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ECONOMIC GLOBALISATIONS: IRELAND IN THE EU – 1973–2003

GOSPODARSKA GLOBALIZACIJA: IRSKA V EZ (1973–2003)

Gerry O'Reilly

Ireland in hyperactive economic transitions: View of the Dublin suburb of Tallaght. Ireland is continuing to experience an economic boom linked to globalizations (photography Valerie & Gerry O'Reilly).

Irska v hiperaktivni ekonomski preobrazbi: pogled na Tallaghat, predmestje Dublina. Na Irskem se nadaljuje hiter ekonomski razvoj, ki je povezan z globalizacijo (fotografija Valerie & Gerry O'Reilly).

Economic Globalisations: Ireland in the EU – 1973–2003

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ABSTRACT: Irish experiences since joining the EEC/EU (1973) have been closely linked to globalisations and changing core-periphery relationships. Transitions in economic patterns in time-space contexts became especially evident in the 1990s, but what is interesting is that Ireland did not follow classic development paths associated with Western economies. With EU membership, Foreign Direct Investment must be seen in context and scale. For insights into this, the strategic areas of manufacturing, agriculture and tourism are examined. Like tourism with incoming and outgoing visitors, globalisation is a two-way process with imports, exports, and inwards and outwards investment. Analysis of Ireland and globalisation would be incomplete without reference to Northern Ireland, which is too often the case.

KEYWORDS: Ireland, EU, globalisation, economy, FDI, manufacturing, agriculture, tourism.

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Gospodarska globalizacija: Irska v EZ (1973–2003)

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IZVLEČEK: Irske izkušnje so bile od pridružitve EEC/EZ (1973) tesno povezane z globalizacijo in spreminjanjem jedrno-perifernih razmerij. Prehajanje gospodarskih vzorcev v časovno-prostorskem kontekstu je postalo posebno očitno v 90-tih letih, zanimivo pa je, da Irska ni ubrala klasičnih razvojnih poti, ki jih povezujemo z zahodnimi gospodarstvi. S članstvom v EZ morajo biti neposredne tuje investicije prikazane v kontekstu in obsegu. Za vpogled v to članek ponuja pregled proizvodnih, kmetijskih in turistično pomembnih območij. Globalizacija je tako kot turizem, s prihajanjem in odhajanjem obiskovalcev, dvosmerni proces z uvozom, izvozom in notranjimi ter zunanjimi investicijami. Analiza Irske in globalizacije bi bila brez omembe Severne Irske nepopolna, kar pa se še prevečkrat zgodi.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Irska, EZ, globalizacija, FDI (direktne tuje investicije), proizvodnja, kmetijstvo, turizem.

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1 Introduction

The Irish experience since joining the EEC/EU in 1973 has been closely linked to globalisation processes, and more specifically economic globalisation. Of course, this process was underway before 1973, and Ireland was part of it in a myriad of political-economic and core-periphery relationships. Changing patterns in time-space contexts became particularly evident with rapid economic developments in Ireland in the 1990s; but what is interesting is that Ireland did not follow classic development paths associated with core economies in Europe and North America. Many factors have contributed to this, and for insights into these, the strategic areas of manufacturing, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), agriculture and tourism are examined. Tourism with incoming and outgoing visitors mirrors globalisations involving two-way flows in imports and exports, and inwards and outwards investment. A discussion of Ireland and globalisation would be incomplete without reference to Northern Ireland, which is too often the case.

2 Theoretical frameworks: globalisation, core-periphery and Ireland

Economic (r)evolutions have occurred throughout Ireland's history at various scales largely based on innovations and diffusions, depending on transport and communications. This has been taking on global proportions since the 17th century with the expansion of European powers, and Ireland's experience of being Britain's first colony in its rise to empire. However, since 1945 globalisation of production, consumption and capital works on truly global scales.

The Industrial Revolution was enhanced by Fordism in the 20th century reinforcing the powerfull core economies. Ireland possessing limited resources was peripheral to such Revolutions with small industrial areas concentrated in the Belfast, Derry, Dublin and Cork regions. However, Irish emigration fuelled the workforces of Fordisism abroad ensuring mass production for mass consumption in the USA and Great Britain, as rural depopulation continued at home without a viable secondary sector to absorb them. Many core regions moved into post-Fordism by the 1970s; mass production shifted to semi-peripheral economies including Ireland due largely to cheaper labour costs. From the 1980s on, globalisation of finance with movements of capital and trade outside national borders was enhanced by free trade neoliberal arguments. Transnational/multinational companies now operate at global scales little constrained by state boundaries. A key factor in this is Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) (Knox and Agnew 1998; Johnston et al. 1994). Now Ireland has one of the most open economies in the world.

Strong recurrent economic patterns exist but with local and regional variability; for interpretation, World Systems Theory suggests division of the world into core, semi-periphery and periphery economies in an evolving global market system in which the economic hierarchy of states is a product of long-term cycles that dominate the dynamics (Wallerstein 1979; 1983; 1984). Because of historical long and short wave dynamics, the system is not sclerotic; spatial economic patterns change as in Ireland in the 1990s. Salient characteristics of cores are advanced technology, diversified products, high percentage of workforce outside primary and secondary sectors, high skills and wages. The opposite is found peripheries along with resource-exportation; in semi-peripheries including the newly industrialised countries (NICs) they display characteristics of the latter two categories. Organisation, resource distribution, demography, political systems, specialisation and trade also play key roles (Knox and Agnew 1998; Johnston et al. 1994).

Historically, Ireland's geographical location at the extremity of Western Europe, and periphery of the south-east English economic core was viewed as debilitating development. With hi-tech and communications revolutions and US strategy for penetrating the EU market, Ireland has become a bridge between the USA and Europe; with analysts referring to Irish policy lying somewhere between Boston and Berlin, and tilting towards Boston, especially when it comes to social policy. Spotting rapidly changing economic patterns in Ireland in the 1990s, and similarities witnessed in newly industrialised countries (NICs), or so called Asian Tigers such as Japan and South Korea, commentators began to speak of the Celtic Tiger (MacSharry and White 2000; Sweeney 1998).

In the European context, Ireland being peripheral till the 1990s clearly illustrates the dominance of core-periphery cleavages existing at international scales displaying selective changes in development patterns and globalization of economic activity. However, core-periphery cleavages exist also within core and peripheral economies, as is clearly evidenced in the Irish experience. The economic effects of globalization of activity are exemplified by developments in Ireland in contrast to the increasing dependency of peripheral countries.

Globalisation processes: With modern capitalism spearheading globalisation, and time-space contractions, production has taken on new patterns of a post-industrial world and corporate business. This could be interpreted as a response to Fordism, saturation of domestic consumer markets and highly organised political economy including unions, social welfare, overseas competition and cultural diplomacy, with consequent de-industrialisation of core economies. Technology and communications are salient keys to compression of space in this global economy; these were prioritised by the Irish authorities since the 1980s (Knox and Agnew 1998).

The response of business to changes in the 1970s was concentration – elimination and absorption of smaller businesses; and centralisation – giant conglomerate companies, or the transnational corporations (TNCs). By the 1990s, 90% of mergers in the USA involved conglomerate companies which may lead to monopoly capital. The combined overseas output of US-based TNCs is larger than the GNP of every country in the world except the US itself (Knox and Agnew 1998). Ireland ranked as the fourth largest recipient of Foreign Direct Investment inflows in the developed states in 2000, with the largest input from the USA (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

Core economies became saturated with their own consumer products (Fordism) necessitating the creation of positional or status symbol goods including hi-tech products. There was a certain homogenisation of markets between core countries, especially with the EU targeting economies of scale, and exportation from core economies to elites in peripheries (Knox and Agnew 1998).

After 1945, corporations used foreign direct investment in overseas manufacturing targeting local markets and circumventing national regulation as in Western Europe. Growing competition from the NICs in the 1970s came largely due to low-wage labour. For instance, in 1992, the hourly cost of production workers in manufacturing industries in Ireland, UK and Australia were 60% of those for the US; and in Brazil, Mexico and Asian Tigers they were 10%–15% (Knox and Agnew 1998).

The concentration of high-level management in world cities, and clusters of R & D, hi-tech and innovative culture milieus in core countries became apparent as did the new international division of labour (NIDL), clearly illustrated by the car industry in the quest for least production cost locations, economies of scale, penetration of local markets and dual sourcing of products. Ford's first branch car assembly plant outside the USA was created in Cork, in the south of Ireland where Henry Ford's family had emigrated from in the 19th century.

3 Geographical and historical contexts

The total area of the island of Ireland is 84,421 sq. km, of which the jurisdiction of the Republic of Ireland (RoI) covers 70,282 sq. km and that of the United Kingdom some 14,139 sq. km in Northern Ireland (NI). Population numbers are 3.9 M and 1.5 M people respectively.

Ireland displayed all the characteristics of a typical colonial economy until the 1970s. Since the 1600s different colonisation strategies led to the creation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (1800). This led to large-scale deindustrialization, except for the northeast of the island and Ireland experienced the last great famine in Europe (1845–48). After a failed uprising (1916) and successful War of Independence (1919–21), Ireland gained independence with the creation of a Free State in the South and the North remained part of the UK of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (1922). The south eventually became the

RoI, and the state remained in a classic neo-colonial economic situation. Upon accession to the EEC (1973), some 55% of Irish exports still went to the UK. Opening up to the global economy and reducing it's dependence on the UK was an important psychological step; the percentage of Irish exports to non-UK destinations has now increased from 45% to 76%. Till the 1950s Ireland tried economic protectionist policies, which were not a success with Ireland remaining structurally peripheral till the 1960s. In preparation for seeking EEC membership, in 1965 Ireland signed the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement. With EEC membership a boom followed, but this was overtaken by global recession (1970–80s).

4 Ireland's struggle to join the core economies

The Republic joined the EEC in 1973 as a peripheral economy in relation to mainland European states and by the 1990s was Europe's most dynamic economy recording a growth rate three times the EU average. By 2001, the Irish GDP growth rate had exceeded the EU rate by factor of 4, and the OECD rate by factor of 3. However, Ireland's GDP overstates GNP by about 20%, so GNP/living standards should be on a par with the EU by 2005 and above this by 2010 (Enterprise Ireland, 2002). Such a shift in economics is partly attributable to EU membership, but also to a convergence of factors in Ireland. Experience in other EU economically peripheral states such as Portugal and Greece, despite following similar EU policies and funding, has been different to that of Ireland.

In the struggle to reduce core-periphery disparities and implement subsidiarity within the EU and within Ireland, EU funding, especially strategic EU Structural and Cohesion Funds were important, and there has been the huge impact of FDI linked to the changing locational behaviour of transnational companies (TNCs). A skilled labour force and adaptation to hi-techindustries was nurtured by state investment in education, training and technological innovation. This coincided with the global revolutions in hi-tech and E-commerce. Pragmatic innovative government policies were helped by a Social Partnership approach, involving government, trades unions and NGOs. This economic revolution in Ireland was facilitated by demographic changes and a young labour force due to the baby boom of the 1970s, which was coming on stream by the 1990s. Openness to international trade in goods and services, and to new ideas became evident. Dynamism was also reflected in the cultural sphere which had a knock-on effect on tourism.

The cultural renaissance is exemplified by Irish activity at home and abroad in the music industry including tradition and modernity with such artists as U2, the Corrs, Sinead O'Connor, Westlife, Boyzone and Van Morrison. On the Eurovision stage, Ireland won the song contest once in the 1970s, twice in the 1980s and three times in the 1990s showing its minority culture to millions of spectators in Europe and elsewhere, as with the modernised traditional Riverdance display. This cultural expression was an international statement of *joie de vivre*, self-confidence on the Euro stage despite size, and demise of colonial/neo-colonial complexes. Equally, the Irish pub, which had always acted as a neutral meeting ground in social relations in Ireland, and as the unofficial embassy in *Diaspora* lands for networking and integration became part of global culture in Paris, Ljubljana, Washington, Moscow, Canberra and Beijing.

5 Ireland's strategy in the EEC/EU

Irish survival in the EU was largely based on two key approaches; support for the commission and maximizing sovereignty sharing. Supporting the strength of the Commission as the only body able to propose legislation was necessary, otherwise the larger states would have had too much leverage. Ireland sought to maximize sovereignty-sharing relating to issues in respect of which larger states might seek to preserve their power to advance their own interests at the expense of small states. This put Ireland in the camp of positive active Europeans looking for future economic and political integration (Sheehy-Skeffington, 2003).

Recognition of poor economic performance and bureaucratic barriers to a single market were felt; and the need to strengthen the EC economically and politically necessitated harmonisation of national legislations. During the Irish presidency in 1984 sensitivity to national interests was balanced with a strict timetable for closing issues, the Irish chairmanship of the special James Dooge committee went unchallenged when the presidency rotated after six months. His committee eventually provided the institutional adjustments laid out in the Single European Act that revitalised EU decision-making.

Such Irish enthusiasm for the European project is reflected by the fact that 3% of the EU institutions' staff is Irish nationals, despite the Irish population being less than 1% of the EU's; and Pat Cox has been elected President of the European Parliament. Despite this, Ireland ranks among the bottom three, with Italy and Portugal, when it comes to putting into force laws coming from Europe. The electorate's rejection of the Nice Treaty, which included enlargement proposals, was a powerful reminder to the national government and authorities in Brussels that top-down institutions with Euro-speak had to become more transparent, comprehensible and accessible to ordinary EU citizens. This was partly corrected before the second round of voting took place in Ireland and the Treaty was passed. Ireland hosts the first presidency of the enlarged Europe of 25 states in 2004 (Sheehy-Skeffington 2003).

On joining the EEC/EU, some 55% of Irish exports still went to the UK, while this had become more balanced by 2003 with 23%. Financial transfers from the EU have played a major role in development. In 2000, Ireland's gross receipts from the EU amounted to £2.6 billion on a net basis, i. e., 1.5% of GDP. While during the 1980s–1990s, EU net transfers averaged 4% of GDP per annum (Enterprise Ireland 2002). Concerning receipts from the EU budget, minus payments to it, in 1973 it stood at 1.2% of GDP, 3.6% in 1983, 5.5% in 1993 and an estimated 1.1% in 2002 (Department of Finance 2003). Hence, the ratio of net transfers has steadily decreased in line with Ireland's development and growth in contribution to the EU. Nonetheless, EU funding has been very important in terms of the long-term contribution to the economy in such areas as infrastructure and agriculture.

6 Economic transitions in the 1990s

A major indicator illustrating changes in the Irish economy is the increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP). By the end of 2001 it had reached almost 130% of the EU average; only surpassed by Denmark and Luxembourg. Ireland's GDP per capita remained at approximately 60% of the EU average from 1960 onwards, moving to 65% in the 1980s; past 70% of the EU average in 1990 and exceeded the EU average in 1999.

Table 1: Annual GDP growth 1997–2001.

RoI	OECD	EU	Finland	Spain	Netherlands	Sweden	UK	Germany
9.7%	3.2%	2.6%	4.4%	3.9%	3.3%	3%	2.7%	1.8%

Source: OECD.

The table illustrates that Ireland's GDP growth rate exceeded that of the OECD by a factor of 3 and that of the EU by a factor of 4. The next best EU performer was Finland. While GDP measures the output of an economy, GNP measures the national income, and both are largely similar in most countries; however a significant difference exists in the case of Ireland. High output levels associated with the foreign owned sector give rise to a substantial outflow of earnings and dividends that are deducted in measuring GNP. GDP figures overstate national welfare levels as measured by GNP by some 20% (Enterprise Ireland, 2002).

Although the economy slowed in 2001, it still registered a 6.8% GDP growth. Slowdown was due largely to a weaker international economy, contractions in hi-tech and ICT sectors, disruption due to the 'foot and mouth' outbreak in the strategic cattle industry, and shocks affecting the US and global economy after terrorist strikes on September 11th.

GNP is expected to average 3% growth over the period 2003–05 on the basis of a favourable international environment, sustained improvements in productivity, renewed domestic and international competitiveness, and the effective tackling of supply side constraints according to the Irish Economic, Social and Research

Institute. GDP growth slowed in 2003 against a backdrop of weak global demand. However, a recovery in 2004 in line with upturns in the wider European and global economies is forecast and the rate of economic growth is expected to peak at 4.5% in 2005. In global terms Ireland ranks 10th out of 60 countries, and in regional ranking, 6th out of 17 states (EIU 2003).

7 Key economic developments in the 1990s

GDP growth averaged 8.5% per annum in the latter half of the 1990s. The improved budgetary position with the debt/GDP ratio declined from 93% in 1983 to 35% in 2001; the second lowest debt relative to GDP in the EU. Levels of output growth were employment intensive; successive successful National Agreements underpinned wage and income moderation. Progress was made in raising income per head towards EU averages; and macroeconomic stabilisation was maintained with the public finances. In 1980s, the government took measures to tackle growing imbalances in public finances and high inflation rates.

Public finances: Major improvements were made in Ireland's public finances in the 1990s, reversing 20 years of deficits. From a deficit of 8.6% of GDP in 1987, the budget increased to a surplus of 4.6% in 2000, due largely to lower interest outlays and increased tax revenues (Enterprise Ireland, 2002). Strong economic growth was accompanied by reductions in the general tax burden and in personal and corporation tax rates. Debt service as a percentage of tax revenue also fell from 30% in the early 1990s to below 10% in 2000. However small defecits are expected in 2003–04. Increasing demands from public expenditure came from commitments of the National Development Plan (2000–06) which will average approximately 5% of GDP per annum (NDP 2000–06). Growth rates of the 1990s put major strains on infrastructure highlighting shortcomings that are beginning to negetatively impact on invard investment. The NDP is the blueprint for continuing economic progress and provides for investment over the period in infrastructure, productive investment, education and training, regional development and social inclusion. Ireland still satisfies the 3% defecit limit and other requirements of the Fiscal Stability and Growth Pact of Euro-Zone states in contrast to France and Germany.

The NDP set out a strategy for upgrading national infrastructures which is the most ambitious public investment plan ever targeted in the state; it plans an investment of £52 billion, with 90% coming from the Irish Exchequer and the balance from existing EU programmes, essentially the Structural and Cohesion Fund and CAP. Via private sector investment in public-private partnerships, it is hoped to raise £2.4 billion. Projects include the Dublin Port Tunnel, work on over 40 national roads, a LUAS tram system for Dublin, 180 water/wastewater schemes, and 500 health service projects. Without these projects, economic growth will not be sustainable. As well as investment in road and rail facitities, in the 1990s, continued investment in air and sea port facilities has been instrumental in attracting international trade especially with EU partners. With private cars projected to increase by 60% by 2011, and freight traffic expanding in line with GDP, further infrastructural upgrading is required. Planned investment allocation in the current NDP is over 100% more than in the NDP 1994–1999.

Demographics and employment: Ireland's population has now reached almost 4 million people, the highest level in over 130 years and emigration trends engendered by the Famine (1845–48) and urban industrial pull factors in North America and Britain. Annual population growth is 1.3%, the highest in the EU. This strong labour supply is a result of the baby boom in the 1970s. Some 36% of the population is in the 20–44 year old category, and 33% aged 19 years or less. Declining birth rates in the 1980s, will be counterbalanced by the return of Irish emigrants and immigration from Irish Diaspora countries, as well as the EU, Central and Eastern Europe, and refugees, while the 1990s witnessed increases in the female labour force participation rates.

