The Rise of the Nation: The Demise of the State

The Persistence of Irish National Identity in an Age of Economic Globalization

Master’s Thesis

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by

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“...the principle teaching of nationalism: the need to find the ideological basis for a wider unity than any known before. This basis is found, I believe, in the rediscovery and repatriation of what has been suppressed in the natives' past by the processes of imperialism.”

Edward W. Said, *Themes of Resistance Culture*
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Although proven, socio-demographic shifts do occur as a result of globalization and its economic, political and social externalities, nationalism in Ireland continues to honor its roots in sovereignty and independence and is ingrained in the fabric of society almost two generations into its post-colonial identity. Eurobarometer indicators, Irish survey data personally collected, and an analysis of the recent Irish rejection of the Lisbon Treaty demonstrate that the Irish people remain true to the mission of their forefathers, placing nationalist pride in their sovereignty, culture and religion, combating globalization’s push for further economic integration and the call for a more regionalized Irish identity. Despite absorbing the world’s most rapid, dramatic globalization process, the Irish people have spoken and show a continuation of traditional nationalism based on principles developed over a century ago. The question here addresses whether globalization transcends nationalistic roots or exacerbates them in the case of Ireland.
After reading Anthony Smith’s book *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* I was left with the question of why nationalistic ideologies continued to be relevant in an increasingly interconnected, globalized world. A country’s ability to adapt to the global era while still asserting national identity seems counterproductive in the wake globalization’s unobstructed de-territorialization of nations. It’s clear to me that globalization has increased the presence of nation-states and, as a result, has radically redefined what has been traditionally perceived as nationalistic identity. The general presumption under question here is that shifts in nationalistic identity patterns *have and do* take place in moving from a nation to a nation-state under the forces of globalization. However in the study to follow, through a culmination of analytical research methods, my intent is to question the assumption that nations erode as integration, regional economic dependency, and cultural standardization become the global status quo. My contribution addresses this issue, using the case of Ireland, where globalization has triggered a nationalistic response in the republic’s commitment to preserve its cultural identity, popular sovereignty and traditional nationhood in the face of globalization and its discontents.

The origins of this topic derive from my extensive studies in Irish literature and history, my time spent abroad in Ireland, understanding myself as an Irish citizen, and in what I have taken from my concentration in Global Studies over the past five years here at Brandeis University. My interest in the relationship between globalization and
nationalism derived from a shift in Irish public opinion I noticed during my year-long stay in 2007 and in the socio-economic Irish studies I completed at Dublin City University. To those unfamiliar with Ireland, its history and recent stint with globalization, Eurobarometer surveys conducted by the European Union Commission probably provide the most credible indicators of this recent intensification in Irish nationality. Many of the surveys preceding the new millennium, and up until 2005, focused primarily on the positive economic indicators and or the public optimism behind development agendas in Ireland during its period of tremendous growth known as the Celtic Tiger. However, as the global economic downturn set in, and began to slow growth in Ireland, these surveys began to center their focus on the issue of nationalism, and more particularly, “the preservation of local tradition and identity.”

Commentators proclaim that Ireland is one of those lucky nations that have capitalized on the opportunities and progress afforded by the process of globalization and has culturally escaped the limitations of its traditional nationhood in proudly asserting its membership in the international community. After my studies on and assimilation into the Irish culture in 2007, and capturing something of the Irish situation today through my research, I argue, in light of my analysis below, why this approach to explaining Ireland’s nationalistic response to globalization is wholly inadequate. Undermining the Irish response to globalization is exactly what globalization’s proponents set out to accomplish. Their ideology denies, and also fails to provide an explanation of why a re-emergence of Irish nationalism is occurring, despite Ireland’s welcoming of growth and prosperity and accession to the European Union, both casual factors in the process of

1 Eurobarometer 70 Public Opinion in the European Union
globalization. The aim of this study is to explain this re-emergence of traditional Irish nationalism in its historical context, as well as in its present state, targeting the globalization process and indentifying it as the exacerbating force. The term exacerbate should be understood as an intensification or strengthening of nationalism, as result of globalization’s externalities. Chapter One should provide a broader understanding of the relationship between globalization and nationalism, and set the stage for the argument presented thus far.
Chapter 1: Defining Nationalism in the Global Era

An Introduction

The relationship between globalization and nationalism has gone largely unaccounted for, overshadowed by the exaggerated value of its economic progress that continues to dominate much of its scholarly literature. Today, as the globalization process slows, the unexpected consequences of such rapid growth are beginning to take form. The recent, worldwide recession has sent ripples across societies both large and small and has undoubtedly stunted, and even reversed, progress attributed to globalization. We have all witnessed this fast-paced, growing multiculturalism and interaction of markets across larger, more industrialized states where globalization profoundly staked its earliest claims. However, globalization’s impact on nationalism in smaller countries is rarely given the attention it deserves. Traditions, societal norms and common understandings of daily life are not only subject to change, but often forcibly uprooted and disregarded for the sake of easing globalization’s permeation. As this study will show, historically smaller countries such as Croatia, Jordan and the Republic of Ireland have all welcomed and absorbed globalization to varying degrees. However, what is strikingly similar between these countries is found in their nationalistic response to globalization, sharing the intensification of traditional nationalism and hardening of residual ideologies.

In this study the researcher applies a unique measure of globalization, focusing on the intensity, or a lack thereof, of traditional ideologies in a nation’s response to globalization’s uneven nature. To be clear, this study in no way attempts to disparage the economic prosperity and progress globalization has afforded these countries, and actually
attributes much of the infrastructure and developmental improvements covered in subsequent chapters to the globalization process itself. There are also scholarly works mentioned in this study that suggest globalization has, and will continue to be, welcomed by the national majority of smaller states based on the almost certain reality of economic gains. Support for this claim points to the economic, social and cultural progress in Eastern Europe as well as other parts of the world which openly welcomed globalization and reaped the economic benefits. However, in order to provide a clearer understanding of how globalization is an exacerbating force with regards to nationalistic identity, a closer examination of the over-development issues and negative socio-economic externalities found in smaller post-globalized nations is required.

Why Ireland?

The world’s largest economies seemingly have the greatest safeguard, where the negative effects of globalization are spread and diversified across larger, more protected markets. Lesser-developed economies have certainly felt the shockwaves, but are somewhat sheltered due to, relatively speaking, poor infrastructure, lack of inclusion and or their global economic insignificance. Ironically, countries that once served as the poster-child for globalization, such as the smaller Asian tiger economies and Eastern European countries are now facing the brunt of globalization’s discontents. This is no less the case in the Republic of Ireland, where globalization entered with tremendous force, creating one of the most heavily studied, and lasting impressions of the globalization process. The argument posed in this study disagrees with the notion that globalization can, more often than not, require nations to re-define their conception of sovereignty as they integrate into markets dominated by the world’s most powerful and industrialized
countries. In the Irish case however, globalization has left clues to its relationship with nationalism, particularly in the observed collision of growth and change with the traditional determinants of Irish nationhood. Revealing these clues may help the reader understand why Ireland is significant for an understanding of globalization, which is too often read from the perspective of stable, settled, and dominant world powers.

Using the Irish case, the researcher attempts to determine whether the process of globalization transcends or exacerbates Ireland’s nationalistic roots and ethno-national identity. From what has been introduced thus far, this topic certainly holds contemporary value with regards to the study of globalization. But this study shows that there are far greater, historical considerations in the development of Irish nationalism, while also affording the opportunity to determine the nationalistic impact of globalization. This study takes into account and studies extensively, whether changes in identity and nationalism may have been either less or more dramatic as globalization’s socio-demographic impact might suggest. In the following, the researcher will refer to a culmination of literary works to help narrow the focus on the primary determinants of Irish nationhood, and, more particularly, help determine whether there is a change present in the ideological makeup of Irish nationalism as a result of globalization’s externalities. The researcher offers theories and arguments collected on the relationship between nationalism and globalization, which will help clearly define what globalization and nationalism should mean to you, as well as the opinions of scholars who have covered either topic. By first assessing, the theories behind either concept, we can build a framework through which we can begin to approach the argument at hand more clearly define the debate over globalization and nationalism.
1.1 Globalization

There is no doubting the observed, empirical reality of globalization. The quantitative measure of the process dominates much of the debate in measuring its economic pros and cons. It’s qualitatively understood in a similar fashion, those for and against weighing the social benefits/drawbacks emerging in post-globalized nations. For the sake of brevity, the research argues that the debate over globalization can be summarized as follows.

Contemporary skeptics of globalization, such as Hirst and Thomson, are simply skeptical of the concept in the first place, seeing it as a conceptual cover-up rooted in hegemonic, realist U.S. domination. Hirst and Thomson, view globalization as “primarily an ideological construction; a convenient myth which...helps justify and legitimize the neoliberal global project.” Economists Gernot Kohler and Emilio Chaves take this sentiment even further in their critical essay collection *Globalization: Critical Perspectives*, exposing the “dark” sides of globalization and its lack of social and ecological responsibility for the ever-growing, global community. A second group – led by economists such as Rodrik and Dicken support the most commonly known understanding– offering a more narrowed focus defining globalization primarily as an economic process. Given the abundant evidence of the increasing reach of global capital and financial flows between countries, the debate is not so much about whether globalization is taking place, but more about where, how, at what speed and in who’s best

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or worst economic interest it is occurring. The third group, which counts in its ranks the likes of Giddens, Held, Castells and Scholte, sees globalization as a more nuanced and multilayered social process, variously described as “action at a distance … time-space compression, accelerating interdependence or a shrinking world.” For them, in addition to the weight given to its economic qualities, globalization is also, equally as important, a “real structural change in the scale of modern social organization.” In either respect, there is a common thread found in the arguments of those for and against globalization, connecting what is now known about globalization to what could, or even will impact the global, social order of nations and nation-states.

From this, we could argue that it is bound to have a profound impact on the way a social phenomenon like nationalism develops, and more specifically, in measuring the effect of globalization on countries less or more integrated with the process itself. For the purpose of this study, the researcher will use a combination of the second and third approach, acknowledging and incorporating the economic side of globalization to the current sociological/cultural debate. Using this kind of hybrid approach not only sheds light on a relatively unknown, unstudied element of intensely post-globalized states, but can definitely shape how we understand globalization’s effect on nationalism in its most heightened state.

This study refers to globalization in a number of different ways due to the extent of its reach and impact of its discontents. To the researcher, globalization represents a casual relationship, where entities of the Western world such as the European Union

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4 Rodrik p. 380.
5 Held. McGrew p. 3.
developed from the increasing globality of contemporary economic demands. Entities such as these advance the process of globalization, and push its neo-liberal agenda for greater economic integration, regionalism and the formation of standardized nation-states. References to globalization, or the process of globalization in the content to follow should be representative of these sovereignty constraints. Hence, globalization’s significance to the reader is the limitations of a nation’s ability to behave autonomously, giving way to the idea of traditional nationalism as the casual response.

1.2 Nationalism

To say we live in an age of nationalism is a tired expression, and particularly complicating due to the growing presence of nation-states and transnational movements promoting the idea of regionalism. However, what is found in post-globalized countries is a somewhat counter-intuitive resurgence of nationalism, a sentiment exhibiting traditional ideology and inherited principles. This type of nationalism runs counter to the trend set forth by globalization, calling for a borderless, economically integrated, nation-state of less and less autonomy.

