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Emergence and Evolution of Entrepreneurship in the Galway Gaeltacht

Thesis submitted for PhD degree by:

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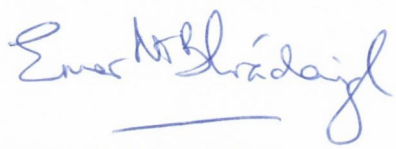

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Emergence and Evolution of Entrepreneurship in the Galway Gaeltacht

Summary

Introduction

This thesis studies and analyses how entrepreneurship emerged and evolved in a peripheral rural community from a pre-industrial stage at the end of the 19th century to a stage in the early 21st century when a transition from a manufacturing to a services economy was underway. The focal area for the research is the Gaeltacht area of County Galway, an area afforded special official status since the 1920s as part of the state's policy of preserving and promoting the Irish language.

Conceptual Model

The starting point of the research process was Howard Aldrich's book *Organisations Evolving*, published in 1999. In line with the thinking of sociologists Emile Durkheim and Arthur Stinchcombe, and economist Joseph Schumpeter, a longitudinal approach was deemed most appropriate to understanding Gaeltacht entrepreneurship. A multi-disciplinary, multi-modal, multi-level conceptual model was devised. This model was used to map the evolution of the entrepreneurship landscape of the area, from the establishment of the Congested Districts Board in 1891, to date. The model addresses the environmental conditions, incorporating the entrepreneurship capital and institutions, and their effect on the enterprise founding rates. Entrepreneurship capital is defined as being a function of human, social, cultural and psychological capital. Enterprise founding rates are measured in terms of the types of new enterprises founded, and how new types of enterprises, termed pioneers, spawned new populations of organisations. The strategies these new populations use to gain legitimacy as they grow are studied as are the variations that happen, which lead to new populations. These Populations lead to new Communities of Populations which in turn produce a new entrepreneurial landscape.

Methodology and Empirical Data

A multi-disciplinary, multi-modal, multi-level methodology was employed to conduct the research. The research drew on entrepreneurship, management, social science, historical and Gaeltacht research. A blend of quantitative and qualitative data was used. The quantitative data were drawn from the lists of enterprises supported, published in the annual reports of the three main state agencies responsible for the development of the area since the late 19th century, namely the Congested Districts Board, Gaeltarra Éireann, and Údarás na Gaeltachta. Additional data were gathered from numerous other official sources for the period from 1923 to 1957 when no particular state agency for Gaeltacht

development existed. These data were sourced in primarily in the National Archives of Ireland, and TCD Library Official Publications section. These data were analysed through a relational database. The qualitative data were gathered from numerous research publications; from 56 formal interviews with key informants; and from the author's lifelong association with the area and the community, and her 5 month stay living in the area. A cross-case analysis of three case studies of Communities of organisational Populations was conducted, on the marine resources, tourism and the audio-visual sectors.

Major Contributions

The research makes a number of contributions to theory, to method, to data and to policy and practice. A new conceptual model was developed and then used to trace and analyse how entrepreneurship evolved in a peripheral region, from a pre-industrial, multi-tasking, self-employment type, to more organisation-building across a range of sectors. The model combines organisational evolution and corporate demography with entrepreneurship capital, highlighting in particular many of the psychological and cultural issues which affected the development. A methodological model was also developed which highlighted how longitudinal and multi-level research methodologies can contribute to the development of new conceptual models and new understandings of received wisdom or taken-for-granted knowledge. As no such research had been carried out on the Gaeltacht, the research makes a major contribution in the collation and analysis of a new body of data. In providing new empirical evidence and a new understanding of Gaeltacht entrepreneurship policy makers should be better informed in devising and implementing new policies in developing similar peripheral / minority language regions.

Major Findings

The area was late in developing but mirrored a lot of the national development issues. While low human capital was an issue, the low psychological capital, in terms of optimism, hope and resilience hampered development, even when financial aid was available. The state agencies played a key role in 'kick-starting' the marine resources and audio-visual sectors, through its own major investment, sometimes in conjunction with incomers and later with local people. Despite a history stretching back a century, the tourism sector has not developed to the same extent. The state did not kick-start this sector, partly for national institutional reasons but also due to the unease about the negative linguistic impact of tourism, and of linking business and profit-making with language. Public and social entrepreneurship seem to have preceded private entrepreneurship, the latter two perhaps finding it easier to gain legitimacy from the state and from the general community. The findings should be of wide academic interest in disciplines including entrepreneurship, development studies and sociolinguistics, especially in the context of indigenous minority groups and minority linguistic groups.

Do Phangur Bán

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Acknowledgements

The author would like to sincerely thank the following for their inspiration, and moral and practical support. My grandmother, May Hortense Caffrey, B.Comm 1921 for her inspiration in being ahead of her time. My parents for giving me a love of, and fluency in, the Irish language and for exposing me to the Galway Gaeltacht from a young age. My teachers in Scoil Lorcáin and in Coláiste Íosagáin who further deepened this understanding of the Gaeltacht, and of history. My fellow PhD candidates, and Dr Martin Fellenz in TCD for good humoured and support and research methodology seminars.

The librarians of DCU, UCD, TCD, NUIG, Galway County Library, the National Library and Dáil Éireann library. The archivists in the National Archives, Dublin. The executives of the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs. The board and executive of Údarás na Gaeltachta for their willing, open and enthusiastic assistance, especially the Príomhfheidhmeannach (CEO), Pádraig Ó hAoláin for his insightful discussions with me, and his personal interest in reading my work and providing detailed commentary and feedback. The many entrepreneurs and community leaders in the Gaeltacht who shared their experiences and insights with me over many long, and enjoyable interviews and informal conversations. The following for funding to cover the expenses of conducting both desk and field work, and attending conferences: Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences; Údarás na Gaeltachta; the Canadian Social Science Research Council; and the DCU Research Advisory Panel.

Professors Leo Dana and Robert Anderson for including me in their international research on indigenous entrepreneurship. Drs Stephen McCarron and John Walsh for co-operating with me on the spatial analysis and Gaeltacht mapping research. Professor Colm O'Gorman, DCU for valuable feedback on the last draft of the thesis. Aoife De Búrca and Seán Ó hAdhmaill for their research assistance. Shane Teehan for his knowledgeable assistance with the database. Máire Olohan for transcribing many hours of interviews. Bas de Ridder for assistance with the complexities of the final layout of the thesis. My brother Éanna Ó Brádaigh for his 24/7 technical support. My colleagues at Fiontar, DCU, especially the current Director An Dr Peadar Ó Flatharta, and the two former Directors, An Dr Caoilfhionn Nic Pháidín and Professor Finbarr Bradley, for their support of my research, and DCU for granting sabbatical leave of 8 months. All my friends for their moral and practical support throughout. Most significantly I thank my PhD Supervisor Professor John A. Murray for his insight, patience, and encouragement. It was truly an honour for me that he agreed to my request that he supervise this research.

Acronyms

ACS An Claidheamh Soluis ('the Sword of Light') – the newspaper published by Conradh na Gaeilge at the turn of the 20th century

AR Annual Report (used in reference to Annual Reports of CDB, GÉ and ÚnaG)

BF Bord Fáilte

BIM Bord Iascaigh Mhara (Marine Fisheries Board)

CDB Congested Districts Board

CIÉ Córas Iompair Éireann, the national public transport body

CIP Census of Production

CSG Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta (Gaeltacht Civil Rights)

CRO Companies Registration Office

CSO Central Statistics Office of Ireland

DATI Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction

DCRGA Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs

DED District Electoral Division (now known as EDs).

DES Department of Education and Science

DOE Department of Education

ED Electoral Division (formerly known as DEDs). The term District Electoral Division was changed to Electoral Division through the Local Government Act of 1994, and the change came into effect in June 1996. The term ED is used throughout this thesis, to denote DEDs and EDs.

EI Enterprise Ireland

ESB Electricity Supply Board

ESG Enterprise Strategy Group

ESRI Economic and Social Research Institute

Est Established

GAA Gaelic Athletic Association

GÉ Gaeltarra Éireann (referred to as Gaeltarra or GÉ throughout the thesis).

GMIT Galway Mayo Institute of Technology

IAOS Irish Agricultural Organisation Society

ICOS Irish Co-operative Organisation Society

IDA Industrial Development Authority, later renamed IDA Ireland

IIDA Irish Industries Development Association

IPA Institute of Public Administration

ITB Irish Tourist Board

NACE Nomenclature Générale des Activités Economique de la Communauté Européene

NAD National Archives Dublin

NUIG National University of Ireland, Galway. See also UCG below.

NUTS Nomenclature of Territorial Units. A clasification used by Eurostat. Each county is a NUTS level 4 region; the eight Regional Authorities are NUTS level 3 regions and the Border, Midland and Western, and Southern and Eastern Regions are NUTS level 2 regions. Ireland is a NUTS level 1 region.

PQ Parliamentary Question

RD Rural District. They were aggregates of DEDs. They were abolished as administrative areas in 1925. There were four such units in County Galway – the Urban District of the city, and the three Rural Districts of Clifden, Galway and Oughterard. Although abolished in 1925, they were retained for census purposes as convenient units between EDs and counties throughout the 20th century. In current CSO reports, they are termed rural areas.

RFS Registrar of Friendly Societies

RTC Regional Technical College (now Institute of Technology)

SBF Small Business Forum

SME Small and Medium Sized Enterprises

UCG University College Galway (now NUIG) It is referred to as UCG or NUIM according the name it had at the time of the cited activity / publication.

UI The United Irishwomen

ÚnaG Údarás na Gaeltachta, referred to as Údaras throughout the thesis.

YHF (International) Youth Hostel Federation; 'An Óige' (literally 'the youth') is the Irish organisation's name

Irish Language Usage

As the majority language of the Gaeltacht is the Irish language, many Irish language terms are used in the thesis, on the following basis:

In accordance with the Official Placenames Act, 2004 the Irish forms of all placenames (townlands, Electoral Divisions, villages and towns) in the Gaeltacht are the sole official names. Thus they are used in this thesis. However, their English versions are given the first time the place is referred to in any individual chapter, and are listed below.

Where an Irish language term has strong currency in Irish language circles and has no direct translation or commonly used translation in English, the Irish language term is used. A glossary of Irish language terms is given below.

Irish language organisations are referred to with their Irish language form. The formal English version (with capital letters) or a translation by the author are used and listed below.

As much can be lost in translation, and in order to accurately record and interpret their opinions and statements, all Irish language quotations are given firstly in Irish followed by an English translation by the author. In the case where reference is made to a term used by an interviewee, it is given in English to assist the flow of the sentence, with the original Irish term provided in brackets.

The term native is normally associated with primitive or non-western communities. In order to denote those people born and reared in the Gaeltacht, rather than those who came in to live in the area, the term local is used rather than the term native. The more accurate and less negative term 'incomer' is also used rather than the more commonly used term 'outsider'.

References

References are given in the original language. In the case of bilingual publications they are given in both languages. In cases where the original language is not English, the author has appended for information a translation in English.

A Glossary of Irish Language Terms

Aisling	A type of poem common from the 18th century onwards in which the poet has a dream (an aisling) of a beautiful noble woman symbolising Ireland. These poems are based on the French amour courtois tradition.
Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge	the academy of Irish language university education (NUIG)
An Claidheamh Soluis	'The Sword of Light' – the Gaelic League's journal published at the turn of the 20th century
Bord na Gaeilge	The Irish Language Board
Breac-Ghaeltacht	Literally 'speckled' Gaeltacht, historically where 25 – 79% of the poulation spoke Irish.
Coiste na Gaeltachta	The Gaeltacht Committee (1947)
Comharchumann	Co-operative
Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge	The National Irish Language Federation; an umbrella group representing Irish language groups, established in the 1940s, and representing 24 organisations in 2008.
Feis	A cultural competition of dance, music, singing, drama.
Fíor-Ghaeltacht	Literally 'real' Gaeltacht, historically areas where 80%+ of the population spoke Irish. Nowadays the term is used for areas where the language is still strong.
Former Gaeltacht	This author uses this term to denote areas which were in the Gaeltacht at some stage between 1926 and 1956 but were removed in the 1956 revision.
Free State	See Saorstát below
Gaimbín	Interest on a loan, usually exorbitant. This led to the term Fear an Ghaimbín – the Gombeen man, a money-lender, a usurer, a trader selling goods on interest-bearing credit.
Gaedhilge	Old spelling of Gaeilge
Gaedhealtacht	Old spelling of Gaeltacht
Gaeilge	Irish (language). The word Gaelic is often used outside Ireland.

Gaeltacht	This is the singular nominative form of the term. The plural nominative form is Gaeltachtaí. The singular genetive form is Gaeltachta
Gaeltarra Éireann	Literally means Gaelic Products of Ireland. In this document the organisation is referred to as Gaeltarra in short.
Irishleabhar na Gaedhilge	The Irish(language) Journal / Magazine
Meitheal	A work party, usually in the context of saving hay in late summer.
National Gaeltacht	This term is used by this author in referring to the whole Gaeltacht area spanning parts of seven counties, in order to differentiate between it and the Galway Gaeltacht.
Oireachtas	Originally a gathering of chieftains. Now used as a term for the Irish Houses of Parliament. Oireachtas na Gaeilge is the major Irish language festival.
Saorstát Éireann	(the) Free State – This was the official name for the newly independent 26 counties from 1922 to 1937. Once the new Constitution took effect on 1st January 1938, the official name of the state was Éire, and translated to English as Ireland. In 1949, the description of the state included the term republic. The state's official name is still Éire / Ireland.
Spailpín	A seasonal migratory farm labourer
Tír na nÓg	The (mythological) Land of (eternal) Youth
Údarás na Gaeltachta	The Gaeltacht Authority, referred to as Údarás in this document.

Placenames

An Cheathrú Rua	Carraroe, now the designated hub / primary town of the Galway Gaeltacht
An Spidéal	Spiddal
Ceantar na nOileán	'The Island Area' (a collection of islands, most of which are connected to the mainland by a series of bridges, most build by the CDB. An area with a longstanding history of particular disadvantage. Includes Eanach Mheáin; Garumna; Leitir Móir; Leitir Mealláin
Conamara	The Irish language spelling of Connemara, the area west of Galway City, the southern half of which is in the Gaeltacht.
Connacht / Connaught	the western province of Ireland, encompassing counties Galway, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon, Sligo
Indreabhán	The coastal area from An Spidéal to Baile na hAbhann, headquarters of TG4.
Laighean / Leinster	the eastern province of Ireland, incorporating counties Carlow, Dublin, Kildare, Kilkenney, Laois, Longford, Louth, Meath, Offaly, Westmeath, Wexford and Wicklow
Mid-West	the region generally around Limerick city and Shannon Airport
Mumhan / Munster	the southern province of Ireland, incorporating counties Cork, Clare, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary, Waterford
Ros Muc	An area of symbolic value in that Patrick Pearse, best known for his role in the 1916 Easter Rising, had a holiday home there.
Uladh / Ulster	the northern province of Ireland incorporating counties Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Donegal, Down, Derry, Fermanagh, Monaghan and Tyrone.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Outline

This thesis studies and analyses how entrepreneurship emerged in a peripheral rural community from a pre-industrial stage in the late 19th century to a stage in the early 21st century, where a transition from a manufacturing to a services economy was well underway. It develops a conceptual framework through which fruitful analysis of the emergence of entrepreneurship over a long time period can be conducted. This new framework has its roots in theories of corporate demography, entrepreneurship capital and organisational evolution. The model's start and end point is the entrepreneurial landscape, and how it was, and is, shaped by environmental conditions, which in turn shape the rates and types of new-firm births (see Figure 2 later in chapter). These in turn shape what organisational Populations[1] exist, leading back to the entrepreneurship landscape. A sub-loop is how the growth strategies employed by the organisational Populations feed back into the new-firm birth rates and types.

The focal community is the Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking area) of County Galway, a region in which the author has spent much time. Since the 1920s, Gaeltacht areas have been afforded special official status in order to preserve and promote the Irish language. A mix of quantitative and qualitative data was located, collated and interpreted, from current and historical official publications and combined with interviews with a wide range of key informants and with publications reflecting the local community's own interpretation of itself. These data were also analysed in a national and international context. Three in-depth case studies of specific industry sectors were conducted to explore recurring patterns and anomalies. The overall patterns of entrepreneurship emergence and the case study patterns of emergence were synthesized, and interpreted using the conceptual framework.

The result of the research project is the development of a new conceptual model and through the use of it, the first ever map of how entrepreneurship emerged in this particular area. To the author's knowledge, it is also the first ever analysis of Irish entrepreneurship data over such a long time-frame. It is one of a small number of comparative studies internationally. The main conclusions of the research are that understanding and fostering successful entrepreneurial behaviour in a peripheral rural pre-industrial community requires not only investment in more immediate, visible infrastructural systems

[1] The term Population (capital P) is used in the Aldrich & Ruef (2006) sense of a population for example, of fish farms. A population (small p) is a human or other population in the usual sense.

and institutions, but also patience and a throrough understanding of deeply embedded cultural systems. The research also concludes that the conceptual framework developed addresses some of the limitations found in contemporary entrepreneurship research, for example in addressing how psychological capital, minority language and culture affect the levels and nature of entrepreneurship in a region.

Here now is a brief outline of the sequence of chapters in the thesis, followed by a more detailed narrative of the sequence.

1.2 Chapter Sequence and Description

Chapter Two outlines the primary research question posed, and the literature reviewed in seeking the most suitable theoretical framework through which to answer the question. It outlines how three theories were combined and further expanded into a new framework considered suitable for this particular question.

Chapter Three is a review of the various research methodologies used within the fields of entrepreneurship. After considering these and the author's own background; world view; and relationship with the community in question, the chosen combination of research methodologies, and range of research methods are discussed. The chapter closes with a discussion of the data used, and a brief exploration of the data not used and the implications of these choices.

Chapters Four and Five analyse the data in two distinct historical periods. The first, called the incubatory period, is marked by multiple activity, multiple income self-employment patterns, in which many efforts were made to foster more formal entrepreneurship; and the process of (non)emergence of entrepreneurship. The second, called the emergence and take-off period, saw the (eventual) emergence and blossoming of what might be called organisation-building entrepreneurship. Quantitative data from a database of official data are presented and combined with qualitative data and then analysed within the context of the newly developed conceptual framework.

Chapter Six is a multi-level case-study analysis of three industry sectors, or Communities[2] of Populations. Quantitative and qualitative data collated for each case are analysed, and a cross-case analysis illustrates common patterns and points of difference.

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[2] Throughout the document, a capital C is used to denote a Community of Populations of organisations in the Aldrich & Ruef (2006). A lower case c is used when referring to a human community.

Chapter Seven synthesizes the material and findings presented, by discussing, within the new conceptual framework, the common themes that recurred throughout the century under analysis. It also discusses the anomalies, the outliers, the unusual phenomena for which there may or may not be suitable explanations within the framework. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how the research findings contribute to a better understanding of entrepreneurship; of the development of entrepreneurship theory; and of entrepreneurship research methodologies. It also suggests ways in which policy makers might foster entrepreneurship in the future, especially in the Galway Gaeltacht but also in similar regions in Ireland or elsewhere.

1.3 **The Research Question**

The research question emerged out of the author's personal observation from early childhood of life and business in the Galway Gaeltacht, and in particular her observation as a child, of a disused seaweed factory within the view of her parents' holiday home (see Figure 1). Having been raised through the Irish language in Dublin, I spent a lot of time in the Galway Gaeltacht and gained degrees in Irish and German, and in International Marketing. I was fascinated with the relationship between language and business, and the general opinion that modernisation and industrialisation had played a strong role in the decline of the use of Irish in the Gaeltacht. In my teens in the 1970s, I attended an Irish college (a language summer camp) in the Gaeltacht for a number of years. I was often struck by the emphasis on the past when learning about the Gaeltacht. These personal experiences, coupled with my professional interest in entrepreneurship led me to ask how entrepreneurial behaviour was emerging in the Gaeltacht and what effect the language had on that, rather than what effect business had on the language, as so many have debated to date. I could locate no substantial body of research on entrepreneurship in the Gaeltacht. Before addressing the relationship between language and entrepreneurship, more research was required on Gaeltacht entrepreneurship in itself. Given the length of time required to change any deeply embedded culture, a longitudinal approach seemed most appropriate. The chosen time period starts with the first stage at which there were specific efforts made to address the problems in the peripheral disadvantaged areas of Ireland, in which most of the Irish speaking areas were located.

The resultant research question is:

- How did Entrepreneurship emerge in the County Galway Gaeltacht from the pre-industrial stage when the Congested Districts Board commenced operations in 1891, and evolve through the 20th century and the various government initiatives for the same area to the early 21st century.

The following is an account of how the question was answered.



Figure 1: Picture of Torradh Toinne Teo, (disused seaweed factory) An Cheathrú Rua

1.4 Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

A review of entrepreneurship literature revealed a trend towards more open encompassing definitions of entrepreneurship, embracing social and public entrepreneurship as well as the more traditionally researched private sector for-profit entrepreneurship. There were also a number of approaches rooted in disciplines such as psychology, sociology and management. While managerial research often has a more practical immediate focus, the sociological approach seemed the most appropriate for the chosen research question. Leading thinkers such as Durkheim (1912) and Schumpeter (1943) stated that change, such as creative destruction, takes time. Echoing this theme, researchers such as Aldrich (1999) and Carroll & Hannan (2000) in their theories of organisation evolution and corporate demography respectively, saw many benefits in tracing back to the origin of new beginnings – the emergence of new types of enterprises and new Populations of enterprises. Demographic analysis is perhaps most insightful when conducted at a number of different levels from the individual up to the collective, and by comparison between the levels. Figure 2 illustrates the relationship between time and level of analysis. The individual firm is often analysed at one particular point in time, or over a short time frame. However, the higher levels of analysis are best served by longer-term analysis. While one new television production company is interesting, the birth and evolution of a production industry takes time, perhaps a few decades. In analysing the industry, it should be possible to trace back to the Pioneer, that initial fledgling enterprise, to see where it came from, how it developed and how it fostered, or

was the catalyst of, the whole new industry. This analysis could give insights into how other new industries may be born, or may be fostered at that very beginning, or indeed kickstarted, by policy makers. In the diagram the overall trajectory of fruitful analysis is in the direction of the dotted diagonal arrow.

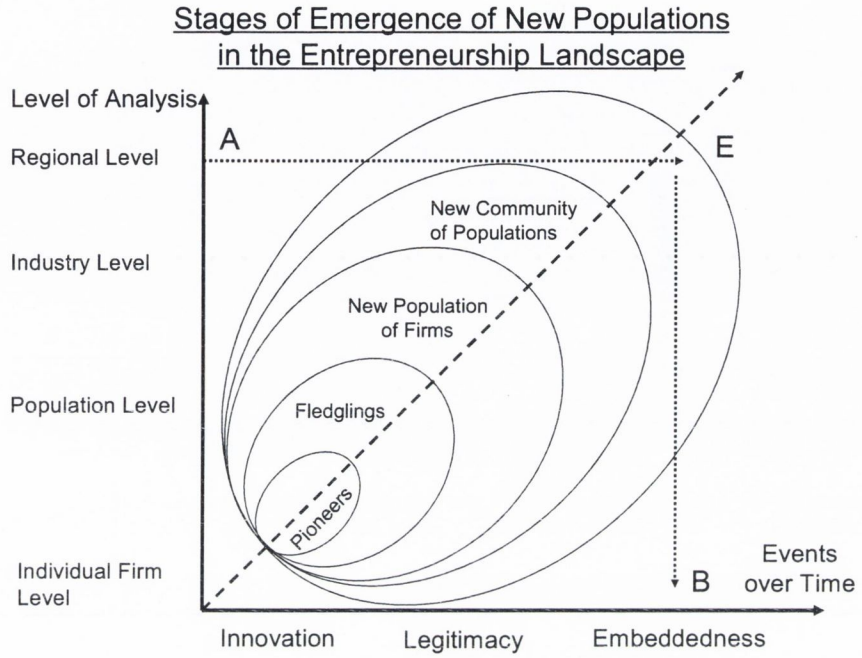

Figure 2: Methodological Approach: Timeframes and Levels of Analysis

The theories mentioned above were combined to create the following conceptual framework (see Figure 3), through which the research question about the emergence of entrepreneurship in the County Galway Gaeltacht could be traced, analysed and interpreted. The model has as its starting point Carroll & Hannan's (2000, 31) General Structure of Demographic Explanations, and incorporates Aldrich's (1999) organisation evolution theory, and those of entrepreneurship capital, a term first used by Audretsch and Keilbach (2004). It is a new model inspired by these theories but incorporating additional factors hitherto not discussed much in entrepreneurship literature, namely psychological capital and minority language. It also incorporates multi-level research, an area not yet well developed in entrepreneurship literature. The basic idea is that the entrepreneurial landscape is made up of different Populations of organisations, such as say fish farms, fish processing factories, light engineering plants, publishing houses etc. Environmental conditions cause specific rates and types of foundation, growth and cessation of business. These in turn lead to the variety of organisational Populations which in turn lead to the overall social structure of organisations. This pattern is illustrated by the heavy black lines.

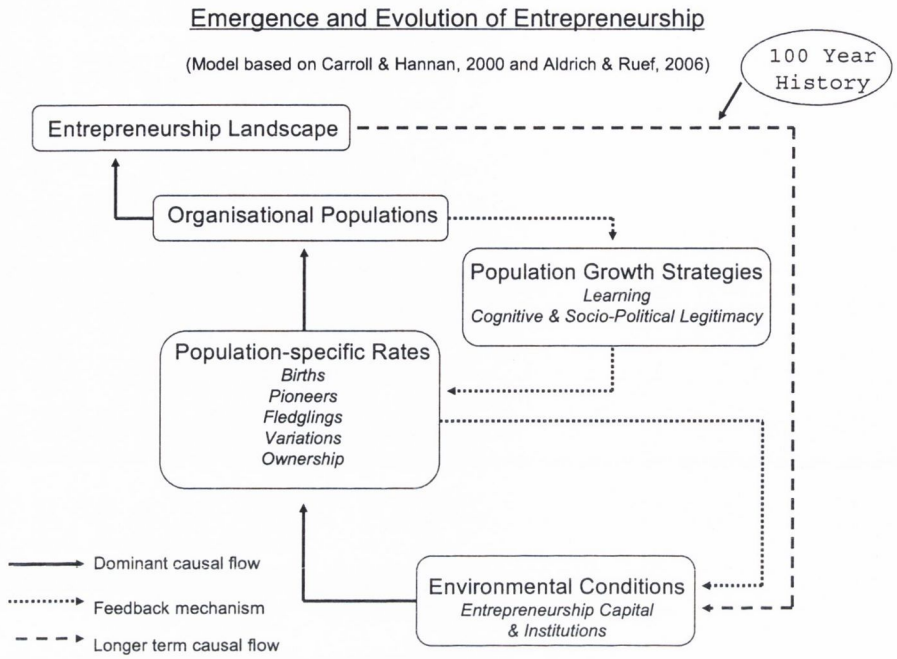

Figure 3: Conceptual Framework

Feeding into the environmental conditions are two interrelated factors – entrepreneurship capital and institutional factors. The former is based on a strand of research analysing the effects of social capital on entrepreneurship (e.g. Davidsson & Honig, 2003) and on whether factors such as business start-up rates, patent rates and GDP rates could be used to measure a new concept of entrepreneurial capital (Audretsch *et al*, 2004). It covers various factors from physical and financial capital through to human capital (education and training) to psychological, cultural and social capital. Institutional factors include for example, at a micro level the family and parish / neighbourhood, the meso level the local infrastructure and education system and at macro level culture and public policies on issues such as planning, taxation, and enterprise development. In the case of the Gaeltacht, it also covers national language policies.

Integrated into the model, is a sub-loop addressing some of the issues debated in organisation evolution as follows. Aldrich & Ruef (2006) suggest that longitudinal analysis of communities of enterprises, and how they emerge, how they vary, how some variations survive and some do not; is more insightful than taking a more static or short-term view of enterprises. Some of those key points, as included in this model, are who the Pioneers are – the leaders who create new forms of organisations - and what are the various phases they and other organisations go through as a new Population of organisations develops over time. What are the challenges they face in gaining legitimacy, among their

peers (i.e. other organisations), among the local community, and at an institutional level. What are the growth strategies they employ as they seek to be successful through growth or other forms of development and variation, and to gain that legitimacy. The dynamics between the various populations are affected by the growth strategies chosen by individual firms and also by Populations of firms. In the conceptual framework there is a continuous dynamic of feedback into each of the factors discussed above, as illustrated in the model with the dotted line. The dashed line indicates longer term feedback, illustrating how the entrepreneurial landscape can influence the environment, for example by the local community having role models; having a cadre of skilled ambitious managers and nascent entrepreneurs; having a high rate of opportunity recognition and exploitation; or having sufficient capital for investment.

The challenge once a new model has been designed is to assess the most appropriate research methodologies and operational research methods one can use to answer the research question. The next section outlines the choices made.

1.5 **Research Methodology**

The research question of how entrepreneurship emerged and evolved required a descriptive and explanatory answer, rather than a predictive answer as a result of hypothesis testing. Quantitative data providing empirical evidence of business start-ups and corporate demography, would be complemented and explained by analysis of qualitative data. A multi-level approach was also adopted as per the approach illustrated in Figure 2. A mostly phenomenological approach was taken, especially in the qualitative material, complemented by a mostly objective positivist approach with the quantitative data.

The author sourced published data on all actual and nascent businesses that received state funding from the three main state agencies which have supported Gaeltacht development since 1891. The annual reports of Gaeltarra Éireann (1958-79) and Údarás na Gaeltachta (1980 – 2003) list all individuals and businesses which received grant aid for business start-ups. The annual reports of the Congested Districts Board (1891 – 1923) list all those businesses it funded or operated during that period. After a thorough review and cleaning, the data were assembled and analysed in a relational database allowing detailed analysis. This is the first time such data have been assembled into a comprehensive database and analysed in this manner (Ó hAoláin, 2006). This database is henceforth referred to as the Core Database. Data for the middle period of 1924 to 1957 were sourced from the wide variety of relevant Government departments. Consultation of various other sources illustrate that relatively few other organisations were

established in the area, leading the author to be quite confident that the Core Database and date for the middle period cover most of the firms in the area, which were eligible for state support. Some exploratory spatial analysis was also conducted on the Core Database, to provide a visual interpretation of the evolution of entrepreneurship in the region. This is the first time such analysis has been conducted at the micro level of Electoral Division.

In order to address a number of the levels of analysis outlined in Figure 2, three case studies rooted in the natural and linguistic resources of the area were chosen. These were the marine resources, tourism and audio-visual industries. This allowed the identification of specific Pioneers, growth strategies, variations and the development of legitimacy. As each of these cases emerged at different times, it was possible to conduct longitudinal comparisons and analysis of the environmental conditions under which each developed. This is the first time that longitudinal and cross case analysis of these three industries or any Gaeltacht industry, or Gaeltacht entrepreneurship in general has been conducted (Ó hAoláin, 2007). The research methodologies and methods employed ensured a high level of quality in terms of the construct validity; trustworthiness; reliability and recurrent patterns. The next section outlines the main findings of the research along with some commentary.

1.6 **Entrepreneurship in Incubation: 1891 – Mid 1960s**

When the Congested Districts Board (CDB) was formed in 1891 to relieve the distress and poverty in the most disadvantaged areas of Ireland it conducted a baseline survey which gave a stark picture of how underdeveloped the Galway Gaeltacht was in terms of any kind of business infrastructure and the near absolute lack of organised effort. Illiteracy levels were as high as 60% in some areas, and as many as 45% were monolingual Irish speakers. Obligatory school attendance to the age of 12 was an opportunity cost many families could not afford. The CDB supported numerous schemes in fisheries and textiles none of which emerged beyond a floundering stage. Some were directly managed by the CDB, or by instructors / instructresses employed or contracted by them. Others were sublet to managers or merchants on a year to year basis. Most of these people were incomers, some Irish, some foreign. The CDB's industrial loans fund was undersubscribed despite providing funding of as little as £1 (ca. €120 in 2006 value) for carpentry tools. The national co-operative movement's Agricultural Co-operative Banks operated for a number of years but then went into decline both in the Galway Gaeltacht and nationally. By the time the independent Free State (later the Republic of Ireland) was established in 1923, and the Gaeltacht had been legally defined in the later 1920s, entrepreneurship in the region still consisted mainly of fledgling fisheries centres and

textile workshops often seen by their employees and the local community as training grounds for emigration. A common proxy measure for entrepreneurship is self-employment. The 1926 and 1936 Censa of Population reveal a low level of employers (and of employees) and a very high level of 'own account' workers or individual craftworkers (tailors, carpenters etc), indicating a pre-industrial form and a low level of formal organisation in the labour or business markets. Agriculture still predominated. In the national industrial directory published in the 1930s (Department of Industry, 1935 & 1955), County Galway in its entirety was underrepresented compared especially to the Leinster counties.

From 1923 onwards, the Gaeltacht textile rural industries hitherto operated or supported by the CDB were managed by a series of Government departments, primarily those of Fisheries or Lands rather than Industry and Commerce, reflecting an institutional attitude that these were not real industries but social services. They were under the direct ownership and management of the relevant Government Departments. The managers were civil servants operating under civil service rules and practices. As the Gaeltacht was seen as central to the national revival of the Irish language, a conflict was seen between industrialisation and the preservation of the language, yet there was a national desire to improve conditions for Gaeltacht Irish speakers. The Gaeltacht Services Industrial Loan Fund provided support mainly for the purchase of horses and carts, or the purchase and repair of turf boats or of looms and machines. Again these were more akin to own account activities rather than formal enterprises, a situation nevertheless not too removed from many other rural parts of the country, especially in the west.

By the 1950s, the national policy of protectionism had failed to bring about socio-economic advancement; management skills were weak; foreign consultants thought an anti-materialist philosophy pervaded (IBEC, 1952). A scheme was established to attract outside or foreign investment to undeveloped areas, including most of the Gaeltacht areas, yet a limited amount of that investment was made in the Gaeltacht. Dublin-based language enthusiasts continued to voice their concerns about the linguistic damage of economic development. The Gaeltacht rural industries continued to be operated, inefficiently, at a loss, under civil service restrictions and work methods, with decision-making and marketing taking place in Dublin rather than in the west coast Gaeltacht areas. By the late 1950s these industries were transferred to the ownership and management of a new state body, Gaeltarra Éireann. It set about improving efficiencies and attempting to run these small textile centres on a more business-like profit-making basis, by modernising production; improving management skills; and decentralising some decision making. By 1965 it had lobbied for and received legislative powers to grant aid

small private sector industries. By now policy makers recognised the importance of native enterprise. Education levels were improving and Gaeltacht people were becoming more articulate in demanding reform and increased investment in infrastructure, employment and the language, and industrial development was about to take off from a near stand-still position.

1.7 Entrepreneurship Emerges and Takes Off: Late 1960s to date

Partly as a result of pressure from the relatively short-lived but effective Gaeltacht Civil Rights movement the Government instigated an action plan for the Gaeltacht. This co-incided with the national plan to build advance factories and industrial estates throughout rural Ireland, including the Gaeltacht. Due to the lack of local managerial talent and entrepreneurs, and a policy desire that the use of the Irish language be encouraged in the factories, many of the new Gaeltacht industries were subsidiaries of, or joint ventures with, Gaeltarra and most of the independent large scale industries were outside or foreign investors. Industries included textiles; paper and plastics; and light engineering. An increasing number of entrepreneurs availed of the small industries grant aid scheme, to develop small start-ups in industries such as construction; textiles; building materials; timber processing. Many of the foundings at this stage did not become limited companies, indicating high levels of micro-enterprises or self-employment. Gradually more sophisticated more value-added, rather than primary extraction or production, enterprises began to emerge, especially in the more modern industries.

By 1980, Gaeltarra Éireann had been replaced by Údarás na Gaeltachta which had more wide ranging powers and responsibilities – for the social, cultural and linguistic as well as the economic development of the Gaeltacht. It was also a particularly democratic organisation in that its board is elected by the community, along the lines of local government elections. There was a move away from the pre-industrial profile to a more 'modern' one based on a diversifying base of sectoral Populations, some emerging out of the more traditional sectors such as fishing, some in quite new knowledge and technology industries such as audio-visual and multimedia creative services. While the large scale inward investment in paper and plastics was shortlived, it provided much needed industrial employment and experience and the resultant income, thus raising living standards and providing an avenue away from the multiple sources of income and activity common in pre-industrial rural communities.

The longstanding tradition of outsiders, or incomers, having the management and leadership positions in both the private and public sector support organisations began to

change as Gaeltacht people's access to second and third level education and career aspirations improved, and they moved into these positions. The co-operative movement which sprang out of the civil rights movement in the early 1970s initially flourished but its generalist rather than specialist nature limited its growth. Today the co-operatives still operate mostly on a parish / community basis providing community services such as group water schemes, wind energy, childcare and education. Their efforts in more market-oriented activities such as fish processing and marketing, and tourism have met with limited success.

By the early 21st century public policy for Gaeltacht entrepreneurship concentrated on fostering indigenous entrepreneurs, particularly in the areas of marine resources, tourism and audio-visual services. Under Ministerial order, from 2003 onwards, 20% of the Údarás capital investment budget was set aside for language based activities, as the positive link between language and business was increasingly recognised (ÚnaG, 2003, AR). The exact definition of language-basis has yet to be clarified. Given that these three industries were rooted in the local natural and linguistic resources of the area, and that each had emerged at a different time and had evolved differently, they were chosen for specific case analysis.

1.8 Case Studies of Emergence: Marine, Tourism, Audiovisual

Although it had a centuries long history, fishing in the Galway Gaeltacht did not become well-organised until the middle of the 20th century. In 1975 Gaeltarra established the first fish-farm in Ireland and fostered satellite fish-farms and related ancillary services including a central marketing organisation. By the early 21st century there had been 95 fish-farm start-ups in the region. A small number of fish processors also emerged, linked to the trawler fishing out of Ros a'Mhíl, which was by the early 21st century one of the largest fisheries ports in Ireland. Similarly Údarás na Gaeltachta kickstarted the first Irish-medium television production company in the mid 1980s, in anticipation of the establishment of the state funded TG4 Irish medium television broadcaster. Twenty years later there had been 63 start-ups in the sector, mostly in television production (51 start-ups) but also in ancillary services such as subtitling and production facilities. The tourism sector has a history of gentry sporting tourism dating back to the 19th century, followed by language enthusiasts at the turn of the 20th century. Out of this emerged the Irish college system of 3 week residential language courses for teenagers. This industry has flourished while other forms of tourism or cultural tourism have developed in a limited fashion apart from the popular Aran Islands. Údarás is currently working on fostering the establishment of one or two key tourism products, one related to the marine heritage.

What is interesting about the three cases is the role the state played as the Pioneers in kick-starting the marine and audio-visual sectors, both of which have been successful. The Irish colleges are considered by themselves and by policy makers as educational rather than business activities. There has been very limited variation from the standard format of 2 or 3 courses per summer, often managed on a part-time basis by a school teacher, with annual subventions from the Departments of Education and Science (DES), and of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs (DCRGA). The Pioneers in this sector were the early 20th century language enthusiasts, often from outside the Gaeltacht. The colleges have a high level of socio-political legitimacy but very little business legitimacy in that there is very little full-time employment in the sector, and practically no embedding in the education system in terms of training and education for Irish college management. They do however, provide valuable experience for trainee teachers. On the other hand the marine sector has high socio-political and business legitimacy and while specialist technical and scientific education and training are available in nationally certified educational establishments, very little is available in the softer skills of business and management. A similar situation exists in the audio-visual sector. It has very high legitimacy and a high level of full-time and even permanent employment and high levels of aspiration to work in the sector. Links with nationally accredited education bodies have recently begun, but with most emphasis on technical rather than business topics.

1.9 **Synthesis and Conclusion**

By using the newly developed conceptual framework to analyse the emergence and evolution of the Galway Gaeltacht, the change over a century, from multi-activity self-employment, to organisation building was described. Data on enterprise start-ups patterns are presented in combination with analysis of the various institutions and other environmental factors affecting these patterns. The four main contributions of this research are:

- the development of a new conceptual model incorporating factors (mainly psychological capital and minority language / culture) hitherto not discussed in extant entrepreneurship literature.
- the collation and presentation of a quantitative database of new start-ups spanning more than one century.
- the analysis of Irish longitudinal data combining quantitative and qualitative data.
- the challenging of some of the taken-for-granted knowledge, or received wisdom, regarding the development of indigenous Irish entrepreneurship, for example through highlighting the important role state agencies played in 'kick-starting' a number of new Populations, and in increasing the entrepreneurship capital.

2 Literature Review

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This literature review provides the research context in which this particular project is situated. It traces the development of entrepreneurship research, with particular reference to the perspectives and theories employed in the project. The primary perspective is a multi-level, long-term evolutionary perspective. The main theories are those of organisation evolution; corporate demography; and entrepreneurship capital. These are synthesised into a new conceptual framework, which is presented and discussed. The empirical data are from a geographic region, which is originally a linguistic construct. In other words, the Gaeltacht was defined on a linguistic rather than geographic basis and has been afforded special status and specific policy measures for over 80 years. Given this particular context, the chapter ends with a review of the substantial body of research on the socio-economic and linguistic development of the Gaeltacht since the 1920s. This review gives an insight into some of the prevailing institutional and community attitudes towards Gaeltacht development from the late 19th to the early 21st century, and in particular how those attitudes shaped the emergence and evolution of entrepreneurship in the Galway Gaeltacht.

2.1.1 Process

The starting point of this research was the sociologist Howard Aldrich's book *Organisations Evolving*, published in 1999. This book provides a particularly wide-ranging synthesis of organisational and management theory. It illustrates the insights that can be gained from taking an evolutionary perspective of how individual organisations, Populations of similar organisations; and Communities of organisational Populations change over time through a process of variation, selection, retention and struggle. The second edition of the book (Aldrich & Ruef, 2006) also provides an overview of the methods, which can be employed to study organisations at multiple levels. At the same time, this researcher was aware that little if any research had been conducted on entrepreneurship in the Gaeltacht, an unsurprising fact given that entrepreneurship is still an emerging field compared to the more established disciplines such as economics and management, and that relatively little has been done in Ireland as a whole. The Gaeltacht is primarily a linguistic construction; that is, there is no other basis on which to construct such a scattered region. Therefore it was also necessary to briefly address the socio-linguistic literature. This was done in so far as it affected the socio-economic development and entrepreneurship of the area.

Aldrich's book provided the starting point for a review of entrepreneurship literature. This review was then further extended back to thinkers and researchers such as the sociologists Emile Durkheim ([1912]1971[3]) and Arthur Stinchcombe (1965), and the economist Joseph Schumpeter (1934; 1939; 1943). As well as tracing the roots of entrepreneurship thought, it allowed an assessment of the thinking and debate occurring at an international level throughout the period of time being addressed in the project. The sociological perspective dovetailed well with the study of what this author terms Gaeltacht Studies much of which was rooted in the fields of anthropology, cultural studies and sociology.

A wide range of sources was reviewed. The top journals of relevance to entrepreneurship, management and sociology reviewed include: the Academy of Management Journal; the Academy of Management Review; Administrative Science Quarterly; American Journal of Sociology; American Sociological Review; Entrepreneurship and Regional Development; Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice; International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business Studies; International Small Business Journal; Journal of Business Research; Journal of Business Venturing; Journal of Management; Journal of Small Business Management; and Strategic Management Journal. Other journals of relevance to Ireland, language or spatial studies include: Administration; European Planning Studies; European Urban and Regional Studies; International Journal of the Sociology of Language; Irish Geography; Journal of Historical Geography; Language Problems and Language Planning; New Hibernia Review; and Regional Studies.

Monographs in the fields of anthropology; economics; entrepreneurship; Irish history; management history; management; and sociology were also reviewed. Commissioned studies in some of these fields relating to Ireland or the Gaeltacht were also reviewed. Archival material in the National Archives; the National Library; the TCD Official Publications library section; the UCD Archives section; the NUIG library; and the Galway County Library were also reviewed. Local history publications; memoirs; CDs of traditional and contemporary songs; and radio and television programmes, published by Gaeltacht people and people who had dealt with Gaeltacht development or with the Irish language were also reviewed. This was in order to gain an understanding of the general

[3] In order to illustrate the chronological historical context and timeline of thinking and debate, the original date of publication is given first in square brackets, followed by a more recent reprint / republication date to which a contemporary reader is directed.

views of language; tradition; modernity; and development as relevant to the Gaeltacht. Most of these publications and archives were in the medium of Irish.

In summary, a broad range of sources was reviewed, encompassing a number of disciplines. The researcher has been a regular presenter at entrepreneurship and management conferences presenting her own material and attending others' presentations and discussing their work and her own work with other presenters, including Howard Aldrich. Engaging with the research literature and with researchers allowed the author to gain a wide understanding of the main issues in entrepreneurship theory and provided a strong basis for understanding the field, and developing a suitable new framework within which to answer the research question. What follows now is firstly a review of the overall development of entrepreneurship theory.

2.2 HISTORY OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP THEORY DEVELOPMENT

Entrepreneurship as an academic field of research is relatively new, compared with more established fields such as economics, management, marketing, psychology and sociology. It draws on those and other fields and thus many of the key texts, especially before the late 20th century are situated more in the fields of economics, psychology and sociology. The following is a review of different theories and definitions of entrepreneurship; a discussion of the primary perspectives of entrepreneurship, and a review of the theoretical perspectives used in this particular research project.

2.2.1 Definitions of Entrepreneurship

As a relatively new field, entrepreneurship has yet to be recognised fully as an independent scientific discipline (Welsch & Liao, 2003). It still faces issues of legitimacy; divergence; relevance; and quality and rigorous research. It is not yet a science with 'clearly defined boundaries, a shared core of research questions, unambiguous definitions of constructs and widely accepted methodologies' (Welsch & Liao, 2003, 33). It therefore seems appropriate to discuss some of the definitions used in the past and some of those used at present, starting with perhaps the most traditional, a definition which emerged in the field of economics.

2.2.1.1 Traditional Definitions

Understanding of entrepreneurship has evolved from Cantillon's 18th century definition ([1755] 1931) of the individual entrepreneur as the catalyst or pivot around whom business occurs, to later economists' definitions of innovators and risktakers in the 20th century. Cantillon did not invent the term, which derives from the French word 'entreprendre' meaning to undertake / to do something, which since the Middle Ages has

had the meaning 'being active and getting things done' (Hoselitz, 1951, in Swedberg, 2000). Linked with the word 'entreprendre', but cast perhaps in a more negative light are the words barter and trade. The Russian economist Gerschenkron points out in his 1966 article, that 'barter' is a word with negative roots, originating in the Old French word 'barater'; to deceive, fraud, strife, trouble. Citing other etymologies, Gerschenkron makes the point that dishonesty and negative connotations are associated with business, with enterprise.

Richard Cantillon was an Irish economist and a rather colourful character. He was, reputedly from Co Limerick and Ballyheigue in Co Kerry and was a banker in Paris in the 1700s. Among his clients were the Irish 'Wild Geese' and the Stuarts of Scotland, also in exile. He was an entrepreneur, having invested in various schemes, some of which failed (Murphy, 1985). He was one of the socio-economic *élite* of Ireland and during his lifetime the Irish language was the majority language spoken in his home area of north Kerry / west Limerick. In 1851 at least 80% of the local population spoke Irish, dropping to single digit figures in the 1925 Gaeltacht Commission Census (National Library of Ireland, 1981; Gaeltacht Commission, 1926).

Economists were not the only researchers interested in entrepreneurship. Anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists also wrestled with defining and analysing entrepreneurs. Debate has now shifted attention from the lone individual male entrepreneur to a more holistic view of entrepreneurship at enterprise, Population of enterprises, Communities of Populations, societal, national and international level and also a processual, evolutionary, longitudinal point of view (Gartner, 1985). The trend in entrepreneurship theory is away from a trait-based approach, which van de Ven (1995) attributes to Schumpeter's 1948 personification of the entrepreneur as a creative destroyer of equilibrium, to a process and development based approach (Bygrave & Hofer, 1991; Deakins & Freel, 2003) throughout the Population (Fitzsimons *et al*, 2004; Reynolds, 1991). In the early 21st century entrepreneurship has come to encompass not only private for-profit but also social and public not-for-profit activity. Perhaps reflecting the 'downright porous' (Sandberg, 1992, 78) boundaries of the field of entrepreneurship, more encompassing definitions are gaining legitimacy. Some of these are discussed in the following section.

2.2.1.2 More Encompassing Definitions

Social entrepreneurship and public entrepreneurship (Steyaert & Hjorth, 2006) sit comfortably with more traditional for-profit entrepreneurship and enterprise development. Steyaert & Hjorth propose that entrepreneurship is a process based on the course of

social change (2006, 1- 2). They wish to challenge the favoured position of economics and psychology and connect with less frequently used disciplines and theoretical domains. By seeking to expand the field they provide evidence of Welsch & Liao's (2003) opinion that the discipline is still in a growth phase and without unambiguous definitions of constructs. This debate about definitions is evidence that the field is still at a stage of theory development rather than a stage of research replication and theory testing. In the absence of commonly agreed constructs and definitions, researchers active in the field of entrepreneurship are at liberty, or are required, to choose a preferred definition as a starting point for their research.

2.2.1.3 Chosen Definition

This researcher's preferred working definition for entrepreneurship is that proposed by Steyaert & Hjorth namely that:

> 'entrepreneurship is a complex social-creative process that influences, multiplies, transforms, re-imagines and alters the outlook of the space of society in which it is at once grounded and contextualised' (2006, 2).

This broad, encompassing definition is chosen as it best matches the researcher's ontological position that the perception of reality is subjective; that the environment and context colour reality. While quite similar to the holistic approach proposed by Gartner (1985), this definition is perhaps more macro than micro-based and is not an economics-based definition. While favouring this definition, a discussion of the various perspectives currently used in entrepreneurship is considered relevant in this review.

2.2.2 Primary Perspectives of Entrepreneurship

Although this researcher has chosen a recent definition of entrepreneurship, this section reviews the primary perspectives used in entrepreneurship research from those initially developed by economists with their emphasis on risk, opportunity and innovation (Casson, 1995; Weber, 1958; Schumpeter, 1934), to the later work of psychologists (McClelland, 1967; Shaver & Scott, 1991) whose primary interest was to see whether the personality traits (such as need for achievement or risk taking) of individual entrepreneurs differed from those of non-entrepreneurs. The management, anthropological, sociological and cultural perspectives are also discussed.

2.2.2.1 Economic Perspectives

Much research has been conducted on the economic importance of entrepreneurs and their personal attributes (Cantillon, 1755; Kirzner, 1973; Schumpeter, 1934; Weber, 1958), and on what exactly entrepreneurship is (Gartner, 1990). In more recent years the literature has focussed on the process of enterprise development, the combining of entrepreneurship with regional development, policy making; the levels of entrepreneurship

in various segments of the population; and the value cultures place on entrepreneurial behaviour (Bygrave & Hofer, 1991; Dana, 1995; Deakins & Freel, 2003; North & Smallbone, 2000; Sexton & Smilor, 1997; Specht, 1992).
While many writers concentrate on the entrepreneur and treat entrepreneurship as the endeavours of an entrepreneur and his/her team (Cantillon, 1755; Kirzner, 1973; Schumpeter, 1943), van de Ven (1995) makes the point that attributing entrepreneurship to one individual is a common bias in Western culture, and that in actual fact most innovations are the result of collective achievements. The very step of establishing an organisation requires any entrepreneur to work with a community or team of people (van de Ven, 1995). Lavoie argues that rather than being a lone rugged individualist, the entrepreneur is more attuned to and integrated with culture, cultural trends and opportunities (in Lindh de Montoya, 2000, 343).

In his review of Schumpeter's contribution to the theory of entrepreneurship, Swedberg (2000) makes the point that in addition to his well-known description of entrepreneurs as creative destructors, Schumpeter also discussed new combinations, business cycles (Schumpeter, 1939), entrepreneurs' motivations and the history of entrepreneurship. He also addressed sociology and societies (Schumpeter, 1943). Schumpeter viewed change as something instigated by the entrepreneur, rather than something that was instigated by general changes in the environment such as demographic change or new technological inventions. The changes in the air travel market as a result of South West Airlines or Ryanair are examples of the Schumpterian view of the sources of change. Schumpeter also mentions overcoming resistance to change – particularly important in rural illiterate communities: 'Is it possible to train people to face general disapproval or even ostracism?' (Swedberg, 2000, 46). Much of the entrepreneurship education and training happens in business or management schools, where perhaps there is a limited amount of fostering of creativity and of an independent voice willing to face Swedberg's disapproval or ostracism (Welsch & Liao, 2003).

2.2.2.2 Managerial Perspective

While management theory was largely developed in the context of large firms and scientific experimentation, such as the Hawthorne experiments in the early 20th century (Wrege, 2007), management theorists also addressed management in SMEs and in growing firms. The various problem solving models such as Greiner's (1972) and Churchill and Lewis's stages of growth models (1983) and other more generic strategy tools and models such as SWOT analysis or Porter's Five Forces or the value added chain are largely prescriptive and perhaps not as informative in the study of entrepreneurship, where creativity, social change and re-imagining are of more relevance.

Organisational and business theorists have begun to examine how the entrepreneur marshalls resources, whether financial, physical or intellectual, in an organisational context. In proposing that 'entrepreneurship is a way of thinking, reasoning and acting that is opportunity obsessed, holistic in approach and leadership balanced', Timmons and Spinelli (2003, 47) emphasise behaviour and opportunities, as does Venkataraman (1997).

However, entrepreneurship (and SME) research and education have often been treated as the poor relations in many business schools where most of the focus is on large scale businesses (Welsch & Liao, 2003). This situation is changing, yet perhaps surprisingly, although most entrepreneurship education and research worldwide take place in business and management schools, other fields are perhaps equally suited and enlightening in the study of entrepreneurship. One such field is psychology, a field from which the organisational and business theorists have borrowed.

2.2.2.3 Traits & Psychological Perspective

Arguably, the economists have not managed to fully explore and explain entrepreneurship within their theoretical framework (Swedberg, 2000) due to the central role of more human / qualitative elements, such as Von Hipple's 'sticky knowledge' (1994) or Hayek's imperfect knowledge of time and place (1945). Psychology's research on entrepreneurs' traits, traits such as need for achievement (McClelland, 1967) or risk taking (Knight, in Kirby, 2003) is commonly considered to have been an inconclusive intellectual cul de sac, as many of the traits identified applied equally to non-entrepreneurs, and did not necessarily apply across all situations (Gartner, 1985; Swedberg, 2000). Thus in the 1960s the psychology research community moved to address the more fruitful behavioural and cognitive issues, in tandem with examining the process of enterprise development and entrepreneurship iteslf (Shaver & Scott, 1991). The debate in psychology has moved away from the individual entrepreneur's qualities to the process, and of more of a cognitive approach, with emphasis on issues such as opportunity recognition, creativity, innovation and self-efficacy (Katz & Shepherd, 2003), issues also studied by the business theorists (Timmons & Spinelli, 2003).

McClelland's interesting examination (1961; 1967) of the influence of folk-tales and other forms of popular culture, overlooked the micro-environment of the various institutions which also influence an entrepreneur's need for achievement and his/her ability to achieve in that particular institutional / social context, for example the entrepreneur's education and family, the business institutions, and social values. Potential entrepreneurs may have had the necessary qualities and behaviours but the environment in which they operated or

the time period in which they lived may not have had the pre-requisites which would enable them to exploit the perceived opportunities (Gerschenkron, 1966). They may not have been able to overcome the environmental limitations and may have chosen emigration to an environment of higher opportunity or higher levels of entrepreneurship legitimacy. Thus, in contexts of very low entrepreneurial behaviour the socio-political environmental context needs to be addressed as well as individual human capital issues. Anthropology is one of the fields through which some of these issues can be addressed.

2.2.2.4 Anthropological Perspective

While entrepreneurship has not been the topic of most interest to anthropologists, there is a rich vein of anthropologicial research on entrepreneurship, which peaked from the 1950s to the 1970s (Stewart, 1991), but which has not been particularly active since the 1980s (Swedberg, 2000). Most of this research examined entrepreneurs in developing countries, rural communities, marginalised urban communities, or ethnic minorities, with relatively little about developed economies (Lindh de Montoya, 2000). One of the contributions anthropology can make to a better understanding of entrepreneurship is that its methods often require the researcher to gain a first-hand in-depth understanding of the entrepreneur and his/her community, essentially a bottom-up understanding.

In the 1960s, a number of researchers in this tradition (Barth, 1963; Belshaw, 1965) emphasised the role of action and behaviour in the study of entrepreneurship, around the same time as the behavioural psychologists (Stewart, 1991). A particularly useful 1960s study of rural industrialisation in the Gaeltacht conducted by Eileen Kane (1977), on a commission from Gaeltarra Éireann, recognised the benefits of gaining anthropological and sociological insights. Yet, in general, anthropology in business or management has not developed as well as anthropology in other spheres such as medicine, education, gender studies or development studies. Barth (1967) proposes that entrepreneurial behaviour is about connecting two separate spheres in a society – bridging the gap between the cash and non-cash (barter) economy, or breaking through the barrier between the two spheres. If the non-cash sphere is strongly linked to kinship and reciprocal rights and obligations, the entrepreneur who introduces a cash transaction into what was traditionally a barter transaction, in an effort to create a link with the cash sphere may incur disapproval from his/her kin. Barth gives the example in Darfur, Africa, of the sale of home-made beer being considered immoral, as beer is restricted to exchange for reciprocal labour in communal work. Kane reported similar issues of reciprocal labour in her Gaeltacht study (1977).