In contrast to classic dependency ratios evident well into the 1980s, Ireland's dependency ratio is among the most favourable in Europe. According to UN projections, by 2005, it will be 45.9; the second lowest in the EU; while old-age dependency will be 17.1, the lowest in the EU. Labour supply stands at 1.4% annually. Within the Euro-zone, Irish wages rank in 11th place. Employment levels increased by one-third, while unemployment levels dropped by over 50% since 1993. In the mid 1980s, unemployment averaged 17%, in contrast to the 9% EU average. Between 1986–96, with a GDP growth of 5% per year; employment rose at 26%/year in contrast to the 7% EU average. From 1987 to 1996, there was a 14% increase in employment in manufacturing in contrast to decreases elsewhere, e. g., UK 17%, Germany 30% (Breathnach, 1998). Current unemployment rates are 4.3%, in contrast to 15.7% in 1993; against a 20% increase in the overall labour force since 1993. The annual increase in employment of 3% per annum since 1993 in Ireland may be contrasted with the 2% annual increase in the USA and 0.5% in the EU. Current employment projections till 2004 is for a growth of 1.5% per year (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

8 Changing population and in-migration

Ireland has moved from being one of the most homogenous countries in the EU to a state with a high rate of population change in time, scale and place according to the Immigrant Council of Ireland (2003). Ireland's non-national population has grown; in 1991, the OECD surveyed 22 countries' foreign population and estimated that Ireland had the ninth highest foreign population rate out of the 22 states, growing by over 5% per year in the late 1980s. In contrast, the figure for the UK was 1.7%. By 1999, the OECD estimated that Ireland's foreign population rate had grown to the third highest of the 22 states surveyed, with some 118,000 foreigners living in Ireland. In 2002, the CSO estimated that there were 224,261 non-nationals living in Ireland. It is estimated that 20% of Dublin's population will be non-nationals by 2005.

Foreign workers may be a factor in helping to keep wage inflation down. For instance, Dublin Bus with 9% of its drivers being non-nationals from 45 different countries with Romanians constituting the largest group. Of IBM's 3,600 staff in Ireland, there are workers from over 60 countries, in sections like manufacturing and dot.com, 75% are foreign nationals. Employers seek workers in semi-skilled sectors and there is a heavy reliance on Eastern Europe in tourism sectors. In the medical sector, junior doctors are largely recruited from outside the EU. Of the 4,000 non-consultant hospital doctors, 53% are non-nationals, especially from India and Africa (Hepojoki 2003).

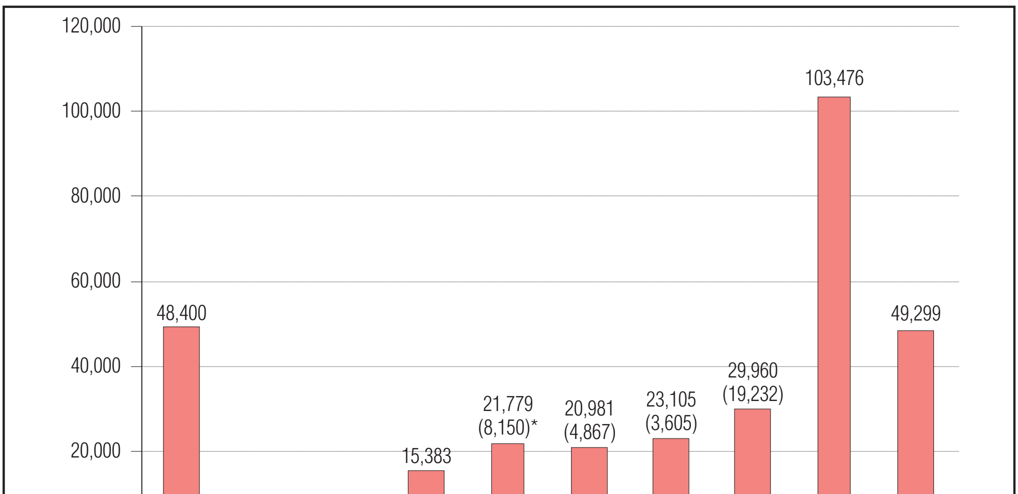

Figure 1: Census Population by Nationality 2002.
Source: CSO * Numbers in brackets represent the 1996 Census total.

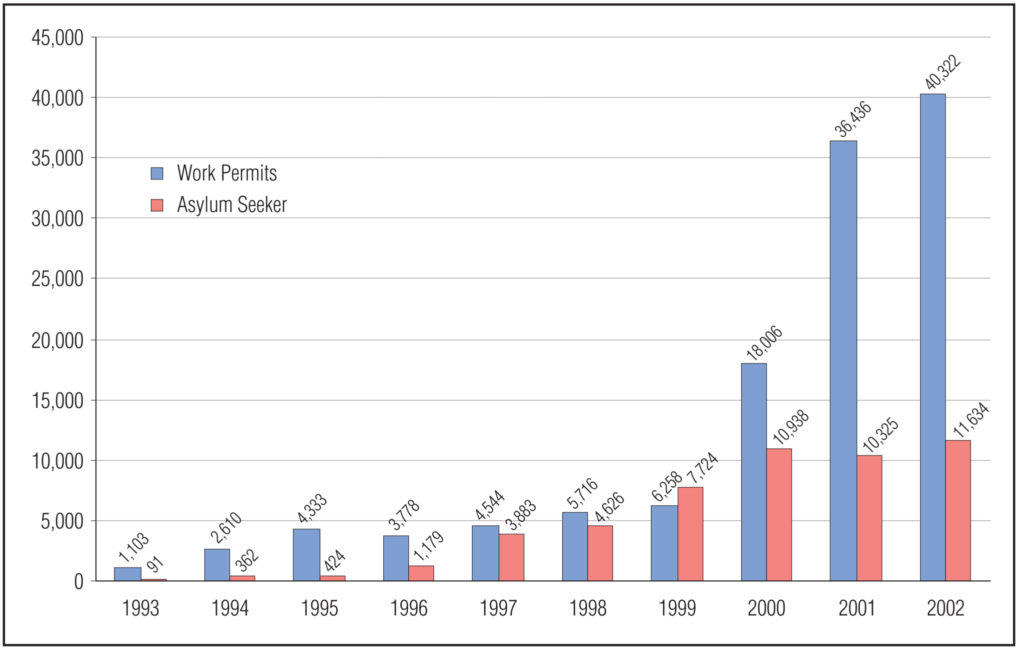

Figure 2: Migrant Workers and Asylum Seekers.
Source: Departments of JELR and Trade and Enterprise. Note: According to the Immigrant Council of Ireland. (2003) *Labour Migration into Ireland*.Emigration in 1987 was 70,600.

9 Social Partnership Process

In contrast to confrontentational aspects of employer-employee culture in Ireland in the 1970s, the consensual model came to the fore in the 1990s, involving partnership for managing the economy – government and social partners. Relative industrial peace, moderate wage increases, progressive tax reductions and sustained job creation were largely the fruits of this model. Tax reform and wage restraint agreements contributed greatly to cost competitiveness of the Irish economy (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

10 Ireland and EMU

In 1999, Ireland qualified to join the European Monetary Union (EMU) with relative ease underlining vast improvements in economy and public finances. Ireland's internationally oriented business community furthered EU market integration and boosted Ireland's credibility for location of mobile investment through promoting EMU. Lower interest rates resulted boosting business investment and sustaining growth rates. Transition to the use of euro currency (2002) was relatively smooth and Ireland was among the first of 12 Euro zone members to complete the process. However, commentators suggest increasing inflation rates, over-pricing and 'rip-off' cultural norms in many sectors, especially retail and insurance, were side effects with Euro denominated conversions in Ireland.

11 Major economic shifts

Ireland is the most export-oriented state in the EU; the world's second largest merchandise exporter after Singapore. Some 85% of manufacture is exported (WTO 2002). Growth in exports represents 50% of Ireland's annual economic growth, unique in the industrialised world. Ireland's balance of trade (merchandise) was negative in the 1970s, and became positive by the 1990s (15%). Between 1997–2001, the annual average rate of real export growth was 15.9%, the highest in the 30 OECD states including EU countries. The overall OECD average was 6%, followed by Korea (14.6%). Ireland's export growth overtook world trade growth in the 1990s by a factor of three; while average rate of import growth was 15.2%, the highest in the OECD for the period 1997–2001.

Table 2: Annual export growth in % 1997–2001.

RoI	OECD	Korea	Greece	Fin	Swe	Den	Neths	UK
15.9	6	14.6	10.9	9.5	7.5	6.8	6.4	5.6

Source: OECD.

Growing surpluses in merchandise trades continued despite imports. Ireland's trade surplus in 2001 was 24% of total trade, three times that of the 1990 surplus of 8%. The 2001 surplus represents 30% and 36% respectively of GDP and GNP. In 2001, exports of goods and services stood at 92% and 111% respectively of GDP and GNP, while the EU export norm was 20%–30%. Ireland's per capita exports were over seven times those of the USA, four times those of the UK and three times those of Germany in 2000 putting Ireland ahead of countries as diverse and populous as Australia, Brazil, Thailand and Denmark (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

Trade has been driven by the massive expansion in the manufacturing base, of which 85% is exported. The foreign owned manufacturing sector exports approximately 94% of output. Ireland's advantageous business environment for export was the main pull factor for foreign companies, rather than the small domestic market. Irish owned manufacturers export 47% of their sales, being more dependent on domestic markets. However, Irish firms are increasingly supplying foreign markets from their foreign subsidiaries rather than by direct exports.

The UK remains Ireland's main export market – 24% of the total (2001); whereas in 1973, this figure was 55%. For Irish owned firms, 45% of their exports go there. Ireland's trade surplus with the UK is much smaller than for the EU or USA, due to the high level of Irish imports from the UK, and the UK's high share of Irish imports (35%). The UK-Irish trade relationship is one of approximate balance. Now, Ireland's second largest export market is the USA with 17%. The main reason for this is the activities of US owned businesses in Ireland. The EU (excluding UK) accounted for 38% of Irish exports in 2001, compared to 21% in 1973. While Irish exports have been increasing to the EU since 1973, this has been overshadowed by the dramatic increase in exports to the USA in the past decade (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

12 Inward investment

Up to the 1980s, the main characteristics of foreign owned industry in Ireland were low skill assembly and packaging operations, limited local linkages, and high levels of profit repatriation; all typical features of peripheral branch economies in the NIDL.

It could be argued that it is inward investment that has been the most critical factor in Ireland's economic transition from peripheral to core economy. It has contributed to a major increase in employment, technological know-how and expertise, linkage to indigenous industry, boosting productivity and export growth. Integration of best practice by Irish firms, better skill levels and exposure to leading-edge technologies have been driven largely by FDI. Factors favouring this include, low corporation tax rates, 10% till 2002, now 12.5%; this represents 15% of total tax revenue to the state. Since the 1970s, capital grants to foreign companies has played a significant role, while relatively inexpensive labour existed in contrast to other core economies. The Irish Industrial Development Authority (IDA) strategies since the 1980s targeted technically sophisticated activities including electronics, pharmaceuticals, health care, international traded services, financial services, software, and back-office activities. In relation to FDI, between 1998 and 2001, approximately £63 billion was invested (Enterprise Ireland, 2002). In the foreign owned international traded services employment rose from 3,600 in 1987 to 1996 18,400 in 1996 (Breathnach 1998).

Since the 1990s, major exports have been from 5 Hi-techsectors in which foreign investment is concentrated in electronics, health care, pharmaceuticals and computers, software, chemicals and soft drinks; accounting for 60% of total GDP growth. Ireland ranked as the fourth largest recipient of FDI inflows in the developed countries in 2000. Tax incentives, a plentiful supply of educated workers and the Single European Market (SEM) (1992) provided pull factors for investors. This, plus massive investment in infrastructure especially from the EU Regional and Structural Funds with Objective One status for the entire state till recently provided an FDI friendly environment. Now the EU Regional and Structural Funding for Objective One only applies to parts of the Border, Midlands and Western Region (BMW). In 1992 the whole of Ireland qualified for the maximum amount of EU funding – Objective One status – because the average income was less than 75% of the EU average. The years of economic growth in Ireland meant that the 26 Counties (RoI) as a whole no longer qualified for Objective One status. Certain commentators suggest that many of the infrastructural projects funded under the 1994–99 Plan favoured the Eastern and Southern counties in Ireland in contrast to the West and North West as well as many urban and rural areas suffering deprivation. The aim of the structural funds was supposed to increase social and economic cohesion of the EU through encouragement of durable economic development in weaker regions supporting subsidiarity.

Distinctive features of Ireland's FDI illustrate that 50% is invested in Dublin's Financial Services Centre (IFSC). This investment category covers movements of capital by foreign companies to their financial subsidiaries based in the IFSC, mostly to be invested in overseas assets. Most non-IFSC FDI comprises greefield investment in new plants and expansions. A very small proportion is made up of mergers and/or acquisitions of Irish companies, unlike patterns observed in most developed countries. Anti-globalisation commentators as well as states competing with Ireland for FDI have not viewed issues in relation to MNC transfer-pricing strategies favourably. The output-augumenting effect of Ireland's FDI inflows is very substantial by international standards (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

In Ireland, there is a disproportionate share of US FDI, averaging about 67% in the 1990s, ranking Ireland only behind the Netherlands and UK in inflow of US FDI. However on a per capita basis, Ireland has over twice as much US FDI stock as the UK, the second largest per capita receipient. US FDI is concentrated in manufacturing, unlike much of EU sourced FDI, which is found either in the IFSC (e. g., Germany) or in services and retailing (e. g., UK). Ireland accounts for approximately a third of US electronics in Europe (Enterprise Ireland, 2002). While Ireland's population is less than 1% that of the EU, Ireland attracted 12% of all FDI into the EU (US 67%, EU states 33%) in the 1990s; and Ireland was attracting 25% of all US FDI into the EU. In 1995, US TNCs represented 50% of manufacturing employment, 67% of manufacturing output and 75% of non-food manufactured exports from Ireland (Breathnach 1998).

FDI has fuelled an export-oriented and high-skilled industrial sector, especially in hi-techmanufacturing and traded services (software, telemarketing, financial services and shared corporate services). All leading US information technology companies and most large pharmaceutical businesses have a presence in Ireland. Major multinationals include Microsoft, Oracle, Lotus, Pfizer, Merck Sharp and Doehme, American Home Products, Boston Scientific, Intel, IBM, and Hewlett Packard.

13 Outward investment

Increasing trends in Irish investment abroad is consistent with patterns in other economies moving to higher stages of economic development. Irish companies had $16 billion in foreign assets in 2000 compared to $200 million in 1985. Though holding just 0.5% of all foreign assets in the EU, in per capita terms, Ireland has risen to ninth rank among EU states, higher than Italy and Austria. Historically, and for cultural and language reasons, Irish investment has been in the USA and UK accounting for 85%. By 1999, Irish companies employed 65,000 people in the USA, compared to 78,500 employed by US companies in Ireland. Introduction of the Euro (2002) may be impacting on redirection of investment flows, with the Euro zone attracting 45% of the total in 2001 (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

Outward investment may have positive benefits for the Irish economy including better integration with foreign affiliates, boosting trade, technology transfer and integration into global production networks, and acting as a catalyst for movement into higher value added activities. Of course, this forms part of the process of Ireland's transition into the globalised economy.

14 State Policy and the Industrial Development Authority

The Irish Industrial Development Authority (IDA) has played a major role in economic development. Founded in 1949, by 2000, 1,287 IDA companies had created 142,000 permanent jobs. At the time of its foundation, protectionism was still a cornerstone of state policy and remained so till the late 1950s. A major shift towards free trade came in 1958 with the Whitaker Report; manufacturing exports were now seen as key to Ireland's development. Government incentives for foreign companies to set up in Ireland now included no tax on export profits and training grants to bring the workforce up to speed. IBM was among the first MNCs to set up business in Ireland in 1957. In the 1950s–60s, British and German companies became established in Ireland, taking advantage of low wage regimes due to unemployment and emigration culture, and lack of a real state targeted sectoral strategy. The German manufacturer of electrical appliances, Krups became a major employer in Limerick between 1964–98; at its peak it employed 1,400 people. Krups was taken over by the French company Moulinex who scaled down employment to 500 people, and by the late 1990s, with the collapse of the Moulinex market in Russia it moved production to Asia following classic NIDL patterns. Due to the concerted efforts of an interagency task force, within a year Telecoms company Chorus and the state agency CERT established themselves in Limerick attenuating unemployment (Thesing, 2003 (a)). The IDA turned towards the special US-Irish Diaspora connection; this was successful as with the setting up of a chemical plant by Pfizer Corporation in Ringaskiddy, Cork in 1969 (MacSharry and White 2000).

EEC/EU membership (1973) gave a boost to Irish market strategies in the US and Far East, offering a low cost, English speaking, manufacturing location with access to European markets of 250 million people. However the 1970s were hampered by the oil crises, global recession and 'troubles' in Northern Ireland. Nonetheless, the IDA was becoming more professional and better informed of emerging technologies and targeted flagship companies in specific sectors which wanted to have a gateway into the EEC/EU market. The IDA maintained good communications with the parent companies and branch plants in Ireland smoothing the way with local authorities and national government; hence MNCs tended to expand production in Ireland.

By the late 1970s, the electronics industry was entering the geography of Ireland. A major company, Mostek from Dallas, Texas started manufacturing chips for European markets. This gave the IDA greater confidence in offering Ireland as a location for hi-tech investments. Despite this, the 1980s witnessed major recession, galloping inflation (20%), unemployment and emigration while Ireland's EU partners disapproved of the no-tax on export profits regime, which had to be changed to a 10% corporate tax rule which was still very competitive by EU standards. The IDA targeted the emerging software sector, emphasising Ireland's young educated workforce advantages.

In 1989, with IDA support, Intel, started manufacturing micro-chip processors and computer systems in the Dublin region, and within a decade had 3,500 employees in Ireland despite fierce competition from seven other European countries to attract Intel. The IDA capital grants budget to Intel was Euros 110 million payable over 10 years. However, since 2001 there has been a cutback on employment numbers at Intel Ireland. The footloose nature of MNCs can be illustrated by the closure of other computer-based industries; in the 1990s Digital in Galway and Seagate in Clonmel (1,400 employees) were closed down having serious social-economic impacts on the regions. However, a spin-off of the MNC Digital was the indigenous ParthusCeva Company that has been successful (Thesing, 2003 (a)). Within the indigenous sector, the domestic market absorbs 67% of its sales; but its export market is expanding. The manufacturing boom in the 1990s also caused massive developments in the construction and materials industries for plant and housing.

Attraction of FDI by the IDA remains a core strategy in Ireland's globalisation process. Oracle is a typical IDA backed company set up in 1985 as a low level shipping and distribution company with 90 employees. By 2003, it had become the effective European HQ employing 1,000 people and generating $2bn in revenue annually. This exemplifies the IDA strategy of moving up the value chain and FDI (Thesing 2003a).

In globalisation processes, lines are often blurred between indigenous and foreign companies, and the embedness of the latter. In general, externally owned branch plants became embedded in the Irish economy, and had a strong multiplier effect, especially on employment; for every 100 jobs foreign generated, some 125 were generated nationally. Nonetheless, backward local linkages remained somewhat constrained by the need of Irish branch plants to maintain input/output links with affiliates located abroad in order to maximize tax benefits of transfer price manipulations which is carried out on a large scale by these plants (Breathnach, 1998).

15 Education and training

Education and training form an essential part of policy. In the NDP, there is provision for investment (£12.6 billion) in employability and training measures including education, third level access, skills development and apprenticeships. Expenditure on education has increased by 150% since 1985. The proportion of 25–34 year olds with higher education qualifications ranks the second highest in Europe and fourth in the OECD. In the 1990s, numbers of fulltime students in third level education increased by 80%; numbers in technical/technological institutions increased by 50%. The current output of computer graduates, 2,000 per year, is equivalent to that of Germany. Qualifications and age structure are significant; 30% of the population in the 55–64 year age group has completed second level education; the corresponding figure for the 25–34 year age group is 66%, well above the OECD average (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

Historically, the state has a week record in funding research and development (R & D); the proportion of GDP spent on R & D ranks Ireland in the latter third of the industrial economies. Efforts were concentrated in a few sectors of the economy dominated by foreign multinationals. This has been recognised, and there are some efforts to redress this.