A ‘nation’ refers to a community of people that usually possess common characteristics, like geography, history, language and customs, which form the basis for its existence. Nationalism is the most contributing factor to our understanding of what shapes and designs the world’s political map. Nationalists want what is best for the nation, with their support deriving from a prideful sentiment in all things that further

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national progress and overall prosperity.\textsuperscript{10} One of the most renowned scholars on this topic is Elie Kedourie, he defines nationalism as

"…a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the 19th century. It pretends to supply a criterion for the determination of the unit of population proper to enjoy a government exclusively its own for the legitimate exercise of power in the state and for the right organization of a society of states. Briefly, the doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations; that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained; and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government.\textsuperscript{11}

Modern analysts, such as Hobsbawm, Gellner or Breuilly, see nationalism primarily as an elite-driven political project prompted by the rise of modernity and the need to manage the social transformations that accompanied industrialization.\textsuperscript{12} Contesting this position is the perennial school of thought, championed by Anthony Smith, who, while not underplaying economic factors to explain the rise of nationalism in Europe, argues instead that:

"…to understand modern nations and nationalism, we have to explore not only the processes and requirements of modernity, but also the genealogies of nations, … the impact of these processes on those genealogies and the way in which they give rise to selections and transformations by each generation of pre-existing … ties and traditions.\textsuperscript{13}

Perennialists essentially argue that the emergence of nationalism cannot be fully understood unless we relate it to deeper ethnic identities, which transcend the socio-economic impact of industrial modernity, itself being more concerned with the formation of classes than that of nations.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{10} Young, Zuelow and Sturm p. 12
\textsuperscript{11} Kedourie, Elie., \textit{Nationalism}, 4\textsuperscript{th} ed. (Malden: Blackwell Publishing 2004). p. 1
\textsuperscript{13} Smith p. 108
\textsuperscript{14} Smith p. 97.
Anthony Giddens describes nationalism as “a phenomenon that is primarily psychological.” Giddens argues that nationalist sentiments rise up when the “sense of ontological security is put in jeopardy by the disruption of routines…when ordinary life is disrupted”…and that nationalist sentiments are only triggered “in unusual and often relatively transitory conditions.” Conversely, Michael Billig describes nationalism as banal, where indications of a nationalist sentiment found in everyday activities or surroundings can, at times, be undermined when measuring nationalism in a state.

The differences above suggest that nationalism encompasses a variety of definitions, where aspects of nationalistic identity can be more or less recognizable than others. However, a common thread amongst the authors is found in the uncontested significance of its influence over a nation’s state of affairs. The reader should take into account these competing views outlined above, and understand that nationalism can be interpreted in many ways. More so however, as conveyed by the researcher of this study, nationalism draws heavily upon its linkages to a residual ideology or traces of earlier social/cultural traditions and values. Defining nationalism in this fashion could be considered narrow in its focus, yet a specific concentration on its earliest roots and the events that laid the foundation for its existence can reveal much of what contemporary nationalism signifies in a nation today. As the reader will see in the chapters to follow, a detailed examination of nationalism’s development in the country of Ireland will shed light on the importance of its features to the Irish identity today. Approaching this study with a historical analysis will support the argument introduced above that nationalism is undoubtedly exacerbated by the process of globalization.

16 Spencer and Wollman p. 191.
Now equipped with an understanding of the relationship between globalization and nationalism, Chapter Two of this study will describe the historical events that shaped Irish nationalism and the important characteristics contributing to its development in post-colonial Ireland. Chapter Three examines the dramatic economic progress that globalization has brought to Ireland and Chapter Four describes how its externalities have challenged the concept of traditional Irish nationhood economically, politically and socially. Chapter Five asks the question: Is Ireland alone? This chapter focuses on the nationalistic responses of two nations, Croatia and Jordan, to the forces of globalization as a comparative element to that of Ireland. Chapter Six moves next to introducing the reader to what the researcher considers to be the Modern, National Question in Ireland, highlighting three current, major threats to traditional Irish nationhood through an examination of Ireland’s call for greater European integration, overwhelming influence of Anglo-Saxon culture and its participation in the Lisbon treaty agenda. Chapter Seven introduces the methodology that will be used in analyzing the Eurobarometer Surveys and the researcher’s survey *Contemporary Irish Attitudes 2010* in Chapter Eight of this study. Chapter Nine offers conclusory remarks and determines that two factors, the power of residual ideologies and the durability of dissent, serve as the foundation for an exacerbated nationalistic response to the globalization process.

**Chapter 2: Through Irish Eyes**

What makes the Irish case so unusual is not in its journey from a state of seclusion
and poverty during the first wave of globalization to a position of economic and political well-being during second wave.\textsuperscript{18} Rather, it is in the astonishingly short time elapsed between the two and the effect this had on ethno-national identity in Ireland. The mosaic of regional, ethnic and national identities in Europe has produced a culturally based nationalism, which has led to the fragmentation of obsolete multi-national political and territorial formations, and contrasts sharply with the classical Western European state based nationalism, which in turn has been characterized by a severe internal cultural standardization.\textsuperscript{19} Ireland has fervently rejected this standardization, declaring its nationalism as traditionally tied to its cultural individuality, popular sovereignty, and position of neutrality in foreign affairs. Ireland has asserted this in its nationalistic response to globalization, as will be seen in later chapters, despite enduring the heaviest of Western influence from its two closest partners, the United States and England.

The following two sections of this chapter will familiarize the reader with the traditional elements of Irish nationalism, how they were adopted, why they are important, and what can be afforded to their resiliency today. These elements include: the Irish independence movement, the Catholic Church, the foreign policy of neutrality, and the Gaelic movement committed to culture preservation in the early 21\textsuperscript{st} century. As the reader will see, these historical events and the ideals they fostered played an integral role in shaping what Irish nationalism constitutes today.

\textsuperscript{18} O’Sullivan p. 2
\textsuperscript{19} Bufon, Milan Nationalism and globalization: a Central European Perspective page 8 http://www.theslovenian.com/articles/bufon.pdf
2.1 Placing Ireland

Irish independence

The Irish War of Independence was a sporadic guerrilla campaign that occurred from January 1919 until July 1921. The war was prosecuted ruthlessly by the Irish Republican Army which, paralleling the political efforts of nationalist party Sinn Fein, hoped to break Britain's will to rule Ireland and create an independent Irish republic. The British retaliated by sending two new mercenary forces into Ireland, the Black and Tans and the Auxiliaries and the fighting took place principally in the Irish counties of Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Monaghan, Armagh, Clare, Kerry, and Longford. These counties converged to the independence cause with fewer than 2,000 Irish Republican Army volunteers facing over 50,000 British forces.²⁰

The struggle for independence from Britain has been the holy grail of Irish nationalism, a quest that for some in Ireland that is not yet wholly complete.²¹ To revise the traditional nationalist account of the independence movement, even in the global era, is not an easy task.²² Nationalist sensitivities remain acute in Ireland, especially concerning the importance of the revolutionary period on popular consciousness today. A universal political idea, republicanism, found its way into Ireland and took root, profoundly influencing its politics and history.²³ Republicanism refers to a system of government that fosters the common good rather than the individual good and promotes freedom and equality.²⁴ It is the natural essence of nationalistic ambitions in the case of Ireland. As a formative nationalistic force in Ireland, the challenges posed to it by

²¹ O’Sullivan p. 101
²² Hopkinson p. xvii
²³ O’Sullivan p. 102
²⁴ O’Sullivan p. 102
globalization and the manner in which the meanings of republicanism and nationalism in Ireland have become conflated have resulted in an intensification of either ideal amongst the Irish people.

Sinn Fein, the Republican Party in Ireland, was constructed out of the very idea of Irish independence and upholds its commitment to preserving sovereignty through its labeling as a nationalist party. Sinn Fein has and remains to be, the major political party in Ireland, where left to center parties like Finna Fail and Finna Gael historically have less of an influence. Any issues that threaten Irish sovereignty whether politically, economically, culturally and socially are met with a swift response from the Sinn Fein party.\[25\] This convergence of Republicanism and nationalism in Ireland created a synonymous relationship, placing Irish traditions and values in the foundation of both concepts and a threat to one as considered a threat to the other. What is important to note here is the Republican notion as a developmental feature of Irish nationalism. To the Irish in early post-colonial Ireland, the Sinn Fein Republican Party, the value of independence and the rise of a sovereign identity Ireland held equal value and were reinforcing features of a newly adopted nationalist cause.\[26\] The following section addresses the influence of religion on early Irish nationalism, where Republican beliefs and independence from Britain were strongly supported by arguably the largest governing institution in the country of Ireland, the Catholic Church.

**The Catholic Church**

The Catholic Church has always had a unique place in the discourse of smaller

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\[26\] Honohan p. 133
nations, particularly those heavily indebted to its presence and the beacon of hope it provides to those nations lesser developed. It is arguably one of the first truly ‘global’ institutions, however many point to the overall drop in religious participation around the globe as a result of globalization. What is important to consider in this section is the relationship between religion and the development of identity. This bond certainly existed in post-colonial Ireland, where the fight for independence and religious freedom served as the backbone of nationalism, making it inexcusable not to factor in the importance of Catholicism in the formation of Irish nationalism.

Anti-Irish and anti-Catholic discrimination were a combined, inherent part of British colonial rule in Ireland. This “religio-racial” oppression was found even as early as the 15\textsuperscript{th} and 16\textsuperscript{th} century, where the removal of both rich and poor Catholics from land in Ireland served at least three purposes: it provided an example of British power and punishment, freed up territory to be used as military compensation for war efforts and controlled a significant part of the labor force in Ireland which was predominantly native Irish.\textsuperscript{27} As depicted in Figure B below, the British idea was that Native Americans, the Irish and Africans were linked by their shared barbarity, or at least incivility, and for the Catholics in colonial Ireland, the culture’s acceptance of a Protestant or “Anglicanized” Ireland served as the benchmark of becoming a civilized nation.\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{27} Garner, Steve., \textit{Racism and the Irish Experience}, 1\textsuperscript{st} ed. (Dublin: Pluto Press, 2004) p. 74
\textsuperscript{28} Garner p. 75
Figure A: "The Pig and the Peer". This cartoon shows a life-size pig with an Irish accent pleading with the English Prime Minister. During the Famine thousands of Irish Catholic peasants were evicted to make way for animals that could "pay rent".  
(Source: http://www.nde.state.ne.us/SS/irish/unit_2.html)

Figure B: "Scientific Racism" from an American magazine, Harper’s Weekly, shows that the Irish are similar to Negroes, and should be extinct.  
(Source: http://www.nde.state.ne.us/SS/irish/unit_2.html)

During British colonial expansion in Ireland in the 17th century, a treaty, which promised religious freedom to the Catholics, was grossly violated and Catholics were
made subject to a severe set of "penal laws", passed in the Irish parliament, an assembly composed mainly of Protestant lords. Catholics were not permitted to keep school; to go beyond seas or for any form of education in the Catholic religion. Intermarriage with Protestants was disallowed, in case of the possession of an estate in Ireland and children of mixed marriages were always to be brought up in the Protestant faith. A Catholic or “Papist” as they were called could not be guardian to any child, nor hold land, nor possess arms. He could not hold a commission in the army or navy, or be a private soldier. No Catholic could hold any office of honor or position in the state, or be a member of any corporation, or vote for members of the House of Commons, or, if he were a peer, sit or vote in the House. It was also a felony to teach the Catholic religion, and treason, as a capital offence, to convert a Protestant to the Catholic faith.29

This discrimination continued and gained further constitutional backing in the 18th century when the political and civil liberties enjoyed by all Irish Protestants were again reaffirmed and declared “unconstitutional” for those of native, Irish Catholic descent. It was until the early 19th century, with the formation of the Irish separatist movement, as outlined in the section above, where an Irish response to the discrimination against Catholics took its initial form.30 The zenith of the early Irish separatist movement pressured Britain to repeal anti-Catholic legislation and, with the emergence of an Irish-nation state came a subsequent dominance of Catholic hegemony in the formation of an Irish nationalist identity.31 Brian Fanning suggests that the origins of the Irish separatist

29 Sanderson 1898 The British Empire in the Nineteenth Century Chapter V. page 1
30 Garner p. 74.
movement are found in what the native Irish believed to be apart of their freedom to practice Catholic orders as a collective race.\footnote{Fanning, p.15.}

Ireland’s post-colonial history enjoyed a close relationship with religious institutions, most notably the Roman Catholic Church. Much of what defines Ireland today to the outside world derives from the historical dominance, continued presence and overall influence of Catholic teachings in shaping everyday Irish life. Tom Inglis, in his book \textit{Global Ireland: Same Difference} describes this relationship as rooted into what some consider being the \textit{divine} element of Irish identity itself.\footnote{Inglis, Tom., \textit{Global Ireland: Same Difference}, 1\textsuperscript{st} ed. (Abingdon: Routledge Publishing, 2008) p. 57.} Inglis points to the Church’s post-colonial and post-globalized monopoly over the nation’s education, healthcare and overall social welfare system.\footnote{Inglis p.145.} He also emphasizes Catholicism’s nationalist value, given the storied history of the Catholic/Protestant divide with Northern Ireland and the importance of religious preservation in the Irish war of independence from Britain.\footnote{Inglis p.127.} This deeply embedded the desire to remain Catholic, as Ireland remains a nation heavily influenced by a Catholic way of thinking in public opinion, the media and the carrying on of everyday social life.\footnote{Inglis p. 15.} As evidence to this claim, Inglis offers the results of his attempt to discern whether a change in Catholic influence had occurred between post-colonial Ireland and the post-globalized state today. His determinations, over the course of 30 years, remained almost identical, with a comparatively high level of religious belief as well as practice. The findings indicated that nine in ten Irish were of the Catholic faith, nine in ten Irish believed in God and Heaven, almost two-thirds attended Mass at least once a week, and that almost half of
those responded they pray on a daily basis. Inglis does acknowledge the downward trend in Catholic devotionalism, as the Church’s power over morality and social life declines, mainly due to the Church’s hardships and scandals across the globe. However, his belief that Catholicism is as much as part of the Irish nationalistic identity today, as it was during Ireland’s early post-colonial history, supports the argument of this study; that contemporary Irish nationalism and its response to globalization is rooted in the very framework of its earliest traditions and principles and continues to dominate the nation’s response to external pressures. The focus of this chapter turns next to Ireland’s unique, and nationally supported position of neutrality towards foreign affairs and its role in the development of Irish nationalism.