The values which inhibit or encourage entrepreneurial behaviour, inter-ethnic transfers of knowledge and information networks are all themes of relevance in both entrepreneurship and anthropology. Why anthropological interest in entrepreneurship declined is debatable, but given current acceptance of a broader definition of entrepreneurship, and development of multidisciplinary methodologies, there may be a case to revisit and embrace anthropologicial approaches, which often examine the role of the entrepreneur within his/her society and its cultural norms. Given that much of the anthropological research was based on pre-industrial societies, it may be of particular use in explaining the earlier periods in longitudinal studies such as the mid to late 20th century period of industrial development in the Co Galway Gaeltacht.

2.2.2.5 Sociological Perspective

While the social sciences literature on entrepreneurship is to some extent sprawling and incohesive, social scientists also claim that by addressing the social context, they can provide 'new and fresh ideas about the theory and practice of entrepreneurship' (Swedberg, 2000, 7). Examples are found in the work of Bull & Willard (1995); Carroll & Hannan (2000); Reynolds (1991); Specht (1993) and Spilling (1996). Collective achievements, the supportive environment which entrepreneurs require, the societal legitimacy of the entrepreneur's actions (Bull & Willard, 1995; van de Ven, 1993) and the personal and business networks entrepreneurs need and use (Axelsson & Easton, 1992; Håkkansson & Snehota, 1995; Heracleus & Murray, 2001; Mottiar & Jacobson, 2002; Renzulli *et al*, 2000; Reynolds, 1991) have also provided an insight into entrepreneurial patterns. Many efforts are made to assess the level of entrepreneurship in a society or community or the value placed by that society/community on entrepreneurial behaviour, or in other words the social legitimacy of entrepreneurship. Various measures and comparisons are made at international, national and regional level (Fitzsimons et al, 2004; Observatory of European SMEs, 2002; Specht, 1992; Spilling, 1996).

Successful entrepreneurs need a supportive environment (Bull & Willard, 1995) in which to legitimise their actions. That environment incorporates physical and climatic environment, as well as the various social, cultural, business, economic and legal institutions. Bruno and Tyebjee (1982) reviewed 17 research papers on environmental variables which influenced the creation of new enterprises, and listed the following which they considered to stimulate entrepreneurship:

- Venture capital availability
- Presences of experienced entrepreneurs
- Technically skilled labour force
- Accessibility of suppliers

- Accessibility of customers or new markets
- Governmental influences
- Proximity of universities
- Availability of land or facilities
- Accessibility of transportation
- Attitude of the area population
- Availability of supporting services
- Living conditions.

Others such as Stinchcombe (1965) and Sweeney (1987) have also devised similar lists.

While Durkheim's idea of 'collective effervescence' was developed in the context of religion ([1912] 1971), Swedberg (2000) interprets it as a theory of innovation which leads to new institutions and values. When the intensity of social interaction reaches a certain pitch, it practically boils over creating new movements, values and institutions. This effervescence can be viewed as one of the roots of entrepreneurship or part of entrepreneurial capital, and conversely Durkheim's 'anomie' (hopelessness, lawlessness, loss of belief and sense of purpose) as a potential outcome of stagnation, disadvantage and dependency. Gerschenkron (1966) also argues for the need to look at institutional factors in explaining the prerequisites for entrepreneurship, citing the centuries-long history of craft-guilds in Continental Europe encouraging co-operation and respect for good workmanship; and German investment banks' involvement in farsighted plans in conjunction with entrepreneurs. So in a community of high anomie, as existed in the Galway Gaeltacht in the late 19th century, the question is how did social movements and new institutions emerge and evolve. What challenges did the social and private entrepreneurs face? If 'entrepreneurship consists of accretions of numerous institutional, resource and proprietary events involving many actors who transcend boundaries of many public and private sector organisations' (van de Ven, 1993, 128), how does one trigger those many accretions and actors. If an entrepreneur's actions are legitimised by 'the rules and norms of the society in which the organisation functions' (van de Ven, 1995, 45), how does one create that supportive environment. Does the environment need a few brave entrepreneurs to start the momentum? Deep seated cultural values may hamper such activity.

2.2.2.6 Cultural Perspective

Definitions of culture abound. One general definition often used by entrepreneurship scholars is that culture is a set of shared values, beliefs and expected behaviours (Hofstede, 1991); another definition is that it is a complex of meanings, symbols and assumptions about what is good or bad, legitimate or illegitimate that underlies the

prevailing practices and norms in a society (Bourdieu, 1983; Fowler, 1997). As national cultures also include sub-cultures based on issues such as age, location, ethnic background, language and lifestyle, it is an ecological fallacy to assume that national culture transfers down to regional, community or individual level. For example, in his research on entrepreneurial values in six structurally different Swedish regions Davidsson found differences in the scores, and correlation between those scores and new firm formation rates (1995).

In reviewing 21 empirical research projects on culture and entrepreneurship, Hayton *et al* developed a model of culture's association with entrepreneurship (2002, 46). They propose that culture moderates the relationship between contextual factors such as the institutional and economic contexts, and entrepreneurial outcomes. Cultural values have an impact on the needs and motives individuals have – such as the need for achievement (McClelland, 1961) and on individual cognition – in terms of the knowledge structures and decision preferences people have. They also affect the beliefs and behaviours of people. At a collective societal level cultural values influence the institutional context – the types of social, legal, regulatory, political institutions that emerge and develop in a nation or state. At an individual level cultural values mediate between those institutions and the economic context and the nature of entrepreneurship. Thus for example a society in which there is great emphasis on Hofstede's individuality may have social institutions such as divorce, may view entrepreneurship more in terms of the individual entrepreneur, may value individual property rights over collective ownership and have the appropriate legal mechanisms for such ownership. A society which emphasises Schwartz's (1999) egalitarianism might value honesty, social justice and responsibility to one's community over personal achievement and wealth. A society emphasising intellectual autonomy might award higher status to the humanities and professions leading to higher status in education in these fields, at the expense of more vocational and/or technical expertise and education, as happened in Ireland in the 20th century.

2.2.2.6.1 Cultural Values

Cultural values are defined by Schwartz as 'the implicitly or explicitly shared abstract ideas about what is good, right, and desirable in a society' (Schwartz, 1999, 25). These norms provide people with a framework to decide what is appropriate in different situations. They influence what sociopolitical institutions exist and how they operate. Values influence a society's behaviour and attitudes formally through formal organisations and informally in everyday life. Despite stating that there has been an overdependence on Hofstede's (1991) four cultural value dimensions, Hayton *et al* use these four values in their model (2002). Other value measures have also been developed, such as Schwartz's

seven types, namely conservatism, intellectual autonomy, affective autonomy, hierarchy, egalitarianism, mastery and harmony (1999). Schwartz surveyed over 35,000 respondents, primarily teachers and third level students in 49 nations on all continents, and developed the seven types as a basis for generating hypotheses on attitudes to work. With such a big sample, Schwartz was able to detect differences within nations, for example between Canadian Anglo- and Francophones, and Swiss Francophones and the whole Swiss nation. The francophone Swiss emphasise intellectual autonomy more than the Swiss as a whole. Schwartz makes the point that teachers are key carriers of culture and play an explicit role in value socialisation. He found significant similarities between the teacher and student results in each country, adding robustness to the results. This value measure could be used to assess societal values in relation to innovation, risk-taking, autonomy and entrepreneurship.

In the early 20th century, Schumpeter, an Austrian, felt obliged to defend the role and behaviour of an entrepreneur as not always being negative (1934, 90). In a rural Irish context the word gombeen man is originally from the words 'fear gaimbín' (money lender, userer, trader selling goods on interest bearing credit). The term eventually came to mean the local shopkeeper or merchant, and even today holds negative connotations. Thus an individual's material advancement (or desire to advance) through business might not have social legitimacy. Policy efforts to support individual entrepreneurial effort might be at variance with the rules and norms of the society. The effervescence might be dampened. Encouraging effervescence is not enough; organisation, marshalling of resources, and channelling of effort are also required to foster entrepreneurship. A holistic approach is required.

2.2.2.7 Holistic Perspectives

We return to Gartner's (1985) proposed multi-dimensional conceptual framework encompassing the individual, the process, the organisation and the environment. He recommended a multi-level interdisciplinary approach to entrepreneurship research. Based on his study of entrepreneurship researchers' understanding of the concept, the themes which emerged are: the entrepreneur, innovation, organisation creation, creating value, profit or non-profit, growth, uniqueness, owner-manager. This collection of eight themes is quite encompassing, and could be said to provide the first step in operationalising the perhaps rather abstract definition proposed by Steyaert and Hjorth (2006) and favoured by this author earlier in this chapter. While their processual definition and the sociological perspective are the most suitable to address the emergence and evolution of entrepreneurship in one region, there are also some non-mainstream perspectives that are also of relevance, as discussed in the next section.

2.2.3 Non-Mainstream Perspectives

The previous section reviewed the main perspectives from which entrepreneurship has been studied to date. There is an increasingly important strand of non-mainstream perspectives. These perspectives sometimes use non-mainstream empirical evidence. A number of these are briefly discussed, as this researcher's research question addresses a linguistic minority in a peripheral location.

2.2.3.1 Spatial Perspective

While early research in fields such as economics and sociology addressed geographic location (O'Farrell & Crouchley, 1984), it is in recent years that research in other fields such as strategy, marketing and entrepreneurship have begun to evaluate the role geography plays in business (Baum & Sorenson, 2003). Michael Porter is examining regional clusters, some of it addressing European minority language regions (Basque Country and Wales) but not the role of language in entrepreneurship (www.isc.hbs.edu). A number of researchers have assessed entrepreneurship at regional, municipal or national level (Aarsæther & Nysether, 2004; Davidson, 1995; Davidsson & Honig, 2003; Sweeney, 1987; Roper & Hewitt-Dundas, 2001). As large multinationals are less rooted and generally gravitate more to central locations, the particular role of small and medium sized enterprises for peripheral areas is recognised by both researchers and policymakers (Grimes, 1992). Neck, Meyer, Cohn and Corbet (2004) include the spatial and temporal aspects in their study of entrepreneurial systems in Boulder, Colorado.

Just over half a century ago Hayek highlighted the danger of ignoring 'the knowledge of the particular circumstances of time and place' (1945, 521), in which 'the interactions of people each of whom possesses only partial knowledge' (530) lead to social and economic developments. As knowledge becomes increasingly important in societies, we realize it cannot be transferred or developed as easily as information. The transfer and development of Hayek's partial or imperfect knowledge (1945) or Von Hipple's 'sticky knowledge' (1994) requires face-to-face interaction, and frequent, repeated contact. Thus location and social networks paradoxically become more important in the development of innovations and new enterprises (Audretsch, 2003). Clusters such as Silicon Valley and Route 128 in the USA and the Grenoble high technology cluster in France (www.grenoble-isere.com) provide empirical evidence. These are now urban areas. So how and when does a peripheral rural region nearly devoid of entrepreneurial activity, start to create the sticky knowledge most appropriate for entrepreneurial development? Despite repeated policies and investments from the late 19th century onwards, it did not happen in the Galway Gaeltacht until the late 1960s.

2.2.3.1.1 Rural

Limited attention has been paid to regions that have lagged in entrepreneurial development and levels of activity. For example, rural, depleted and peripheral regions, often display lower levels of entrepreneurial capital and behaviour; and firm formation (Johnstone & Lionais, 2004). Under such circumstances, conventional policy measures may produce perverse effects.

The most relevant spatial issue in this research project is rurality, a topic addressed in a number of Irish (Commins & McDonagh, 2002; McDonagh & Commins, 1999; O'Farrell, & Crouchley, 1985) and British (Bosworth, 2007; North & Smallbone, 2000) and other (Porter et al., 2004; Watkins, 2007) entrepreneurship studies. Given the close strong ties normally existing in rural areas, it may be easier for the outsider or incomer to act outside the norms and to challenge the status quo without losing face or being rejected by his/her social network. Studies in a number of locations in Ireland have highlighted the importance of 'incomers' ('non-natives' and 'returned migrants') in new enterprise start-ups. In their research on state assisted rural manufacturing firms in counties Mayo, Galway and Clare, McDonagh & Commins (1999) found that newcomers accounted for 40% of small businesses established with grant-aid over a 5 year period. A further 22% were returning emigrants (1999). Newcomers' businesses grew more than those of returners and non-movers. In the tourism, crafts, speciality goods and organic farming sectors the percentage of founders who were from outside the area was over 50 (Commins & McDonagh, 2002).

This phenomenon is not confined to Ireland and has also been observed in Britain (Bosworth, 2007) and further afield. Svendsen and Svendsen (2004) discuss the influential role of incomers in redefining civic engagement and the sense of identity in Danish rural communities when a large number of urban well-educated people moved to 'pretty' villages, and became involved in developing village community development organisations. As many innovations are the result of collective endeavour (van de Ven, 1995), perhaps a critical mass of incoming innovators is required before true change occurs. Many of the entrepreneurs in the Gaeltacht have been incomers. But what is also interesting is that in the case of the Gaeltacht, many who moved into the area did so more with romantic ideals not only of rural idyll and of the preservation of traditions, but also the preservation of the language (Mac Gabhann, 2004). As happened in Denmark, some became involved in community development, seeing the need to protect a minority language, bringing us to the issue of minority entrepreneurship, which to date has not addressed minority language communities.

2.2.3.2 Minority Entrepreneurship

Ethnicity is about belonging to a race or nation, with individuals sometimes self-identifying with one group which leads to a particular network pattern of kinship and friendships, networks which are often interlaced with one's occupation, place of residence and involvement in civil society (Waldinger et al, 1990). The Anglo-Saxon European ethnocentric term ethnic entrepreneurship is used to denote a certain strand of research about the entrepreneurial behaviour among immigrant non-white minority groups residing in white majority communities / states (McPherson, 1990; Ram & Deakins, 1995; Sexton & Smilor, 1997; Waldinger et al, 1990). More recently research on indigenous minorities such as the Maori, First Nations, Saami and Inuit has emerged (Aarsæther & Nyseth, 2004; Dana, 1995; Dana & Anderson, 2007; Peredo et al, 2004). Very little research has addressed linguistic minorities and the effect of their minority language on entrepreneurship, despite there being over 40 officially recognised indigenous languages in the 15 states of the European Union before the 2004 enlargement. One pamphlet looks at the way in which EU linguistic minorities have developed industrially (Price, 1997), and one study discusses the value of the Welsh language as a cultural / tourism product, but not addressing the interaction between minority language and entrepreneurship (Casson, 1995). Very recently the GEM Wales team has compared Welsh speakers with non-Welsh speakers finding that while there were higher rates of business ownership, considering establishing a business or having a very new enterprise among Welsh speakers (than non-Welsh speakers), there were lower rates of actually founding a new company. In Welsh speaking heartlands, Welsh speakers had lower rates of founding, but higher rates outside the heartlands (than non-Welsh speakers) (GEM Wales, 2007). Nevertheless some of the themes which arise in minority entrepreneurship, such as the incomer, social networks, and marginality are of relevance in the study of the peripheral Galway Gaeltacht region.

2.2.4 Relevant Landmark Studies

This section discussed the defining of entrepreneurship; the main perspectives or theoretical frameworks through which entrepreneurship has been studied, and also some of the relevant non-mainstream perspectives. While most researchers' intentions are to produce innovative work providing fresh theoretical insights or new empirical evidence, a number of studies stand out and become landmarks providing guidance to subsequent researchers. The following works, in chronological order, are significant in the canon of entrepreneurship scholarship in which this author's research is located.

2.2.4.1 Tracing Social Phenomena Over Time

Durkheim was one of the founders of sociology as a scientific discipline at the beginning of the 20th century. His conception was of a science where empirical methods are used to

study social phenomena and that in order to understand any current phenomenon, one had to trace its historical roots and the different layers and combinations which led to it (Thompson, 2002). While his main thesis and topic of research was religion, Durkheim broadened his point to cover other aspects of society including economic systems. Any institution needs to be looked at historically and through its constituent elements so we can see how they developed.

> 'Every time we undertake to explain something human, taken at a given moment in history – be it a religious belief, a moral precept, a legal principle, an aesthetic style, or an economic system - it is necessary to commence by going back to its most primitive and simple form to try and account for the characteristics by which it was marked at that time, and then to show how it developed and became complicated little by little, and how it became that which it is at the moment in question.' (Durkheim 1912, in Durkheim 1971, 15)

In other words, all social phenomena are tied in some way to time and place. This point was taken up by the economist Schumpeter a few decades after Durkheim when he stated that with creative destruction 'we are dealing with a process whose every element takes considerable time in revealing its true features and ultimate effects ... we must judge its performance over time, as it unfolds through decades or centuries'. ([1943] 1987, 83). In 1948, Schumpeter and three others established The Research Centre for Entrepreneurial History at Harvard University. It operated for ten years. As an aside, they also welcomed interdisciplinary research, recognizing the porous boundaries to the discipline of entrepreneurship (Aitken, 1965). Given the status afforded to Schumpeter among entrepreneurship scholars, it is interesting how relatively minor a role has been given to time in entrepreneurship research to date. Major changes take time, therefore from a policy making point of view, effecting major positive change requires a long-term perspective and understanding.

2.2.4.2 Pre-Requisites for Entrepreneurship

Gerschenkron (1966) provides a useful overview of the basic pre-requisites for entrepreneurship. In addressing the transition from agrarian to industrial societies, he states that these transitions have been so varied that generalisations cannot be made. Gerschenkron views entrepreneurship as emerging shortly after serious efforts at industrialisation, often by the state, in the absence of private entrepreneurs.

> 'With the spurt of industrialisation also begins a rapid process of transformation of entrepreneurs while their ranks are speedily increasing. Far more important than all historical requisites of modern entrepreneurship is the effect on entrepreneurs of being passed through the great training school of industrialisation.' (Gerschenkron, 1966, available in Swedberg, 2000, 138)

A certain amount of industrialisation has to happen before a sufficient number of entrepreneurs can emerge. Ingenuity and dedication are required. The state can substitute for the lack of private / individual entrepreneurs to kick-start the activity, especially in underdeveloped societies and countries. Those elements one might commonly regard as pre-requisites for industrialisation (and ultimately entrepreneurship) were even less common in the more backward countries, and yet substitutes were found and used. With this (state-led) industrialisation the institutional environment changed, allowing entrepreneurs to blossom. Gerschenkron's debate might be useful in explaining the pre-industrial stage of this author's research.

2.2.4.3 Stinchcombe's Imprinting

An example of how one article can have a long-lasting influence on subsequent papers is that of Stinchcombe (1965). While his paper on the relation of the society outside the organisation with the internal life of the organisation is set in the context of the emergence of political revolutionary organisations, it is also relevant to entrepreneurship scholars, many of whom have developed the topics addressed by him. He outlined the long-lasting effects of environmental imprinting on new organisations or groups of organisations. Researchers must place assessment of events and developments in the past, in the social context existing at that time, assessing the level of imprinting and uncovering potential triggering events which lead to great path dependency. Examples of papers in which authors refer to Stinchcombe's work are those addressing the rate of foundation of new forms of organisations (emergence of new Populations; Population ecology) (Aldrich, 1990; Aldrich & Ruef, 2006; Carroll & Hannon, 2000); Population ecology and density dependence (Barnett, 1997; Delacroix & Carroll, 1983; Hannan & Freeman, 1977); the effects of social structures, institutions and political turbulence on these new organisations (Delacroix & Swaminathan, 1989); and contribution of sociology to entrepreneurship research (Reynolds, 1991). Other issues raised by Stinchcombe and researched by subsequent authors include the density of social life (social capital) (e.g. Beugelsdijk & van Schaik, 2005); organisations in 'traditional' versus 'modern' societies (Putnam, Leonardi & Nanetti, 1993); liability of newness (Nenadic, 1990; Teasdale & Minty, 2004; Tripathy, 1990); variables affecting organising capacity (prerequisites for entrepreneurship) (Gerschenkron, 1966).

2.2.4.4 Longitudinal Research

Echoing Durkheim's and Schumpeter's earlier opinions that a long-term view is required, Gartner & Shane (1995) provide a convincing case for longitudinal research (as later do Aldrich (1999) and Carroll & Hannan (2000)). In their review of over 25 research projects on entrepreneurship over time, Gartner and Shane came to the conclusion that major changes often only happen over long periods of time, and 'significant influences on

entrepreneurship (such as technology, immigration and political change) are unlikely to show their effect in a data set covering 10 years or less' (Gartner and Shane, 1995, 304). Research on long periods of time allows researchers to uncover new insights into triggering events, imprinting and path dependencies not otherwise apparent. Longitudinal research also allows us to locate the origin of new Communities of enterprises as well the pioneering enterprises within already emerging or established Communities (Aldrich & Ruef, 2006; Carroll & Hannan, 2000; Gartner & Shane, 1995), as proposed by Durkheim at the beginning of the 20th century ([1912] 1971).

Gradually a few strands of research about processes and change over time (Bygrave & Hofer, 1992; Mezias & Huperman, 2000); the evolution of industries (Schoonhoven & Romanelli, 2001) such as the Irish and British wholesale industries (Quinn & Sparks, 2007) have emerged. Aldrich & Ruef (2006) recognise the role of particular circumstances of time in how organisations evolve. They refer to the long-lasting effects of Stinchcombe's (1965) imprinting, that is, the effect the environment has on firms at their founding. A longitudinal view of entrepreneurial patterns can perhaps shed some light in a way which does 'not always square with conventional wisdom' (Carroll & Hannan, 2000, 18). In their review, Gartner & Shane state that 'a comprehensive longitudinal measure of all organisations in an economy does not appear to have been undertaken when studying entrepreneurship' (1995, 291). However, much longitudinal research on change has been conducted at the Centre for Corporate Strategy and Change in the University of Warwick (Pettigrew, 1990), where emphasis is put on 'the contexts, content and process of change together with their interconnections' (268), echoing the points made by Durkheim and Schumpeter.

2.2.4.5 Multi-level Research

Those working in the Warwick Centre propose that one of the means of analysing the context is through multilevel research, addressing the interconnections between different levels of analysis and horizontally between different time periods (Pettigrew, 1990), a point also made by other authors two decades ago (Gartner, 1985; Low and Macmillan, 1988) and again more recently by Davidsson & Wicklund (2000) and Steyaert & Hjorth (2006). While individual (micro) level has been well explored and documented (Low & MacMillan, 1988; Organization Science, Special Issue, Volume 1 Issue 3, 1990), and the national level is increasingly being explored (gemconsortium.org) the intervening Community / cluster / industry (meso) level has been relatively unexplored (Davidsson & Wiklund, 2001). Community is defined as the level of aggregation above Population in ecology-based and evolutionary studies (Aldrich, 1999). Organisational Community therefore embraces the various organisational Populations – usually defined as industry

groups – found in a regional or national economy. Community research is difficult because of its scope, yet important in so far as explaining any one Population depends on understanding its interactions with adjacent Populations (Aldrich, 1999; McKelvey, 1994).

There may well be an interrelationship between what emerges at regional, industry and individual level. Regional level empirical research (e.g. Regional Studies Special Issue, 28, 4, 1994) has compared regions. Comparisons spanning decades indicate how regional changes may take a long time (Johnson, 2004). Audretsch (2003) cites a number of studies, which illustrate that there is stronger empirical evidence at aggregate, regional or national level than at individual firm level, for the relationship between R&D and patents and for the degree of entrepreneurial activity and economic growth.

2.2.4.6 Landmark Studies - Summary

In summary the author views the earlier work of Durkheim, Schumpeter, Stinchcombe, and of those proposing longitudinal and multi level research as the overall foundation for the choice of perspectives, and the key to addressing the question of how entrepreneurship emerged and evolved in the Galway Gaeltacht. The particular perspectives or theoretical frameworks, on which the new conceptual framework developed by the author is based, are discussed in the next section.

2.3 PERSPECTIVES USED IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT

This section reviews in more depth the literature that is of particular relevance to this research, and which provides the theoretical foundation for the new conceptual framework developed and presented later in this chapter. The landmark studies discussed in the previous section provided the overall foundation for the choice of perspectives, namely a long-term approach which traces social phenomena over time; the environmental pre-requisites for entrepreneurship; the imprinting effects and multi-level research. The new conceptual framework is largely based on these issues, and is rooted in the evolutionary perspectives of organisation evolution and corporate demography; and the environmental issues of entrepreneurship capital and institutional forces. The framework also incorporates issues (such as psychological capital and minority language and culture) hitherto not discussed in the existing entrepreneurship research literature. The methodological literature associated with the choices made in devising the new conceptual framework, is discussed in the following chapter.

2.3.1 Evolutionary Perspective

Evolutionary theory in general eschews the static view of one particular point in time. Organisation evolution and corporate demography have evolved as interdisciplinary theories that allow a long-term dynamic examination of the emergence, development,

disbandment and interaction of Populations of organisations in the context of the society / environment in which they exist (Aldrich, 1999, Baum & Singh, 1994; Carroll & Hannan, 2000; Singh, 1990).

2.3.1.1 Corporate Demography

Carroll & Hannan (2000) have taken organisational ecology as their base in developing the theory of corporate demography, which looks at the 'flow of corporate vital events over time and their interrelationships' (Carroll & Hannan, 2000, 39). This theory looks at the interaction between Populations of organisations through their linkages in the value-added chain, in trade associations or with public organisations. While corporate demography is largely associated with Carroll & Hannan, as far back as the 1930s, researchers were looking at the demography of enterprises such as Shannon's seminal work in the 1930s (1932; 1933) where he found that the largest number of businesses in the UK were sole traders; and Jobert and Moss's study (1990) which revealed that traditional craftsmen accounted for majority of firms in pre-First World War Toulouse in France.

Numerous studies have been conducted on particular Populations of organisations (i.e. industries) (Aldrich et al, 1990; Ambergey et al, 1994; Delacroix & Carroll, 1983; Delacroix et al, 1989; Freeman, 1990; Hannan et al, 1990; Singh, 1990), and more recently on Communities of organisations (Baum & Singh, 1994). Baum and Singh (1994) suggest that in addition to an ecological approach to organisation evolution, there is a genealogical hierarchy whereby entities evolve and replicate over time. An examination of the wooden furniture industry in Monaghan showed that 75% of the firms that responded were either directly or indirectly related to the largest and one of the oldest firms in the area (Mottiar & Jacobson, 2002).

Population ecologists also take the view that the environment affects enterprise development. Studies on particular industries such as wine in California (Delacroix et al, 1989) showed that examining prior foundings and failings gave a better account of failure rates in the industry than did Hannan and Freeman's (1977) density dependence model. Carroll and Hannan's book (2000) take an even broader perspective and look at the interaction between Populations of organizations through their linkages in the value-added chain, in trade associations or with public organizations. They look at how these organizations and relationships evolve over time.

2.3.1.2 Organisation Evolution

The key issues of interest to Aldrich & Ruef (2006) in their survey of a wide range of studies in the field of organisational evolution are how new Populations emerge; how new variations of organisational forms emerge out of those Populations; how these new

organisations are imprinted and legitimised by the environment at the time of emergence. An example of a Population is fish farms. An example of a Community of Populations is the marine resources sector, which includes fish farms but also associated enterprises providing products and services such as cages, fish feed, diving, R&D and transport. Triggering events and the imprinting that happens at that stage can have lifelong impacts and lead to path dependency consequences (Stinchcombe, 1965). Whether by accident or by design, some firms will vary some aspect of the business, for example: a new customer; a new production method; opportunistic behaviour leading to a new product or a new invention; or hiring a particular individual. This variation may be selected and retained and become a successful new form of business, perhaps spawning a new Population of businesses, or the variation will lead to failure and the end of that new form. Aldrich & Ruef (2006) call this process variation, selection, retention & struggle. It is through this process that new Populations emerge.

2.3.1.3 Emergence of New Populations

Working back in time from the current landscape of enterprises is about seeking out when and how did these new Populations of organisations emerged; what variations and selections occurred; why did the Populations evolve as they did; and what strategies did the individual firms in the Populations, the Populations as a whole and the Communities of related Populations employ to develop and grow, to gain legitimacy within the environment in which they operated. This author has identified three key issues related to this emergence of new Populations, namely the pioneers who first emerge with the new form; the liability of newness they may have suffered through how they were imprinted by the contemporaneous forces and factors at time of establishment. These issues are now discussed. The strategies employed by Population members in order to facilitate growth of Populations are discussed thereafter.

2.3.1.3.1 Pioneers

Pioneering entrepreneurs are those who lead the way in establishing new forms of enterprise (Aldrich & Ruef, 2006, 187). They are the true innovators and creative destructors, whose ideas and leadership are copied and / or modified by the 'early fledglings', and later by the rest. They often encounter disbelief; discouragement; and lack of understanding as they endeavour to marshal the resources required to realise their visions. They are on a steep learning curve in striving to gain socio-political and cognitive legitimacy. They spawn new Populations and as a new Population emerges, variations in the organisational form occur, some intentionally through experimentation or because of incentives to innovate, others through mistakes or general collective action in response to new situations. The more variation occurs, the more opportunities for transformation there are. Due to various forces, some variations are eliminated, and others are selected and

retained as more suitable to the new environmental context and situation. These retained variations are then preserved and/or duplicated. They eventually struggle in contest for the limited resources available (Aldrich & Ruef, 2006, 17). By now a new Population has become embedded in the system.

2.3.1.3.2 Liability of Newness

The pioneering firms and the early fledglings in this new Populations are affected by Stinchcombe's liability of newness (1965), in other words the difficulties faced by new organisations in their infancy compared to older organisations. As new industries or nascent entrepreneurs are particularly dependent on the surrounding environment in their efforts to marshal the required resources, they are particularly influenced by this liability of newness. Tripathy (1990) and Nenadic (1990) found evidence to support this theory, based on their studies, respectively of the Ahmedabad textile industry between 1858 and 1929, and the Edinburgh corporate Population of new book and paper firms from 1862 to 1890. This phenomenon has not changed substantially, and still exercises the minds of researchers and policy bodies. Using VAT registration data for the period 1993 to 1997, Teasdale & Minty (2004) found that 50% of Scottish firms had ceased operations within 5 years. Survival rates were higher in rural areas. Of companies registered with the Companies Office they found remarkable consistency in survival rates for the 140 year period 1862 to 2002. However, Carroll & Hannon (2000) argue that perhaps size, which is often correlated with age, rather than age itself is more of a determinant of how flexible and adaptable, and thus how successful a company may be.

2.3.1.3.3 Imprinting

New and especially pioneering organisations have to make such an effort to marshal resources from the surrounding environment that they are heavily scrutinised and affected by the environment at that crucial stage (Carroll & Hannan, 2000). They are imprinted (Stinchcombe, 1965) by the culture, society, values, and prevailing attitudes and conditions at the time, especially in their efforts to gain cognitive and social legitimacy from the key actors in the environment, such as policy makers, investors, unions, and other stakeholders. Carroll and Hannan define imprinting as a 'process in which events occurring at certain key developmental stages have persisting, possibly lifelong consequences' (2000, 205), especially at the founding stage. Aldrich (1995) argues that due to the strong effect of imprinting, focussing on the period during which a new Population (or form of organisation) emerges is a crucial theoretical issue. By focussing on the emergence of a new Population of organisations (a new industry sector or a new form of organisation for example) one may uncover / reveal particular circumstances of theoretical, empirical and policy importance/relevance.

Baron, Burton and Hannan (1999) addressed imprinting by examining the organisation design and human resource policies adopted by high technology firms in Silicon Valley. They found that the employment relations models adopted by founders significantly affected the early careers of their firms. These models were based on the various extant practices the founders had experienced in their former employment. Thus they were adopting the conventional wisdom at the time. The policies adopted by subsequent CEOs had less of an impact. As reported by Carroll & Hannan, Baron *et al* argue that the results of their survey provide 'quite compelling evidence of imprinting at founding' (Carroll and Hannan, 2000, 210). Tucker, Singh and Meinhard's (1990) study of voluntary social services organisations (VSSOs) in Toronto over a period of 13 years showed that there were different types of change and that imprinting and the type of change were related to the density at time of founding. For example, organisations founded in a concentrated environment were less likely to change than those founded at other times. They also make the point that VSSOs may be more susceptible to environmental influences than for-profit organisations, and thus may not be as 'imprinted' at the beginning. In referring to these imprinting studies, Carroll and Hannon suggest that research based on a longer term perspective than the first decade or so might well show a different picture (2000, 212).

2.3.1.4 Strategies Facilitating Growth of New Populations

Successful entrepreneurs need a supportive environment (Bull & Willard, 1995) in which their actions are legitimized by the 'rules and norms of the society in which the organization functions' (van de Ven, 1995, 45). A number of strategies are required to facilitate the growth of entrepreneurs' firms and of new Populations. Aldrich and Ruef (2006) analyse these strategies at four different levels – within the individual organisation; within the Population of organisations; between different Populations and at the Community level. They propose a typology of socio-political (moral and regulatory) legitimacy and cognitive legitimacy. In terms of strategies facilitating growth they incorporate learning into the gaining of cognitive legitimacy.

2.3.1.4.1 Cognitive Legitimacy and Learning

Cognitive legitimacy is about how 'taken for granted' a certain form has become and knowledge of how it operates has spread though a community (Aldrich & Ruef, 2006). Pioneering entrepreneurs learn 'on-the-job' but by the time the new Population is established in a region, there is an accepted, known way of running it. Potential entrepreneurs can use similar organisations as incubators for their own nascent enterprises. A certain way of doing business is more legitimate than other forms – for example the seasonal, part-time nature of the Irish colleges. Routines become culturally

embedded; efforts at improvement may be based on competency enhancement rather than creative destruction. The knowledge base is solidified by linkages with educational institutions, in which the relevant formal training is incorporated into curricula.

2.3.1.4.2 Socio-Political Legitimacy

Socio-political legitimacy is about being accepted as 'normal' by the community, society and political system in which an organisation or a Population operates. It is about how the cultural and political élites (e.g. education, mass media, religion, local and national government) who have the power to change cultural norms and values in a society approve of the new form (Aldrich & Ruef, 2006). Successful entrepreneurs are more likely to work on building networks of trust and co-operation in their efforts to gain legitimacy (Aldrich, 1995). The same is true for new Populations and the challenge can easily be understood through examples such as the emergence of trade unions at the beginning of the 20th century, and biotechnology and genetic engineering towards the end of the same century. Collaborative action at organisational, Population and Community levels are key to achieving the legitimacy (Aldrich, 1999). Given that most competency-destroying innovations are introduced by and developed by new Populations (quartz watches, or digital distribution and downloading of music for example), legitimacy is an important feature.

By examining these growth strategies from the time the pioneers emerged, one should be able to identify the imprinting and path dependencies which occurred as the Population evolved and new pioneers emerged out of the new Population. Many of these strategies and the gaining of legitimacy are affected by the institutional context.

2.3.1.5 Institutional Context

The various formal and informal institutions can have a positive or adverse effect on entrepreneurship and on the socio-political legitimacy discussed in the previous section. The most basic institutions affecting entrepreneurship are the rule of law and property rights (Fogel, Hawk, Morck & Yeung, 2006; Licht & Siegel, 2006). These have also been seen as prerequisites for modern industrialisation in terms of stable land tenure (Gerschenkron, 1966). Other pre-requisites discussed by Gerschenkron are the long history of craft guilds and of chambers of commerce. In their discussion on social capital, Beugelsdijk & van Schaik (2005) discuss institutional thickness, or the number of institutions and organisations in an area and how embedded they are. Durkheim proposed that in the modern state, there was a need for intermediate institutions between the individual and the state, to act as buffers and communicators – for example through occupational associations such as guilds and trade unions (Durkheim, 1971; Thompson, 2002).

Successful entrepreneurs take calculated and intuitive risks based on imperfect information but require this basic institutional support in order to be guaranteed some kind of success. Stable governance without cumbersome regulations and rules help foster new enterprises. The socio-political élite may not welcome the creative disruption of the entrepreneur, and may wield much power in maintaining the status quo. Cumbersome regulations and reporting practices are a disproportionate burden on small new firms. For example the amount of time and effort required to establish a new small business can vary substantially from country to country – from 2 days in Australia to 152 days in Madagascar (Fogel *et al*, 2006). Other examples of institutional factors are accounting standards, capital markets, banking standards and practices, physical and business infrastructure, licencing laws, taxation practices, corporate governance practices, economic policy, enterprise policy and supranational law. The influence of these political and economic institutions is well documented in entrepreneurship research (Fogel *et al*, 2006).

The socio-cultural institutions include family, religion, education, mass media, social and leisure organisations and business and trade organisations. In pre-industrial societies or regions, the first three (family, religion and education) would have more significance, the rest existing on a much weaker basis if at all. As does cultural change, institutional change happens slowly. In their empirical exploration of the links between them and new firm start-ups Fogel *et al* (2006) use the following institutional variables: rules, property rights and legal regime; government quality and actions; distribution of control of corporations; culture; education, market diversity and openness. They found that overall, better institutions promoted entrepreneurship. Countries with the following encourage entrepreneurship: more educated people, more egalitarian religions, more mass media, strong rule of law and property rights, honest and effective government, business-friendly regulations, and diversified economies. They found no evidence of government spending crowding out start-ups, or of volatile macroeconomic barriers discouraging entrepreneurship.

An entrepreneurial system is one means of examining the institutional framework in which entrepreneurs operate. This concept was introduced by Olaf Spilling in his research on the 1994 Olympic Games in Norway. An entrepreneurial system is 'the complexity and diversity of actors, roles and environmental factors that interact to determine the entrepreneurial performance of a region or locality' (1996, 91). Spilling concludes that instrumental in seizing the opportunities presented by the triggering event of hosting the Olympics were the following components: a wide range of actors; improved competencies;

new roles and role models; new networks and a showcase effect; and an increased number of community and autonomous entrepreneurs. What was significant was the amount of learning and the accumulation of business-related competencies. Building on Spilling's concept, Neck, Meyer, Cohen and Corbett (2004) examined the geneology and spin-off rates of high technology companies in Colorado. They developed a taxonomy illustrating six major components, namely incubators, spin-offs, formal and informal networks, physical infrastructure and culture. Both these research projects are essentially micro-level case-studies of specific areas. They provide useful measures and concepts for the development of more meso or macro level analyses of institutional effects on entrepreneurship.

What follows now is a discussion of some of the institutions which have an impact on entrepreneurship, from the pre-industrial to the modern services based stage.

2.3.1.5.1 Family

As the first institution to which an individual belongs, the family can exert huge influence on a prospective entrepreneur. In pre-industrial societies where communal welfare often supersedes individual ambition, this influence is even stronger. In a community with little inward or returning population movement there may be little creative destruction or innovation. Some researchers have assessed the influence family background can have on potential and on successful entrepreneurs (Renzulli, Aldrich & Moody, 2000); others omitting to discuss the issue when discussing other institutional factors (Fogel *et al*, 2006).

2.3.1.5.2 Education

The etymology of the word education is to bring out, to lead out. It is related to the word leader. Contrary to a popular belief that formal education hampers entrepreneurship, many studies show that higher rates of education lead to higher rates of business start-ups especially in modern industries (Beugelsdijk, 2007; Brüderl & Preisendörfer, 1998; Butler & Herring, 1991; Fogel *et al*, 2006; Lee, Florida & Acs, 2004). On the other hand Davidsson and Honig (2003) find education influential in opportunity recognition, but social capital more important in opportunity exploitation. Education systems in themselves can foster or indeed unintentionally dampen creativity, innovation, and entrepreneurship. For example the choice of curriculum and values, role-models and ambitions fostered in the education system can shape young people's entrepreneurial capabilities and behaviour and attitudes towards opportunities and risk (Symes, 1965). Similarly Government and state institutions' policies may unintentionally direct entrepreneurial capacity in less than optimal directions. As one of the institutions

influenced by cultural values, a society which values tradition, religion and philosophical thinking will provide an education system giving higher status to these qualities over practical technical vocational education. Such was the British education system up to the late 20th century, and similarly the Irish one (Lee, 1989). Teachers have a strong influence on the development of students' values, attitudes and expectations in terms of career paths and the value put on wealth creation. At third and fourth level, universities and research institutes, very often the original locations of new patents, have been shown to be key to high technology clusters, such as those that emerged around Stanford University in Silicon Valley, and Grenoble in France (Audretsch, 2003; Lee *et al*, 2004; Saxenian, 1994).

2.3.1.5.3 Religion

Weber's thesis on Protestants' work ethic and personal responsibility for one's actions has been tested in numerous research projects. In their research on ethnicity and entrepreneurship in the United States, Butler and Herring (1991) found lower levels of self-employment among Catholics than those of other religions, perhaps reflecting the hierarchical nature of the Catholic religion (Hofstede, Noorderhaven, Thurik, Ulhalner, Wennekers & Wildeman, 2004; Weber, 1958). In their exploration of the correlation between institutional factors and entrepreneurial activity, Fogel *et al* (2006) divide the 34 surveyed countries into two religious groups – Roman Catholic, Muslim and Eastern Orthodox representing hierarchical religions, and other religions (primarily protestant) representing more egalitarian religions. They found higher new firm foundation rates in the countries with egalitarian religions. On the other hand, Beugelsdijk & van Schaik (2005) find contradictory evidence in their measurement of social capital in EU NUTS1[4] areas. While cultural values and beliefs change very slowly, the increasing secularisation of Western society might explain their finding.

2.3.1.5.4 Other Institutions

The mass media play a powerful role in the dissemination and shaping of opinions and values. Societies which value innovation, diversity and freedom of speech are expected to have higher levels of newspapers per capita. Fogel et al found that 'entrepreneurs thrive in countries with extensive mass media' (2006, 568). North (1990) is of the opinion that as agents of change, entrepreneurs respond to the incentives embodied in the institutional framework, for example by applying for public service transport route licences, or for public/private partnerships, or by courting media to gain socio-political legitimacy. On the other hand, Gerschenkron (1966) in addressing the pre-requisites for

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[4] See List of Acronyms

entrepreneurship sees the state itself and its institutions as often substituting for native groups of entrepreneurs.

Another lens through which environmental factors and their influence on entrepreneurship can be measured is that of entrepreneurship capital and the other forms of capital related to it. The following section is a discussion of this concept.

2.3.2 Entrepreneurship Capital

Entrepreneurship capital (EC) is a recent addition (Audretsch & Keilbach, 2004) to other types of capital including financial, physical, human, knowledge, social and cultural capitals. The first two are 'hard' tangible assets, and have been well discussed and researched in the fields of economics, planning and geography. They are central to entrepreneurship research. The latter four are intangible 'soft' assets which pose more difficulties in their definition and measurement. The following is a discussion of the various forms of capital listed above, with particular emphasis on social capital. There is also a discussion on psychological capital (Luthans, Youssef & Avolio, 2007) – a factor this author has included in the conceptual framework, but which has to date not been discussed much in entrepreneurship literature. The section ends with a discussion of Audretsch and Keilbach's study (2004) of entrepreneurship capital.

2.3.2.1 Human Capital

First discussed in terms of division of labour and productive labour by Adam Smith ([1904] 1976) and later developed by Gary Becker (1964), human capital is the skills, knowledge, education and experience held by individuals. It is an individual's ability to contribute to the labour input in socio-economic development. Knowledge may be divided into tacit and explicit knowledge. The latter is 'know-what', and is easily transmitted through formal education and training, procedures and formal written documents. On the other hand, tacit knowledge is 'soft know-how' and is more difficult to develop and foster. A number of entrepreneurship researchers have highlighted the importance of human capital (Beugelsdijk, 2007; Brüderl & Preisendörfer, 1998; Butler & Herring, 1991; Georgellis & Wall, 2000; Shane, 2003). Brüderl & Preisendörfer examined whether business founders with low human capital made additional efforts to compensate for this disadvantage by investing more effort in developing social capital, and found partial evidence to support their hypothesis. Nevertheless they suggest additional research is still required. Butler & Herring (1991) found human capital to be less predictive than other aspects of an individual's make-up, such as religion and psychological traits. Georgellis & Wall (2000) refer to entrepreneurial human capital in their research on entrepreneurial regions in Britain. By this term they refer to all other aspects of a region apart from the economic market factors affecting self-employment levels. They use the term more to describe

psychological and behavioural traits, rather than the meaning traditionally used, as described at the beginning of this paragraph.

High levels of education and of human capital do not necessarily lead to increased recognition and exploitation of opportunities (Davidsson & Honig, 2003). Overemphasis on formal education and certification may dampen risk taking; the forms of formal education chosen or given high status in a society may lead individuals on particular career paths. Davidsson & Honig's research on 380 nascent entrepreneurs illustrated that high human capital led to a higher incidence of opportunity recognition, but that the aspect of human capital most influential in successful opportunity exploitation and establishment of a new enterprise was previous experience in a business start-up (2003). While they also addressed business education and training in their research they found it not to have much influence.

2.3.2.2 Psychological Capital

A new concept is psychological capital (PsyCap), developed recently by Luthans, Youssef and Avolio (2007) using human and social capital as their point of departure. They measured four components of PsyCap, namely self-efficacy, optimism, hope / perseverance, and resiliency. Luthans *et al* apply this concept to management and leadership issues, proposing that it can be measured in relation to firms' success. Their work is new pioneering work developed and tested in the field of organisational behaviour. It is generated from the relatively new field of positive psychology. Positive psychology has roots in humanist psychology, with emphasis on wellness and on self-actualisation, rather than the more well known areas of psychology which since the middle of the 20th century have mainly addressed psychological problems and disorders and how they can be treated. In the last 2 – 3 years, this new concept of psychological capital has been applied to entrepreneurship, for example in the link between entrepreneurs' psychological capital and their authentic leadership (Jensen & Luthans, 2006); the relationship between entrepreneur psychological capital and well-being (Hmieleski & Carr, 2007); and the value of the psychological capital of immigrant entrepreneurs (Luthans, Norman & Jensen, 2007). The author has not located any study linking psychological capital with a peripheral community or an indigenous minority community, such as that of the Galway Gaeltacht. Given the number of references to psychological issues the author found during the course of this research, it could be a fruitful avenue of research.

2.3.2.3 Cultural Capital

The concept of cultural capital was developed by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in the 1970s (Fowler, 1997). It refers to the advantages and status a person can gain in society through her/his forms of knowledge, skills and education. Much of a person's

cultural capital is gained from parents, and includes the language one speaks (accent, vocabulary etc), interest in and knowledge of art forms, especially 'high arts' such as classical music and visual art. Cultural capital is related to social class and as the education system and curriculum is primarily developed by the well-educated middle classes, that class benefits more from the system. Sociologist Florida's thesis is that those of high intellectual and cultural capital congregate where their diversity, innovation and creativity are encouraged to flourish, in turn attracting entrepreneurs and those of high human capital. Essentially entrepreneurs and well educated people choose where to live, based on life-style and quality of life issues as well as on economic opportunities. Regions with heavy emphasis on tradition, lacking in high cultural capital will have difficulty attracting or fostering high human capital or innovative entrepreneurs (Florida, 2002). Analysis of United States sociodemographic data in the form of Metropolitan Statistical Areas and Labour Market Areas data, and new firm formation data from the Longitudinal Establishment and Enterprise Microdata revealed that new firm formation was positively correlated with the Creativity / Bohemian Index which measures the number of 'bohemians' and other artistically creative people, and correlated with the Diversity Index which measures the concentration of same-sex male unmarried partners. These correlations were higher than those for patents or for the number of foreign born residents (Lee, Florida & Acs, 2004).

2.3.2.4 Social Capital

The idea of social capital has a long history dating back to debates on groups, democracy and social integration. It was Bourdieu who first defined and systematically analysed the concept, defining it as 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition (Bourdieu, 1985, quoted in Portes, 1998, 3).

2.3.2.4.1 Institutional Thickness

The theory of social capital seeks to explain how some people make beneficial use their networks and links with others in their community / society. A community with high social capital will have a large number of organisations and institutions such as churches, schools, sports, leisure and cultural clubs and associations, business associations, political parties etc, in essence high institutional thickness (Beugelsdijk & van Schaik, 2005). Individuals in the community will be involved with a number of these organisations. A strong network of interrelationships will exist. Through these interrelationships, certain attitudes, norms and values will emerge. The relationships within the network will be based on trust and communication. Strong and weak ties between individuals will develop (Granovetter, 1995). High levels of trust will also exist between the members of the group, thus reducing transaction costs and increasing the possibilities of co-operative /

collective action (Buegelsdijk & van Schaik, 2005). This trust, the ties and high social capital can influence educational attainment; and access to sources of beneficial information, to employment, to new ideas and practices, to suppliers and customers. Entrepreneurs make use of these strong and weak ties in gaining the legitimacy they require to build their enterprises.

2.3.2.4.2 Networks

Some researchers address the business, industrial and personal networks that entrepreneurs have (Axelsson & Easton, 1992; Håkansson & Snehota, 1995; Mottiar & Jacobson, 2002; Renzulli et al, 2000); the level of networking between organisations at the board of directors level (Heracleus & Murray, 2001); and the levels of solidarity and cohesiveness in ethnic groups (Mc Pherson, 1990). Håkansson & Snehota refer to the actors' bonds as part of the relationship in networks, and how 'the individual's capacity to recognise, communicate, learn, teach and develop is transferred to a collective level' (1995, 194). Axelsson and Easton (1992) refer to the various types of change that flow through networks; themes which are part of Aldrich and Ruef's (2006) variation and selection process.

2.3.2.4.3 Historical Roots of Social Capital

Recently the political scientist Putnam (2000) has perhaps popularised the debate on social capital and how it contributes to building democracies. His earlier work examined social capital in Italy and found great differences between Southern and Northern Italy (Putnam, with Leonardi & Nanetti, 1993). He proposes that economic performance in successful regions such as Emilia-Romagna is rooted in civic engagement and high social capital stretching back as far as the 11th century through the formation of guilds and of mutual co-operative organisations such as co-operative and rotating credit organisations in the 19th century (Putnam *et al*, 1993). His measure of late 19th and early 20th century civic involvement included the following issues: strength of mass-based parties; incidence of co-operatives; membership in mutual aid societies; electoral turnout; and local associations founded before 1860. His thesis is that history matters and that civics and culture influence economic development rather than vice versa. He posits that social context and history profoundly affect the effectiveness of institutions. Citizens in high social capital communities demand, and are prepared to act collectively to get, more effective public services. Those in less civic communities are more commonly alienated and cynical supplicants (Putnam *et al*, 1993, 182). Similar to Putnam, Svendsen and Svendsen (2004) traced the evolution of social capital in a number of Danish rural communities, measured with Coleman's (1988, in Svendsen & Svendsen, 2004) measure

of social capital as a community's ability to co-operate to achieve a common good. They see the economic and cultural dimensions of human exchange as intertwined.

2.3.2.4.4 Detrimental Effects of Social Capital

While high social capital is generally seen as positive, certain aspects of social capital can have detrimental rather than positive effects (Portes, 1998). Examples include certain values such as an emphasis on tradition at the expense of innovation, the exclusion of outsiders, or dense strong ties. These would be common in marginal or disadvantaged communities such as urban enclaves, peripheral rural communities or indigenous, immigrant or linguistic minorities. Portes refers to research on Hispanics in the United States, and 'the emergence of downward levelling norms ... preceded by lengthy periods, often lasting generations, in which the mobility of a particular group has been blocked by outside discrimination' (1998, 17). Hispanics get singled out by their own community for seeking to join the middle classes, or in the case of Gaeltacht people, for taking on supervisory or managerial roles in the factories established by Gaeltarra itself, or by the inward investors it attracts to the area (Kane, 1977; Ó hAoláin, 2006). A combination of these factors might support particular lifestyle choices or deviant behaviour, and the cutting off of information from the outside world. The dense strong ties limit the number of weak ties to the outside world. Members of a minority linguistic community who do not also speak the mainstream language may be in this latter disadvantageous situation, as found by Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch (1995) in their study of Mexican-origin high school students in the San Fransisco area. Another negative effect of social capital is the pressure group members might be under, to maintain group solidarity by not being seen to leave the group – for example by taking on the values and lifestyle of another group, such as moving from a working class to a middle class milieu through better education, or career advancement. These negative aspects of high social capital would have a detrimental effect on the innovation and creative destruction inherent in entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs might be under pressure to support large extended families and communities, in the forms of employment or financial support, preventing specialisation and the accumulation of entrepreneurial success (Portes, 1998). Their movement into new social circles through the growth of the enterprise might challenge their social acceptance in their own community, limiting the socio-political legitimacy of their entrepreneurial achievements. Another disadvantage of high social capital is the level of out-migration, especially of individuals whose entrepreneurial spirit and ambition have been crushed by the pressures of tradition and the stifling barriers to individuality and modernity they encounter in their own areas (Kane, 1977). In the 1980s, a time of high unemployment, 35% of recent Irish emigrants left permanent full-time jobs due to low job satisfaction and lack of suitable opportunities at home. Almost 30% of the 1988

graduates also emigrated (Walsh, 1992). The more able and ambitious are often among the emigrants, perhaps becoming entrepreneurs in the places and communities where they themselves are now incomers, as attested for in the well-researched literature on immigrant or 'ethnic' entrepreneurship (Ram & Deakins, 1995).

2.3.2.4.5 Social Capital and Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship research has drawn heavily on the concept of social capital (Aldrich & Martinez, 2003; Brüderl & Preisendörfer, 1998; Jack & Anderson, 2002; Licht & Siegel, 2006) primarily with reference to networks and Granovetter's work on weak and strong ties (Burt, 2002; Davidsson & Honig, 2003; Granovetter, 1995). High social capital can exist not only at the level of individual people but also at firm, Population of firms, or Community levels. Aldrich & Martinez (2003) illustrate how entrepreneurs can work collectively in developing social networks that result in collective action at the level of Populations of new enterprises for example in letigimising new technologies or business models. At a more macro level, these social networks can also organise across industries, such as Chambers of Commerce or representation of the ICT industry. In their study of 1,700 new businesses in Upper Bavaria, Brüderl & Preisendörfer (1998) found that high network support increased the probability of survival and growth. Strong link support of entrepreneurs in the form of support from spouse / family was more important than that from weak links, i.e. business partners, acquaintances, former employees and former colleagues. This evidence contradicts Burt's (2002) thesis that weak ties are more important, that judicious use of weak ties and limiting the number of redundant strong ties can benefit the entrepreneur. In their ethnographic research on small rural entrepreneurs in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Jack & Anderson (2002) found that being embedded in the local community was an important factor in enterprise development. Embeddedness is the nature, depth and extent of the individual's ties with the environment, and is achieved through social contacts and membership of social organisations. The process of embedding was particularly important for incoming entrepreneurs. While being overembedded could stifle entrepreneurial behaviour, in this rural peripheral case, embeddedness led to customer and employee loyalty; business through word-of-mouth; and socio-political legitimacy for the entrepreneur and the enterprise.

Davidsson & Honig (2003) found that high social capital had a considerable influence on the successful formation of new businesses. In line with the work of Granovetter (1995) and Burt (2002), the use of weak ties to gain access to new information, primarily through membership of business associations had a strong effect on the successful establishment of the nascent entrepreneurs' organisations. The strong ties of family and friends were

less effective. Interestingly from a public policy point of view, interaction with support agencies proved to be of no significant benefit. In looking at the progress a nascent entrepreneur makes from opportunity recognition to successful opportunity exploitation, Davidsson & Honig (2003) found that the explanatory power of their models was reduced, and that specialist knowledge, contacts and actions were increasingly required. From a public policy point of view this would mean that support agencies need to provide increasingly specialist tailored support as nascent entrepreneurs go through the process.

In general, social capital theory does not fully explain the presence or absence of entrepreneurial activity. Institutional issues also arise. Countries without the prerequisites for entrepreneurship find substitutes for that for example through state / public entrepreneurship or through inward investment policies (Gerschenkron, 1966). In recent years efforts have been made to create a composite measure for entrepreneurship capital, with emphasis on economics, and aggregate regional level businesses start-up data, rather than firm / entrepreneur level measurement of social capital.

2.3.2.5 Entrepreneurship Capital

The economists Audretsch and Keilbach first proposed the new term, entrepreneurship capital (2004), seeing it as a better term for what has been called social capital in the entrepreneurship literature (2004, 420). They use the term to mean:

> 'a milieu of agents and institutions conducive to the creation of new firms....such as social acceptance of entrepreneurial behaviour, individuals willing to deal with the risk of creating new firms, and the activity of bankers and venture capital agents willing to share risks and benefits. (Audretsch, Keilbach & Lehmann (2006, 60).

They acknowledge that measurement and operationalising of entrepreneurship capital is complex and difficult, and that many of its components 'defy quantification' (2006, 69). Their subsequent measures are largely rooted in economics literature through the unidimensional measure of new-firm start-up rates, with two submeasures based on start-ups in high-technology manufacturing industries with an R&D expenditure of more than 2.5% of sales, and start-ups in the ICT industries. While they themselves are of the opinion that start-up activity in any industry should be included, they have taken on board the opinions of other scholars that only those start-ups involving innovative activity should be included. Their empirical data are drawn from the German Trade Register.