16 E-Commerce

To sustain economic development, the state has taken the following steps: liberalisation of the telecommunications market; substantial investment in broadband infrastructure; and introducing the most e-commerce friendly regulatory environment in the EU. In 2001, two major transatlantic fibre-optic cable projects were completed providing broadband connectivity to the UK and USA at low prices to companies operating in Ireland so as to encourage the development of the state as an e-commerce hub. The aim being to bring high-speed internet access to almost 200 Irish towns within 5 years. Digital signatures are recognised under Irish law in order to facilitate e-commerce.

The Dublin Digital District Project combined urban regeneration with leading edge internet and business technologies. A futureistic digital district (6 square miles) is projected to create 7,000 hi-techjobs and combine traditional arts – film, graphic design, music, advertising – with new computer based technologies creating digital content to be pumped down phones, televisions and internet. Media Lab Europe (a subsidiary of MIT's Media Lab) is in place as a producer and pull agent (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

17 Taxation

Liberalisation of Ireland's tax regime has been a major incentive for economic growth. By the late 1990s, tax revenue as a percentage of GDP was 32%. Taxation was the seventh lowest in the OECD and over 9% below the EU average. Both income and corporate tax reduction was the strategy used. The beneficial corporate tax environment has played a key role in encouraging FDI. Profits generated from manufacturing and internationally traded services are subject to a tax regime of 10%, while the general corporation tax regime is 16%, the lowest in the EU. Due to pressure from EU partners, in 2003, a corporation tax rate of 12.5% was applied to trading profits in all sectors, including manufacturing and international services. Corporate tax accounts for approximately 15% of total tax revenue.

18 The Irish Stock Exchange

The Irish Stock Exchange (ISE) has been transformed from relative insignificance into an important feature of Ireland's financial infrastructure. While dating back to 1793, it only really emerges in the 1960s. In 1964 Jefferson Smurfit, a Dublin paper mill was first floated and over the following years due largely to acquisitions it became Ireland's largest industrial company and one of the biggest paper and packaging companies in the world. The 1960s witnessed a series of mergers and acquisitions among Irish banks culminating in two major groups, Bank of Ireland and Allied Irish Banks. The latter two challenged the Industrial Credit Corporation (ICC) monopoly of new Stock Exchange share issues; ICC was a semi-state company, which had been the leader in providing credit to Irish companies since 1933. The emergence of corporate Ireland was now taking place as illustrated with the coming together of three major whiskey distilleries, and Waterford Crystal was hived off from Irish Glass Bottles as a separate quoted stock. In 1970, two companies merged producing Cement Roadstone Holdings (CRH) and till the 1990s, the ISE was largely dominated by seven stocks; Bank of Ireland, AIB, Smurfit, CRH, Waterford Crystal, PJ Carroll Cigarettes and Irish Distilleries.

It should be noted that the Irish Pound had remained linked to British sterling from 1826 till 1979 when Ireland joined the EMS, unlike the UK. Now Irish companies such as Smurfit, CRH, Bank of Ireland and AIB expanded overseas providing Irish investors with overseas exposure by proxy. However following the abolition of exchange controls in 1992, Irish investors greatly reduced the proportion of Irish equities in their portfolios with pension funds having an Irish equity of 16% (2003) as opposed to 60% in the early 1990s (White 2003).

Following the 1986 'Big Bang' old style partnerships with unlimited liability were replaced by bank-owned brockerages, as with AIB acquiring Goodbody Stockbrokers and the Bank of Ireland Davy Stockbrokers. Capital and globalisation forces can be followed in the paths of Irish companies since the 1980s. Of the seven major companies, several were taken over by foreign companies. French company, Pernod Ricard in 1988, acquired Irish Distilleries; and PJ Carroll Cigarettes was taken over by Rothman (1990), while Smurfit was taken private in 2002 and Waterford Crystal, is now Waterford Wedgewood (White 2003).

Ryanair, the no frills airline, has rocketed up the corporate league table since its 1997 flotation. Now worth Euro 4.7 billion, it is the fourth most valuable Irish quoted company on the stock exchange, and has seriously challenged the national state airline Aer Lingus, and the quasi-monopoly that it had operated for decades.

In line with neoliberal economics and the EU drive to dismantle state companies opening up national markets to other EU competitors, Irish Life and Greencore/Irish Sugar were sold to the public by the state, as well as Telecom Eireann (1999) which did not turn out to be very successful. In contrast, the spate of mergers and flotations of building societies was most successful. Many of the technology stocks floated on the Dublin market have failed to sustain their early hype and trade at a fraction of their peak value. Pharmaceutical company Elan exemplifies this. Nonetheless about 33% of transactions in most Irish companies still take place in Dublin. Along with this, the ISE holds a niche providing facilities for overseas investment funds seeking a listing – 7,000 funds and sub-funds are listed in Dublin. While these are rarely traded, they generate significant revenue. It's survival in a single Euro currency zone remains to be seen; will major Irish stocks migrate to large liquid markets such as Frankfort and London (White 2003).

19 Irish Agriculture and the EU

CAP-related payments account for 50% of annual EU gross transfers and 50% of aggregate farm income. Since 1973, Irish agriculture has been revolutionised helping to diversify the agri-export trade. In 1973, 70% of agri-food exports went to the UK, this had fallen to 30% by 2000, with the EU share of exports increasing from 15% to 40% in the same period (Enterprise Ireland, 2002). Since 1973, transitions in agriculture, farm ownership patterns, size of farms, numbers employed, production levels and exports not only illustrate the impact of the EU on this sector but also mirror the capitalisation of rural communities and processes taking place in the secondary, tertiary and services sectors at national and global scales (Jenkins 2001; O'Reilly 2001).

Ireland's land area is 6.9 million hectares, of which 4.4 million hectares (64%) is used for agriculture, and 650,000 hectares (9.4%) for forestry. Some 80% of agricultural area is devoted to grass (silage, hay and pasture), 11% to rough grazing and 9% to crop production. This illustrates Ireland's comparative advantage in terms of a good environment for animal production. Beef and milk production account for 56% of agricultural output at producer prices. There are 6.5 million cattle, 4.8 million sheep, 1.8 million pigs and 13 million poultry. The total number of farms in Ireland was 141,500 in 2000 down from 223,400 in 1980. Between 1960–80, there was a drop of 26,750 in the number of farm holdings. Almost all of these are family owned and operated. (Dept. of Agriculture, 2003). In 2002, farm holdings numbered 136,500, with an average farm size of 32 hectares. For the same year, family farm holders by age were 13% less than 35 years old, and 41% over 55 years old. The total number working on farms, full and part-time was 240,100.

The National Farm Survey (NFS) estimates that on 48% of farms, the holder and/or spouse had an off-farm job. On 75% of farms, either the holder or spouse had some source of off-farm income, from employment, pensions or social welfare. According to the 2001 Living in Ireland Survey, 3.1% of farm households were at risk of consistent poverty, compared to 6.5% of non-farm rural households and 4.2% of urban households (CSO 2003; Stapleton et al. 2000).

Table 3: Agriculture and Food Industry in the Irish Economy.

2002	Primary Agriculture	Agri-Food Sector
% of GDP	3.0%	8.4%
% of employment	6.5%	9.5%
% of exports	3.8%	7.1%

Source: Department of Agriculture 2003.

Growing from the amalgamation of dairy co-operatives in the south west of Ireland, the agri-food company Kerry Group first floated on the stock exchange at 63.5 cent in 1986. By 2003, Kerry Group was one of the world's largest food ingredients companies with share prices over Euro 14. A geographical analysis of turnover and operating profit by origin for 2002 shows a turnover of Euro 3.8 billion (Ireland 37%, Europe 34%, Americas 25% and Asia Pacific region 4%); and operating profit of a turnover of Euro 305 million (Ireland 21%, Europe 36%, Americas 39% and Asia Pacific region 4%) (Kerry Group, 2002). The Golden Vale food group was taken over by Kerry Group in 2001. Success of the Kerry Group encouraged other companies to go public, this included Glanbia (1997), the product of a merger between Waterford Foods and Avonmore Co-ops. Glanbia is now a major player in the food industry in Ireland, EU and USA employing over 6,400 people (Glanbia 2002).

20 Tourism

Tourism in Ireland offers an indicator of flows of people in the globalisation process and forms a strategic place in the economy. Due to its location Ireland has a mild maritime Atlantic climate with Vivaldi-like weather patterns – four seasons in one day. Ireland attracts a large percentage of high spending visitors drawn by the unique physical and cultural landscapes, small population size, pace of life and distinctive culture. But Ireland is changing rapidly due to its newfound wealth. The main markets for Irish tourism are the UK, Europe and North America.

According to CSO figures, there were 6,065,000 overseas visitors to Ireland in 2002, an increase of 1.3% over 2001; and way above the population numbers for the entire island. The number of visits abroad by Irish residents was 4,634,000 in 2002, compared with 4,216,000 in 2001, an increase of 9.9%. Earnings from overseas visitors in 2002 amounted to €3,764 million, an increase of 1.7% over 2001. Expenditure by Irish visitors abroad amounted to €3,956 million in 2002, an increase of 23.2% over 2001. In 1986, 2.5 million tourists (4.8% GDP) visited Ireland and by 1996, this had doubled representing 6.4% GDP. The full-time equivalent employment attributable to tourism grew by 53% between 1988–95 (Breathnach, 1998). Hence tourism has become a major force in the economy, representing 5% of total exports and 6.4% of GNP, and provides 135,000 jobs employing one in twelve in the national workforce. This is partly due to the ambitious successful strategies followed in the Operational Programme for Tourism (1994–99). In terms of foreign earnings, including carrier receipts, this represented £2.5bn in 1999 and over 36,000 additional full-time job equivalents created in the 1994–99 period. In 1998 overseas visitors numbered 5.5 million people and revenue was £2,281 m. The Peace Process (1998) in Northern Ireland also facilitated marketing of the island of Ireland as a single destination (Bord Failte 2000).

Economic benefits include revenue (£3bn in 1999), and this helped stimulate investment and economic activity. Likewise with tourism's contribution to job creation; due to Government and EU policy this figure rose from 67,600 employed in 1988 to 127,000 people by 1998. In 1998 the Government earned £1.2bn through taxation of foreign tourism expenditure (57%). Employment in tourism extends beyond hotels and restaurants with its trickle down effects. Many jobs created by tourism are in the regions and represent an important means of redistributing wealth throughout the country; thus counterbalancing core-periphery effects within the state. Ironically, the boom in foreign visitors stimulated Irish people to contribute to internal tourism, in 1998 their spending amounted to £751 m (Bord Failte 2000).

The EU has been a major contributor to tourism investment. The European Regional Development Fund contributed £378 m to the First Operational Programme and this was supplemented by a further £26 m from Agri-Tourism and InterReg funds. EU agencies have contributed £369 m to the second Operational Programme for Tourism while a further £139 m has been allocated to tourism-related activity by other EU-supported programmes. The substantial investment in tourism has also been supported by European Investment Bank loans, the Government Special Access to Finance Scheme (AFS) which provides guaranteed low-interest loans through major Irish banks, the Business Expansion Scheme (BES), Capital Tax Relief Schemes, Urban Renewal Schemes and a wide range of grant schemes including the International Fund for Ireland (which assists development in Border counties), the InterReg programme and the EU Agri-Tourism scheme. Training of tourism personnel has also been assisted by EU support for programmes conducted by CERT. The Minister for Tourism in 1995 encouraged investment in selected traditional resorts with tax relief for tourism investments in 15 seaside areas. Investment of £700 m was spurred by this scheme (Bord Failte 2000).

During the two Operational Programmes, public-sector projects included enhancement of inland waterways, angling centres, water, field and adventure sports facilities, touring, walking and cycling routes, cultural-heritage centres and coastal marinas. Private-sector projects have covered river cruising, angling, golf courses, equestrian centres, cultural and heritage projects, leisure centres, hotel, guesthouse and hostel accommodation and conference facilities.

Landmark heritage developments have included the Céide Fields in Mayo, King's Island in Limerick and projects in designated Heritage and Mediaeval towns and cities. The private sector has also participated in heritage investment with the creation of high-profile visitor attractions including the distilleries at Midleton, Co. Cork and Smithfield Dublin, the Guinness Hop Store, Ceol (Music Heritage Centre in Dublin) and the ICON Centre at Leopardstown which celebrates modern Ireland.

Much recent investment in tourism has been independent of any grant aid. An expanding market and the potential of an attractive return for investors, for instance, has driven hotel development in Dublin and elsewhere. Hotel developers have availed of government incentive schemes. Total investment in the accommodation sector, benefiting from BES designation, has been £976 m, of which the largest components represented investment in three-star hotels, and in self-catering accommodation.

The National Development Plan 2000–2006, envisages that a further £430 m will be invested in productive tourism infrastructure under the Regional Operational Programmes, while there will be additional supports for heritage attractions and some categories of marine and rural tourism. Separate to this, the growth in hotels and accommodation, little of which is grant-assisted, continues apace e. g., 100 new hotels opened in 1999-2000. The expansion of many major international hotel brands into Ireland is particularly notable and includes the Four Seasons and Westin.

While much of investment has been accommodation-based, there has also been a huge increase in product categories e. g., quality golf facilities. Ireland in 2000 had 390 18-hole golf courses with major developments such as the Greg Norman-designed links golf resort in Doonbeg, Clare. There has been big investment in marine tourism with networks of coastal marinas and moorings in place. Water sports and activities have been developing, and encouraged by EU funding (Bord Failte 2000).

The pull factors in Irish tourism: The ethnic or *Diaspora* connection is important with the children and descendants of Irish people coming from America, Australia, Britain and elsewhere. Also highly significant is cultural tourism, with over 50% of visitors including a visit to at least one place described as being of natural, cultural or historical interest e. g., monuments, museums, and gardens attracting 10 million fee-paying visitors a year. Fishing and golf still have the greatest potential; for instance, Ballybunion and Killarney in Kerry, Lahinch in Clare, Bundoran in Donegal, Portmarnock in Dublin, Druids Glen and Mount Juliet host international tournaments. Equestrian events including the Dublin Horse Show, and Millstreet International Show attract large numbers.

International sporting events have been encouraged to take place in Ireland, for example, the Tour de France (1998), Smurfit European Open, and Tall Ships Race. Departing from the traditional image of rural tourism, urban attractions have been developed in the past 20 years, including Temple Bar in Dublin and festivals in Galway, Cork, Tralee, Wexford and Waterford.

In 1998 a quarter of a million holidaymakers chose Ireland because of the possibility of following a chosen active pursuit and 100,000 visitors were influenced by a chosen passive pursuit. Some 2.5 million overseas visitors participated in some activity while in Ireland. Business reasons and international conferences draw a large number of visitors, the proposed National Conference Centre for Dublin will enable major international conventions for up to 3,000 participants (Bord Failte 2000).

21 Tourism as an indicator of the globalisation process

The principal tourist group is British, and with the Peace Process, British visitors have been returning, now constituting Ireland's biggest single market numbering 1.5 m in 1988 and rising to 3.2 m in 1998. Ireland currently attracts six out of every one hundred British holidaymakers compared with 29 who choose Spain, 16 who go to France and 7 who fly to the USA. In 1998, six in ten were on a repeat visit while half had no ethnic links with Ireland. Almost two-thirds were aged over 35 years and three-quarters were independent travellers. They preferred to visit Dublin (41%) and the SW (36%), and spent their overnights with friends or relatives (24%), in guesthouses/B & Bs (27%), and in hotels (15%). The next biggest group of visitors are from Mainland Europe with 1.25 m visitors in 1998; Germany (310,000), France (270,000), Italy (141,000) and the Netherlands (134,000), followed by Belgium/Luxemburg, Spain, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland.

Germany continues to be Europe's largest tourism-generating market and in 1997 was second only to the USA in terms of foreign travel expenditure. Seven out of every ten German holidaymakers go abroad, accounting for 58 million holiday trips in 1998. Visitor numbers grew from 269,000 in 1994 to 339,000 in 1996, but then declined to 303,000 in 1997 and 310,000 in 1998 due to economic difficulties in Germany.

The majority of visitors from Germany are on holiday (56%) and one in four come for business and/or conferences (Bord Failte, 2000).

France is the world's fifth most important generator of international tourism spending and in 1998 the French took 16.9 million trips abroad. Some 270,000 visitors came to Ireland and contributed £89.8 M to the Irish tourism industry. Holidays and visiting friends and relations account for 58% of French visitors and for three-quarters of those on holiday the visit to Ireland was their main holiday. Some 28% were aged under 25 years old and French tourists tend to tour many parts of Ireland, especially the peripheral areas: West (65%), South West (60%), Shannon (45%) and also Dublin (41%) (Bord Failte 2000).

The Netherlands is ninth among the world's top tourism spenders. Number of Dutch visitors to Ireland increased during the 1990s, from 80,000 in 1994 to 134,000 in 1998, i. e., 3% of all holidaymakers to Ireland. Most (72%) stay 6–14 nights and their preferred activities are visiting historical and cultural sights, hiking/walking, visiting gardens and cycling.

North America has been the traditional great market for Irish tourism. It was from the USA that the first large aircraft brought visitors in the post-war years. Visitor numbered 419,000 in 1988, and 858,000 in 1998. Some 789,000 came from the USA and 69,000 from Canada. The USA is the most important generator of international tourism in the world with an expenditure of US$52bn in 1997; and accounts for one in five overseas holidaymakers to Ireland. Americans tend to stay 6–14 nights (66%) and over 50% are aged over 45 years. The majority (87%) are on their main holiday and stay in guesthouses and B & Bs (30%), hotels (28%) and with friends or relatives (21%) (Bord Failte 2000).

22 Partition, Northern Ireland and possible economic integration

The economic ramifications of the high cost low level war in Northern Ireland (1969–89) had serious economic consequences, and especially in the six of nine counties of Ulster which form part of the UK. As with the UK-Spanish dispute over the British Crown Colony of Gibraltar, the EU cannot become directly involved, but can facilitate dialogue and targeted programmes such as Inter-Reg (O'Reilly, 1992, 2000). With the Peace Process (1998), there are efforts to create an all-island economy that can compete for joint projects and increase trade between the RoI and NI. Despite better infrastructure in NI than in the RoI, it was the Republic that attracted large-scale FDI projects. Even with Northern Ireland's historical entrepreneurial and industrial traditions in engineering, shipbuilding and manufacturing, some 35% of the workforce is employed in civil or public services compared with 19% in the Republic; and 14% is employed in manufacturing, in comparison to 36% in the 1960s. From the 1950s to the outbreak of civil or guerrilla war in 1969, NI benefited from the post WWII boom attracting UK investment mainly in engineering and textiles. But along with the strife, engineering and textile trades were shifting to cheaper locations in Asia, and FDI investors were not attracted to a conflict zone. As the troubles intensified (1970s–80s), NI was plunged into deep recession. Despite British government strategies increasing civil service employment and vast financial sums for infrastructure and education NI continued to fall behind, and the brain drain continued. Trade with the RoI was very limited, with NI looking to Britain as its main trading partner, while the Republic looked towards Europe (Thesing 2003b).

From a low base, cross border trade increased from Euro 1.6 billion in 1991 to Euro 3.06 billion a decade later. Between the IRA ceasefire (1994) and Belfast Agreement (1998) investment increased and there was much hope for increased economic development. Viewing the boom in the RoI, the Northern authorities started encouraging RoI companies to locate in the North offering good infrastructure, no gridlock, much cheaper housing, an educated workforce, broadband throughout the region and low wage inflation. However, while the political violence abated, obsessional intra and inter community infighting has resurfaced and sustainable devolved government has not come about yet. Nonetheless, there is still the will to build an all-island economy as promoted by Intertrade Ireland set under the Belfast Agreement, with university linkage programmes, cross-border venture capital fund and other infrastructural projects.

23 Globalisation and an all-island economy

According to the British Irish Good Friday (Belfast) Agreement (1998), Strand Two promotes the North-South Ministerial Council and associated policy implementation bodies. In reality emphasis is more on commercial than political linkages; there has been lack of substantive debate on economic linkages related to N/S complementarity and divergence, and opportunities and barriers that exist in creating greater N/S integration. There is not a policy for the 'single island' economy that has become part of Peace Process parlance. Any realistic discussion on the issue must examine the economic impact of the border, the different industrial structures north and south, level and type of cross border trade, and the need for parallel policy harmonisation (Bradley, and Hamilton 1999; Hamilton 2000).