A Neutral Nation

In 1939, at the onset of World War II, the Republic of Ireland declared its wartime neutrality, formally known as the “Emergency.” The concept of Irish neutrality, as will be referred to in the following, is defined by a set of variables confined to the Second World War period. These variables are: 1. the rights and duties which neutrality entails, particularly in regard to due diligence in defending and upholding those rights and duties; 2. the recognition of that neutral status by belligerents and others; 3. the disavowal of external help, which might compromise neutral status; and 4. the retention of freedom of decision and action.

Under the leadership of Taoiseach (president) Eamon de Valera, the decision to remain neutral was firmly rooted in the belief that this would be the will of the Irish

37 Inglis p. 15.
people. De Valera resisted the Allied/Axis cause as well as attempts by either side to waiver his moral stance. In fact, Ireland’s neutrality can be well supported by numerous practical reasons. The overwhelming Catholic presence in Ireland did not view cooperation with the Soviet Union, considered communists and aligned with the Allied powers, as ethically feasible for their involvement. On December 12th, 1941 Eamon De Valera delivered a brief, yet deliberate speech to the people of Cork, an Irish county in the southwest corner of Ireland, on the position of neutrality. A devoted Catholic, DeValera’s emphasis on the religious importance of neutrality can be seen in the following excerpt from his speech:

We are fully aware that, in a world at war, each set of belligerents is over ready to regard those who are not with them as against them; but the course we have followed is a just course. God has been pleased to save us during the years of war that have already passed. We pray that He may be pleased to save us to the end. But we must do our part.39

The “part” the Irish must accept, as DeValera argues, is in the national support for this neutrality policy as it is considered to be in the best interest of God. DeValera again refers to the role of the Catholic Church in the practice of neutrality when he later states in the speech:

I would ask the Parish Councils and the other parish organizations to make it a special concern of theirs to look after stores of food and emergency feeding.40

In his speech, DeValera clearly defines the role and image of the Church as aligned with the policy of neutrality, thus necessitating the support and encouragement from the Irish

people in not only a political fashion, but in a morally justifiable, religious initiative.

Now able to exercise sovereignty, Ireland stood up to Britain, valued the respect they received from the Catholic Church and prided their neutrality on the height of their moral grounds.

In addition to the Catholic support, two decades had yet to pass since the war of independence and the Irish civil war had come to a close. Involvement in yet another war, this now on the world stage, would be even more detrimental both economically and politically for Ireland, notwithstanding the lingering risk of social consequences. Ireland had finally reclaimed their ports from the British and an alliance with England could have serious implications on the social status of Ireland, especially with the influence of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) who posed a serious threat to evoking yet another civil war. Ireland’s armed forces were in no way prepared to handle the military obligations of partaking in any war, be it internally or externally, and there was little home front support to invest the money and energy necessary for such an immediate responsibility. For decades Ireland had fought against the evils of Britain, breeding this same contempt towards Germany could never be realized since there was nothing for the Irish people to familiarize with. With no concept of German culture or history, the Irish unknowingly felt the only possible threat came from England, which in dire contrast to Germany has a very close proximity to Ireland.

Ireland’s neutrality in World War II has become the staple of its position in foreign affairs. This controversial defense policy was a protective act of non-belligerency.
in the eyes of the Irish people, as well as a significant moment in Irish history where Ireland arguably entered world affairs for the first time. This policy of neutrality became ingrained in the morality of the Irish people, largely supported by the Catholic Church and upheld as a nationalistic response. Neutrality represents the Ireland’s current posit towards all types of foreign affairs and is seen as the nationalist prerogative with regards to Ireland’s newly global position today. This chapter turns next to the Gaelic movement under the period of the Pan-Celtic revival in the late 20th century and its role in preserving traditional, nationalist sentiment in Ireland.

2.2 Re-Inventing Ireland in the Global Era

Pan-Celtic Revival

Also referred to as the Pan-Celtic revival, the movement to preserve and reinstate the Gaelic language and Gaelic culture has reaffirmed the very meaning and collective goals of traditional Irish nationhood. Prior to independence in 1922, the Gaelic language and Gaelic culture did serve as a powerful contrast in opposition to England, however once Ireland became a sovereign state, its needs drastically changed. Ireland’s early independence history was marked by the struggle to develop sound governing institutions and contain high levels of emigration and disease. During this period, concerns over culture or identity preservation took on a relegated position amongst national interests.

During Ireland’s early globalization, improvements to infrastructure helped to create and reaffirm the cultural element of Ireland, prompting the establishment of various culturally-based education movements and the development of a major tourism
industry. What passes for Irish culture today, Irish folklore, Irish dance groups, and the well known global “Irish” pub, does not spring from, as Honor Fagan describes in his piece Globalization and Culture: Placing Ireland, from the “eternal wells of the Irish soul.” Rather, Fagan feels, these phenomena are, to a large extent, manufactured by the global cultural industry, or in other words, the perceptions drawn by those from the outside looking in. What is striking about this revamping of Irish culture cannot be found in the Irish niche of the global marketplace, but in the transformations contained within its borders, and especially amongst the native Irish people.

The Gaelic movement was geared towards “intensifying Irish traditions, preserving Irish ideals, and inciting enthusiasm about the Irish identity.” This initiative had an overtly nationalistic resonance, with its beliefs rooted in, what I see as, a commitment to continuity alongside the process of change. Observers of the contemporary cultural scene in Ireland are impressed by its dynamism and note the “new Irish appetite for expression of its own identity.” This appetite has increased the popularity of traditional Irish sports such as hurling and Gaelic football offered in the Gaelic Athletic Association and the Gaelic League. It has also resulted in the re-birth and increased presence of the Gaelic language. In urban and rural areas across Ireland, almost every word in English is accompanied by the Gaelic translation on signs, advertisements and the like. Skeptics, like Eric Zuelow in his essay “National identity

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44 Fagan p. 137.
46 Fagan p. 139.
47 Hayward p. 69.
and tourism in twentieth-century Ireland” argue that this linguistic revival is merely a tourism strategy to give this new Ireland an old world feel and that the use of Gaelic as a nationalist sentiment is extremely limited due to Irish trend of putting more importance on economic development than the preservation of cultural ideologies. Gemma Hussey, offers a differing opinion in her book Ireland Today: Anatomy of a Changing State. She argues that Ireland has overcome globalization’s “inexorable weakening of the Irish language” and has been able to “avoid the pressures…and construct for itself the eminently valuable commodity known as contemporary Irish culture.” Hussey supports this by declaring that language is the main repository of tradition, thus defending the re-emergence of Gaelic in the traditions and values that definitively represent Irish nationalism today. There is additional evidence that suggests the Gaelic language has not lost its nationalistic importance. In almost all levels of schooling (prior to University) in Ireland, Gaelic is mandatory along with a number of required proficiency and fluency testing at the end of every year. The demand for Gaelic studies within Ireland is also on the rise in national universities, with studies in Irish folklore, the Gaelic language and Irish mythology becoming complementary and more interconnected.

What is important to take from this section is the commitment and re-vitalization of the Gaelic language and the Gaelic culture in Ireland. Whether these efforts were intended to attract tourism or solely developed for economic purposes is irrelevant. What is extraordinary is the resurrection of the traditional Irish language and culture, allowing for the preservation of Irish culture to become of national importance. In an era now


defined by the call for greater integration in the global community, the dominant influence of Western and European powers, and the threat of losing Irish cultural individuality, the continuation of the Gaelic movement is a strong representation of the persistence of Irish nationalism.

The main determinants of Irish nationalism: independence from Britain, the influence of the Catholic Church and the foreign policy of neutrality definitively shaped the identity of post-colonial Ireland. These three elements have become increasingly intertwined, and as a result, dependent on the survival of one another as the foundation of Irish nationalism. The strength of these beliefs reaffirm themselves as a continued Republican initiative for sovereignty, the role of the Catholicism at the national and local decision-making levels and Ireland’s neutral posit towards world affairs. In addition to this, the Gaelic movement not only signified Ireland’s attempt to preserve its cultural individuality while entering a more global era, but also hardened these traditionalist ideologies and morals, one that Ireland’s nationalism reiterates and relies on. With this said, in the subject contained hereto, the reader can consider these determinants mentioned above to be defined and referred to as *Irish nationalism*.

From this historical analysis of nation building and identity formation amongst the Irish people we can begin to see what being Irish means to people of the Ireland, and how this identity formation shaped nationalism’s intensified response to the forces of globalization. Chapter Three familiarizes the reader with a more contemporary, globalized Ireland. This will provide a better understanding for the contemporary economic, social and political issues analyzed in Chapter Three.
Chapter 3: Global Ireland

No event since the end of the Irish War of Independence has had as great an impact upon the economic and political character of the Republic of Ireland as joining of the European Economic Community in 1973 (EEC), what is now commonly referred to today as the European Union (EU). Greater autonomy and market competitiveness resulted, facilitating economic development and more globally driven national production. For example in 1973, England accounted for 54% of total Irish exports and by 1994 that figure had dropped to 27.5%. In addition, initially one of the poorer members of the EEC, Ireland was entitled to receive developmental funds and became a major beneficiary of EEC funding. This structural aid contributed in many ways to Irish economic development, and these EU initiatives enabled Ireland to grow at a much faster rate than otherwise would have been possible.50 Ireland’s global momentum continued through the 80’s and 90’s and in 1999 Ireland formally adopted the Euro as its currency.51

One of the most important consequences of the Celtic Tiger era was this fortunate position within the international arena. Ireland’s joining of the European community created an environment conducive for rapid globalization. Surprisingly enough, while Ireland has become one of the world’s fastest growing, multicultural economies and ardent proponent of the European Union integration project, it still remains amongst the world’s leaders in measured levels of nationalism and support for national interests.52 The political nature of the European Union, as with that of the nation-state, means that

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51 O’Sullivan p. 159.
52 Eurobarometer 2008 Volume 70.1 http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb70/eb70_ie_exec.pdf
collective identity or, more specifically, identification with the project of European integration is of national significance. Looking back at what has been emphasized in previous chapters there is no doubting that Irish nationalism is strongly rooted in the preservation of its sovereignty. The recent EU trend in promoting further integration and creation of a regionalist identity gives rise to a controversial debate that strikes at the heart of Irish nationalism.