Given the influence of human, social and cultural capital as discussed above, Audretsch, Keilbach and Lehmann's definition is quite limiting, excluding non-technical innovation such as new business forms, social and public entrepreneurship and the wide range of

factors which lead to the emergence of new forms of Populations, whether high-tech or not. The general findings of their research are that entrepreneurial capital (as they define it, namely as new firm start-ups) is a phenomenon of densely populated regions and that it improves economic performance. While they propose that public policies promoting entrepreneurship are expected to positively affect economic performance, they do not discuss what type of public policies might be appropriate. It is interesting to note that although Audretsch *et al* say that new firm start-ups are a phenomenon of densely populated areas, rural areas actually have high rates of start-ups (GEM Wales, 2007), although not with the high growth levels normally found in urban areas, where high growth (and usually high tech) firms tend to be established.

Beugelsdijk (2007) examined what he termed entrepreneurial culture, by combining specific questions from the European Values Survey, with human capital education levels, and patent per capita information. He found that economic growth in European regions could be explained by differences in entrepreneurial culture, but in an indirect manner. An earlier study (Beugelsdijk & van Schaik, 2005) showed a correlation between regional economic growth and social capital in the EU NUTS1 areas in 54 regions in 7 EU countries. Their measure of social capital was based on the trust and association membership questions of the European Values Survey, measures used also by Putnam *et al* (2003) in Italy. In Beugelsdijk and van Schaik's study, Wales and Scotland, the surveyed regions nearest to Ireland, scored relatively low on the associational score, relatively high on trust, but relatively low overall on the social capital index.

Entrepreneurship capital is shaped by values concerning entrepreneurial behaviour, career expectations, norms that affect entrepreneurial expression, social and economic networks, and socio-cultural legitimacy of entrepreneurial behaviour. In any particular region especially a peripheral rural region, entrepreneurial capital can be inhibited by some aspects of social capital, such as an emphasis on tradition and the out-migration of potential leaders. High-entrepreneurship areas, once established can be self-reinforcing in providing much entrepreneurial activity and providing role models for potential entrepreneurs (Bygrave & Minniti, 2000; Lee, Florida & Acs, 2004). It is proposed that the inclusion of psychological capital in discussions of entrepreneurship capital could be fruitful.

2.3.3 Conclusion on Perspectives Used

This section reviewed the evolutionary perspectives of corporate demography and organisation evolution; and the environmental issues of entrepreneurship capital and its related forms of capital. These perspective were then merged to create a new conceptual

framework through which the emergence and evolution of entrepreneurship in the Galway Gaeltacht was studied and analysed. The following section outlines this framework.

2.3.4 Conceptual Framework

This review of entrepreneurship literature revealed a trend towards broader definitions of entrepreneurship and a shift away from examination of the lone entrepreneur, to looking at entrepreneurship as a societal process in which entrepreneurs and their organizations interact with the other organizations, institutions and communities around them. In order to answer the question of how entrepreneurship emerged and evolved in the Galway Gaeltacht, a multi-level processual longitudinal research approach seemed most appropriate. The following sections outline how the author devised the new conceptual framework, with reference to the theories on which it is based.

2.3.5 Stages of Emergence of New Populations

The benefits of looking at a number of levels of analysis also lent itself well to answering the question. Figure 4 was devised by the author as an illustration of how longer time frames are required to examine the more macro levels of analysis. In other words, the individual entrepreneur or firm is often examined at one point in time, or over a short timeframe of a year or two. However, as change (or innovation) takes time and cultural or societal change even more time, a longitudinal approach is required to trace the beginnings and emergence of that change. The innovative marketing practices of a contemporary fish farm for example might stem from how the first pioneering fish farm emerged more than a generation previously. The fact that few of the Irish colleges have varied into other related activities may be rooted in how that sector was imprinted by environmental factors when the pioneer emerged a century ago and the burst of fledglings emerged in the early 1970s. Figure 4 illustrates the trajectory from looking at individual firms at one point in time up to a region full of firms at a later point in time. If one examines enterprise E, or entrepreneurship in a region (A) at one point in time (B) one misses the relevance of what happened in earlier times when other enterprises emerged and were the pioneers, or were fledglings, which created a new Population around which grew a new Community. The higher the aggregate level, the more valuable it is to look at a longer period of time to identify and track the various members of the enterprise Community. Thus, one might better look at all levels over the whole time period, seeking the interrelationships between the different levels and how those interrelationships changed over time. Where is that pioneering fish farm now and how does it relate to other fish farms? What are the other Populations around that fish farm Population – feed providers, transport operators, R&D specialists, divers, boat or cage makers? Are the challenges faced by enterprise E similar to those encountered by the original pioneer? What about enterprises C or D in other industry sectors? Do they face challenges similar

to those faced by enterprise E? Did the pioneers from whom enterprises C or D emerged have the same challenges as the pioneer from whom enterprise E ultimately emerged? In responding to Durkheim's opinions that we can better understand something human by going back to 'its most primitive and simple form' (1971, 15) and Schumpeter's opinion that creative destruction is a performance that 'unfolds through decades or centuries' (1987, 83), we now discuss what is known about those pioneers.

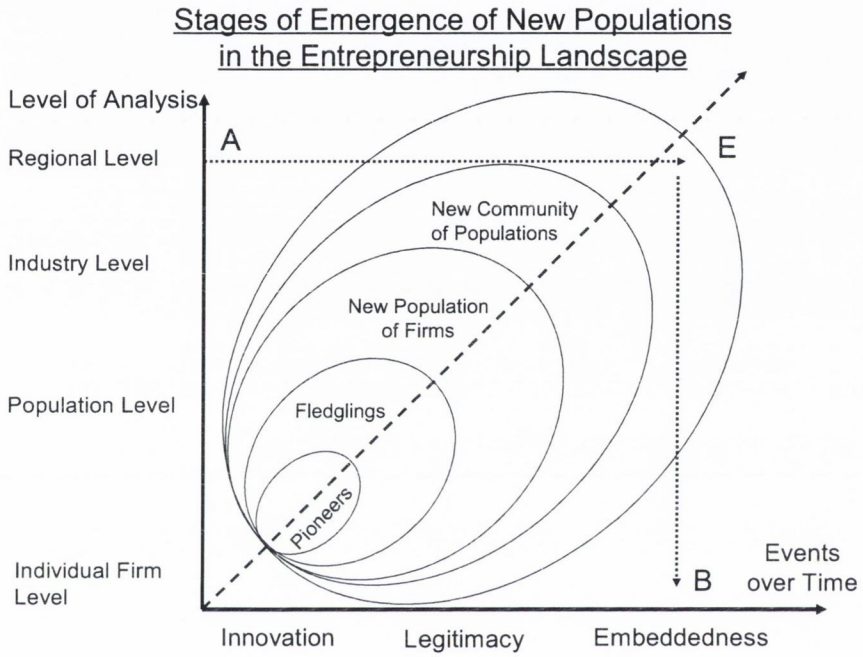

Figure 4: Methodological Approach: Timeframes and Levels of Analysis

Pioneers are those who lead the way in establishing a new form of enterprise (Aldrich & Ruef, 2006, 187). They are the first stage in Figure 4, as one moves along the diagonal heavy dotted arrow. They are the true innovators and creative destructors, who often encounter disbelief; discouragement; lack of understanding as they endeavour to marshall the resources required to realise their visions. They are on a steep learning curve to gain legitimacy, and they are especially dependent on the environment and thus susceptible to Stinchcombe's imprinting (1965). Gradually over time, their ideas and leadership are copied by the fledglings (stage 2 in Figure 4). Once a few fledglings have perhaps floundered and others have flown, a new Population of firms is beginning to emerge (stage 3 in Figure 4). The pioneer (if still in existence) and the surviving fledglings are slowly gaining legitimacy within themselves as a group, and from the surrounding socio-political environment.

Aldrich and Ruef (2006) discuss the learning that has to take place within that first pioneer organisation, and later within the Population as a whole. Through experimentation, trial and error, certain forms of organization, of business practices, of growth aspirations and ambitions become more successful or more accepted in the pioneer and fledglings. Cognitive legitimacy is developed in that the young new Population of firms gains its place in its environment. Collaboration and transfer of knowledge occur, perhaps through employees moving from one enterprise to another, or leaving one enterprise to establish another, or through the use of the same types of machinery or software, or targeting the same markets or working in the same institutional environment. This interface with the environment allows the new Population to work at getting socio-political legitimacy by, for example, building local networks of trust; fostering perceptions of reliability; presenting a united front to political and Government officials; or mobilizing collective action. For example, it is recognized that there is a cluster of audio-visual production companies in the Galway Gaeltacht, and they are accepted as a legitimate activity.

The last stage of emergence on Figure 4 is that of new Communities of Populations in terms of level of analysis – say the audio-visual production companies but also the support services around them such as subtitling and dubbing. In terms of events over time, or stages of emergence, the new Populations are becoming more embedded in the local environment. The audio-visual sector, for example, does not exist as an island, but is part of the regional identity, a significant employer, and has developed close links into the education system – for example through third level education and training courses specifically designed to provide relevant skills. The general community recognizes the importance of the sector for the region. Young people aspire to work in the sector and have the role models and network ties to allow them to gain knowledge of, and entry into, the sector. Populations within the Community of Populations, for example in marine resources, the fish-farming; boatbuilding; transport; and sailing holiday Populations start sharing and solidifying their knowledge and promoting alliances or third party activities, for example with educational establishments. Thus not only are there courses available on the operational aspects of fish-farming, but, for example, courses on the strategic development of marine resources. This learning can lead to cognitive legitimacy in the form of certain accreditations and certification becoming the norm in the sector, as happened in professions such as engineering or medicine. The overall sector organizes collective marketing and lobbying efforts in order to embed itself completely in the surrounding socio-political environment, ensuring it has adequate representation on relevant Government advisory boards for example, in order to protect itself say from overseas competition, or competing Populations. For example in the tourism sector, the various players might establish a representative body such as the Atlantic Connectivity

Alliance (2008) formed by businesses in the Shannon region when Aer Lingus discontinued its Shannon - London route. Aldrich (1999, 232) developed a table outlining the strategies facilitating the growth of new Populations, as presented in Table 1. This table is used to analyse the three case studies which formed part of the research.

Level of Analysis	**Cognitive Strategies**		**Sociopolitical Strategies**	
	Learning	Cognitive Legitimacy	Moral Legitimacy	Regulatory Legitimacy
Organ-isational	Create knowledge base through experimentation	Link new ventures to past via narrative & identity development	Build on local networks of trust	Avoid entanglement with Government agencies as long as possible
Intra-Population	Deepen knowledge base by encouraging convergence around a dominant design	Collaborate to create recognised & standardised organisational form	Foster perceptions of reliability by mobilising collective action	Present united front to political & government officials
Inter-Population	Spread knowledge base by promoting alliance & third party activities	Draw on taken-for-grantedness of existing Populations with similar identity	Develop reputation of new activity as reality by negotiation with other industries	Co-opt government agencies as allies against competing Populations
Community	Solidify knowledge base by creating linkages with established educational curricula	Fit categorical requirements of independent certifying institutions	Embed legitimacy by organising collective marketing & lobbying efforts	Embedded Population within political system via PACs and hiring of former Government officials

Source: Aldrich, 1999, 232.

Table 1: Strategies Facilitating Growth of New Populations

In summary, Figure 4 above formed the basis out of which was developed the new conceptual framework discussed in the next section.

2.3.6 Evolving Entrepreneurship Landscapes

The author considered the overall thrust of Carroll and Hannan's (2000, 31) General Structure of Demographic Explanations as shown in Figure 5, to be a suitable starting

point in developing a model to show evolving entrepreneurship landscapes. Please note the legend for the various arrows and factors. Carroll and Hannan discuss population-specific rates in terms of foundation rates and density dependence. In general they discuss time spans of a number of decades. With regard to the longer-term feedback mechanisms, they propose that: 'Although many theorists agree that these forces operate at some level and over some time frame, they often do not get modeled explicitly, in part because available theory is not up to the task.' (2000, 30 – 31). They discuss environmental issues largely in terms of resources (technological knowledge, labour and consumer wealth), political forces, and minority ethnic group immigration (citing immigration to the US and to Israel) (2000, 197 – 202). Their work is rooted in organisational ecology (2000, xx) and demographics and the associated underlying tools of mathematics, statistics and logic (2000, xxiv). There are very few references to some of the issues of more interest to this author in terms of the research question and the empirical evidence that emerged during the exploratory stage of the research. Examples of such issues are culture, psychology, learning and legitimacy.

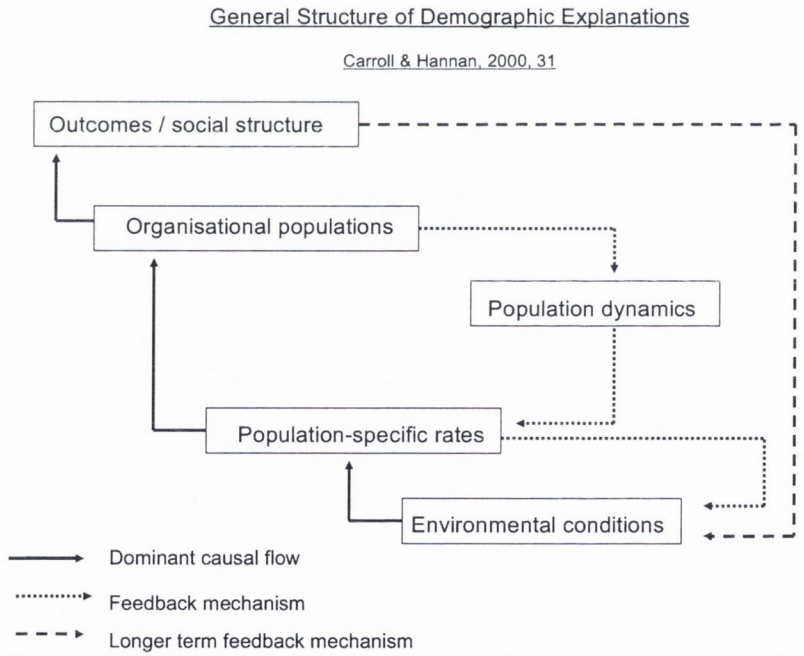

Figure 5: General Structure of Demographic Explanations

Figure 6 presents in a diagrammatic format the new conceptual framework devised by this author. Based on Carroll and Hannan's corporate demography model discussed in the previous paragraph, it incorporates concepts from Aldrich and Ruef's (2006) organization evolution (learning, growth strategies; legitimacy) and entrepreneurship capital (and its constituent parts – including human, social, psychological capital). These issues are not

discussed in Carroll and Hannan's model. While they discuss population-specific rates in terms of foundation rates and density dependence, this author interprets population-specific rates in terms of the births (pioneers & fledglings etc) and the variations, and ownership (state, community and private) issues. The author also coins the term Entrepreneurship Landscape, and proposes a longer time span of up to a century.

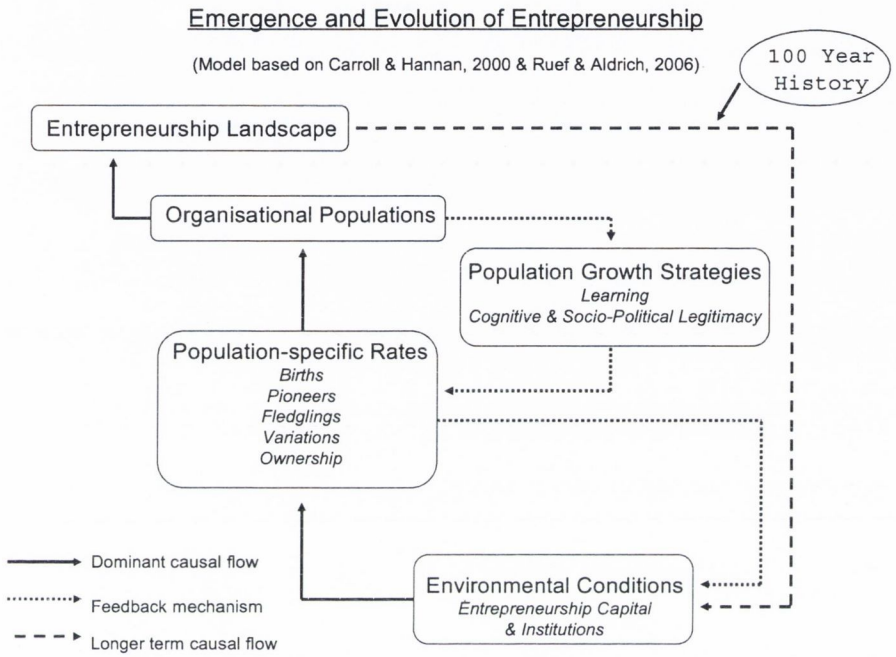

Figure 6: Emergence and Evolution of Entrepreneurship

The model's starting point is the Entrepreneurship Landscape. No landscape is a tabula rasa; it has centuries and millennia of history. In order to explain its make-up and how it emerged, one needs to trace back to Environmental Conditions, which is a longer-term feedback loop. Similar to a physical landscape, an entrepreneurship landscape has a very long history and while some dramatic changes happen (such as storm damage; national roads; modern housing), most change (such as erosion; vegetation; cultivation); happens over longer time frames. So a new industrial estate is a dramatic change that happens over a number of months or a year, but industrialization of the region may take a generation or more, as it requires much cultural change in the community's human and social capital. A factory can be built, but can it be managed and staffed by the local population, which may hitherto have been involved solely in small-scale agriculture or a combination of part-time seasonal activities? How long will it take for the local people to adapt to industrial activity; to take leadership roles in the new industrial landscape; or to take the lead, by establishing their own new enterprises, in developing a new or developed entrepreneurship landscape?

It is these environmental conditions that ultimately shape the entrepreneurship landscape, via a number of intervening steps. The number of pioneers or new enterprises depends on the availability of the necessary entrepreneurship capital in the environment – financial, human, social and psychological capital primarily, but also an institutional environment conducive to and supportive of new start-ups. Examples of the institutional forces (from macro to micro level) are the Government and supra-national bodies such as the European Union, regional and local authorities; the banking sector; the education sector; the local community and parish, and at the most micro-level, the family. Thus the importance of the multi-level analysis of Figure 4. Institutes also include non-profit sector organizations such as co-operatives, community development organizations; special interest organizations, and in the particular case of the Gaeltacht, Irish language organizations. For example the Government's industrial or enterprise policies or regional planning policies may affect the rates and patterns of new enterprise births, and ultimately the entrepreneurship landscape. The Government's institutional policy in terms of developing particular regions or sectors may also affect how those regions or sectors develop. For example, until the late 20th century, tourism development was primarily the responsibility of Bord Fáilte, with Údarás na Gaeltachta limited in how it could support the sector. The Irish colleges are funded primarily by the Departments of Education and Science and of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and thus are viewed institutionally and by themselves as educational establishments rather than potentially profitable tourism enterprises. The state's Irish language policy has also influenced how the Gaeltacht industrialized and the entrepreneurship landscape which evolved over the last century.

The environment needs to legitimate the new foundations. It can be that the pioneers and early fledglings set out to achieve the legitimacy or it may be that the environmental forces legitimise one organisational form over another. Perhaps non-profit community development-based social entrepreneurship is legitimized sooner than for-profit private entrepreneurship. Perhaps the former is an essential precursor to the latter. Perhaps the community leader finds it easier to marshall resources in the name of the betterment of the community, than does the individual entrepreneur seeking to establish a for-profit enterprise which despite providing employment and other secondary benefits to the community is seen as a private solo effort. Perhaps state institutions also sooner legitimize this form over the private form. It could be that a co-operative business then varies into a privately owned business, as did Kerry Group plc, which evolved out of a farmers' co-operative creamery established in 1972. A number of Gaeltacht enterprises are spin-offs of businesses established by Gaeltacht co-operatives. Over time the start-ups lead to new organizational Populations – such as the fish farms or the Irish colleges

or the independent television production companies. These in turn shape to the overall entrepreneurship landscape, made up of the Communities of Populations.

There are a number of other more short-term feedback loops. The new pioneers may have a short-term effect on the environmental conditions by triggering institutional changes or changes in human, social and financial capital, via relevant employment experience and income. These changes do not normally happen overnight. Short term training courses will increase human capital, but increasing a Community's overall education standard takes a decade or a generation. It takes time to provide people with the opportunity to gain meaningful experience and to accumulate the relevant financial and social capital to successfully marshal the resources required to set up a successful tourism venture. The dynamics between the various Populations and the variations in Populations themselves may lead to new organizational forms, some of which will be retained. Their growth strategies, cognitive learning, their seeking of legitimacy, their self-organisation will shape the future of the Population. For example, the first fish farm spawned a number of satellite fish farms, which in turn triggered the need for a co-operative marketing organization. The fish-farms focused on their own individual production, and collaborated on marketing output with relatively little value added or differentiation between the various producers. A seedbed of suitably qualified television producers helped in the establishment of TG4, which in turn increased the legitimacy of high quality self-employment and the establishment of micro-companies in the sector.

In summary Figure 6 represents a framework, which encompasses the long-term emergence and evolution of an entrepreneurship landscape. This landscape is influences by environmental conditions, which in turn influence start-up rates of new Populations and Communities of Populations. The conceptual framework was devised by the author, based on the work of Carroll & Hannan (2000) and Aldrich & Ruef (2006), but includes the following innovations – the concept of an Entrepreneurship Landscape that takes generations to change substantially; entrepreneurship capital and its constituent parts; the transition with Population rates from pioneers to fledglings to the variations that occur and are retained / disposed of. The author devised the model during the course of the exploratory research conducted (see the following chapter on Research Methodology for a more detailed discussion of the iterative process employed in this exploratory research). The conceptual model evolved as the research evolved; as new quantitative and qualitative data were uncovered and analysed; and as the literature was revisited. It is both the conceptual model employed in the research; and in its own right a conceptual contribution to the theoretical development of entrepreneurship research.

An overarching environmental condition affecting the chosen community or region, is the linguistic construct of the Gaeltacht itself. It is timely to take a look at research on the Gaeltacht and on Irish language issues, to provide a context to the empirical data. This is because the language and the region have been afforded special national cultural status, and specialist policy intervention for over a century. This next section is a discussion of relevant research within the field loosely termed Gaeltacht studies by this author.

2.4 GAELTACHT & IRISH LANGAUGE PERSPECTIVES

The conceptual framework is rooted in particular perspectives within entrepreneurship theory, but is applied to data from the County Galway Gaeltacht. The Irish language is the only aspect that sets the Gaeltacht apart from any other region in the country, there being other peripheral, marginal, undeveloped areas elsewhere. Without the language, there is no Gaeltacht. Therefore it is unsurprising that most of the research conducted on the Gaeltacht is framed in terms of language preservation and revival; the socio-economic development required to do so; and the effects that development has had on the preservation of the language. The Gaeltacht as a construct was, and to some extent still is, a nationally constructed utopia associated with national identity and preservation of the Irish language but historically also with tradition, poverty and marginalisation. This construct has had a strong influence on national development policy for the area and thus on the patterns of entrepreneurship in the focal area. This section commences with an account of the linguistic shift from Irish to English that happened in the 19th century; and its effect on the construct of the Gaeltacht as it emerged at the turn of the 20th century, and developed to the present day. It then continues with a discussion of what exactly the Gaeltacht is now. The section ends with a review of entrepreneurship-relevant Gaeltacht studies research.

2.4.1 Language Shift in the 19th Century

The original meaning of Gaeltacht was the Irish speaking community of the 16th and 17th century, as distinct from the English speaking community, largely made up of planters and those who converted from the Irish to the English language (Ó Murchú, 1970). The haemorrhaging of the population during the Great Famine of 1845 to 1851 was associated with the drastic decline in the use of the Irish language. Before the famine more than an estimated 3 million people spoke Irish. Within two generations, use of the Irish language had declined drastically to around 700,000 speakers in 1891 (Ó Tuathaigh, 1990). It is still considered a remarkable case of language shift among sociolinguists (Hindley, 1990; Ó Cuív, 1969; Ó Murchú, 1970).

Although it had a scholarly tradition stretching back centuries and across Europe through the monks' 18th century Irish colleges in Continental European cities such as Louvain,

Paris, Rome and Salamanca, the language as it had evolved naturally had become a primarily oral language with a need to revive it in its written form and to standardise its orthography. Apparently only 50 people could write in the language in the 1890s (Kiberd, 1995, 651). The language was primarily spoken in rural areas along the western coast, along with pockets in the Glens of Antrim, South Armagh, the Cooley Peninsula in County Louth, Waterford and South Tipperary. It was used primarily by a peasantry with relatively little formal education. They often viewed it as preventing their own socio-economic advancement. For example, while the 1891 census reveals that only 1% of the national population was Irish monolingual (Ó Tuathaigh, 1990), many areas, as later included in the Gaeltacht, were over 90% Irish speaking, many monolingual.

Due to ridicule from those fluent in English, Irish speakers were ashamed to use the language in villages, towns and cities and most parents encouraged their children to learn English, to the extent that a situation often existed whereby English monolingual children could not converse properly with their Irish monolingual grandparents. By the 1890s all the administrative systems of the state were officially conducted through the medium of English, including the post-office service, and perhaps most importantly the education system.

In 1899 Douglas Hyde, Professor of Irish at Trinity College Dublin and a member of the Protestant ascendancy was embroiled in a very public debate on the merits of including the Irish language as part of the school curriculum (Mathews, 2003). That heated debate centred on Hyde's successful exposure of the lack of scholarly rigour supporting his fellow TCD professors' belittling evidence to the Vice-Regal Inquiry into Irish and Intermediate Education. Professors Mahaffey and Atkinson held the opinion that the Irish language was but a peasant's patois unworthy of inclusion in the proposed new syllabus. The debate symbolised the polarisation between two parallel universes which existed in the country at that time, albeit with some bridges between them. The British establishment and Gaelic Ireland more or less held two opposing world views or *Weltanshauungen*. It was in this context that the importance and views of the Gaeltacht developed.

2.4.2 Definition of the Gaeltacht

The term Gaeltacht only took on a territorial definition in the 1920s when the government of the new Free State defined it as such, based on Census data on Irish language ability. The Gaeltacht was first officially designated by the Gaeltacht Commission's recommendations in 1926 and the subsequent legislation in 1928 and 1929 (Government of Ireland, 1926; Ní Bhrádaigh et al, 2007; Walsh et al, 2005). In all but a small number of cases the Electoral Divisions (EDs) in which 80% or more of the population claimed to be

Irish speakers were defined as *Fíor-Ghaeltacht* ('Real') and the EDs in which 25-79% spoke Irish, were defined as *Breac-Ghaeltacht* (literally 'Speckled')[5]. Numerous amendments of the Gaeltacht region have been made since the 1920s, most notably in 1956 when the Gaeltacht areas were substantially reduced, due to decline in the use of the Irish language. This is the most recent time the Galway Gaeltacht was changed. Since 1956 the defined boundaries have not been concomitant with the ED boundaries, as they have been partly defined at townland[6] level, and the official distinction between *Fíor-* and *Breac-Ghaeltacht* has been discontinued. The maps in Figure 7 and in Figure 8 show the contemporary national Gaeltacht[7], and the national Gaeltacht from the 1920s to the 1950s[8]. Both these maps were complied from a multi-disciplinary project in which the author was involved (Ní Bhrádaigh *et al*, 2007; Walsh *et al*, 2005), and were originally published in Ní Bhrádaigh *et al*, 2007. That particular project was embarked upon as the author could not locate an accurate map of the Contemporary Gaeltacht for use in this project.

[5] Some of the data published for the 1926 – 1956 period, presented the delineation between the Fíor and Breac-Ghaeltacht. These delineations are presented in this document.

[6] There are normally around a dozen or more townlands in an ED.

[7] The colours reflect legislative changes since 1956. Note that there have been no changes in Galway since 1956.

[8] Note the classifications of *Fíor* and *Breac*, and the Full and Part Electoral Divisions

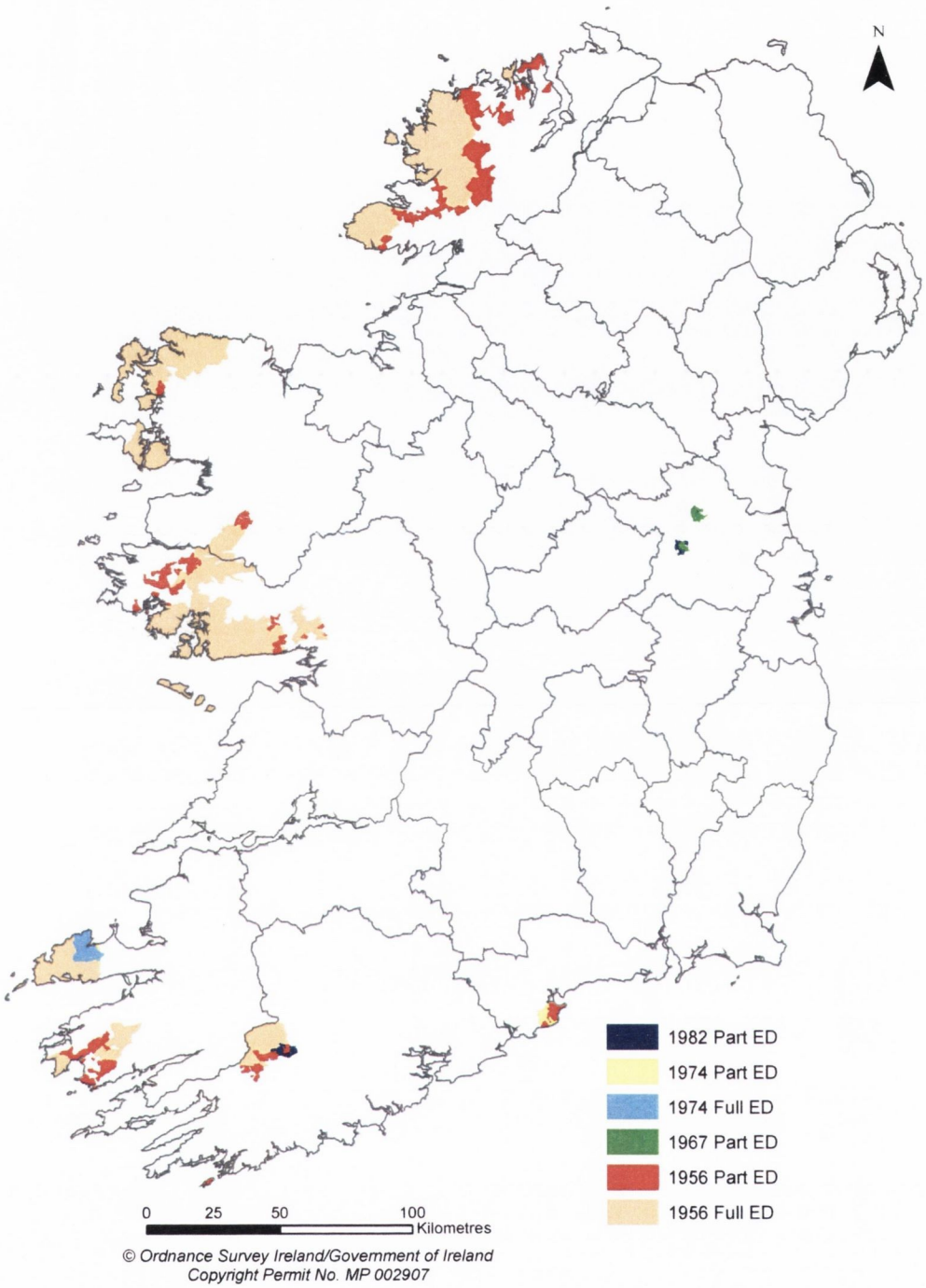

Figure 7: Map of Contemporary National Gaeltacht

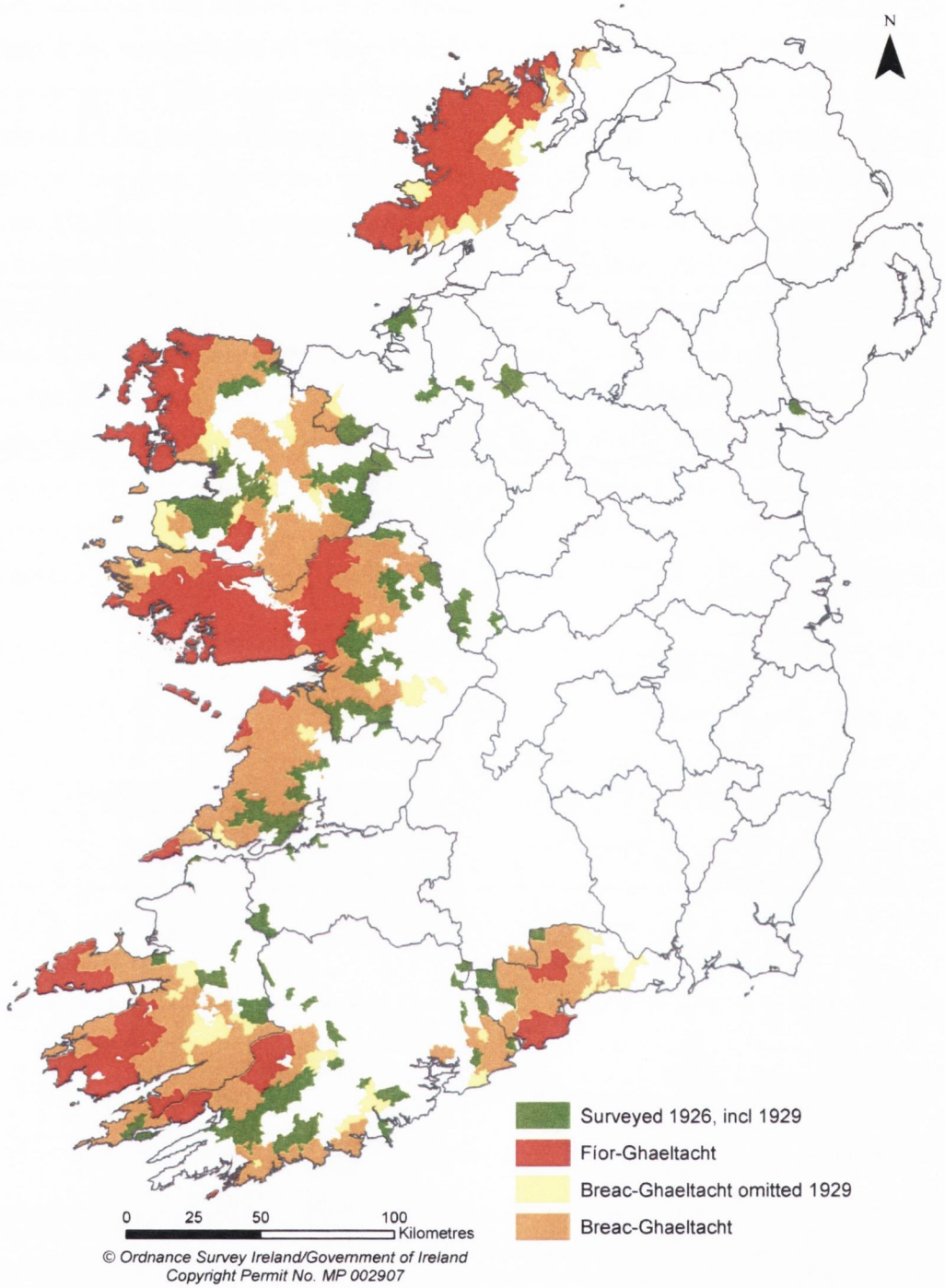

Figure 8: Map of the National Gaeltacht from 1920s to 1950s

Over the course of the time period covered in this project, two territorial definitions of the County Galway Gaeltacht have existed. From the 1920s onwards it included a combination of *Fíor-Ghaeltacht* and *Breac-Ghaeltacht* (Ní Bhrádaigh *et al*, 2007; Walsh *et*

al, 2005). The official Galway Gaeltacht since 1956 is made up of 26 Electoral Divisions and parts of 11 further EDs, mostly west of Galway city, but also including an area north east of the city, including part of Galway airport at Carn Mór and of the race course in Ballybrit. The area west of the city includes large tracts of new suburban housing (including most of Cnoc na Cathrach [Knocknacarra]), many of the residents in these areas not being aware they are territorially in the Gaeltacht.

The sociolinguistic definition of the Gaeltacht is even less clear. There has never been a direct 100% correlation between being situated within the Gaeltacht territory and Irish language usage. For example the busy Terryland roundabout in Galway city and the businesses alongside the approach roads (including supermarket, an international chain hotel and a car dealership) are territorially in the Gaeltacht, but not in any other meaningful sense. The 2006 plebiscite about the name of the Kerry Gaeltacht town of An Daingean (the sole official name) being changed back to the bilingual name Dingle / Daingean Uí Chúis, is another illustration of the issue (Hickey, 2007). A sociolinguistic review of the Gaeltacht was completed in 2007 as the current boundaries no longer reflect high levels of Irish language usage (Ó Giollagáin, Mac Donnacha, Ní Chualáin, Ní Shéaghdha & O'Brien, 2007). The review provides stark empirical evidence of the need to redefine the Gaeltacht in a meaningful manner. The next section covers a definition of much of the Galway Gaeltacht that precedes the 1926 definition.

2.4.2.1 The Congested Districts: 1891 - 1923

Before continuing with the debate on the Gaeltacht it is necessary to briefly discuss the Congested Districts – a spatial definition in which much of the Galway Gaeltacht was included before being designated as Gaeltacht. The research question and the empirical data analysed both stretch back to the establishment of these congested districts, considered the poorest in the country. The Congested Districts Board is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. There was a significant overlap between the congested districts of 1891 to 1923 and what was to subsequently become the Gaeltacht. Figure 9 illustrates the Congested Districts of Ireland from 1891 to 1909[9].

There were two different territorial definitions of the Congested Districts in County Galway, over the course of the life of the CDB (1891 to 1923). From 1891 to 1909, 60 EDs in County Galway were classified as congested districts. The Land Act of 1909 resulted in the whole county being classified as congested. In summary, not all of the original Congested Districts were in either the 1926 or the current Gaeltacht and not all Gaeltacht

9 This map was originally published in the First Annual Report of the Congested Districts Board of Ireland, 1893

areas were Congested Districts, except when the whole of County Galway was included as a result of the 1909 Land Act. A visual comparison of the maps in Figure 8 and Figure 9 will give an indication of the significant overlap.

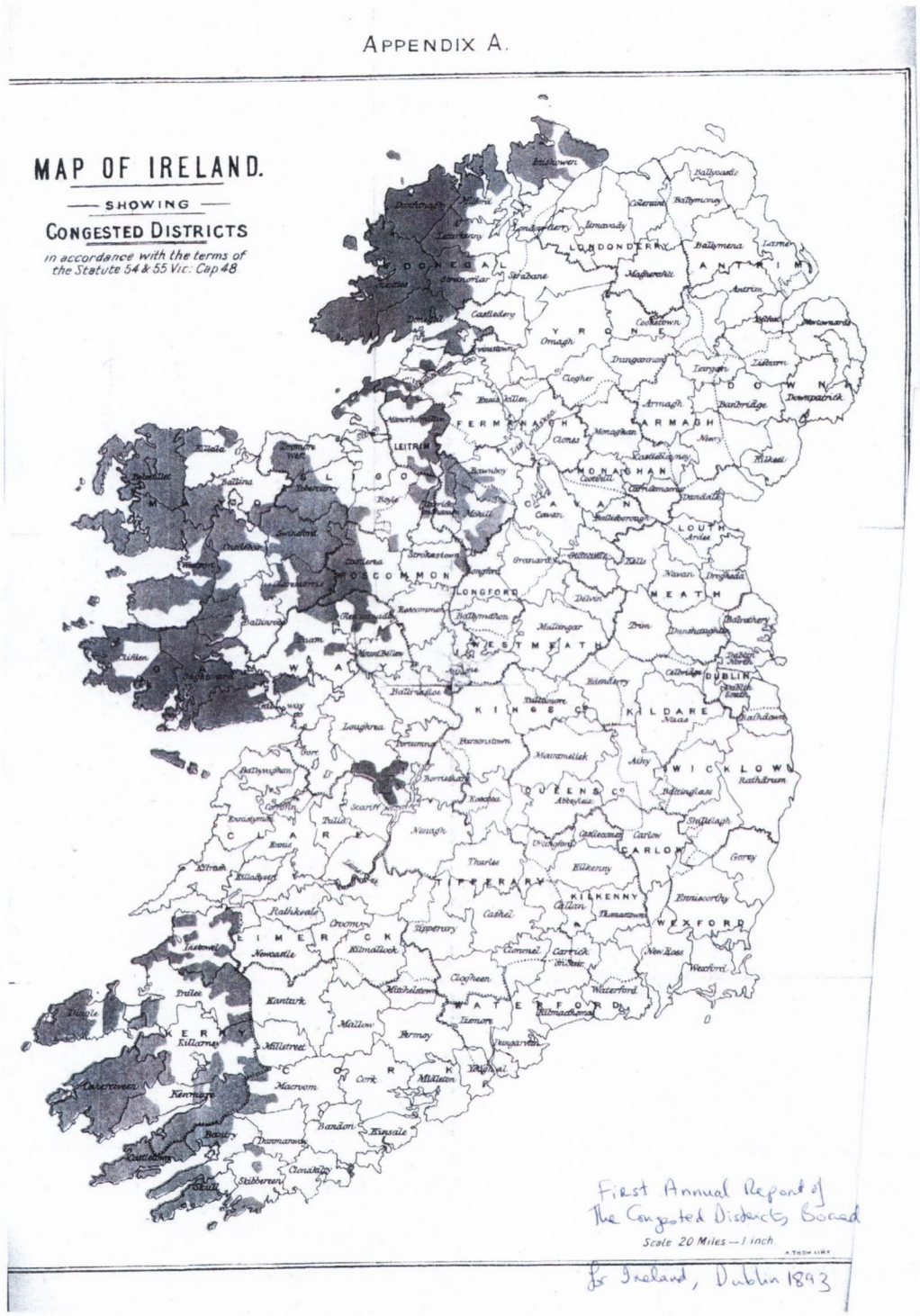

Figure 9: Map of Congested Districts of Ireland, 1891 to 1909

2.4.3 Emergence of a National Gaeltacht Construct

The revival of the Irish language was a cornerstone of the independence movement and of the foundation of the Free State in the early 20th century and later the Republic of Ireland. The construct of the Gaeltacht which developed at the turn of the 20th century was strongly influenced by the contemporaneous continental European Romantic movement (Ó Tórna, 2005). The 'noble savage' and the idea of an innocent primitive peasant utopia where the ancient Gaelic language survived are concepts closely associated with the Gaeltacht as viewed by the largely urban based, largely middle class cultural leaders of that time, and these images lasted throughout most of the 20th century. The romantic poet composes an *aisling*, a poem celebrating the beautiful woman symbolising Ireland, who appears to him as he walks in sylvan settings. The Gaeltacht was one subsegment of the romantic west, of the simple noble natural peasant in his idyllic landscape. Two metaphors used to describe the Gaeltacht were the well and the defence wall. It was the last bastion and well of true Gaelic culture needing protection from the onslaught of English culture and modernity in general. One early 20th century author likened it to *Tír na nÓg* – the mythological land of eternal youth (Ó Torna, 2005, 129).

One commentator in An Claidheamh Soluis (the Sword of Light), the newspaper published by the Gaelic League, said in his account of his trip to the Gaeltacht:

> 'Behind me I was leaving anglicisation with all its hideousness and soulless materialism, its big smoking chimneys and prison-like factories (called commercial prosperity) where thousands of Irishmen and Irishwomen in their struggle for a sordid existence forget they have a soul. Before me lay the Gaedhealtacht where the spiritual passionate Gael with his simple beautiful customs, speaking his own language and singing his own sweet songs, lived as God intended that he should.' (An Claidheamh Soluis (ACS) 15.06.1907. Quoted in Ó Torna, 2005, 145)

Hideous modernism and material progress were not for the pure clean spiritual Gael and most certainly not for the Gaeltacht communities, no matter how poor and destitute they were. Visitors to the Gaeltacht were exhorted 'to learn the old traditions and not to bring in new customs'. (ACS, 30.08.1913, quoted in Ó Torna, 2005, 151). This view of the Gaeltacht was to hold sway in many policies up to the late 1950s.

2.4.3.1 Creative Literature's Portrayal of the Gaeltacht

Language revival creative writers such as P.S. Ó Duinnín, Father Peadar Ó Laoghaire and Pádraig Mac Piarais (Patrick Pearse – one of the 1916 Easter Rising leaders) promoted this Gaeltacht utopia. Their literature's aim was to foster the revival of the

language in the rest of the country – largely among middle class enthusiasts who were also encouraged (and could afford) to take day trips and annual holidays in Gaeltacht areas and encourage the Gaeltacht people to appreciate and keep their language. The fact that there were high levels of poor housing and high levels of poverty and even mini-famines in many Gaeltacht areas was sometimes overlooked in the intellectual movement of the day. Many visitors would have chosen to stay in hotels and accommodation in nearby towns rather than stay in the less comfortable houses of those true noble savage Gaels who were the beacons of tradition in the face of soulless modernity.

The enthusiasts outside the Gaeltacht often found it difficult to understand the lack of passion for the language among Gaeltacht people. The Gaeltacht response to that was more practical – 'What use is Irish to us when we go past Maam Cross [to seek work]?' a voice in the crowd shouted to Patrick Pearse when he gave a speech in Ros Muc where he owned a small holiday cottage. This anecdote is still well known and referred to in the Galway Gaeltacht (Ó Tuathaigh, 1990). Some of the language revivalists, such as P.S. Ó Duinnín at least managed to counteract the utopian image with more practical opinions on material economic development and modernisation.

Pádraic Ó Conaire (1986), a native of Ros Muc presented a realistic portrayal of the hardship and toughness of Gaeltacht life in his short stories, for example describing in his short story *Páidín Mháire*, how a work accident during his backbreaking work on a Congested Districts Board relief scheme leaves Páidín blind in one eye. What use now was his ancient language to Páidín? Another of Ó Conaire's stories describes how Nora has to leave her community due to her 'notions above her station' and an indiscretion bringing shame on her family. She eventually returns from London and has to hide the London part of her personality and habits from her community.

While Ó Conaire's short stories provided a more real interpretation of Gaeltacht life in the early 20th century, it was the Romantic utopian image which pervaded and prospered in the psyche of 20th century Ireland. A civil service commissioned report in 1933 stated that '[t]he industrialisation of the Gaeltacht in the modern sense must not be permitted.' (Ó Máille & De Buitléir, 1933). Ivor Kenny, who in the 1960s was Director of the Irish Management Institute and Chairman of Gaeltarra Éireann, also recalls that the use of the word 'profit... proved quite explosive' (Kenny, 1972, 9). He also felt the need to state that Gaeltarra Éireann did not have the aim of creating 'a Gaelic reservation' (1972, 14).

2.4.3.2 Conflicting Views of the West

Although he is best known as a playwright, J.M. Synge was also an insightful travel writer who displayed a good understanding of many of the sociological issues faced by the inhabitants of the west coast. Commissioned by the Manchester Guardian newspaper to write a series of articles which were subsequently published in June and July 1905, he travelled to the congested districts to report on the destitution and despair of the areas. His scholarly knowledge and fluency in Irish from his regular visits to the Aran Islands from 1898 to 1902 contributed to his understanding and insight into the economic, social and cultural position of those in the congested districts he visited. He was able to give a more reasoned, balanced view which often contradicted with the views expressed by the official organs of the state. He saw a 'contempt for local views .... rooted in nearly all the official workers one meets through the country' (Synge, [1905] 1966, 341). Many of the Congested Districts Board (CDB) annual reports discuss the difficulties in encouraging Connemara people to be more ambitious. He also commented on the Connacht people's knowledge and embracing of continental European culture through their poetry and songs, and interest in his foreign travels, despite their low level of formal education. He also noted the lack of division of labour, with each person having a wide range of skills, occupations and methods of earning an income (Synge, [1907] 1966, 132).

In summary the construct of the Gaeltacht is rooted in the 19th century language shift and in the cultural revival associated with the political struggle for independence, and the establishment of the Free State in the early 20th century. Much of this history has had a long-lasting influence on state policy for the Gaeltacht, and some of that is reflected in the Gaeltacht research now reviewed.

2.4.4 Gaeltacht Studies Research

Considerable research has been conducted on the Gaeltacht, none of it in entrepreneurship (apart from this author's work); some of it in regional development, socio-economic development, and co-operative studies; in socio-linguistics and more recently in language planning. This section reviews those aspects of Gaeltacht and/or Irish language studies most relevant to the research question addressed, namely, what was the pattern of entrepreneurial behaviour that emerged in that region and why. Some of the answers to the 'what' and the 'why' are found in what this author titles 'Gaeltacht studies'. This author's research is related to Gaeltacht studies due to the choice of empirical data, but its theoretical home is within entrepreneurship theory.

2.4.5 Socio-Linguistics

As very little sets the Gaeltacht areas apart from other peripheral rural areas other than the language, the socio-linguistic literature needs to be briefly reviewed. Language 'is not

an item of culture but the ecological environment' in which individual items of culture exist (Tovey et al, 1989, 3); it is 'the whole cumulative effort of a people over centuries to understand the circumstances of its own existence' (McCloskey, 2001, 26). Therefore, it has a central influence on a community's perception of itself and the community's future. As well as its practical communicative function, language also has a symbolic function (Edwards, 1985) and thus can often be associated with certain aspects of a linguistic community's life, and socio-cultural capital. For example Irish was generally not associated with technology, science or business (Mac an Iomaire, 1983) and only recently associated widely with the mass media or a modern urban sophisticated life. The theoretical framework of cognition (Katz & Shepherd, 2003; Shaver & Scott, 1991), which has been developed in the entrepreneurship literature, could prove fruitful in combining language with entrepreneurship. While cognition has been well researched within business (Meindl et al, 1996), as has sense-making and symbolism (Gioia et al, 1996), language itself is rarely mentioned, and linguistic diversity even less so.

2.4.5.1 Linguistic Impact of Socio-Economic Development

In a study commissioned by Údarás na Gaeltachta, Ó Cinnéide et al (1985), quantified the linguistic impact of three industrial enterprises established in the Gaeltacht under the auspices of its predecessor Gaeltarra Éireann. The study found that the Irish language was dominant in the factory in which the ratio of Irish speakers to non-Irish speakers was sufficiently large, and in the factory involved in processing indigenous raw materials (potatoes for crisps). English was the dominant language in the high-technology factory due to the use of non-indigenous resources (for which the necessary terminology did not exist or was not in currency) and the large number of workers with no Irish. In contrast with the early to mid 20th century when other policy makers (Ó Máille & De Buitléir, 1933; NAD, 1954, S7441A) were wary of any kind of development due to its potentially detrimental effect on the language Ó Cinnéide et al state that Irish speaking communities 'have a right to aspire to the same standard of living as is enjoyed by the larger society to which they belong (1985, 6). They strongly recommended a recruitment policy that would strictly discriminate in favour of Irish speakers, despite the well-documented fact that there was a long-standing near total absence of suitably qualified Irish speakers, especially at management level (Údarás, 2001a) and a reluctance by Gaeltacht people to take up management positions (Kane, 1977). Interestingly however, Ó Cinnéide *et al* (1985) cite a study in the Scots Gaelic Island of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides. In that case a policy of recruiting expatriate Gaelic speakers in the booming North Sea oil industry of the 1970s brought back a population overwhelmingly committed to that language.

Patrick Commins published a number of articles on the Gaeltacht in the 1980s (1986, 1988). His critique of socio-economic and linguistic changes in the Gaeltacht and the state's role in those changes found that while state-sponsored industrialisation had had 'a degree of success as a population-maintenance policy' (1988, 11), the state's efforts at language maintenance had been less successful. The centralised governmental system in Ireland combined with the fact that in 1971 up to 24 public agencies had some kind of development function in the Gaeltacht had not helped achieve the desired outcome of socio-economic development not harmful to the language.

2.4.6 Socio-Economic Development

While the Gaeltacht Commission of 1926 highlighted the economic plight of the Gaeltacht, Johnson (1993) contends that the new Free State refused to adopt a regionally based economic strategy that would improve the socio-economic conditions of Gaeltacht residents, although it paradoxically saw the Gaeltacht as the symbolic reservoir on which the idea of a nation could be developed. The policies which ensued in terms of reviving the Irish language and requiring fluency in the language for civil and public servant employment drew on this reservoir by drawing on its pool of more able (and fluent in Irish) people for employment elsewhere in the country. This was probably to the detriment of the Gaeltacht, which remained relatively undeveloped up to the 1950s when the Government initiated efforts to develop it and other regions, partly through the Undeveloped Areas Act of 1952.

The work of Ó Cinnéide, Keane, Cawley and Commins (Commins, 1988; Keane, Cawley & Ó Cinnéide, 1983; Ó Cinnéide, Keane & Cawley, 1985; Ó Cinnéide & Keane, 1988) is primarily in the areas of socio-economic and rural development and the linguistic impacts of this development. Ó Cinnéide and Keane (1988) were commissioned by a voluntary sector organisation, with National Lottery funding, to estimate the socio-economic benefits to the community of state funding on the Galway Gaeltacht. They estimated that over 20 public bodies were involved in Gaeltacht development. The per capita allocation to Údarás na Gaeltachta was much more than that to the IDA or Shannon Development. This extra expenditure partially compensated for the low per capita physical infrastructure investment. It was estimated that over 2,000 people were employed in the Galway Gaeltacht in various state-funded projects. Although some of this funding would have been forthcoming even if the area were not a Gaeltacht area, it was estimated to be meagre in comparison with the funding made available. In other words, had it not Gaeltacht status, funding for the area would have been channelled through the IDA or other public bodies as is done in the rest of the country. The exchequer funding for 1987 amounted to over £12 million. The funded projects generated a gross output of £57.3

million and the state's administration of its interventions generated £17 million in income. However Galway city was the main beneficiary of much of this income and expenditure, rather than the Gaeltacht itself.

An earlier study by a researcher at the University of Colorado assessed the work of Gaeltarra Éireann and drew attention to the high rates of emigration, especially of young women (Kearns, 1974). The lethargic social climate contributed to this, as well as the mismatch between the jobs young people aspired to, and the jobs available locally. There was also a stigma associated with factory work compared to outdoor or office work. Tourism was underdeveloped and there was a wariness of the linguistic impact its development would have. No new tourism accommodation was allowed without the approval of Roinn na Gaeltachta. It funded home improvements so that private households could accommodate language-learning visitors. It also generously funded basic social infrastructure such as entertainment halls and handball alleys. The most striking aspect of Kearns' article is his description of the psychological barriers to development:

> 'The aura of psychological negativism that pervades the areas constitutes one of the most intractable barriers to economic and social development. Generations of emigration, unemployment and poverty have imbued the population with despair and cynicism' (1974, 106).

He attributes some of this situation to the regrettable 'government-fostered tradition of substituting welfare handouts for opportunities' (106) an opinion voiced by a number of other writers in the same decade (Comharchumann Forbartha na nOileán, 1979; Mac Aodha, 1971).

Some of Kearns' opinions were also echoed, perhaps even more bleakly, by Professor Breandán Mac Aodha, of the Social Science Research Centre in UCG (now NUIG). In 1967, he was commissioned by An Foras Forbartha to survey the Galway Gaeltacht for their subsequent publication *Planning Report on the Galway Gaeltacht* (1971). After a long battle, Mac Aodha eventually gained permission to publish his own report (Ó Cinnéide, 2004) which gives a comprehensive account of the socio-economic conditions in the region (Mac Aodha, 1971). The most striking points are the lack of infrastructure and of desired employment; the bleak disillusionment of emigrants (he surveyed Galway Gaeltacht emigrants in Britain) the proportion of school leavers intending to emigrate; the low level of career aspiration; the lack of responsibility, initiative and leadership; and industrial managers' difficulties in recruiting suitably skilled workers. Mac Aodha drew on examples from 13 other European countries in drawing up his recommendations, which included genuine local government; development of nodes of industry; development of

Ros a'Mhíl harbour instead of Galway city (a project which eventually came to successful fruition); development of fish-farming (which has happened); careful development of tourism (which has yet to happen properly); management training; linkage between the proposed Gaeltacht Development Authority (now ÚnaG) and UCG (now NUIG) in the provision of the entrepreneurship necessary; establishment of Irish medium radio and television broadcasters (which have both happened).

2.4.7 Co-operative Studies

Commins (1988) also found that the co-operatives which emerged in the 1970s, largely out of the civil rights movement, and with the support of Gaeltarra Éireann and later of Údarás na Gaeltachta had not reached a sufficient momentum or critical mass to allow them to reach any meaningful commercial success. Moreover, 'there was little evidence that they had fostered any deep ideological understanding of self-reliant development' (1988, 18). The co-operatives were still seen popularly as yet another agency 'delivering' a service to clients. Johnson's earlier study (1979) found that the Gaeltacht co-operatives were multifunctional, in contrast to those in the rest of the country which were mainly agricultural. Two co-operatives established in the West Kerry and West Mayo Gaeltachtaí in 1967 led to Roinn na Gaeltachta establishing a specific scheme to fund co-operatives, a scheme later extended to the rest of the country. Activities ranged from basic infrastructural projects such as group water and electricity schemes; to agriculture; to crafts and tourism. The co-operatives suffered from financial difficulties, and were mainly conduits for government funding, rather than self-sustaining. Johnson found that there was little understanding in the Gaeltacht of co-operative principles. Breathnach (1986) attributes their weakness to: lack of management skills and of strategic planning; a weak share capital base; the wide range of commercial activities undertaken in conjunction with the more successful provision of basic infrastructural services; but also the external weakness of an uncoordinated state institutional structure. To address the skills weakness, efforts were made in the form of community development adult education courses (Ó Cinnéide, 1987), but with limited long-term success. Some of these difficulties still exist today, with Údarás reluctant to fund certain Galway Gaeltacht co-operatives due to weak general and financial management (Foinse, 2007).

