (p17).

The third principle of Socialism is the theory of Karl Marx in which he proves that all capital is robbery...He calls it the theory of Surplus Value...value over and above the value of wages...it goes to the pocket of the employer, it is really the property of the workman...Now this assumption is quite false and quite groundless (p21).

Here now we have to consider their destructive and constructive methods...some Socialists...appear to quite fall in with the Anarchist Programme of the dagger, the fire-brand and the bomb...other...by legal voting...aesthetic dabblers in Socialism...some members of the Fabian Society would work very quietly and very gently...[but]...in any case intend by one means or another to take private property from all those who have any (25).

The right to exclusive personal ownership...[and] it is precisely in this power of disposal that ownership consists...Socialists strike at the liberty of every wage earner...every man has by the Law of nature the right to possess property of his own (p26).

The greatest Philosopher of pure reason...Aristotle wrote...Socialism wears a goodly face and effects an air of philanthropy...it speaks of a marvellous love that shall grow out from it between man and man...but the evils of human life are not owing to the absence of Socialism but to the always inevitable presence of human frailty (p29).

There is nothing common between Social and Christian democracy...they differ from each other as much as the sect of Socialism differs from the Church of Christ (p31).

To enchain men with fetters of equality would be to degrade the wise, the good, the energetic, the noble amongst them, to the depths of the men who are nearest the brute (p32).

You would not sell your birthright to Satan; and I do not think that you are likely to surrender your birthright, freedom, to the Socialist. Stand Back! We are free men. Stand back Socialist!...God has given us our birthright, freedom, and by the grace of God we will hold to it in life and in death (p36).

The old pagan idea that the State is everything and owns everything...has been adopted by the Socialist...That idea is distinctly contrary to natural law as well as to the law of Christ...that idea is absolutely antagonistic to our ideas of home (p39)...civil society is only intended by nature to be the helper of the family, not its master (p40).

Divorce in the Socialist sense means that woman would be willing to stoop to be the mistress of one man after another (p43)...The German Socialist Bebel who in his famous book 'Die Frau' wrote...all boys and girls...to be taken from their parents...brought up without any religion whatever (p45).

The Socialist is the enemy of his country (p53).

Now in Socialism there are principles which no real Catholic can hold -- that private ownership is in itself wrong...that the child is the property of the State against the fathers right...recognises divorce as a breaking of the marriage bond...limit and confine religion to mere personal private worship (p56)

A true Catholic cannot be a real Socialist (p58)"...
# APPENDIX 11

Stated Occupations of Sample Combatants 1916 & 1922

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprentice</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled worker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprentice</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Machinist</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shop asst/porter</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Inspector</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspector of telephones</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil Servant</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemist</td>
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<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student 3rd level</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Private Means</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van /Car Driver</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
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<td>Cinematograph operator</td>
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<td>Druggist</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Waiter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Groom</td>
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<td>Ex-Policeman</td>
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<td>Postman</td>
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<td>Newspaper reporter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Builder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Butcher</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forester</td>
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<td>Misc. &amp; /Unstated</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>39</td>
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<tr>
<td>carters, porters, checkers.</td>
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| TOTALS | 201 | 309 | 270 | 149 |
Column Source

A  Sinn Féin Rebellion Handbook  200 Dublin Area Sinn Féin Prisoners sent to Knutsford, Cheshire, 1st May, 1916 p69
B  Sinn Féin Rebellion Handbook  308 Dublin Area sent to Knutsford on 3rd May, 1916 page 73
C  Sinn Féin Rebellion Handbook  273 Countrywide (i.e. non-Dublin) sent to Wakefield Prison on 13th May, 1916

Notes
Roll Call E-Company Second Battalion, IRA January 1st Presented by Comdt. Vincent Byrne through Mr. Brendan Kenny to the Allen Library, Nth Richmond St., Dublin 3.
Roll Call Volunteers from the following Dublin City areas - Nth. Wall, Parnell St., Nth. Earl St., Nth. King St., Grafton St., Ormond Quay, Sackville Place (all within 1 mile radius of GPO).
Stated as Unemployed in Roll Call: 41 (27% of total 152). Living in the following City areas - Amiens St., Oriel St., Seville Place, Nth. Strand, Drumcondra, Fairview, Marino, Dorset St., Nth. William St., Jones' Road, Glasnevin, Townsend St., Lr. Gardiner St., Harold's Cross (all within 3 mile radius of O'Connell St, City Centre).