3.1 The Celtic Tiger

Ireland’s remarkable growth performance throughout the late 1990’s and into the first half of this decade had strong, positive implications for the future of its economic and social development. In many ways Ireland presents the ideal model of what happens to a country when it opens itself up to the forces of globalization. As an open-economy, Ireland’s reliance on open-trading markets, inward investment and information technology encompasses much of the neo-liberal economic strategies that are traditionally encouraged by industrialized countries. Mirroring the style of Asian economic development strategies and adopting the name Celtic Tiger, Ireland became a small, modern, trade-dependent economy with a growth rate averaging a robust 9% between the years of 1995-99. This impressive economic expansion was also reflected in the growth in employment where the total number of persons employed grew from 1.15 million in 1991 to 1.98 million by 2005 or 70% increase. As a result, the Irish unemployment rate in 2005 dropped to 4.3% or the lowest in the European Union. Migration into Ireland also increased during this period and contributed directly to the rise in the total workforce and productivity levels (Graph E). In addition to this,

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53 Hayward p. 28.
agriculture, once the most important sector, had been replaced by a growing industrial sector, which accounted for 39% of GDP and about 80% of exports in 2005. Many U.S. software and IT companies, such as Intel and Microsoft, increased their participation in the European market by making significant investments in Ireland. After negotiations to reduce trade barriers in 1997, trade between Ireland and the United States was worth around $12.0 billion, a 19% increase from the previous year. U.S. exports to Ireland were then valued at $5.9 billion, an increase of about 6% over 1996, and represented 15% of Ireland’s total imports. The stock of U.S. investment in Ireland at the end of 1998 was valued at $11.7 billion and has continued to grow strongly. In sum, a great deal of Ireland’s growth has been facilitated by the Irish state’s encouragement of openness and economic liberalization policies, in addition to its support of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and investment in the infrastructure of the information economy.  

In addition to its economic prosperity, The Celtic Tiger’s social partnership has also led to an overall improvement in infrastructure and quality of services provided across the population. As a percentage of GDP, Ireland’s expenditure on health increased dramatically during the Celtic Tiger and reached its highest point in 2006 where its public expenditure was nearly three times the investment made by private groups (Graph A). Similarly, the expansion of Ireland’s educational commitment is another factor widely credited with the success of the Celtic Tiger. Education expenditure increased from 4% in the mid 1960’s to 8% of GDP at the start of the Celtic Tiger in the late 1990. In addition to this, the percentage of the population that completed upper-secondary education

54 Linehan, Denis Dr., “Globalization: From Celtic Tiger to Celtic Snail” Electronic Copy of University of Cork Seminar on Ireland and Globalization 2002  

increased from 10-15% to 80% under the Celtic Tiger. As supported in Graph B, Ireland’s expenditure on education continued to grow well into the new millennium. Total public expenditure, as a percentage of GDP, also increased dramatically from 1990 to 2005 rising close to 5% annually (Graph C). Lastly, because of Ireland’s decision to open up its economy and welcome globalization, the Consumer Price Index (CPI) on all goods bought/sold within Ireland decreased significantly over the three period before the Celtic Tiger (1995-1998) and three-year period following (1998-2001) (Graph D). With a rise in the overall income per capita and employment figures mentioned above, a decrease in CPI allowed The Irish population to increase their standards of living and produce a more consumer-friendly economic environment to attract outside investors/trading partners.

The Celtic Tiger brought about uncontested improvements to the socio-economic environment of Ireland and created long-term solutions to some of the problems of underdevelopment that persisted across the nation pre-1990. However, the Celtic Tiger metaphor tends to be limited to the economic aspect of societal change and often neglects the full scope of political, social, spatial and cultural changes that Ireland has experienced in recent years. As outlined above, globalization has been kind to Ireland so far, however in the following one will see that more demanding times await the Irish economy as well as its populace, especially regarding the ways in which Ireland can mitigate the negative effects of globalization on society and way of life. The focus of this study turns next to the contemporary issues that have come about, due to globalization and the world-wide recessionary impact, to offer insight into the changing

56 Kirby p. 43.
57 Kirby p. 43.
58 Schmitt p. 7.
social/political landscape of Ireland their potential implications on Irish nationalism today.

Chapter 4: The Uneven Consequences

The character of Irish society has changed fundamentally since the 1980s, and because of globalization contemporary Ireland embodies a much more diverse and complex society—ethnically, demographically, and economically. From what these historical considerations have presented thus far, Ireland’s independence, religion and culture formations have definitively shaped the nation’s collective identity to what it embodies today. Consequently, the extent of globalization’s impact on this ethno-nationalism is beginning to surface and become measurable. In the sections to follow, Ireland will be examined in its post-globalized state, assessing the economic, political and social woes directly tied to the externalities of globalization and specific to the Celtic
4.1 Economic Crisis

Economic activity dropped sharply in 2008 as Ireland entered into a recession for the first time in more than a decade with the onset of the world financial crisis and subsequent severe slowdown in the property and construction markets. With Ireland’s economic growth now stagnant and at times negative, globalization’s damaging effects began to emerge and take shape across the Irish economic and social realm. Vast economic inequalities are routinely attributed to the housing crisis now present in Ireland, inequality in income distribution and the benefits of industry, rising unemployment figures and a decrease in the amount of inward Foreign Direct Investment. With Ireland seemingly at the limit of its developmental capacity, authors like Peadar Kirby in his book The Celtic Tiger in Distress breaks down all of these economic issues and offers what he feels characterizes Ireland in the post-Celtic Tiger economy. Kirby links the decrease of inward FDI directly to the employment figures in Ireland today and states that although Ireland’s employment during the Celtic Tiger rose dramatically, it was the service industry that witnessed the greatest employment growth and this in turn provided little confidence in Ireland’s ability to sustain a global shock like the one today. In addition to this, Kirby notes that the majority of those employed in the service industry are migrants, asylum seekers or members of the non-native Irish population which leaves many native Irish, with higher skill sets than non-native Irish, with little employment.

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60 TradingEconomics.com Country Profile: Ireland
61 Kirby p. 50.
62 Kirby p. 51.
opportunities due to a declining IT/Software and foreign industry sector.\footnote{Kirby p. 52.} In addition to this, because of rising unemployment and wealth inequalities, Ireland has succumbed to a devastating housing crisis and rise in overall homelessness across the country. These trends have further exacerbated income disparities, especially amongst those who own property and see the value of their holding increasing exponentially, particularly due to Ireland’s decision to abolish the residential property tax in 1994 and the absence of capital gains tax on residential property, than those who don’t.\footnote{Kirby p. 62.} This clear bias towards home ownership has created a native-Irish minority where exclusion continues to grow as long as the prices of property rise. Similarly, inequalities in how the benefits of the Celtic Tiger have been distributed among the rural and urban areas of Ireland also give rise to the persistent issues of continued poverty and income inequality. According to a table on page 50 of Kirby’s \textit{The Celtic Tiger in Distress}, growth in Ireland’s industrial sector between the years of 1994 and 2000 took place in urban areas over 80\% of the time. Completely dismembering the agrarian industry that once represented the majority of Ireland’s economy and export goods, growth of the industrial sector remained confined to the cities and left the rural areas both without the demand for the goods/services and without new employment opportunities. This section began by mentioning the importance of FDI and because of its continued decrease there has been a chain reaction across the various sectors that relied upon the opportunities it created. Because of these economic disparities, Irish society has become more divided and less cohesive than ever before. The focus of this study turns next to Ireland’s contemporary social issues, specifically linked to the Celtic Tiger and today’s global recession, which provides
sufficient evidence to judge the assumed links between Ireland’s economic growth and supposed social well-being.

4.2 Political Divisions

When describing nationalism in the case of Ireland, one must take into account the historical considerations noted earlier, and accept that issues related to territory and partition from England have embedded republicanism into Ireland’s nationalist ideology. The most common understanding of Irish republicanism since the mid-twentieth century has been understood as a commitment to separatist nationalism, in particular, the end of the British involvement in Northern Ireland, and the pursuit of this aim through a campaign of armed force. Isuelt Honohan in his book *Republicanism in Ireland* notes that this resentful sentiment has been transferred to the immigrant population now entering Ireland and as long as national economic pressures remain un-changed then the republican movement will continue to grow. While this may be true, the fact remains that there is still a strong democratic and liberal commitment within Ireland to keep the current socio-economic policies with regards to immigration and minority rights open and upheld. In order to fully understand the scope of republicanism and a potential right-wing populist movement, it is pertinent to look at the arguments presented by Michael O’Connell in his book *Right Wing Ireland?* In sum, he states that right-wing populism is a response to post-industrial uncertainty. Both hostility to outsiders and Irish history and psychology demonstrate that this is inevitable considering the current demographic changes. The Irish have never experienced this rate of emigration, being a

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65 Honohan p. 1.
66 Honohan p. 2-3.
country traditionally marked by its profound history of immigration. Furthermore, the Irish people need not feel guilty about adopting this type of policy since they have never been a colonizer nor do they feel they owe anything to lesser developed countries because of their recent independence from colonial Britain. Ireland today simply just has too many asylum seekers for its geographic size, many are not genuine and simply want to fraudulently enjoy a welfare-based existence and engage in crime. Many of these ideologies are expressed through political awareness campaigns and media channels despite Europe’s general dismissal of Ireland’s potential for such a serious populist movement. If this type of sentiment begins to parallel Irish nationalist ideology, then this type of movement is certainly plausible. In the following section, I offer conclusive remarks with regards to the contemporary issues within Ireland previously covered, the potential rise of extreme republicanism and the implications these might have on Ireland’s nationalist identity.

**4.3 Social Effects**

In an Ireland that is changing rapidly in terms of demographics and economy and yet remains still comparably traditional in its religious and social convictions and values, recognizing and negotiating the demands of individuals from different religions and ethnicities has indeed proven difficult. Michael J. O’Sullivan, in his work *Ireland*

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69 O’Connell p. 115.
and the Global Question, contemplates whether globalization has gone too far in the case of Ireland, targeting the case of the Celtic Tiger and its social/cultural effects. To determine this he looks at the way globalization has changed the expectations and the identities of the native-Irish people. O’Sullivan, as well as other authors covered below, focus on three main indicators they attribute to the changing native-Irish sociological framework. These include increases in the occurrence of racism or racially motivated violence towards ethnic minorities, changing national attitudes with regards to inward migration policies and the growing “double minority problem” between ethnic minorities and native-Irish. These challenges reveal the side-effects of globalization and are shaping a new Irish identity and nationalist sentiment across the native population.

The prevalence of racism today in Ireland has begun to change the dominant conceptions of the Irish national identity. Historically, racism and discrimination was colorblind in Ireland, where the Irish-Catholic majority was considered a minority and the Irish-Protestant as the elite class of all of Ireland. However today, an increasing number of racist assaults and abuse suffered by those whose skin color or ethnic appearance marks them non-native Irish, is clear evidence that there is a racist issue in Ireland. This is exactly the case in a town called Gort, in the southwest corner of the city of Galway in western Ireland. It is home to the largest minority community in Ireland, 3,500 Brazilians representing a third of the town’s population. Although recent, negative economic trends in Ireland have forced many of these immigrants back home for better

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71 O’Sullivan p. 6.
72 Doyle, Dr. John & Connolly, Dr. Eileen., “Racism in Ireland: Can we draw comfort from the recent election?”
Dublin City University, Electronic Copy of Lecture: Department of Government and International Relations 2002
http://www.dcu.ie/alumni/summer02/p8.html
p. 1.
work, many have called their experience living in Ireland, particularly with regard to the native-Irish communities, as difficult, full of racist undertones, and with little support concerning work visas, deportation issues and any other migrant related problems.\textsuperscript{73}

Clearly, with both groups (native-Irish and Brazilian immigrants) experiencing themselves as minorities there is an inherent clash of ideologies and sentiment towards their identities as being “Irish”.\textsuperscript{74} In addition to this, there is also a consistency in the accounts given by black and Asian Irish people or long-term residents in Ireland from ethnic minorities, that they encounter more abuse now than they ever did in the past. Attitude surveys carried out in Ireland would also suggest that we are not particularly tolerant when compared to other European countries.\textsuperscript{75}