In her study of the emergence of the Gaeltacht Civil Rights movement in the late 1960s, Akutagawa (1986) attributes the difficulties of self-organisation to the lack of cohesive identity in the Gaeltacht. Language by itself is insufficient to create identity. A shared common history, distinct from other groups is required to develop a separate identity. The nationally imposed Gaeltacht construct was not adopted by communities, which identified more with their own parishes or sub-parishes, a problem also encountered by the co-

operatives (Breathnach, 1986). The civil rights movement was primarily a radical militant protest organisation, led primarily by teachers and intellectually influenced by an incomer journalist and political scientist. In contemporary terms, there was no social entrepreneur to lead the group, although the movement did spawn a series of parish councils and ultimately a series of co-operatives, some of the movement's members being involved in them.

2.4.8 Development Theory

More recently the Gaeltacht has been studied from the perspective of development theory. This theory has now shifted from solely using economic measures to embracing other aspects such as quality of life and culture (Walsh, 2006a). In addition, languages and minority languages in particular are now embraced by some development theorists (Price *et al*, 1997; Tucker, 1997 in Walsh 2006a). Modernisation need not be to the detriment of minority languages, and those languages need not be an impediment to economic progress, but rather embraced as untapped resources (Walsh, 2006a). This interpretation is similar to that being developed in indigenous entrepreneurship, where indigenous communities, can and do successfully embrace globalisation, on their own terms (Dana & Anderson, 2007). Walsh (2006a) has reviewed the fields of linguistics and the link between language and cognition in particular; human and cultural development as presented by the United Nations Development Programme; cultural political economy; national systems of innovation; and modernisation theory. In support of the Canadian economist François Grin's work on the links between language and economic development, Walsh proposes a 'linguistic political economy of development' (2006a, 143) whereby language is incorporated into debate on socio-economic development.

Walsh (2006a) suggests that the linguistic political economy of development provides a framework within which to assess what role the Irish language (or any language) can play in the market-state-civil society nexus. He finds the Irish language voluntary sector absent from national debates on socio-economic development, for example in the National Partnership forum, or the White Paper on Voluntary Activity (Government of Ireland, 2000) despite both Gaeltacht and Community Affairs being under the same ministry at that time.

2.4.9 Gaeltacht Studies in Irish Public Policy Debate

Walsh's findings regarding the Irish language echo the findings of Ní Bhrádaigh and Walsh (2004) and Ní Bhrádaigh (2007e) regarding the minor involvement of Gaeltacht development agencies in the formulation of industrial and enterprise development policy, in documents such as the O'Driscoll report (Enterprise Strategy Group, 2004); the Culliton report (Industrial Policy Review Group; 1992); the Telesis report (National Economic and

Social Council, 1982). There are other examples: there was no mention of the Gaeltacht or of the Irish language in either the National Spatial Strategy (2002) or the National Development Plan for 2000-2006. The National Development Plan for 2007-2013 however does mention both. Thus while the language and the Gaeltacht are recognised as being nationally important, this importance doesn't seem to extend to those matters most closely related to national enterprise development policy. There would seem to be an implicit assumption in the various other Government agencies that Údarás na Gaeltachta or Foras na Gaeilge (responsible for promoting the Irish language) are fully responsible for all aspects of Gaeltacht and Irish language development, and thus they do not need to address Gaeltacht issues.

Administration is the learned journal on public administration in Ireland, published by the Institute of Public Administration. A review of all volumes of Administration since its first publication 55 years ago in 1953 to date revealed ten articles on the following Gaeltacht or Irish language business topics (in chronological order): Irish language speakers (Ó hÉigeartaigh, 1953); state supports for the Gaeltacht (Breathnach, 1954; Ó Baoighealláin, 1953); socio-economic issues (Ó Fachtna, 1967); regional identity and socio-economic development (Kenny, 1972); local governance as a means of socio-economic development (Fennell, 1976); language factor in planning (Ó Riagáin, 1978); job creation costs (Keane, 1986); mapping the Gaeltacht (Walsh, McCarron & Ní Bhrádaigh, 2005); the translation industry (O'Connell & Walsh, 2006). The earlier papers are by public servants, the later papers by academics. Ivor Kenny's 1972 paper is the last by a public servant; he was Chairman of Gaeltarra Éireann at the time. Keane's job creation paper proposes that Gaeltarra's state imposed policy of having equity in enterprises receiving grant aid of more than £10,000 (and later £100,000) proved costly. He quotes and agrees with the opinion of Gaeltarra Éireann's Chief Executive that this policy attracted weaker projects and detracted from stronger projects. Enterprises funded under the Small Industries Programme proved better value as their job creation was not too far behind that of the larger enterprises.

Overall, in the *Administration* papers, there is near unanimity on: a collective passivity; a lack of human and / or social capital; externally imposed policies; the need for socio-economic development to stem emigration; provision of economic improvements, but at the same time a reservation that industrial development is detrimental to the Irish language. While it is acknowledged that publication of Gaeltacht related papers in *Administration* is not a comprehensive picture of Gaeltacht socio-economic issues in national policy making, it is further evidence that while having its own dedicated agencies has contributed positively to the Gaeltacht, there is a potential danger of those agencies

not being fully integrated in national policy debate, and of other agencies and central state organisations inadvertently neglecting Gaeltacht issues.

2.4.10 Other Gaeltacht Studies Perspectives

Other researchers who have addressed Gaeltacht issues are Johnson (politics of identity) (1997); Denvir (linguistic implications of mass tourism) (2002); Mac an Iomaire (language use in Gaeltacht organisations) (1983); and Ó Conghaile (creative literature perspectives on social history) (1988). Daily economic life is well documented in the folklore literature with accounts of activities such as fishing, farming, basketmaking, and building (uí Ogáin, 1996). Much of the commentary on the Gaeltacht is published in Irish and thus not accessed by a wider readership. While noting the adverse effects of institutions such as church, education, health systems, and mass media in his 1990 article the well regarded historian Professor Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh (1990) of NUIG criticised the effect industrialisation had on the language. He was critical of the role played by Údarás na Gaeltachta:

> 'Yet it remains a matter of historical fact that the industrialization drive of the past twenty years has weakened the Irish language and its "economic status" in the Gaeltacht, through an adverse combination of those factors already listed [migration; telecommunications; mobility; attitude etc] and in the absence of strict and strictly-enforced conditions of language use in the grant-aiding or indeed in the siting of manufacturing plants in the Gaeltacht.' (1990, 12)

Ó Tuathaigh was also sceptical of the benefits of re-emphasis on natural resources. He subsequently served as Chairman of Údarás na Gaeltachta from 1996 to 1999, during which more emphasis was indeed put on natural resources, but also on language based entrepreneurship. His support for Commins' proposal (Ó Tuathaigh, 1990, 17) that more systematic research be conducted on the linkages between socio-economic change and linguistic processes seems to have gone unheeded.

Ó Gadhra's 1989 publication on the Gaeltacht's place in the then forthcoming 1992 EU Single Market, traces some of the patterns of state policy and aid for the Gaeltacht, including the favourable grant aid conditions which were gradually eliminated in the 1980s. In the 1960s, Gaeltacht industrial grant aid was up to 80% better than that available elsewhere, even in the Designated [Undeveloped] Regions, although the Gaeltacht regions were mostly also part of the Designated Regions. Ó Gadhra makes the valid point that the members of the various Government committees or Government appointed commissions espousing strict linguistic criteria for socio-economic development were often safely-employed residents of Dublin or Cork, rather than Gaeltacht residents dealing with the day to day reality of under development. This point is also made by

Johnston (1997), and is reflected in some of the documents reflecting civil service sentiment in the National Archives (Ó Máille & De Buitléir, 1933; NAD, 1954, S7441A). Positive discrimination in terms of higher levels of grant aid needed to be matched by Gaeltacht people being more democratically involved in decision making, thus helping to raise human and social capital.

2.4.11 Some General Agreements in the Gaeltacht / Irish Language Studies

In summary the Gaeltacht and/or Irish language studies literature is largely in agreement on the following issues. Much of the impetus for the construction of a Gaeltacht identity came from an urban-based intelligentia which voiced reservations about the detrimental effects modernisation would have on the Gaeltacht. Meanwhile Gaeltacht people themselves continued to feel peripheral and disadvantaged, and continued to see emigration and adoption of the English language in lieu of the Irish language as a means of advancement. They developed a dependency on state support. The state policy of using the education system to initially create an Irish speaking nation and from the 1960s onward at least a bilingual nation, attracted many Gaeltacht school leavers out of the Gaeltacht and into the teaching profession (Johnson, 1992; Jones, 2006; Kelly, A., 2002). In the 1920s, seven residential preparatory schools were established around the country, specifically to provide second level education for Gaeltacht students, and non-Gaeltacht Irish speakers, to prepare them for primary teacher training. Students received grant aid of up to £40 per annum, and there were additional particular grant schemes for the Connemara Gaeltacht. Johnson (1992) illustrates the geographical bias in favour of the Gaeltacht in those entering two teacher training colleges from 1925 to 1955. One preparatory college closed in the 1930s, five in 1961, and the last (serving Protestant Irish speakers) in 1995.

As few suitable managerial or technical staff were available from the Gaeltacht population, these were brought in from abroad and from elsewhere in Ireland, further consolidating the Gaeltacht people's pessimistic worldview. The Gaeltacht Civil Rights movement of the late 1960s was the first 'bottom-up' 'effervescence' and resulted in the emergence of a co-operative movement (long after elsewhere in the country) in the 1970s; the establishment of Raidió na Gaeltachta in 1973; the establishment of the democratically elected Údarás in 1980 and eventually the establishment in 1996 of the television broadcaster TG4. The language continued to decline, partly but not only due to industrialisation (Johnston, 1997; Ó Tuathaigh, 1990; Walsh, 2006a). Other negative influences include mass media (up to the mid 1990s at least, after which TG4 exerted a positive influence) and the education system due to the lack of Irish-medium textbooks (Mac Donnacha *et al*, 2004) and

intergenerational transfer of the language (Ó Giollagáin *et al*, 2007). The link made by the 1926 Gaeltacht Commission between cultural policy and regional economic policy was essentially rejected by the Government of the day (Johnson, 1993) but in recent years, the role of culture and language in economic development is increasingly recognised (Walsh, 2006a).

In conclusion, much of the Gaeltacht business-related research addressed socio-economic development; industrialisation; and self-organisation in the second half of the 20th century (Commins, 1986, 1988; Kane, 1977; Keane, Cawley & Ó Cinnéide, 1983; Mac Aodha, 1971; Ó Cinnéide, Keane & Cawley, 1985), or was framed in the linguistic impact of these changes. None specifically addressed enterprise development or new business start-ups, or looked at the impact the language had on entrepreneurship. Thus, this author's research is a contribution to Gaeltacht studies theory, data collation and presentation, and historical empirical evidence.

2.5 **CONCLUSIONS**

This research aims to describe, analyse and explain how entrepreneurship emerged and evolved in the Galway Gaeltacht from a pre-industrial phase that lasted from the late 19th century through the 1960s when emergence and take-off occurred to the early 20th century when service-based industries began to emerge and develop.

2.5.1 Location of This Research

The research is situated in a context that views entrepreneurship as an attitude and behaviour in all sectors whether public, social or private, and which sees that time, space and context have important roles to play. It is a longitudinal study of how entrepreneurship emerged in a marginalized, peripheral rural area as late as the second half of the 20th century, primarily through the efforts of the two main Government bodies responsible for developing the Gaeltacht. Many of the problems, which existed in the Gaeltacht, were a microcosm, or an extreme version, of what was happening nationally.

Hindsight may be the best way of viewing critical turning points, key events, imprinting and macro influences on entrepreneurship rates. Most studies in entrepreneurship cover a period of less than 10 years; longitudinal studies periods of less than 40 years (Gartner & Shane, 1995). This current study is unique in that it covers a period of 113 years, and allows for an analysis of the cultural, psychological and other sociological and political factors affecting entrepreneurship patterns. Considering that the Gaeltacht areas were largely at subsistence farming level in the 1920s, and that true industrial development did not commence until the 1960s, it is possible to respond to Durkheim's (1912) and

Schumpeter's (1943) opinions that creative destruction happens over years, over decades, and tracing back to its origins provides a better understanding of that process.

2.5.2 Concluding Remarks

This chapter reviewed the major debates and trends in entrepreneurship literature from the early 20th century to date. It discussed alternative interpretations and highlighted some of the gaps or weaknesses in that literature and the Gaeltacht Studies literature. The chapter discussed in more detail the particular strands of those two bodies of literature, considered most relevant to the conceptual framework devised to answer the research question posed. The chapter also discussed the new conceptual framework; its relation to the theories on which it is based; and the new aspects incorporated into it by the author. The following chapter outlines the research methodology issues addressed in approaching the research question; planning and executing the research; and presenting the findings.

3 Research Methodology[10]

'Some of the worst portions of the Irish congested districts – of which so much that is contradictory has been spoken and written – lie along the further north coast of Galway Bay, and about the whole seaboard from Spiddal to Clifden' (Synge, 1905).

3.1 Introduction

Awareness of the reasons for the contradictions in any body of research about a particular issue should lead to better debate and ultimately a better understanding of it. Therefore an understanding of the methodological issues in the research is important. This chapter sets out the research question and then reviews the various methodological paradigms generally used in the social sciences, and those used in entrepreneurship research in particular. This review is then followed by discussion of the methods chosen for this project, and the reasons for these choices. The subsequent sections outline the operationalisation issues and quality measures of the chosen methods. The conclusion of the chapter addresses what is new about the research, and how the project contributes methodologically to the research community's discourse on the subject in question.

3.1.1 Research Question

The primary research question is:

- How did entrepreneurship emerge in the County Galway Gaeltacht from the pre-industrial stage in the late 19th century and evolve through the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century?

A number of associated sub-questions are:

- When and how did various significant Populations of new enterprises emerge and evolve?
- Who were the pioneers of these new Populations?
- What growth strategies were employed in the new Populations to gain legitimacy?
- What kind of entrepreneurship capital evolved in the area and what effect did it have on the entrepreneurship landscape?

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10 The term research methodology is often used interchangeably with the term research methods. In this document, methodology is used in the sense of the science and discourse of research methods, i.e. the scientific background, debate and philosophical understanding that has informed the choice of research question and how to answer it. The term method is used to denote the tools, techniques and procedures used, as informed and underpinned by the methodology. This use of the two terms is similar, but not identical to the definition used by Slife et al (1995, 204ff).

These questions were addressed through the conceptual framework outlined in the previous chapter.

3.1.2 Research Process

The initial motivation for this research project was the author's personal experience of the area and her desire to understand how entrepreneurship had evolved there. This process is outlined in Figure 10 below. Very few answers were found in the Gaeltacht studies research reviewed. A review of entrepreneurship literature and a pilot study of one village, An Cheathrú Rua confirmed the viability of using a longitudinal evolutionary approach, from which the conceptual framework was designed. Data were sourced in the annual reports of the three main state agencies responsible for the socio-economic development of the area. Gaps in those data were filled with data sourced in the National Archives and other libraries (see Appendix 1). Analysis of these data pointed to three suitable case studies which would allow multi-level and cross case analysis to further validate the research. The author spent five months living in the area, and was involved at one stage in the production of a community play as a means of integrating further into the community. Interviews with key informants were a further triangulation of findings. By invitation, she also had the valuable opportunity of spending a number of weeks visiting Maori, Canadian First Nation, and Nova Scotian Scots Gaelic community enterprises, and presenting a paper on the tourism case study, at a community enterprise conference in New Zealand. This experience allowed her to gain a broader perspective of the developmental issues of indigenous and linguistic minority groups. An iterative process was followed as analysis warranted returning to particular issues or sourcing further data, and devising and refining the conceptual framework as presented in the previous chapter. Throughout the process, she presented conference papers, published international refereed journal articles, visited the area regularly, and encouraged her students to conduct their research projects on related issues. The rest of this chapter discusses the research's methodological issues, starting with an overview of the various methodological paradigms available to the researcher.

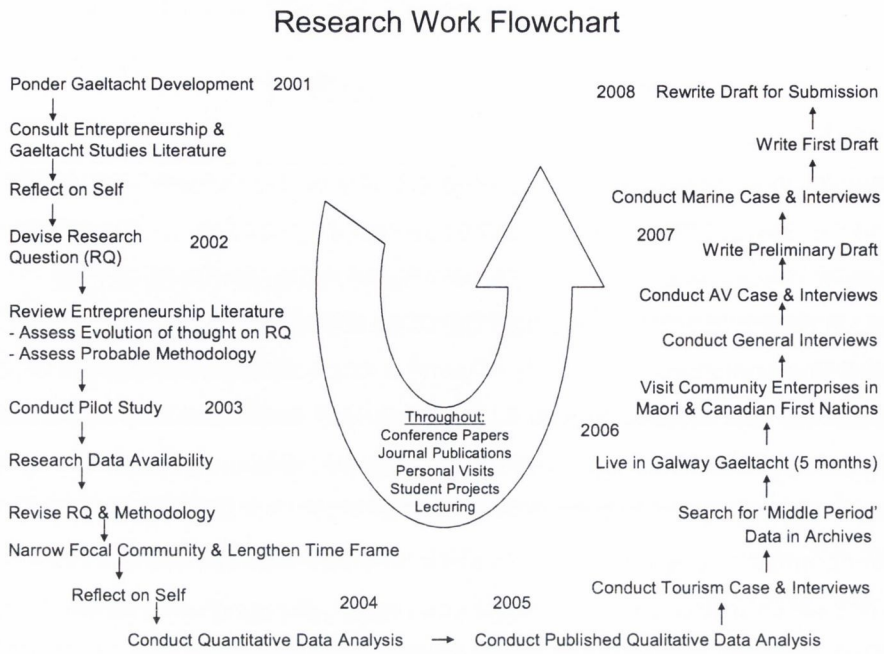

Figure 10: Research Project: Work Flowchart

3.2 Philosophical Context and Methodological Paradigms

The objective of scientific research is to gain a better understanding of phenomena through the use of appropriate methods and logic of enquiry. True objectivity is difficult to achieve, as so many issues in the research process require decisions; decisions which may be affected by a number of influences, such as the body of research already conducted, the philosophical context of the day, or the researcher's own views and experiences. Thus consideration of the methodology adopted is key to assessing the outcomes and conclusions of any research undertaken. In the process of deciding on the most suitable methodology for the question posed and the empirical data chosen, the author conducted an extensive review of the various research methodologies and methods used in the social sciences (see Appendix 2). She considered how the positivist approach was adopted from the natural sciences, and how other paradigms such as phenomenology, critical theory and constructivism gradually gained credence and acceptance in various branches of the social sciences. Also considered were the methodological approaches used by the writers reviewed in the literature review, as outlined in the first section of the previous chapter. In addition 'state of the art' overviews of entrepreneurship research; quantitative and qualitative approaches; spatial and longitudinal research; multi-level; multi-disciplinary research; multi-modal; and case study research were reviewed. During this review, the author also reflected at length and on an ongoing basis, in the spirit of phenomenological research, on her own motivation and background, and how it might affect the research conducted (Appendix 3). The author

has had a lifelong relationship with the area, being a native Irish speaker, having spent a lot of time there and having engaged professionally and socially with the businesses and the culture of the area.

The following two sections discuss the research methods chosen and some of the operationalisation issues.

3.2.1 Research Methods Chosen

This research addresses the question of when and how entrepreneurship emerged and evolved in one particular region over a period of more than one century. This section commences with a discussion of the methodological paradigm and research methods chosen to answer that question. It then finishes with an outline of some of the limitation of the data chosen.

3.2.2 Preferred Methodological Paradigm

The chosen paradigm is a blend of positivist research based largely on quantitative data from secondary sources, and phenomenological research based mainly on qualitative data from secondary and primary sources. The two approaches complement and enrich each other. Post-modernist thinking contends that empirical and rational ways of knowing don't necessarily apply to all situations, and it allows for cultural and linguistic differences (Slife & Williams, 1995), especially in minority or marginalised groups (Kane & O'Reilly-De Brún, 2001), where the official record and opinion might reflect the opinion of the powerful, the hegemony, and might differ to that of the subaltern, the subordinate group dominated or exploited by the hegemony (Kavanagh et al, 2002). The combination of official data sources and subaltern data sources such as interviews with small-scale shopkeepers and entrepreneurs; informal conversations with local elderly people; review of the popular songs of an area of a community; living in and engaging with the community for 5 months etc, allows one to seek to gain as comprehensive an understanding as possible of the phenomenon and process, in this case, of the emergence of entrepreneurship.

3.2.3 Description, Exploration, Explanation

This is a descriptive, exploratory and explanatory research project. As no research had been conducted on Gaeltacht entrepreneurship until this author embarked on the project, the initial requirement was to describe what has happened. The exploratory aspect was to gain familiarity and understanding, to seek out and examine trends, categories, exceptions, contradictions, and to put them in context. It was also an objective to find interesting topics for further more rigorous study, to be open to surprise (Daft, 1983; Hussey & Hussey, 1997; Singleton et al., 1993; Slife et al, 1993; Welman & Kruger, 2001). In Thorngate's postulate of commensurate complexity (Weick, 1979, 35-42), a

trade-off is required between accuracy, generality and simplicity. By using a combination of multi-level descriptive, exploratory and explanatory research, the general and simple aspects of the Core Database are complemented by the depth and richness of the case studies and the similarities between the opinions and recollections of many of the informants. In addition this process allowed the creation and modification of the conceptual framework; it evolved over time, in tandem with the research.

In essence the project is phenomenological, iterative, inductive research, which commenced with an open-ended approach in which the author revisited data and theory to allow categories and patterns to emerge and a picture to build up. While a general research plan had been established at the beginning, the scope of the research (i.e. choice of geographic area, time span addressed, case studies etc.) changed over time as new information, data and methodological limitations were uncovered, and new understandings were developed. For example, the geographic area was reduced, and the time span was lengthened. The initial plan was to address the national Gaeltacht, from 1958 when Gaeltarra was established, to the current time. It became apparent that the Galway Gaeltacht was quite different from the other Gaeltacht areas (such as Donegal with a longer history of industrialisation, and seasonal migration) and had suffered more disadvantage and developmental problems. The author was also very familiar with the area. The time span was lengthened when the author became aware of the rich and detailed amount of information available on the work of the CDB; after she had reflected on how the Gaeltacht had been constructed in the 1920s as a result of the earlier cultural revival; and she had much of the empirical evidence pointed to longstanding issues, requiring a longer timeframe. Issues of interest emerged out of the descriptive stage, leading to further exploration and explanation. For example, psychological issues seem more important than originally thought, and discovery of the concept of psychological capital allowed its incorporation into the conceptual model. The well-defined measures used in the descriptive aspect of the research complement the relative flexibility and looseness required of and used in the exploratory aspect.

3.2.4 Multidisciplinary Multi-level Longitudinal Research[11]

New disciplines and thus new understandings often emerge at the edges of more established disciplines, where researchers from different disciplines collaborate. Entrepreneurship itself emerged out of, and continues to draw upon, a number of more established disciplines. The author has engaged in interdisciplinary studies as part of this research, drawing on a number of disciplines such as sociology, geography, and

11 The term 'longitudinal research' normally applies to research conducted over a long period of time, about a particular subject. However the term is used in this thesis to denote research about a long period of time. Although the term 'historical research' would be more accurate, the term longitudinal research is used as this term is gaining currency in entrepreneurship literature for the very type of research discussed in this thesis.

Gaeltacht studies. She has collaborated with a geographer on spatial analysis of the database (Ní Bhrádaigh & McCarron, 2005), and with geographers and a sociolinguist on the spatial evolution of the Gaeltacht (Ní Bhrádaigh, McCarron, Walsh & Duffy, 2007; Walsh, McCarron & Ní Bhrádaigh, 2005).

Nevertheless, the theoretical home of the research is within entrepreneurship. Much entrepreneurship research has addressed the micro-level and the macro level, but the meso-level of Community, in the sense for example of clusters, regions, innovation and business systems, has been relatively underexplored. Even less research has been conducted across the various levels from micro through meso to macro-level. This research addresses one particular region at macro-level, through the evolutionary perspective of the enterprise demography in the region; and the specific case-study analysis of three industry communities at meso-level.

Longitudinal research can lead to informative and useful insights, innovations and practices, such as the discovery in the medical sciences of the long-term effects of tobacco smoking. It allows comparison between situations in different periods, or tracking of changes as they happen. In entrepreneurship, longitudinal research can best benefit from the adoption of historical research methods such as using official and unofficial historical records; in the case of this research, Dáil (Irish parliament) debates; National Archive material; state body annual reports; business records; and folk memory. In the spirit of phenomenology, an effort is made to provide as much historical context as possible, especially drawing on what was happening at national and international level at the same time. This was drawn upon during the process of the descriptive and explanatory parts of the research. This context helps explain imprinting and path dependencies.

3.2.5 Case Studies

The descriptive questions of the research are answered primarily in the quantitative analysis, while the explanatory questions required more qualitative data, especially through the selected case studies. The chosen region is an extreme case in that it was poor, marginalised and disadvantaged for a long time. It has also been one of the strongest areas in terms of Irish language use. Within the 'extreme' case there are three 'sub' case studies so that essentially multiple levels of analysis are used – region and Community / industry level. This is Yin's single case design (2003) with three embedded units of analysis operating in the same overall context. The Communities or industries in question were chosen due to a particular interest in the emergence of new Populations of organisations based on natural resources and native / indigenous entrepreneurship. The

alternative would have been the manufacturing, light engineering, paper and plastics industries, which were largely driven by foreign or inward direct investment and were not rooted in any local resources. Due to the fact that the Irish language is the only factor which sets the Gaeltacht apart, two Communities related to the Irish language were also chosen. The three cases chosen are listed in Table 2 along with some differences between them.

Marine Resources	> 100 years	Generally well developed
Tourism	> 100 years	Primarily language tourism & Aran Islands
Audio Visual	25 years	'Teenage years' / 'shakeout stage'

Table 2: Cases: Time Period and Stage of Development in 2007

The case study analysis was conducted through a combination of quantitative data from the database; a review of various published studies and official reports; a survey and analysis of archival material primarily from the Civil Service files in the National Archives and National Library (the hegemonic view); interviews with entrepreneurs, community leaders, politicians, board members and senior executives of Údarás na Gaeltachta and its predecessor Gaeltarra Éireann. In the case of the first two cases, the author has much experience of attending Irish college as a teenager, and cultural tourism events and festivals in the area as an adult tourist.

3.2.6 Blend of Methods and of Data

In summary, this is a multimodal project based on mixed methodologies and draws on a number of different research methods and sources which complement each other so that as accurate and illuminating as possible a picture can be drawn. Figure 11 provides an overview of the methods and data sources. The use of a variety of data allows triangulation, where quantitative descriptive data are interwoven with qualitative interpretative data, with the intention of discovering what kind of entrepreneurship emerged, how and why. The diagram in Figure 11 does not illustrate the multi-level or longitudinal aspects of the research.

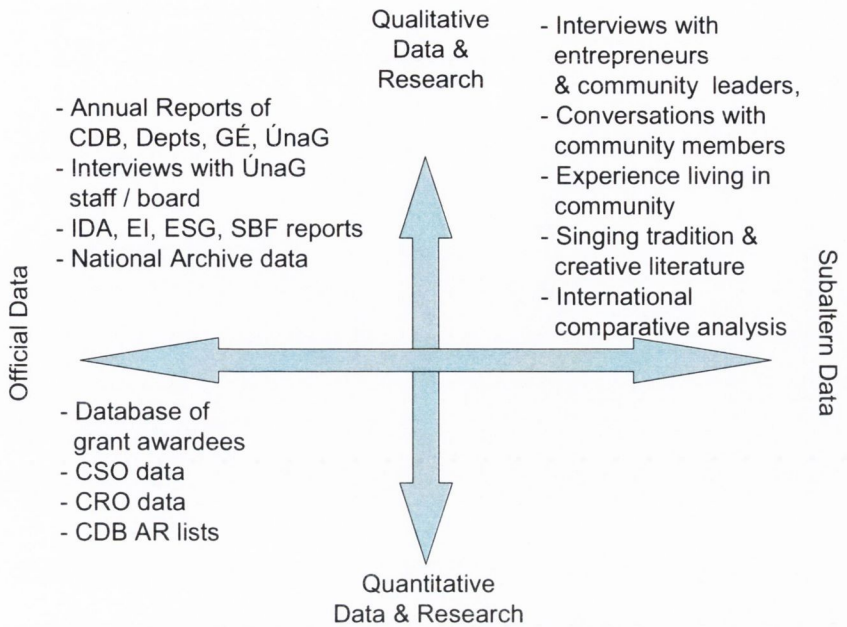

Figure 11: Mixed Research Methods and Data Sources

3.2.6.1 Limitations of these Types of Methods, Data and Sources

As no two research methods have the exact same strengths and weaknesses, it is the triangulation of complementary methods which strengthens the research findings and conclusions (Singleton *et al*, 1993). As it happens, there was a high level of consistency in the quantitative and qualitative data. The following is a discussion of the various limitations encountered and how they were addressed.

3.2.6.1.1 Quantitative Data

The database of enterprises is constructed wholly from official archives, and the limitation issue arose in particular with the pre-1958 data, especially the period from the disbandment of the Congested Districts Board in 1923 (a time of great political turmoil) to the establishment of Gaeltarra Éireann in 1958. In that 35 year period responsibility for the (industrial and other) development of the Gaeltacht passed through a number of Government departments (Appendix 4). There is very little continuity in terms of documents published or documents officially archived in the National Archives. However, by the time Gaeltarra Éireann was established it was clear that there was very little entrepreneurial activity to report. The real take-off period was in the 1970s. The patchiness of the data available for the period 1923 to 1957 is not considered to have affected the overall quality of the projects. Proxy measures such as national registrations of limited companies; industrial directories; and Census self-employment and industrial production data are used to support this claim.

The database did not include the quantitative data most relevant for the tourism case study, namely Irish colleges, as they are primarily funded by the Department of Education and Science (DES) and the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs (DCRGA), and their relevant predecessors. Quantitative data for that particular case study were sourced from the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs; in the Official Publications section of TCD library; and in the archives of Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge, a non-profit umbrella organisation for the Irish language sector.

3.2.6.1.2 Qualitative Data – Archives & Publications

Secondary qualitative data were sourced in published reports and also in archives such as the National Archives, the National Library and TCD Official Publications (Appendix 1). Use of archival records is vulnerable to content restrictions and measurement difficulty. In other words, the researcher is depending on decisions made by the authors of the original documents and also the decisions made by others at a much later stage as to which documents to archive or destroy. The limitations of exploratory archival research can also work to a researcher's benefit when documents hitherto unknown to exist are uncovered allowing modification to an aspect of the original research question. For example a number of National Archive files gave particular insights into Government departments' attitudes to the Irish language, and the influence that had on national policy towards Gaeltacht development – an example of how minority language issues affected entrepreneurship development – an issue not discussed in the current entrepreneurship literature.

3.2.6.1.3 Qualitative Data - Interviews

Interviews with key respondents were the main source of primary data. The methodological approach adopted was in the form of Kvale's (1996) post-modern, constructivist *Bildungsreise*, a scholarly formative journey, seeking to converse with interviewees to hear their stories, to understand their *Lebenswelt,* or life-world, and understand their points of view. An open approach was taken, with most questions open-ended, to allow interviewees's own views and interpretations to emerge. In total, 56 people were interviewed (Appendix 5) in the settings they wished (sometimes as they went about their daily work, or at cultural festivals) for the length of time, or number of interviews into which the conversation expanded. The author's native fluency in Irish; substantial knowledge of the community, and her personal lifelong interest in the singing tradition of the area helped her build a relationship and trust with interviewees. Appendix 6 gives further details. She has also sat on numerous interview panels for Údarás appointments, allowing her to gain an insight into the prevailing attitudes and practices in that organisation. Numerous other informal conversations took place especially during

the author's 5-month residence in, and frequent leisure and professional visits to the area. The strength of convergence of stories and opinions increases the quality of the data and the findings. All but three interviews were conducted through Irish. Three interviewees, all retired, are now deceased.

3.2.7 Summary of Research Methods Chosen

In summary, this research project is a multi-disciplinary multi-level multi-modal longitudinal exercise seeking to describe and explain through empirical evidence the emergence and evolution of entrepreneurial activity in one particular region over a period of a century. It combines positivist and phenomenological paradigms; and quantitative and qualitative data. It also draws upon the researcher's lifelong engagement with the region and its community. It is appropriate now to address the methods and practical operational issues of this research project.

3.3 From Abstract to Concrete: Operationalisation Issues

The researcher needs to conceptualise entrepreneurship, choose appropriate variables and indicators, and then operationalise those variables by assigning them to appropriate and relevant categories (Singleton *et al*, 1993). Measurement and operationalisation issues have been well developed in the natural sciences (e.g. temperature; height) and increasingly so in the social sciences (e.g. inflation; crime rates). Measures for hope and aspiration in a rural community, or state support for new small businesses have not yet been standardised and accepted throughout those relevant, perhaps younger disciplines (Diamond, 2005; Welsch & Liao, 2003). As some of the definitions and measures used were chosen in light of the data available, the data sources are discussed first.

3.3.1 Data Sources

No data set is without weakness and thus no single data source will provide a true measure of entrepreneurial activity (Curran & Blackburn, 2001; Jobert & Moss, 1990). Composite measures are best, drawing on a number of different sources or data sets. Supposedly comprehensive lists such as Dun & Bradstreet have been found to have missed a substantial portion of the population identified by censa or enumerations (Gartner & Shane, 1995). The following is an account of the data sources accessed and used for this project; the limitations of and rationale for the choices made; and an account of the various other existing compiled lists; their availability and limitations; and the rationale for not using them.

3.3.1.1 Congested Districts Board and 'Middle Period' Dataset

The Congested District Board's annual reports list those enterprises (or in their terms 'rural and fishery industries'), which it established and managed or whose establishment

and management it supported. Its annual reports from 1891-92 to 1921 - 22 with the single exception of its 29th report for 1920 – 21, the time of the Civil War were reviewed, and these data entered in the database. In its first year of operation the CDB commissioned a comprehensive series of 'baseline reports' for each district, and those data for the Electoral Divisions later included in the official Gaeltacht are included (Congested Districts Board, 1892 – 1897; Morrissey, 2001). Having read all CDB annual reports and other historical publications, the author is confident that there was very little other entrepreneurship activity, in terms of organisation building, other than that which the CDB supported. Data for the 'middle period' from 1923 to 1957 as presented in the Incubation chapter, were found in a number of sources primarily in the National Archives and the Official Publications section in TCD (Appendices 4 and 1). Again the author is confident that very little organised entrepreneurial activity has been omitted from this period.

3.3.1.2 Gaeltarra Éireann and Údarás na Gaeltachta Dataset

The annual reports of these two organisations list all enterprises operated by them; all enterprises in which they hold some equity; and all enterprises and individuals who have been allowed or have been paid grant aid. This support is available under the same or equivalent legislation as is available from counterpart organisations elsewhere in the country such as Enterprise Ireland, IDA Ireland and the County Enterprise Boards, with a few exceptions. Since 1983, Údarás has provided these data in electronic format to Forfás for the compilation of national statistics for use in policy analysis and design, and for publication. A copy of the Gaeltacht data for the period 1983 to 2003 was provided by Forfás with the permission of Údarás na Gaeltachta. This database was augmented by the manual transfer of data from the Gaeltarra annual reports for the period 1957/58 to 1979 and from Údarás annual reports for the period 1980 to 1982.

Essentially there have been two organisations charged with enterprise development in the Gaeltacht from 1957 onwards. Údarás is responsible for the Gaeltacht in the way that Enterprise Ireland (EI) (and its equivalent section within the IDA up to the spin-off of EI in 1998) is responsible in the rest of the country. It is also the counterpart organisation for the County Enterprise Boards in all Gaeltacht areas. EI and the County Enterprise Boards have no legislative responsibilities or authority in the Gaeltacht. For example, the County Galway Enterprise Board does not operate in the Galway Gaeltacht. Údarás also implements Bord Iascaigh Mhara's fisheries programmes in the Gaeltacht and also co-operates with Fáilte Ireland (and its predecessor Bord Fáilte) in tourism development.

Thus the database as described above is a comprehensive account of state-supported enterprise development for the period 1958 to 2003. The data were found to be particularly 'dirty' a not uncommon phenomenon for data collected and presented for purposes other than research (Curran & Blackburn, 2001). There were a lot of errors; missing data; very poor coding practices; lack of standardised spelling; and lack of standardisation in general. For example, based on the address narrative, 26% of records were assigned to the wrong ED, some to neighbouring EDs, but many to non-contiguous EDs (Ní Bhrádaigh & McCarron, 2005). *Contae na Gaillimhe* (County Galway) was spelled in eight different ways, across four different fields.

3.3.1.3 Database Construction and Cleaning Issues

In summary the Core Database includes data from the three state bodies discussed above. Relevant data from other sources are presented throughout the thesis, especially in the Incubation and Cases chapters. The Core Database, in which all narrative data were stored in the Irish language, was thoroughly cleaned and cross-checked most notably with the Companies Registration Office on-line database and official state maps as well as private maps (Robinson, 1990). Thorough analysis of other data sources, including other compiled lists, was conducted to ascertain how representative the Core Database and other data presented are, for the emergence and evolution of entrepreneurship in the Galway Gaeltacht. This whole process is described in great detail in (Appendix 7). The author is sure that the Core Database gives an accurate picture of entrepreneurship patterns in the focal community. Few additional records were located during the cross-check process, which included the consultation of other published directories such as those of Dun & Bradstreet; Kompass; the Registrar of Friendly Societies; and Thom's Directory. Other sources were also checked. For example the Industrial Development Authority's (1967) review of applications for grant aid under the Undeveloped Areas Act of 1952 revealed that for the 15 year period from 1952 to 1967, there were per annum an average of only 49 applications (and 12 'actual or likely' projects) in total from the six full and two part counties covered by the Act. As the poorest most disadvantaged area of the aforementioned Act, it is unlikely that the Galway Gaeltacht featured much in these applications or projects. More convergent validity (Gartner & Shane, 1995) applies to the case studies than to the overall database, but it is felt that the overall findings and conclusions would not change significantly were the handful of extra records gleaned from the various lists included in the database.

3.3.1.4 Database Records

The preceding sections outlined the issues associated with the handling of data. This section describes how data have been defined, categorised and analysed, and the reasons for these decisions. A Record is defined as one single entry in the database,

signifying that that individual or organisation received support (grant-aid or investment) from the state body in question. Those individuals or organisations which received support for a different project (as distinct from a number of different grants/ a series of grants paid over time for the one project) were treated as new records. For example, a boatbuilder who also provided sailing courses was treated as two records. A Start-Up Enterprise is defined as a record for grant aid for one particular activity. Thus an individual/organisation which has two records is defined as two start-up enterprises. This is the way in which Gaeltarra Éireann and Údarás na Gaeltachta defined records. We now turn to the definitions used to measure entrepreneurship.

3.3.2 Measurement of Entrepreneurship

While defining entrepreneurship has its challenges, measuring it can be even more difficult (Curran & Blackburn, 2001; Jobert & Moss, 1990), and given the author's choice of a broad definition of entrepreneurship, and timeframe of over one century, commonly used measures such as VAT registrations may not be suitable. The most commonly used measure of entrepreneurship is business start-ups, but even then differences arise between countries (Forfás, 2004, Ministry of Economic Development, 2005; Observatory of European SMEs, 2002). Other measures include that of the GEM Consortium's (2007) Total Entrepreneurial Activity measured by individual people's intentions, or actions to setting up a new business. Following a thorough review (Appendix 8) of the various definitions possible and the definitions most commonly used, and a review of the empirical data being studied (Curran & Blackburn, 2001; Enterprise and Industry Publications, 2005; Forfás, 2007; GEM Consortium, 2007; Jobert & Moss, 1990; Ministry of Economic Development, 2005; Observatory of European SMEs, 2002, 2007; OECD, 2004; U.S. Small Business Administration, 2007), the author decided on the following definitions.

3.3.2.1 An Enterprise

The definitions of enterprise used in this project are:

- any individual, group of individuals, or registered or limited company which received state grant-aid from Gaeltarra Éireann, Údarás na Gaeltachta, for a new business activity
- any individual or group of individuals which received state grant-aid from the Congested Districts Board or other state bodies specifically responsible for the Gaeltacht up to 1957
- any enterprise established and managed, as a subsidiary or joint venture, by the Congested Districts Board, Gaeltarra Éireann or Údarás na Gaeltachta

These three definitions are required due to the changing circumstances over the 113 year period covered by research.

3.3.2.2 Enterprise Foundings

The definitions for enterprise founding date used in this project are:

- the year a limited company registered with the Companies Registration Office (CRO),
- in the case of enterprises which did not register with the CRO, the year it was first awarded state grant aid for a new business activity
- the year the activity was first listed in a CDB annual report as an independent operation at a particular location.

3.3.2.3 Enterprise Deaths

In this research, death of an enterprise is defined as:

- the year in which it is deleted from the Companies Registration Office register, regardless of whether it is dissolution, liquidation, a bankruptcy or some other form of termination.

The death of enterprises not registered with the CRO was not measured for reasons to be outlined later. No death analysis was conducted on records for which this information was not available, i.e. Individuals (see next section).

3.3.2.4 Enterprise Size

Enterprise size and growth orientation are measured by dividing the Core Database records into two categories – Individual and Company.

- Companies are defined as records which registered with the Companies Registration Office (CRO) or employed at least 2 people full-time at one stage during their lifetime.
- Individuals are defined as all other records.

The employment data were the result of annual surveys by Údarás. The surveys did not have 100% response rates each year, and thus the number of records categorised as Companies, is probably an underrepresentation of the true figure.

3.3.2.5 Enterprise Sector

Each record was categorised by its NACE code, (Nomenclature Générale des Activités économique de la Communautée Européene) as devised and used by the European Union since 1989 and revised in 1991 (see Appendix 13). This system is used by the CSO and Forfás in their analyses (CSO, 1984; CSO, 2005; Forfás, 2004). The NACE coding is not constructed around categories and sectors as might be more commonly debated and analysed by policy makers and researchers (e.g. a sailing course provider is categorised as a leisure service by NACE, but is also part of the marine resources sector in this author's research). Therefore, each Record was also recoded as belonging to the audio-visual, marine or tourism sectors based on the narrative description in the

database, consultation with a few individuals and on the researcher's personal knowledge. Within each of the case-studies, records were also sub-categorised as described in the Cases chapter.

3.3.2.6 Entrepreneurship Capital

Although Audretsch *et al* (2006) consider it impossible to measure the components of entrepreneurship capital, it is possible to initiate the development of suitable measurements and to test their predictive qualities. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to create a new measure, but the issue is debated by reference to, and discussion of, its constituent parts and the institutions which influence those constituent parts. So for example human capital is discussed in the context of the education and training system; social capital is discussed via the family and neighbouring community and the number of institutions or organisations in the area. Cultural capital is discussed in the context of the Irish language and national policy towards it. Psychological capital is discussed in the context of hope, optimism, self-efficacy and attitudes towards innovation.

3.3.3 Measurements over Time

Many of the issues discussed above are compounded by time. Over a long period of time definitions of various measures of interest, such as categories, analyses, presentation of data, accounting standards, listings criteria etc change. For example the CDB foundings were not necessarily formal enterprises in the modern sense. Companies Registration Office information was not available for enterprises which had deregistered more than a few years ago. Census data categories changed a number of times over the 113 time span, and for the earlier time period, data were often collated at province level rather than county level, limiting analysis. The Gaeltacht boundaries changed on a number of occasions. The lack of emphasis on small business start-ups in national policy until the 1990s means that the amount of contemporaneous research and information for the earlier period, is severely reduced. These issues are discussed in more detail in Appendix 7.

3.3.3.1 Spatial Issue: Operational Definition of Gaeltacht

The macro-level spatial definition of the national Gaeltacht as used in this research has been outlined and discussed in the literature review. Spatial analysis of the overall emergence and evolution of entrepreneurship for the period 1957 to 2003 is presented in the Emergence and Take-Off chapters. Two operational definitions of the Galway Gaeltacht were used for two separate periods, delineated in 1956 when the Gaeltacht boundaries were revised (see Literature Review). The primary operational definition is that of the current legal definition, as outlined above in the literature review. The data presented and discussed for the period 1958 to 2003 are within that operational definition.

Figure 12 illustrates the contemporary Galway Gaeltacht[12]. Note the names of the Electoral Divisions (EDs) as they are referred to a number of times in the rest of the thesis.

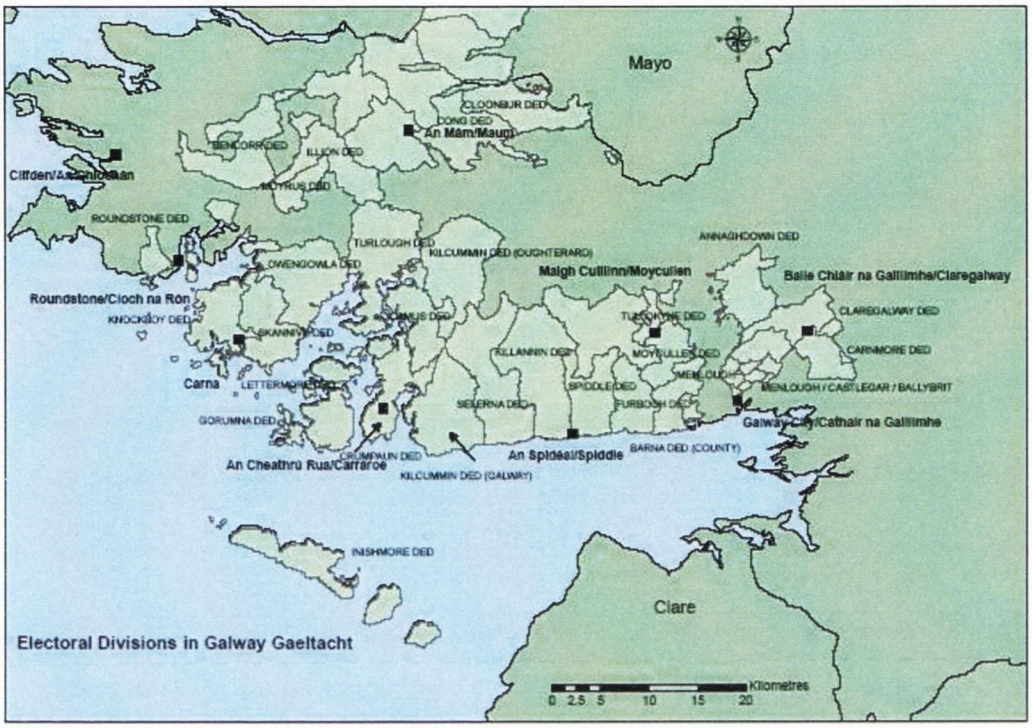

Figure 12: Map of Contemporary County Galway Gaeltacht, marked by ED and Townland.

The data for the period 1891 to 1957 cover the earlier definition of the Gaeltacht from 1926 onwards. This area can be seen on the second map in the literature review. The only data from the Congested Districts period included in this research are those for areas which were subsequently included in the 1926 definition of the Galway Gaeltacht. A visual comparison of the Gaeltacht and CDB maps in the literature review will show a substantial but not full overlap between the CDB areas and the 1926 Gaeltacht.

Data for the three case studies are limited primarily to the current legal Gaeltacht, except where the contrary is highlighted. The majority of the data gathered for the research (database, historical context, commissioned and non-commissioned reports, interviews etc) relate to the current legal Gaeltacht, and within that to the areas where the language is strongest at present. No research was conducted on enterprises in the Galway

12 This and the subsequent map were produced as part of an interdisciplinary study, and originally appeared in Ní Bhrádaigh & McCarron, 2005.

suburbs, or the Gaeltacht area to the east of the city, or the mountainy area at the north of the Gaeltacht boundary, stretching into the Twelve Bens, an area with a miniscule population remaining. The research concentrates on the red and orange EDs on the map in Figure 13 as shown below. These are the areas where at least 80% of the population was recorded as being fluent in Irish in the 2002 Census. A visual comparison of these red and orange EDs with the CDB map in Figure 9 in the Literature Review shows a near 100% overlap. Note that the black lines denote Gaeltacht boundaries and the grey lines the ED boundaries, illustrating the part-EDs. For example Roundstone village is not in the Gaeltacht but other parts of that ED are.

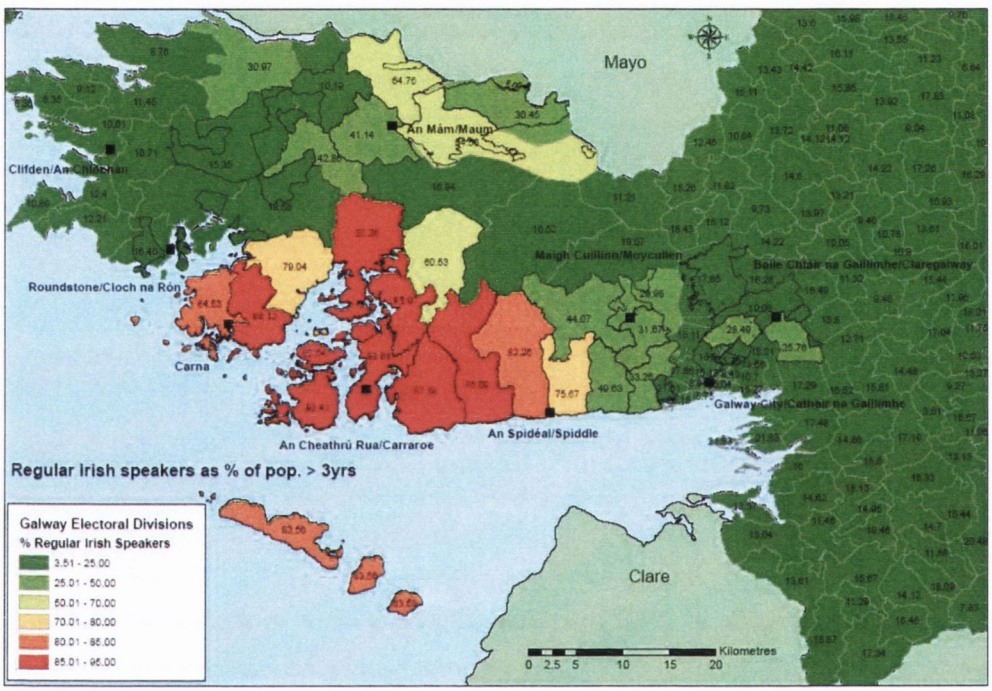

Figure 13: Map of Galway Gaeltacht EDs – Regular Irish Speakers aged 3+ years, as percentage of persons aged 3+ years, Census of Population, 2002.

3.3.4 Availability of Data

One of the operationalisation challenges was the contrasts between the micro, meso and macro levels at which to conduct analysis. The chosen unit of analysis and level of aggregation affects the interpretation and conclusions of research on any dataset. As the Gaeltacht is scattered across seven different counties in 24 non-contiguous areas from Donegal in the northwest to Waterford in the southeast, it was felt a meso-level analysis of one Gaeltacht county would be more fruitful. An issue encountered was the availability of data at national and County Galway Gaeltacht level. This issue of availability of data and levels of analysis / aggregation is discussed here.

3.3.4.1 Level of Aggregation; Unit of Analysis and National Statistics

The unit or level of analysis and how data are aggregated can have strong effect on the how data are presented and interpreted, especially where say two EDs are of different size or the overall data for a group of EDs mask the individual ED figures.

This also leads to the dangers of misinterpretation that a relationship viewed at aggregate level exists at a more micro level. So county level correlation between Irish speaking and self-employment rates do not necessarily translate to similar correlation at ED or townland level. As many parts of the Gaeltacht are defined at part-ED level, meaningful data analysis is limited. Also many data are not published at a sufficiently low or disaggregate level. For example some part-EDs are larger than some of the smallest EDs for which the CSO publishes detailed information. Census of Production and of Distribution data were often published only at county or province level, disallowing detailed comparisons. These issues are discussed in full in Appendix 7.

3.3.4.2 Summary of Data Availability

The above are some of the data availability issues specifically affecting analysis of the Galway Gaeltacht. In summary, as the Gaeltacht is essentially defined at townland level, a level for which no data are collated or published, no meaningful analysis of state statistics (other than Irish language issues) relating to Gaeltacht areas anywhere in the country is possible without a change of policy and practice by the Central Statistics Office and other data collation bodies. These spatial unit of analysis issues are discussed in detail in Appendix 7 and in Ní Bhrádaigh & McCarron (2005).

3.3.5 Summary of Operationalisation

Galileo Galilei said that in true science one should 'measure what is measurable and make measurable what is not' (Finocchiaro, 1989) and in this research, an effort has been made to do so in terms of the database of foundings. The quantitative data are explained through the use of qualitative data. Miles and Huberman (1994) have 13 tactics for generating meaning in qualitative data. There is no one measurable objective truth in the rich tapestry of data collated in this research. There are multiple meanings and interpretations of the data. The quality of these interpretations depends not only on the operationalisation and measurement of data, but also on addressing quality issues at every step of the research process. These quality issues are now discussed.

3.4 Quality of Research Measures

Various writers (e.g. Merrick, 1998; Singleton et al, 1993; Welman & Kruger, 2001) discuss the variety of measures suitable for measuring the quality of different types of research. As this research was a mix of quantitative and qualitative research methods a number of measures was used to ensure high levels of quality, namely reliability,

replication, trustworthiness, reflexivity, representation, and validity (Merrick, 1998; Welsch & Liao, 2003). These are now briefly discussed.

3.4.1 Limitations and Delimitations

The empirical data analysed are for state-supported enterprises in a region afforded particular state policy for over a century. The dataset also includes some businesses which might not have received state funding in different contexts, such as shops, garages, and professional services. It includes state owned, privately owned and community owned enterprises and thus gives a wide view of entrepreneurial behaviour in the area. The broadbrush macro level research presenting data over a long period of time, using a broad definition of entrepreneurship, is complemented by the detail of the three Communities of Populations. The qualitative analysis was largely confined to the areas in which the Irish language is the majority community language. The spatial analysis of part-EDs was limited by the availability of state census data, but these part-EDs are not areas in which the language is strong, and thus this did not unduly affect the analysis. The limitation of using key informants, who may be explicitly or implicitly biased was addressed through triangulation methods, by checking their opinions and accounts in published sources or with other informants (Kumar *et al*, 1993). There was a very high level of convergence in the accounts and opinions (see Appendix 5).

3.4.1.1 Reliability and Replication

Reliability can be measured by ensuring that errors and biases have been minimised, and by using a wide variety of high quality sources of data, as has been done in this research. Empirical objective data were used and analysed using definitions and categorisations common in the field of entrepreneurship. A case study protocol was established whereby from an early stage, a newspaper cuttings file was kept to ascertain main trends and issues; published reports were read and public meetings attended; interviews were conducted with various representatives in each case. The author also acts as a mentor with one organisation, has ongoing discussions with another, and her students conducted some minor research for a variety of case study enterprises.

Reliability can also be measured in terms of replicating the research in other similar regions or communities. A full account has been given of how the database was assembled and analysed; of the published and archived sources; and of the interviewees and their positions and backgrounds. Another researcher could thus conduct similar research on a community such as another Congested District which did not subsequently form part of the Gaeltacht (Co Leitrim); or a Congested District removed from the Gaeltacht in the 1956 review (Co Clare). An international comparison would be the

Western Isles and West Highlands of Scotland where 70% or more of the population speaks Scots Gaelic.

3.4.1.2 Trustworthiness, Reflexivity and Representation

The author has ensured the trustworthiness of the research by disclosing her own orientation, by engaging for an intensive and prolonged period with the material and by discussing the findings and processes with others. She has reflected and continuously examined her own assumptions and biases and those of the chosen methodology. The findings have been presented in a number of ways, through published quantitative data analysed through published qualitative data and the results of a large number of comprehensive interviews with a wide range of informants. She has let the members of the community speak, in their own terms, to complement the official published data.

3.4.2 Fallacies

A number of fallacies were considered and addressed (Singleton *et al*, 1993), including: counter transference or 'going native' where the researcher loses perspective and its converse the élite fallacy of only listening to the official evidence (Kvale, 1996); and the ecological fallacy of making assumptions about apparent relationships at aggregate level also existing at individual level (Thurstain-Goodwin, 2003). Paying attention to the unusual and extreme, rather than examining the norm and the average is considered the exotic fallacy, but very often the objective of case study research is to address the extreme, in this case the Galway Gaeltacht, in order to find particular illuminations (Yin, 2003).