The Border: The economic impact of the border has been enormous since 1922 due to the creation of two distinct separate economies with different spatial characteristics and a realignment of artificial core-periphery relationships. While the Belfast core consolidated its immediate hinterlands, its border counties languished as with Derry cut off from its natural hinterlands in Donegal in the Republic.

In the EU context in the 1990s increasing economic integration fostered more N/S convergence, but factors hindering integration still include: the spatial disruptive effects of the physical presence of the border itself; development of different industrial structures north and south; and distorting impacts of the border on N/S trade as a result of industrial structural mismatch. The EU has removed non-tariff border-related barriers, and so there is free passage but because of the historical legacy of partition the border created two jurisdictional entities with areas of internal periphery, cutting off regions from their natural economic hinterlands e. g., the NW centred on Derry and the NE straddling the border between Newry (NI) and Dundalk (RoI).

The border counties in the RoI fall below overall GDP averages for both north and south; and the border region has the slowest population growth (1%). The highest rate of unemployment (14.7%, 1997), and greatest level of long-term unemployment (59%) are found here. The gross value added per head index for the average standard of the living (RoI) in the border region is the third lowest after the Midlands and West. However, it must be noted that the border region is not homogeneous but falls into three parts, the west and east share many similar characteristics and the middle or central part is more distinctive.

The Region lacks access to markets, centres of innovation, and large population centres. There are fewer towns, as well as being characterised by low income, out-migration, poor land and infrastructure. These patterns lend a negative unity to the border region and consequently to investors perceptions. Until recently there was a lack of contact between local authorities both north and south, and the highly centralised nature of government in Dublin and Belfast had different agendas. Also many border crossings were closed or disrupted during 30 years, and the region was heavily militarised until recently. The Border impeded spatially coherent economic policy and development.

Industrial structures: The North and South followed very different economic paths**.** In the Republic the agricultural sector was most important till the 1970s, and while declining in its overall output it is twice the size of that of the North in GDP terms and employment. While for the manufacturing sector there are similar industry shares (25% North and South), there are big difference in output – Republic (39%) and Northern Ireland (28%). The productivity level is 1.7% times greater in Republic, despite MNC transfer pricing and profit repatriation the Republic is superior in relative industrial performance. Non-market services are more than twice as important in the Republic in GDP and employment terms (Bradley, and Hamilton 1999; Hamilton 2000).

The North remained dominated by a few traditional manufacturing sectors including food, drink and tobacco, and textiles and clothing representing 44% of total manufacturing employment and 35% of net output. Shipbuilding and aircraft production represents 11% employment and 9% net output. In contrast in the Republic food, drink and tobacco, and electrical equipment represents 40% of manufacturing jobs, but only 45% of net output. The chemical industry represents 8% of employment but with a very high productivity 23% output share. Manufacturing productivity in the Republic is over twice as high as in Northern Ireland. Therefore a more modern industrial structure is found in the RoI than NI including pharmaceuticals, chemicals and hi-tech sectors. In the North, concentration in the traditional industries remained strong as in clothing, and the profit ratio in the RoI is higher than in NI. Therefore in the Republic over 67% of the workforce is employed in modern industry compared with 50% in NI (Bradley, and Hamilton 1999; Hamilton 2000).

North-South Trade: Trade from the Republic to the North equals about 3% of total exports, while from the North to the RoI it is 10%. Therefore the RoI is 3 times more important as a market for NI. Great Britain is over twice as important a market for Northern Ireland (51%) as it is for the Republic (21%), in contrast to the Republic's exports to the rest of the EU (45%). However, Great Britain is an important source of imports to the Republic. The RoI has a trade defect with GB, but the Republic has a trade surplus with Northern Ireland (£300 m). Trade from the Republic to the North was in food and live animals till recently (25%), to GB (17%) and the EU (11%). But machinery and chemical exports were much higher to GB and the EU than to NI. Hence, illustrating the Republic's concentration in exporting traditional products to the North. The same may be said for Northern Irish exports to the RoI with concentration in food, animals and low technology products. However the market in the Republic is important for small NI companies and likewise for the RoI (Bradley, and Hamilton 1999; Hamilton 2000).

North and South and Globalisation: Due to the burden of history and Ireland's partition there are divergent economic structures North and South, which have been impacted on by the border. Different industrial structures developed, in the North concentration was in traditional low productivity industries, while in the Republic traditional economic patterns changed rapidly due to the dynamic hi-tech sectors in particular and the role of US FDI. TNCs in the Republic became linked globally rather than with NI. North/South trade is not a real alternative to East/West trade. North/South trade has to concentrate on indigenous industries in order to strengthen their penetration of global markets, while Northern Ireland has to modernise its industrial sector. There must be North/South complementarity, with competition at home first and higher standards achieved, then they may penetrate global markets rather than engaging in simplistic North/South competition (Hamilton 2000; Bradley, and Hamilton 1999)

24 Conclusions

Within the theoretical framework of World Systems Theory and core-periphery models, in the past 100 years Ireland has shifted through the classic phases of colonial and neo-colonial economic geography. Since joining the EU (1973), Ireland has been prominently involved in economic globalisation processes, which became particularly evident in the 1990s when it emerged as a tiger economy with newfound wealth. However, there have also been greater social, intra-urban spatial and regional polarization problems (Dublin and east region in contrast to the rest) within the state including the digital divide between categories of workers and spatial areas. Likewise, the state and nation was not prepared for the dramatic flow of immigrants and refugees for the first time in Ireland's history.

The EU has played a crucial role in Ireland's economic transitions especially via programmes targeting spatial subsidiarity. Nonetheless, the changing locational behaviour of MNCs and FDI has played salient roles as recognised by Government policy since the 1960s facilitating its penetration at all scales despite Ireland's low population number and restricted market. By the 1990s, a combination of factors including positive demographic trends and social partnership in economic planning came into play facilitating hi-tech revolutions and FDI stewarded by the IDA. However, in the long-term it is highly unlikely that competitive advantage can be sustained with an over-reliance on FDI due to the inherent nature of TNCs and changing NIDL.

With EU/CAP aid the traditional agricultural sector was transformed but is still strategic in financial terms as illustrated with the Kerry Group and Glanbia. Likewise tourism development shows changing Irish-EU patterns integral to globalisation. Development success to date could be enhanced for all people on the island as envisaged in the British-Irish Peace Process (1998), but there are still debilitating factors including structurally divergent economies and complex core-periphery relationships. As now agreed by both governments, political reunification of Ireland is only possible if and when a majority of people in NI wish it. Economically, EU integration processes may facilitate reunification, but evidently analysts are monitoring the German experience. North-South synergy is now evident in agriculture and tourism, but not in manufacturing.

In the RoI, Irish GNP is expected to grow at double the EU average till 2010, largely due to the huge rise in human capital and fall in economic dependency rates. With rising wage demands, and labour shortages in some areas, social partnership and national pay bargaining systems are crucial factors in maintaining competitiveness not only in global terms with sectoral specific challenges from countries like India in the hi-tech and call-service industries, but also new EU states including the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Baltic republics. Similarly, CAP and ERDF funds will be reduced with EU enlargement. While EU structural funding – Objective One status are EU measures of GDP, Ireland argues for the GNP basis to be applied, which is some 15% lower, as TNCs repatriate profits but this is recorded as arising in Ireland.

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1 Uvod

Irske izkušnje so bile od pridružitve EGS/EZ leta 1973 tesno povezane z globalizacijskimi procesi, bolj natančno z gospodarsko globalizacijo. Seveda je ta proces potekal že pred 1973, Irska pa je bila prek množice politično-ekonomskih in jedrno-perifernih razmerjih del le-tega. Spreminjajoči se vzorci v časovno-prostorskem kontekstu so postali posebno očitni v hitrem gospodarskem razvoju Irske v devetdesetih letih; zanimivo pa je, da Irska ni ubrala klasičnih razvojnih poti, ki so povezane z jedrnimi gospodarstvi v Evropi in Severni Ameriki. K temu so prispevali mnogi faktorji, za vpogled v to pa članek ponuja pregled pomembnih območij za proizvodnjo, direktne tuje investicije, kmetijstvo in turizem. Turizem s prihajajočimi in odhajajočimi obiskovalci odseva globalizacijo, ki vključuje dvosmerne tokove uvoza in izvoza in notranje in zunanje investicije. Razprava o Irski in globalizaciji bi bila brez upoštevanja Severne Irske nepopolna, kar pa se še prevečkrat zgodi.

2 Teoretični okviri: globalizacija, jedro-periferija in Irska

Gospodarske (r)evolucije so se pojavile v irski zgodovini v različnem obsegu osnovanem na inovacijah in razpršitvi, ki so bile odvisne od transporta in komunikacij. Od 17. stoletja naprej so dobile evropsko razsežnost. Vzroka za to sta bila ekspanzija evropske moči in izkušnja Irske kot prve britanske kolonije v njenem vzponu v imperij. Od leta 1945 pa globalizacija proizvodnje, porabe in kapitala deluje v resnično globalnem obsegu.

Industrijsko revolucijo je povečal fordizem, ki je v 20. stoletju okrepil močna gospodarska jedra. Irska, ki je imela v lasti omejene vire, industrijska območja pa skoncentrirana v Belfastu, Derryju, Dublinu in Corku, je bila na periferiji takšnih revolucij. Irska emigracija je zapolnila delovno silo fordizma v tujini in zagotavljala masovno proizvodnjo za masovno porabo v ZDA in Veliki Britaniji. Doma se je ruralna depopulacija nadaljevala, hkrati pa sekundarni sektor, v katerem bi se lahko zaposlila razpoložljiva delovna sila, ni obstajal. Veliko jedrnih regij se je do 1970-ih premaknilo v post-fordizem; masovna proizvodnja se je premaknila v semi-periferna gospodarstva, kamor je bila vključena tudi Irska, večinoma zaradi nižjih cen delovne sile. Od 1980-ih se je zaradi prosto-tržnih neoliberalnih debat finančna globalizacija s premiki kapitala in trgovine izven narodnih meja povečala. Transnacionalne/multinacionalne družbe sedaj delujejo v globalnem obsegu in so le malo omejene z državnimi mejami. Ključni faktor pri tem so direktne tuje investicije (Knox in Agnew 1998; Johnston et al. 1994). Sedaj ima Irska eno izmed najbolj odprtih gospodarstev na svetu.

Obstajajo močni povratni gospodarski vzorci, a so lokalno in regionalno variabilni; za interpretacijo, svetovna sistemska teorija predlaga v razvijajočem se globalnem tržnem sistemu razdelitev sveta na jedrna, semi-periferna in periferna gospodarstva, v katerih je gospodarska hierarhija držav proizvod dolgoročnih ciklov, ki obvladujejo dinamiko (Wallerstein 1979; 1983; 1984). Zaradi zgodovinsko dolgo in kratkovalovne dinamike, sistem ni neodobravajoč; prostorski gospodarski vzorci se spreminjajo kot na Irskem v 1990-ih. Glavne značilnosti jeder so napredna tehnologija, raznovrstni proizvodi, velik odstotek delovne sile zunaj primarnega in sekundarnega sektorja, visoka usposobljenost in visoke plače. Nasprotje skupaj z izvozom virov najdemo na periferiji. Na semi-periferiji, kamor so vključene novo industrializirane države, se izkazujejo značilnosti zadnjih dveh kategorij. Organizacija, distribucija virov, demografija, politični sistemi, specializacija in trgovina ravno tako igrajo ključno vlogo (Knox in Agnew 1998; Johnston et al. 1994).

Zgodovinsko gledano je geografski položaj Irske na skrajnem koncu Zahodne Evrope in na periferiji JV gospodarskega jedra v Angliji predstavljal omejujoč dejavnik za razvoj. Z visoko tehnološko in komunikacijsko revolucijo in ameriško strategijo za prodor na trg EZ, pa je postala Irska most med ZDA in Evropo. Analitiki obravnavajo irsko politiko kot ležečo nekje med Bostonom in Berlinom, nagiba pa se proti Bostonu, še posebno ko je govora o socialni politiki. Ko so v 1990-ih poročevalci opazili hitro spreminjajoče se gospodarske vzorce na Irskem in podobnosti v na novo industrializiranih deželah ali tako imenovanih

Azijskih tigrih (Japonska in Južna Koreja), so začeli govoriti o Keltskem tigru (MacSharry in White 2000; Sweeney 1998).

Znotraj evropskega konteksta Irska, ki je bila do 1990-ih na periferiji, jasno ilustrira prevlado ločnic med jedrom in periferijo, ki obstajajo v mednarodnem obsegu in prikazujejo izbirne spremembe v razvojnih vzorcih in globalizacijo gospodarskih dejavnosti. Ločnice med jedrom in periferijo pa obstajajo tudi znotraj jedrnih in perifernih gospodarstev, kar je jasno razvidno na primeru Irske. Gospodarski vplivi globalizacije na dejavnosti so ponazorjene z razvojem na Irskem v primerjavi z naraščajočo odvisnostjo perifernih dežel.

Z modernim kapitalizmom, ki je na čelu globalizacije in krčenja časa in prostora, je proizvodnja prevzela nove vzorce post-industrijskega sveta in korporacijskega dela. To lahko razlagamo kot odziv na fordizem, zasičenost domačega trga in visoko organizirano politično ekonomijo, ki vključuje združenja, družbeno blaginjo, čezmorsko konkurenco in kulturno diplomacijo s posledično deindustrializacijo jedrnih gospodarstev. Tehnologija in komunikacije sta glavna ključa do kompresije prostora v tem globalnem gospodarstvu. Ta dva elementa sta bila od 1980-ih tudi prioriteta irske oblasti (Knox in Agnew 1998).

Poslovni odzivi na spremembe v 1970-ih so bili koncentracija in eliminacija, prevzemi manjših podjetij in centralizacija – gigantske konglomeratne družbe ali transnacionalne korporacije. Do 1990-ih je 90 % združenih podjetij v ZDA vključevalo konglomeratne družbe, kar bi lahko vodilo k monopolnemu kapitalu. Kombinirana prekomorska proizvodnja ameriških transnacionalnih korporacij je večja kot BNP katerekoli države na svetu z izjemo ZDA (Knox in Agnew 1998). Irska je bila leta 2000 četrti največji prejemnik neposrednih zunanjih investicijskih tokov v razvitih državah, največji dohod pa je bil iz ZDA (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

Jedrna gospodarstva so postala nasičena z lastnimi potrošnimi proizvodi (fordizem), zaradi česar je bilo nujno ustvariti dobrine, ki izražajo položaj ali so statusni simbol. Takšni so npr. visoko-tehnološki proizvodi. Med jedrnimi državami je prišlo do določene homogenizacije trga, še posebno pri gospodarstvih, ki so ciljala na EZ in pri izvozu proizvodov iz jedrnih gospodarstev na elito na periferiji (Knox in Agnew 1998).

Po 1945 so korporacije uporabile neposredne tuje investicije pri prekomorski proizvodnji, ki je ciljala na lokalne trge in preprečevala nacionalno regulacijo Zahodne Evrope. Naraščajoča konkurenca iz novo industrializiranih držav se je v 1970-ih pojavila večinoma zaradi slabo plačane delovne sile. Na primer, 1992 je urna postavka proizvodnih delavcev v proizvodni industriji na Irskem, v ZK (Združenem kraljestvu) in Avstraliji znašala le 60 % tiste v ZDA. V Braziliji, Mehiki in Azijskih tigrih pa je v primerjavi z ZDA znašala le 10–15 % (Knox in Agnew 1998).

Koncentracija visokega vodenja v svetovnih mestih in skupin za raziskovanje in razvoj, '*hi-tech*' in inovativnih kulturnih miljejev v jedrnih državah je postala očitna, prav tako pa tudi nova mednarodna delitev dela, ki se jasno kaže v avtomobilski industriji in njenem iskanju lokacij, kjer so proizvodni stroški najmanjši, ekspanzivnih gospodarstvih, prodiranju lokalnih trgov in dualnemu poreklu proizvodov. Fordova prva podružnična montažna tovarna zunaj ZDA je nastala v Corku, na jugu Irske, od koder je družina Henryja Forda emigrirala v 19. stoletju.

3 Geografski in zgodovinski kontekst

Celotna površina otoka Irska obsega 84.421 km^2, od tega jurisdikcija Republike Irske pokriva 70.282 km^2, Združenega kraljestva pa na Severnem Irskem približno 14.139 km^2. Število prebivalcev je v prvi 3,9 milijona, v drugi pa 1,5 milijona.

Do 1970 je Irska izkazovala vse značilnosti tipičnega kolonialnega gospodarstva. Od leta 1600 so različne kolonizacijske strategije vodile k nastanku Združenega kraljestva Velike Britanije in Irske (1800). To je vodilo k obsežni deindustrializaciji, razen na SV otoka, poleg tega pa je Irska izkusila tudi zadnjo veliko lakoto v Evropi (1845–48). Po neuspeli vstaji (1916) in uspešni Vojni za neodvisnost (1919–21) je Irska z nastankom svobodne države na jugu postala neodvisna, severni del pa je ostal del Združenega kraljestva Velike Britanije in Severne Irske (1922). Jug je navsezadnje postal Republika Irska in država je ostala v klasični neokolonialni ekonomski situaciji. Po pristopu k EGS (1973) je okrog 55 % irskega izvoza še vedno šlo v ZK. Odprtje proti globalnemu gospodarstvu in zmanjšanje odvisnosti od ZK je bil pomemben psihološki korak; delež irskega izvoza v ne-britanska območja se je povečal s 45 % na 76 %. Do 1950-ih je Irska vpeljala gospodarsko politiko zaščitnih carin, ki pa ni bila uspešna in Irska je tako vse do 1960-ih ostala strukturno periferna država. V pripravah na vstop v EGS, je Irska leta 1965 podpisala Anglo-Irski sporazum o prosti trgovini. Po vključitvi v EGS je sledil nenaden napredek, temu pa je sledila globalna recesija (1970–80-ih).

4 Prizadevanje Irske za pridružitev k jedrnim gospodarstvom

Republika Irska se je, če jo primerjamo z evropskimi državami na celini, pridružila EGS kot periferno gospodarstvo, do 1990-ih pa je bilo zanjo značilno najbolj dinamično gospodarstvo v Evropi, saj je bil delež rasti trikrat večji kot je znašalo povprečje EZ. Do 2001 je rast BDP-ja prekašala delež v EZ za faktor 4, delež Organizacije za ekonomsko sodelovanje in razvoj (OECD) pa za faktor 3. Vendar pa BDP Irske presega BNP za okrog 20 %, tako da bi moral biti življenjski standard enak evropskemu do 2005, višji pa do 2010 (Enterprise Ireland, 2002). Takšno spremembo v gospodarstvu lahko deloma pripišemo članstvu v EZ, poleg tega pa tudi konvergenci faktorjev znotraj Irske. Izkušnje v drugih gospodarsko perifernih državah znotraj EZ, kot sta Portugalska in Grčija, so bile kljub podobni politiki EZ in finančni pomoči drugačne kot na Irskem.

V prizadevanju za zmanjšanje razlik med jedrom in periferijo in za uveljavitev podpore znotraj EZ in znotraj Irske, so bile pomembne fundacije EZ, še posebno strukturni in kohezijski skladi. Poleg tega pa je prišlo tudi do velikega vpliva direktnih tujih investicij, ki so bile povezane s spreminjanjem lokacijskega značaja transnacionalnih družb (TNC-ji). Zaradi državnih investicij, izobrazbe, usposabljanja in tehnoloških inovacij se je izoblikovala izkušena delovna sila prilagojena na industrijo visoke tehnologije. To je sovpadalo z globalno revolucijo visoke tehnologije in E-trgovine. Inovativni pragmatični vladni politiki je pomagal pristop družbenega partnerstva, ki je vključeval vlado, sindikat in nove vladne organizacije (NGO). To gospodarsko revolucijo na Irskem so vzpodbudile demografske spremembe in mlada delovna sila, ki je bila posledica '*baby booma*' v 1970-ih in je postala del zaposljive delovne sile do 1990-ih. Odprtost za mednarodno trgovino dobrin in storitvenih dejavnosti ter novih idej je postala očitna. Dinamika se je odražala tudi v kulturni sferi, to pa je imelo tudi pozitiven vpliv na turizem.