To better understand why Ireland has witnessed such a recent shift in racial attitudes and non-tolerance, it is relevant to look at some of the arguments posed by Steve Garner in his book Racism in the Irish Experience. Garner argues that Ireland is traditionally a country that experienced high rates of emigration and with such a sudden, dramatic increase of immigrants, especially with the diversity of immigrants in skin color and cultural orientation, there was a sudden feeling of territorial “encroachment.”\textsuperscript{76} In addition to this, the largest growing sector of the economy, as mentioned previously, is the service industry where the majority of employment is dominated by this new immigrant population. With this point, as the Irish economic condition has dwindled and the demand for high-skilled labor/employment has decreased, civil unrest and political

\textsuperscript{75} Doyle & Connolly p. 1.
\textsuperscript{76} Garner p. 28.
strife has ensued across the nation with regard to the current, liberal immigration policies.\textsuperscript{77} Lack of available jobs to native-Irish and a decrease in the standards of living have generated opposition the idea of immigration as a whole and have fostered the creation of right-wing groups, which will be explained later, aimed at tightening immigration policies and the rights of non-native Irish minorities.\textsuperscript{78} In addition to this, Bryan Fanning notes that racism, in particular, towards “asylum seekers” and the “travelling communities” within Ireland has turned from a verbal cause to a violent and ever-pressing crusade within both rural and urban areas.\textsuperscript{79} Fanning states that the previous concept of accommodation has quickly shifted to exclusion and prejudice due to the pressures of a declining economic state within Ireland and the influence of conflicting religious beliefs.\textsuperscript{80} Michael O’Connell points to the familiarized link between asylum seekers and travelers and crime and that the widespread perception that those who come to Ireland to claim asylum or become apart of the travelling communities are fraudulent. He goes on to note a survey from 2002 where the majority of respondents claimed that many claiming political refugee status were actually economic migrants hoping to sponge off a generous Irish welfare system.\textsuperscript{81}

Lastly, the societal problem of creating a “double minority” has been continuously linked to the effects of globalization and the Celtic Tiger. Michael Boss in his essay Towards New Identities defines the double minority problem as the …actual behavior of individuals, subgroups and political parties as associated with another group of lesser or equal minority status by a majority party. In the case of Ireland, as Boss explains, the

\textsuperscript{77} Garner p. 33.
\textsuperscript{78} Garner p. 34.
\textsuperscript{79} Fanning p. 130.
\textsuperscript{80} Fanning p. 51.
\textsuperscript{81} O’Connell p. 98.
growing minority population within Ireland, comprising the travelling community, asylum seekers and other non-native Irish individuals, are in an economic and social, class struggle with the existing native-Irish minority. Boss goes on to stress the importance of Ireland’s background in dealing with national and ethnic identities and states that it is filled with prolonged attempts by settled and incoming groups to either defend themselves or extend their political dominance, both through physical force and, culturally, by labeling and defining themselves as different from the “others.”

As seen above, globalization’s externalities and the effects of a declining post-Celtic Tiger economic status is certainly testing the pressure points of Irish society today. A change too, has occurred, in the political representation of Ireland’s native-born populace. Some argue conservatism in Ireland is shifting, historically associated with traditional Catholic clericalism, to the form of right-wing populism. Nonetheless, hostility to foreigners and outsiders is ever-present and the general consensus among native-born Irish is underrepresentation in issues concerning their socio-economic status in relation to minority groups.

The eruption of social change in Ireland tallies with the views of some social scientists that globalization in general, and economic woes in particular, lead to great transformations in public and social life. The question now remains: Will its nationalism takes shape alongside these new Irish socio-political attitudes as or, will nationalism triumph over globalization and serve to reaffirm the traditional views of the Irish

82 Boss p. 8.
83 O’Connell p. 3.
84 O’Sullivan p. 8.
populace? In this chapter so far, the speed of globalization’s effects and their potency have been addressed. What remains is the assessment of their likely scope and globalization’s attempt to reconfigure Irish ethno-nationalism. This chapter’s portrayal of uneven development may serve as a useful and evocative backdrop for the continued analysis of the relationship between Irish nationalism and globalization in the subject to follow. My focus turns next to the case studies of two post-colonial, post-globalized nations and assess their nationalistic responses to the forces of globalization. In doing so, the reader will understand that correlations do exist between the process of globalization and the nationalistic responses from states like Ireland, where a recent brush with globalization and colonial past garner traditional sentiment into a more profound and intensified form.

Chapter 5: Is Ireland Alone?

Threat, Response and Re-Emergence

At the basis of this study is a renewed dependency on traditional modes of nationalism as globalization permeates a country with a historically fractured, colonial past. Like the cases examined below, nations often associate their traditions with those from which they were inherited, upholding the long-established specificity of political rule and culture. Globalization, whether directly or indirectly, calls for a re-definition of perceptions towards national tradition, creating, what is considered by some, to be the antithesis in the push for modernity and integration. Thus, traditions are measured against
the global demand for “progress” and “enlightenment.” The analysis below evaluates globalization’s impact on two nations found on the other side of the imperial divide, where nationalism is formed, out a previously controlled and now sovereign, political and cultural individuality. This chapter evaluates globalization’s effect on the nationalistic identity of two post-colonial countries, Croatia and Jordan, testing the strength of even the most recent nationalistic creations as a comparative element to the study of Irish nationalism covered in this work.

5.1 Croatia: Linguistic Sovereignty

The creation of Yugoslavia (also known as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians until 1929) witnessed the continuation of the trend toward tighter integration through the merger, and creation of a single language. This “Serbinization” in guise of an imposed linguistic unity was considered a threat to the very existence of a distinct, Croatian nation. Achieving independence from Serbian control in 1991, Croatia experienced a process of disintegration followed by population movements centered on the separation of Croatian identity from the Serbs and other South Slavs. With independence, there were demands on the Croatian government to assert a unique linguistic identity, yet worldwide economic, cultural and political trends all worked against particularistic programs such as this. This preservation of Croatian distinctiveness, specifically geared towards achieving linguistic sovereignty, was a significant factor behind the Croatian independence movement and played an integral role in the formation of Croatian nationalism today. Similar to the reemergence of Gaelic in the Irish Pan-Celtic revival, the establishment of a separate, Croatian language was

85 Gibbons p. 5.
seen as the most profound affirmation of nationalistic identity.

As Croatia entered the global era, maintaining this linguistic authenticity collided with the growing transnational integration of economies, cultures and political systems. Instead of conforming to international pressures, Croatia devised language policies and legislation that met the needs of its globalizing economy, as well as becoming a project of reinforcing national identity.\textsuperscript{86} Although Gaelic is not the “official” language in Ireland, what is significant about the Irish and Croatian commitment to linguistic sovereignty is the valuable role it played in formation of official nationalism, as well as the role it served in the nationalistic response to the forces of globalization. It can be understood that in either country’s response to globalization, independence and sovereignty were maintained through a nationalistic movement for linguistic authenticity.

5.2 Jordan: Durability of Traditions

Similar to the case of Croatia, pre-colonial threads in Jordan have persisted in shaping contemporary Jordanian nationalistic identity. The uprising of Arab nationalists against the authority of the Ottoman Empire in 1916, historically known as the Arab revolt, provided the framework and sovereignty to establish a new, Jordanian state that could freely determine its national identity. The Arab revolt blended Jordanian loyalties to Islam, Arabic nationalism and tribalism all into one, resulting in an ethos based on the preservation of religious, cultural and ethnic ties.

The grouping of these pre-state identities during the Arab revolt and its influence on Jordanian nationalism today closely resembles the unification of Ireland’s counties,

the influence of Catholicism and the importance given to the War of Independence in defining Irish nationalism today. As previously described in Chapter 2, the political geography of colonial Ireland was a scattered landscape of counties. The unification of these counties for the cause of Irish independence parallels much of what occurred amongst the tribes in the Arab revolt. Also, the influence of Islam during the Arab revolt mirrors that of Catholicism’s role in the Irish independence movement. And lastly, as the central myth symbol of Jordanian nationalism, the Arab revolt can be easily compared to the celebrated and legendary importance given to the War of Independence within Irish nationalism.

As for its nationalistic response to the effects of globalization, Jordanian identity has proven particularly resilient due to an upholding of traditional, regional *myths, memories, values and symbols* that maintain a durable, ethno-nationalistic sentiment. Jordan’s openness to globalization is characterized by its accession to the WTO in 2000, entry into the JUSFTA (Jordan-U.S. Free-Trade Agreement) in 2001 as well as its signing of the JEFTAA (Jordan-European Free Trade Association Agreement) and entry in the JEUAA (Jordan-EU Association Agreement) in 2002. Despite becoming more integrated into the world market through these agreements, Jordanian nationalism persists, defined by a continuation in the importance of the unification and absorption of its tribes, the preservation of its Arab culture and the sustained role of Islam on Jordanian identity.\(^7\) Similar to that of Ireland, the continuation of traditions alongside the progress of change reveals the level of practicality in nationalism’s response to globalization.

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The post-colonial states mentioned above have opened their doors to globalization and in many cases have experienced the effects upon ethno-national identity and nationalistic ideology. What is important to understand from this section are the analogous results found in countries with both a high degree of globalization and an observed nationalist identity. What we have is an ingrained, traditional nationalist sentiment meeting a caliber of force and change that a post-colonial, post-globalized state may not be so willing to accept, despite the almost certain economic gains. Understanding the experiences of other nations, with related if not the same historical make-up and nationalist tendencies as Ireland helps to answer the question posed by this chapter: is Ireland essentially alone, or unique in terms of its nationalistic response to globalization. As the Croatian and Jordanian nationalistic response suggests, Ireland is not alone in its commitment to the preservation of traditional nationhood, and affirms the theory of globalization as the exacerbating force due to either country’s nationalistic resurrection as forcibly drawn from the externalities of the globalizing process.

The following chapter introduces the reader to an overview of the contemporary threats to Irish nationalism and poses the modern, Irish National Question, assessing the present limitations to Ireland’s exercise of popular sovereignty and cultural individuality.
Chapter 6: The Modern, National Question

Until the current wave of globalization came upon Ireland transforming it into the Celtic Tiger, the dominant framework in public life has been what is referred to as the ‘National Question’ the pursuit of sovereignty and independence from Britain. My main argument in this section is that, even if Ireland’s globalization issues in a new epoch, it will still be guided by the same principles that motivated key events in Irish history: namely, a desire to maintain sovereign and independent, retain cultural distinctiveness and preserve traditional norms and values. So far, this study has revealed to us that the forces of globalization have, in many ways, required the Irish people to “re-imagine” their status as a nation into one that more closely resembles a homogenized nation-state. Economic progress has afforded Ireland one of the highest positions in the international arena, at the top of the world’s most globalized nations. These external pressures have threatened culture preservation, and have been compounded by the growing influence of Anglo-Saxon culture, the imbalance between traditions and modernization as well as in

88 O’Sullivan p. 2.
89 O’Sullivan p. 2.
heeding to the integration constraints of the European Union. As you have seen in the historical considerations above, the concept of the ‘nation’ gained tremendous strength throughout Irish history. However, the belief that it could be adequately represented within the global context has become less popularly acceptable within Ireland, aggravating traditions and nationalistic tendencies. This is where I feel the modern, national question derives from and where my initial claim of globalization as the exacerbating force of nationalism exhumes its most profound support. The following sections assess three contemporary threats, undoubtedly rooted in the globalization process, that test the resolve of a traditionalist ideology in Irish nationalism.

6.1 European Integration

Though the increasing openness of borders, especially in European countries, together with the project of European integration, suggests that Europeans live in greater

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harmony now than before, recent trends also support the view that, rather than dampening down nationalism in favor of world-citizenship, globalization can exacerbate and trigger a nationalistic response. Economic progress and transition have led to greater uncertainties in the construction and understanding of nationalistic identity. The seismic shifts in Irish public opinion on national economic and political issues raise the question of the effect all this might have on Irish attitudes towards the European Union. Will the crisis drive people into a negative reaction to European integration or, as many commentators have argued recently, will it lead them to seek refuge in the EU economic tent and thus strengthen their commitment to Europe. What is presented here is not so much concerned about the ways in which Ireland identifies with modern European culture or way of life. Rather it is to highlight a recent, negative shift in the attitudes towards Ireland’s European integration, which aforementioned was one of the leading factors in the economic success of Ireland’s early globalization.