3.4.3 Ethical Issues

All the quantitative data presented are available publicly to any researcher. The database provided by Forfás, with Údarás's permission, could have been assembled from the Údarás annual reports. The only additional information not publicly available was the employment records. However, all data presented are in aggregate form, so that no individual organisation can be directly identified. Owners or representatives of those organisations named were interviewed and knew the objectives and plans of the researcher. In cases where criticism of another organisation was made, this is presented anonymously. No criticism of any individual is presented. Interviews followed the procedures outlined in Appendix 6.

3.4.4 Validity

'Validity is the extent to which the research findings accurately represent what is really happening in the situation. (Hussey & Hussey, 1997, 57). The construct validity of the research is assured by the use of the type of data and measurements most often used nationally and internationally to measure entrepreneurship, combined with case studies to

test the validity of the quantitative data. A convergence of evidence emerged out of the triangulation of evidence through interviews and published data (Yin, 2003). This ensured internal validity in terms of the causal relationships. External validity is ensured by the research being replicable.

3.5 **Conclusion**

This chapter has outlined the chosen methodology and methods, and the rationale and limitations of these choices. How the research question was operationalised was also discussed. Quality measures and ethical issues were also discussed. The methodological approach taken makes a contribution to the field of multi-disciplinary, multi-level longitudinal entrepreneurship research on a peripheral minority community. By being able to access original documents in the Irish language and to engage fully with the community in its first language the author has brought a new dimension of analysis into the issue of Gaeltacht development and new empirical evidence into the canon of entrepreneurship research.

4 Incubation

4.1 Introduction

This chapter uses the conceptual framework on the Emergence and Evolution of Entrepreneurship as discussed in the literature review. It outlines the entrepreneurship landscape that existed in what was to subsequently become the Galway Gaeltacht, at the starting point of 1891 when the Congested Districts Board was established to address the poverty and disadvantage which existed mainly in the western half of the country. It describes the main institutions of that time, and the near absence of any form of meaningful entrepreneurship capital. This situation led to a dearth of pioneers or early fledglings. The first main section covers the period from 1891 to the mid 1920s, and includes the presentation of qualitative and quantitative data. The middle section covers the period from 1926 when the Gaeltacht Commission delivered its assessment and recommendations to the new Free State government, up to 1950, using the same conceptual framework. The next section covers the period from 1950 to the mid 1960s when entrepreneurship began to emerge, as is discussed in the subsequent chapter on Emergence and Take-Off. Each of the three sections includes the presentation of qualitative and quantitative data for the region in question. Counterpart national data are also presented at times, in order to provide a context within which to interpret the data for the Galway Gaeltacht. The final section is a summary of all three periods and a brief discussion of why so little entrepreneurial activity was evident for the period of over 70 years from the 1890s to the 1960s. The issues are discussed more fully in Chapters Six and Seven.

4.2 LATE 19th TO EARLY 20th CENTURY

4.2.1 Environmental Conditions

4.2.1.1 Setting the Scene

In the latter half of the 18th century, Ireland was recovering from the Great Famine, and the Land League had embarked on the Land Wars of 1879 to 1882 in order to secure land ownership for Irish people. The country was part of the British empire and ruled from London. People lived mainly in rural areas, worked in agriculture, as large farmers, smallholders or as landless labourers. The population was primarily Catholic, apart from a Protestant majority mainly in the north eastern region. Poverty and a low standard of living was the norm for many, especially in the western regions. Organised emigration was seen as one of the primary solutions to poverty and to overpopulation of poor areas (Micks, 1925). Formal education was the preserve of the middle and upper classes, with

most education provided by the church. School attendance up to the age of 12 years was not obligatory until 1926.

By the 1890s a number of new social, political and cultural organisations were beginning to emerge and a cultural revival, *An tAthbheochan* (The Revival), was underway through a number of new national voluntary organisations. In 1891, the Government established the Congested Districts Board, largely in response to civil unrest, in order to redistribute land owned up to then mainly by absentee British landlords, and to develop the fishing industry and some rural industries in the areas deemed poorest and most overpopulated. The Government also increased the level of democracy by establishing local government county councils in 1898. With the lack of true parliamentary success in achieving self-government and independence, many turned their attentions to *de-facto* self-government through the various self-help organisations described later. Realising that they had for too long viewed London and England as the cultural centre, many of the élite became involved in the cultural revival as a means of rebuilding a nation, which had lost its spirit. Thus energies were diverted into social organisation and cultural revival through which much was achieved. Many of the intellectual leaders of this revival were also involved in the subsequent political movements of the early 20th century. The 1916 Easter Rising and the Sinn Féin victory in the general election of 1918 culminated in the establishment of Dáil Éireann in 1919. The War of Independence lasted from 1919 to the signing of a Truce in July 1921. Following negotiations, a Treaty was signed in December 1921 which led to the establishment of the Irish Free State of 26 Counties and the Northern Ireland State of Six Counties. Serious differences of opinion on the terms of the Treaty led to the Civil War in the Irish Free State, which lasted from 1922 to April 1923.

The country was full of contrasts. At the dawn of the 20th century, the educated, wealthy and largely Protestant cultural élite dined at a Daily Express and Irish Literary Theatre event in the Shelbourne Hotel in Dublin on the12th of May, while there were no wheeled vehicles on Inis Meáin, the middle of the Aran Islands, with a population of several hundred[13]. Industrialisation, large scale employment and trade unionism were largely urban phenomena, the latter most prominent among trades-people and dockworkers. In the congested districts Irish was the primary language of much of the population and there were large areas where over one quarter of the population was illiterate Irish monolingual.

The Irish economy was performing well in general, albeit not at the same rate of growth as Britain's. Bank deposits had increased more than 4 fold between the 1880s and the

13 The three Aran islands in total had a population of 2,907 in 1891.

1910s, and post office deposits in congested districts had even increased 9 fold. In 1896, the Recess Committee, made up of a cross-party selection of Ministers of Parliament reviewed Irish economic affairs and conducted extensive research in Denmark, France, Prussia and Switzerland. Its report concluded that Irish agriculture had been neglected by successive governments (Breathnach, 2005. 143).

4.2.1.2 Institutions

The following section is an account of the various formal and informal institutions, which existed at the time. This is followed by an account of the entrepreneurship capital, which existed at the time. This section starts with a discussion of the institutions most immediate to rural people's daily socio-economic lives, namely the family and local community, and the local merchant or shopkeeper, known colloquially and in literature as the gombeen man. The section then describes and discusses some national institutions which emerged in the late 19th century and which had direct and indirect effect on the rural residents of the Galway Gaeltacht, primarily the Congested Districts Board, and also a number of the socio-cultural voluntary sector organisations involved in the cultural revival.

4.2.1.2.1 Family and Community

The Irish family was a traditional largely patriarchal family. Sons and daughters knew from their place in the family, particularly in the order of birth, whether they could expect to inherit the farm, be given a dowry for marriage, emigrate or remain at home unmarried to care for their elderly parents. There was a deep ancestral bond with the land despite its lack of productivity in many cases. The family unit worked co-operatively on a wide range of different farming and husbandry activities. Most food was produced at home; there was no national electricity or piped water. In the western counties farms had been subdivided repeatedly over the generations with the result that they were too small to be economic or efficient. In the poorest congested districts (mainly in Connemara and Mayo) the CDB reported that the very poor families still shared their 'hovels' with their cattle, pigs and poultry, and stored manure outside the cabin. An improvement in health and surroundings was a pre-requisite for self-respect and a desire and capacity for further improvement (CDB 19th AR, 1911). In rural areas, outside the family there was a tightknit social structure within the townland, the village and the parish. Telecommunications consisted of the postal and telegram services. The leaders of the community were the parish priest and the schoolmaster and then usually the local merchant or shopkeeper.

4.2.1.2.2 The Gombeen Man

The gombeen man was the local shopkeeper / trader who sold general foodstuffs and supplies; bought farm produce from smallholders, often on a non-cash barter basis; and provided a wide range of additional services such as a public house and undertaking.

The CDB recognised the 'commanding position' held by the gombeen man in the 'tragedy of congestion' and his offer of 'demoralising' 'long credit and tied trade' (CDB, 17th AR, 1908). In poorer places, most of the community operated from a position of permanent debt. Due to lack of transport the local community did not have access to alternative markets, and the illiterate could not keep account of their personal accounts. The term Gombeen comes from the Irish word gaimbín, which means (loan) interest, usually exorbitant. Not all traders / shopkeepers lived up to this negative image; during bad times many kept local economies going and families fed by providing long credit (Ó Conghaile, 1988, 142). Nevertheless the term 'gombeen man' is still well-known and used in Ireland, in the derogatory sense. Unsurprisingly, the gombeen man opposed the development of the co-operatives which gave his suppliers and creditors a stronger purchasing and selling position, mostly bypassing him, and eroding his strong yet inefficient position as Cantillon's fulcrum of trade and distribution. The CDB and Irish Agricultural Organisation Society (discussed later in chapter) were both instrumental in reducing the power of the gombeen man, the former by paying its home industries employees in cash, the latter through its co-operatives and agricultural banks.

4.2.1.2.3 Congested Districts Board (CDB)

Established in 1891, the CDB was part of the British government's alleged strategy of 'killing Home Rule with kindness', an effort to remove poverty as a political lever for constitutional change[14]. Giving land and money to small landholders might divert their attentions away from political agitation. Its main objective was the redistribution of land, along with the development of fisheries and rural industries (mainly female home industries), but from an early stage it concentrated on land redistribution, with the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society (IAOS), parish committees and the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (DATI) gradually taking more of a leading role with fisheries and rural industries (Breathnach, 2005, 145). Board members worked on a voluntary basis and the organisation was independent of Dublin Castle.

The Congested Districts were the poorest areas in Ireland in the 1890s. An area was considered 'congested' on the basis of its population being too large given the valuation of the land (see the map in Figure 9 in the Literature Review). Such was the extent of persistent poverty and destitution in Connemara, where the land was exceptionally poor, that famines were still being reported over 30 years later (Connacht Tribune, 7 February 1925). There is a significant overlap between the congested districts and what was to subsequently become the Gaeltacht, especially the *Fíor-Ghaeltacht* as discussed in the

14 The Congested Districts Board for Scotland was also established around the same time.

Research Methodology chapter. Such were the problems in the Congested Districts that they attracted many visits by politicians, and concerned philanthropists and social leaders, especially to the poorest areas, in South Connemara, Co Galway and Erris, Co Mayo. Chief Secretary Arthur Balfour visited Connemara, Mayo and Donegal in 1890 to see the poverty for himself; prominent members of the Gaelic League, such as Douglas Hyde visited the Irish-speaking areas. Famine relief was provided by the Manchester Famine Relief Fund.

In addition to its funding for land redistribution and building works (roads, bridges etc) the CDB administered funds for the development of industries. One of the first CDB initiatives which allowed for decentralised localised decision making was the Parish Committees, the first of which was established in 1897 in Swinford Co. Mayo. The Parish Committees had a small budget to award prizes, grants and low-interest loans to parishioners. The underlying aim was home improvements, initially for example for moving the manure heap from outside the front door; general household cleanliness; and later for building a small dairy or an outhouse for stock. This scheme proved very successful in its primary aim of improved hygiene and was discontinued after 1908.

The CDB saw itself as charged with providing longterm infrastructural development aid, rather than short term crisis relief (O'Neill, 1996). Although it operated for 23 years, the CDB did not seem to learn how to deal effectively with some of the problems it faced. There are many criticisms of its operations, for example in the evidence provided to the Royal Commission from 1906 to 1909; in Synge's Manchester Guardian articles (1912/1966), and more recently in the analyses by Breathnach (2005) and Matthews (2003). Among the criticisms are the use of unsuitable foreign breeding horse and cattle stock; and the introduction of new industries such as bee-keeping at the expense of local indigenous industries such as kelp-making. The attempt at forestry and other land and animal husbandry in Carna was also a failure. The cottage industries established by the CDB were viewed as providing young girls with a skill and accompanied earnings to earn their passages to America. The old man talking to Synge referred to them as schools, and the CDB employed 'instructresses' to manage them, yet the CDB itself referred to these centres as 'industries' (Synge, 1905/1966, 294).

The CDB's particular criticism of the South Connemara people (CDB, 1919, 27th AR) is countered by Synge who observed their particular 'melancholy', 'shame and dejection' and 'hang-dog' expressions as elderly men and young women worked on the relief road works for as little as a shilling a day, with a ganger 'swaggering' among them. The CDB usually employed the strongest family member, diverting him from his fishing or farming

work which may ultimately have been more valuable to him. There were anecdotes of more managers than workers on particular work projects. Synge compared the relief work to the hard work they conducted communally and contentedly in kelp making (Synge, 1905 / 1966, 296; 307; 308)

However, the work of the CDB and its partner development organisations, DATI and IAOS was not all bad. Between them, they mobilised volunteer support; collected statistical data; improved outputs; accelerated diffusion of information on new techniques; improved education; and protected farmers from unscrupulous traders (Ó Gráda, 1988, 147). The CDB was abolished by the new Free State government in 1923. The Department of Industry and Commerce did not see the industrial work of the CDB as part of its remit. The development of rural and fisheries industries were to remain the responsibility of the DATI and subsequent departments such as the Department of Fisheries. It was the beginning of a long association of the congested districts with rural social development rather than industrial economic development.

Government policies often worked against the development of an entrepreneurial industrial culture. Legislation prevented the CDB itself from owning or managing any industrial enterprise. Thus it could not introduce or develop any substantial enterprises itself. Similarly the DATI could support small home industries but not the larger enterprises. The CDB was seen as a centralised colonial paternalistic organisation which developed a culture of dependency and dejection rather than an entrepreneurial spirit. It did not engage sufficiently with the local people themselves and their talents and experience. The backdrop to the CDB's efforts to address the economic problems of the poorer areas was the socio-cultural ferment which emerged and evolved at the same time.

4.2.1.2.4 Socio-cultural revolution and entrepreneurship

The lack of parliamentary success in obtaining legal and political independence from the British empire most likely provided a stimulus for the cultural revival which began to emerge in the early 1890s. A political or military revolution was not gaining momentum, perhaps due to cultural inertia. A cultural renaissance was perhaps required first. A pivotal point was the lecture Dr Douglas Hyde, later to become President of Ireland, gave at the inaugural meeting of the National Literary Society. He delivered a lecture entitled *The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland* on 25 November 1892 (Hyde, 1892). His thesis was that the Irish had reached a stage of accepting Anglicisation without question, becoming consumers of modernisation rather than producers of innovation. A year after Hyde's seminal lecture, two new Gaelic organisations were established – the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) and the Gaelic League (Conradh na Gaeilge), both still in

existence. Another year later, in 1894, the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society and the Irish Trade Union Congress were established. Within a few years the first three organisations had numerous branches countrywide, signalling a ferment of social organisation which hitherto had not existed.

All these self-help organisations centred around the Dublin-based educated, middle class literary intelligentia with much overlap between the various organisations. Matthews (2003) provides a convincing argument about the relationship between culture and social, economic and political developments. He views the Gaelic League, the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, Sinn Féin and the Abbey Theatre as examples of co-operation and self-help movements. He considers these organisations as representing an alternative modernity, using tradition as a stimulus to innovation and change. These organisations' leaders provided material as well as cultural gains.

Presumably inspired by the aforementioned organisations, a number of other organisations also emerged. In 1900 Cumann na nGaedheal ('The Association of Gaels') was established essentially as a federation of self-help movements but also involved in its own activities. The founding members were all under the age of 30 and the organisation's aims included support for Irish industries as well as the socio-cultural objectives of teaching Irish history, music, literature and games. The Irish Industrial Development Association established in 1906 operated up to 1967. In 1901 Inghinidhe na hÉireann ('the daughters of Ireland') was established to encourage the study of Irish literature and to support Irish manufacture. Lady Dudley's Irish Central Bureau for the Employment of Women was established in 1903 but disbanded in 1906, having found employment for only 9% of the women applying (Bourke, 1993). The Society of United Irishwomen was established in 1910 and still exists today as the Irish Countrywomen's Association. Most of these organisations operated throughout the country, including County Galway. The following subsections are a discussion of the three organisations considered most relevant to the research question.

4.2.1.2.5 Irish Agricultural Organisation Society (IAOS)

The co-operative movement was already well established elsewhere in European countries such as Denmark, England and Poland (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2004). Sir Horace Plunkett had many international role models when established the IAOS in 1894. A Dublin Protestant unionist Member of Parliament, Plunkett was a member of the Congested Districts Board in its early years but expressed his dissatisfaction with its paternalistic ethos and became increasingly convinced that self-help was the answer for many of the problems of rural Ireland. While the land reform of the 1880s and 1890s had

improved his lot, the average Irish farmer still did not have the expertise, education and machinery, or access to credit and to markets which could allow him to develop and make material gains. By forming co-operative societies farmers could bypass the powerful gombeen man. The concept of rural co-operation was not totally alien to rural Irish communities. The *meitheal* system of mutual aid and effort in harvesting and other farming work was still quite strong and would last right into the middle of the 20th century. The difference in this case was that the *meitheal* was a barter non-cash type of organisation based on seasonal work such as harvesting and haymaking. The co-operative organisations were formal organisations with constitutions; membership based on subscriptions; and longer term horizons. The IAOS developed very quickly, and by 1914, the 20th anniversary of its establishment there were 1,023 IAOS branches countrywide. Poultry and creamery co-ops were also developed, but really only benefitted the better-off who could afford the investment.

Plunkett strongly believed that economic progress would have to be rooted in cultural self-confidence. He wanted to develop co-operation between 'the practical men and the dreamers of Ireland' (quoted in Mathews, 2003, 155) and supported the Gaelic League. Co-operation extended beyond co-operative purchasing and selling of agricultural goods, to Gaelic pastimes such as sport and music. Plunkett was instrumental in getting the Government to establish in 1899 the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in Ireland, ensuring decentralised management of Irish agriculture. Plunkett's vision was of a better material, cultural and social life in rural Ireland and the financial barriers to material improvement needed to be addressed.

4.2.1.2.6 Agricultural 'Raiffeisen' Banks

In its first year of existence, the IAOS established small Agricultural Co-operative Banks throughout the country, modelled on the successful Raiffeisen Banks in Germany and Austria, which addressed similar rural conditions (Guinnane, 1994). Starting in 1897, the CDB provided small financial assistance for branches in the congested districts, where there was a higher penetration rate than the rest of the country. There were high hopes that these banks would help the very poor to shift away from the demoralising credit system offered by the gombeen man. The CDB reported the 'abundant evidence' of the banks' 'social and educational value [being] far in excess of the immediate economic gain which ha[d] invariably followed their formation (CDB 10th AR, 1901; 11th AR, 1902). By 1903 there were 63 banks in the congested areas and 100 in non-congested areas. Unfortunately, within 2 -3 decades this social movement failed, the reasons of which are discussed later in this chapter.

4.2.1.2.7 United Irishwomen (UI)

The Society of United Irishwomen supported the self-determination and empowerment of women, through its work in agriculture and industries, domestic economy and social and intellectual development. UI was closely associated with the IAOS and motivated by the "better living' part of its motto. The first UI branch was established in 1910 in what was later to be part of the Donegal Fíor-Ghaeltacht – An Chlochán Liath (Dungloe), with two instrustresses employed to teach household economy, home dairying and cottage gardening (Heverin, 2000). Within one year there were 17 branches countrywide. In the early 1910s, its founder Anita Lett visited Ceantar na nOileán, mentioning the need for Irish-speaking instructresses. She was neither the first nor the last to visit this chronically disadvantaged area. A Miss Mangan worked as an instructress in Ceantar na nOileán and on the Aran Islands, funded by the CDB. Efforts to establish a poultry society were abandoned as it was felt that people in the area first needed to be better educated in the principles of co-operative work (Heverin, 2000). UI made efforts to better understand the people they were assisting, for example by avoiding wearing the 'elaborate fashions' of the day. The UI nursing scheme met with success, the nurses' homes also acting as 'demonstration' houses showing domestic improvements. The fact that the organisation's Organising Secretary Maud S. Slattery made a written submission to the 1926 Gaeltacht Commission (Government of Ireland, 1926, Appendix 1), indicates the organisation understood the relevance of the language to the UI's own objectives and the development of congested districts.

4.2.1.2.8 Conradh na Gaeilge (The Gaelic League)

The Gaelic League was not the first Irish language organisation to emerge in the 19th century, but it was the first that was not dedicated to the scholarly antiquarian preservation of the language. It was a populist movement which after a slow start, had over 50,000 members in almost 600 branches within 11 years of its foundation. Its efforts were similar to those of the IAOS, in that it promoted social and cultural events at branch level, coupled with Irish language classes and the publication of modern Irish language literature. It organised trips to the Gaeltacht, so that its members could immerse themselves in the language and encourage the native speakers to value, use and be proud of their language. It was a Dublin based organisation that did not originate in the Gaeltacht communities. The League managed to get the Irish language established in the views of Irish citizens as the national language and a badge of Irish identity despite the fact that most cities, the eastern seaboard and much of Leinster had been majority English speaking since the early 1800s.

The League was central to the rebirth of a sense of nationhood and of a separate Irish culture, promoted through the language, the rejuvenation of Feiseanna (arts competitions), and of traditional music and dancing, and Gaelic sports. In 1897 it held the first Oireachtas na Gaeilge, an annual Feis (cultural festival) still in existence and attended by over 4,000 visitors in 2006. The League also endeavoured to develop industry. It saw the revival of the language as the first step in recovering the national identity, which in turn would provide the foundation for economic and industrial development. It organised the first great industrial St Patrick's Day parades. It was innovative and modern in many other ways, for example in terms of gender equality and education – often with both sexes attending classes side by side. Similar to other workers' education movements such as the Antigonish movement in Nova Scotia, Canada (Lotz & Welton, 1997), the League's education programme was quite successful. It emphasised language and culture, rather than subjects which might have contributed more directly to the League's own (albeit secondary) aims of industrial development. This academic / literary emphasis, at the expense of scientific and industrial development, was to continue into the Free State's education system, right up to the 1960s.

The League was another outsider organisation full of romantic enthusiasm for the Gaeltacht, and introducing its innovations into those communities and restoring their pride in their own language (Ó Tórna, 2005; Synge, 1966). This romantic enthusiasm was counterbalanced by the League's practical efforts to promote Irish manufacture. Their promotional visit to the United States of America in 1912 apparently provided a short-lived mini-boom in the home industries. The League did not view modernity and tradition as opposing opposites. Rather, being rooted in one's culture and identity was seen as a pre-requisite for modernism and innovation (Kiberd, 1995).

4.2.1.3 Summary on Environmental Conditions

The institutions discussed above are considered to have had direct immediate or more long-term and perhaps indirect influences on the development of an entrepreneurial culture and entrepreneurship capital in the Galway Gaeltacht.
Using Bruno and Tyebjee's (1982) framework (see literature review) on environmental variables, which influence the creation of new enterprises, the sheer lack of conducive conditions is evident. Practically all factors were absent.

4.2.2 Entrepreneurship Capital

At the end of the 19th century, many, if not most, of the entrepreneurship capital factors were practically non-existent in the Galway Gaeltacht. The following is a discussion of those factors, and of the attitudes towards innovation and entrepreneurship. It sets the

scene for the subsequent section in which enterprise structure, the corporate demography and the organisational evolution are discussed.

4.2.2.1 Human Capital – Education and Work Experience

In poor areas, there was a huge opportunity cost of sending children to school. The CDB reported complaints that the home-work (knitting etc) provided by its home industries classes diminished school attendance as the younger siblings of the attendees would be kept from school to do their work (CDB 16th AR). Table 3: Illiteracy levels in Census of Population 1901. Table 3 shows the 1901 Census levels of illiteracy, information the CDB drew attention to in its 12th Annual Report in 1903 to highlight the relationship between lack of education and low land valuation. In a population of 8,376 in six EDs in Oughterard Union, subsequently in the Galway Gaeltacht, the average rate of illiteracy was 60% (CDB, AR, 1903).

Average Percentage of Illiterates over Five Years Old in Congested

District Electoral Divisions under the various Valuations Classified below.

		Percentage in Congested Portion of the County by Valuation				
County	Average % of Illiterates in the Whole County	under 10s per head	10s and under 15ts	15s and under 20	20 & under 30s	30s & over
Donegal	25.1	45.2	36.6	32.1	26.7	21.6
Sligo	16			28	22	20.6
Leitrim	12			25.7	14.6	12.5
Roscommon	13			22.1	16.1	12.8
Mayo	26.1	45.3	30.8	25.8	26.6	21.8
Galway	25.4	62.3	48.3	34.8	29	26.6
Cork	14.7			19	17.5	17.5
Kerry	17.1		24.7	27.6	21.8	16.2

Notes:
Land valuation was the basis on which the Congested Districts were designated as such.
Most of the Union of Oughterard was subsequently included in 1926 Fíor-Ghaeltacht.
The report noted averages of 50% in many of the poorest EDs in Counties Donegal, Mayo & Galway.
Source:
Congested Districts Board (1903) 12th Annual Report, p.44, based on Census of Population, 1901.

Table 3: Illiteracy levels in Census of Population 1901

Daly's analysis of every fifth census enumeration form in the 1901 census, for three DEDs (Kilcummin, Kilannin & Selerna) in the subsequent Galway Gaeltacht revealed that 42% of the population was Irish monolingual illiterate (Daly, 1990). A further 15% were bilingual illiterate, giving a total illiteracy rate of 57%. The rates on the Aran Islands were lower at 23% and 16% respectively, totalling 39% for illiteracy. By the 1911 Census the figure for

total Irish monolinguals ranged from 12% in the Aran Islands to 47% in Kilcummin DED (figures for illiteracy were not presented). The 1926 Census shows that 23.6% of Oughterard Rural District (including the EDs of Gorumna and Lettermore) population was Irish mono-lingual.

Home industries is the collective term applied to the work women engaged in at home, next to their household domestic duties. Crochet, curtain making, embroidery, knitting and lace-making were promoted heavily around the country, and all the various state and voluntary organisations were involved in establishing training workshops and small scale production facilities. Once the girls and women had received the necessary training, and once their houses were deemed sufficiently clean, they could work at home. Domestic training courses were also provided for girls and women. Eventually this very popular training was mainstreamed into the education system. Irish speaking domestic servants could choose organised emigration or take employment with Irish speaking families in the rest of the country, a practice which lasted until the 1940s.

The various reformers saw the home industries as an ideal way of preserving the idealised image of Irish rural communities and they never flourished properly. The industry was seen as providing supplemental work for housewives and young girls. This was especially true in households were the male members were engaged in seasonal migrant work elsewhere in the country or over in Scotland and England. The younger workers saw the 18-month training course and subsequent work as a means to gain a marketable skill and an income to save the 'passage' to emigration to America or Britain. It was reported that half the lace class in Carna emigrated in one year (Bourke, 1993). The standard role model for any young girl was as much the emigrant girl as the girl who stayed at home and continued her lace-making and involvement in the household's farmwork.

Men were primarily engaged in farm work on their own farms, and in coastal areas in kelp-making and fishing, either in their own individual small boats, or on larger fishing boats, either on single or shared ownership basis. Many men also were employed as *giollaí* (gillies) to sporting fishermen on the large estates. There was no proper fishing industry on the west coast and it had to be developed from scratch. Fishing was seasonal work full of hardship, uncertainty and disappointment due to bad weather and limited access to markets. Kelp-making was an industry which was well developed on the west coast. Seaweed was gathered from the inshore areas; and dried and burned to form kelp, a white powder substance, used for its fertilising properties and its iodine. Gathering seaweed was a tough wet job, but with a potentially attractive income, but again

dependent on the whims of buyers for the prices paid. Similar to the women, the fishermen saw fishing as one of a portfolio of income generating activities, and were reluctant to engage in deep sea fishing for which they would need to be away from home for a number of weeks at a time. Competition from Scottish, English, French, and Spanish boats was strong. For the boys and men, boatbuilding projects were sometimes established in conjunction with industrial schools, which were primarily operated by religious orders. Netmending courses were attended by up to 80 young boys and girls in the Aran Islands in the early 1900s (CDB, 13th AR). Similar to the women, many men emigrated after the training.

The type of work experience and level of education affected the success of the various co-operatives. While the IAOS concentrated on agricultural co-operatives, in 1901, seven years after its establishment the home industries co-operatives had 2,500 female members. However, some of the co-operatives had inherent weaknesses – for example in many cases there were too many workers on the committee, and insufficient leadership. This problem was more prevalent in the female home industry co-ops than in the male agricultural co-ops. The low levels of human capital hampered the efforts to build up social capital.

During the CDB era, training in home industry skills was given on a dispersed localised basis, with no evidence of particular training for the trainers. In Austria at the same time, much training took place in special trade-schools, with Master courses taking place in Vienna for those who were to train others in their own localities. The CDB was repeatedly accused (Royal Commission, 1910) of overlooking skilled local natives in favour of foreigners or people from other areas of the country when employing instructors. Indeed DATI's own rules prevented instructors from working in their own counties.

4.2.2.2 Social and Cultural Capital

Other than the traditional institutions of the family and parish, there were very few other organisations in the Galway Gaeltacht and those which did existed found it difficult to firmly establish themselves. For example the rural reform organisation, the United Irishwomen (established in 1910) appears not to have had any significant level of organisation in Galway (let alone the more disadvantaged Gaeltacht area) in the pre-war years (Clancy, 1996). The women's suffrage movement was also late in developing in this county, developing first in the city and eventually elsewhere in the county. The county in general seems to have been late in developing various kinds of social organisation. Gerschenkron (1966) proposes that craft guilds instilled some of the pre-requisites of entrepreneurship and innovation in their members, namely pride in good workmanship,

honesty in business dealings, and co-operation. Without such a network in County Galway, it would have been difficult to transfer the role model of the craft woodwork of the Austrian Alps to Ireland, as presented at the Cork International Exhibition in 1902 (see below).

After a period of being regarded by the ruling class as a peasant patois, the Irish language was regaining its high status among the socio-cultural entrepreneurs discussed in the previous section. However, little of this increased status is evident in the CDB's annual reports. The far-reaching implications of the language difference between the officials and the local community seem to have warranted little official attention in those first two decades.

While most of the areas that were to become the official Fíor-Ghaeltacht in 1926 (80%+ Irish speaking), were congested districts from 1891 to 1923, there are only a handful of references to the language in only the last ten annual reports of the CDB. After 20 years of operation the CDB eventually included a colloquial knowledge of Irish in its recruitment examinations for Clerks, Assistant Land Inspectors and Land Surveyors. This optional test consisted of a conversation, and was worth between 2.7% and 4% of the maximum marks, half that awarded to French, German or Latin (CDB 20th AR, 1912). Officially, the language had been invisible and not an issue. In practice it was very much an issue, and had became a central theme for the cultural revival, eventually influencing the CDB to consider its importance in its work. This reference, in its 20th year of operation, is the first reference to the Irish language in the CDB's annual reports. Within a few years they had a number of Irish speaking instructresses, who were 'warmly appreciated' (CDB 30th AR, 1922). Earlier they had appointed Irish-speaking fishing instructors from Donegal to work in Galway (Breathnach, 2005, 99). Both of the CDB lace instructors in Daly's sample of the 1901 Census enumeration forms were 'ignorant of Irish' (Daly, 1990, 157). However, the Board did make efforts to employ Irish speaking instructors, and recognised to some extent the benefits of such a policy. In his account of his work with the Congested Districts Board in the 1890s Micks noted during one of his visits to a part of what is now the Galway Gaeltacht, how local people's demeanour went from a warm animated welcome for the Board's Irish-speaking instructor, to 'comparatively wooden and stolid' once she turned to speak to him in English (1925, 94). He recognised that the 'right and only course for reformation' was to employ Irish-speaking trainers and advisors who could advise the local people 'in their own language with tact and kindliness and without the idea of "superiority" suggested to these remote people by the use of the English language' (p 94).

The DATI handbook at the Irish Industries Exhibition in St Louis in 1904 includes the language issue in its list of a number of other reasons for the lack of development: a 'lack of a rational system of education [and the] sudden and rapid decay of the Gaelic language ... had undoubtedly a powerful effect in stunting the intellectual vitality and growth of the Irish Celt, at the very time when the opening of a new industrial and commercial epoch made its severest demands upon him' (DATI, 1904, 8). It saw deeper more longterm implications of language loss than the immediate practical communicative issues. Another practical issue was that of finance and money to invest in material improvement.

4.2.2.3 Financial Capital

Nationally there was sufficient capital available for new enterprises but in rural areas, and in particular in the congested districts, most people were at subsistence level of living. Any additional income was spent on food or on minor home improvements. While the land reform brought about improved productivity in Leinster and Munster, the reform in poorer western areas resulted in increased consumption in the household – essentially from a basic breadline level. Increased agricultural productivity could not be expected without this pre-requisite of more and better nutrition.

Those whose home industries work was in demand had no access to credit to develop their enterprise. The very poor were in permanent debt and those with sufficient wealth could borrow from the joint stock banks which charged high rates of up to 10% on loans and according to the CDB discouraged thrift among farmers due to paying only 1 to 1.5% interest on deposits (CDB, 12th AR, 1903). Nevertheless a few of the joint stock banks lent money to the co-operative banks at favourable rates.

In 1914, the CDB 'regret[ted] to say that so far no capitalists in or adjacent to the congested districts have come forward, as we had hoped, to find money for the purchase and working of steam-drifters or other power-boats' (CDB 1914, 22nd AR). It felt that infrastructural improvements might help. The picture nationally was not much better: the handbook of the Irish Industries Exhibition at St Louis World Fair 1904, where DATI and CDB products were exhibited stated that: 'The country is waiting for the touch of capital and enterprise to rouse it from its long sleep into industrial life and activity.' It went on to explain that this was 'due to the open and settled policy of GB to repress all Irish manufacturers which might compete with the stable manufacturers of Britain and Scotland' (DATI, 1904). There was a prevailing attitude of resignation and of there being better opportunities abroad.

4.2.2.3.1 Poverty of the Spirit: Physical and Psychic Emigration

Emigration was a central part of Ireland's 19th and 20th century history. In 1883 there were two mass organised emigration schemes to Minnesota (USA) and Canada. While landless labourers and their families were often those most likely to emigrate, there was also a high proportion of emigration by choice. Emigrants' remittances to their families at home constituted a substantial proportion of the families' income. Irish emigrants in the USA sent home an estimated $10 million a year in the 1900s. 'American money' accounted for an average of 10% of their income in some places (CDB, 1892). Synge (1966) suggested the reasons for such levels of emigration among the more able young people was their lack of faith that they could realise their ambitions in their own country and the lack of a social life and 'amusements' at home. This latter problem was one of the issues tackled by the Gaelic League through its cultural programme of language classes, and music and dancing events. Emigration was partly physical but could also be psychic (inner) as documented in some of the creative literature (Sheeran, 1996). The obstacles to innovation and entrepreneurship were not merely financial.

4.2.2.4 Attitudes to Innovation and Entrepreneurship

The psychological capital of self-efficacy, hope, optimism and resiliency was low. While not helping his own cause Horace Plunkett, himself a Protestant, may well have had a good but unpalatable and unpopular insight into some of the problems when he stated in his book *Ireland in a New Century* (1903), that Irish Roman Catholics were 'apathetic, thriftless, and almost non-industrial', and needed to strengthen their 'moral fibre' (Quoted in Mathews, 2003, 33). There had been a certain level of inertia, a lack of independent thought and a need for independent collective action and self-help. The IAOS did much of the work initially conducted by the CDB, in educating landowners on farming practices and developing rural industries. While it sometimes protested the opposite (see below) the CDB's methods and attitude did not encourage independent self-help.

The CDB often reported its difficulties with the people's general apathy; lack of interest in improvements; lack of understanding of possible farming improvements; undernourished unhealthy inferior inbred cattle and sheep; unhygienic conditions; lack of hope and ambition; and begrudgery. Given the absolute levels of poverty; high levels of illiteracy; the continued need for political agitation for land reform and more fairness; the cultural and linguistic divide between the officials and the people whom they served; and the power of the small town trader; and the poor socio-cultural life of rural Ireland; it would take more than a decade or two of state effort to effect a change of attitude.

The innovations were introduced by outsiders who failed to communicate with or integrate properly with the local people, or to include local knowledge and expertise in adapting innovations for the local conditions. The Royal Commission on Congestion in Ireland heard evidence from numerous local people about engineers' resistance to local knowledge, lack of understanding of local tidal conditions etc in building quays and boat slips. As a result many unusable piers were built in unsuitable places such as An Spidéal and Casla, and suitable places such as Ros a'Mhíl were ignored. Although too poor to adopt some of the new methods, some innovated in their own way. Synge observed a woman attempting to 'spray' a potato crop with a broom, being too poor to buy the spraying equipment (1905/1966, 323).

Official reports such as those of the CDB about the refusal of people in the congested districts to adopt innovations, may well be unfair. The sheer immobility of the population and the tradition of farm inheritance militated against innovation. Daly's analysis of the 1901 Census revealed that in the four Galway Gaeltacht DEDs analysed, 'outsiders were virtually unknown, with the exception of police, and lighthouse or coastguard staff' (Daly, 1990, 161). In the 20% sample of enumeration forms, only one example of a woman marrying into the area was identified. The local community was not used to outsiders or what they brought with them into the area.

The laziness ascribed to the Congests (as the residents of the Congested Districts were referred to) might have been due to seasonal changes, limited markets for the new products, a thinking that the innovation did not suit local conditions, or lack of sufficient explanation or demonstration of the benefits. The failure of the CDB's major forestation project on poor soil and associated activities in Carna may have provided the local population with sufficient evidence that its other innovations would also fail. Perhaps the tide of the *Athbheochan* (Revival) needed time to make its way from culture through to industry, and from the east to the west coast.

4.2.2.5 The Cork International Exhibition, 1902

Irish leaders were well aware that at an international level, industrialisation and mechanisation were continuing apace, yet they chose to continue with the idealised home industries, stating that it was an 'immense advantage' that rural female workers were employed in such industries 'without the physical and other drawbacks of factory life in a town or city' (CDB 24th AR, 1916). The CDB itself repeatedly referred to the competition in the home industries, from Continental European countries, including Austria (CDB 14th AR; CDB 19th AR; CDB 20th AR). Speakers at the Industrial Conference held in connection with the Cork International Exhibition in 1902, included Plunkett, Dr William

Exner, of the Technologisches Gewerbe Museum (Technologicial Trade Museum) in Vienna and Professor Beaumont of the Clothworkers' Department of Yorkshire College Leeds. Beaumont spoke about the 'forces affecting industrial degeneracy', which he felt were not attributable to the 'lack of industrial aptitude or to lethargy and incapacity on the part of the Irish worker', but rather to the lack of adoption of new methods and new machinery and the need for technical and scientific training (Beaumont, 1902).

Illustrating the contrast between the Irish and Austrian situation, Dr Exner described Austrian trade schools, compulsory embroidery instruction in the school system, and centralised basketwork training in Vienna for craftspeople who then returned to their own villages to work. The Technological Trade Museum had a special section for the promotion of trades, providing special Master training courses for men to return to their co-ops to spread the expertise. He also highlighted the fact that machinery grants were given to societies, not individuals (Exner, 1902). The Austrian government was reported to have developed better marketing techniques and to have improved the workmanship in woodwork and the CDB was complaining that foreign workers received direct financial assistance from their Governments allowing them to under-sell Irish workers (CDB 19th AR, 1911).

4.2.2.6 Synthesis on Entrepreneurship Capital

The CDB encountered many difficulties in its efforts to increase the entrepreneurial culture. Within a short number of years of its establishment, it was subletting its fisheries to private enterprises. Its repeated efforts to encourage fishermen to invest in the larger boats, were mostly met with a reluctance. Sometimes this was due to their unsuitability for local conditions, or the discouraging effects of a single storm. In contrast to the shared ownership adopted in Donegal, Cork and Kerry, the Mayo and Galway fishermen preferred to invest singly and then employ the crew rather than invest co-operatively on a share system. In their annual reports there are repeated references to difficulties with South Connemara fisheries, many of the difficulties due to general attitudes to work, to State assistance and to risk (CDB, 17th AR, 1908). The fishermen in Galway and Mayo did not access state aid as soon as their counterparts elsewhere; they actually received better loan terms; and they were the first to give up if there were any problems (Breathnach, 2005, 102). Some of the complaints about the home industries include the conflicting demands of seasonal agricultural work; lack of punctuality (partly due to the competing agricultural work); the difficulty some of the girls had with the finer work, their hands being rougher due to outdoor farm work; the lack of sanitation in their own homes; a lack of good workmanship; a difficulty accepting the need to introduce new designs to suit market demands; set wages, which encouraged more skilled workers to leave. There

was a lack of understanding between the bureaucracy of the state administration and the local community.

The state's and private individuals' well-meaning efforts were not matched by their business or management abilities. There was a lack of competent technical leadership and a policy in the CDB for example of importing foreign or outsider technicians with relatively little recognition of local expertise. These policies demeaned the local community. Instructresses did not stay sufficiently long in the community to integrate or gain acceptance. As it was supplemental female work, the failure of the home industries was not considered a major issue, despite the fact that the income was important to families. Their development would have diverted women from their domestic work, and factories would have ruined the idyllic rural home life. While they are referred to as home 'industries', an industrial character and culture of regularity, punctuality and full-time work did not develop in this period.

Plunkett was well aware of the missing factors, which contributed to such a weak entrepreneurial culture. In his Opening Address at the Industrial Conference held in connection with the Cork International Exhibition in 1902, he spoke of the dullness of the social and intellectual side of rural life; the unsurprising resultant restlessness among the country's most enterprising young men and women, especially once they were more aware of life elsewhere; the lack of a trained labour supply; and the lack of a 'right attitude on the part of the public towards industrial enterprise'; an education system turning out young men and women 'with a character and training averse to industrial life, who find their goals in professional or merely clerical careers. There was a lack of dignity associated with productive labour, and too much 'economic snobbery'. He summed up his address with the bleak opinion that 'living in the past has long enough given us a present without achievement, a future without hope' (Plunkett, 1902). In today's context, his IAOS self-help movement might well be considered an effort to develop an entrepreneurial culture.

While the various national socio-cultural organisations set the founding stones for an entrepreneurial culture, it took another few generations to fully develop from the cultural or linguistic fields into the economic or industrial spheres, as shall be seen in the following section which describes the enterprise structure in the Galway Gaeltacht in the late 19th and early 20th century.

4.2.3 Enterprise Structure

Up to the late 19th century there was little additional reward for the more industrious farmer compared to his less active neighbour. Land usage and agricultural practices did not necessarily become more productive. There was no clear correlation between effort and reward. The rent system encouraged the careless less enterprising tenant, as the more enterprising ambitious would be faced by an increase in rent. This was particularly so in isolated rural areas where the same climate and bad land affected all. The rural economy operated around local individual buyers and/ or shopkeepers, and dealers at local fairs, or visiting dealers. At a more macroeconomic level, major socio-political forces dictated prices on the English market – the main market for Irish agricultural output. Many products were of poor or changing quality, and there were accusations of dishonesty and adulteration on the part of suppliers and buyers. It was at the turn of the 20th century that rural shops and traders began specialising.

Manufacturing industries in Ireland were concentrated in Leinster and along the east coast, mainly in Dublin and Belfast, where shipbuilding, linen making, brewing and tobacco processing provided much employment. Large-scale industrialisation was only beginning and Ireland was no exception, particularly outside of the two largest cities, Dublin and Belfast. Industrialisation developed in the northeast partly due to the family, social and cultural links of the immigrant planter community with Britain and Scotland. Ireland was not vastly different from other countries, such as Scotland and France (Allinne, 1990; Nenadic, 1990) in terms of the predominance of small or micro firms and of family-owned firms, employing fewer than 4 workers. The country was different however in terms of the relative absence, especially in rural areas, of craft guilds. They led to high technical standards, pride in workmanship, a spirit of co-operation and thus the strategic development of the trade or industry sector (Exner, 1902; Gerschenkron, 1966). This tradition did not emerge in Ireland until the late 19th and early 20th century.

While not considered a home industry by the relevant institutions at the time, egg production was also a female occupation, traditionally paying for the rent and groceries. It was an uncoordinated industry lacking in any standardisation or quality control. The DATI, the CDB and the co-operatives all tried to develop the industry. As the co-operative paid the money to the husband, women resisted selling the eggs to them and continued selling to the 'higgler' or to the shopkeeper who paid a higher price in a successful effort to prevent the co-op's growth. The IAOS and the DATI provided training courses and county committees to develop egg centres and more co-operation. However by the mid 1920s eggs were still more likely to go through the higglers' distribution system than the co-operatives. Immediate benefit took precedence over longer-term benefit.

Many of the frustrations and weaknesses encountered in the home industries were echoed in the fishing sector. Buyers had a near monopoly; catches were ruined if no suitable buyer or transport to market was immediately available. The curing and processing industry was beset with problems – lack of a guaranteed market; seasonality, provision of salt and ice; poor packaging; poor curing (primarily conducted by women); and poor categorisation of fish in terms of quality and size. The CDB used outside instructors primarily, from Scotland and Norway, and Arklow in Ireland. In 1901, 43% of its 77 fishing Instructors were foreigners (CDB, 10th AR).

By the turn of the 20th century, a new generation of nationalist intellectuals was coming of age, concentrating their efforts on a spirit of cultural and political independence, and on localised self-help activities, especially those intended to counteract the power of the local shopkeeper. A spirit of begrudgery had its seeds in the gombeen man's selfishness or power as Cantillon's fulcrum in the local economy and it was to take a further 60 years before the seeds of a generation of entrepreneurs would be sown. At a more local level, County Galway was a largely rural county. There was little industry of any kind, the two best known enterprises were the Galway Jute Factory and Persse's Distillery, each of which closed in 1893 and 1908 respectively. It is against such a national and regional backdrop that we may now consider the corporate demography of the congested districts that were later to become the Galway Gaeltacht; and also the stages of emergence of new, albeit tiny, populations and communities of populations.

4.2.3.1 Population Specific Rates (corporate demography)

This section outlines the corporate demography of the congested districts which were later to become part of the Galway Gaeltacht. It draws on data from the CDB baseline reports, based on fieldwork conducted in 1891 and 92, and published in 1892-97; and its annual reports, published from 1892 up to 1923 when the Board was disbanded.

4.2.3.1.1 The CDB Baseline Reports

The CDB started its work with a comprehensive survey of all congested districts. This work, conducted by six inspectors took a year to complete and provides a wealth of information (CDB, 1892-97)[15]. The baseline report provides the starting point for how underdeveloped the Galway Gaeltacht was. Table 4 provides a summary of the information collated by the inspectors who visited the areas now situated in the Gaeltacht

15 Although there were 6 different authors to the 170+ baseline reports, they are collectively referred to in this document under CDB (1892-1897), with reference to particular districts where relevant. All the reports are available on microfiche in the Early Books Library of TCD. A selection of the reports is published in Morrissey, 2001.

and those areas included in the 1920s Gaeltacht. The list of questions (Appendix 9) addresses many of the issues associated nowadays with entrepreneurship, including the intangible issues of people's character; and organised effort to improve the situation and make better use of the resources available. What is striking about this table is the near total lack of business infrastructure or support base for any kind of nascent entrepreneurship. Very few fairs or markets were held, and there was a near absolute lack of organised effort, especially in the areas in the Contemporary Gaeltacht. The people were seen to be hard workers but also demotivated at times. The very high number of boats is striking. Most of these boats were small row-boats used for part-time inshore fishing. The freshwater fisheries were for leisure anglers and provided gillie employment to locals. It is also noteable that only one bank existed and no other form of loan fund. A review of the comprehensive baseline reports and of all but one[16] of the CDB Annual Reports that the people of Donegal were considered the most industrious and Galwegians the least. Women were more industrious than the men, and more sensible in their spending patterns, the men spending more on tobacco and alcohol.

16 The 29th annual report for the year ending March 1921 has not been located in any library in Ireland.

Congested Districts Board 1892 Baseline Reports of 10 areas subsequently in Co Galway Gaeltacht

Areas	Rosmuck	South Connemara	Aran Islands	Spiddle	Carna	Joyce Country	Oughterard	Annagh-down	Clifden	Letterfrack	Total
Population	2,429	6,177	2,907	6,072	5,963	5,700	6,410	2,501	9,856	4,140	52,155
Fairs per annum	4	4	0	8	4	5	12	0	17	7	61
Markets per annum	0	0	0	0	0	52	1	17	0	0	70
Lobster Boats	10 (oyster)	*	n/a	10	62	inland	30(crossline)	inland	100	16	228
Men in Lobster Boats	30 (oyster)	*	n/a	20	186	inland	45(crossline)	inland	300+	32	613+
Misc Boats	196	611	132	142	458	18	inland	inland	259	162	1,978
Fish Curing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	inland	1	0	1
Piers	2	6	4	2	8	2	2 (lake)	1 (lake)	18	8	53
Freshwater Fisheries	1	1	0	5	2	1	3	1 (lake)	2	n/a	16
Employees in Fisheries	5	22	0	20	86	32	12	n/a	10	23	210
Banks & Loan Funds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 bank	0	1
Minerals	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	2	1	8
Character of People	Work very hard at familiar work	Work very hard; can develop if motivated	Fairly industrious & hard-working; suspicious	Work hard & quickly, long hours	hardwork-ing & indust-rious	Labour hard spring & harvest, little rest of time.	Want of dilligence & zeal in rail-way workers; country work fairly well done	Deserve highest credit for industrious-ness	Fairly indust-rious & hardwork-ing; easily discour-aged; look to govt	Industrious, no real determin-ation, fits & starts	
Organised Effort	None	Land League Lady & knitting failed	None	None	Tuke's emigration; Connemara Industries Fund; Miss Mansfield's boats	None	None, except effort to buy out crossline fishermen	None	Tuke's emigration	Tuke's; Miss Sturge's basket-making	
Contemporary Gaeltacht	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Mostly	Mostly	Partly	Partly	Small part	No	

* Information provided to inspector 'so obviously inadequate and conflicting'.

Table 4: CDB Baseline Report Summary

The baseline reports list one knitting enterprise operated by Father Flannery in Carna. That operation was subsequently assisted by the CDB, and the Manchester Industrial Fund, but shut down once Fr Flannery died. An annual grant for a teacher to teach machine knitting was provided in An Cheathrú Rua in 1892. A decade later, curtain factories / workshops were established, with French and German teachers, in An Cheathrú Rua and Gorumna, areas further west and more disadvantaged than the area where 42% of the population was Irish monolingual illiterate (Daly, 1990). It is unknown what language the teachers used in their work, in training the workers in curtain making and in training them as trainers.

4.2.3.1.2 CDB Start-ups, 1891 - 1914

The CDB Annual Reports, 1891 to 1914 listed the location of various initiatives it organised itself or assisted financially. There was no strict pattern regarding ownership and management. The initiatives and projects for County Galway are listed in Table 5. The first efforts at fostering individual and collective initiative were the Agricultural Raffeisen Banks established through the offices of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, and managed by the local community, with funding from the CDB. Another initiative a few years later were the Parish Committees. These local committees were charged with disbursing home improvement grants, in an effort to improve the living and hygiene conditions. The marine resources and textile sectors were largely based around providing training and instruction more than profit making employment. The leaders of these organisations are referred to as instructors or trainers rather than managers in the reports. Many were Continental Europeans, from countries such as France, Germany and Norway, most likely fluent in English, and presumably not so in Irish. The fish curing stations were managed by managers or merchants on a year to year basis.

Employment in the textiles centres ranged from a dozen up to as many as 200+, both full and part-time. The basket making, and training boat organisations were run by individual private women with support from the CDB. The basket making enterprise lasted for at least 16 years. In general the textile industries operated in buildings built by the CDB and were largely managed by instructresses employed by the CDB. The private enterprises, such as the knitting organisation run by the parish priest, were funded by the CDB. It is not possible to work out the lifespan of the other enterprises on the list due to a lack of consistency in the annual reports. However it can be said that most of the textile and marine resource enterprises lasted for at least 10 – 20 years, sometimes closed for a year or two due to non-availability of instructors / instructresses, or subcontractors in the case of the fish curing stations.

Given the tradition of boatbuilding, the CDB was surprised to see how weak the general carpentry skills were. In its early years it funded carpentry classes provided by a local teacher in Carna, and in 1917 established a toy factory in Galway city. It commissioned the building of zulu boats in Carna and Roundstone and the more traditional hooker[17] boats in Leitir Móir and Garumna. This type of boatbuilding lasted in that area until the 1960s and has recently enjoyed a revival. The CDB also established beekeeping societies throughout the districts.

Activity	Contemporary Gaeltacht 1891-1900	1901-1910	1911-1914	Total	Former Gaeltacht 1891 1900	1901-1910	1911-1914	Total	Grand Total
Community Development									
Agricultural Bank	11	1		12	4	1		5	17
Parish Committee		5		5		14		14	19
Beekeepers Association					2	1		3	3
Sub-Total	11	6	0	17	6	16	0	22	39
Marine Resources									
Boatbuilding	3			3	1			1	4
Training Boats	1			1	1			1	2
Fishcuring	7			7	4			4	11
Fishing station	3			3	4			4	7
Netmending	5	3		8	7	2		9	17
Sub-Total	19	3	0	22	17	2	0	19	41
Textiles									
Crochet	5	4	1	10	2	4	1	7	17
Embroidery			1	1			1	1	2
Knitting	3			3				0	3
Lacemaking		2		2	1	2	1	4	6
Renaissance Lace Curtains		4		4		2		2	6
Weaving		1		1	1	1		2	3
Sub-Total	8	11	2	21	4	9	3	16	37
Agriculture									
Example Holding	1			1	1			1	2
Poultry Farm	1			1	2			2	3
Sheep Dipping Station					1			1	1
Sub-Total	2		0	2	4		0	4	6
Other									
Basketmaking					1			1	1
Carpentry		1		1	1			1	2
Domestic Training	1	8		9		6		6	15
Sub-Total	1	9	0	10	2	6	0	8	18
Grand Total	41	29	2	72	33	33	3	69	141

Note: Detailed information on start-ups were not published after 1914.

Table 5: Congested District Board Start-Ups 1891 – 1914

17 The Galway hooker is a traditional wooden sailing work-boat.

4.2.3.1.3 CDB Industrial Loan Fund

In addition to the Church Surplus Grant; the Irish Loan Reproductive Fund and the Sea and Coast Fisheries fund (the latter two reserves for fisheries), the CDB also ran an Industrial Loan Fund for the Congests. The fund provided loans for various investments, from '£1 to each carpentry pupil to enable him to procure a set of useful tools' (CDB, AR 1901-02); to boats; barrel materials; wheelwright's mats; blacksmith's tools; knitting machines; spinning wheels; and tools for repairing motor engines; up to equipment in a granite factory. The individual loans are not listed in the annual reports, but summary tables are. Table 6 shows that County Galway is fairly under-represented in terms of loan applications and amounts awarded, but over-represented in terms of arrears. This problem of arrears and non-payment of loans both for Industrial Loans and marine resource related loans is mentioned in relation to Galway in many of the annual reports. Many of these (unpaid) loans were the subject of official correspondence up to the 1930s and 40s (NAD, 1948, MAR A5/331/35 & A5/23/36).

Year	Co Galway	All Congested Districts	Notes
By 1901	3	290	170 from Donegal
1901-02	10	325	Galway accounts for 63.6% of £1,918 arrears.
1902-03	5	117	Most applications from Donegal
1903-04	22	146	
1904-05			n/a
1905-06	1	128	Galway awarded £2 of £2,207 total.
1906-07	1	242	Galway awarded £63 of £2,430 total.
1907-08	1	81	Galway awarded £98 of £1,851 total.
1908-09	0	n/a	Loans only from Cork, Donegal, Kerry & Mayo
1909-11	5	85	Galway accounts for most of arrears
1911-12	5	47	Galway awarded £2,031 of £3,116 total.
1912-13	1	31	Loans issued
1913-14	1	13	
1914-15	3	53	
1915-16	3	38	
1916-17	4	12	Galway awarded £16 of £110 total.
1917-18	3	40	Galway awarded £43 of £1,077 total.
1918-19	1	8	Glovemaking
1919-20	0		total n/a
1920-21			n/a
1921-22	1	10	
Total	70	1,666	

Note: 1909-11 report covered two years.

Table 6: CDB Industrial Loan Applications 1901 – 1922

4.2.3.1.4 The Poitín Industry

An entrepreneurial industry unsurprisingly not supported by the CDB was illicit distillation of poitín, which was widespread in Ireland in the 19th century, and provided a substantial income for many peasants, as much as ten shillings a gallon around 1900 (Synge, 1966, 294). The excise duty imposed by parliament on legally distilled 'parliament' whiskey[18] made the illegal counterpart far more attractive to many. In the early 1900s it was thought that the Aran islands were a centre for the distribution of Connemara poitín in County Clare (Connell, 1968). The lack of turf in Aran prevented the distillation itself from flourishing there. Islands in general were especially suitable for secret distillation due to the difficulties the police had in accessing such places. There is a story that during the CDB era, An tOileán Mór, a small island very close to Ros Muc favoured state funding for a small school over a landbridge, the latter potentially hampering the poitín industry (Uí Mháille, 2006). The CDB baseline reports estimated that poitín-making yielded a profit of 200%, and reported that seizures in the Ros Muc area for the year ending 11th August 1892 were worth £170 (€20,800 in 2006 value) – in an area with a population of ca. 1,500 people, and over £724 (ca. €88,600 in 2006 value) for three EDs in South Connemara (Micks, 1898). In the 1920s, there are numerous references in the Connacht Tribune newspaper to prosecutions for poitín making (1925, 21 February, 14 March).