Note:
Columns A & B list those captured in Dublin and column C provides the non Dublin combatants. Column D is a North Dublin City, IRA Brigade, active during the War of Independence in 1922 and is used to compare the combatant occupational profile in 1916 and in 1922.

Section (ii)

Occupational Profile of the Mid Cork Sinn Féin Executive on the 25th October 1917.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Officers elected as follows</th>
<th>Name:</th>
<th>Occupation:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President</td>
<td>Denis Lynch</td>
<td>Draper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice President</td>
<td>Daniel Corkery</td>
<td>Grocer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>Denis Creedon</td>
<td>Grocer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive Committee</td>
<td>Stephen Connor</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jeremiah Murphy</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Timothy Murphy</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Henry Brown</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daniel Harrington</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James Murphy</td>
<td>Farmer's Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patrick Donoghue</td>
<td>Farmer's Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Michael Sullivan</td>
<td>Medical Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Long</td>
<td>Draper's Clerk</td>
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<td></td>
<td>John Mullane</td>
<td>Drapers Clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Lynch</td>
<td>Drapers Clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Charles Brown</td>
<td>Bread Van Driver</td>
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Source:
## Selected Occupations and Wages in Ireland 1911

### APPENDIX 11A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Class</th>
<th>Occupational category</th>
<th>Occupational Title</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Income per week</th>
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<td>Public Services</td>
<td>Civil servant</td>
<td>2,293</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Civil Servant</td>
<td>8,030</td>
<td>£2.00</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Civil Servant</td>
<td>8,667</td>
<td>£1.00</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Army &amp; Navy Officers</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Soldiers / Sailors</td>
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<td>Police and Local Govt</td>
<td>25,400</td>
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<td>Teachers</td>
<td>12,700</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Clergy</td>
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<td>£4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class II</td>
<td>Domestic Catering</td>
<td>Non Nursing Personnel in Hospitals</td>
<td>1,638</td>
<td>£1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Indoor Services</td>
<td>Indoor Servants</td>
<td>125,783</td>
<td>£0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class III</td>
<td>Professional and Commercial</td>
<td>Barrister/solicitor/doctor</td>
<td>5,314</td>
<td>variable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Clerical/admin support</td>
<td>9,046</td>
<td>£1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Public Bodies</td>
<td>6,659</td>
<td>£1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bank Official</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>£2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Insurance Agent/Clerk</td>
<td>2,728</td>
<td>£2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Travellers, Salesmen, buyers</td>
<td>16,238</td>
<td>£1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>Railway Employees</td>
<td>20,392</td>
<td>£1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Road Employees</td>
<td>4,335</td>
<td>£1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Carters/cabmen</td>
<td>17,153</td>
<td>£0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canal employees</td>
<td>6,153</td>
<td>£1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Seamen</td>
<td>8,147</td>
<td>£1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pilots</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>£1.00</td>
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</table>
### Selected Occupations and Wages in Ireland 1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Class</th>
<th>Occupational category</th>
<th>Occupational Title</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Income p/w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class III</td>
<td>Professional &amp; Commercial</td>
<td>Surveyors &amp; Architects</td>
<td>2,617</td>
<td>£2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Performers</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>£1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class IV</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Fishermen</td>
<td>8,538</td>
<td>£0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cattle/Sheep/Pig dealers</td>
<td>4,068</td>
<td></td>
<td>£1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Farmers and Farm Labourers</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>£1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class V</td>
<td>Industrial Occupations</td>
<td>Miscellaneous occupations</td>
<td>139,883</td>
<td>£1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Makers and Dealers</td>
<td>28,921</td>
<td></td>
<td>£1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Artisans/Mechanics</td>
<td>2,224</td>
<td></td>
<td>£1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Apprentices</td>
<td>955</td>
<td></td>
<td>£0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Industrial Labourers</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>£0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>78,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>£0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Industrial Wages Earners</td>
<td>270,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>£1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Industrial Salary Earners</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>£1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other Professionals</td>
<td>Self employed</td>
<td>18,327</td>
<td>£4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Firms</td>
<td>1,508</td>
<td></td>
<td>£16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corporations</td>
<td>1,430</td>
<td></td>
<td>£80.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local Authorities</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>£120.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:
### APPENDIX 11B