Isuelt Honohan, mentioned in Chapter 4 of this study, decries the EU push for greater control over Ireland’s economic and political affairs stating …Ireland’s role in the EU is inimical to the traditional republican ideals of sovereignty, citizenship and accountability. Chris Rumford displays an even stronger sentiment in his work The European Union: A Political Sociology. Rumford states: …a republic is a bounded territorial political community, within which popular sovereignty, self-determination and democracy takes primacy… asserting his nationalist vision in contrast to the centralizing

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92 European Union Survey Archives Eurobarometer 70.1 page 3 http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb70/eb70_ie_nat.pdf
93 European Union Survey Archives Eurobarometer 70.1 page 3 http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb70/eb70_ie_nat.pdf
tendencies of globalization and regional integration.\textsuperscript{94} This kind of sentiment derives from the Irish republican ideology covered in Chapter 2 as well as the anti-globalization movement in Ireland voicing skepticism over EU integration due to law-making policies that seemingly limit autonomy and prioritize integration over social equality.\textsuperscript{95}

In contrast, EU proponents like Kevin Laffan argue that the European development project in Ireland was conducted with a high degree of compatibility between the national project and European integration.\textsuperscript{96} Katy Hayward also supports this, emphasizing harmony and not uniformity as such among the member states of the EU leads to the ideal model of European community, being one of multidimensional identities, including regional, national, and European, rather than a supranational European identity.\textsuperscript{97} However Laffan’s faith in the EU’s good intentions and Hayward's plan for a European utopia both fail to convince the researcher that this tightening integration can be accepted by the emergence of these small, newly independent states where national legitimacy is based on the very attainment of its popular sovereignty! Thomas Friedman refers to this as the “Golden Straitjacket” a situation where a national economy can prosper only by playing according to the rules of the global market system, a system which will lead, to some extent, to global cultural homogenization.\textsuperscript{98} As seen in the results of the Eurobaromater surveys below and the case analysis of the Lisbon Treaty in section 3.3 of this chapter, Ireland has worked diligently to avoid this regionalization scheme by the European Union, which, as authors such as Michael O’Sullivan and Katy

\textsuperscript{94} Honohan p. 93.
\textsuperscript{95} Honohan p.133.
\textsuperscript{96} Hayward p. 87.
\textsuperscript{97} Hayward p. 29.
Hayward suggest, has intensified due to effects of globalization’s demands on the EU entirely. What is also significant, are the principles behind Ireland’s refusal to become more economically, and arguably, culturally homogenous with the European Union, making the argument of Ireland’s nationalistic response as directly tied to the exacerbating forces of globalization more congruent. These principles were laid out in Chapter Two and continue to represent Irish nationalism today, as has been argued by this section and supported in Chapter Seven of this study.

6.2 Anglo-Saxon Influence

The term Anglo-Saxon refers to the English-speaking world, notably the countries of America, Australia, Canada and the UK. Globalization was born out of two Anglo-Saxon empires, the British trade and land based empire of the twentieth century and the American hegemony of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Given that the globalization process is frequently criticized for emasculating indigenous cultures and spreading Anglo-Saxon values, the emergence of such a trend could pose a serious challenge to the idea of Irish nationalism as rooted in its indigenous values and beliefs.

The most noteworthy of Anglo-Saxon influence came during the Celtic Tiger era, where U.S. multinational companies dominated the foreign investment rush, providing Ireland with increased opportunities for its labor force and access to new skills and technology. With the swift arrival of these U.S. companies, so too did their Anglo-Saxon corporate structure and lifestyle, which, in addition to Ireland’s historically close ties with the U.S., only placed further stress on the development of Ireland’s cultural identity.

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100 O’Sullivan p. 45.
The implications on nationalism were not as clear as initially envisioned, and the researcher has come to understand that Ireland has borrowed elements of the Anglo-Saxon identity more so than adopting them as their own. As Honor Fagan describes, Ireland has been unable to avoid the pressure of Anglo-American media and construct for itself what is known as contemporary Irish culture.\(^{101}\) However, observers like Denis O’Hearn in his book Inside the Celtic Tiger saw this sudden influx of Anglo-Saxon culture in Ireland’s globalizing era as an opportunity for Irish nationalism to express itself throughout the Western world. O’Hearn also notes that the Celtic Tiger era paralleled the height of the Pan-Celtic movement in the revival of Irish traditional language, culture and values.\(^{102}\) The researcher agrees with what O’Hearn suggests here, and argues that, instead of accepting conformity and the standardization of Anglo-Saxon culture, Irish nationalism capitalized on its newly global position and affirmed its cultural individuality to those that sought to implement their own as superior.

Although it could be argued that Irish nationalism wasn’t exacerbated in an ‘aggravated’ sense, there is no doubting the intensification that occurred within the Irish nationalistic response to Anglo-Saxon influence during its globalizing era. This was particularly evident in the Pan-Celtic revival, which was rooted in the Irish traditions Irish examined in Chapter Two that combated the growing influence of Anglo-Saxon culture standardization during the Celtic Tiger era and maintains its presence today as will be evident in the survey data collected offered in Chapter Seven of this study.

\(^{101}\) Fagan p. 139.
6.3 The Lisbon Treaty

The modernizing aspect of globalization can test the flexibility of a nation in numerous ways. Will change from progress be accepted? Are there benefits? Are there drawbacks? Does an imbalance exist? These are all questions forced upon the Irish in 2008 when a new set of ratifications were introduced under the Treaty of Lisbon.

The Treaty of Lisbon was signed by the heads of state and government of the 27 EU Member States on 13 December 2007. Its intent was to reform the functioning of the European Union following the wave of globalization and, since 2004; the treaty has increased the number of EU member States from 15 to 27. Ratification of the Lisbon Treaty began in December 2007 and continued throughout 2008 and 2009. While most EU Member States have ratified the treaty by parliamentary vote, Ireland put the text to a referendum, revealing the symbiotic fit between the Irish nation-state and the European Union.\(^\text{103}\)

Some of the major treaty revisions Ireland has voiced serious concerns over include: under the new treaty, the original 55 national vetoes - allowing any member state to block EU measures that are against their national interests - are abolished. It also calls for a revision to the anti-abortion laws in Ireland, challenging the nation’s Catholic traditions and values directly. It will also change the voting weights member-states have in EU decisions, potentially undermining Ireland’s influence and opening the door to interference in national taxation. The most worrisome for Ireland, deals with the threat to its constitutional sovereignty, where ratifications would now enshrine EU law above all Irish law. Additionally, these ratifications would require all EU member state’s foreign,

\(^{103}\) Lisbon Treaty.org Website: Lisbon Treaty-Introduction
http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/wcm/the-lisbon-treaty.html
defense and security decisions to be taken unanimously across the bloc, compromising the future of Ireland’s historically staunch position of neutrality.¹⁰⁴ The ratifications necessitated a nationalistic response due to the challenges posed by the treaty to Ireland’s sovereignty, Catholic traditions and policy of neutrality. As you will see in the following two chapters, Irish nationalism was exacerbated and intensified due to the treaty’s regionalist agenda, which, as argued above, was constructed out of globalization’s demands on the EU and the call for greater integration.

The three factors presented in this chapter: European integration, the influx of Anglo-Saxon culture and the ratification of the Lisbon treaty arguably derive from the globalization process and take root in the demands found in the European region today. They have all, in some way, tested the resiliency of traditional ideologies in Ireland and have failed to construct or revise a new Irish identity that lends itself more to globalization’s demands. This is largely due in part to the continued hardening of Irish nationalism, as emphasized in previous chapters, and the nation’s unique dependency on residual sentiments that have dominated much of Ireland’s history and relationships both domestically and abroad. The nationalistic responses noted in this chapter have gone uncontested and continue to reaffirm themselves in the wake of further calls for European integration, greater assimilation into the Anglo-Saxon culture and in the ratifications to Ireland’s system of traditions and values under the Lisbon Treaty.

This chapter has familiarized the reader with the three major challenges posed to contemporary Irish nationalism and has provided insight into the traditional sentiment

¹⁰⁴ Peterkin 2008 EU Referendum: Ireland rejects Lisbon Treaty page 1
that dominates the Irish response under study. What is important to take from this chapter is Ireland’s commitment to only letting globalization go so far. Ireland’s economy, like many other small countries, historically depended on the benefits of becoming more global and opening up to the forces of globalization. However, there is a pragmatic approach to dealing with globalization in Ireland today. This is no more evident than in the nationalistic response to three challenges presented above. Ireland’s obvious commitment to the EU, welcoming of Anglo-Saxon corporations and signing on to the Lisbon agenda has certainly brought about positive economic change.\footnote{O’Sullivan p. 41.} However, as these initiatives attempt to gain greater control or influence on the Irish state, the Irish people uphold their traditions and ideologies through this type of nationalistic response. As you will see in the next two chapters, my conclusions above concerning Irish nationalism’s relationship with globalization are factually supported in two modes of analysis. Eurobarometer social surveys conducted between 2006 and 2009 and a content analysis of personal survey data collected on Irish attitudes and sentiments in 2010.
Chapter 7: Methodology

According to Floyd Fowler in his piece “Preparing Survey Data for Analysis: Survey Research Methods” one of the best (and sometimes the only) way to learn what people think or how they act is to ask them. Fowler states that survey research is a method of data collection in which information is obtained directly from individual persons who are selected so as to provide a basis for making inferences about some larger population. In survey research, he adds, concepts are operationalized through questions, and observation consists of recording respondent’s answers to these questions. The method, therefore, is especially suited for studies in which individual persons are the units of analysis and the principle concepts employed pertain to individuals.

Analytical research on Eurobarometer social surveys and reflections on personally collected survey data (Contemporary Irish Attitudes 2010) are strong indicators of whether globalization has played a significant role in triggering the recent intensification of Irish nationalism. The advantages and disadvantages as well as the reliability of these modes of analysis are accounted for in the following chapter. The importance of
Qualitative research is in its exploration of attitudes, behavior and experiences through such methods as interviews or focus groups and specific case analysis. The analysis of collected survey data allows for an in-depth opinion from participants, while also affording the researcher a method for gathering information on recent trends or shifts in public attitudes or sentiments. Contrary to the quantitative method, qualitative approach generates verbal information rather than numerical values. Instead of using statistical analysis, the qualitative approach utilizes content; to explain and comprehend the research findings, inductive and not deductive reasoning is used. The data collected from these two research instruments were analyzed for interpretation. The researcher also used case studies, articles, and literature to support the survey results.

The fieldwork for Eurobarometer 70.1 was conducted within the month of October in the year 2008 by the European Union Commission. Eurobarometer 70.1 is a biannual national reports that allows us to track Irish (and European) public opinion over the time span of globalization’s developments, using a wide range of indicators that capture attitudes to both national and European issues. What is critical here is the year in which the surveys were conducted. 2007-2008 marked the beginnings of the global recession, as well as a strengthened Irish nationalist sentiment in the Irish rejection of the Lisbon Treaty. Eurobarometer surveys are conducted with extreme diligence and accuracy. The credibility and respect these surveys are given by literature found in this study, as well as around the world attest to their representational legitimacy. Section 6.1

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107 European Union Survey Archives Eurobarometer 70.1 page 3 http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb70/eb70_ie_nat.pdf
will provide a list of the surveys chosen, their significance and an analysis of what they reveal about Irish nationalism and globalization to the reader.

In addition to the Eurobarometer surveys mentioned above, the researcher’s customized survey, as will be referred to by its title: *Contemporary Irish Attitudes: 2010*, was conducted between the months of January and March 2010. This survey was designed to gain a better understanding between the relationship of globalization and nationalism, and more specifically to determine if correlations do exist between the re-emergence of Irish nationalism and globalization as the exacerbating force. The researcher sent out 50 questionnaires, in an attempt to mitigate the effects of random sampling error (where the total number of responses anticipated may not be met due to random error) and achieve a minimum of 40 completed questionnaires, as Floyd Fowler suggests, will give the most representative data within a certain population when conducting an *anonymous, public, impersonal survey* such as this. Respondents were not told of the source of this questionnaire and were not made aware of its origins. They were only informed that this survey was a contemporary survey concerning Irish national attitudes. The sample survey format and questions are located in Appendix 1 of this study. Section 7.2 will provide the reader with additional background, reasoning behind the questions and the results of the personal survey formulated for the purposes of this study.