Kulturna renesansa se izraža doma in v tujini prek delovanja Ircev v glasbeni industriji, ki vključuje tako tradicionalne kot tudi moderne avtorje: U2, the Corrs, Sinead O'Connor, Westlife, Boyzone in Van Morrison. Na odru Evrovizije je Irska v 1970-ih zmagala enkrat, v 1980-ih dvakrat in v 1990-ih trikrat in tako prikazala svojo manjšinsko kulturo milijonom gledalcev v Evropi in drugod, prav tako pa tudi z moderniziranou verzijo tradicionalne predstave Riverdance. Ta kulturni izraz je bil mednarodna izjava slogana *joie de vivre* (veselje do življenja), samozavesti na evropskem odru navkljub majhnosti in opustitvi kolonialnih/neokolonialnih kompleksov. Na enak način je Irish pub, ki je vedno deloval kot nevtralno zbirališče družbe na Irskem in v državah z diasporo kot neuradna ambasada za vzpostavljanje mreže in integracijo, postal del globalne kulture v Parizu, Ljubljani, Washingtonu, Moskvi, Canberri in Pekingu.

5 Irska strategija v EGS/EZ

Preživetje Irske v EZ je temeljilo na dveh ključnih pristopih; podpora moči komisije in maksimiziranje suverene delitve. Podpora moči komisije kot edinemu telesu, ki lahko predlaga zakonodajo, je bila nujna, saj bi drugače večje države imele preveč moči. Irska je skušala maksimizirati deljenje suverenosti pri zadevah, pri katerih bi lahko večje države skušale ohraniti svojo moč pri uveljavitvi svojih interesov na račun majhnih držav. To je postavilo Irsko v tabor pozitivno aktivnih Evropejcev, ki so stremeli za bodočo ekonomsko in politično integracijo (Sheehy-Skeffington 2003).

Na enotnem trgu je bilo čutiti priznanje slabe gospodarske slike in birokratskih ovir; potreba po gospodarski in politični okrepitvi EC (Evropske komisije) pa je zahtevala uskladitev nacionalnih zakonodaj. Med irskim predsedovanjem leta 1984 je s strogim urnikom o zapiranju problematičnih vprašanj prišlo do uravnovešenja občutljivosti glede nacionalnih interesov. Ko je po šestih mesecih predsedništvo rotiralo, je irsko predsedstvo specialnega odbora James Dooge ostalo neizzvano. Njegov odbor je navsezadnje pripravil institucionalne prilagoditve, ki so jih zasnovali v Single European Actu, ki je revitaliziral sprejemanje odločitev znotraj EZ.

Takšen irski entuzijazem za evropski projekt se odseva v dejstvu, da so 3 % uslužbencev v institucijah EZ po narodnosti Irci, čeprav predstavljajo Irci manj kot 1 % prebivalstva EZ, Pat Cox pa je bil izbran za predsednika Evropskega parlamenta. Vsemu navkljub se Irska, ko pride do uzakonitve zakonov iz Evrope, skupaj z Italijo in Portugalsko uvršča med tri države, ki najmanj upoštevajo zakone sprejete v Evropskem parlamentu. Zavrnitev državne pogodbe *Nice Treaty* (pogodba iz Nice), ki je vključevala predloge o širjenju, je bila močno opozorilo nacionalni vladi in uradom v Bruslju, da morajo glavne ustanove znotraj EZ postati bolj transparentne, razumljive in dostopne navadnim državljanom EZ. Še pred drugim krogom volitev na Irskem je bilo to deloma popravljeno in državna pogodba je bila sprejeta. Irska bo leta 2004 gostila prvo predsedstvo povečane Evrope 25 držav (Sheehy-Skeffington, 2003).

Ob priključitvi Irske EGS/EZ je okrog 55 % irskega izvoza še vedno šlo v ZK, do leta 2003 pa je s 23 % to postalo bolj uravnoteženo. Finančni transferji iz EZ so igrali pri razvoju glavno vlogo. Leta 2000 so Irski celotni prejemki iz EZ znašali 2,6 bilijonov £ neto, kar pomeni 1,5 % BDP-ja. V obdobju med 1980-timi in 1990-timi pa so neto transferji iz EZ znašali v povprečju 4 % GDP letno (Enterprise Ireland 2002). Če odštejemo prispevke v proračun EZ, so prejemki Irske od EZ leta 1973 predstavljali 1,2 % BDP, leta 1983 3,6 %, leta 1993 5,5 % in 1,1 % leta 2002 (Department of Finance 2003). Zato je delež neto transferjev stalno upadal vzporedno z razvojem Irske in rastjo ter prispevki Irske v EZ. Vendar pa so bile fundacije iz EZ v smislu dolgoročnih prispevkov za gospodarstvo, na področjih kot sta infrastruktura in kmetijstvo, zelo pomembne.

6 Gospodarske spremembe v devetdesetih letih

Poglavitni indikator, ki ilustrira spremembe irskega gospodarstva, je porast bruto domačega proizvoda (BDP). Do konca 2001 je dosegel skoraj 130 % evropskega povprečja; prehitela sta ga le Danska in Luksemburg. Od 1960-ih naprej je Irski BDP '*per capita*' ostal na približno 60 % povprečja, v 1980-ih se je povzpel na 65 %; 1990 prešel 70 % povprečja EZ, leta 1999 pa je presegel povprečje EZ.

Preglednica 1: Letna rast BDP 1997–2001 (%).

Irska	OECD	EZ	Finska	Španija	Nizozemska	Švedska	Združeno kraljestvo	Nemčija
9,7	3,2	2,6	4,4	3,9	3,3	3	2,7	1,8

Vir: OECD.

Preglednica 1 prikazuje, da je delež rasti BDP-ja na Irskem presegel BDP skupnosti OECD za faktor 3 in EZ za faktor 4. Naslednja najuspešnejša država v EZ je bila Finska. Medtem ko BDP meri proizvodnjo gospodarstva, BNP meri nacionalni dohodek, oba pa sta si v večini držav močno podobna. Vendar pa v primeru Irske obstaja pomembna razlika. Visoki nivoji proizvodnje, ki so povezani s tujim lastniškim sektorjem, povzročajo pomemben odtok zaslužkov in dividend, ki so odšteti pri merjenju BDP. Izračunali so, da zneski BDP-jev v primerjavi z BNP-jem prikažejo za 20 % preveliko narodno blaginjo (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

Čeprav se je gospodarstvo leta 2001 upočasnilo, so še vedno zabeležili 6,8 % rast BDP-ja. Do upočasnitve je prišlo večinoma zaradi šibkejšega mednarodnega gospodarstva, krčenja visoko tehnoloških sektorjev in sektorjev za informacijsko in komunikacijsko tehnologijo, razdora zaradi slinavke in parkljevke v strateško pomembni živinoreji in šokov, ki so vplivali na ameriško in globalno gospodarstvo po terorističnih napadih 11. septembra 2001.

Po mnenju Irskega ekonomskega, socialnega in raziskovalnega inštituta se pričakuje, da bo povprečna rast BNP-ja v obdobju 2003–05 3 %, kar naj bi bilo posledica ugodnega mednarodnega okolja, stalnih izboljšav v produktivnosti, obnovljene domače in mednarodne konkurenčnosti in učinkovitega spopadanja z dodatnimi pritiski. Rast BDP-ja se je v letu 2003 upočasnila vzporedno z manjšim globalnim povpraševanjem. Vendar pa se v letu 2004 pričakuje izboljšanje, ki bo sovpadalo z izboljšanjem širših evropskih in globalnih gospodarstev, delež gospodarske rasti pa naj bi dosegel vrh leta 2005, ko bo znašal 4,5 %. Gledano globalno je od 60 držav Irska na 10. mestu, glede na regionalno rangiranje pa je od 17 držav šesta (EIU 2003).

7 Ključni gospodarski razvoj v devetdesetih letih

V drugi polovici 1990-ih je bila povprečna rast BDP-ja 8,5 % letno. Izboljšan proračunski položaj z razmerjem med dolgovi in BDP-jem je iz 93 % leta 1983 upadel na 35 % leta 2001, kar je drugi najnižji dolg v razmerju do BDP-ja v EZ. Rast proizvodnje je bila zaposlitveno intenzivna; uspešni sukcesivni Narodni dogovori so podprli omejitev plač in dohodkov. Dohodek na glavo je postajal vse bolj podoben povprečnim dohodkom v EZ; javne finance pa so vzdrževale stabilizacijo makroekonomije. V 1980-ih je vlada sprejela ukrepe za reševanje rastoče neuravnoteženosti v javnih financah in visokih inflacijskih deležih.

Javne finance: V 1990-ih je na Irskem po 20 letih deficita prišlo do glavnih izboljšav v javnih financah. Od 8,6 % deficita BDP leta 1987 je proračun do leta 2000 narasel do takšne mere, da je bil zabeležen 4,6 % presežek, kar je bilo večinoma posledica nižjih izdatkov za obresti in povečanih dohodkov od davkov (Enterprise Ireland 2002). Močno gospodarsko rast so spremljale redukcije splošne davčne obremenitve in v osebnih in korporacijskih davčnih deležih. Vročitev dolga kot delež dohodka od davkov je padel iz 30 % v zgodnjih 1990-ih na pod 10 % leta 2000. Vendar pa v letih 2003/04 pričakujejo majhne deficite. Povečane zahteve po javnih izdatkih izhajajo iz obveze zapisane v Nacionalnem razvojnem planu (2000–06), s katerimi naj bi zaslužili povprečno okrog 5 % BDP letno (NDP 2000–06). Deleži rasti so v 1990-ih vložili največ napora v infrastrukturo, pri čemer so poudarili primanjkljaje, ki začenjajo negativno vplivati na notranje investicije. Nacionalni razvojni program je načrt za stalen gospodarski razvoj in v določenem obdobju poskrbi za produktivne investicije, investicije v izobraževanje in usposabljanje, regionalni razvoj in družbeno vključitev. Irska je v nasprotju s Francijo in Nemčijo še vedno znotraj meje, ki dovoljuje 3 % primanjkljaj, izpolnjuje pa tudi ostale zahteve pakta Finančne stabilnosti in rasti držav znotraj evropskega območja.

Nacionalni razvojni program je postavil strategijo za izboljšanje nacionalne infrastrukture, ki je najbolj ambiciozen javni investicijski načrt v državi do sedaj; načrtuje za 52 milijard £ investicij, 90 % od tega pa bo prišlo iz Irske državne blagajne in salda iz obstoječih programov EZ, večinoma iz strukturnih in kohezijskih skladov in Programa kooperativnih sporazumov. Upajo, da bodo preko investicij privatnega sektorja v javno-privatna družabništva porasle na 2,4 bilijona £. Projekt vključuje *Dublin Port Tunnel*, delo na več kot 40 nacionalnih cestah, tramvajski sistem v Dublinu (LUAS), 180 projektov glede odpadnih voda in 500 projektov o zdravstvenih službah. Brez teh projektov gospodarska rast ne bo možna. Tako kot v 1990-ih investicije v cestne in železniške prometne zveze, so bile kontinuirane investicije v zračne in pristaniške prometne zveze orodje za privabljanje mednarodne trgovine, še posebno s partnerji v EZ. Načrtovani porast števila osebnih avtomobilov do leta 2011 za 60 % in tovorni promet, ki se razvija vzporedno z BDP, zahtevata še nadaljnjo izboljšanje infrastrukture. Načrtovanih razporeditev investicij je v trenutnem NDP-ju za 100 % več kot v NDP-ju v obdobju 1994–1999.

Demografija in zaposlitev: Na Irskem je sedaj 4 milijone ljudi, kar je najvišje število v zadnjih 130 letih in po emigracijskih trendih, ki so jih povzročili lakota (1845–48) in urbani industrijski '*pull*' faktorji v Severni Ameriki in Britaniji. Letna rast števila prebivalcev je 1,3 % in je najvišja v EZ. Velik doprinos delovne sile je rezultat '*baby booma*' v 1970-ih. Okrog 36 % prebivalstva je v starostni kategoriji 20–44 let, 33 % prebivalcev pa je starih 19 let in manj. Padajoč delež rojstev v 1980-ih se bo uravnovesil z vrnitvijo irskih emigrantov in imigrantov iz držav irske diaspore kot tudi iz EZ, Srednje in Vzhodne Evrope in beguncev, medtem ko je bila v 1990-ih zabeležen porast deleža ženske delovne sile.

V nasprotju s klasičnimi razmerji odvisnosti, ki so bili očitni še pozno v 1980-ih, je irsko razmerje odvisnosti med najbolj ugodnimi v Evropi. Glede na predvidevanja ZN (Združenih narodov) bo do leta 2005 znašal 45,9 %; drugi najnižji v EZ; medtem ko bo odvisnost starejšega prebivalstva s 17,1 %, najnižja v EZ. Oskrba z delovno silo vztraja pri 1,4 % letno. Znotraj območja evra se irske plače uvrščajo na 11. mesto. Delež zaposlenosti se je povečal za 1/3, medtem ko je delež brezposelnosti padel za več kot 50 %. V srednjih 80-ih je bila povprečna brezposelnost 17 % in se je razlikovala od povprečja EZ, ki je bil 9 %. Med 1986–96 je bila rast BDP-ja 5 % na leto, zaposlenost je zrasla za 26 %/leto, medtem ko je bilo povprečje EZ 7 %. V obdobju med 1987–1996 je zaposlenost v proizvodnji narasla za 14 %, medtem ko so drugje beležili upad, npr. v ZK 17 % in v Nemčiji 30 % (Breathnach 1998). Trenutni delež brezposelnosti je 4,3 %, leta 1993 je bil 15,7 %, od 1993 pa je celotna delovna sila porasla za 20 %. Letni porast zaposlenosti, ki znaša od 1993 3 % na leto bi lahko primerjali z 2 % letnim porastom v ZDA in 0,5 % porastom v EZ. Trenutne napovedi o zaposlenosti do 2004 poročajo o 1,5 % rasti letno.

8 Spreminjanje prebivalstva in imigracija

Po besedah Imigrantskega sveta Irske (2003) se je Irska preobrazila iz ene izmed najbolj homogenih dežel v EZ v državo z visoko stopnjo spreminjanja prebivalstva v času, obsegu in prostoru. Število narodnostno neopredeljenih prebivalcev na Irskem je poraslo; leta 1991 je OECD pregledal tuje prebivalstvo 22 držav in ocenil, da ima Irska od 22 držav deveti najvišji delež tujega prebivalstva, le-ta pa je v poznih 1980-ih naraščal za 5 % letno. Nasprotno pa je bil podatek za ZK 1,7 %. OECD je ocenila, da je do 1999 delež tujega prebivalstva na Irskem zrasel z okrog 118,000 tujcev živečih v tej državi na tretjega najvišjega med 22 državami, ki so bile vključene v raziskavo. Leta 2002 je Centralni statistični urad ocenil, da je na Irskem živelo 224.261 narodnostno neopredeljenih prebivalcev. Ocenjuje se, da bo v Dublinu do leta 2005 20 % prebivalcev, ki so narodnostno neopredeljeni.

Slika 1: Popis prebivalstva po narodnosti, 2002. Vir: CSO * Številke v oklepajih predstavljajo celotni popis prebivalstva leta 1996.
Glej angleški del prispevka.

Slika 2: Migracijski delavci in iskalci azila. Vir: Departments of Justice, Equality and Law Reform in Trade and Enterprise. Opomba: Glede na imigrantski svet Irske (2003) *Labour Migration into Ireland, je bila leta 1987 emigracija 70.600.*
Glej angleški del prispevka.

Tuji delavci so lahko faktor za zadrževanje nizke stopnje inflacije plač. Na primer, Dublin Bus z 9 % narodnostno neopredeljenih voznikov, ki prihajajo iz 45 različnih držav, od katerih največjo skupino predstavljajo Romuni. V IBM-u na Irskem je zaposlenih 3600 uslužbencev iz več kot 60 držav; v odsekih kot je proizvodnja in dot.com jih je kar 75 % tuje narodnosti. Delodajalci iščejo delavce v pol-kvalificiranem sektorju, v turizmu pa se v veliki meri zanašajo na delavce iz Vzhodne Evrope. V medicinskem sektorju mladi zdravniki večinoma prihajajo iz držav izven EZ. Od 4000 nespecializiranih bolnišničnih zdravnikov jih je 53 % brez državljanstva, še posebno iz Indije in Afrike (Hepojoki 2003).

9 Proces družbenega partnerstva

V nasprotju z nasprotujočimi si vidiki kulture delodajalec-delavec na Irskem v 1970-ih, se je v 1990-ih prikazal sporazumen model, ki je vključeval družabništvo za gospodarsko upravljanje – vlado in družbene partnerje. Relativno zatišje v industriji, zmeren porast plač, progresivno zmanjševanje plač in stalno ustvarjanje delovnih mest so bili večinoma sadeži tega modela. Davčna reforma in dogovori glede omejitve plač so močno prispevali h konkurenčnosti irskega gospodarstva (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

10 Irska in Evropska monetarna unija

Leta 1999 se je Irska kvalificirala za vstop v Evropsko monetarno unijo (EMU). Do tega je prišla na relativno lahek način, ki je bil podkrepljen z izboljšavami v gospodarstvu in javnih financah. Irska mednarodno orientirana poslovna zveza je pospeševala integracijo s trgom EZ in dvignila kredibilnost Irske za lokacijo mobilnih investicij preko promocije EMU. Nizke obrestne mere so pospeševale poslovne investicije in vzdrževale deleže rasti. Prehod na uporabo evra (2002) je bil relativno netežaven in Irska je bila med prvimi 12 članicami območja evra, ki so zaključile proces. Poročevalci domnevajo, da so bili naraščajoči inflacijski deleži, precenjene kulturne norme v mnogih sektorjih, še posebno v trgovini na drobno in v zavarovalništvu, stranski efekti preureditve na Irskem, ki ji je botroval evro.

11 Glavne spremembe v gospodarstvu

Irska je najbolj izvozno orientirana država v EZ in po Singapurju drugi največji svetovni trgovski izvoznik. Okrog 85 % proizvodov se izvozi (WTO 2002). Izvozna rast predstavlja 50 % letne rasti gospodarstva in je tako edinstvena v industrializiranem svetu. Irski trgovinski saldo (trgovanje) je bil v 1970-ih negativen, do 1990-ih pa je postal pozitiven (15 %). V obdobju 1997–2001 je bil povprečen letni delež realnega izvoza 15,9 %, najvišji med 30 OECD državami, v katere so vključene tudi države EZ. Povprečje celotnega OECD je bil 6 %, sledila mu je Koreja (14,6 %). Izvozna rast na Irskem je v 1990-ih prehitela svetovno trgovinsko rast za faktor 3, medtem ko je bila povprečna rast uvoza 15,2 % in je bila tako v obdobju 1997–2001 najvišja v OECD.

Preglednica 2: Letna rast izvoza v % v obdobju 1997–2001.

Irska	OECD	Koreja	Grčija	Finska	Švedska	Danska	Nizozemska	Združeno kraljestvo
15,9	6	14,6	10,9	9,5	7,5	6,8	6,4	5,6

Vir: OECD.