4.2.3.2 Stages of Emergence

This section outlines how few new populations of organisations emerged in the Galway Gaeltacht in the three decades from 1891 to the early 1920s. The starting point is the near empty landscape of 1891 as described in the baseline reports.

4.2.3.2.1 Pioneers

There were very few local pioneers in the Galway Gaeltacht. Most of the efforts of social organisation were instigated by incomers. The Parish Committees established with CDB support were made up of local leaders, excluding the local trader, who was to benefit from the purchasing of materials with the Parish Committee grant aid. The Committees were led by ex-officio members including the local clergymen of all denominations; resident landlords or their agents; poor law guardians, and six additional members elected by ratepayers (Royal Commission on Congestion in Ireland, 1908 [final report]). They were accused of doing good work with zeal, but were not good at record keeping (CDB, 1914, 22nd AR).

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18 The Irish word 'Párlaimint' is still used in the Gaeltacht to describe whiskey; and the words 'uisce beatha' or 'fuisce', from which the word whiskey is derived, for poitín.

The Agricultural Raiffeisen Banks were another effort at self-organisation, in which the banks were managed by elected members. They were initially successful and as soon as the banks managed to get credit from the joint-stock banks, the CDB recouped its investment. However success was not widespread; the Royal Commission on Congestion in Ireland thought that '[i]n the present condition of the districts concerned, this somewhat rigid application of self-help must, for the present, be to some extent 'a counsel of perfection'[19]. (1908, 33).

This social movement ultimately failed within 2 – 3 decades. Various reasons suggested include: a lack of savings in a subsistence agricultural area; weak management; social networks so strong that there was an unwillingness to take action on defaulters; a lack of involvement of the local leaders who perhaps had more social acceptance by the general community (such as priests and schoolmasters) than the landlords and poor law guardians; and the fact that the loans were seen as a conduit for Government loans rather than as an investment in the local area (Guinnane, 1994). Essentially the Banks failed to achieve the social legitimacy required to flourish.

The Irish Industries Development Association (IIDA) and private individuals normally managed those centres for which the CDB provided capital and training. The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society (IAOS) and the United Irishwomen (UI) also established courses and workshops, as did private individuals and commercial firms. The CDB remarked in 1916 that some of these private concerns were far more substantial than theirs, supplying the army, the navy and general traders (CDB, 24th AR). The produce was often sold through the local traders; a practice which brought its own problems of fairness and inefficiency. There were also the central depots such as that of the IIDA and of the Irish Lace Depot, a marketing system which continued right into the middle of the 20th century. However the market for poorly made and poorly designed lace etc was limited.

The most striking point is that most of the pioneers were from outside the area with little evidence of native activity. There were however a few notable traders such as Máirtín Mór McDonagh (Cunningham, 1996) and the Mongan family of Carna, who ran a successful hotel and fishing lodge. The CDB also mentioned a few boatbuilding families such as the Casey[20] and Cloherty in Maoinis, and Trayers in Garumna (CDB, 1902, 11th

19 An impractical ideal

20 This family surname is still associated with boatbuilding in the Galway Gaeltacht (Cladaigh Chonamara, 2008).

AR). However this author found no evidence of their development beyond craft workshop level.

4.2.3.2.2 Early Fledglings and Variation

It could be said that the early Agricultural Co-operative Banks and Parish Committees were early fledglings, but as discussed in the previous section, these ultimately failed after a decade or so, being highly susceptible to environmental conditions as are young enterprises. The necessary environmental conditions and entrepreneurship capital was absent. There were too few role models. Efforts were made in the home industries to branch into related textiles such as lace or crochet, but no particular new population emerged. Efforts were made to encourage fishermen to transfer from small scale boats to larger share-system boats, but with very limited success (CDB, 1907,16th AR). However while attention is repeatedly brought to the problems in the South Connemara area, there is also a record of Donegal fishermen being overwhelmed by the prospective responsibility of a large new motorboat (CDB, 1909, 18th AR).

4.2.3.2.3 Growth Strategies; Cognitive and Socio-Political Legitimacy

Few if any new populations emerged in this period, and there was very little self-organisation to gain the necessary cognitive legitimacy, for example, in terms of the development of on-the-job experience; of competency enhancement; of how 'taken for granted' a particular organisational form is. The same can be said for socio-political legitimacy, in terms of how the new forms of organisations are accepted by the surrounding community or by the political elite. What is interesting is that it was the outside socio-political elite that was making efforts to introduce new forms of organisations, not accepting the forms (if they existed) approved of by the native residents.

4.2.3.3 Entrepreneurship Landscape

By the end of the CDB's life in the early 1920s the entrepreneurial landscape had changed somewhat from the early 1890s. Textile based workshops and small scale factories provided much employment and skills training, as did the netmending and fish curing stations. Larger scale boats and new motorboats had been introduced into the fishing fleet. Communities had seen the benefits of co-operative work through the Agricultural Co-operative Banks. However the entrepreneurship landscape was still largely composed of small-scale traders acting as the fulcrum in rural villages and towns. It was still a pre-industrial landscape, with few of the necessary environmental conditions or entrepreneurship capital to actively establish or develop any reasonable form of industry. The next section tracks the situation for the period shortly after the establishment of the Free State up to the 1950s.

4.3 The Free State: 1920s to 1940s, Hope and Struggle

The new 26 county Free State established in 1921 was a relatively well modernised society (Lee, 1989). The new politicians and leaders of the state inherited and continued to use the British administrative system, where there was little change in staffing for a number of years. The new leaders favoured continuity and caution in economic affairs. It would take at least another generation to develop the necessary entrepreneurship capital and environmental conditions conducive to successful entrepreneurial activity. What follows is a description of the environmental conditions from the 1920s to the 1940s, with emphasis on the institutional setting and the entrepreneurship capital, followed by a discussion of the corporate demography and of the organisation evolution issues.

4.3.1 Environmental Conditions

The mid 1920s saw the country emerge out of the aftermath of a civil war and the slow establishment of a new independent state which saw the Irish language as central to its identity. Central to the revival of the language was the preservation and development of the areas where Irish was still the dominant community language. Much of the state policy and practice towards these areas was framed in the desire to revive the language. With this in mind, the Government appointed a Gaeltacht Commission in 1925 to recommend how the language and the Irish speaking areas could be developed. Meanwhile in the rest of the country's efforts at modernisation continued, some of it through the newly created Department of Industry and Commerce. That department rarely had much but the most minimum involvement in the language or Gaeltacht issue. Following the dissolution of the CDB in 1923, the various fisheries and home industries supported by the state were transferred through a series of government departments, never the Department of Industry and Commerce or its equivalents. The first was the Department of Fisheries, after a short sojourn with the Irish Land Commission. This was the beginning of a longstanding association between Gaeltacht industries and fishing and rurality, rather than with industry itself (Appendix 4). This section continues now with a discussion of the various institutional factors which affected Gaeltacht development.

4.3.1.1 Setting the Scene

The country was still primarily dependent on agriculture and was relatively unindustrialised, despite its proximity to Britain, which had a long history of industrialisation. The 1920s Minister for Agriculture pursued a strategy of improving quality standards, branding of products etc, achieving limited success. As the state was so dependent on its market, the 1930s economic war with Britain contributed to the slow growth of the economy. There were other overall forces preventing any significant economic or entrepreneurial development. Throughout the middle of the 20th century small family owned (and inherited) enterprises were still the norm. In the 1930s and

1940s larger unionised enterprises were to benefit from legislation preventing long opening hours primarily among the small family-owned retailers. With a history of unfair treatment by employers in the early part of the century, and in protecting their own interests the well developed trade unions were resisting more modern trading practices. There was a lack of investment in education, particularly scientific education and research. There was a tendency to compare the Free State's economy with that of Denmark, where the higher income tax rates meant there was more investment made in education and health, and in trade and commerce. The Danish economy prospered while the Irish economy languished (Garvin, 2004; Lee, 1989). Various institutions had a strong effect on how the society and economy were to develop. In a way, the Gaeltacht areas were a microcosm of the national picture.

4.3.1.2 Institutions

This section describes the immediate institution to which an average individual might have belonged, followed by an account of the detailed work of the Gaeltacht Commission. This sets the scene for a discussion of how the various state departments viewed Gaeltacht development. The section ends with a brief discussion of the various voluntary cultural organisations which flourished in the earlier cultural revival.

4.3.1.2.1 Family and Community

Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) well-known 1930s anthropological review of a few County Clare communities illustrates the importance of the agricultural communal familist life over the modern individualist life. Despite the relatively low return, agriculture was part of the idealised Gaelic rural idyll so central to many of the new state's leaders. Yet there were no communal water schemes, and rural electrification had only begun. Poverty was not the preserve of the rural areas but existed also in urban areas (Lee, 1989). In an effort to alleviate the effects of high unemployment in the 1930s, the 1933 Unemployment Assistance Act provided benefits for unemployed agricultural labourers and for under-employed smallholders, as well as manufacturing employees. Two thirds of the population lived outside of towns and villages of 200 or more (Byrne et al, 2001). To paraphrase De Valera's oft misquoted 'comely maidens dancing at the crossroads' speech delivered on St Patrick's Day, 1943, he envisaged fields and villages joyous with the sounds of industry. His vision was of a people who were 'satisfied with frugal comfort' devoting their leisure to 'the things of the spirit'. The rural idyll was promoted rather than the industrialised *urbanus*. There was no developmental progressive vision, but a return to and preservation of tradition. The 1926 Gaeltacht Commission recommendations were an effort to combine tradition with progress, as discussed in the following section.

4.3.1.2.2 The Gaeltacht Commission 1926: Report and Recommendations

In response to the national fervour in support of the language, and the continuing dire conditions in the former congested districts, the new Saorstát (Free State) government established a Gaeltacht Commission in 1925. The Commission had two terms of reference, the first regarding the level of language use, the second '[t]o inquire and make recommendations as to the use of Irish in the administration of such districts, the educational facilities therein, and any steps that should be taken to improve the economic condition of the inhabitants.' (Gaeltacht Commission, 1926, 1). The Commission gathered evidence from a total of 100 witnesses and accepted written submissions from a further 29 people, and published its report in 1926.

The Commission's report reads like a report on the Congested Districts, such is the similarity between the issues reported and the geographical overlap between the former congested districts and the areas considered eligible at that time for Gaeltacht status, and thus included in the Commission's 1925 enumeration. Irish speaking areas were among the poorest in the country. There was still an 'exodus of population' (p 20); the poultry industry was being run 'on the verge of loss' (p 43) (despite much effort and investment by the CDB); there was much disease and death of lifestock; people were [still] slow to adopt innovations; agricultural inspectors spent much of their time travelling around large areas allotted to them instead of actually instructing; short term training was provided by itinerant instructors. A loan scheme to buy implements was 'working with fair satisfaction' (p 43).

One third of the Commission's 82 recommendations are under the heading of Economic Conditions, of which two involved provision of loans for self-employment / new business foundations (for boats and carding and finishing mills). Twelve related to migration and land, housing and agricultural improvements; six to further education and training in the fishing, domestic service and homespun industries and employment in general; and five to umbrella branding and marketing (Government of Ireland, 1926). The Government's response to the Commission (Government of Ireland, 1929) was muted in general, and it was pointed out that some of the advisory, support or loan schemes already offered were not being taken advantage of to the fullest possible extent, an echo of a complaint made before by the CDB, and complaint that would be made again at national level regarding tourism, up to the 1950s, as is discussed in the chapter on the case studies.

Irish Language Situation

The linguistic situation was such that towns and villages, the centres of commerce and trade, were 'weak spots' (p. 7), prestige for the language was low, and what little Irish-medium education was available was provided by teachers who themselves had been educated through English. A survey of Civil Servants in the counties surveyed showed 10% were native Irish speakers or had acquired the language. To all intents and purposes, all business with the other 90% of Civil Servants and all other 'officials' of the state, the Garda Síochána and the Post Office had to be conducted in English. From the perspective of a Gaeltacht inhabitant, in the 'struggle between fact and sentiment', fact took precedence; 'The Officials influence his life in many respects; they form parts of the machine which governs him; and it pays him to know their language'. The Irish language was 'a mark of inferiority, and a sign of backwardness, and of want of prosperity' (pp 29-30). The language was 'ignored and repressed in administration. ... The educated were ignorant of it; and they protected their position by affecting to despise it, or often despising it with conviction' (p. 10).

4.3.1.2.3 Voluntary Organisations

The UI continued to develop, changing its name to the Irish Countrywomen's Association in 1935. By then it had begun to gain socio-political legitimacy nationally and internationally. From its inception, the UI/ICA developed links with many Irish language organisations but had weak representation in Gaeltacht areas, a situation it started to remedy in its 1962 five year plan. In that same year it received grand-aid to send a domestic economy instructress to Carna. The Agricultural Co-operative Banks had by now disappeared and the modern Credit Unions did not emerge until 1958. From the 1920s to the 1940s, the Gaelic League still held a powerful lobbying position, ensuring the Irish language was promoted in the education system and in public and administrative life. The following section is a discussion of the way in which the Government departments dealt with responsibility for the Gaeltacht, especially in terms of the dichotomy and tension between language preservation and modernisation.

4.3.1.2.4 Institutional Policy on Gaeltacht Development

The Gaeltacht Commission suggested that the dissolution of the CDB had been a mistake and recommended a similar permanent Commission be established, a recommendation not implemented until the late 1950s when Gaeltarra Éireann was established as a public body, albeit with a much narrower remit. The Commission essentially recommended an agriculture-led development strategy, a strategy which was implemented right up to the late 1950s when non-agricultural activities such as manufacturing, tourism and fishing were gradually developed. However from the 1920s onwards very little industrialisation

was planned let alone carried out. The association of the Gaeltacht with agriculture, fisheries and textiles would continue through to the 1960s. This association is clearly seen in the fact that at no stage was the Gaeltacht's economic development the responsibility of the Department of Industry and Commerce. Appendix 4 outlines the series of Government departments; committees and department divisions which had responsibility. Department of Industry and Commerce representatives sat on a number of committees but do not seem to have chaired any committee or taken a leading role.

A memo from the Department of Industry and Commerce dated 29 November 1926 stated that the department was 'not directly concerned in any of the recommendations of the Commission' except that which recommended it assist in placing Gaeltacht jobseekers in suitable employment (NAD, 1929, S7440). The department's view was that Gaeltacht employees would not generally be suitable for industrial or commercial employers and that industrial development in the Gaeltacht would require subsidisation. The only possibilities they saw were the cheap supply of electricity. They felt that the Gaeltacht home industries would be better served if run by industrialists rather than state officials.

A Civil Service Gaeltacht (Economic and Development) Committee operated in the 1930s. It appointed two inspectors to survey industrial activity in the Gaeltacht and to recommend on further economic development. The team's 1933 report gives a valuable insight into the kind of attitudes which existed in public administration at that time (NAD, 1933, S7447). They claim to have gone among the people and gathered the opinions of the poor, insinuating that none of their predecessors had done so. They visualised small local factories providing products for Gaeltacht people. Most interestingly, they were of the opinion that: 'the manufacture of goods mainly for profit must be excluded as far as possible: the industrialisation of the Gaeltacht in the modern sense must not be permitted; industrial expansion in the individualist sense does not enter into the scheme' (p 11). The rural idyll of the West was to be preserved, but the practicalities of assisting Gaeltacht communities to be self-sufficient were unclear. They pointed out that 'every material advantage' (p 13) came from outside the Gaeltacht, and that administrators were 'out of harmony with the people' (p 17). The most conscientious administrator sitting in Dublin was unconsciously influenced by his environment. Gaeltacht people now suffered from fatalism, and had 'no faith in the ultimate triumph of the Gael'. In the 1940s, expenditure on the 'advancement of the Irish language' and on associated projects such as the ' relief of distress and congestion in Gaeltacht areas' was heavily weighted towards academic scholarship, the use of the language in public life, and education in general. Of a total of £283,743 spent in the early 1940s, only 4.6% was spent on Gaeltacht Industries and agricultural schemes in Gaeltacht areas. By comparison, 6% was spent on academic

scholarship, and 3.5% on Gaeltacht school meals (Ó Riain, 1994, 152 - 155). Plunkett's 'practical men and the dreamers of Ireland' (1899, quoted in Mathews, 2003, 155) had yet to complete and implement their conversations and plans.

4.3.2 Entrepreneurship Capital

The very weak entrepreneurship capital which existed in the early 1920s strengthened very slowly over the following few decades. The following section discusses some of these factors.

4.3.2.1 Human Capital – Education and Work Experience

While the Free State had a relatively high level of literacy and education, illiteracy was still very high in the some former congested districts. The 1926 School Attendance Act making primary school attendance compulsory up to the age of 12 years, was resisted by large farmers, as it constituted an opportunity cost for them in terms of a potentially overeducated labour force. By 1932 only 7% of children proceeded beyond primary education. Second and third level education was essentially reserved for those who could afford to pay for it, and the few who received merit-based scholarships. In university education, there were more students studying theology than commerce, engineering, agriculture and dairy science combined (see Table 7). This was a result of demand as much as the third level's own policies. The education system was charged with the national revival of the Irish language, and teachers received special training to learn the language themselves.

Attendance at all Universities and Maynooth College

	Number	Percentage
Clerics	800	18.6
Medicine	800	18.6
Law	200	4.7
Commerce	400	9.3
Engineering	200	4.7
Agriculture and Dairy Science	100	2.3
Other (mainly Arts)	1800	41.9
Total	4,300	100.0

Source: Lee, 1989, p 131

Table 7: Third Level Education in Ireland, 1920s

In the Gaeltacht, matters were not particularly conducive to developing high human capital according to the Gaeltacht Commission's findings (Government of Ireland, 1926). The Primary education provided could 'hardly be said to pave the way to employment in

industrial or commercial life anywhere, in, or out of, Ireland' (p 19). Young people were practically debarred from even the minor clerical positions in the Civil Service, which required at least two additional years' education beyond primary level. There was no trade-training available for youths and the craft of tradesman was dying out. The Commission recommended the establishment of Rural Continuation Schools to which the Government's response was that they wouldn't work till 'the existing facilities for primary education are availed of to a much greater extent than at present' (NAT, 1927, S7439).

4.3.2.2 Social and Cultural Capital

In the few decades following the establishment of the Free State there seems to have been little change with no references, in National Archive data consulted, to new organisations rooted in the Galway Gaeltacht. Transport had improved, and the improved employment opportunities, mainly outside the Gaeltacht, for Irish speakers improved the network of contacts and exposure to other institutions other than the local family and neighbourhood. The new status of the Irish language improved the cultural, and financial, capital of those choosing careers in teaching, and the civil service in particular. But there were few benefits for Irish speakers seeking employment in commercial or industrial fields, despite some Government efforts to reserve quotas of jobs in East coast manufacturing industries for Gaeltacht migrants. At the same time as the language revival policy informed much of the institutional attitude to the Gaeltacht, there was an intellectual and cultural orientation to Britain and America, both English speaking countries, both the destination of the vast majority of Irish emigrants. Apart from the Vatican, the intellectual, social and economic links to Continental Europe, which had been strong in the 17th and 18th centuries had been lost.

4.3.2.3 Financial Capital

The banking system was well developed and from the 1910s to the 1930s there were more bank branches per capita in Ireland than in Britain and France, yet the sector was generally sluggish (Ó Gráda, 1988). In order fill a perceived gap in the provision of finance and capital for new enterprises the Industrial Credit Corporation was established by the State in 1933. The 1934 – 38 Commission of Inquiry on Banking, Currency, and Credit investigated complaints about banking. Some of criticisms were found not to be true. In 1932 Irish bank deposits were very high relative to national income, nearly twice those of Denmark and not much lower than those of Britain. Savings certs and trustee savings banks not as well developed here as in other countries (Ó Gráda, 1988). There was adequate capital available but low income tax rates encouraged a rentier behaviour rather than risk taking (Lee, 1989; Ó Gráda, 1988).

4.3.2.4 National Attitudes to Innovation

The inward looking protectionist economic policies introduced in the 1930s were a natural progression from the cultural protectionism which began in the 1920s. This was a cultural poverty and conservatism so different to the cultural revolution and revival which had flourished barely a generation earlier. The Catholic church was heavily involved in new state through its major role in education and health. This was not an environment conducive to innovation and creative destruction. Protectionism led to a lack of competition and weak standards of manufacturing, craftsmanship and innovation, complaints also made about the linen industry in Northern Ireland (Ó Gráda, 1997). Some efforts were made by non-profit organisations such as the ICA to increase craftsmanship standards, (Heverin, 2000). But there were no specific Government initiatives and no specific culture of, or incentive to innovate. It was not until 1963 that the state-owned Kilkenny Design Workshops were established.

4.3.2.5 Psychological Capital

A major public meeting in Galway in 1927 gives a picture of the conflicting opinions on whether Gaeltacht people were 'indolent' or 'continually clamouring for work – any work' (Connacht Tribune, 29/01/1927; NAD 1927, S7439). Mr Mongan, a Carna trader and hotel owner, called for an end to the demoralising 'little works' that left people 'worse than ever'. German engineers on the Shannon river electricity scheme thought the best workers were from the Gaeltacht.

Some of the psychological problems identified in the Gaeltacht existed elsewhere as well. For example, a 1920 conference of agricultural instructors in western counties stated that its classes were hampered by a lack of suitable classrooms; the reluctance of some farmer's sons to venture into villages and towns for the classes; a number of competing counter-attractions; and the backward education of some of the attendees (NAD, 1920, AGI A 13586/20; NAD, 1927, S7439). There were also complaints about smallholders' reluctance to attend classes and if they did, that they did not implement what had been taught (NAD, 1927, S7440). Some of these difficulties may have been due to the other accounts of Galway Gaeltacht people's insufficient nourishment, substandard 'hovels' and having to walk for hours to get to work on the Galway to Clifden railway line or in villages (NAD, 1926, S7440; NAD, 1933, S7441A).

4.3.2.6 Summary on Entrepreneurship Capital

Despite the hope associated with independence and the official status given to the Irish language and to the Irish speaking areas, the Gaeltacht Commission of 1926 stated that it was necessary to 'move the people... to a conscious sense of the necessity for self-help, self-reliance, and co-operation with the State' (Government of Ireland, 1926, 45). As in

the CDB reports, Connemara (along with Western Donegal and Erris in Co Mayo) was specially mentioned as being hopelessly congested and disadvantaged. Little entrepreneurship capital marked the late 1920s and little improved over the following 3 decades despite continued targetted state assistance. The following section describes the enterprise structure which existed and details some of the schemes designed to foster entrepreneurship.

4.3.3 Enterprise Structure

In the late 1920s, no discernable pattern of new business formation was emerging. This was partly due to the lack of natural mineral resources such as coal and steel, and the country's proximity to the industrial powerhouse of Britain. The economy of the new Free State was to grow at a slower rate than the other newly-emergent nations of Europe (Ó Gráda, 1997, 228). At the founding of the Free State, only 10% of employment was in manufacturing and there was very little export trade with only a handful of very large-scale companies. In line with the rural idyll ambitions, the 1930s policy was one of dispersal rather than clustering of new enterprises with little regard for business efficiency or effectiveness.

The Irish state was not alone and was not the most extreme, in implementing a protectionist policy throughout the 1930s and 1940s (Ó Gráda, 1994, 388). In addition to the tariffs, the 1932 Control of Manufacturers Act had limited the investment foreign people and businesses could make in Irish industry. The Anglo-Irish Trade Agreement of 1938 ended the economic war and was part of the effort to reduce the protectionist policy and develop export markets. In an effort to stimulate industrial development, the Industrial Development Authority was established in 1949, initially primarily as an advisory body. It was later to become a more independent body formulating and implementing industrial policy.

From the 1920s to the 1960s, the state established a number of state owned production, communication, marketing, finance, promotional and health organisations (FitzGerald, 1963). Examples include Comhlucht Siúcre Éireann Teo.; Bord na Móna; Ceimicí Teo; and Arramara Teo. Many of these state bodies, especially the production organisations competed with the private sector (see Arramara in Chapter Six). From the vantage point of the early 21st century, the level of state involvement in activities normally deemed to belong to the private sector is remarkable. The use of Irish language names for practically all these state owned enterprises is indicative of the symbolic rather than practical use of the Irish language in commerce.

In 1948, Department of Industry and Commerce data show how unindustrialised County Galway was, let alone the Gaeltacht area (in Spellissey, 1999). In the protected industries, the County accounted for 2.6% of the 1,072 firms; 2.3% of 39,537 jobs; and 2.4% of 294 firms with 20 or more employees. The Galway Chamber of Commerce (established in 1791, replacing the Tribes of Galway) established a trust fund in 1953 with its own investment, funding the establishment of a bone china factory (Spellissy, 1999). Whatever about Galway city and county as a whole, the Galway Gaeltacht was less developed.

Gaeltacht home (textiles) industries provided even less of a sustainable income than fishing. Trade had been good during the 1st World War, but increased production in Britain, mechanisation and the changes in fashion had had an adverse effect. The Gaeltacht Commission (Government of Ireland, 1926) reported on the 36 home industry (textiles) centres in the whole national Gaeltacht, employing 500 girls. Nine of the centres were in the Galway Gaeltacht, five in the Fíor-Ghaeltacht[21]. The Department of Fisheries (which now managed the home industries) also subsidised a number of schools run by nuns. The Department had a policy of transferring the home industries to private individuals and some of the Galway concerns were in the process of being transferred. The 1926 Gaeltacht Commission recommended that suitable industries be regionalised to certain areas and that a textiles brand and central marketing depot be established. It also recommended a brand for mackerel – a repeat of the CDB's 'Shamrock Brand' (CDB, 22nd AR, 1914), - this despite the fact that there had been no uptake of a scheme already available nationwide (Department of Fisheries, AR, 1923-25).

A Galway Toy factory established by the CDB in 1916-17 (CDB, 1917, 25th AR) operated at a loss of over 38% in the last six months of 1923. By 1927, the Department of Fisheries was in the process of seeking a private buyer for it (Roinn Iascaigh, 1927). In 1929, the Department established a central 'Gaeltacht Industries Depot' in Beggars Bush Barracks in Dublin to co-ordinate design, production and marketing of Gaeltacht textile industries. It also devised the Round Tower / *Cluigtheach* logo and brandname for knitwear and tweed. It was still in use up to the late 1960s (Roinn Tailte agus Iascaigh, 1930, GÉ AR, 1962-63). It was used for textiles, and for a while for carrageen (seaweed) (Department of Lands and Fisheries, 1930; Seirbhísí na Gaeltachta, 1937). The Department had a policy of training local Irish speaking Gaeltacht workers for the management positions in its rural industries (Department of Lands and Fisheries, 1930).

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21 Note that as the area with 80%+ Irish speaking rates, the Fíor-Ghaeltacht is the region of primary concern in the research.

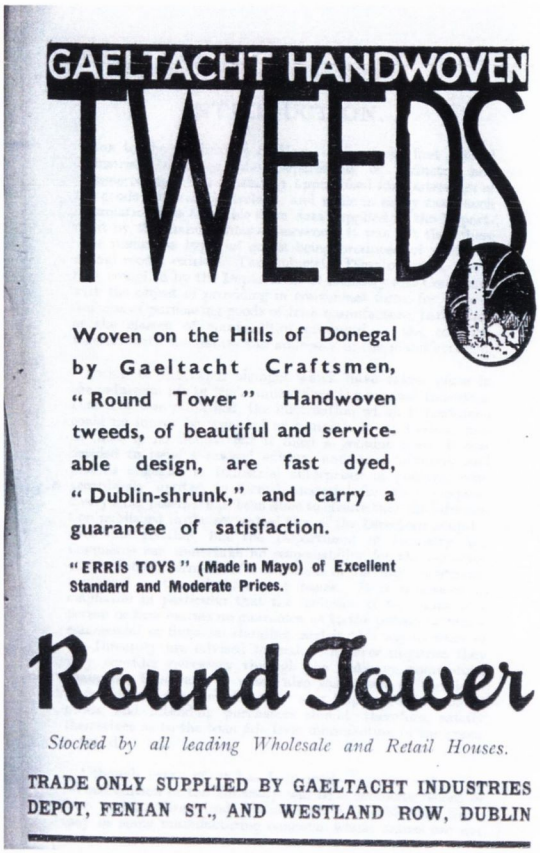

Figure 14: Round Tower brand, Irish Industrial Directory, 1935

By the mid 1930s there was a Gaeltacht Services Division in the Department of Lands (the department's functions having changed from Fisheries, to Lands and Fisheries, to Lands). In the same year an unsuccessful effort was made to extend the successful weaving industry in Donegal to the Galway and Mayo Gaeltacht. Machine knitting was conducted in the small factories; handknitting at home. All design, purchasing and marketing was managed centrally from Dublin. It was stated that profitability could not be compared with normal town factories. Training was provided for kelp makers, but the market for it collapsed from 1931 to 1936 due to cheaper competition. Carrageen was a new product which the department bought and sold for industry and for retail consumption, also under the Round Tower brand. It operated a small packing station in Casla employing workers on a seasonal basis for ca 12 shillings a week. Galway was the only county in which an itinerant domestic economy teacher was employed. The Rural Industries operated at a loss of 30% and 39% in the years 1935/36 and 1936/37 respectively. Marine products fared a bit better at a profit of 2.9% in 1935/36, and a loss of 27% in 1936/37 (Seirbhísí na Gaeltachta, 1937). The report also stated that although the Department of Industry and Commerce was making every effort to develop that part of the country the situation was not satisfactory. That Department presumably was pre-

occupied with other equally undeveloped parts of the country, perhaps not as extremely so, and therefore offering better opportunities for industry.

4.3.3.1 Population Specific Rates

This section outlines some of the data collated on enterprise foundations in the Galway Gaeltacht from the 1920s to the late 1940s. While figures for company formations in the Gaeltacht are not available, analysis of other sources illustrates that little organised activity took place in this period. Surrogate measures were located for self-employment and employer status. Reports for the 1926 and 1936 Censa of Population included comprehensive volumes on the Irish language 'with special tables for the Gaeltacht areas' covering issues such as occupation, industries etc. This section starts with these surrogate data.

4.3.3.1.1 Industrial Status

A common proxy measure for entrepreneurial activity is self-employment, and in this case the 1926 & 1936 equivalent would be 'employers' and 'own account' workers. Table 8 is a comparison of 1926 Saorstát (Free State) and national Gaeltacht figures illustrating that Gaeltacht residents were far more likely to be own account workers, or assisting relatives; and far less likely to be employers or employees. This indicates a low level of formal organisation in the labour or business markets. As an interesting aside, the gender difference among Gaeltacht employers was less pronounced than in the whole state.

	Fíor-Ghaeltacht			Saorstát Éireann		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Persons at Work						
Employers	2.8	2.3	2.7	6.5	4.8	6.1
Persons working on their Own Account	42.1	31.6	39.5	23.2	18.5	22.7
Relatives Assisting	42.3	44.9	42.9	20.4	21.6	20.7
Employees	11.3	19.4	13.3	42	51.7	44.5
Out of Work	1.5	1.8	1.6	6.9	3.4	6
Total at & out of work	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources:
Compiled from 1926 Census of Population, Volume VIII, Irish Language (Tables 20A & B) and Volume X, General Report (page 119)

Table 8: 1926 Industrial Status of Males and Females aged 12 years and over.

A decade later, in 1936, the figures had changed relatively little, but with a slight decrease in the percentage categorised as employers, and a remarkable increase in unemployment in the Fíor-Ghaeltacht (see Table 9). This may be due to the introduction of the dole in 1933. Prior to that, people may have registered themselves as assisting relatives.

Industrial Status	Numbers		Percentages		
	Fíor-Ghaeltacht	Breac-Ghaeltacht	Fíor-Ghaeltacht	Breac-Ghaeltacht	Total Saorstát Éireann
Employers	1,418	6,004	1.9	4.5	5.6
Own Account	28,261	41,735	38.4	31.2	21.2
Relatives assisting	29,332	41,713	39.9	31.2	19.7
Employees at work	11,069	37,574	15.1	28.1	45.8
Out of work	3,398	6,308	4.6	4.7	7.1
in Hospitals, etc.	23	548	0	0.4	0.6
Total Gainfully Occupied	73,501	133,882	100	100	100

Source: 1936 Census of Ireland, Volume IX: General Report, Table 242, page 201

Table 9: 1936 Industrial Status of Gainfully Employed Persons in the Gaeltacht aged 14 years and over.

Data for employers and own account workers for the national Fíor-Ghaeltacht in 1926 are presented in Appendix 10. Again the extremely high proportion of own account workers (and agriculture are most notable. The preceding two tables, and appendix refer to the national Gaeltacht, but there is little reason to think that the Galway Gaeltacht would be much different from the overall figures, except perhaps being less organised, as is evident from the following section.

4.3.3.1.2 Occupations / Industrial Sectors

The Censa also listed under the heading 'occupation' the industrial sectors in which people were active. In the Galway Fíor-Ghaeltacht, the extremely low number of people in any occupation other than Agricultural as a percentage of Total Gainfully Employed is notable - 8.3% of men, and 17.2% of women; 10.4% in total (see Table 10). By comparison, 16% of the national Fíor-Ghaeltacht, and 47% of the Saorstát worked outside of Agriculture (the last two columns of the table). Making an international comparison the Department of Industry and Commerce noted that of those gainfully employed in Scotland, 91.5% worked outside of agriculture (1926, 24). Looking at those involved in services, the percentage working in Commercial, Finance or Insurance occupations in the Galway Fíor-Ghaeltacht is little over one tenth of what the Saorstát rate is, indicating among other things the absence of formalised financial and commercial markets. The counterpart data for the year 1936 are presented in Table 11, indicating that little had changed over the decade, apart from the unexpected decrease in fishermen and the high increase in builders and bricklayers etc.

Occupation	Galway Fíor-Gaeltacht Only		National Fíor-Gaeltacht		Galway Occup'ns as % of Galway Total Gainful Employ't	Saorstát Occup'ns as % of Saorstát Total Gainful Employ't
	Male	Female	Male	Female	M & F	M & F
Agricultural Occupations	16,620	4,552	49,399	13,681	89.59	53.0
Fishermen	142	0	1,232	0	0.60	
Mining & Quarrying	3	0	62	0	0.01	
Makers of Foods, Drinks & Tobacco	21	3	113	78	0.16	
Textile Workers	20	28	85	614	0.12	
Makers of Apparel & Textile Goods	80	88	475	652	0.71	
Workers in Hides, Skins & Leather	3	0	18	0	0.01	
Workers in Wood & Furniture	109	0	445	0	0.46	
Metal Workers	97	0	335	0	0.41	
Electrical Apparatus Makers & Fitters	1	0	16	0	0.00	
Workers in Chemical Processes, Makers of Fertilisers, Soap, Paints etc	0	0	1	0	0.00	
Workers in & Makers of Paper & Cardboard, Printers, Bookbinders, etc	0	0	1	0	0.00	
Builders, Bricklayers, Stone & Slate Cutters & Contractors	219	0	795	0	0.93	
Painters & Decorators	3	0	25	0	0.01	
Other Producers, Makers & Repairers	2	2	17	12	0.02	13.5
Total Producers, Makers and Repairers	17,320	4,673	53,019	15,037	93.06	66.5
Transport & Communications	168	5	748	18	0.73	3.2
Commercial, Finance & Insurance Occupations	148	76	831	420	0.95	9.3
Persons engaged in Public Administration & Defence (excl. Professional Men/Women & Typists)	140	35	509	140	0.74	6.2
Professional Occupations	215	261	697	846	2.01	3.2
Persons engaged in Personal Services (incl. Institutions, Clubs, Hotels, etc.)	101	442	390	2,138	2.30	10.5
Clerks (& Draughtsmen) (not Civil Service or Local Authority) & All Typists	5	7	43	42	0.05	
Other Gainful Occupations	37	0	236	13	0.2	1.1
Total Gainful Employment	18,134	5,499	56,473	18,654	100.0	100.0
Males / Females Not Gainfully Occupied	2,591	12,796	9,205	42,461		
Total Males / Females 12 Years & over	20,725	18,295	65,678	61,115		

Source: 1926 Census of Population, Volume VIII,Tables 22A & 22B & Volume X: General Report, p 24

Table 10: 1926 Occupations / Industrial Sectors of Fíor-Gaeltacht Residents

Occupation	Galway Fíor-Ghaeltacht Only		National Fíor-Ghaeltacht		Galway Occupations as % of Galway Total Gainful Empl't	National Fíor-Ghaeltacht Occup'ns as % of Total Gainful Empl't
	Male	Female	Male	Female	M & F	M & F
Agricultural Occupations	15,935	3,634	47,871	11,793	85.26	81.17
Fishermen	107	0	908	0	0.47	1.24
Mining & Quarrying	14	0	26	0	0.06	0.04
Makers of Foods, Drinks & Tobacco	26	2	98	67	0.12	0.22
Textile Workers	17	90	124	532	0.47	0.89
Makers of Apparel & Textile Goods	59	67	383	385	0.55	1.04
Workers in Hides, Skins & Leather	2	0	14	0	0.01	0.02
Workers in Wood & Furniture	136	0	490	0	0.59	0.67
Metal Workers	104	0	341	0	0.45	0.46
Electrical Apparatus Makers & Fitters	5	0	17	0	0.02	0.02
Workers in Chemical Processes, Makers of Fertilisers, Soap, Paints etc	1	0	2	0	0.00	0.00
Workers in & Makers of Paper & Cardboard, Printers, Bookbinders, etc	1	0	1	0	0.00	0.00
Builders, Bricklayers, Stone & Slate Cutters & Contractors	616	0	1,805	0	2.68	2.46
Painters & Decorators	2	0	26	0	0.01	0.04
Other Producers, Makers & Repairers	4	4	14	14	0.03	0.04
Total Producers, Makers and Repairers	17,029	3,797	52,120	12,791	90.74	88.31
Transport & Communications	216	28	824	87	1.06	1.24
Commercial, Finance & Insurance Occupations	181	102	940	438	1.23	1.87
Persons engaged in Public Administration & Defence (excl. Professonal Men/Women & Typists)	150	20	635	97	0.74	1.00
Professional Occupations	215	270	692	1,003	2.11	2.31
Persons engaged in Personal Services (incl. Institutions, Clubs, Hotels, etc.)	101	525	389	2,324	2.73	3.69
Clerks (& Draughtsmen) (not Civil Service or Local Authority) & All Typists	14	13	68	50	0.12	0.16
Other Gainful Occupations	283	8	1,005	38	1.27	1.42
Total Gainful Employment	18,189	4,763	56,673	16,828	100.00	100.00
Males / Females Not Gainfully Occupied	1,427	11,463	n/a	38,872		
Total Males / Females 12 Years & over	19,616	16,226	56,673	55,700		

Source: 1936 Census of Population, Volume VIII, Tables 19A& 19B

Table 11: 1936 Occupations / Industrial Sectors of Fíor-Gaeltacht Residents

4.3.3.1.3 Company Listings

We now turn to direct measures of company formations. The period from 1923 to the late 1950s was generally marked by stagnancy and relatively little industrialisation outside Leinster. Table 12 shows the number of companies registered under the Companies (Consolidation) Act 1908 for the period 1923 to 1935 as an illustration of how little new firm formation was happening in the early years of the Free State – an average of fewer than 10 per county. Business continued to operate largely on a 'sole trader' type basis. In this context the dearth of new firm formations evident in the Galway Gaeltacht is hardly surprising.

Year	New Companies	Voluntary Liquidation	Struck Off	Net Increase	Net on Register incl. those in course of liquidation or removal
1923	104	15	11	77	ca. 1600
1924	106	13	2	89	ca. 1650
1925	105	21	2	82	1,512
1926	125	13	4	94	1,581
1927	102	22	4	80	1,610
1928	148	23	35	87	1,721
1929	134	29	32	73	1,773
1930	110	44	44	21	1,815
1931	142	43	45	52	1,881
1932	166	28	n/a	138	1,963
1933	229	35	56	137	2,141
1934	248	31	n/a	218	2,289
1935	254	33	n/a	154	2,452

Note: Figures are for the whole of the Free State (Republic of Ireland)
Source: OPUB IE INDU 10, Trinity College Dublin Library

Table 12: Companies Registered in the Free State under Companies (Consolidation) Act 1923 - 35

In Volume Ten of the 1926 Census, County Galway is not mentioned at all in a list of 35 industries locally concentrated (Department of Industry and Commerce, 1926, 31). A decade later, little had changed. The Irish Industrial Directory was published by the Department of Industry and Commerce (1935), in 1935, 1940 and again in 1955:

> 'with the object of providing in convenient form, for persons desirous of purchasing goods of Irish manufacture, particulars of the classes of commodities produced in the country together with the names and addresses of the manufacturers. ... Manufacturers and persons engaged in industrial enterprises in general [were] invited to furnish material ... [and] the Minister [could] not vouch for the accuracy of statements made ... or guarantee the commercial or financial standing of the persons or firms mentioned in the Directory' (Department of Industry and Commerce, 1955).

In the 1935 edition, the 48 entries for the whole of County Galway account for ca. 1.5 of the 94 pages (Appendix 11). Apart from the Gaeltarra Éireann branded products, there are five other (private) entries for the Galway Gaeltacht in 1935, for fishing nets, textiles and feedstuff. The 1955 directory lists two more – one private quarry and the state owned seaweed processing plant Alginate Industries also known as Arramara. 'Gaeltarra' was a brand name used from the late 1920s onwards and was then used as the name of the state body established in 1957 to manage the Gaeltacht industries.

Table 13, with data from the Census of Industrial Production in 1936 shows the unsurprisingly high level of individually owned establishments compared to other forms of legal ownership. Table 14 shows that 63% of net output and 57% of employment was in establishments aged over 14 years (i.e. before the foundation of the state). The new fledgling state was finding it hard to find its industrial feet, and was dependent on the older better established firms.

Percentage Distribution of Establishments, Gross Output, Net Output and Persons Engaged in 1936, classified according to Ownership

Ownership	Establishments	Gross Output	Net Output	Persons Engaged (mid October)
Individuals	40.7	9.7	10.4	15.9
Partnerships	10.4	3.7	3.7	5.8
Corporate Companies	27.1	35.8	31.0	33.6
Public Companies	7.0	37.5	41.1	26.5
Co-operative Societies	6.1	6.8	2.2	1.8
Unallocated *	8.7	6.5	11.6	16.4
Total %	100	100	100	100

* Including Local Authorities, Government Departments, Institutions
Source: Census of Industrial Production, 1936, Table 17, page xxiv.

Table 13: Ownership of Establishments Surveyed in 1936 CIP.

Duration of Establishment in 1936

Date of Establishment	Years at time of CIP	Net Output Value £000	%	Persons Engaged (mid-October) Number	%
Prior to 1922	Over 14	19,552	63	78036	57
1922-1926	10 to 14	3196	10	14362	11
1927-1931	5 to 9	3283	11	15549	11
1932-1936	0 to 4	5114	16	28787	21
Total Included *		31,145	100	136,734	100

* Certain industries excluded: canals, docks, harbours, local authorities, waterworks, Government departments, and a small number of firms for which particulars are not available.
Source: CIP, 1936, Table 20, page xxvii.

Table 14: Age of Establishments Surveyed in 1936 CIP.

4.3.3.1.4 Rural / Gaeltacht Industries

The Department of Fisheries Annual Report of 1927 outlines the Department's work in fisheries and in the 42 'rural industries' in the congested districts, 11 of them in County Galway. These 11 rural industries, or small scale factories / workshops, employed a total of 284 workers, operating at a loss margin of 27.5%. There were an additional '10 industries controlled by institutions in which the Department paid the salaries of 12 of the instructors' (Roinn Iascaigh, 1927, 42-43). Seven of the directly controlled centres were 'closed down owing to lack of interest shown by local workers' (ibid, 43). None of those closed down was in Galway, where one new one was established. By the year 1928, the Department had 33 rural centres, all but one in the Gaeltacht (Roinn Tailte agus Iascaigh, 1930). Table 15 lists the various industries operated by the Department from 1923 to 1937. What is interesting to note is the emphasis on textiles and the continuing domestic economy classes. Training was still a central part of all the rural industries.

State Managed Gaeltacht Rural Industries 1923 - 1937

Activity	1923-25	1926-1930	1931-35	Total
Textiles				
Crochet and Knitting	0	2	0	2
Machine Knits	0	7	0	7
Machine Socks	0	0	5	5
Embroidery and Crochet	0	6	0	6
Hand Knitting	0	2	0	2
Weaving	0	1	0	1
Weaving Instruction	0	0	1	1
Sub-Total	0	18	6	24
Other				
Wooden Toy Factory	1	0	0	1
Domestic Economy	0	0	2	2
Carageen Packing (Seasonal)	0	0	1	1
Activity Not Stated	0	3	1	4
Sub-Total	1	3	4	8
Grand Total	1	21	10	32

Notes: This is a list of enterprises listed, and not necessarily established in those years; eg. the Toy factory existed before 1923.
Four entries are for locations no longer in the Gaeltacht: 1 handknit; 2 unstated activities
Sources: NAD, Taoiseach, S 7441 A; Roinn Iascaigh, 1927; Seirbhísí na Gaeltachta, 1937

Table 15: State Managed Gaeltacht Rural Industries 1923-37

By 1931 there were 24 centres nationwide operating under the Gaeltacht Rural Industries Scheme, six of them in the Galway Gaeltacht, employing 76 people. Table 16 illustrates that productivity per worker was lower than the Gaeltacht average. The Galway Gaeltacht centre with the highest productivity was Roundstone, a town later removed from the Gaeltacht, its surrounding areas of Iorras Beag and Inis Ní in the contemporary Gaeltacht.

Established Centres

Location of Industry	Number Employed	£ Value of Goods produced	Wages Paid to Workers	Average £ Value per Worker *
Ardara (Weaving)	22	3,400	400	154.55
Ardara (Embroidery)	4	92	67	23.00
Ardara (Lace)	6	105	68	17.50
Ballydehob	2	29	19	14.50
Ballynahown G	10	816	156	81.60
Bruckless	34	698	612	20.53
Belmullet	10	447	225	44.70
Bangor Erris	8	594	260	74.25
Carrraroe (Knitting) G	10	471	160	47.10
Carndonagh	5	195	91	39.00
Carrateigue	6	91	37	15.17
Cliffoney	10	295	203	29.50
Corclough	3	103	43	34.33
Falcarragh	3	250	56	83.33
Geesala	5	122	97	24.40
Glengarriff	9	430	176	47.78
Gorumna G	10	494	67	49.40
Keel	21	1,095	460	52.14
Kilcar	22	3,800	370	172.73
Lettermore G	21	575	176	27.38
Moycullen G	14	700	296	50.00
Muings	22	918	294	41.73
Pulathomas	12	1,150	342	95.83
Roundstone G	11	1,138	351	103.45
Total	280	18,008	5,026	64.31
All Galway G	76	4194	1206	55.18

Note:
Learners taken on during year receive no pay while under instruction.
Galway has lower than average productivity.
G: Contemporary Galway Gaeltacht
Source: NAD, Taoiseach, S 7441A

Table 16: Gaeltacht Industries 1930-31: Employment and Turnover

In the 1930s, the Gaeltacht Services operated an Industrial Grant scheme, providing grants for those ineligible under the Trade Loans (Guarantee) Acts of 1924-1934, for the purchase of horses and carts for kelpmakers, purchase and repair of turf-boats in Galway, and hire-purchase of weaving looms. However the scheme was fairly limited and more suitable for 'own account' workers as can be seen in Table 17. The high level of arrears from the granite quarry originally established by the CDB masks a fairly good repayment track record. The total amount of grant aid given in the 6 years from 1931/32 to 1936/37 amounted to a tiny £1,790, equivalent to 6.4% of what was spent on the central marketing depot in the same period, serving the home industry centres, or equivalent to the maximum grant aid for building 3 or 4 houses per annum under the Gaeltacht (Housing) Act of 1929 (Seirbhísí na Gaeltachta, 1937). By comparison, in 1935, Coiste na bPáistí (the Children's Committee) an Irish language voluntary group to support national school

children spending 4 weeks in the Gaeltacht raised £800 in one year (NAD, 1935, S7449A) (see Chapter Case Studies).

Industrial Loans: Advances and Repayments 1935 - 1937

Loans Description	Loans Given in Cash / in Kind				Monies Paid				
	Up to 31 March 1935	1935-36	1936-67	Total	Up to 31 March 1935	1935-36	1936-67	Total	Arrears
Loans for the purchase of horses and carts	1,453	0	0	1,453	1,214	99	82	1,395	58
Loans for purchase and repair of turf boats	313	28	0	341	171	95	76	342	-1
Loan for the establishment of a Ferry Service between Cape Clear and Baltimore (Co Cork)	264	0	0	264	152	40	24	216	48
Loan to work a Granite Quarry in Galway (1910)	7,000	0	0	7,000	1,555	44	44	1,643	5,357
Loans for the purchases of looms, machines, etc.	142	36	12	190	41	37	34	112	78
Loans issued on the Hire Purchase System	646	113	20	779	15	409	267	691	88
Total	9,818	177	32	10,027	3,148	724	527	4,399	5,628

Source: Adapted from Appendix 4, Seirbhísí na Gaeltachta, 1937

Table 17: Gaeltacht Services Industrial Loan Fund mid 1930s

In 1937 the Minister for Education wrote a memo to the Minister for Industry and Commerce, whose department had over the years shown little interest in developing industry in the Gaeltacht citing a number of private enterprises which had been refused funding under the Trade Loans (Guarantee) Act, including one for a lager brewery in An Spidéal, a rabbit skin processing factory, and various textile businesses (NAD, 1937, S7441A). The author has not located a response to the memo.

From the 1920s to the 1950s, numerous other schemes existed to support Gaeltacht agriculture, tourism or industry in general, some also applying to the former congested districts, others specifically for the Gaeltacht, or the Fíor-Ghaeltacht (Appendix 12). Some of these schemes are discussed in more detail in Chapter Six. In summary, the enterprise founding rates in the Galway Gaeltacht from the 1920s to the 1940s were not too different from those of the previous 30 years. The area was still in a pre-industrial stage although

matters were improving gradually. One informant recalls that a co-operative existed in An Cheathrú Rua, which disbanded in the 1940s (Ó Flathartha, 2002). The next section looks at the scant amount of evidence found for the various stages of emergence in terms of pioneers and early fledglings, and of the efforts to gain legitimacy.

4.3.3.2 Stages of Emergence

Similar to the previous time period, the 1920s to 1940s saw few new organisational populations emerge. Self-employment and own-account activity continued to predominate. As stated earlier, the state took it upon itself to establish and manage many new enterprises at national and at Gaeltacht level. No specific data for the 1940s were located, but given the situation in the late 1950s as outlined in the following section, it is presumed that there was little development in that decade.

4.3.3.2.1 Pioneers, Early Fledglings and Variation

Begrudgery and suspicion of any success, particularly business success was a negative legacy of the gombeen man and his 'greasy till' (Yeats, 1913 / 1990, p102). Yet writer Seán Ó Faoláin (1940, reprinted in Kelly, 2002, 166) included two Galwaymen - Mongan and MacDonagh - in his list of small or big town 'magnates' who could lead in raising standards Mongan from Carna was a community leader through his work as a TD (member of parliament), and had spoken at the 1927 public meeting referred to earlier in this chapter. However no record has been found of Mongan having established any new form of enterprise other than his own hotel and shop in Carna.

4.3.3.3 Entrepreneurship Landscape

Enterprise and industrialisation still did not have a significant position in the socio-economic landscape of the Galway Gaeltacht, an area which was perhaps a microcosm for other rural areas throughout the country. Own-account working was most common, especially in agriculture. Few new formal enterprises were registered nationwide, let alone in the Galway Gaeltacht.

4.4 Preparation for Take-Off: 1950s to Early 1960s

The previous two periods were marked by a dearth of entrepreneurial activity or the appropriate environmental conditions or entrepreneurship capital, which could create any meaningful level of innovative activity. However by the second half of the century, the situation was slowly beginning to change, perhaps because there was no viable alternative. This section outlines the environmental conditions and entrepreneurship capital factors up to the eve of entrepreneurial take-off in the Galway Gaeltacht in the early 1960s.

4.4.1 Environmental Conditions

By the middle of the century, an air of hopelessness pervaded. High unemployment and emigration rates had returned, the ill-effects of protectionism were apparent, and the country's leadership seemed at a loss as to what to do. Agriculture was still an important aspect of the economy, although small uneconomic farms continued to be prominent. Over 60% of farms in Connacht were of less than 30 acres, against a national figure of less than 50% (Ó Gráda, 1997, 152). The prospect was bleak, partly also due to the lack of human capital in the sector. Only 16% of farm managers in the mid 1970s had any post-primary education (Ó Gráda, 1997, 156). Emigration drained the country of youth and talent. Forty two percent of the girls aged 15 – 19 years in Connaught had emigrated by 1951, and during the 1950s 80% of those born between 1931 and 1941 emigrated (Lee, 1989, 377 & 279). By the 1960s most houses had electricity, although some remote pockets, including Gaeltacht areas still had none, only 12% of rural homes had piped water in 1956, and by 1968 there were only 64 telephones per 1,000 population (Census, 1956; Ó Gráda, 1997, 35).

In the words of TK Whitaker, the 'dark night of the soul [of the 1950s] plumbed the depths of hopelessness' in 1955 and 1956 (Whitaker, 1982, 67). The changes proposed in 1958 in *Economic Development* and largely adopted in the First Programme of Economic Expansion simply needed to happen. *Economic Development* (Department of Finance, 1958), heralded the beginning of a shift from protectionism to free trade, from the discouragement of foreign investment to the encouragement of it. The report urged that Irish financial capital be diverted from 'bricks and mortar' to more productive entrepreneurial use. The main author of the report was T.K. Whitaker a rising star in the Civil Service who was familiar with the Gaeltacht, and well involved socially and professionally in the Irish language sector. Despite the continuing practice of promotion based on length of service rather than merit (Lee, 1989, 344), a new cadre of young able civil servants, including Whitaker, was gradually rising through the system, untrammeled by personal experiences of the various upheavals of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

By 1959 – 60, an economic recovery and general improvement in morale were becoming perceptible, through improved export figures and general political and social debate (Whitaker, 1960). Nevertheless the country still depended largely on one single export market – Britain – in the same way as it would depend on the US economy four decades later in the later in the 1990s and 2000s (Foley, 2002). The glimmer of hope was not bright enough for the continued stream of young people emigrating mainly for economic but also for social reasons (Kane, 1973; Ó Flatharta, 2002). The Catholic church and

other vested interests still had a strong role in the running of the state. Chain emigration of family and neighbours going to one particular place led to new homes from home. The Committee on Industrial Organisation which met from 1961 to 1965 led the conduct of a number of comprehensive studies of various industrial sectors. FitzGerald states that the committee's tough honest uninhibited enquiry and discussion of industry's problems and deficiencies, changed the whole atmosphere of Irish industry (FitzGerald, 1968, 64).

4.4.1.1 Institutions

What is interesting in this period is the prevailing positive institutional attitude towards rural industrialisation and the parallel negative institutional attitude towards the industrialisation of the Gaeltacht. This issue is discussed first, followed by a discussion of the new state body specifically established to manage the Gaeltacht rural industries hitherto managed by a series of civil service departments and divisions.

4.4.1.2 Prevailing Attitudes to the Gaeltacht among Dublin Élite

The utopian image of the Gaeltacht and of Irish speakers continued to influence policy. In the mid 1950s the Gaeltacht was being reviewed. A deputation from Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge, the Dublin-based representative body of a number of Irish language organisations, was received by the Minister for Lands regarding the proposed ministry of the Gaeltacht. A report on the visit records that they wished to confer privileges on Gaeltacht residents which would create in them a pride for their language, but 'first rate economic schemes for the Fíor-Ghaeltacht might have to be abandoned if they would have the effect of increasing the tendency among the residents to use the English language'. They favoured the appointment as Minister (for the soon to be established Department of the Gaeltacht) 'a progressive, enthusiastic, "non-native" Irish-speaker' rather than a 'native' Irish-speaker who 'might be subjected to pressure by "native" and "non-native" speakers in his constituency' (NAD, 1954, S7441A). The dichotomy continued between the well-meaning and comfortably well-off non-Gaeltacht language enthusiast and the disadvantaged Gaeltacht Irish speaker expected to remain so. Two decades earlier in the 1930s, the point had been made by the then Minister for Finance Seán McEntee that the former would visit the latter but baulked at spending the night in the 'extreme discomfort' normally associated with Gaeltacht accommodation (NAD, 1934, S7839A). Three decades later in the 1980s, the Department of the Gaeltacht stated in its booklet of private accommodation available in the Gaeltacht that readers could take it that there was a water supply and sewerage system in each house listed (Roinn na Gaeltachta, 1982).