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109 Fowler p. 147.
Chapter 8: Analysis

8.1 Eurobarometer Social Surveys 2006-2009

The surveys below were chosen from the EU’s Eurobarometer online archives using *purposive sampling* (on the basis of their contribution and relevance to the topic under study) in order to further examine the proposition that increasingly adverse opinions towards globalization’s demands have manifested themselves into a commensurate re-generation of nationalistic ideology.\(^{110}\) These surveys all suggest an inward, and outward, nationally-driven response to the influence of external forces like the European Union and the global economic decline. For instance, the question in Figure 1 asks the respondents to judge the current situation of the national economy as a whole. Figure 2 then displays the net change reflecting the shift national opinions towards the economy. Figure 3 asks the respondent to consider: their personal job situation, the financial situation of their household, the economic situation in Ireland and the employment situation in Ireland and asks whether they are optimistic or pessimistic concerning these four Irish economic indicators over next twelve months. Figure 4 asks

\(^{110}\) Fowler p. 142.
the respondent if they feel Ireland is, right now, going in the right or wrong direction. Figure 5 asks the respondent to display their level of trust in four different European institutions. And Figure 6 asks the respondent to display their attitudes towards four European Union development statements.

The researcher felt this collection of surveys accurately depicted the recent, negative shift in Irish attitudes emphasized in this study. The data in these surveys reveal a lack of faith in governing bodies or institutions outside of Ireland, and portray a resurgence of faith in the Irish nation itself. There is arguably an exacerbating force at hand, where the Irish have a profound, renewed confidence in the abilities of the nation during the current global slowdown. The researcher argues that this sentiment was triggered by the slowing of globalization and the externalities of the process felt in contemporary Ireland. This is highlighted by Ireland’s negative outlook on the economic situation in Ireland (Fig 1&2), the dismal predictions made by the Irish concerning the future of their economy in the next year (Fig 3), their pessimism with regards to the country’s direction (Fig 4), a severe drop in trust of European Union institutions (Fig 5) and a considerable drop in the credibility given to EU policies by the Irish people (Fig 6). What is important to consider here, from the data and trends found in these surveys, is that there is a clear, exacerbated response due to the forces of globalization and its slowed state. The researcher, as aforementioned, argues that this response is nationalistic in the case of Ireland and, as survey 7 indicates below, there is a resurgence of faith in the Irish nation itself.

Results

Figure 1
Public faith in the Irish economy in the most recent survey shows a dramatic collapse in confidence, with Irish people’s assessment of the Irish economy, as of October 2008 decidedly negative (Fig. 1). While 76 per cent of Irish respondents rated the economy ‘good’ in autumn 2007, only 14 per cent now hold the same view. Eighty-four per cent believe the current situation is ‘bad’, considerably higher than the EU average of 69 per cent (Fig. 1).

Figure 2
The ‘feel bad’ factor among Irish respondents is confirmed by examining some other economic indicators (Fig 2). Eight out of ten Irish respondents say they view the situation as ‘bad’, above the EU average of 63 per cent for this indicator (Fig 2).

The ‘feel bad’ factor among Irish respondents is confirmed by examining some other economic indicators (Fig 2). Eight out of ten Irish respondents say they view the situation as ‘bad’, above the EU average of 63 per cent for this indicator (Fig 2).
Whereas Irish people in the recent past had expressed optimism about future job growth, the situation is now very different with a 52 point negative assessment on this indicator (Fig 3). Irish people continue to have the most pessimistic expectations in this regard in the EU (Fig 3).

Figure 4

Recent Eurobarometer surveys have asked respondents whether they believe their country is going in the right direction or not. Figure 4 shows the level of response among Irish people since the question was first asked in the summer of 2006. As one can see, on this indicator there has been a substantial turnaround in public opinion in the past two and half years. Since the summer of 2006, when nearly two thirds of respondents (65 per cent) said that in general they believed the country was going in the right direction, there has been a steady decline in the number of Irish people who have held this view (Fig 4). In spring 2008, nearly as many people believed the country was going in the wrong
direction as believed the country was going in the right direction (Fig 4). But as of October 2008 the situation is very different. Only 15 per cent of respondents now think the country is heading in the right direction while the vast majority (three out of every five respondents) believes the country is heading in the wrong direction (Fig 4). This is four times the number of people who believe the country is going in the right direction (Fig 4). This assessment of the country’s direction is amongst the lowest ratings in Europe and is well below the EU average of 28 per cent (Fig 4). This low evaluation must be considered in the context of the current economic difficulties felt by the slowing effects of globalization.

Figure 5
The Irish attitudes towards Europe seen above do reveal an empowerment of Irish sentiment towards Ireland and exhibit a steady decline in Irish faith in European governing institutions (Fig 5).

Figure 6
Figure 6 highlights shifts in attitudes to four other major policy issues facing the European Union, namely the development of a common foreign policy, the development of a common defense and security policy, further enlargement of the EU and the emergence of a two-speed Europe (Fig 6). Ireland’s support for the Euro and monetary integration remains very high; however there are slight dips in support for a common defense and security policy in the EU, due in large part to Ireland’s nationally enjoyed position of neutrality and non-belligerency (Fig 6). The most dramatic, downward swings in public attitudes in Ireland are towards the control and size of the European Union, which as noted above, has compromised the autonomy and popular sovereignty of the Irish state (Fig 6).

These surveys from the Eurobarometer archives offer a chronicled description of Irish attitudes from 2006-2009. The largest shift in Irish public opinion towards its nationalism and globalization came in 2007 with the onset of the global economic crisis; however the year preceding the beginnings of the recession as well as the years that followed portrays a gradual decline in Ireland’s faith in the governing bodies of Europe and a counter-resurgence of support in the Irish nation itself. The following section includes the researcher’s customized survey for this study called Contemporary Irish Attitudes 2010, which is purposively similar to the Eurobarometer surveys included above as an attempt to reveal that status of Irish attitudes towards nationalism and globalization today.

8.2 Contemporary Irish Attitudes: 2010
Contemporary Irish Attitudes 2010 is a cross-sectional survey, where data was collected from respondents only once. This design allows the researcher to describe populations and relationships between variables in those populations at a given time, but does not allow the researcher to say how the characteristics or relationships have developed or will develop over time. To mitigate this, the researcher has included Eurobarometer surveys from 2006-2009 and the historical background provided in the earlier chapters of this study. Cross-sectional studies are best suited to explanatory and descriptive studies, but together with a strong theory and proper data analysis, they can provide some basis for explanation. Coupled with the evidence and support presented in this study as well as data/literature analysis provided for above, this survey design should help test the hypothesis of this study and help the reader understand the observed patterns in terms of discerning the argument at hand.

The researcher chose to use a close-ended question format which forces the respondent to choose an answer from a limited number of options. This allows for quick-processing, simplicity and ensures the relevance of responses. The options for response included: Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree. Fowler suggests that this type of ‘feeling thermometer’ is ideal for this particular type of survey design and questionnaire format. The first question asks: Do you consider yourself nationalist? The researcher used this as a “warm-up” question, which as Fowler suggests, gives the respondent an idea of what the survey is essentially about. The second question asks: Do you think it is important to have been born in Ireland to be ‘Irish’? The researcher felt that this question indicated a sentiment rooted in the belief of

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111 Fowler p. 139-43.
born-nationalism, where *jus soli* (law of ground) is, or is not, considered an important factor to nationalist identity formation. The third question aims to determine religion’s degree of influence on the Irish asking the respondent: *Do you believe being Catholic is a large part of your Irish identity today?* The fourth question asks: *Do you believe it is important to speak Gaelic?* Like question three, the researcher draws upon the influence and presence of Gaelic within Ireland today, determining if these traditional elements of Irish identity still hold value today. The fifth question poses the issue over sovereignty upon the respondents, and whether the concept of independence and autonomy remain a part of national identity asking: *Do you agree that maintaining sovereignty is essential to Ireland’s future?* Question six asks if the respondent if he or she supports Ireland’s foreign policy of neutrality? The purpose of this question is to affirm the historical support noted for Ireland’s unique foreign affairs position and determine whether this stance is still supported today. Question seven asks: *Are you proud of Ireland’s achievements in the arts and literature?* This question sheds light on the section covered earlier on the Gaelic movement that occurred during Ireland’s globalization, and questions whether this preservation of Irish culture is still supported today. Question eight asks the respondent to share his or her view on their collective identity as Irish but also European. It asks: *Do you believe it is important not only to be Irish but also European?* Question nine is what Fowler describes as a ‘direct’ question, revealing the most valuable data directly centered on the argument/topic at hand. The question asks the respondent *do you believe that globalization has compromised your Irish heritage?* The respondent’s answer here will reveal a positive or negative sentiment towards globalization, supporting or in contrast to the argument presented in this study of globalization as an exacerbating
force of nationalism. Lastly, question ten is similar to that of question nine, but asks the respondent for a more general assessment of globalization in order to determine if there is a correlation or difference present in Irish attitudes towards economic progress and cultural constraints. The question asks: *Do you believe that globalization was good for Ireland?*

**Survey Details**

This *purposive sampling* survey was conducted on behalf of the researcher’s intent to determine whether present nationalistic sentiment in Ireland had remained in its traditional sense, and whether its recent intensification was in response to the forces of globalization. A total of 50 questionnaires were distributed between the 25th and 30th of January 2010 to willing participants of an accredited Irish University (Dublin City University). Questionnaires were sent facsimile, printed upon reception, distributed and the responses were sent back to the researcher via international postal mail, received on the 2nd of March 2010. 43 of the 50 questionnaires came back completed with all necessary fields accounted for. 4 of the questionnaires came back incomplete with some fields of the survey unanswered, and 3 questionnaires distributed went unaccounted for.

**Representativeness of the results**

Each regional sample is representative of the population aged 18 years and over. Results were weighted to population marginals in terms of sex, age, region, and economic activity.

**Sizes of the sample**

50 questionnaires were distributed in total, 43 were accounted for
Questionnaires
The questionnaire prepared for this survey is reproduced at the end of this section (see Appendix 1).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Do you consider yourself nationalistic?</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Do you think it is important to have been born in Ireland to be ‘Irish’?</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Do you believe being Catholic is a large part of your Irish identity today?</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Do you believe it is important to speak Gaelic?</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Do you agree that maintaining sovereignty is essential to Ireland’s future?</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Do you support Ireland’s foreign policy of neutrality?</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Are you proud of Ireland’s achievements in the arts and literature?</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Do you believe it is important not only to be Irish but also European?</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Do you believe that globalization has compromised your Irish heritage?</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Do you believe that globalization was good for Ireland?</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data gathered from the survey *Contemporary Irish Attitudes 2010* reaffirms the researcher’s belief in a clear nationalist sentiment, rooted in the traditional ideology of Ireland. As outlined in chapter two of this study, the determinants of Irish nationalism are based on three historical elements: independence from Britain and national sovereignty, the influence of the Catholic Church and Ireland’s policy of neutrality in foreign affairs. The researcher’s intent in labeling some figures in the color red is to emphasize the question asked and the overwhelming significance it had with the respondents. Consequently, the questions which received the strongest support from the respondents dealt specifically with the three determinants of Irish nationalism outlined in this study. First and foremost, 81% of respondents considered themselves to be nationalistic, taking into account the 29 that indicated they strongly agree as well as the 6 who simply agreed. Secondly, the third question asks whether being Catholic is a large part of the respondent’s identity today. 95% of respondents indicated yes, pointing to the strong influence and presence of the Catholic Church and its importance to shaping Irish identity today. Two respondents disagreed with this question, however based on the growing multiculturalism of Irish universities these respondents may not have been of the Catholic faith and thus disagreed with the notion. Thirdly, the fifth question asks the respondents if popular sovereignty in Ireland is essential to its future. 93% of respondents supported the necessity of a continuation in Ireland’s autonomy, combining the 31 that strongly agreed and the 9 that simply agreed. With such enthusiastic figures, the researcher is apt to assume that any type of threat to Ireland’s ability to freely govern remains of considerable importance today. Lastly, the sixth question asks the respondent if they support Ireland’s foreign policy of neutrality. 82% of respondents backed this
policy and there was no sign of disagreement, indicating a majority in favor for Ireland’s traditional stance towards other nations.