Naraščajoči presežki v trgovanju so se nadaljevali kljub uvozu. Irski trgovinski presežek je leta 2001 znašal 24 % celotnega trgovanja in je bil tako trikrat večji od presežka v letu 1990 (znašal je 8 %). Presežek je leta 2001 predstavljal 30 % BDP-ja in 36 % BNP-ja. Leta 2001 je izvoz dobrin in storitev dosegal 92 % BDP in 111 % BNP, medtem ko je bila izvozna norma v EZ 20–30 %. Izvoz Irske *per capita* je bil leta 2000 več kot sedemkrat večji kot v ZDA, štirikrat večji kot v ZK in trikrat večji kot v Nemčiji, kar je Irsko postavljalo pred tako različne in gosto poseljene države kot so Avstralija, Brazilija, Tajska in Danska (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

Trgovanje je gnala velika razširitev proizvodne osnove, od katere je šlo 85 % v izvoz. Proizvodni sektor v tuji lasti izvaža okrog 94 % proizvodov. Poslovno okolje Irske, ki je ugodno za izvoz, je bil, bolj kot za domači trg, glavni pull dejavnik za tuje družbe. Vendar pa irske firme vedno bolj oskrbujejo tuje trge iz svojih tujih podružnic in ne z direktnim izvozom.

ZK ostaja glavni izvozni trg Irske – 24 % celotnega izvoza (2001), leta 1973 pa je bil delež 55 %. Kar 45 % izvoza firm v lasti Ircev gre v ZK. Zaradi visoke stopnje uvoza iz ZK in velikega deleža uvoza irskih produktov v ZK (35 %) je irski tržni višek z ZK dosti manjši kot za EZ in ZDA. Tržno razmerje med ZK in Irsko je približno uravnoteženo. Sedaj so drugi največji izvozni trg Irske ZDA s 17 %. Glavni razlog za to so dejavnosti služb na Irskem v lasti ZDA. Izvoz Irske v EZ (brez ZK) je leta 2001 znašal 38 %, leta 1973 pa 21 %. Čeprav izvoz Irske v EZ od 1973 narašča, ga je v zadnjem desetletju zasenčil izreden porast izvoza v ZDA.

12 Notranje investicije

Do 1980-ih so bile glavne značilnosti industrije v tuji lasti na Irskem nezahtevno sestavljanje in pakiranje, omejene lokalne povezave in visoka raven profitne repatriacije; to so tipične značilnosti perifernih vej gospodarstva v NIDL (*New International Division of Labour* – Nova mednarodna delitev dela).

Lahko bi sklepali, da so bile notranje investicije najbolj kritičen faktor pri gospodarski tranziciji Irske od perifernega do jedrnega gospodarstva. Prispevale so h glavni porasti zaposlenosti, tehnološke izkušenosti in strokovnega znanja, k boljšim povezavam z domačo industrijo, to pa je spodbujalo produktivnost in rast izvoza. Integracijo najboljše prakse, boljši nivo spretnosti, usposobljenosti in izpostavljenosti vodilnim tehnologijam v irskih firmah so gnale direktne tuje investicije. Faktorji, ki to podpirajo, so nizki korporacijski davki, 10 % do 2002, sedaj 12,5 %, kar predstavlja 15 % celotnega dobička, ki ga državi prinesejo davki. Od 1970-ih so kapitalne dotacije tujim družbam igrale pomembno vlogo, v nasprotju z ostalimi jedrnimi gospodarstvi pa je na Irskem obstajala tudi poceni delovna sila. Strategije Irskega razvojnega urada so bile od 1980-ih usmerjene v tehnično sofisticirane aktivnosti, kot so elektronika, farmacija, skrb za zdravje, mednarodni trgovski posli, finančni posli, programska oprema in '*back-office*' dejavnosti. V zvezi z direktnimi tujimi investicijami je bilo med 1998 in 2001 investiranih okrog 63 bilijonov £ (Enterprise Ireland, 2002). V mednarodnih trgovskih službah, ki so v tuji lasti, se je zaposlenost dvignila od 3600 leta 1987 na 18.400 leta 1996 (Breathnach 1998).

Od 1990-ih je glavni izvoz temeljil na petih sektorjih visoke tehnologije, pri katerih so bile tuje investicije skoncentrirane v elektroniki, skrbi za zdravje, farmaciji in računalništvu, programski opremi, kemikalijah in brezalkoholnih pijačah. Njihov prispevek k celotni rasti BDP-ja je bil 60 %. Irska je bila leta 2000 po dotoku direktnih tujih investicij v razvitih državah četrti največji prejemnik. '*Pull*' faktorje za investitorje so predstavljale davčne vzpodbude, obilna oskrba z izobraženimi delavci in Enotni evropski trg (Single European Market 1992). To in velike investicije v infrastrukturo, še posebno iz regionalnih in strukturnih skladov EZ, ki so za celotno državo primarnega pomena, so do nedavnega tvorili okolje, ki je prijazno za tuje investicije. Sedaj se regionalni in strukturni skladi EZ s primarnim ciljem nanašajo samo na dele meje, notranjosti in na zahodno regijo (BMW). Leta 1992 se je cela Irska kvalificirala za maksimalni znesek investicij EZ – status primarnega cilja – kajti povprečni dohodek je znašal manj kot 75 % povprečja EZ. Leta ekonomske rasti na Irskem so pomenila, da se 26 okrožij (Republike Irske) kot celota ni več kvalificiralo za maksimalni znesek investicij EZ. Določeni poročevalci domnevajo, da so mnogi infrastrukturni projekti, ki so bili financirani s strani Plana 1994–99, dajali prednost vzhodnim in južnim okrožjem na Irskem, medtem ko so zahodna in severozahodna kot tudi mnoga urbana in ruralna območja trpela zaradi prikrajšanja. Namen strukturnih skladov je bil preko vzpodbujanja trajnega gospodarskega razvoja v šibkejših regijah, ki podpirajo subsidiarnost, povečati socialno in ekonomska kohezijo EZ.

Svojstvene značilnosti direktnih tujih investicij na Irskem prikazujejo, da gre kar 50 % investicij v Center za finančne službe v Dublinu (IFSC). Ta investicijska kategorija pokriva premike kapitala tujih družb v njihove finančne podružnice osnovane v IFSC, večinoma za investiranje v prekomorsko premoženje. Večina neposrednih tujih investicij, ki niso v okviru IFSC vključujejo investicije v nove tovarne in širjenje. Zelo majhen delež predstavljajo združevanje in/ali prevzemi irskih družb, kar je v nasprotju z vzorci v večini razvitih držav. Anti-globalizacijski komentatorji kot tudi države, ki z Irsko tekmujejo za direktne tuje investicije, na zadeve povezane s prenosno-cenovnimi strategijami multinacionalnih centrov ne gledajo z odobravanjem. Povečanje proizvodnje, kot posledica direktnih tujih investicijskih tokov na Irskem, je tudi po mednarodnih standardih zelo veliko (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

Na Irskem je nesorazmeren delež ameriških neposrednih tujih investicij, katerih povprečni delež je v 1990-ih znašal 67 %, kar Irsko uvršča po dotoku direktnih tujih investicij iz ZDA takoj za Nizozemsko in ZK. Vendar pa ima na prebivalca Irska dvakrat večji delež direktnih tujih investicij iz ZDA kot ZK, ki je drugi največji prejemnik per capita. Direktne tuje investicije iz ZDA so skoncentrirane v proizvodnji, kar je v nasprotju z večino direktnih tujih investicij iz EZ, ki jih je moč najti v Centru za finančne službe (npr. Nemčija) ali v storitvah in maloprodaji (npr. ZK). Na Irskem je okrog tretjina celotne ameriške elektronike v Evropi (Enterprise Ireland, 2002). Čeprav prebivalci Irske predstavljajo manj kot 1 % celotnega prebivalstva v EZ, je Irska v 1990-ih v EZ privabila 12 % od celotnih direktnih tujih investicij, delež direktnih tujih investicij, ki jih je Irska privabila v EZ iz ZDA pa je bil 25 %. Leta 1995 so ameriške transnacionalne družbe predstavljale 50 % proizvodne zaposlenosti, 67 % proizvodne produkcije in 75 % neprehrambenega proizvodnega izvoza Irske (Breatnach 1998).

Direktne tuje investicije napajajo izvozno usmerjen in visoko usposobljen industrijski sektor, posebno v proizvodnji visoke tehnike in tržnih službah (programska oprema, telemarketing, finančne službe in deljene korporacijske službe). Na Irskem so prisotne vse vodilne ameriške družbe za informacijsko tehnologijo in večina velikih farmacevtskih družb. Glavne multinacionalke vključujejo Microsoft, Oracle, Lotus, Pfizer, Merck Sharp and Doehme, American Home Products, Boston Scientific, Intel, IBM in Hewlett Packard.

13 Zunanje investicije

Naraščajoči trendi irskih investicij v tujini so v skladu z vzorci v drugih gospodarstvih, ki se premikajo proti višjim stopnjam ekonomskega razvoja. Leta 2000 so imele irske družbe 16 milijard $ tujega premoženja, leta 1985 pa 200 milijonov $. Čeprav je njen delež tujega kapitala v EZ le 0,5 %, se je glede na delež na prebivalca povzpela znotraj držav EZ na deveto mesto, višje kot Italija in Avstrija. Zaradi zgodovinskih, kulturnih in jezikovnih razlogov je večina irskih investicij (85 %) usmerjenih v ZDA in ZK. Do 1999 so irske družbe zaposlile v ZDA 65.000 ljudi, ameriške družbe pa so na Irskem zaposlile 78.500 ljudi. Vpeljava evra (2002) bi lahko vplivala na preusmeritev investicijskih tokov; evropska cona je tako leta 2001 privabila 45 % celotnih investicij (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

Zunanje investicije imajo lahko pozitivne koristi za irsko gospodarstvo npr. boljšo integracijo s tujimi podružnicami, vzpodbujanje trgovine, prenos tehnologije in integracija v globalne proizvodne mreže, deluje pa lahko tudi kot katalizator za preusmerjanje v dejavnosti z višjo dodano vrednostjo. Seveda je to del procesa tranzicije Irske v globalizirano gospodarstvo.

14 Državna politika in Urad za industrijski razvoj

Irski Urad za industrijski razvoj (IDA) igra v gospodarskem razvoju glavno vlogo. Ustanovljene leta 1949, so družbe Urada za industrijski razvoj do 2000 ustvarile 142.000 stalnih služb. V času nastanka tega urada je bilo zaščitništvo še vedno temeljni kamen državne politike in je ostal takšen do poznih 1950-ih. Do glavnega premika proti prosti trgovini je prišlo z Whitaker-jevim poročilom leta 1958; izvoz proizvodnje je takrat predstavljal ključ do razvoja Irske. Vladne spodbude, ki naj bi vzpodbudile ustanovitev tujih družb na Irskem, so sedaj vključevale neobdavčenost izvoznih dobičkov in dotacije za usposabljanje delovne sile. IBM je bil ob ustanovitvi leta 1957 med prvimi multinacionalkami, ki so na irskem postavile svoje podjetje. Med 1950 in 60-timi so bile na Irskem ustanovljene britanske in nemške družbe. Le-te so izkoristile režim nizkih plač, ki je bil posledica brezposelnosti in emigracijske kulture in pomanjkanja resnične državno usmerjene sektorske strategije. Nemški izdelovalec električnih naprav Krups, je v obdobju 1964–98 postal glavni delodajalec v Limericku; na svojem višku je zaposloval 1.400 ljudi. Krups je prevzela francoska družba Moulinex, ki je znižala zaposlitev na 500 ljudi, do poznih 1990-ih pa je z zlomom Moulinex-ovega trga v Rusiji po vzoru klasičnih vzorcev nove mednarodne delitve dela premaknila proizvodnjo v Azijo. Kot posledica skupnih naporov medagencijskih služb je prišlo v obdobju enega leta v Limericku do ustanovitve Telecomove družbe Chorus in državne agencije CERT. Le-ti pa sta zmanjšali brezposelnost (Thesing 2003 a). Urad za industrijski razvoj se je usmeril proti posebni zvezi ameriško-irske diaspore; ta korak je bil uspešen. Tako je npr. korporacija Pfizer v Ringaskiddy-ju, Cork, leta 1969 postavila kemično tovarno (MacSharry in White 2000).
Članstvo v EGS/EZ (1973) je vzpodbudil irske tržne strategije v ZDA in na Bližnjem vzhodu ponujajoč poceni, angleško govorečo, proizvodno lokacijo z dostopom do evropskega trga z 250 milijoni ljudi. Vendar pa so 1970-ta leta ovirali naftna kriza, globalna recesija in težave v Severni Irski. Vsemu navkljub je Urad za industrijski razvoj postajal vse bolj profesionalen in bolje obveščen o pojavljajočih se tehnologijah in ciljnih vodilnih družbah v specifičnih sektorjih, ki so želele dostop do trga EGS/EZ. Urad za industrijski razvoj je obdržal dobre zveze s starševskimi družbami in podružničnimi tovarnami na Irskem in tako olajšal delovanje lokalnih uradov in nacionalnih vlad; zato so se multinacionalne družbe nagibale k razširitvi produkcije na Irskem.

Do poznih 1970-ih je elektronska industrija vstopila v geografijo Irske. Glavna družba, Mostek iz Dallasa, Texas, je začela proizvajati čipe za evropski trg. To je dalo Uradu za industrijski razvoj še večjo samozavest pri ponujanju Irske kot lokacije primerne za visoko-tehnološke investicije. Kljub temu so se 1980-ta soočila z večjo recesijo, hitro rastjo inflacije (20 %), brezposelnostjo in emigracijo. To se je dogajalo v obdobju, ko partnerice Irske iz EZ niso odobravale neobdavčitve izvoznih profitov in zato je bilo potrebno ta sistem spremeniti in uvesti zakon o 10 % skupnem davku, ki pa je bil po standardih EZ še vedno zelo konkurenčen. Urad za industrijski razvoj je ciljal na sektor programske opreme, poudarjajoč prednosti mlade, izobražene delovne sile.

Leta 1989 je s pomočjo Urada za industrijski razvoj Intel v Dublinski regiji začel s proizvodnjo mikro-čipnih procesorjev in računalniških sistemov. V času enega desetletja je imel na Irskem kljub konkurenci iz sedmih drugih evropskih držav, ki so privabile Intel, zaposlenih 3500 ljudi. Kapitalna pomoč Urada za industrijski razvoj, ki je bila namenjena Intelu, je znašala 110 milijonov evrov in je bila plačljiva v 10 letih. Vendar pa je od leta 2001 prišlo pri Intelu Irska do zmanjšanja števila zaposlenih. Prosto naravo multinacionalnih družb je moč prikazati z zaprtjem drugih industrij osnovanih na računalništvu; v 1990-ih je prišlo do zaprtja Digital-a v Galway-u in Seagate-a v Clonmelu (1400 zaposlenih), kar je imelo na ti regiji resne družbeno-ekonomske vplive. Stranski proizvod multinacionalne družbe Digital je bila domača družba Parthus Ceva, ki je doživela uspeh (Thesing 2003a). Znotraj domačega sektorja domači trg prevzame 67 % prodaje, vendar pa se izvozni trg razširja. Proizvodni '*bum*' v 1990-ih je povzročil tudi masiven razvoj gradbene industrije in industrije gradbenega materiala za tovarne in stanovanja.

Privabljanje direktnih tujih investicij pod okriljem Urada za industrijski razvoj ostaja glavna strategija irskega globalizacijskega procesa. Tipična družba s podporo Urada za industrijski razvoj je Oracle, ki je bila ustanovljena leta 1985 kot nizko proračunska transportna in distribucijska družba z 90 zaposlenimi. Do 2003 je postala uspešna evropska centrala s 1000 zaposlenimi in 2 bilijoni $ dobička letno. To ponazarja strategijo Urada za industrijski razvoj, ki sestoji iz vzpenjanja po vrednostni lestvici in direktne tuje investicije (Thesing 2003a).

V globalizacijskih procesih so meje med domačimi in tujimi družbami ter njihovo vključitvijo pogosto zabrisane. Na splošno so se podružnične tovarne v tuji lasti vključile v irsko gospodarstvo in imele še posebno na zaposlenost močan pomnoževalni vpliv; na vsakih 100 delovnih mest, ki so nastala ob podpori tujih sredstev, jih je na nacionalni ravni nastalo 125. Vendar pa je vzvratne lokalne povezave nekoliko omejila potreba irskih podružničnih tovarn, ki je bila obdržati '*input/output*' povezave s podružnicami v tujini z namenom maksimizirati davčne ugodnosti pri manipulacijah transfernih cen, ki jih te tovarne izvajajo v velikem obsegu (Breatnach 1998).

15 Izobraževanje in usposabljanje

Izobraževanje in usposabljanje tvorita bistven del politike. V Nacionalnem razvojnem programu je odločba, ki predpisuje investicije (12,6 milijard £) v možnost zaposlitve in usposabljanje vključno z izobrazbo, dostop do tretje stopnje izobrazbe, razvoj spretnosti in vajeništvo. Izdatek za izobrazbo se je od 1985 povečal za 150 %. Delež 25 do 34-letnikov z višjo izobrazbo je drugi najvišji v Evropi in četrti v OECD. V 1990-ih se je število rednih študentov na tretjem nivoju izobrazbe zvišalo za 80 %, na tehničnih/tehnoloških inštitutih pa za 50 %. Trenutno na leto diplomira iz računalništva 2000 študentov, kar je isto kot v Nemčiji. Izobrazbena in starostna struktura sta pomembni; 30 % prebivalstva v starosti 55–64 let je zaključilo drugi nivo izobrazbe, pri starih 22–34 let pa je delež 66 %, kar je veliko nad povprečjem OECD (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

Zgodovinsko gledano država ni veliko vlagala v raziskovanje in razvoj. Delež BDP-ja, ki je namenjen za raziskovanje in razvoj, uvršča Irsko v zadnjo tretjino industrijskih gospodarstev. Prizadevanja so bila skoncentrirana v nekaj sektorjih v gospodarstvih pod okriljem multinacionalk. Tega se zavedajo in tako je že prišlo do nekaterih prizadevanj za vzpostavitev ravnotežja.

16 Elektronska trgovina

Da bi ohranila gospodarski razvoj, je država storila naslednje korake: liberalizacija trga telekomunikacij, precejšne investicije v širokopasovno infrastukturo in vpeljava e-trgovine z uporabnikom najbolj prijaznim načinom uporabe v EZ. Leta 2001 sta bila zaključena dva glavna projekta za transatlantsko povezavo z optičnim kablom, ki sta oskrbela družbe, ki delujejo na Irskem s poceni širokopasovno povezavo z ZK in ZDA. Do tega je prišlo zato, da bi vzpodbudili razvoj države kot žarišče e-trgovine, cilj pa je bil v 5 letih prinesti hiter internetni dostop do skoraj 200 irskih mest. Da bi pospešili in olajšali e-trgovino, irsko pravo priznava digitalni podpis.

Dublinski projekt digitalnega okrožja je združil urbano preobrazbo z vodilnimi internetnimi in poslovnimi tehnologijami. Futuristično digitalno okrožje (6 kvadratnih milj) je načrtovano tako, da bi ustvarilo 7000 visoko-tehnoloških služb in združilo tradicionalne umetnosti – film, grafično oblikovanje, glasbo, oglaševanje – z novimi računalniško zasnovanimi tehnologijami, ki bi ustvarjale digitalno vsebino, ki bi bila potem prenešena preko telefonov, televizije in interneta. Media Lab Europe (podružnica MIT-jevega Media Laba) deluje kot izdelovalec in '*pull*' zastopnik (Enterprise Ireland 2002).

17 Obdavčenje

Liberalizacija irskega sistema obdavčitve je bila glavna vzpodbuda ekonomske rasti. Do poznih 1990-ih je delež dohodka od davkov predstavljal 32 % BDP-ja. Obdavčenje je bilo sedmo najnižje v OECD in več kot 9 % pod povprečjem EZ. Uporabljena strategija je vključevala znižanje davkov na dohodek kot tudi znižanje korporacijskega davka. Okolje z udobnimi korporacijskimi davki je igralo ključno vlogo pri vzpodbujanju direktnih tujih investicij. Davek na dobičke iz proizvodnje in mednarodnih trgovinskih poslov znaša 10 %, splošni korporacijski davek pa je 16 % in je tako najnižji v EZ. Zaradi pritiskov partneric iz EZ so leta 2003 uvedli 12,5 % davek na trgovinske dobičke v vseh sektorjih, vključno s proizvodnjo in mednarodnimi službami. Korporacijski davek znaša okrog 15 % celotnega dohodka od davkov.