A Selection of occupations of executed Leaders of 1916 Rebellion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leaders</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Born</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearse, P. H.</td>
<td>Writer/teacher</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>CBS</td>
<td>executed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearse, W.</td>
<td>Stonework labourer</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td></td>
<td>executed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDonagh, T.</td>
<td>Lecturer UCD</td>
<td>Tipperary</td>
<td>Rockwell</td>
<td>executed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceannt, E.</td>
<td>Clerk Dublin Corpo.</td>
<td>Galway</td>
<td></td>
<td>executed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kent, T.</td>
<td>Land agitator</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td></td>
<td>local primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarke, T.</td>
<td>Tobacconist</td>
<td>Isle of Wight</td>
<td></td>
<td>executed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connolly, J.</td>
<td>Union organiser</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>local primary</td>
<td>executed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDermott, S.</td>
<td>Barman</td>
<td>Limerick</td>
<td>CBS</td>
<td>executed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daly, E.</td>
<td>not listed</td>
<td>Limerick</td>
<td>CBS</td>
<td>executed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colbert, C.</td>
<td>Railway clerk</td>
<td>Limerick</td>
<td>CBS</td>
<td>executed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heuston, S.</td>
<td>Railway clerk</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>CBS</td>
<td>executed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O’Hanrahan, M.</td>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>Wexford</td>
<td>CBS</td>
<td>executed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McBride, J.</td>
<td>Assayer SA Rand Mining Corporation in Ireland</td>
<td>Mayo</td>
<td></td>
<td>executed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallin, M.</td>
<td>British soldier in India</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td></td>
<td>executed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plunkett, J.</td>
<td>Nobleman/poet</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Stoneyhurst</td>
<td>executed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casement, Sir R.</td>
<td>British Diplomat</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td></td>
<td>hangedC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collins, M.</td>
<td>Post Office Clerk,</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>Local primary</td>
<td>internedD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DeValera, E.</td>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Royal Univ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:**


*A*Christian Brother Schools. Religious order who specialised in teaching working class and lower middle class children and were focussed on emphasising the Catholic/Gaelic ethos in the curriculum.

*B*Rockwell is a private college run by the Society of Jesus (Jesuits).

*C*Converted to Catholicism. International reputation as a humanitarian for his reporting on the exploitation of native workers by European employers in Africa and Sth. America. Received a knighthood in 1911. Hanged August 1916 after converting to Catholicism.

*D*One of the treaty signatories. Shot by Republican forces in the Civil War.

## APPENDIX 11C

### Occupations and their % rates of Catholic affiliation in 1926 as compared with the national average rate of 92.8% for the Workforce

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Level of Catholic Affiliation (%)</th>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>% Deviation from (92.8%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employer and Manager (Drinks)</td>
<td>71.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer and Manager (Food)</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer and Manager (Textiles)</td>
<td>64.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer and Manager (Other Textiles)</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer and Manager (Metal)</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer and Manager (Paper/Print)</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank Officials (not clerks)</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-45.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Officials (not clerks)</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrister</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solicitor</td>
<td>62.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentist</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Engineer</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering Officers</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chartered Accountants</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of Commercial Sections of Business</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopkeepers</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen (17 categories table 11A)</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining Workers</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers and Managers (creameries)</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers/Agri Workers</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishermen</td>
<td>97.2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Industrial Labourers (6 categories)</td>
<td>96.6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Packers in Biscuit factory</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egg Packers</td>
<td>95.7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food workers (9 categories)</td>
<td>97.0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinks Workers (5 categories)</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus and car drivers</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building labourers</td>
<td>98.4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messengers (6 categories)</td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porters (5 categories)</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van salesmen</td>
<td>94.2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper sellers</td>
<td>98.6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:**
APPENDIX 11D