Another interesting figure from this survey is found in the results of question nine, which asks the respondent whether globalization has compromised their Irish heritage. Although there was one respondent who strongly disagreed, five who disagreed and two that were unsure, 82% of respondents still indicated that globalization has had a negative impact on traditional Irish culture. Combining the results of this question, and the four questions mentioned in the above paragraph, it should be clear to the reader that there is a preservation of traditional Irish ideals, which arguably have defined Irish nationalism as well as Irish heritage, and that globalization has negatively impacted them intensifying their importance to the Irish people.

Chapter 9: Unity in Diversity
This study has shown that globalization has exacerbated the way in which nationalism in Ireland is expressed. The researcher’s efforts in this study challenged the popular notion that Irish nationalism would turn both complacent in that the so far successful globalization of the Irish economy would lead to an exuberant celebration of Ireland’s success and the mistaken notion that there is something intrinsically exceptional in the way globalization has been adopted in Ireland. The Irish case has shown the exact opposite to be true, exhibiting an even stronger nationalist sentiment and continued reaffirmation in an era of overwhelming globalization.

This study has provided an understanding of the Irish situation and features of its nationalism today. Chapter One of this study defined the relationship between globalization and nationalism and provided a context by which to refer to in the assessment of Irish nationalism during the Celtic Tiger era. Chapter Two highlighted the historical events that shaped Irish nationalism and Ireland’s dependence on its popular sovereignty, independence, Catholicism and foreign policy of neutrality in the development of its nationalistic identity. Chapter Three examined the dramatic economic progress that globalization brought to Ireland and Chapter Four argued how its uneven consequences have challenged the concept of traditional Irish nationhood economically, politically and socially. Chapter Five introduced two comparative elements in examining the relationship between globalization and Ireland, focusing on the nationalistic responses of two nations, Croatia and Jordan, to the forces of globalization which, as shown, were strikingly similar to the Gaelic revival and the Irish commitment to culture preservation. Chapter Six assessed the Modern, National Question in Ireland, highlighting globalization’s three current, major threats to traditional Irish nationhood which include:

the pressure of further European integration and homogenization, overwhelming
standardization of Anglo-Saxon culture and its loss of Irish constitutional sovereignty in
the Lisbon treaty agenda. As introduced in Chapter Seven and argued in Chapter Eight,
Eurobarometer surveys, the researcher’s personally conducted survey Contemporary
*Irish Attitudes 2010*, and the analysis of the Irish rejection of the Lisbon Treaty displayed
a clear, fixed nationalist ethos in Ireland, one that remains dependent on a traditional set
of values and persists despite the constraints posed to it by globalization.

The idea emphasized in this study, that nationalistic roots are in fact exacerbated
by globalization, has been supported analytically as well as empirically. There is no
doubting the existence of a contemporary, observed nationalistic identity in Ireland.
*Contemporary Irish Attitudes 2010* as well as the results gathered from the “NO” vote to
the Lisbon Treaty wholly support the notion that traditional Irish nationalism was the
reactionary element to globalization’s externalities in Ireland. The following sections of
this chapter below further this notion, and highlight the power and influence of residual
ideologies, a traditional sentiment that globalization seemingly undermines, as well as
answer the question of whether Ireland’s nationalism is still pertinent today.

### 9.1 Hardening of a Residual Ideology

The re-emergence of nationalistic conflicts around the world has bred new life
into the question of whether globalization transcends nationalistic ideologies or
exacerbates them. Marxist critic Raymond Williams provides a persuasive description
of why such a recent intensification of nationalist sentiment is occurring during this
globalizing era. Williams points to the tension found among three aesthetic ideologies in

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113 O’Sullivan 2006 Ireland and the Global Question page 107
nation-building where a culturally dominant naturalism, a residual realism and an emergent modernism aim to balance one another alongside the forces of globalization. Williams argues that a nation can become severely displaced through this interaction, tending to rely on what he refers to as a “residual” ideology for guidance in national identity formation and or continuation of nationalism. What Williams refers to as “residual” are the experiences, meanings and values, which cannot be verified or cannot be expressed in terms of the dominant or impending culture, are nevertheless practices on the basis of the residue—cultural as well as social—of some previous social formation.

The dominant or impending culture, as seen in the Irish case, is the modernized culture, or Western/Anglo-Saxon ethos previously mentioned in this study. The residual ideology in Ireland is the rise of a traditional, Irish nationalistic response to globalization’s cultural dominance.

As also seen in the cases of Jordan and Croatia, there is no doubting the presence and hardening of a “residual ideology.” Williams defines this sentiment as emergent and oppositional, demonstrated in either country’s nationalistic response to globalization’s call for culture homogenization and linguistic standardization.\(^{114}\) The same can be said in the case of Ireland, as outlined in Chapter Four, where the uneven consequences of globalization clearly triggered a revival of a nationalistic sentiment, one that this study argues is directly linked to the very origins of Irish national identity and the nation itself. What this study has found, and relies on, is the cultural dominance of nationalism in Ireland, as well as Croatia and Jordan, whose identity formations are exceptionally new, and are still developing, when compared to those historically larger, more industrialized

countries. So long as a commitment to preserving national identity exists in countries like Jordan, Croatia and Ireland, their interaction with globalization will be one marked by pragmatism, where the economic and even political benefits of the globalization process will be welcomed, but the all too familiar cultural and societal woes will challenge residual ideologies and the nationalistic framework in place, one that Williams describes as an unchanging, unchangeable and uniform cultural monolith.\textsuperscript{115}

\section{9.2 Durability of Dissent}

From the historical information presented thus far in this study, the reader may be left with the question of whether Irish nationalism is still “durable” today. The Irish rejection of the Lisbon treaty in 2008, as well as the Irish rejection of the treaty in September of 2009 is a profound example attesting to the strength of Irish nationalism and commitment to preserving traditional identity in Ireland. Keeping in mind the ratifications outlined in Chapter Six, Ireland’s decision to be the only potential signatory nation to hold a public referendum and subsequently reject the Lisbon Treaty shows thorough, public support for the preservation of traditional, Irish interests. For example, the reasoning behind the most recent Irish “No” vote in 2009 (67.1% against) was evaluated by a post-Lisbon Treaty Irish Public Opinion Survey conducted by the Flash Eurobarometer Commission of the European Union (an accelerated group that gathers social evidence of shifts in public opinion in the EU towards EU policies). This Flash Eurobarometer survey was conducted from the 3rd to the 7th of October at the request of the European Commission Representation in Ireland. Altogether, 2,000 randomly selected

\textsuperscript{115} Kartiganerr and Abadie p. 219.
Irish citizens aged 18 and older were interviewed by telephone in Ireland. In October 2009, the most often cited reason for voting ‘no’, comprising 17% of all replies given by ‘no’ voters was the desire to “protect Irish identity and sovereignty.” The second reason (with 10% of the replies) was a “lack of trust in European politicians.” In addition, almost as many of the replies referred to the fact that the Irish have already voted ‘no’ in the first referendum and/or that they disagreed with the second referendum on principle (9%). Other frequently mentioned reasons were “to safeguard Irish neutrality in security and defense matters” (6% of replies). Also, surprisingly enough, a very large percentage (27%) of the replies did not fit any of these categories above. This question was open-ended and respondents were invited to reply in their own words, with many responding negatively to the issue of anti-abortion laws under the treaty as well as the loss of constitutional legitimacy in Ireland.\textsuperscript{116}

In an effort to mend the differences over the ratifications in the Lisbon Treaty and smooth over EU relations with Ireland, a new set of “guarantees” were made to Ireland in a newly revised, October 2\textsuperscript{nd} 2009 version of the Lisbon treaty. These guarantees included a strengthening of Ireland’s position within the EU with the assignment of an Irish High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.\textsuperscript{117} European Union regulations and directives will not be known as EU laws and that approval on further amendments to the treaty will have to pass through Irish national government.\textsuperscript{118} This will allow for issues like anti-abortion laws in Ireland and other ethical components of the Irish constitution to remain unaltered by the Lisbon Treaty agenda. The EU will also have no power, in the case of Ireland, to demand a collective security force and allows for

\textsuperscript{117} See Appendix 3 page 4
\textsuperscript{118} See Appendix 3 page 7
Ireland to maintain its position of non-belligerency and foreign policy of neutrality.\textsuperscript{119} Worker’s rights and taxation laws will also remain under national supervision in Ireland, rather than delegated by the EU, preserving Irish national sovereignty in areas where the EU attempted to gain control in the original Lisbon Treaty.\textsuperscript{120}

The Irish change to a “YES” vote on October 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 2009 was wholly dependent on the guarantees laid out by the EU in the second referendum. These guarantees satisfied all of Ireland’s key areas of concern, and more important, ensured the continuation of a distinct, nationalist identity and sovereignty. As the only country to hold a national referendum and the only potential signatory nation to reject the Treaty in 2009, the Irish response shows an unparalleled commitment to the preservation of traditional values and nationhood. As outlined previously, the original Lisbon Treaty sought to reform elements of Irish nationalism, cutting down on Ireland’s ability to govern autonomously, standardizing Irish laws with EU laws, thus infringing upon religious and ethical norms, and exposing a historically un-militarized, neutral nation to the turbulence of global affairs. The Irish “NO” vote is an absolute indication of an exacerbated response to globalization, rejecting the EU’s liberal economic and homogenized cultural initiative in an effort to create a more collective, global identity.

\textbf{Conclusion}

The case of Ireland epitomizes the enduring power and potential of nationalistic identity, perhaps even especially, in the context of its exacerbated relationship to

\textsuperscript{119} See Appendix 3 page 3
\textsuperscript{120} See Appendix 3 page 2 & 4
globalization. Ireland’s traditional identity continues to respond and shape popular perception in Ireland, drawing together the past, present and future in order to ensure continuity alongside the process of change. This study has highlighted the uneven consequences of globalization in Ireland and the reactionary nature of nationalism in giving voice to the Irish people. Globalization brought about a changed environment in Ireland, a country where traditional, core principles and values are prided in their ability to remain constant. As emphasized in this study, globalization called for revision and even an upheaval of these elements defining Irish nationhood. It was through a unified nationalistic response that Ireland was able to remain the critical constant in a changing global environment, distance itself from the idea of becoming a homogenized “nation-state” and succumb to yet another period of less autonomy.
Graph B


Education - Expenditure on education - Expenditure on educational institutions

Expenditure on educational institutions in tertiary education
As a percentage of GDP, 2005

Graph C


Public finance - Public expenditure - Health expenditure

Expenditure on health
As a percentage of GDP, 2006 or latest available year
**Public social expenditure**

*As a percentage of GDP*

![Graph D](image)

**Graph D**


Prices - Prices and interest rates - Consumer Price Indices (CPI)

**CPI: all items**

Average annual growth in percentage
Per 1,000 inhabitants, annual average

- 3-year average at end of period
- 3-year average at beginning of period

Countries: Poland, Japan, Turkey, Germany, Slovak Republic, Russian Federation, Netherlands, France, Hungary, Finland, New Zealand, Denmark, United Kingdom, United States, Greece, Austria, Belgium, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Czech Republic, Switzerland, Australia, Canada, Italy, Ireland, Luxembourg, Iceland, Spain.
Appendix 2

Format of Survey Distributed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1. Do you consider yourself nationalistic?
2. Do you think it is important to have been born in Ireland?
3. Do you believe being Catholic is a large part of your Irish identity today?
4. Do you believe it is important to speak Gaelic?
5. Do you agree that maintaining sovereignty is essential to Ireland’s future?
6. Do you support Ireland’s foreign policy of neutrality?
7. Are you proud of Ireland’s achievements in the arts and literature?
8. Do you believe it is important not only to be Irish but also European?
9. Do you believe that globalization has compromised your Irish heritage?
10. Do you believe that globalization was good for Ireland?

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