18 Irska borza vrednostnih papirjev

Irska borza vrednostnih papirjev se je preoblikovala iz relativno nepomembne v pomembno značilnost irske finančne infrastrukture. Čeprav izvira že iz leta 1793, se je resnično pojavila šele v 1960-ih. Leta 1964 so zagnali papirnico Jefferson Smurfit v Dublinu in čez nekaj let je večinoma zaradi prevzemov postala največja irska industrijska družba in ena največjih papirnih in pakirnih družb na svetu. V 1960-ih je prišlo tudi do vrste spojitev in pridobitev med irskimi bankami, ki so dosegle višek v dveh skupinah, Bank of Ireland (Banka Irske) in Allied Irish Banks (Združene irske banke). Zadnji dve sta izzvali monopol Industrijske kreditne korporacije glede vprašanj, ki se tičejo Borze vrednostnih papirjev. Industrijska kreditna korporacija je bila pol-državna družba, ki je imela od 1933 vodilno vlogo pri oskrbi s krediti. Do pojava združene Irske, ki se je, kot je bilo prikazano, vršil s skupnim prihodom treh glavnih destilarn viskija, družba Waterford Crystal pa se je odcepila od družbe Irish Glass Bottles kot ločena borzna kotacija. Leta 1970 sta se dve družbi združili v Cement Roadstone Holdings in do 1990-ih so na Irski borzi vrednostnih papirjev prevladovale delnice sedmih družb: Bank of Ireland, AIB, Smurfit, CRH, Waterford Crystal, PJ Carroll Cigarettes in Irish Distilleries. Potrebno je omeniti, da je irski funt ostal povezan z britanskim sterlingom od 1826 do 1979, ko se je Irska pridružila Evropskemu monetarnemu sistemu ZK pa ne. Sedaj so se irske družbe kot so Smurfit, CRH, Bank of Ireland in AIB razširile še preko morja in oskrbele irske investitorje s prekomorskim izpostavljanjem per procura. Vendar pa so leta 1992 po ukinitvi kontrole nad izmenjavo irski investitorji močno zmanjšali delež irskih pravic v portfeljih s pokojninskimi skladi, v katerih je bil delež irskih pravic 16 % (2003), v zgodnjih 1990-ih pa kar 60 % (White 2003).

Po Big Bang-u leta 1986 so tradicionalna partnerstva z neomejenim jamstvom nadomestila posredništva v lasti bank, kot se je npr. zgodilo z AIB, ki je pridobil borzno posredništvo Goodbody, Banka Irske pa je prevzela borzno posredništvo Davy. Kapitalne in globalizacijske sile je moč slediti pri irskih družbah vse od 1980-ih. Mnoge od sedmih glavnih družb so prevzele tuje družbe. Francoska družba Pernod Ricard je leta 1988 prevzela Irish Distilleries, PJ Carrol Cigarettes pa je prevzela družba Rothman (1990), medtem ko je Smurfit od 2002 privatiziran, Waterford Crystal pa je sedaj Warterford Wedgewood (White 2003).

Ryanair, letalska družba brez dodatne ponudbe, se je po nastanku podjetja leta 1997 hitro povzpela na register korporacijske zveze. Vredna 4,7 milijard evrov, je sedaj četrta najbolje kotirana irska družba na borzi vrednostnih papirjev in je tako resno ogrozila nacionalno letalsko družbo Aer Lingus in kvazimonopol, ki ga je imela desetletja.

V skladu z neoliberalnim gospodarstvom in gonjo EZ, da bi z odprtjem nacionalnih trgov za druge konkurente iz EZ odstranila državne družbe, je država javnosti prodala Irish Life in Greencore/Irish Sugar, poleg njiju pa tudi Telecom Eireann (1999), kar pa se ni izkazalo za zelo uspešno potezo. Najbolj uspešno je bilo naraščanje fuzij in nastanek gradbenih družb. Mnoge izmed tehnoloških delnic, ki so bile v obtoku na Dublinskem trgu, niso mogle ohraniti njihovega zgodnje popularnosti in trgovanja iz časa njihove najvišje vrednosti. To ponazarja farmacevtska družba Elan. Vsemu navkljub pa se do 33 % transakcij v večini irskih družb zgodi v Dublinu. Vzporedno s tem ima Irska borza vrednostnih papirjev nišo, ki zagotavlja olajšave za prekomorske investicijske sklade, ki želijo biti prijavljeni – v Dublinu je vpisanih 7000 skladov in podskladov. Čeprav se z njimi redko trguje, proizvajajo pomemben dobiček. Preživetje Irske borze vrednostnih papirjev je še skrivnost; vprašanje je namreč, če bo večina irskih delnic migrirala na velike likvidne trge, kot sta Frankfurt in London (White 2003).

19 Irsko kmetijstvo in Evropska zveza

Plačila povezana s programom kooperativnega sporazuma znašajo 50 % letnih bruto transferjev v EZ in 50 % celotnega kmetijskega dohodka. Od 1973 je prišlo do revolucije v irskem kmetijstvu; prišlo je do spremembe pri trgovanju s kmetijskim izvozom. Leta 1973 je 70 % prehrambenega izvoza šlo v ZK, do leta 2000 pa je izvoz padel na 30 %. V istem obdobju pa se je delež EZ pri izvozu povečal iz 15 na 40 % (Enterprise Ireland 2002). Od leta 1973 tranzicija v kmetijstvu, lastništvo kmetij, velikost kmetij, število zaposlenih, produkcijski nivo in izvoz prikazujejo ne le vpliv EZ na ta sektor ampak tudi odsevajo kapitalizacijo ruralnih skupnosti in procese, ki se dogajajo v sekundarnem, terciarnem in kvartarnem sektorju na nacionalni in globalni ravni (Jenkins 2001; O'Reilly 2001).

Površina kopnega Irske obsega 6,9 milijonov hektarov, od katerih se 4,4 milijoni hektarov (64 %) uporabljajo za kmetijstvo, 650.000 hektarov (9,4 %) pa za gozdarstvo. Okrog 80 % kmetijskih površin je namenjenih pašnikom (silaža, seno in paša), 11 % neobdelanim pašnikom in 9 % proizvodnji pridelkov. To prikazuje primerjalne prednosti Irske z vidika dobrega okolja za živalsko proizvodnjo. Proizvodnja govedine in mleka znaša 56 % kmetijske proizvodnje po proizvodnih cenah. Na Irskem je 6,5 milijona goveda, 4,8 milijonov ovac, 1,8 milijonov svinj in 13 milijonov perutnine. Leta 1980 je bilo na Irskem skupno 223.400 kmetij, njihovo število pa je do leta 2000 upadlo na 141.500. V obdobju 1960–80 se je število kmetijskih posesti zmanjšalo za 26.750. Skoraj vsa so v lasti družin, ki z njimi tudi upravljajo (Dept. Of Agriculture 2003). Leta 2002 je bilo na Irskem 136.500 kmetijskih posesti, povprečna velikost pa je bila 32 hektarov. V istem letu je bilo 13 % družinskih kmetijskih posesti starih manj kot 35 let, 41 % pa jih je bilo starih več kot 55 let. Skupaj je bilo na kmetijah zaposlenih 240.100 delavcev s polnim ali delnim delovnim časom.

Nacionalni pregled kmetij ocenjuje, da je na 48 % kmetij imel lastnik in/ali partner službo, ki ni bila povezana s kmetijo. Na 75 % kmetij sta imela ali lastnik ali partner nekakšen nekmečki vir dohodka npr. iz zaposlitve, penzije ali socialne pomoči. Glede na podatke, ki so jih leta 2001 pridobili z raziskavo Living in Ireland Survey, 3,1 % kmetijskih posesti živi na robu stalne revščine. V enakem položaju je 6,5 % nekmetijskih ruralnih posesti in 4,2 % urbanih posesti (CSO 2003; Stapleton et al. 2000).

Preglednica 3: Kmetijstvo in prehrambena industrija v irskem gospodarstvu.

2002	Primarno kmetijstvo	Kmetijsko-prehrambeni sektor
% BDP	3,00	8,40
% zaposlenih	6,50	9,50
% izvoza	3,80	7,10

Vir: Department of Agriculture 2003-12–27.

Osnovana na združitvi mlekarskih zadružnih prodajaln na JZ Irske, je kmetijsko-prehrambena družba Kerry Group z vrednostjo 63,5 centov leta 1986 prvič prišla v obtok na delniški borzi. Do 2003 je postala Kerry Group ena izmed največjih družb s prehrambenimi sestavinami na svetu, cena njenih delnic pa je bila 14 evrov. Geografska analiza prometa in obratovalnega dobička po izvoru za leto 2002 prikazuje za 3,8 milijard evrov prometa (Irska 37 %, Evropa 34 %, Amerike 25 % in Azijsko-Pacifiška regija 4 %) in 305 milijonov evrov obratovalnega profita od prometa (Irska 21 %, Evropa 36 %, Amerike 39 % in Azijsko-Pacifiška regija 4 %) (Kerry Group 2002). Prehrambeno družbo The Golden Vale Group je leta 2001 prevzela družba Kerry Group. Uspeh družbe Kerry Group je vzpodbudil še druge družbe, da so se pojavile v javnosti. Med njimi je bila tudi Glanbia (1997), proizvod fuzije med družbama Waterford Foods in Avonmore Co-ops. Glanbia je sedaj glavni igralec v prehrambeni industriji na Irskem, v EZ in ZDA in zaposluje preko 6400 ljudi (Glanbia 2002).

20 Turizem

Turizem na Irskem služi kot indikator tokov ljudi v globalizacijskem procesu in ustvarja v gospodarstvu strateško mesto. Zaradi svoje lokacije ima Irska blago oceansko podnebje z vremenskimi vzorci, ki so podobni Vivaldiju – štiri letne čase v enem dnevu. Irska je privlačna za velik odstotek obiskovalcev, ki zapravijo zelo veliko in pridejo zaradi enkratne fizične in kulturne pokrajine, majhnega števila prebivalcev, tempa življenja in posebne kulture. Vendar pa se Irska zaradi novo odkritega bogastva hitro spreminja. Glavni trgi za turizem na Irskem so ZK, Evropa in Severna Amerika.

Po podatkih Centralnega statističnega urada je bilo leta 2002 na Irskem 6.065.000 prekomorskih obiskovalcev, kar pomeni, da so od leta 2001 zabeležili 1,3 % porast, to število obiskovalcev pa je tudi močno prekašalo število prebivalcev na celem otoku. V tujini so leta 2002 prebivalci Irske ustvarili 4.634.000 obiskov, leta 2001 pa 4.216.000, kar pomeni porast za 9,9 %. Zaslužki od prekomorskih obiskovalcev so znašali 3.764 milijonov evrov, torej so od 2001 porasli za 23,2 %. Leta 1986 je Irsko obiskalo 2,5 milijona turistov (4,8 % BDP), do 1996 pa se je njihovo število podvojilo (6,4 % BDP). Polnozaposlitveni ekvivalent, ki ga lahko pripišemo turizmu, je v obdobju 1988–95 zrasel za 53 % (Breatnach 1998). Zato je turizem postal glavna gospodarska sila. Predstavljal je namreč 5 % celotnega izvoza in 6,4 % BNP, priskrbel pa je tudi 135.000 delovnih mest in tako je bil v turizmu zaposlen vsak dvanajsti delavec. Do tega je prišlo deloma zaradi uspeha ambicioznih strategij, ki so izhajale iz Operativnega programa za turizem (1994–99). Z vidika tujega zaslužka, vključno s transportnimi prejemki je to leta 1999 predstavljalo 2,5 milijard £ in več kot 36.000 dodatnih delovnih mest s polnim delovnim časom, ki so nastala v obdobju 1994–99. Leta 1998 je bilo prekomorskih obiskovalcev 5,5 milijona, dohodek pa je znašal 2.281 milijonov £. Mirovni proces (1998) na Severnem Irskem je pomagal pri oblikovanju trženja na otoku Irska kot enkratne destinacije (Bord Failte 2000).

Gospodarske koristi vključujejo dohodek (tri milijarde £ leta 1999), to pa je pomagalo stimulirati investiranje in gospodarske dejavnosti. Podobno kot je turizem povečal število delovnih mest, se je zaradi Vlade in politike EZ število zaposlenih povečalo iz 67.600 leta 1988 na 127.000 ljudi leta 1998. Leta 1998 je Vlada preko obdavčenja izdatkov tujih turistov zaslužila 1,2 milijard £ (57 %). Vplivi zaposlitve in turizma pa se razširjajo še preko hotelov in restavracij. Mnogo služb, ki jih ustvari turizem, je v regijah in te predstavljajo pomembno sredstvo za ponovno razdelitev bogastva po vsej državi in tako skompenzirajo prisotnost pojava jedro-periferija znotraj države. Ironično je, da je '*bum*' tujih obiskovalcev stimuliral Irce za prispevanje k notranjemu turizmu. Leta 1998 so potrošili 751 milijonov £ (Bord Failte 2000).

Glavne investicije v turizem je prispevala EZ. Evropski regionalni razvojni sklad je k Prvemu operativnemu programu prispeval 378 milijonov £, ta znesek pa je dopolnilo še nadaljnjih 26 milijonov £, ki sta jih prispevala sklada Agri-Tourism in InterReg. Agencije iz EZ so prispevale k drugemu Operativnemu programu za turizem 369 milijonov £, naslednjih 139 milijonov £ pa je bilo dodeljeno s turizmom povezanim dejavnostim s strani drugih programov, ki jih podpira EZ. Precejšnje podpore pri investicijah je bil turizem deležen tudi s strani sledečih družb in programov: posojila Evropske investicijske banke (*European Investment Bank*), Vladni posebni dostop do finančnega programa (*Government Special Access to Finance*

Scheme), ki prek glavnih irskih bank omogoča zagotovljena posojila z nizkimi obrestmi, Projekt širjenja gospodarstva (*Business Expansion Scheme*), Shema osnovnih davčnih olajšav (*Capital Tax Relief Schemes*), Načrti urbane obnove (*Urban Renewal Schemes*) in široka paleta donatorskih projektov vključno z Mednarodnim skladom za Irsko (ki podpira razvoj v mejnih okrožjih), program *InterReg* in evropski projekt agro-turizma. Usposabljanje turističnega osebja je bilo podprto tudi s strani pomoči EZ namenjene programom v okviru CERT. Minister za turizem je leta 1995 z davčnimi olajšavami na turistične investicije v 15 obmorskih območjih vzpodbudil investicije v izbrane tradicionalno splošno obiskane kraje. Ta program je vzpodbudil investicije, katerih vrednost je skupaj znašala 700 milijonov £ (Bord Failte 2000).

V času obeh Operativnih programov so projekti javnega sektorja vključevali povečanje notranjih vodnih poti, ribiških centrov, površin, objektov in opreme za vodne, kopenske in avanturistične športe, potovanj, sprehajalnih in kolesarskih poti, centrov kulturne dediščine in obalnih marin. Projekti privatnega sektorja so pokrivali križarjenje po rekah, ribolov, igrišča za golf, jahalne centre, projekte kulturne dediščine, centre za prosti čas, hotele, gostišča in namestitve v počitniških domovih za mladino (hostels) in konferenčne objekte.

Landmarkov razvoj dediščine je vključeval Ceide Fields v Mayo-u, King's Island v Limericku in projekte v določenih srednjeveških mestih in krajih pomembnih zaradi kulturne dediščine. Privatni sektor je sodeloval v investicijah v dediščino tudi preko postavitve zanimivosti namenjenih visoko-profilnim obiskovalcem npr. žganjarne v Midletonu, Co. Cork in Smithfield Dublin, Guinessovo hmeljarno, Ceol (Center glasbene dediščine v Dublinu) in ICON Center v Leopardstownu, ki slavi moderno Irsko. Večina nedavnih investicij v turizem ni bila odvisna od nobene finančne podpore. Trg, ki se razširja, in potencial za povratek investitorjev na primer vodita razvoj hotelirstva v Dublinu in drugod. Razvijalci hotelov so si pomagali z vladnimi subvencijami. Celotne investicije v nastavitveni sektor, ki so imele koristi od tega, da so bile označene v Projektu širjenja gospodarstva, so znašale 976 milijonov £. Od tega so največji delež predstavljale investicije v hotele s tremi zvezdicami in samopostrežne nastanitve.

V Nacionalnem razvojnem planu 2000–2006 je planiranih še za 430 milijonov £ investicij v produktivno turistično infrastrukturo v okviru Regionalnih operacijskih programov. Poleg tega pa bo dodatna pomoč namenjena zanimivostim kulturne dediščine in nekaterim kategorijam marinskega in ruralnega turizma. Ločeno od tega se hitro nadaljuje rast hotelov in drugih oblik nastanitve, od katerih le nekatera prejemajo finančno podporo. Tako je bilo npr. v obdobju 1999–2000 odprtih 100 novih hotelov. Še posebno je opazna ekspanzija mnogih glavnih mednarodnih hotelskih znamk na Irsko vključno s Four Seasons in Westin.

Medtem ko je bila večina investicij usmerjenih v nastanitvene objekte, je prišlo tudi do velikega porasta v proizvodnih kategorijah npr. kvalitetna igrišča za golf. Irska je imela leta 2000 390 igrišč za golf z 18 luknjicami. Do glavnega razvoja je prišlo s postavitvijo igrišča za golf v Doonbergu, Clare, ki je del verige igrišč, ki jih je načrtoval Greg Norman. Veliko se je investiralo tudi v marinski turizem z mrežo obmorskih marin in sidrišč. Razvijajo se tudi vodni športi in aktivnosti, podporo pa jim nudijo tudi skladi EZ (Bord Failte 2000).

'*Pull*' faktorji irskega turizma: Etnična pripadnost ali povezave z diasporo so za otroke in potomce Ircev iz Amerike, Avstralije, Britanije in od drugod, zelo pomembne. Zelo pomemben je tudi kulturni turizem z več kot 50 % obiskovalcev, ki obiščejo vsaj en kraj, ki je zanimiv zaradi naravnih, kulturnih ali zgodovinskih znamenitosti npr. spomeniki, muzeji in vrtovi, ki privabijo na leto 10 milijonov obiskovalcev, ki vsi plačajo vstopnino. Največji potencial imata še vedno ribolov in golf. Ballybunion in Killarney v Kerryju, Lahinch v Clareu, Bundoran v Donegalu, Portmarnock v Dublinu, Druids Glen in Mount Juliet na primer gostijo mednarodne turnirje. Konjeniški dogodki, vključno z Dublin Horse Show in Milstreet International Show, privabijo množice obiskovalcev.

Dane so bile tudi vzpodbude, da naj bi na Irskem prirejali mednarodne športne dogodke, na primer, Tour de France (1998), Smurfit European Open in Tall Ships Race. Za razliko od tradicionalne podobe ruralnega turizma, so se v zadnjih 20 letih razvile urbane zanimivosti, ki vključujejo Temple Bar v Dublinu in festivale v Galwayu, Corku, Traleeu, Wexfordu in Waterfordu. Leta 1998 je četrt milijona turistov izbralo

Irsko zaradi možnosti izbire aktivnih dejavnosti, 100.000 obiskovalcev pa so privlačile pasivne dejavnosti. Okrog 2,5 milijona prekomorskih turistov je v času obiska na Irskem sodelovalo v neki aktivnosti. Iz poslovnih razlogov in zaradi mednarodnih konferenc pride na Irsko veliko število obiskovalcev, predlagan National Conference Centre v Dublinu pa bo omogočil glavna mednarodna zborovanja tudi za 3000 udeležencev.