The following year (1955) a review of the Gaeltacht Rural Industries stated that it wished to drive home 'with stubborn emphasis' that 'an absolute industrial system will not easily

be imposed on them [Gaeltacht residents] and they will not submit to it as say the residents of Huddersfield do' (NAD, 1955, S7441A). In fact, many Connemara Gaeltacht emigrants did indeed work in the 'absolute industrial systems' of Huddersfield. Competitors were taxed to defray the costs incurred by the Gaeltacht Services Division. It was hard to see how private competitors would be happy to see a state supported independent board. In a telling response to the American IBEC report (IBEC, 1952) the review also stoutly defended the Gaeltacht industries as being a social services, a point it was thought the American researchers had not realised.

> 'Basically the industries are a SOCIAL SERVICE [underline and caps in original] the principal aim being to help the people of the Gaeltacht to supplement what can be earned from the land and sea, and monetary loss being the price paid for the cultural and social return rendered to the country. It is unrealistic therefore, to subject the industries to the tests applicable to orthodox commercial enterprise' (NAD, 1955, S7441A).

This attitude was a far cry from any kind of empowering fostering of entrepreneurial behaviour.

4.4.1.3 Gaeltarra Éireann – Foundation in 1958

It was against the depressed economic backdrop in the run-up to *Economic Development* (Department of Industry and Commerce, 1958), and the linguistic backdrop of the 1956 review of the Gaeltacht boundaries, that Gaeltarra Éireann was established in 1958, under the Gaeltacht Industries Act of 1957. Up to this point, the Gaeltacht industries were still being operated under civil service etc., through the Gaeltacht Services Division of the newly established (1956) Department of the Gaeltacht. It was felt this institutional structure 'severely handicapped' the running of the industries on a commercial basis (Boylan, 2002, 104). The system required them to serve a parliamentary system of Government.

The Board of five was chaired by Caoimhín Brioscú, Dublin. One other board member was from Dublin, the balance from three Gaeltacht counties. The Board had a busy first year, meeting 32 times, to review the 40 operational units across 6 counties, employing 1,344 people in total. A total of 50 civil service staff were returned to their original jobs, and 32 new staff members were employed, 90% of whom had the requisite level of Irish. The rural industries involved were wool spinning and hand made tweed; toymaking; knitwear and handknitting; crochet; and hand embroidery of tweed. Seventy nine percent of the workforce was female. Fifty eight percent worked in Donegal and only 10% in Galway. Fundamental changes were made to the administration and organisation of the various units. The headquarters for production, supplies and marketing (with permanent

showrooms) were in 34, Westland Row in Dublin although all production took place in the Gaeltacht (GÉ, 1959 AR).

The third annual report (GÉ, 1961) acknowledged that most of the centres were operating unprofitably. The Board was of the opinion that it could fulfill its statutory remit to provide employment in Gaeltacht areas without asking 'too much' of the state coffers – an acknowledgement that it was still providing the 'social service' as referred to in the 1950s memo cited above. Around the same time it also instigated apprentice schemes in conjunction with the (national) Vocational Education Committee, and appointed marketing agents in Britain and the USA, and attended British trade fairs, and later also in other Continental European markets. Sales fluctuated but generally declined for tweed and increased for knitwear. It began to decentralise some of its operations in the early 1960s, and also reported a high turnover of staff despite nationally agreed wage rates (GÉ, 1962, AR). It continued to use the Round Tower and Gaeltarra brand names and co-operated with other state industrial development organisations such as Córas Tráchtála (the Export Board) and the IDA.

4.4.2 Entrepreneurship Capital

By now, the levels of entrepreneurship capital were slowly improving, but with a continuing lack of optimism, self-confidence and resilience.

4.4.2.1 Human Capital

Education still had a long way to go by early 21st century standards. There was a reluctance to increase the school leaving age and the system still favoured the humanities at the expense of science and technical subjects (Garvin, 2004). In 1963, only 47% of children continued their education beyond the age of 13 years (OECD, 1965); and only 2% of students benefited from the second level local authority scholarships (Lee, 1989, 362). The OCED report, *Investment in Education*, highlighted the lack of opportunities poorer children had to progress to second or third level education. The education system still favoured the wealthy to the detriment of any talented child unlucky enough to have been born into a poorer background (1965, 1966).

The Irish Management Institute, established in 1953 strove to improve business and management skills but met with reluctance among Irish businessmen, few of whom had adequate relevant qualifications (Tomlin, 1966). Commerce, business and management as academic disciplines were in their infancy compared to economics or sociology. Ireland was not alone with its weak management skills; Europe as a whole was considered to have weak management methods. In 1957 Irish Management magazine queried how scientific management could be developed given that 'such factors as family ties,

friendship, religion, or national record are allowed to outweigh more significant qualifications' (Irish Management, 1957, quoted in Lee, 1989, 393).

A British government official remarked on the 'outflow of emigrants who have any initiative and any desire to better themselves' (quoted in Ó Gráda, 1997, 74). Seasonal migration meant there was no investment in the long term future of family homesteads. Emigration was a particular problem in the Gaeltacht, as discussed in many of GÉ's Annual Reports in the 1960s. Throughout the 20th century young Gaeltacht people had very few role models in prominent positions at home. For example the Gaeltacht Services Division of the 1940s and 1950s did not have any Gaeltacht staff who had been to university (Ó Baoighealláin, 2002).

4.4.2.2 Cultural Capital

The historian Lee writes that that loss of the Irish language had slowed economic development (1989), echoing a point made by Tóibín in 1953, who also stated that that lack of fluency in continental European languages prevented the exchange of new ideas with the Continent. Self-confidence in our own language and culture had been lost due to the dominance of the nearest neighbour. This point was made again in the early 21st century by one of the more dynamic Chief Executives of Gaeltarra Éireann, Cathal Mac Gabhann (2004). In the 1960s, the Irish language was still seen as a symbolic but not particularly practical or useful aspect of Irish culture and economy, a point not lost on the Gaeltacht community, which pointed out through the civil rights campaign (see next Chapter) for example that symbolic importance should be matched with financial investment. The association of the language with tradition and the importance of preserving from outside influence reflected the overall attitude towards new ideas and any kind of innovation, as discussed in the next section.

4.4.2.3 Psychological Capital and Attitudes to Innovation

The Irish government commissioned the New York based IBEC Technical Services Corporation to ascertain the 'potentials of industrial development' (IBEC Technical Services Corporation, 1952, 3). Among its conclusions on the then national industrial development policies were how little of the state's capital was invested in productive projects and the high level of state owned productive enterprises. Emigration had 'drained off a significant fraction of the most vigorous and ambitious youth' (80); and there was a reluctance to accept 'the hazards inherent in changed practices upon which expansion depends' (80). There was an overall 'anti-materialist philosophy, [an] ascetiscim that oppose[d] material aspirations to spiritual goals' (80), despite aspirations of economic expansion. They called for a 'boldness of individual initiative and [a] healthy gusto for the good things of life (93). This was not an encouraging situation. Six years

after that report, Whitaker's *Economic Development* (Department of Finance, 1958) was published and there was a huge change of policy with an end to protectionism and a major drive to modernise the economy and society.

In the 1960s the rate of depopulation was accelerating and the purpose of providing employment, in industry, was seen as reducing the rates of emigration and depopulation, especially in rural areas. In the Gaeltacht, fishing was seen as being in decline; agriculture to be stagnant; tourism to be dependent on too many absent factors. Thus in the absence of any viable alternative industrial employment was seen as the only or primary option for development (Gaeltarra /SFADCO, 1971; Symes, 1965).

4.4.2.4 Summary on Entrepreneurship Capital

The most significant increase in entrepreneurship capital in this period was in social capital in terms of increased travel broadening people's networks. A weak psychological capital still prevailed, and the education system did little to address that issue or to increase human capital. Few aspired to the new industrial employment opportunities about to emerge.

4.4.3 Enterprise Structure

In an effort to develop rural areas, dispersal of industries was the policy in the 1950s and 1960s, with a tendency 'to locate new business in outlandish parts of the country to reduce unemployment' (Ó Gráda, 1997, 74). The infrastructure was underdeveloped leading to much inefficiency and lack of profitability.

There was an internal conflict in public policy and practice on enterprise development. There was no lack of native capital but rather a perception that there was no outlet for it. This was despite the fact that the protectionist Control of Manufactures Act continued to protect against foreign investment, even though once investors complied with conditions they were made welcome. Yet the newly formed IDA was supposed to be attracting foreign investment to the country. Also the Undeveloped Areas Act of 1952 concentrated on attracting foreign and outside investment into underdeveloped areas (Ó Gráda, 1997, 86). These areas were defined as the Congested Districts[22], and any other areas which could be included by ministerial order.

4.4.3.1 Failed Fledglings and Pioneers

Comparison between the fledglings who flew and those who failed give some illumination to what the factors of success are. For example, with a pioneering enterprise, societal

22 While the CDB was dissolved in 1923, the term Congested Districts continued to be used in official state business up to the 1950s, often in the context of 'the Gaeltacht and the Congested Districts'.

and environmental factors have even more of an impact than in less pioneering situations. The environment may have too dampening an effect on the entrepreneur. A general attitude in the 1950s towards dynamic people making an effort to make positive changes might be summed up by Ó Catháin's (2006) description of his father and seaweed factory co-founders being avoided as they went about seeking support:

> '[bhí siad ag dul thart] mar a déarfá ag rá, 'meastú cé a gheobhfaidh muid' agus sa deireadh ní raibh mórán cairde fágtha acu. Is beag nach raibh ann 'Oh Christ, an bhfeiceann tú é seo ag teacht arís', an cineál sin...'
>
> ([they were going around] saying ' who can we get' and in the end they didn't have many friends left. They were nearly saying 'Oh Christ, look who's coming again', that kind of thing.')

They were not only dampened by the depression of the 1950s but also by competition from the state-owned direct competitor Arramara (40km away) offering better prices for seaweed.

4.5 **Conclusion of Chapter**

There was a large overlap between the Gaeltacht as redefined in 1956 and the Undeveloped areas, yet relatively little of the investment made in the Undeveloped Areas was made in Gaeltacht areas. This led to Gaeltarra Éireann seeking legislative power to extend its remit beyond the management of the Gaeltacht industries it had inherited (many dating back to the CDB era), to fostering minor industries being established by the private sector. In 1966, the Gaeltacht Industries (Amendment) Act of 1965 took effect, allowing GÉ to support private enterprise. This Small Industries Scheme was later widened to the whole country, under the remit of the IDA. Gradually the state was developing particular policies to foster small scale entrepreneurship. This is the major turning point in terms of the state's policy for entrepreneurship in general, and in the Gaeltacht in particular, and is a suitable juncture at which to finish this chapter on the incubatory period prior to emergence.

5 Emergence and Take-Off

5.1 Introduction

By the early 1960s, a new sense of hope was developing throughout the country as a more open, forward thinking, dynamic industrial economic policy began to emerge. This change was also apparent in the Galway Gaeltacht. This chapter outlines how entrepreneurship emerged first of all in a fledgling manner, in tandem with inward industrial investment. It also describes how indigenous entrepreneurship eventually took-off in the late 1970s to 1980s, and truly came into its own in the late 1980s and the 1990s. The chapter is structured around the conceptual framework as presented in the literature review, and is presented in four primary sections, namely the situation immediately before emergence; the fledgling stage; the take-off stage and the presentation of quantitative data. These data are presented last, as they provide a visual and tabular presentation of the emergence of entrepreneurship over time. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of the period from the mid 1960s to the early 21st century.

5.2 The 1960s – Incubation Complete

By the mid 1960s the incubation period was over. Much was happening on an international and national level conducive to innovation and entrepreneurship. This section commences with a description of the environmental conditions, institutional forces and entrepreneurship capital, before progressing to a discussion of some of the enterprise structure in the Galway Gaeltacht in the late 1960s.

5.2.1 Environmental Conditions

The 1960s were the golden years, the first decade of real modernisation, with a sudden influx of foreign ideas and practices through telecommunications and travel and through foreign investment and foreign managers running many of the 350 manufacturing plants established during the decade (Kiberd, 1995, 565). Television, and improved travel and telecommunications increased knowledge of the outside world and different ways of working and living. Internationally, various civil rights movements were gaining improved rights for minority or disadvantaged groups, such as the black community in the United States, and students in Prague and Paris. In 1967, the Civil Rights movement in Northern Ireland emerged, seeking equal rights for Catholics / Nationalists, and by the 1970s most of the demands had been conceded. In parallel with this innovation, the cyclical rural life continued, often negatively affected by inadequate infrastructure and its attendant depression and loneliness, and a lingering dole mentality. In 1966, 29.8% of the state's workforce was employed in agriculture; the figure for the Co Galway Gaeltacht was 71.9%

(Gaeltarra/SFADCO, 1971). Gaeltacht farming was inefficient; 68% of all Gaeltacht farms had fewer than 39 acres. The idea of 'rural centrality', or the scattering of industry in small towns around the country was gaining acceptance right up to the late 1960s as a means of protecting the Irish people's national character.

5.2.2 Institutions

While the improvements in technology and travel gradually lessened the power of the family, the church and the local community, each of these still held great influence over individuals. In this section we discuss the primary enterprise development institution affecting the Gaeltacht.

5.2.2.1 Gaeltarra Éireann in the 1960s

Gaeltarra continued to manage the various state-owned industries it had inherited on its foundation in 1957. It also sought to develop other industries and to improve management and business skills. In line with the increasing attention to management skills nationally, Gaeltarra headquarter staff attended courses at the IMI (Irish Management Institute), the IPA (Institute of Public Administration) and the College of Commerce in Rathmines, and the knitwear production officer attended a 12 month course in the Technical College in Leicester. It also appointed three new officers in 1964 in R&D, production and productivity, and fibreglass. Ivor Kenny of the IMI was appointed chairman in 1966, the same year in which more strategic thinking is evident in the annual report (GÉ, 1966, AR). The new CEO of Gaeltarra was Cathal Mac Gabhann, a Dublin-born accountant aged 39 on his appointment.

Up to the mid 1960s Gaeltarra Éireann's headquarters were in Dublin, many hours drive from the three main Gaeltacht areas in Donegal, Galway and Kerry. In 1968-69 its headquarters were moved, along with its non-Gaeltacht staff to the Galway Gaeltacht. Sites were also bought in An Cheathrú Rua and in Donegal, for advance factories. The National Building Agency built over a dozen houses (at market prices) for the Gaeltarra managers transferring from Dublin. Practically all of the senior management positions were held by non-Gaeltacht people. Surprisingly for the then CEO, many of the Gaeltacht employees were reluctant to move back home, perhaps seeing the move to Dublin as advancement and progress; and a move home as a sign of failure (Mac Gabhann, 2004). In 1966, the Gaeltacht Industries (Amendment) Act of 1965 took effect, allowing Gaeltarra to support private enterprise. In that same year, it signed a co-operative agreement with a Norwegian lamp-making company. It also provided small industries grant aid to a number of small private entrepreneurs. This Small Industries Scheme was later widened to the whole country, under the remit of the IDA.

In the mid 1960s, there was a continuing lack of potential employees and a high turnover of staff in the industries run by Gaeltarra. There was also an open debate on the conflict between Gaeltarra's social and economic remit, with the Annual Report indicating its understanding that workers would view as charity their employment in unprofitable enterprises (GÉ, 1967, AR, 4).

5.2.3 Entrepreneurship Capital

The various elements of entrepreneurship capital were slowly improving, especially in terms of human and social capital, but psychological capital still proved problematic.

5.2.3.1 Human Capital

Free second level education to the age of 18 was introduced by Minister for Education Donogh O'Malley in 1967 and the pent-up demand led to a 38% increase in attendance from 1967 to 1970 (Lee, 1989, 362). Two respondents mentioned the huge impact of O'Malley's initiative (Denvir, 2006; Mac Gabhann, 2004), one remarking that she was the product of this innovation, being the first in her townland to receive a secondary education, the others having left the vocational school after the Intermediate Certificate (aged 15 – 16 years) and having emigrated (Denvir, 2006).

Third level education continued to be the preserve of the wealthy, and still favoured the academic subjects and the professions, and there was a high proportion of clerics among academic staff at all levels. Local authority grant aid for third level was introduced in the late 1960s but availed of mostly by the middle classes. Continuing education was still too much of an opportunity cost for poorer people. While other countries reported a split of 30/70 between academic and vocational education, Ireland's split was more 80/20, leading to a dearth of technically qualified people and a lack of respect or status for technical qualifications. This imbalance was not fully addressed until the network of Regional Technical Colleges was established in 1970, as the sociopolitical élite began to realise the importance of having a technically skilled citizenship. Such colleges had existed in Germany since the beginning of the 20th century. These colleges (now called Institutes of Technology) are credited with making a major contribution to the Celtic Tiger boom of the 1990s and 2000s. Gradually there was an increasing recognition of the need for more research and informed debate and contribution to policy making, as evidenced by the establishment of organisations such as the Institute of Public Administration (IPA), National Economic and Social Council (NESC) and the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) from the 1950s to 1970s.

It was not always easy for Galway Gaeltacht people to feel confident, many of whom still remember being laughed at in Galway city for speaking Irish as late as the 1970s (Ó

Céidigh, 2002; Ó Conchubhair, 2006). Máire Denvir remarked how shy her fellow parishioners were in the 1970s and the difficulty in coaxing the housewives that they had the capacity to host Irish college students, a difficulty echoed by Liam Ó Cuinneagáin[23] in Donegal, even in more recent years (Ó Cuinneagáin, 2006). Údarás recognises the need to instill that confidence, in as many people in the community in order to raise the community's self-confidence (Ó hAoláin, 2006).

The Gaeltarra Annual Reports of the 1960s discuss the high levels of emigration. In a survey conducted in 1965 on the Population Resources of the Connemara Gaeltacht (Symes, 1965) it was found that of the potential population aged 15 to 30 years in 1961, 54% of the men and 63% of the women had migrated to other parts of Ireland (10%) or emigrated (90%) primarily to England. A number or reports stress the absence of a link between emigration and ability (Symes, 1965; Gaeltarra / SFADCO, 1971). Independent research commissioned by Gaeltarra showed that the emigration rates were considerably higher among students with primary education compared to those with post-primary education (Gaeltarra / SFADCO, 1971, 283). In summary, human capital was improving especially through free second-level education and the introduction of the Regional Technical Colleges.

5.2.3.2 Social Capital: the Gaeltacht Civil Rights Movement

Education played a key role in the Gaeltacht Civil Rights (GCR) movement in the late 1960s as it was led by the first cohort of university educated graduates and teachers, willing and able to engage in some creative destruction of the equilibrium, challenging the leadership roles held by their parents, the clergy and the school master; and demanding better infastructural services. Inspired by their counterparts in Northern Ireland and overseas, the Gaeltacht Civil Rights movement emerged in 1969, initially in the Galway Gaeltacht, led by a generation of young university graduates. The movement highlighted that unemployment, at 6.9% (GÉ/SFADCO, 1971) was higher in the Gaeltacht than in Derry (where a nationalist civil rights movement was underway); this despite the official reverence for the language and linguistic importance of the Gaeltacht. Unemployment in the Galway Gaeltacht, at 3.4% in 1966 actually compared favourably to a national average of 4.7%. The Donegal Gaeltacht was worst at 10.9% (GÉ/SFADCO, 1971, 339). Rates in areas where the Irish language predominated may have been worse, given that in 2002, rates of over 35% were recorded in Ceantar na nOileán (CSO, 2002).

While the better-off middle class language revivalists of the early 20th century remained in their comfortable environs in Dublin, many of the activists in the GCR movement were

23 Chairman of Údarás na Gaeltachta, 2001 to date (2008).

from outside the Gaeltacht but chose to move there to settle, some becoming leaders in the co-operative movement which evolved out of the campaigning, and later attaining senior positions in their careers. The co-operative movement was a practical action rooted in middle-class idealists who engaged fully with the marginalised Gaeltacht community. The main activities of the co-operatives were the provision of group water schemes and other social services to local communities and they received support and encouragement from Gaeltarra Éireann.

Among the activities of the GCR period was a pirate radio station which symbolically broadcast from Ros Muc (where Patrick Pearse's holiday home is located) at Easter 1970. By the following November the Government announced the establishment of Radió na Gaeltachta, as a community radio station serving the Gaeltacht community. This was to be an important step in the establishment of a Gaeltacht sense of identity. It was through the radio station that many people first heard the dialects of other Gaeltacht counties. The movement also campaigned for a more democratic Gaeltacht Authority. A decade later, at the end of the 1970s Gaeltarra Éireann was disbanded and replaced by the democratically elected Údarás na Gaeltachta (The Gaeltacht Authority). This authority had a wider remit than that of its predecessor, in that it also had responsibility for the socio-cultural development of the Gaeltacht.

5.2.3.2.1 Self-Organisation among Entrepreneurs

One of the ways in which a new community of organisations builds legitimacy is through self-organisation. Shortly after the 1965 legislation which allowed Gaeltarra to financially support minor industries, *An Grúpa Miontionsclóirí* (the Minor Industrialists Group) emerged, initially in Donegal, but later with committees also in the west and the south. As a result of their lobbying, their proposals for two schemes were adopted by Gaeltarra. Through *An Scéim Fórdheontais Úis* (The Interest Grant Supplement) Gaeltarra paid a gradually reducing portion of the interest charged on bank loans taken out by industrialists. *An Scéim Printíseachta* (The Apprentice Scheme) was also largely one of their ideas and is still a thriving scheme, offering Irish speaking people grant-aid for apprenticeships (Ó hAoláin, 2006). It is not clear to this author how long this group was in existence, but it disappeared and did not develop into a Chamber of Commerce type organisation.

5.2.3.3 Cultural Capital

The Irish language had continued to decline in the Gaeltacht throughout this period, despite the official support for it. The Irish college sector began to emerge towards the end of the 1960s, giving the general population a direct acknowledgement of the financial reward associated with the language. Second level students would spend 3 summer

weeks living with local Irish speaking families, attending language classes and other activities during the day.

The country had been very dependent on its nearest English speaking neighbour. International socioeconomic, political and cultural/intellectual links with Continental Europe (i.e. non-English speaking countries and cultures) were not re-established and strengthened until the 1970s, when Ireland joined the EEC in 1973. It was then that Irish civil servants emerged from the historical influence of the British, and looked beyond to the European Continent and discovered other ways and means of development. Having another language other than English might have hastened the pace of developing economic independence from Britain (Mac Gabhann, 2004). It would have brought increased exposure to other cultures and increased the understanding of, and confidence in, bilingualism These benefits were also highlighted by two senior civil servants who were contemporaries of Mac Gabhann's, namely TK Whitaker (1971) and C.S. Andrews (1982).

5.2.3.4 Psychological Capital and Attitudes to Innovation

The effects of rural industrialisation were measured in 1969 in research sponsored by the ESRI, the CSO and the Agricultural Development Council in New York (Lucey & Kaldor, 1969). The main findings were that farmers employed in two factories in Tubbercurry, Co Sligo and Scarriff, Co Clare continued to operate the farm on a part-time basis, and ran it more efficiently and more effectively; emigration from the areas was reduced, and there was a general increase in income, both from the industrial employment and the farm work. The study did not address the problems in the factories in terms of rural workers' attitudes and behaviour in an industrial setting. The researchers viewed industrialisation as contributing to a new 'spirit of progress [and] higher levels of agricultural resource productivity' (p26). Their findings were more positive than those found in the study of employment potential in the Galway Gaeltacht four years earlier (Symes, 1965).

In the mid 1960s, Gaeltarra had commissioned a research team from the Department of Geography in the University of Hull (England) to look at the employment potential, and career aspirations of Galway Gaeltacht school goers and leavers (Symes, 1965). Symes and his team had the view that 'the Connemara man ... in short ... [was] likely to prove psychologically unsuited to factory employment' due to his appearing to be 'resigned to his fate, lacking in optimism ... and unaccustomed to a regular daily routine of active employment' (Symes, 1965, 31). One third of the male respondents to Symes' survey were uncommitted to stating whether they were willing or unwilling/unfit to take up industrial employment if it were available in the area. Females were less uncommitted but more unavailable, due to parenting and housekeeping commitments. Some members of

Symes' research team remained unconvinced of the value of having an industrialisation policy for the area, an area 'devoid of any large centre of employment ... offering regular "factory" employment' (Symes, 1965, 6), where a few years later in 1969 industry provided employment for only 3% (400 people) of the population of working age (Hanley, 1971).

5.2.3.5 Entrepreneurship Capital Conclusions

Up to the 1970s, the main role models were the emigrants rather than the managerial class, a class which was late to emerge. Gaeltacht people did not 'own' business, did not own the process of industrialisation. The only vision many had included fishing, knitting or weaving (Mac Gabhann, 2004). In summary, motivation was absent; mediocrity prevailed.

5.2.4 Enterprise Policy and Structure

Meaningful Populations of enterprises emerged in the Galway Gaeltacht in the mid to late 1960s around the same time as Gaeltarra initiated a concerted programme of industrialisation. While many other changes had happened in the previous decade, for example with more openness and the end to protectionism, the main driver of Gaeltacht industrialisation was the work of Gaeltarra. Many of the pre-requisites were still missing at this stage but were addressed during this flourish of activity. Knitwear and embroidery were still cottage industries, with 78% of staff working at home. The only three factories were for tweed (in Donegal) and for toys and fibreglass furniture (both in Galway). A fourth, processing marble, was being planned for Galway.

The Gaeltacht Industries (Amendment) Act of 1965 had been introduced at the request of Gaeltarra Éireann because the IDA had not attracted any industries into Gaeltacht areas up to that time (Mac Gabhann, 2004). Grant aid of up to £2,000 required the Minister for the Gaeltacht's approval and grant aid up to £150,000 required that minister to get the permission of the Minister of Industry and Commerce. The first six privately owned companies benefitting from the new grant aid available, maximum £2,000, were all in Donegal (GÉ, 1967, AR). An indication of the dearth of private individuals or firms accessing grant aid from Gaeltarra Éireann from 1965 to 1969 is seen in the maps presented in the Spatial Analysis section later in this chapter.

In parallel with this minor industries programme, Gaeltarra initiated its strategy of building advance factories. It set about attracting industrialists, sometimes a case of 'go for whatever you got' (De hÁl, 2004), given that 'no industrialist in his right mind' would want to invest given the lack of infrastructure (Mac Aodha, 1971, 29). For example the Gaeltarra CEO, Cathal Mac Gabhann used the contacts he had built up while working in Milan in the 1950s, to attract a number of Italian textiles companies leading to the nickname Spaghetti Junction for the area around An Spidéal (De hÁl, 2004; Mac

Gabhann, 2004). Matters were beginning to change; factories were becoming part of the landscape.

5.3 1970s: Incomer Industrialisation & Fledgling Indigenous Entrepreneurship

This section deals with the changing face of the Galway Gaeltacht entrepreneurship landscape, starting with the national environmental backdrop, leading to increasing entrepreneurship capital. The section finishes with a discussion of the new Populations emerging and their efforts to gain legitimacy.

5.3.1 Environmental Conditions

The 1970s were also beset by inflation, high tax rates, and increasing oil prices, against a backdrop of the international oil crisis. The 1973 oil crisis was followed by fiscal policies which led to a huge increase in the national debt. Modernisation of large semi-state and private sector organisations met with difficulties. Public bodies such as CIÉ and ESB, and large private sector enterprises such as the banks suffered long and repeated strike action as they made efforts to introduce more modern work practices. Over 940,000 work days per annum were lost in the early 1970s (Ó Gráda, 1997, 103). Research by the Department of Industry and Commerce in 1969 (Garvin, 2004, 77-78) revealed that those towns which implemented the restrictive trading hours of the Shops (Hours Trading) Act had lower growth rates than those which largely ignored it. Galway was one of the cities that suffered (Garvin, 2004, 78).

Membership of the European Economic Community (now the EU) in 1973 brought with it many benefits and positive changes, most apparent in the financial support for infrastructural development and in agriculture, but also in terms of values and opinions. It brought equal pay for women, and exposure to other cultures and languages and a reconnection with Continental Europe. On the other hand, continued borrowing meant the country was living beyond its means and continued access to EEC funds created a culture where continuous handouts were the expected norm.

Gerschenkron's (1966) prerequisites for entrepreneurship are largely based on human, social and business infrastructure. The Galway Gaeltacht lacked much of the basic physical infrastructure. Contemporary photographs of the factories built in the early 1960s show the stark reality of their remote location, surrounded by rock and bog. The selection of a site for the Gaeltarra headquarters between the city and An Spidéal, was partly based on it being one of the few places with the most advanced telephone exchange (Mac Gabhann, 2004). Máire Denvir remembers using the public coin box telephone in the early 1970s to plan the establishment of her Irish college (2006). This author remembers

staying in the 1970s, in houses with no piped water in Ros Muc. One of the main 1970s projects of the co-operatives were the development of communal water schemes. Gaeltarra sometimes used helicopters to ferry prospective industrialists to potential sites to mask exactly how remote the sites were (Mac Gabhann, 2004). One German industrialist was flown from Dublin to Derry to view a site in Gaoth Dobhair in the Donegal Gaeltacht. Half way from Derry to Gaoth Dobhair he requested that they not go any further but return home (Mac Gabhann, 2004).

5.3.2 1970 Gníomh don Ghaeltacht (An Action Plan for the Gaeltacht)

In 1970, the Minister for Finance and the Gaeltacht, Mr George Colley T.D. stated in the Dáil that he had set the objective of 'full employment in the Seventies for Irish speakers' (Colley, 1970). This was a rather unrealistic objective; thirty years later in the 2002 Census, Ceantar na nOileán had Irish language rates of 99% and unemployment rates of 36% (CSO, 2002). On the recommendation of Comhairle na Gaeilge (the Irish Language Council) of 1970 (Gaeltarra / SFADCO, 1971, 9) and as a result of pressure from the Gaeltacht Civil Rights movement, he appointed a working group the following year, made up of the Chairman, the General Manager and the Investment Manager of Gaeltarra, and the Chairman, the General Manager and Assistant General Manager of SFADCO (Shannon Free Area Development Corporation[24]), to report on development policies for the Gaeltacht; specific objectives and immediate actions; and the new powers and financing needed. None of the group's members was born or raised in the Gaeltacht; one of them lived in a peripheral part of the Gaeltacht. The resultant report is insightful, wide-ranging and ahead of its time in some ways. The report (Gaeltarra/SFADCO, 1971) ultimately led to the foundation, nearly a decade, later of Udarás na Gaeltachta, with more powers and with a democratically elected board. The working group's wide-ranging consultation with Gaeltacht bodies and individuals improved relations between Gaeltarra and Gaeltacht people. One of the obstacles it identified was the lack of venture capital, particularly for 'the young man with a sound idea, but no capital, who needs a thousand pounds to get going' (p 167). Among the recommendations were the need for greater involvement of the people of the Gaeltacht in order to 'release the energies that lie in the people themselves towards finding their own solutions' (p. 17). In a way Gaeltarra Éireann was at the forefront in recognising the need for more 'bottom up' development, an issue which was emerging in the early 1970s (Duffy & Breathnach, 1983). The Gaeltarra / SFADCO report also recognised that 'indigenous industry [was] of very special importance in Gaeltacht areas' (p.163). It recommended sending young Gaeltacht people abroad for educational purposes to develop their leadership qualities (p. 277). It also proposed that

24 SFADCO was established at the same time as Gaeltarra to develop the new Shannon Airport and surrounding area.

girls with a postprimary education could attend secretarial courses which would include 'grooming, voice and etiquette' leading to the formation of an 'élite corps' of Irish speaking secretaries (p. 279).

It recommended improving the infrastructure, an issue still a bone of contention in many parts of the western seaboard, not only the Galway Gaeltacht (Western Development Commission, 2004). The report also noted the negative attitudes associated with the Irish language, such as compulsion, injustice, ignorance, hypocrisy and poverty. It identified emigration and lack of entrepreneurial opportunities as linked, and recognised the begrudging attitude to success still pervading in the country. The working group prioritised enterprise development among Gaeltacht people themselves, against a national backdrop of an IDA frame of mind, of attracting investment and entrepreneurs into the area (Flynn, 1983) rather than fostering indigenous entrepreneurship.

5.3.3 Entrepreneurship Capital

Practical steps were being taken to address the weaknesses in entrepreneurship capital, especially in terms of building up a skills base and a cadre of managers. However, it would take time to change community attitudes from resignation and apathy, to optimism and aspiration.

5.3.3.1 Human Capital: Education and Career Aspirations

The absence of local potential managers for the rapid industrialisation of the Gaeltacht is well documented (Johnson, 1997; Kane, 1977; Kenny, 1972). More links with the Irish Management Institute (IMI) and with UCG (now NUIG) were proposed in the early 1970s. The Small Business Division of the IMI co-operated with Gaeltarra on a successful course to develop entrepreneurial skills and the IMI also recruited an Irish-speaking management specialist. However, despite these efforts, the importation of managers from outside the Gaeltacht continued into the 1970s and was merely a continuation of the practice in the Congested Districts in the late 19th and early 20th century. But such a practice existed nationwide in the 1960s as efforts were made to improve business and management skills in the face of an education system which did not prepare the youth for such employment. While Kane (1977) and Gaeltarra Éireann report the difficulties of Connamara people adjusting to the rigid timetable of factory life, the same occurred elsewhere in rural Ireland, (Garvin, 2004, 199).

Young people's career aspirations are influenced by their family, community and teachers, especially career guidance teachers, as well as the career opportunities they see. They may look to role models or heroes within the community. The special status given to Irish speakers and Gaeltacht school leavers led to a high number joining the civil and public

services, including teaching and an Garda Síochána. A 1975 study of school leavers' career aspirations revealed the high ranking of teaching and the Garda Síochána (Ó hAoláin, 2006). Very few aspired to working in the brand new factories - a situation which has since changed (Mac Gabhann, 2004). The high level intending to emigrate was also telling. Emigrants were treated as heroes (Ó Conchubhair, 2006; Ó hAoláin, 2006; Ó Loingsigh, 2002; Ó Ráinne, 2007) through their tales of success. Seven of Ó Ráinne's nine siblings (born in the 1950s and 1960s) emigrated. No question was asked in the survey about going into business, much less establishing a new enterprise, a reflection of the national thinking at the time.

This survey was conducted by Pádraig Ó hAoláin, a Gaeltarra Éireann employee. He is now the CEO of Údarás na Gaeltachta. He remarked about how so many respondents had the same phrases: *'Níl tada anseo; céard atá in ann dúinn anseo; níl aon deiseanna anseo; beidh mise ag dul go Sasana nó go Meiriceá.'* ('There's nothing here for us; what does the future hold for us here; there are no opportunities here; I'll be going to England or to America'.) (Ó hAoláin, 2006). It took a long time for this opinion to change, but he feels he would no longer get such a response. He also remarked on how non-Gaeltacht schools were more likely to contact Gaeltarra or Údarás inviting them to visit the school to talk about job opportunities, than were the Gaeltacht schools. Gaeltarra found it difficult to break through that web, to get their message through to the young generation (Ó hAoláin, 2006), despite the fact that a *'Crash Clár Forbartha'* ('crash course / programme in development') (Ó hAoláin, 2006) was underway around them, in the form of numerous advance factories and industrial estates, and new industries.

5.3.4 Enterprise Policy and Structure

In Ireland attraction of large multinationals continued to dominate public enterprise development policy. If entrepreneurship was absent in Ireland, or in the Galway Gaeltacht, and if the usual pre-requisites were missing, they would need to be substituted (Gerschenkron, 1966). The IDA was attracting much international investment, particularly from British, German and US companies, many of whom brought with them their own management teams; high quality management skills and practices; capital; and access to markets. As these multinationals invested in the country, some refusing to recognise unions, Irish staff and future managers were exposed to international management practices. More modern work practices began to develop in the Irish workplace. Thus outside managers led the new infant industries from the 1960s toward the end of the century. Foreign direct investment (FDI) was relatively less important in the Gaeltacht compared to the rest of the country arguably due to its less attractive peripheral location, and thus indigenous entrepreneurship was perhaps more of a focus for Gaeltarra Éireann than its counterparts elsewhere in the country. At national level, FDI and national level

plans were still the main focus, with little attention paid to the local impact of new enterprises (Hanley & O'Gorman, 2004). There was still a limited understanding of the value of small and medium enterprises (SMEs). The British 1971 Bolton Report (Committee of Inquiry on Small Firms, 1971) on SMEs acknowledged their importance in terms of contribution to employment and to GDP.

5.3.4.1 New Populations

A number of new Populations began to emerge in the 1970s mostly in primary production such as quarrying, building; paper and plastics. These are discussed later in the chapter. The main new Population to emerge was in the marine resources sector. The sole state-owned seaweed processing factory (Arramara), based in Cill Chiaráin, had been established in 1946. It was attributed with leading to the demise of the first privately owned competitor – Torradh Toinne Teo (the starting point of the author's research question). Arramara has never developed beyond a 'reasonable plateau' [of achievement / growth] and never spawned additional enterprises (Ó hÍcí, 2007). Meanwhile the standard trawler fishing industry developed, once a Bord Iascaigh Mhara (BIM) scheme was introduced in the early 1960s. Some fishermen built up substantial fleets, based in Inis Mór and subsequently also in Ros a'Mhíl. Although it was a sector with a very long history there was very little innovation or variation, until Gaeltarra Éireann pioneered the development of the first ever fish farms in Ireland, after collaborating with BIM on their feasibility (Mac Gabhann, 2004). At the time Gaeltarra was actually precluded from dealing with fish farming as it was BIM's remit, so it quite legitimately got around the legislation by establishing a wholly owned subsidiary and invested in it for a number of years, in the name of research, until such time as the Departments of Finance and of the Gaeltacht began to query the accumulated expenditure of ca. £1m. By then the case had been made; fish farming was a valid feasible business. The business was then sold at a profit to the state, to PJ Carrolls who were diversifying out of tobacco manufacturing (Ó hAoláin, 2006). The fish farming sector is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

5.3.4.1.1 The Poitín Industry

Poitín-making has an equally long history but did not emerge as a new legitimised industry. In the 1970s Comharchumann Chois Fharraige (co-op) attempted to have its manufacture legalised as a cottage industry, stating in 1977 that at least 60 men were employed full-time in its making on a commercial basis, and that a further 40 men were involved on a non-commercial basis. They estimated that an internationally marketed poitín could employ up to 1,000 people. A local Garda Superintendent Patrick Gallagher estimated poitín manufacturing was generating an income of £1,000,000 a year in 1977

(Ó hAoláin, 2006; Spellissy, 1999). Pádraig Ó hAoláin, CEO of Údarás was the manager of the co-operative at that time. He recalls that the estimates were probably a bit ambitious; and that there may have been stronger players in the spirits industry which successfully lobbied the Department of Finance to not grant the appropriate licences (Ó hAoláin, 2006).

5.3.4.2 Socio-Political Legitimacy

Life in the Gaeltacht in general was of a pre-industrial nature as late as the 1960s when the ambitious top-down industrialisation programme was commenced by Gaeltarra Éireann. They organised 'Pre-Industrialisation Training Schemes' and held Open Days in the advance factories to instill in the people the importance of their own discipline and time-keeping, and to dispel the mystery associated with the factories (De hÁl, 2004). This effort at developing the socio-political legitimacy of industry and industrial work was a huge job and took a very long time (De hÁl, 2004; Ó hAoláin, 2006). Industrial timekeeping and specialisation were new concepts and behaviours. The more fluid multi-activity, climate and weather-dictated approach to work left the CEO of Gaeltarra arriving at the Monmara Factory building site to find the supervisor and staff to have abandoned all equipment and work to save hay (Mac an Iomaire, 2006). A similarly relaxed approach to work saw the privately-owned Standún knitting factory (known locally as 'An Bungalow') viewed as a social rather than industrial activity (Raidió na Gaeltachta, 2006). Micí Ó Flatharta, a shop-owner fondly reminisced about his open shop being full of people playing poker with him (2002).

Life was also tough, and due to economic pressures, in the words of incomer film-maker Bob Quinn (2006), 'There's nothing abstract about life for the people of the Gaeltacht' (*'Níl aon rud abstract faoin saol ag muintir na Gaeltachta.'*). Ó Cinnéide (2007) made a similar observation that because of their lifestyle and the physical and at times dangerous nature of their job fishermen 'do not have time to debate these philosophical issues that bother people on dry land' (*'na ceisteanna fealsúnachta seo a bheadh ag cur tinnis ar dhaoine ar thalamh'*).

5.3.4.3 Management Experience: 'Cutting turf doesn't count!'

Such was the scale of the change required to industrialise the area, an American anthropologist was commissioned to conduct a year-long ethnographic study with a team of eight researchers who lived in 6 Gaeltacht communities (throughout the country) for ten months in 1968-69. There was also a full-time sociologist on the staff of Gaeltarra, and later also an anthropologist (Mac Gabhann, 2004; Ó hAoláin, 2006). The requisite managerial capacity did not exist. 'Experience was required, but cutting turf didn't count as experience' (*'Bhí gá le taithí ar dtús, ach ní leor baint móna mar thaithí!'*) as the now

retired Company Secretary put it (De hÁl, 2004). The then director of the Irish Management Institute, Ivor Kenny, was Chair of Gaeltarra at the time and organised management training for Gaeltarra staff themselves (De hÁl, 2004). Various aptitude tests were also introduced into the recruitment process (Mac Gabhann, 2004). However there were also problems with fostering new managers within the community, as people were reluctant to become supervisors or managers of their own community (Kane, 1977; Ó hÉalaithe, 2004). While Gaeltarra executives were expert at the functions of establishing or running a business they did not understand the local culture (Ó hAoláin, 2007 in Ní Bhrádaigh, 2007d). It took a while for a managerial class to emerge. This dearth not only caused problems in the internal management of companies, but also in providing suitable people to serve on the boards of new enterprises, especially the subsidiaries or joint ventures of Gaeltarra. Thus many Gaeltarra staff served on these boards, perhaps diverting some of their attention and energy from the creation of new enterprises, but also prolonging the gulf between the local community and the difficult business decisions the Gaeltarra staff sometimes needed to make (De hÁl, 2004; Ó hAoláin, 2006). In summary, the entrepreneurship airplane was taxiing on the runway, but it was not the local people who were in the cockpit.

5.4 1980s & 1990s: Indigenous Entrepreneurship Takes Off

At the time of independence in the 1920s the economy was on a par with other European countries, but underperformed for the first 60 – 70 years of independence, trailing behind its fellow European countries (Garvin, 2004) economically. By the 1980s despite a return to high levels of unemployment and emigration, a shift from agriculture to manufacturing to services was underway. Ireland benefitted greatly from EEC (now the EU) membership from the 1970s to the 1990s as investment improved the infrastructure and subsidised agriculture. But the 1980s started with a huge level of national debt, requiring cutbacks in government spending in areas such as health and education, and an increase in income tax rates. By the mid 1980s unemployment had reached 18.2% (Ó Gráda, 1997). Emigration again became a familiar feature of most families. The high level of emigration among third level graduates provided no direct return to the state for its investment in third level education.

Within the first and second level education system there was still an emphasis on rote learning of facts and figures, at the expense of critical thinking, initiative and interpersonal skills. It was only in the 1980s that the primary school curriculum was modernised to incorporate some of these latter skills. Given the late stage at which the curriculum changed it is little wonder that a self-confident entrepreneurial generation took so long to

emerge. Indeed, entrepreneurship as an academic discipline has only begun to emerge as a discipline in Ireland in the last decade or so. Eventually individualism and independent thinking were emerging at the expense of maintaining the status quo.

In the early 1980s the IDA was particularly active, attracting foreign investment and accounting for 12% of all public investment (Ó Gráda, 1997, 54), primarily in chemicals, food processing, light engineering and later in computing. An attractive corporation tax rate of 10% complemented the generous grant aid offered to inward investors. The large number of multinationals in the country, and their practices of transfer pricing and repatriation of profits provided an exaggerated picture of the true wealth and success of the economy, and the contribution of indigenous businesses. The multinationals provided a large proportion of manufacturing jobs and performed better than indigenous enterprises, partly due to their more likely to be in new modern industry sectors such as chemicals, and IT. These foreign owned companies were not sufficiently well embedded into the Irish economy in terms of the kind of activities performed here, and the level of linkages with Irish firms. The skills and economic benefits of the foreign owned sector were not transferring into the indigenous sector. By the late 1980s, many of the foreign owned manufacturing plants had begun moving operations to other countries. By now, software and other IT sector companies were investing in Ireland.

The National Economic and Social Council (1992) commissioned and published the Telesis report. This was the first major analysis of the economy since the Whitaker report in 1958 (Department of Finance, 1958). The 1982 Telesis report criticised the emphasis in Irish industrial policy on attracting foreign investment, in the provision of far too generous incentives. Its primary finding was that in the rush to attract foreign investment, genuine investment in the economic and social fabric of the country had not taken place. As many jobs were being shed as had been created; very little R&D was happening; foreign investors were primarily creating footloose manufacturing plants which would soon be transferring to cheaper production locations in the Far East and less developed countries.

Telesis recommended that indigenous enterprises and entrepreneurs be supported and fostered, by specifically targetting 50 to 75 potential winners – a strategy the IDA (then responsible for enterprise development as well as attracting foreign direct investment) had already begun to develop with its enterprise development programme (O'Brien, 2008). It was a full generation later before a dedicated High Potential Start-Ups unit was established by Enterprise Ireland in 2004 (Enterprise Ireland, 2005). Gradually more attention was being paid to indigenous entrepreneurship, but it still needed to be stated in

the Culliton report (Industrial Policy Review Group, 1992) a decade later (see later in chapter). It was time to develop a more favourable environment for all potential and existing enterprises rather than concentrate on one particular segment.

5.4.1 Environmental Conditions

By the 1980s the structure of Irish society had changed substantially, and with modern technology, more travel and a whole generation having benefited from free second level education, the traditional institutions of family and church had less influence on the average individual, who by now was more exposed to other institutions such as the media and leisure organisations. While over 20 various Government agencies or organisations (such as the local county council, or the health and education systems) were responsible for Gaeltacht development, the wider powers of Údarás gave it a more influential role in the Gaeltacht.

5.4.1.1 Údarás na Gaeltachta: a Democratically Elected Regional Body

Údarás replaced Gaeltarra Éireann on the 1st of January 1980, with a board elected by the Gaeltacht community, along the same lines as local county council elections. The staff of Gaeltarra transferred to the new body whose remit was widened to include the promotion of 'the linguistic, cultural, social, physical and economic development of the Gaeltacht' (Government of Ireland, 1979, Section 9). The new body continued with the industrialisation strategy of its predecessor, concentrating on introducing manufacturing plants, light engineering, and developing the natural resource based fishfarming. It also rather boldy initiated an independent audio-visual sector in the hopeful anticipation that an Irish-medium television station might be established by the Government. At a time of high unemployment nationally, the 1980s were marked by a major drive (which started in the 1970s) to provide factory employment in what turned out to be shortlived industries such as paper, plastics and electronics. Differences in *Weltanschauung* continued to the late 20th century with lack of local people in senior management positions (ÚnaG, 1980 – 2003, ARs).

5.4.2 Entrepreneurship Capital

The main change in entrepreneurship capital in the 1980s and 1990s was the change in human capital in terms of formal education and training. The weak psychological capital was changing as increased education levels led to increased aspirations. Many still left the area for employment reasons but also for education reasons. Better overall services at home in terms of infrastructure and employment opportunities gradually reduced the flow of out-migration. Social capital increased through the continued support of the co-operatives and community committees (*coistí pobail*).

5.4.2.1 Human Capital – Career Aspirations & Employment Experience

Career aspirations can be shaped by career guidance teachers, the main conduit of information about further education or job opportunities. A number of interviewees remarked on the very narrow attitude / vision (*dearcadh an-chúng*) of the career guidance provided by teachers up to the 1980s, but acknowledging that their vision was perhaps a reflection of the community's vision (Ó Cinnéide, 2007). A school leaver, now a successful small business entrepreneur, wishing to remain anonymous clearly remembers the negative discouraging response he got from an Údarás official when he remarked that he aspired to have his own business:

> "Ní féidir leatsa [comhlacht] a bheith agat. Is as Conamara thú!' [a dúirt sé liom]. Is beag nár thug mé sleas dhó. ... Tá mé dáirire, sea. Dúradh é sin thiar sa teach nuair a bhí mé hocht mbliana déag d'aois. Tharla sé sin. Tá an tÚdarás go maith dúinn ó shin. Ach ba shin an attitude [sic] a bhí ag an Údarás do mhuintir na háite ag an am sin.' [1980í])
>
> ("You can't have a [business] of your own. You're from Connemara!' [he said to me]. I nearly gave him a wallop. ... I'm serious, yes. That was said to me over at the house when I eighteen years old. That happened. Údarás has been good to us since. But that was the attitude Údarás had to the locals those days.' [1980s]) Respondent A, 2007

One young woman who completed a business studies course in the then Galway RTC (now GMIT) in Galway, and was employed as an accountant, recalled to one informant in the mid 1980s how she had been told at secondary school, in the context of career advice, that her family and those of her community had not had much income or wealth, and that she would be doing well to become a secretary, an opinion that angered her (Ó Cinnéide, 2007). Another informant observed that young people's self-confidence had increased, and that they now aspired to better jobs, even if they were already employed (Mallaghan, 2002). The long tradition of early school leaving and lack of formal education in the fishing sector is gradually changing with the sons of some of those prominent in fish-farming now attending university (Ó Cinnéide, 2007).

Evidence for the employment issues traditionally associated with the Gaeltacht were no longer apparent. An ESRI study of the national Gaeltacht surveyed 2,950 households and 870 individuals in 1997, and found that desire among job seekers to work outdoors was not a major factor, nor was the desire to continue with part-time farming (Watson & Fahy, 1998). Job seekers were quite interested in factory work, and were willing to travel up to 20 miles to such jobs. Such work had been socio-culturally legitimised. One of the main issues was that the average weekly wage in Gaeltacht companies was only 77% of the

national average weekly wages of industrial workers. There was a mismatch between the wages offered and the wages expected. Current employers needed to increase productivity (which would lead to higher wages) and Údarás needed to shift its focus to creating higher skilled and higher paid jobs. The 'brain drain' continued with one in eight adults leaving the Gaeltacht in the previous five years (1991-96), of which 76% of them were aged under 30 years at the time of departure; 85% had the leaving certificate and 49% had a third level qualification; 66.4% left for work reasons and 26.2% for education reasons. Of those who had migrated out of the area in the previous 5 years, over half were estimated to be interested in moving back if the right job were available. Of those living in and seeking work in the Gaeltacht, a high proportion (43%) of the male job seekers had no more than a primary education.

A perennial complaint about the Irish language curriculum in Gaeltacht areas is that it is not grounded in Gaeltacht people's native language and heritage, but more suitable for those learning Irish as a second language. The same issue in reverse applies to the English language curriculum. One initiative to address the specific educational needs of the Gaeltacht is Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge (the Academy of Irish medium university education), part of NUIG, established in the early 2000s. It provides Irish language under- and post-graduate courses in a number of centres in the Gaeltacht, including two in the Galway Gaeltacht in An Cheathrú Rua and Carna. While this initiative is seen as providing a valuable opportunity to Gaeltacht school leavers to receive their university education at home, it may be better for school leavers to leave the area for a while and then return (Mallaghan, 2002). From an entrepreneurship point of view, this would be particularly true given McDonagh & Commins' (1999) findings that in three western counties those who never left home had the lowest rate of business start-ups. On the other hand, interestingly a significant number of the students attending the Acadamh's courses are incomers.

5.4.3 Enterprise Policy and Structure

The common view that firms closing down are primarily failures can have long-lasting effects. The manufacturing firms, such as the paper processors, plastics and light engineering firms, brought into the Gaeltacht, provided much employment and potentially a seeding ground for new enterprises as happened in the case of Digital in Galway city (Ó hIcí, 2007). These inward investing firms however were short-lived, and their failure left a longstanding mark. For years after their demise, the then Communications Manager (Bainisteoir Cumarsáide) at Údarás had to contend with this mindset of lack of faith and an attitude that many of these companies were rogues (*rógairí oíche*) (Ó hAoláin, 2006). For example, in interviewing Micí Ó Flatharta, a shopkeeper in An Cheathrú Rua, about

industry in that village, he alluded, unprompted, to Telemara being sold for one pound, and alluded to other factories and their demise or their reduced workforce (2002).

Alluding to the cargo cult, and the factory worker who on a weekly basis dumped a lorry-load of a cassette tape factory's 'quality control rejects' into the bog, Ó Cinnéide (2007) observed that in the eyes of the community, the companies came down from the sky, they were not really part of the culture and community and well, they would go again. It did not strike the community that they could take responsibility. There is still a residual misconception both in the Gaeltacht and in some places in the national media and in national opinion that Gaeltacht companies continue to be supported far more than in the rest of the country. This was true prior to joining the EEC, but in the last decade EU policy has changed and particularly since the creation of the BMW region, there is no difference between grant aid in say Ballinasloe (east Galway) or Athlone (120km west of Dublin) and Carna, over 90 km west of Galway city. Údarás grant aid is exactly the same as that provided by the County Enterprise Boards and Enterprise Ireland.

5.4.3.1 Enterprise Structure – a Microcosm in a Disadvantaged Area

A 1979 report (Comharchumann Forbartha na nOileán, 1979), and study of the indigenous development resources in a particularly disadvantaged area (Ceantar na nOileán) in 1983 illustrates some of the extreme issues faced in terms of developing enterprise or entrepreneurship capital (Ó Cinnéide, 1983). There was a dependency and lack of self-esteem in the community. Ambitions were limited. Only three of 58 schoolgoers wanted to work in a factory. It was felt the community did not understand the importance of their culture for tourism. There was one hotel with 6 bedrooms in the area. Attempts to get the local men involved in oyster farming had failed. Of the 22 piers in the area, all dried out at low tide. There were a few micro-enterprises in the area – making doors, windows, boats; repairing cars. The co-operative employed 40 people. A fish restaurant was recommended, as were ambitious tourism projects, few if any which had materialised in the following 25 years. Members of the community understood they had to emigrate and that they could get the dole if they didn't make too much effort to be self-sufficient. While this area is an extreme case, it is also one of the top areas in terms of percentage of Irish speakers and continues to suffer high rates of unemployment, although it has a relatively good concentration of the indigenously-owned fish farms discussed in the following chapter.

5.4.3.2 Pioneers

The Pioneers in the 1980s and 1990s were primarily the incoming investors, establishing relatively short-lived large manufacturing factories. Údarás also established a number of subsidiaries and joint-venture, primarily with outside investors. Údarás acted as the

pioneer in the audiovisual sector as is described in the following chapter. It also established G-Com Teo (which closed in late 2008) for ICT, and in a similar vein, Gaelsaoire, established in 1996 to promote Gaeltacht tourism, in the absence of sufficient attention to or promotion of the Gaeltacht by the national tourism body Bord Fáilte. While language-based enterprises were becoming more central to the Údarás strategy they did not establish any similar subsidiary in that sector (Ó hAoláin, 2006). Some of the Údarás executives who spearheaded some of these pioneering subsidiaries or joint-ventures left Údarás to continue working with them after they transferred into private ownership, or they left to establish their own private firms. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

5.4.3.3 Variation / Spawnings

Variation within a Population of organisations can lead to new forms of business, some spinning out from existing companies. Ó hIcí (2007) observed that around 75 new start-ups emerged out of Digital's closure in Galway in the mid 1990s, whereas none ever emerged out of Arramara and few out of the closed Gaeltacht manufacturing firms. A small number of start-ups emerged out of Maysteel for example (Ó Conghaile, 2006). While the comparison raises an interesting question, Digital's workforce was better qualified. The entrepreneurs who emerged had a wider network, worked in an urban setting and probably had more international exposure and experience than did most of those working in most of the Gaeltacht companies. Various public initiatives also helped in that case. While the short-lived Gaeltacht manufacturing industries may not have spawned many new start-ups; they provided an opportunity to leave the dole queue; to increase the wealth of the area; and to develop modern industrial and management skills.

5.4.3.4 1990s - the Celtic Tiger

In the early 1990s the Culliton report sought to remind readers that it was '[t]ime to accept that the solutions to our problems [lay] in our own hands. We need[ed] to foster a spirit of self-reliance and a determination to take charge of our future' (Industrial Policy Review Group, 1992, 7). By the mid 1990s, the policies of more than a generation earlier were beginning to pay off. An increasingly open economy and increased expenditure on education coupled with maximum use of EEC / EU structural funds had paid off. Emigration was replaced by the return of emigrants and the immigration of foreign nationals. Business know-how from foreign companies and from emigrants' experiences has transferred to indigenous Irish enterprises, both new and existing. Third level education was more the norm than the exception, with increasing numbers progressing beyond post-primary education. An increasing proportion of the manufacturing and services sectors was accounted for by IT and financial services companies, mostly foreign-owned but increasingly Irish-owned. Gradually more attention was paid to indigenous entrepreneurship, culminating in 1998 in the split of the IDA into two focussed

entities – IDA Ireland to continue attracting foreign direct investment, and Enterprise Ireland to focus on fostering indigenous entrepreneurship.

5.4.3.5 Údarás in the1990s

By the 1990s Údarás had developed a successful fishfarming industry but was managing the decline of the manufacturing sector. It increasingly fostered tourism and language based industries, recognising that the future lay in services rather than manufacturing.

The senior management team had barely changed for the previous 2 decades (ÚnaG, 1980 – 2003, ARs). The vestiges of possession over performance still existed both here and in its sister enterprise development agencies such as Enterprise Ireland, IDA Ireland and Forfás. As agreed with the trade union common to all these agencies, vacancies are only advertised externally if no internal candidate is deemed suitable[25]. This is despite the undertakings of the national Sustaining Progress social partnership agreement (Department of the Taoiseach, 2003).