1841 and 1926 comparison of stated occupational categories of 'combatants' for Dublin City and County and the rate of religious preference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>As % of Dublin Workforce (154,983) 1841</th>
<th>% of Dublin Workforce (183,560) 1926</th>
<th>% Catholic (Nat. Av. 92.8%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bricklayer</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>95.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>2,724</td>
<td>2,515</td>
<td>92.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitter</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1,219</td>
<td>85.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painter/Décor</td>
<td>1,391</td>
<td>2,291</td>
<td>91.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plasterer</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>96.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumber</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>989</td>
<td>84.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slater/Tiler</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>94.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical Fitter</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,392</td>
<td>80.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boilermaker</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>90.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet Maker</td>
<td>998</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>88.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upholsterer</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>89.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheetmatal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>94.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitter/Turner</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>1,223</td>
<td>85.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toolmaker</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>90.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>96.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>86.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor Mechanic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,172</td>
<td>85.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Total 7,889 5.09</th>
<th>Total 14,612 8.00</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>2393 1.54</td>
<td>448 0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>10,372 6.70</td>
<td>14,184 7.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>19,077 12.30</td>
<td>1,908 1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29,404 19.00</td>
<td>16,092 9.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schoolteachers</td>
<td>899 0.58</td>
<td>2,308 1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks (7 categories)</td>
<td>3,816 2.40</td>
<td>11,947 6.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solicitors</td>
<td>1,779 1.14</td>
<td>370 0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barristers</td>
<td>563 0.30</td>
<td>207 0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop Assistants</td>
<td>1,437 0.92</td>
<td>11,586 6.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figures tabulated from the following Sources:-


APPENDIX 11E

Religious Denominations as a % of the population of the area of the Republic of Ireland from 1881 to 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>%Catholic</th>
<th>%Church of Ireland</th>
<th>%Presbyterian</th>
<th>%Methodist</th>
<th>%Jewish*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>3,870,020</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>(394)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>3,468,694</td>
<td>89.3</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>(1,506)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>3,221,823</td>
<td>89.3</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>(3,006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>3,139,688</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>(3,805)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>2,971,992</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>(3,686)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>2,968,420</td>
<td>93.4</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>(3,749)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>2,955,107</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>(3,907)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2,818,341</td>
<td>95.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>(3,255)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2,978,248</td>
<td>94.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>(2,633)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>3,443,405</td>
<td>93.0</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>(2,127)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>3,525,719</td>
<td>92.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>(1,581)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Actual numbers used for purposes of comparison with substantial denominations

Source:
Statistical Abstract 1999: Central Statistics Office. % Figures for each denomination tabulated from Table 2.32: Persons Classified by Religious Denomination p57
APPENDIX 11F

Abstract

"When we fought we fought for Ireland"  (Kevin O' Carroll)

"God and Erin "  (T. Murphy, T. Cremin, M. Dowling)

"To the ‘Day’ when the Gael shall sweep
the Saxon through the
Yawning Gates of Hell"

"A felon’s cap is the noblest crown
an Irish Heart could wear"

"I lost my right arm but I still believe
that same as I always did
in Saor Éire" (free Ireland).

"God save Ireland”

“May tumble the Empire down”

“Beidh la eile ag Gaedhealaibh” *
(there will be another day for the Irish)

“ There is I feel a little bit of Heaven
reserved for the ‘mere’ Irish”

“A Salute to Billy
who died for his land and name
Christ!
May the stone that his chisel carved
Endure with the wood of thy Cross”

“ There is no fear for Ireland yet
for she has soldiers still”

For Ireland
The sacred fire of Ireland burst into flame
Renew the failing lamp within their souls
Youthful one lie riddled by English bullets
God’s angels there keep guard
They would press through to join the host of God"

"No should they fear the foe’s revengeful might
Powerless as roman tortures affright