21 Turizem kot indikator procesa globalizacije

Poglavitna skupina turistov so Britanci in po mirovnem procesu se britanski turisti vračajo in tvorijo največji irski enotni trg z 1,5 milijona turistov leta 1988, katerih število pa je do 1998 naraslo na 3,2 milijona. Irska sedaj privabi šest od stotih britanskih turistov. Za primerjavo lahko povemo, da jih 29 izbere Španijo, 16 jih gre v Francijo in 7 jih odleti v ZDA. Leta 1998 jih je bilo šest od desetih na ponovnem obisku, medtem ko jih polovica ni imela nobenih etničnih povezav z Irsko. Skoraj dve tretjini sta bili stari nad 35 let in tri-četrtine je bilo neodvisnih popotnikov. Rajši so obiskali Dublin (41 %) in JZ (36 %), prenočevali pa so pri prijateljih ali sorodnikih (24 %), v gostiščih/nastanitvah, ki vključujejo nočitev z zajtrkom (27 %) in v hotelih (15 %). Naslednja največja skupina obiskovalcev je iz celinske Evrope z 1,25 milijona obiskovalcev leta 1998; Nemčija (310.000), Francija (270.000), Italija (141.000) in Nizozemska (134.000), sledijo Belgija/Luksemburg, Španija, Danska, Švica in Švedska.

Nemčija je še naprej največji evropski trg, ki ustvarja turizem. Leta 1997 je bila glede na tujo potovalno potrošnjo na drugem mestu, za ZDA. Sedem od vsakih desetih nemških turistov gre v tujino, kar je leta 1998 znašalo 58 milijonov turističnih potovanj. Število obiskovalcev je zraslo od 269.000 leta 1994 na 339.000 leta 1996, vendar pa je leta 1997 zaradi ekonomskih težav v Nemčiji upadlo. Večina obiskovalcev iz Nemčije gre na počitnice (56 %), medtem ko ostali prihajajo iz poslovnih razlogov ali na konference (Bord Failte 2000).

Francija je peti najpomembnejši svetovni tvorec mednarodnega potrošnega turizma. Leta 1998 so v Franciji zabeležili 16,9 milijonov potovanj v tujino. Približno 270.000 obiskovalcev je prišlo na Irsko in tako so prispevali v irsko turistično industrijo 98,9 milijona funtov. 58 % franoskih obiskovalcev pride na počitnice in na obisk k prijateljem in sorodnikom. Za tri četrtine od tistih, ki so počitnikovali, je bil obisk Irske njihov glavni dopust. Približno 28 % jih je bilo mlajših od 25 let. Francoski turisti so nagnjeni k temu, da obiščejo več delov Irske, predvsem periferna območja; zahod (65 %), JZ (60 %), Shannon (45 %) in tudi Dublin (41 %) (Bord Failte 2000).

Nizozemska je na devetem mestu med največjimi svetovnimi turističnimi potrošniki. Število nizozemskih obiskovalcev Irske se je povečalo v 1990-ih; od 80.000 leta 1994 na 134.000 leta 1998, kar je 3 % vseh turistov na Irskem. Večina (72 %) ostane 6–14 noči, njihove preferenčne aktivnosti pa so obiskovanje zgodovinskih in kulturnih znamenitosti, potepanje/sprehajanje, obiskovanje vrtov in kolesarjenje.

Za irski turizem Severna Amerika že tradicionalno predstavlja velik trg. Iz ZDA je v povojnih letih priletelo prvo veliko letalo z obiskovalci. Leta 1988 je bilo obiskovalcev 419.000, leta 1998 pa 858.000. Približno 789.000 jih je prišlo iz ZDA in 69.000 iz Kanade. ZDA so bile leta 1997 s potrošnjo 52 bilijonov ameriških dolarjev najpomembnejši tvorec mednarodnega turizma na svetu. Prispeva enega od petih prekomorskih turistov na Irskem. Američani ostanejo 6–14 noči (66 %), od katerih jih je čez 50 % starejših od 45 let. Večina (87 %) je na njihovem glavnem dopustu in počitnikujejo v gostiščih in nastanitvah, ki nudijo nočitev z zajtrkom (30 %), hotelih (28 %) ter pri prijateljih in sorodnikih (21 %) (Bord Failte 2000).

22 Delitev, Severna Irska in možna ekonomska integracija

Gverilska vojna na Severnem Irskem (1969–89) je predstavljala velik strošek. Zato je imela resne ekonomske posledice, še posebno v šestih od devetih okrožij Ulstra, ki tvorijo del Velike Britanije. Tako kot v špansko-britanskem sporu, ki je zadeval kraljevo britansko kolonijo Gibraltar, EZ ne more biti direktno vpletena, lahko pa poenostavi dialog in predlaga programe, kot je InterReg (O'Reilly 1992 2000). Z mirovnim procesom (1998) so se pojavila prizadevanja za ustanovitev vse-otoškega gospodarstva, ki lahko kandidira za skupne projekte in poveča trgovanje med Republiko Irsko in Severno Irsko. Kljub boljši infrastrukturi na Severnem Irskem kot v Republiki Irski, je bila Republika tista, ki je pritegnila velike projekte z direktnimi tujimi investicijami. Kljub zgodovinsko gledano poslovni in industrijski tradiciji v strojništvu, ladjedelništvu in proizvodnji, jih je na Severnem Irskem v civilnih in javnih službah zaposlenih 35 %, v Republiki pa 19 %. 14 % jih je zaposlenih v proizvodnji, v 1960-ih pa jih je bilo v tem sektorju zaposlenih 36 %. Od 1950-ih pa do izbruha civilne ali gverilske vojne leta 1996, je Severna Irska profitirala od povojnega '*buma*' in od takrat privablja britanske investicije, predvsem v strojništvu in tekstilni industriji. Zaradi nesoglasij pa se je strojno in tekstilno trgovanje preselilo na cenejše lokacije v Azijo, saj konfliktna območja niso privlačna za direktne tuje investicije. Ko so se težave povečale (1970-ta/80-ta) je Severna Irska zabredla v globoko recesijo. Kljub britanskim vladnim strategijam za zvišanje zaposlovanja v civilnih službah in velikim finančnim vsotam za infrastrukturo in izobraževanje, je Severna Irska še naprej zaostajala. Trgovanje z Republiko Irsko je bilo zelo omejeno, zato se je Severna Irska ozirala k Britaniji kot svoji glavni trgovski partnerici. Medtem pa se je Republika Irska ozirala k Evropi (Thesing 2003 b).

Čezmejno trgovanje se je od 1991 z nizke osnove 1,6 bilijonov evrov povečalo v naslednjem desetletju na 3,06 bilijona evrov. Med premirjem IRE (1994) in sporazumom, ki je bil sklenjen v Belfastu (1998), so se investicije povečale, kar je okrepilo upe o povečanem ekonomskem razvoju. Po '*boomu*' v Republiki Irski so Severne oblasti začele vzpodbujati podjetja v Republiki Irski k lociranju na Severu. Ponujali so jim dobro infrastrukturo, nobenih razvojnih ovir, veliko cenejšo nastanitev, izobraženo delovno silo, širokopasovno povezavo po celotni regiji in nizko inflacijo plač. Vendar pa so se ob zatonu politične agresije pojavili notranji konflikti med skupnostmi in tako še ni prišlo do podprtega vodstva. Vendar pa je še vedno prisotna volja za izgraditev vseotočnega gospodarstva, kar je s programi meduniverzitetnega povezovanja, s prekomejnimi kapitalnimi skladi in z drugimi infrastrukturnimi projekti podprla tudi Intertrade Ireland, ki je nastala v času Sporazuma v Belfastu.

23 Globalizacija in vseotoško gospodarstvo

Glede na Britansko-Irski Good Friday (Belfast) sporazum (1998), Strand Two podpira Izvršni zbor Severa in Juga in z njim povezana politična izvršitvena telesa. V realnosti pa je večji poudarek na komercialnih kot političnih povezavah. Premalo je dejanskih debat o ekonomskih povezavah, ki so povezane s komplementarnostjo in z različnostjo med Severom in Jugom in o možnostih ter ovirah, ki obstajajo pri ustvarjanju integracije med Severom in jugom. Politika skupnega gospodarstva, ki je postalo del govorov v mirovnem procesu, ne obstaja. Katerakoli realistična diskusija o tej tematiki pa mora raziskati ekonomske vplive na mejo, različne industrijske strukture na severu in jugu, nivo in tip prekomejnega trgovanja in potrebo po paralelni politični uskladitvi (Bradley, in Hamilton 1999; Hamilton 2000).

Meja: Ekonomski vpliv meje je bil od 1922 ogromen. Vzrok za to je bil nastanek dveh različnih ločenih gospodarstev z različnimi prostorskimi značilnostmi in zaradi preusmeritve umetnih jedrno-perifernih odnosov. Medtem ko je jedro Belfasta utrdilo svoje neposredno zaledje, so njegova mejna okrožja zaradi odcepitve Derryja od njegovega naravnega zaledja v Donegalu v Republiki, propadala.

Znotraj konteksta EZ je v 1990-ih ekonomska integracija pospeševala večje zbliževanje med Severom in Jugom, vendar pa še vedno obstajajo faktorji, ki ovirajo integracijo. Le-ti vključujejo: Prostorske razdiralne vplive same fizične prisotnosti meje; razvoj različnih industrijskih struktur na severu in jugu; popačene vplive meje na trgovanje med Severom in Jugom, kot rezultat slabih industrijskih strukturnih zakonov. EZ je umaknila ne-tarifne mejne bariere, tako da je prehod prost, zaradi zgodovinske ločitve pa je meja ustvarila dve pravni enoti z območji notranje perifernimi in regijami, ki so odrezane od njihovih ekonomskih zaledij npr. SZ, ki je osredotočen na Derry in SV, ki je razkrečen na meji med Newry-jem (Severna Irska) in Dundalk-om (Republika Irska).

Mejna okrožja v Republiki Irski padejo pod celotno povprečje BDP-ja tako za sever kot tudi jug, mejna regija pa ima tudi najpočasnejšo prebivalstveno rast (1 %). Tu najdemo tudi najvišji nivo brezposelnosti (14,7 %, 1997) in najvišji nivo dolgoročne brezposelnosti (59 %). Indeks bruto dodane vrednosti na prebivalca za povprečni življenjski standard (Republika Irska) je v mejni regiji tretji najnižji in se uvršča za Midlands in Zahod. Vendar pa se je potrebno zavedati, da mejna regija ni homogena, ampak razpade na tri dele: zahod in vzhod imata mnogo podobnih značilnosti, centralni del pa se bolj razlikuje.

Regiji primanjkuje dostop do trgov, inovacijskih centrov in velikih populacijskih centrov. Manj je mest, regijo pa označujejo tudi nizek prihodek, emigracija, revna zemlja in pomanjkljiva infrastruktura. Ti vzorci dajejo mejni regiji negativen prizvok, zaradi česar je seveda manj privlačna za investitorje. Do nedavnega je bilo čutiti tudi pomanjkanje stika med lokalnimi oblastmi tako na severu kot tudi na jugu, močno centralizirani vladi v Dublinu in Belfastu pa sta imeli različni agendi. V 30 letih je bilo zaprtih oziroma razdejanih veliko mejnih prehodov, do nedavnega pa je bila regija močno militarizirana. Meja je ovirala prostorsko koherentno ekonomsko politiko in razvoj.

Industrijske strukture: Sever in Jug sta ubrala čisto različni poti gospodarskega razvoja. V Republiki Irski je bil do 1970-ih agrarni sektor najpomembnejši in čeprav se njegova celotna proizvodnja zmanjšuje, je z vidika BDP in zaposlenosti še vedno dvakrat večji kot na Severu. V proizvodnem sektorju pa sta industrijska deleža podobna (25 % na Severu in Jugu). Vendar pa so razlike v proizvodnji – Republika (39 %) in Severna Irska (28 %). Proizvodni nivo je v Republiki 1,7 % večji. Kljub transfernemu določevanju cen in profitni repatriaciji multinacionalnih družb je relativna učinkovitost industrije v Republiki večja. Netržne dejavnosti so z vidika BDP in zaposlenosti v Republiki več kot dvakrat pomembnejše (Bradley, in Hamilton 1999; Hamilton 2000).

Na severu so prevladovali tradicionalni proizvodni sektorji, ki vključujejo hrano, pijačo in tobak, tekstil in oblačila pa predstavljata 44 % celotne zaposlitve v proizvodnji in 35 % neto proizvodnje. Ladjedelstvo in gradnja letal predstavljata 11 % zaposlitve in 9 % neto proizvodnje. Nasprotno v Republiki hrana, pijača in tobak ter električna oprema predstavljajo 40 % proizvodnih delovnih mest a le 45 % neto proizvodnje. V kemični industriji je zaposlenih le 8 % prebivalstva, vendar pa je zaradi visoke produktivnosti njen proizvodni delež kar 23 %. Produktivnost proizvodnje je v Republiki več kot dvakrat večja kot v Severni Irski. Tako v Republiki Irski najdemo modernejšo industrijsko strukturo kot v Severni Irski: farmacevtske in kemične družbe ter '*hi-tech*' sektorje. Na Severu je koncentracija tradicionalnih industrijskih panog (npr. tekstilne industrije) ostala še vedno močna, profitno razmerje pa je v Republiki Irski višji kot v Severni Irski. Tako je v Republiki več kot 67 % delovne sile zaposlene v moderni industriji, v Severni Irski pa 50 % (Bradley in Hamilton 1999; Hamilton 2000).

Trgovina med Severom in Jugom: Trgovanje Republike s Severom znaša okrog 3 % celotnega izvoza, izvoz iz Severa v Republiko Irsko pa 10 %. Tako je trg v Republiki Irski za Severno Irsko trikrat pomembnejši. Trg v Veliki Britaniji je za Severno Irsko (51 %) dvakrat pomembnejši kot za Republiko (21 %). Nasprotno pa je izvoz Republike v ostale države EZ 45 %. Vsemu navkljub pa je Velika Britanija pomemben vir uvoza za Republiko. Republika Irska beleži tržni primanjkljaj z Veliko Britanijo, vendar pa ima tržne presežke s Severno Irsko (300 milijonov £). Do nedavnega je Republika Irska izvažala hrano in žive živali in to na Sever (25 %), v VB (17 %) in v EZ (11 %). Izvoz strojev in kemikalij v VB in EZ pa je bil veliko večji kot v Severno Irsko. To prikazuje, da je izvoz tradicionalnih proizvodov osredotočen na Sever. Isto bi lahko rekli za izvoz Severne Irske v Republiko Irsko, ki je osredotočen na hrano, živali in tehnološko nezahtevne proizvode. Vendar pa je trg v Republiki pomemben za majhne družbe v Severni Irski, podobno pa velja tudi za Republiko Irsko (Bradley in Hamilton 1999; Hamilton 2000).

Sever in Jug in globalizacija: Zaradi zgodovinskega bremena in delitve Irske se struktura gospodarstva na Severu in na Jugu razlikuje. Vpliv nanjo pa je imela meja. Razvili sta se različni industrijski strukturi. Na Severu so se osredotočili na tradicionalne nizko produktivne veje industrije, v Republiki pa so se ekonomski vzorci še posebno zaradi dinamičnih '*hi-tech*' sektorjev in vloge direktnih tujih investicij iz ZDA hitro spremenili. Transnacionalne družbe v Republiki so se rajši povezale globalno kot pa s Severno Irsko. Trgovanje med Severom in Jugom ni realna alternativa trgovanju med vzhodom in zahodom. Trgovanje med Severom in Jugom se mora osredotočiti na domačo industrijo, če hoče okrepiti njen prodor na globalne trge, medtem ko mora Severna Irska modernizirati svoj industrijski sektor. Sever in Jug se morata dopolnjevati glede konkurence in višjih standardov, šele potem lahko prodreta na globalne trge, ne pa da konkurirata drug drugemu (Hamilton 2000; Bradley in Hamilton 1999).

24 Sklep

V zadnjih 100 letih je šla Irska znotraj teoretičnega okvira Svetovne sistemske teorije in jedrno-perifernih modelov (*'core-periphery models'*) skozi klasične faze kolonialne in neo-kolonialne ekonomske geografije. Od priključitve k EZ (1973) ima Irska pomembno vlogo pri vključevanju v ekonomske globalizacijske procese, kar je postalo posebno očitno v 90-ih letih prejšnjega stoletja, ko se je pojavila v vlogi močnega gospodarstva z na novo odkritim bogastvom. Vsemu navkljub pa so se znotraj države pojavili tudi večji družbeni, intra-urbani prostorski in regionalni polarizacijski problemi, ki vključujejo digitalno ločnico med kategorijami delavcev in prostorskimi območji. Podobno tudi država in narod nista bila pripravljena na dramatičen pritok priseljencev in beguncev, ki se je zgodil prvič v zgodovini Irske.

EZ je pri ekonomski tranziciji Irske igrala poglavitno vlogo, še posebno preko programov, ki so bili usmerjeni v prostorsko subsidiarnost. Vendar pa so multinacionalke in direktne tuje investicije igrale s svojim spreminjanjem lokacije pomembno vlogo. To je spoznala tudi vladna politika in je tako od 1960-ih v vseh oblikah pospeševala svoj prodor kljub majhnemu številu prebivalstva na Irskem in omejenemu trgu. Do 1990-ih je zaradi pozitivnih demografskih trendov in socialnih partnerstev pri načrtovanju gospodarstva prišlo do pospešenih *'hi-tech'* odkritij in direktnih tujih investicij, ki jih je oskrboval Irski urad za industrijski razvoj. Vendar pa je dolgoročno težko pričakovati, da bi lahko s prekomernim zanašanjem na direktne tuje investicije obdržali konkurenčno prednost. Vzroka za to sta inherentna narava transnacionalnih družb in spreminjanje nove mednarodne delitve dela.

S pomočjo EZ/programa kooperativnih sporazumov, se je tradicionalni kmetijski sektor spremenil, vendar je s finančnega vidika še vedno strateško pomemben, kar prikazujeta tudi družbi Kerry Group in Glanbia. Podobno se kaže tudi v razvoju turizma, ki spreminja vzorce Irska-EZ, ki so del globalizacije. Dosedanji razvojni uspeh bi lahko zajel vse ljudi na otoku, tako kot je predvideval Britansko-Irski mirovni proces (1998), vendar pa obstajajo omejevalni dejavniki, ki vključujejo strukturno različna gospodarstva in kompleksna jedrno-periferna razmerja. Kot sta ugotovili vladi, bi bila ponovna politična združitev Irske možna samo v primeru če in ko bi si to želela večina prebivalcev Severne Irske. Z ekonomskega vidika bo integracijski proces v EZ lahko pospešil ponovno združitev, vendar pa analitiki očitno preučujejo primer Nemčije. Severno-južna sinergija je vidna v kmetijstvu in turizmu, v proizvodnji pa še ne.

Pričakuje se, da bo v Republiki Irski BNP Irske zrasel do leta 2010 za dvakratno povprečje EZ in to predvsem zaradi povečanja človeškega kapitala in padca mere ekonomske odvisnosti. Zaradi zahtev po večji plači in pomanjkanja delovne sile na nekaterih območjih, so družbeno sodelovanje in nacionalni plačilni tržni sistemi postali glavni faktorji pri ohranjanju konkurenčnosti ne samo v globalnem smislu z izzivi iz držav kot je npr. Indija v *'hi-tech'* in telekomunikacijski industriji ampak tudi v novih državah v EZ vključno na Češkem in v Sloveniji. Podobno se bodo s povečanjem EZ skladi CAP in ERDF (Evropskega sklada za regionalni razvoj) zmanjšali; medtem ko so primarni cilj strukturnih skladov v EZ deleži BDP, Irska zagovarja uporabo BNP, ki je zaradi tega, ker transnacionalne družbe pošiljajo dobičke v tujino, nižji za kakšnih 15 %. Vendar pa na Irskem kljub temu beležijo gospodarsko rast.

25 Literatura

Glej angleški del prispevka.