AUAF

Thomas Harris

Anon

Michael Fleming

Donal Mac Uladh

Brian Higgins

John McDonagh

Desmond Ryan

Lieutenant R. Stokes

W. L. Cole
APPENDIX 12

Occupational Profile of elected MPs in British General Election 1918

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Unionist</th>
<th>Nationalist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Merchant/MD</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solicitor/Barrister</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magistrate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16(^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writer/Journalist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentleman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Official</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacconist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinn Féin activist</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publican</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietor hotel/shop/draper</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristocrat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Councillor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen. Civil Servant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Traveller</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)According to the Irish Times, most were on the run, in prison or deported

Source:
Tabulated from Election Results Irish Times 1918 December 5\(^{th}\) Thursday p5.
## APPENDIX 12A

*Occupational Profile of Candidates (343) presenting for Election to 5th Dáil in 1927, (153 seats)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unstated</strong></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopkeeper</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrister/Lawyer/Solicitor</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Official</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor/Vet</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsman</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County Councillor</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politician</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Schoolteacher</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalian</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractor</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance/Manufacturing/Commercial Agent</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coach/wagon builders</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car Dealer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel Owner</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Servant</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Schoolteacher</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow(lady)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentist</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agri-labourer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway labourer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentleman</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auctioneer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesman</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stationmaster</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristocrat</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers' Union</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landowner</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeweller</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publican</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreman</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Servant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep Breeder</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer representative</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postal worker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry Farmer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop Assistant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle Exporter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy worker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamery Manager</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company director</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle Stockbroker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goods Checker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisherman</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source*: Tabulated from *Irish Times*, Wednesday June 8th, 1927
### APPENDIX 12B

Comparison of the occupational profile of those elected in 1918 British General Election, the 1927 Free State Elections and the 1998 General Election in the Republic Under British Rule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Under British Rule</th>
<th>FREE STATE</th>
<th>REPUBLIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrister /Lawyer/Solicitor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politician</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractor</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Official</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landowner</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm*</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Schoolteacher</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Schoolteacher</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational Teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentleman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow(lady)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsman</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentist</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopkeeper</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristocrat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agri-labourer</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway labourer</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stationmaster</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor/Vet</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers' Union</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County Councillor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeweller</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publican</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Agent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Servant</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk/Clerical</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Servant</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep Breeder</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer representative</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstated</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MD of Company</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinn Féin Organiser</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Traveller</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writer</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthcare</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auctioneer</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economist</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source Irish Times 1918 September 5th page 5  
Source Irish Times 1927 June 17th page 3  
Source Press & Publicity Office The Oireachtas 1998, Kildare St. Dublin 2
# APPENDIX 12C

## Occupational Profile of the Irish Workforce 1998 (in 000s) and the number of T.Ds who originate from specific occupational categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number*</th>
<th>T.Ds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Craftsman/skilled worker</td>
<td>146.7</td>
<td>Zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>105.4</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop Assistant</td>
<td>75.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typist/Bookkeeper</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>57.3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager/Company Sec.</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drivers/Bus/Train/Other</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Servant</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Travellers</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiter/Waitress</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agri Labourer</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaners</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foremen</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warehouse/Dispatch Clerks</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineers</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital Orderlies</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watchmen</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barman</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chef/Cook</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbers/Hairdressers</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer Programmers</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Practitioners</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy/Nuns/Religious</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Civil Service officials</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal Professionals</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*bIncludes Restaurant, Hotel etc., Retail, Wholesale, Garage, Filling Station.
APPENDIX 13

Raven’s 10 Societal Attitudes to achieve full employment

- A desire to do things better.
- A concern with excellence.
- A willingness to admit to and recognise ones feeling of pride and delight in individual and co operative accomplishments.
- A tendency to set challenging goals.
- A tendency to make plans to achieve these goals.
- A habit of anticipating problems.
- A willingness to accept the help of others to achieve objectives.
- An active desire to seek out and continually utilise information indicating how effectively one is pursuing one’s goals.
- A willingness to trust others.
- A willingness to do things when asked without having to be pressurised by such institutions as the Church and the law.
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