The lack of mobility into and out of the organisation must have dampened innovation and entrepreneurial behaviour. Some senior managers remained in the same positions for decades. The CEO served for a total of 20 years – three seven-year appointments, minus one year. On a practical level it prevented local Gaeltacht people achieving senior management positions until the very end of the 20th century, despite repeated claims by the organisation itself, or its predecessor Gaeltarra, that 'bottom up' development and indigenous entrepreneurship were central to success.

5.5 Presentation of Quantative Data

This section presents data from the Core Database, in map and tabular format. In essence the data are for Individuals and Companies, which received grant aid from Údarás and from Gaeltarra before that. As outlined already in the Research Methodology chapter, Companies are defined as Records, which registered with the Companies Registration Office (CRO), or employed two or more people at some stage. Individuals are all other records. The maps are presented first in order to provide a visual overview of activity and trends.

25 The author sits on Údarás employment interview panels a few times a year.

5.5.1 Spatial Analysis over Time[26]

As visual presentation of spatial data can be quite a powerful communication tool, the emergence of entrepreneurship from the late 1960s to the early 21st century is presented in map format in this section. Presenting maps representing various time periods side by side powerfully illustrates the rate of emergence and also the location of the initial activity.

5.5.1.1 Overall Grant Aid

The Companies that received grant aid from 1959 to 1999 are shown on the map in Figure 15. This illustrates the relative activity in the Ceathrú Rua area[27], which is now the designated main town of the Galway Gaeltacht. Although the activity in Oileáin Árainn (Aran Islands) is remarkable, there is a long history of fishing and tourism on the islands. The other remarkable area is Leitir Mealláin (Gorumna ED) with 47 start-ups. These are mainly fish-farms and related activities, but interestingly that ED was one of the unemployment blackspots nationally (35%) in 2002 (CSO, 2003). The two red areas to the east of An Spidéal reflect the audiovisual sector clustered around the village; the industrial estates in the area; and the proximity to Galway city. The low level around Roundstone is accounted for by the fact that the village is not in the Gaeltacht, but the surrounding townlands are. The low level of activity around Baile Chláir na Gaillimhe (Claregalway) to the northeast of the city is surprising given how built up it is. However in general, self-employment and start-up rates are higher in rural areas rather than urban areas.

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26 This section is based on research conducted in conjunction with Dr Stephen McCarron, Lecturer in Geography, NUIM for a joint paper presented at the Irish Academy of Management Conference (see Ní Bhrádaigh & McCarron, 2005)

27 See Maps in Research Methodology chapter for the townland and ED locations.

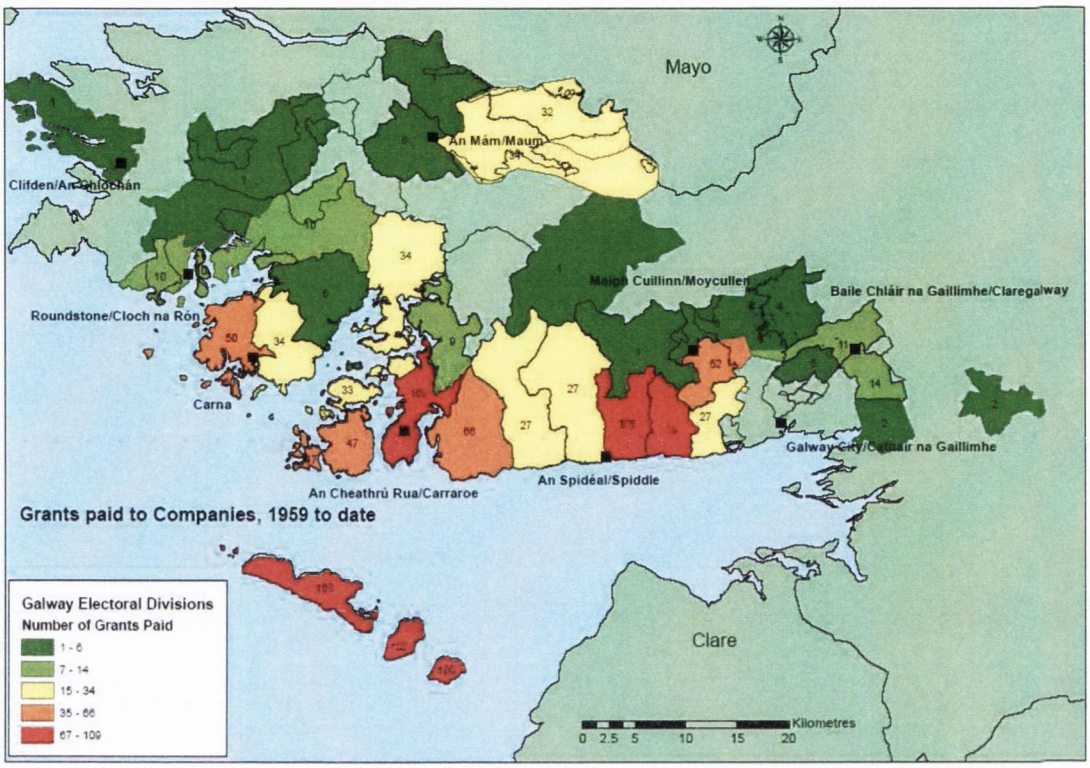

Figure 15: Map of Galway Gaeltacht EDs: Grants Paid to Companies, 1959 to 1999[28]

5.5.1.2 Overall Grant Aid - Marine Sector

When one examines the marine sector data in particular, a different spatial profile emerges, as seen on the map in Figure 16. An Cheathrú Rua still features along with the Ros a'Mhíl port area to its east, as well as the aforementioned Leitir Mealláin area. The area around Carna is also high; this is where NUIG has a research base.

28 Anomalies include grant in Clifden area and two grants east of Galway city – these areas are not in the Gaeltacht but the grant recipients were registered in those EDs in the database. Areas (EDs and townlands) with black (rather than grey) borders are in Gaeltacht.

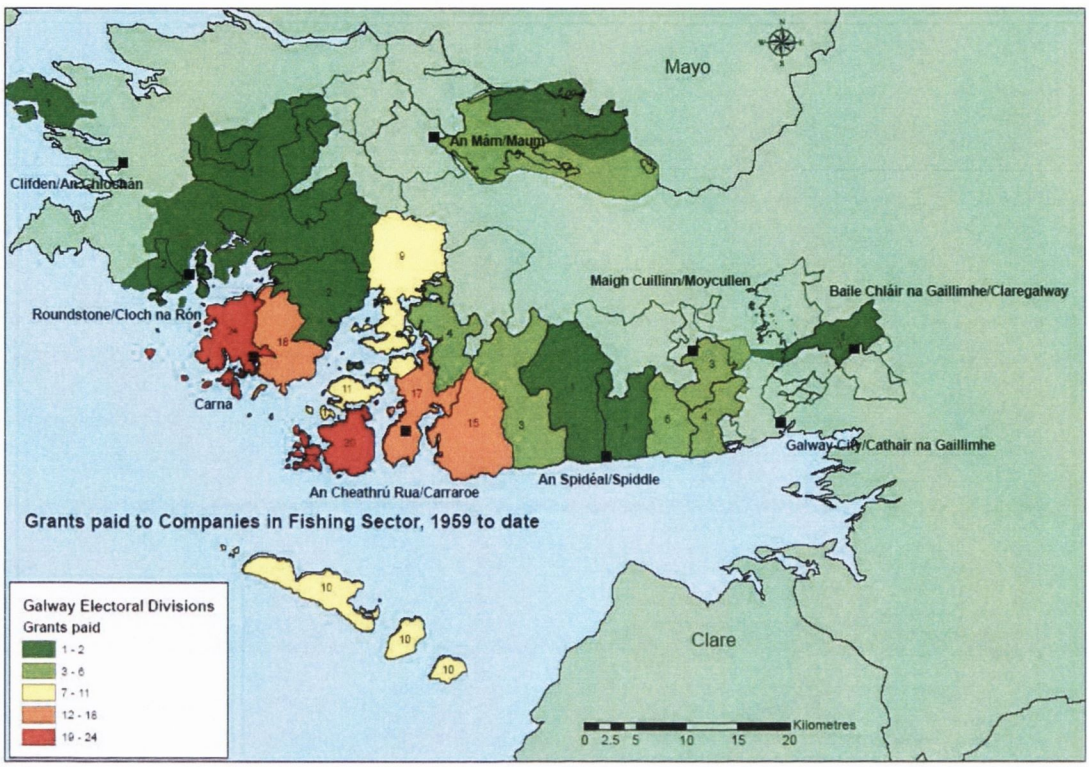

Figure 16: Map of Galway Gaeltacht EDs; Grants Paid to Companies in Fishing Sector, 1959 to 1999[29].

5.5.1.3 Evolution over Time: 1950s to 2000s

The maps presented in Figure 17, Figure 18, Figure 19, and Figure 20 illustrate how entrepreneurship emerged over the four main decades in question. A total of ten Companies received grant aid registered with the CRO up to 1970. This finding is broadly in line with the excellent Government-commissioned mapping conducted by the Social Sciences Research Centre of University College Galway in the late 1960s under the stewardship of Professor Breandán Mac Aodha. That study registered a total of 15 factories in 1969, in textiles and clothing (5); marble goods and toys (4), engineering and metal works (2) and marine resources (2) (Mac Aodha, 1971). It is really in the 1970s that any kind of enterprise development began to emerge in the region, partly as a result of the ambitious advance industrial estates policy of Gaeltarra Éireann. The map in Figure 18 illustrates the increased activity around An Cheathrú Rua and An Spidéal, mainly in textiles, fish processing, and general services such as garages, hairdressers and hotels (Ní Bhrádaigh, 2004a). The results of the industrial estates policy coupled the fish-

29 Note anomalies as per previous map.

farming are reflected in the map in Figure 19. The other main industries were paper, plastics, and building related industries such as aluminium doors and windows. Light engineering was also beginning to emerge. The area east of the city (in which Galway Airport in Carn Mór [Carnmore] is situated) seems to have fallen behind a bit. Perhaps a little surprisingly, some of the EDs on the map in Figure 20 still show single digit start-up levels. The reader is reminded that many of these EDs have large tracts of uninhabited bog and are primarily inhabited along the coastline. Employment and business activity is generally clustered around the village areas along the coastline.

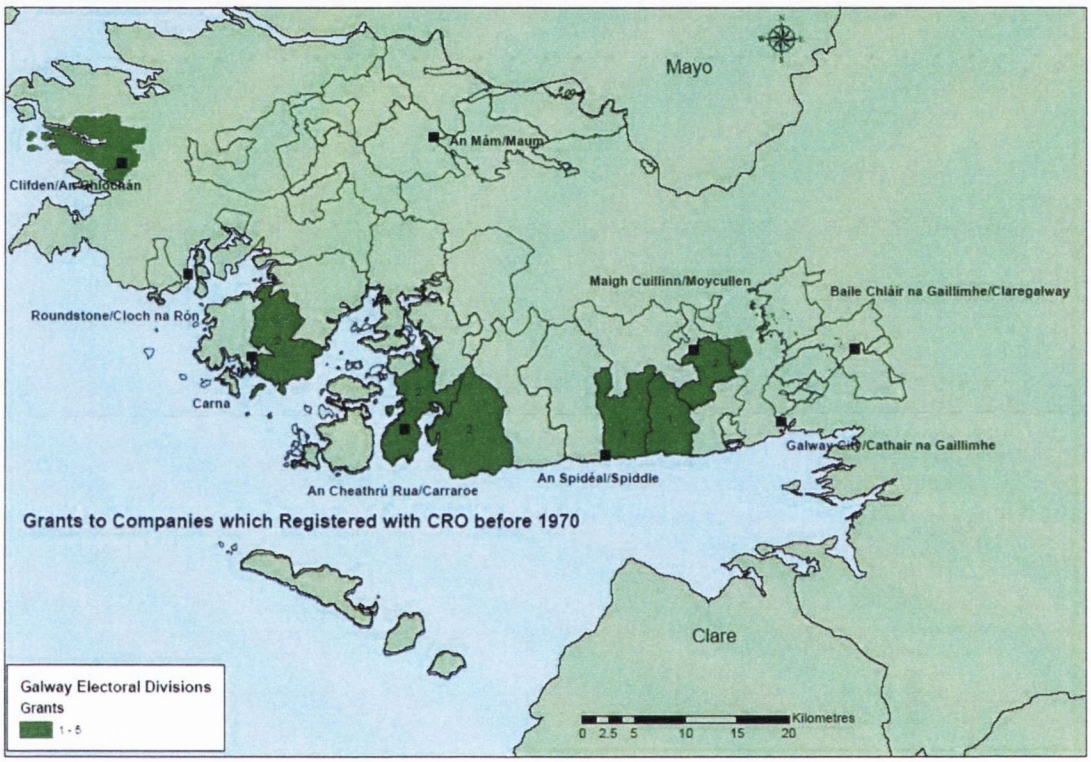

Figure 17: Galway Gaeltacht EDs; Grants to Companies registered with CRO before 1970

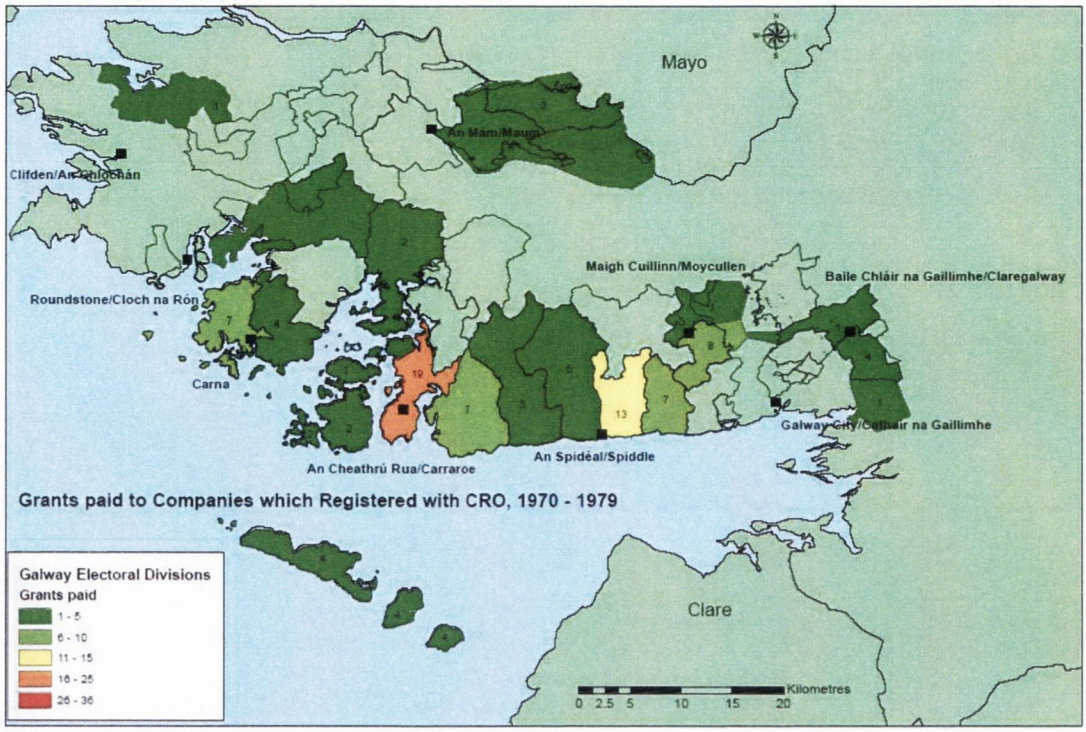

Figure 18: Galway Gaeltacht EDs; Grants to Companies registered with CRO for 1970 to 1979.

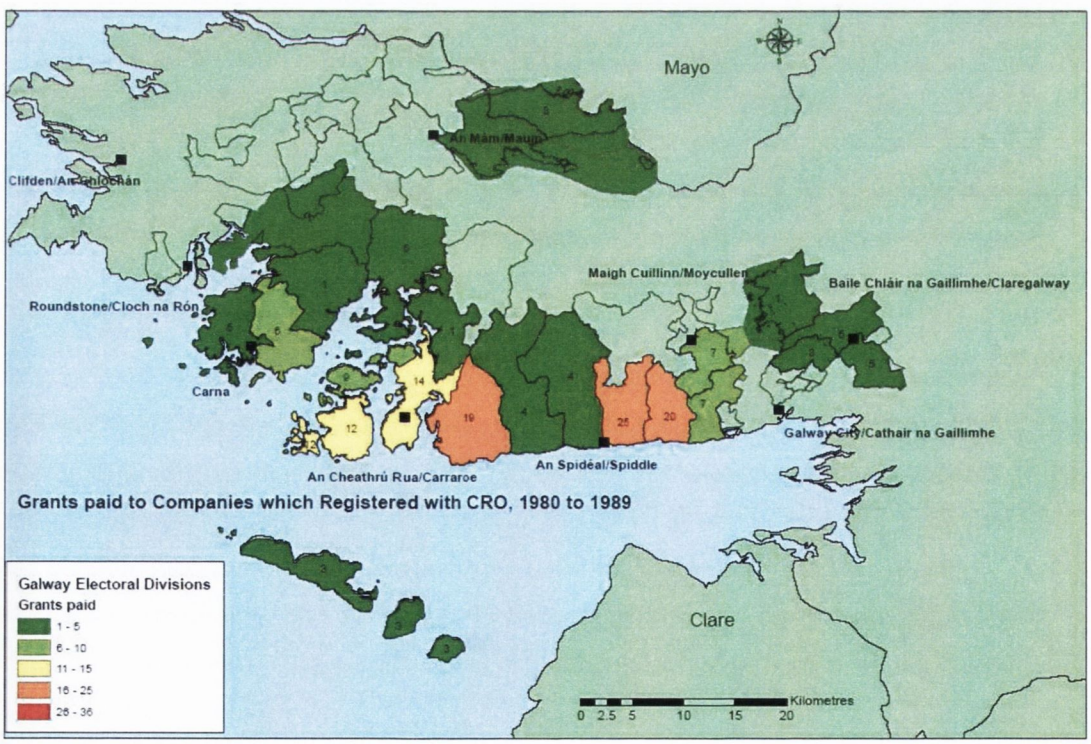

Figure 19: Galway Gaeltacht; Grants to Companies registered with CRO for 1980 to 1989

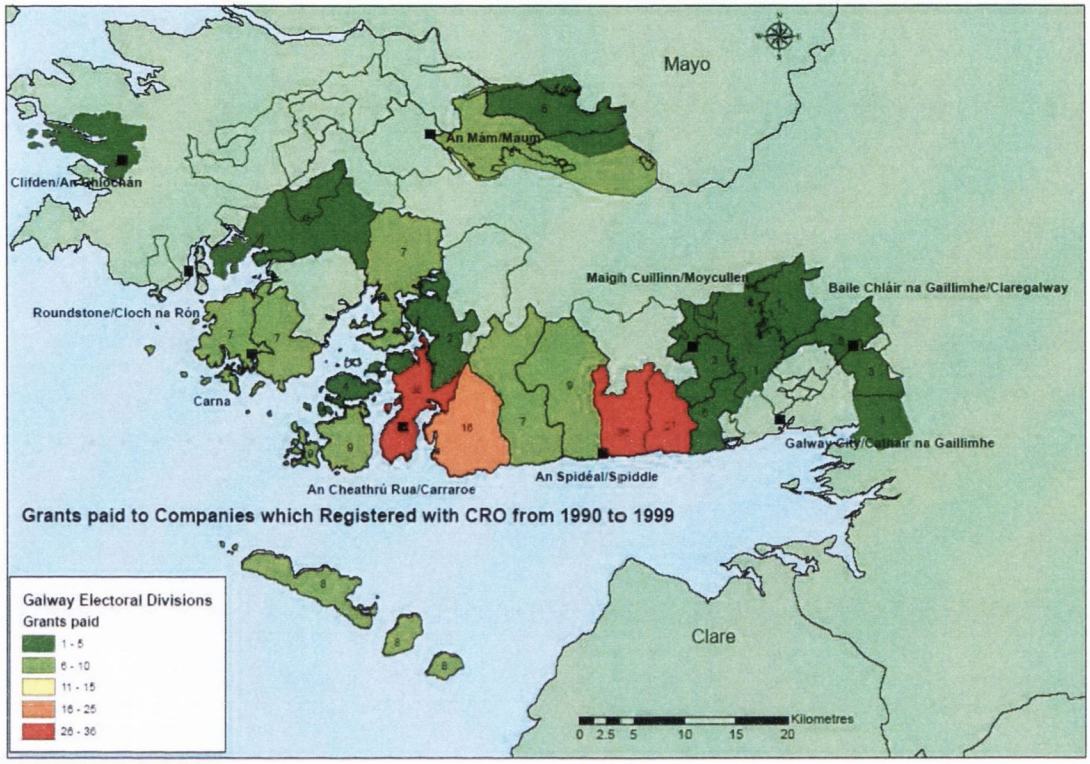

Figure 20: Map of Galway Gaeltacht; Grants to Companies registered with CRO for 1990 – 1999.

All maps include only those records classified as Companies, and thus the large number of Individuals is not reflected. A comparison between the map in Figure 15 and the maps in Figure 17, Figure 18, Figure 19, and Figure 20 should be noted. The map in Figure 15 includes all Companies (i.e. registered with CRO and/or employing at least 2 people at some stage), and the other four maps only include those Companies registered with the CRO. This reflects the low level of registration in the EDs of Gorumna, Knockboy, Turlough and Roundstone, suggesting a certain level of informality or lack of growth intentions. Only 50% of Companies registered with the CRO.

5.5.1.4 2002 Proxy Measures – Industry Sectors; Self-Employment

Census of Population data on self-employment were analysed spatially through the use of Geographical Information Systems (Appendix 7). Very little business data, such as those presented, are published at ED level by the Central Statistics Office (Appendix 7). The additional problem of part-EDs and the non-release of CSO data at sub-ED level is also illustrated in all the maps in this section. Data for part-EDs are essentially meaningless in terms of Gaeltacht residents as it is unknown what the proportions for the Gaeltacht areas are. The map in Figure 21 illustrates the relatively low level of employment in agriculture, above average in industry and mixed levels in services, in the Gaeltacht areas, especially compared to the data for the east and north-east County Galway areas. The EDs with

over 19.82% employment in agriculture are partly explained by the low population levels of fewer than 650 people, illustrating the modifiable area unit problem discussed in Appendix 7. The data in the map in Figure 21 are generally similar to those for the NUTS[30] 3 West and NUTS 2 BMW region (National Development Plan, 2005), and thus do not indicate any exceptional situation.

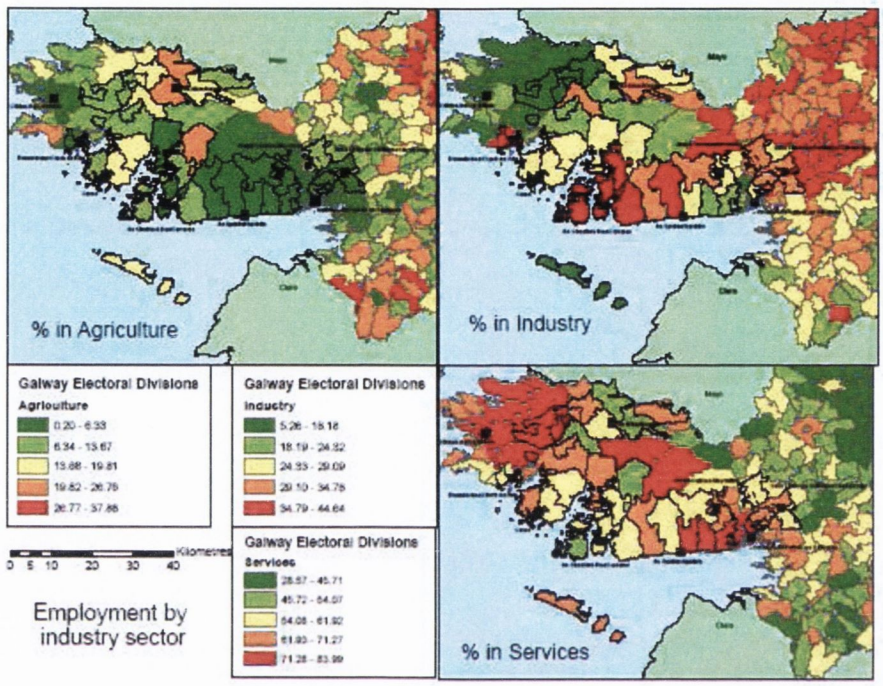

Figure 21: Galway Gaeltacht EDs Employment by Industry Sector – Percentage of All Employment, Census of Population 2002

CSO Labour Force figures include those at work, those seeking work for the first time, and those who are unemployed. Any analysis of the percentage self-employed in the Co Galway Gaeltacht is skewed by extremely high levels of unemployment in some of the Gaeltacht EDs. The EDs of Skannive, Gorumna and Leitir Móir were in the top 6 unemployment blackspots in the state (CSO, 2003a), with levels of unemployment of 35% or more. This compares to 8.8% for the state as a whole, 5.5% for the BMW NUTS 2 and 5.0% for the West NUTS 3 (National Development Plan, 2005). Thus self-employment as a percentage of those at work is a more informative figure, as shown on the map in Figure 22. This shows that overall, self–employment is slightly higher than the state figure of 14.26% (CSO, 2003a, Table 7A), but much higher in a significant number of EDs, most notably Barna, Cloonbur and Annaghdown, and less populated areas such as Ilion,

30 See List of Acronyms at beginning of document.

Owengowla and Cur which suffer from small number bias (It should be noted that the high levels in south east Galway visible on the map, also suffer small number bias).

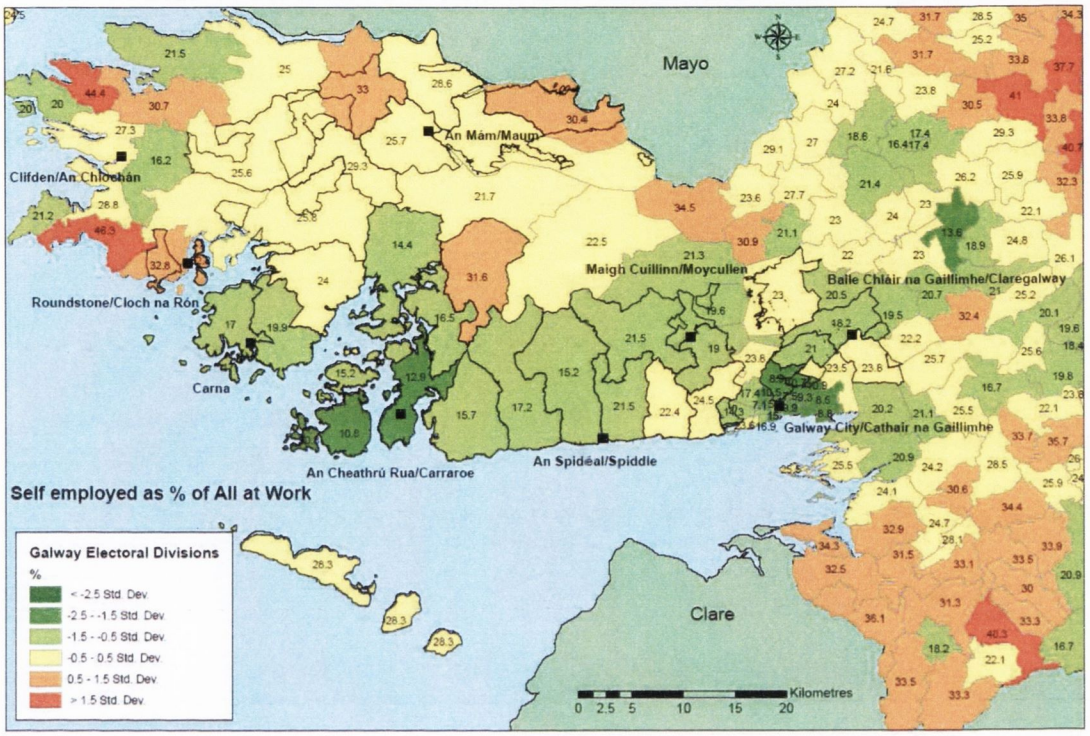

Figure 22: Map of Galway Gaeltacht EDs Self-Employment as Percentage of All at Work, Standard Deviation from the Mean, Census of Population 2002[31]

5.5.2 Evolution of Entrepreneurship

Data are presented in this section in tabular format, highlighting industrial sector; lifespan and Individual/Company status issues. They cover the period from the mid 1950s to 2003. Throughout this section, it should be noted that the figures for the decade or five year period starting 2000 reflects only four years of activity, up to 2003.

5.5.2.1 Foundings by NACE / Industrial Classification

This section provides an overall picture of the industries emerging over time. More detailed information on the three case studies is presented in a later section. Table 18 illustrates the overall NACE industrial category (see Appendix 13) of each start-up by 5-year period. The general shift from agriculture and primary production to value added production, manufacturing and services is evident. The absence of these latter activities up to the 1970s is notable. It should be noted that the particularly high number in Agriculture, hunting and forestry primarily represents the individual fishermen (and a few

31 Data in this map are presented in standard deviation form as various trials of data presentation revealed it to be the most informative method.

women) who received small grants of less than €1,000 for small boats used primarily for part-time inshore fishing. The long history of textiles is reflected from 1955 onwards. The utilities and construction category is primarily building work including joinery work.

	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	Grand Total
Agriculture, Hunting & Forestry			2	19	82	169	148	277	307	155	1159
Mining, quarrying, food, textiles	14	11	8	19	43	49	46	26	7	6	229
Manuf wood, paper, chemicals, metals			10	35	41	61	56	52	30	25	310
Manuf electrical, transport equip't	1		3	13	27	25	30	31	32	26	188
Utilities, construction				12	15	10	3	3	2	3	48
Wholesale, retail, hotels, restaurants			3	9	16	29	10	5	8	4	84
Transport, finance				4	7	4	2	18	3	7	45
Public admin, real estate, business				3	6	10	5	37	26	21	108
Education, health & social work				3	1	4	1	8	5	10	32
Social, community, personal services				5	9	16	22	89	106	67	314
(blank)											
Grand Total	15	11	26	122	247	377	323	546	526	324	2517

Table 18: NACE Classification by 5 Year Period[32]

While NACE classifications give an indication of overall longitudinal trends, these classifications are not the most relevant in looking at particular sectors. Some records were reclassified to provide more informative information. A pilot study of the Ceathrú Rua area (Ní Bhrádaigh, 2003) revealed the high number of plastics and paper enterprises. These, and stone-based firms emerged primarily in the 1970s and 1980s (see Table 19).

Industry	1965 - 1969	1970 - 1974	1975 - 1979	1980 - 1984	1985 - 1989	1990 - 1994	1995 - 1999	2000 - 2003	Grand Total
Paper		1		3	10	4	5	3	26
Plastics		1	2	7	5	5	5	3	28
Stone	8	10	13	7	6	3	5	3	55
Grand Total	8	12	15	17	21	12	15	9	109

Table 19: Paper, Plastic and Stone Foundings by 5 Years.

32 The five year period starts with the year listed in the column.

Similarly the textiles and wood / wooden products sector covers everything from the traditional embroidery and knitting to more value added textile retail outlets, and carpentry up to wooden souvenir production (see Table 20). These more valued added activities occur more in the later time period.

Industry	1958 - 1959	1960 - 1964	1965 - 1969	1970 - 1974	1975 - 1979	1980 - 1984	1985 - 1989	1990 - 1994	1995 - 1999	2000 - 2003	Grand Total
Textiles Wood & Wooden Products	14	11	4	12 9	30 9	24 9	23 10	23 21	13 3	12 5	166 66
Grand Total	14	11	4	21	39	33	33	44	16	17	232

Table 20: Textiles and Wood Foundings by 5 Years

5.5.2.2 Lifespan, Growth and Success/Failure

A key issue of interest to entrepreneurship researchers is the lifespan, growth and success / failure rates of new foundings. Table 21 provides a comparison between Individuals and Companies. There is a high incidence of support for, and foundings by, Individuals rather than Companies. In total, 61% of recorded 'foundings' consist of sole entrepreneurs with no employment content. It must however be noted that due to incomplete data in the database, the figure of 61% is probably an exaggeration of the true situation. Some of this high incidence may be explained by the provision of support for feasibility studies than may have revealed that a planned business was not viable, or fledgling companies which never grew to a stage of employing more than one person. It can also be explained in terms of policy that encouraged individual effort as well as 'organised' entrepreneurship. This is particularly the case with the marine resources sector, where only 6% of almost one thousand fishermen were classified as Company. These were primarily inshore fishermen receiving grant-aid for outboard-motor boats. More sophistication is evident in later years with the fish farms and marketing organisations.

Table II: Foundings by Individual Entrepreneurs and Organisations 1960s to 2003

	1960s		1970s		1980s		1990s		2000-03		Total		Grand	Co as % of
Marine Sector	Ind	Co	Ind	Co	Ind	Co	Ind	Co	Ind	Co	Ind	Co	Total	Total
Fishing & seaweed harvesting		1	75	12	235	8	486	35	129	2	925	58	983	6%
Fish farming				5	5	40	3	26	11	7	19	78	97	80%
Fish & seaweed processing		1		8	6	17		7	1	2	7	35	42	83%
Sea & land transport			1			1	1	4	1	1	3	6	9	67%
Boatbuilding, repair & parts		2	6	8	4	7	3	1	16		29	18	47	38%
Fish marketing & co-operative associations				1		3		5			0	9	9	100%
Tourism (sailing, museum)							4	11	3	1	7	12	19	63%
R&D, diagnostics, monitoring				1		3	1	1		1	1	6	7	86%
Other				2	2	1					2	3	5	60%
Sub-Total		4	82	37	252	80	498	90	161	14	993	225	1218	18%
Sub-Total excl fishing & seaweed harvesting														71%
Textiles Sector														
Knitting		12	5	11	12	6	2	2		1	19	32	51	63%
Preparation & weaving, incl polyester		2		4	1	2	1	2		1	2	11	13	85%
Netmending						1					0	1	1	100%
Garment sewing & finishing, incl leather goods		1	4	10	6	5	4	5	1	1	15	22	37	59%
Carpets, rugs, upholstery			1	1		2					1	3	4	75%
Sub-Total		15	10	26	19	16	7	9	1	3	37	69	106	65%
Community Co-operation		1		9		7	1	35		20	1	72	73	99%
Community Co-operatives / projects. First appearance			1	16	1	15	1	24		4	3	59	62	95%
Subsequent appearances														
Sub-Total		1	1	25	1	22	2	59	0	24	4	131	135	97%

	1960s		1970s		1980s		1990s		2000-03		Total		Grand	Co as % of
	Ind	Co	Ind	Co	Ind	Co	Ind	Co	Ind	Co	Ind	Co	Ind	Total
Forestry, logging, sawmilling				3	5	6	2	6		1	7	16	23	70%
Joinery, carpentry			3	11	6	6	8	9	4		21	26	47	55%
Furniture				2		5		3			0	10	10	100%
Paper prod'n & processing				2	5	8	2	7	1	2	8	19	27	70%
Plastic prod'n & processing				3	2	10	1	9		3	3	25	28	89%
Stone (quarrying, marble etc)		8	3	20	2	11	1	7	1	2	7	48	55	87%
Sub-Total		8	6	41	20	46	14	41	6	8	46	144	190	76%
New Industries Emerging														
Tourism		2	2	13	7	23	2	36	3	4	14	78	92	85%
Audio Visual			1	3	4	9	4	32	2	8	11	52	63	83%
Sub-Total		2	3	16	11	32	6	68	5	12	25	130	155	84%
Grand Total		30	102	145	303	196	527	267	173	61	1105	699	1804	39%
Total excl fishing & seaweed harvesting														78%

Notes:

1. Individuals = No record of employing more than one person; no registration with CRO
Companies = Employed at least 2 people at some stage; and/or registered with CRO
2. The small number of foundings in the 1960s & the absence of Individual foundings are mainly explained by legislation being introduced as late as 1965 to allow support for private entrepreneurs.
The first grants were awarded in 1968 for shellfish production and boatbuilding.
3. In all categories except Community Co-operation, these figures include the same person / company receiving grant aid for >1 enterprise / project.
4. The highly successful Irish college tourism sector discussed in the text is not included in this chart as it is not under the remit of the three government agencies from whom data were collated for the database.

Table 21: Foundings by Individual Entrepreneurs and Organisations, 1960s to 2003[33]

33 This table initially appeared in Ní Bhrádaigh & Murray, 2006.

Due to lack of information in the database, the following analysis is limited to those records classified with the CRO, or for whom it was specifically recorded in the database that the firm had been closed down. Limited companies have a legal obligation to file annual accounts with the CRO, and to register the company's dissolution. Thus the data presented here are an under-representation of death rates. In other words, it is most likely that some other Records in the database have ceased trading. The benefits of detailed fieldwork to ascertain this information would be limited due to the long time-frame of the database.

Table 22 illustrates the Companies alive at mid 2007. It illustrates the relative youth of the Audio Visual and Computing sector, the longevity of some of the tourism, paper and plastics and textiles enterprises. Just over one quarter (26%) of all Companies are over 20 years old, with five more than 50 years old – these are in textiles and a seaweed processing state company established in 1947. Given its long history, the relatively few older firms in the fishing sector is surprising. It illustrates the relative lack of organisation in the sector until the fish processing factories and the fish-farms were established initially in the 1970s but mostly in the 1980s. The relatively few older tourism organisations illustrate the relative lack of organisation in that sector as well. It also reflects the fact that until recently Údarás was precluded by legislation from funding most tourism projects.

	Industry						
Age (Years)	AV & Computing	Fishing	Tourism	Paper & Plastics	Textiles	Other	Grand Total
01-02						3	3
03-05	4	4	4	2	8	18	40
06-07	1	3	4	3	2	15	28
08-10	6	3	2	4	3	12	30
11-12	3			1	1	13	18
13-15	3	7	7	1	4	10	32
16-20	2	10	1	3	4	11	31
21-25		5	1	4	6	17	33
26-30		3		3	2	3	11
31-35		1	1	3	1	7	13
36-40			1		1		2
46-50						1	1
51+		3				2	5
Grand Total	19	39	21	24	32	112	247

Table 22: Companies Alive and Their Age

Analysis of the Companies which have ceased trading is presented in Table 23. Although one must be wary of percentages when dealing with small numbers, the higher than average early failure in the Audio Visual, and Tourism sectors is noted. This issue is discussed more in the case study section later in this chapter.

Age (Years)	AV & Computing	Fishing	Tourism	Paper & Plastics	Textiles	Other	Grand Total
01-02	1	2	1			3	7
03-05	7	10	4	3	2	27	53
06-07	6	8	2	6	3	28	53
08-10	3	13	2	9	7	30	64
11-12	2	5		2	1	13	23
13-15		7			4	19	30
16-20		7		2	7	12	28
21-25		3		1	5	12	21
26-30		6	1		2	7	16
31-35		1	1		1		3
Grand Total	19	62	11	23	32	151	298

Table 23: Dead Companies and Their Age at Death, by Industry Category

Table 24 shows all Records in the database, and the age at death of the Companies for which that information was available. The line totalling 1,704 shows the Records for which no such data were available. The visual pattern of numbers illustrates the relative longevity of the companies established prior to 1980, compared to the early death rate of companies established later than that, especially after 1990. An interpretation of this phenomenon is that most of the early foundings were based on heavy state support, in the spirit of the 'social service' of helping a disadvantaged area (see previous chapter). The later period is marked by higher levels of founding activity. From a policy point of view the issue is to increase the life span of foundings.

ageclose	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	Grand Total
0							4	11	7	2	24
1							7	29	17	2	55
2							20	37	20	4	81
3							40	27	19	2	88
4						16	14	53	22		105
5						8	9	29	11		57
6						16	18	17	22		73
7						7	28	12	3		50
8					1	22	8	10	7		48
9					1	12	10	13			36
10					2	22	9	4			37
11					5	10	4	4			23
12					1	12	6	1			20
13					5	9	7	2			23
14				2	8	10	6				26
15				5	5	5	1				16
16				2	2	3	2				9
17				2	2	5	3				12
18				2	4	2	2				10
19				2		1					3
20					1						1
21						2					2
22				1	1						2
23				3	1						4
24				1	1						2
25				2	1						3
26				1							1
28				1							1
30			1								1
	15	11	25	98	206	215	125	297	398	314	1704
Grand Total	15	11	26	122	247	377	323	546	526	324	2517

Table 24: Age at Closure by Founding Year, in 5-Year Periods.

5.5.3 Pioneers

There were high hopes for the co-operative movement which emerged out of Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta (Gaeltacht Civil Rights) in the early 1970s, with the support of Gaeltarra and later Údarás, although this support is disputed by one respondent who claims Roinn na Gaeltachta had more belief in them (Ó hÉallaithe, 2004). However the co-operatives have had limited success, especially in recent years. Many of the co-operatives were initially managed by incomers, including Tarlach de Blácam, Pól Ó Foighil, Pádraig Ó hAoláin (now CEO of Údarás) and Éamonn Ó Cuív (Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs as of September 2008). The first two men listed were known to be outspoken 'troublesome rebels' who could annoy plenty of people, but

were equally well regarded for their achievements (Mac Gabhann, 2004; Ó hAoláin, 2006) traits perhaps required by entrepreneurs working in such environments. Each of these two men went on to buy out and run, privately and successfully, enterprises they had initially established and developed within the co-ops they led. Apart from those specialising in marine resources, most of the co-operatives were generalist in nature, and focussed on community services. Training courses with the Centre for Co-operative Studies in UCC were organised in the 1970s and 1980s. A new scheme of mandatory training courses was initiated recently by Údarás to address the continuing fundamental weaknesses in some of the co-operatives (Ó Conghaile, 2006). Perhaps a new model is now required, for example focussed on particular activities rather than on a particular geographical community. However, none is emerging at present.

5.5.4 Growth Strategies

5.5.4.1 Socio-Political Legitimacy

One of the signs that a new Population is gaining legitimacy is in terms of relevant education and training courses being available. The specific situation of the three Case Study Communities is discussed in the next chapter. However, a discussion of Irish – medium and Gaeltacht based third level education is interesting in terms of the perceived legitimacy of the connection between language and business. In 1929 University College Galway (now NUIG) was given particular status and obligation with respect to the Irish language. Special grant aid is available for undergraduates who wish to pursue their studies through the medium of Irish, although at present the number of lecturers able or willing to deliver their courses through Irish, in addition to delivering them in English is minimal[34]. Since 2000 NUIG has pursued a strategy of developing *Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge* (the Academy of Irish medium university education) with large centres in the Galway and Donegal Gaeltachtaí. However it provides diploma and degree courses in language, education, the arts, and ICT; and an undergraduate course in business starting on the Donegal campus in September 2008. Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, a similar institute in the Isle of Skye, Scotland, provides undergraduate and postgraduate degrees through the medium of Scots Gaelic, none of which includes a business / management component. The link between business / management / entrepreneurship education and Gaeltacht / language development has not been made by these and other key opinion leaders. For example, in his 1990 publication the NUIG historian Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, who served as Chairman of Údarás from 1996 to 1999 discusses education and the dearth of language based enterprises in the Gaeltacht, but does not mention Irish medium business education as perhaps being one of the solutions to the problems.

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34 The author has sat on a number of the Irish language competency interview panels for NUIG.

5.6 **Summary**

The period between the late 1960s to the beginning of the 21st century was one of great change nationally as well as in the Gaeltacht. The entrepreneurship landscape changed from one marked by a few formal (i.e. CRO registered) enterprises with an increasing number of incoming manufacturing plants, via a number of state-owned or co-owned (with private investors) enterprises, and some basic low value-added enterprises in construction and textiles, to the emergence of two strong new marine resource and audiovisual Communities, dominated by Populations of fish-farms and production companies. Tourism was not as well developed, and still has to find its feet. These three cases are discussed in the following chapter.

6 Case Studies

6.1 Introduction

This chapter documents three cases chosen from within the general demography of enterprises described and discussed in the two preceding chapters. They are three particular industries or Communities and their primary Populations.[35] Each of the cases provides a valuable case study resource for entrepreneurship research, as each is a sector predominantly marked by micro and small enterprises, established with little, if any, foreign direct investment. Each is rooted in the natural resources of the area. Thus there is an opportunity to examine the emergence of new, primarily indigenous, Populations of organisations. Comparisons can be made between the three cases, as one is particularly well established (marine resources); a second developed to a later stage but in a limited manner (tourism); and the third (audiovisual) is less than 20 years in existence and is a modern technology-based industry. Each case is described briefly and illustrated with some quantitative tables. This description is then followed by analysis and comparison across all three cases through the conceptual framework presented in the literature review, with emphasis on the emergence of new Populations and key actors within that emergence; and the strategies facilitating the growth of new Populations. The chapter's conclusion outlines the common themes shared by all three cases and the differences and interrelationships between them.

6.2 The Cases: Description

This chapter is informed by data from a number of sources. Quantitative data from the Core Database are supplemented by additional data for the tourism Community sourced primarily from Bord Fáilte documents, National Archive and Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs documents (Appendix 1), as well as those sources mentioned elsewhere throughout the thesis. Presented also are qualitative data from the same sources as well as from interviews with seven to fourteen informants per case. Appendix 5 lists all interviewees along with some background information. In total 56 people were interviewed for these cases. Preliminary analysis of each case has already been published (Ní Bhrádaigh, 2008a; Ní Bhrádaigh, 2008b) or presented at a conference (Ní Bhrádaigh, 2006a). In this section the reader is also referred a number of times to charts appearing in earlier chapters.

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35 'Community' (with a capital C) denotes Community in the Aldrich and Ruef (2006) sense, while 'community' (with a small c) denotes the human community. A similar practice is used with Population and population.

6.2.1 Marine

6.2.1.1 Context

There is a long history of fishing off the west coast of Ireland yet with relatively little deep sea fishing, and a history of neglect of marine resources (de Courcey Ireland, 1980; Marine Institute 2006a & b; Ní Bhrádaigh, 2007c). From the time of the CDB, various reports highlight the lack of organised catching and marketing (Commission of Inquiry into the Resources and Industries of Ireland, 1921); emphasis on inshore fishing rather than deep sea fishing; inadequate investment in processing; lack of training and marketing (Department of Finance, 1958); preponderance of small boats and processing to a simple unsophisticated standard; a sizeable proportion of fish landed in the West processed outside the region; low levels of demand for training; very low level of professional training among managers; only 0.3% of skippers or crewmen in the West having a third level qualification of any kind; 70.1% having only a primary level of education (O'Connor *et al*, 1980). Some of these problems still exist.

The maritime economy 'is characterised by small scale, poor integration, traditional business models and a lack of innovation' (Marine Institute, 2006a, vii). There is ongoing tension between the supranational (EU) and national institutions which design politically motivated policy informed by research and science, and coastal communities, especially along the west coast, for whom the marine economy is of great socio-cultural importance, and is led primarily by fishermen who by nature are hunter-gatherers engaged in a dangerous activity and with little time or interest in self-organisation (Holden, 1994; Marine Institute, 2006a; Meredith, 1999; Mills, 2003; Ní Bhrádaigh, 2007c; Ó Donnchadha *et al*, 2000; O'Driscoll, 2005). Some sub-sectors such as marine leisure and tourism are wholly underdeveloped.

6.2.1.2 Entrepreneurship History

As outlined in the Incubation chapter, the CDB made many efforts to develop the fishing Community but had problems with: continuity of supply and access to markets; local people's skills levels and attitude towards innovation, self-organisation and risk-taking. There are many instances of outsider engineers building piers in what proved to be unsuitable locations, against local knowledge and advice (Royal Commission, 1908), leading to some distrust of CDB officers not familiar with the local climate and natural coastal conditions. On the other hand the folk history is generally more positive about the CDB's efforts, especially compared with the efforts of the later post-independence native government (Breathnach, 2006; de Courcey Ireland 1980).

By the 1960s the national fleet was being upgraded, and state development agencies such as Gaeltarra were beginning to pay attention to the sea as a resource. Indeed in the 1970s Gaeltarra played a leadership role in aquaculture development in Ireland (Mac Gabhann, 2004; Ó Cinnéide, 2007). By the 1970s, technical and management training had also been introduced for the relatively new aquaculture sector.

The 1962 White Paper on Sea Fisheries Development encouraged fishermen to establish co-operatives and by the late 1970s an estimated 75-80% of first sales were handled by these cooperatives. In 1976 there were 20 Co-operative Fisheries Societies nationally of which one was in the Galway Gaeltacht. It still operates successfully. Nationally, the co-ops concentrated primarily on selling whole unprocessed fish. A small number conducted simple primary processing. None seems to have engaged in value-added processing. The co-ops' aims were improvements in income and in distribution to markets. The reasons proposed by O'Conner *et al* (1980, 84) for the lack of support from fishermen for the co-ops are:

- The highly mobile life of the fisherman making it difficult for him to attend meetings and to contribute to discussions
- Lack of available capital to invest in new boats or new enterprises.
- Difficulty in obtaining experienced managers to organise and operate the co-operatives
- Lack of interest by many fishermen in the disposal of their catches beyond pier level
- Lack of appreciation of the advantages which could accrue from co-operation.

6.2.1.3 Marine Foundings

Table 4 in the Incubation chapter presents data from the CDB baseline reports of the 1890s; Table 5 (Incubation chapter) and Table 21 (Emergence and Take-Off chapter) include the foundings in the marine resources Community for the periods 1891 to 1914, and 1960s to the early 21st century. Data for the intervening period of 1915 to 1950s were not located. The three main foundings in the 1940s and 50s were the state-owned Arramarra (1946); the privately owned Torradh Toinne Teo (mid 1950s) both involved in seaweed processing; and the oyster farm and processing plant established by Gael Linn, a Dublin based, voluntary organisation (see Pen Picture in Appendix 14). These tables show the low level of organisation in the Community until the 1960s. Table 25 presents more detailed information on foundings from the time of the Gaeltacht Industries (Amendment) Act which gave Gaeltarra Éireann the statutory right to provide financial assistance to private sector enterprises. By the end of that decade it had provided grant aid in County Galway to a shellfish fisherman, two boatbuilders and a net-maker. Data on the 971 fishermen who received small grant-aid for outboard-motor boats have been

excluded. Their profile is similar to that of the 22 sea-weed gatherers who harvest seaweed for the Arramara processing plant, earning ca. €70 for a hard day's work gathering two ton weight of seaweed. These part-time fishermen and seaweed harvesters' other occupations / sources of income are smallholding farming, unemployment support, tourism, part-time seasonal unskilled work (Kane, 1977; Meredith, 1999; National Seaweed Forum, 2000; O'Connor *et al*, 1980; Ó Flatharta, 2007). Only three of these fishermen and harvesters had registered with the CRO.

Industry	1965-1969	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	1985-1989	1990-1994	1995-1999	2000-2003	Grand Total
Angling						4	5	5	14
Boat building, repair & engines	2	5	8	4	6	3		16	44
Cosmetics (value added seaweed products)		1			1		2	1	5
Diving					2		1		3
Engines & equipment, incl. nets & surfboards	1	1		3	2	1	1		9
Finfish farming			4	10	22	11	10	16	73
Fish processing and curing		1	7	5	17	5		2	37
Marketing			1	1	2	2	1		7
R&D, incl. diagnostics & monitoring		1		1	4		2	2	10
Sea transport		1				5	1	2	9
Seaweed gathering		11	28	35		2		1	77
Seaweed processing		1		1			1		3
Shellfish farming			1	5	3	8	3	2	22
Shell-fishing	1		1						2
Tourism Sailing and Museum						3	4		7
Grand Total	4	22	50	65	59	44	31	47	322

Table 25: Marine Foundings by 5 Year Periods

What is notable about these data is the gradual emergence of the fin-fish and shell-fish farming with a total of 95 (73 + 22) start-ups from 1975 onwards. The next largest category is boatbuilding etc – which is marked by a low level of formal organisation in terms of Company registration or employment of more than two people (see Table 21). Tourism based activities such as sailing courses or marine museums etc is remarkably low, given the popularity of the Gaeltacht part of Galway for tourism (D'Arcy Marketing, 1999), but unremarkable given how under-developed water-based tourism is along the west coast as a whole (Marine Institute, 2004).

Pelagic or open sea fishing is now also a prominent feature in Connemara – primarily out of Ros a'Mhíl. This harbour was not developed until the mid 1970s when the local fishing co-op commissioned a feasibility study to have the national Fishery Harbour Centre

proposed for Galway city transferred there, and was supported in its lobbying, by Gaeltarra Éireann. Interestingly, while Ros a'Mhíl is now one of the top 5 harbours nationally in terms of catch tonnage and value, it never featured in the CDB's work, despite local knowledge of its potential (CD, 1892 – 1923, ARs; Mac Gabhann, 2004; Meredith, 1999; Ní Bhrádaigh, 2007c). Meredith's (1999) socio-economic assessment of Ros a'Mhíl found that in the 3 surrounding EDs, 33% of the indigenous Population was employed in, or supported by the fishing industry. The community was proud of not being dependent on foreign multinationals. Two of the 23 large pelagic vessels in Ireland were owned by two Aran-based fishermen and up to 89 families depended on these two boats.

Initially introduced to Ireland in the Galway Gaeltacht in the mid 1970s, the national aquaculture industry has not developed as much as in other countries such as Norway and Denmark (Marine Institute, 2006a). The first commercial shellfish hatchery in Ireland, Beirtreach Teo was established in Carna Co Galway in 1975, growing oysters and mussels, and employing 45 – 50 people in 1980. This was a wholly owned subsidiary of Gaeltarra Éireann. In 1976 a Gaeltarra / ESB joint venture Bradán Mara Teo was established to research and develop salmon and trout farming in the sea. This was the first salmon farm in Ireland[36]. At the same time UCG (now NUIG) established a shellfish research laboratory also in Carna. These three enterprises were wholly state owned. A policy of encouraging privately- or community-owned satellite farms to sub-supply to Beirtreach Teo and Bradán Mara Teo proved successful. Both Beirtreach and Bradán Mara, the first ever fish-farms in Ireland, closed down in the early 2000s after 27 years in business.

The satellite farms are reflected in the data presented in Table 21 and Table 25. In 1979, a co-operative in Ceantar na nOileán (the Islands Area – a series of islands connected by bridges to the mainland; one of the remoter more disadvantaged areas) established a fish farm. By 1983 five local individuals or groups had secured support and a total of 40 enterprises had received aid by the end of the 1980s. The fish farms established in the 1970s and 80s largely had a successful survival rate. Fish farm employees earned good wages, earning up to IR£400 (€500) a week in the late 1990s (Breathnach, 2007), more than could be earned in factory employment, an occupation requiring quite a different lifestyle to that enjoyed outdoors at sea. The lifespan of the fishfarms has averaged over 10 years.

36 Turmec Teo, a Co Meath Gaeltacht company developed the first salmon cages for use in Bradán Mara's farms.

In summary the Galway Gaeltacht marine resources Community's profile is quite similar to the national profile. The cluster of fish-farms has provided much employment and many role-models. Marine based tourism is particularly underdeveloped, not too dissimilar from the national picture (Marine Institute, 2004); the primary enterprise form is angling, which has a long history of over a century in the area.

6.2.2 Tourism

6.2.2.1 Context

In the early 1800s Connemara was well established on the tourist map and was a destination for Grand Tour travellers (Kelly, C., 2002). At the turn of the 20th century there were two overlapping tourism markets in the province of Connacht. The hunting and shooting gentry stayed in first class hotels while the Irish language enthusiasts (gentry and middle class) sought out Irish speaking families from whom to learn the language. The Royal Commission on Congestion report of 1907 pointed out that the main problem in developing first class hotels was insufficient domestic staff rather than lack of a market, a point made by Horace Plunkett 15 years earlier in his 1892 report to the CDB (CDB, 1893, AR). The CDB baseline reports mention Ballinahinch Castle and a hotel in Rinvyle – both no longer in the contemporary Gaeltacht. Various CDB Annual Reports also mention sporting (i.e. hunting and fishing) rights, and suggest possible tourist drives (CDB, 1892-97; CDB, 1912, 20th AR). At the same time, the Gaelic League and Cultural Revival leaders engaged in, and promoted, linguistic tourism (Ó Tórna, 2005). Patrick Pearse had a holiday home in Ros Muc and of 17 summer schools recommended by the Gaelic League at the turn of the 20th century, two were in the then Gaeltacht, one still operating in the contemporary Gaeltacht.

Matters had not improved much after independence. While summer colleges were being used to train national school teachers, the Minister for Finance, Seán McEntee lamented that:

> '[i]n a word, the Gaeltacht area is generally a thoroughly disorganised and unplanned affair and the accommodation in it cannot, without very drastic alterations, be made attractive to the normal person, who is usually not disposed to endure the extreme discomfort which hitherto has generally been the lot of the earnest student of Irish in the Gaeltacht.' (McEntee, 1934)

He also warned that [t]ourists pure and simple, and particularly the hiking-biking element among them, should not be encouraged' (ibid), recognising that it was 'hard to harmonise Irish preservation and economic development' (ibid). He recommended that three villages be razed to the ground and new self-contained family holiday centres be built, and that local people be organised into co-operatives.

The Irish Tourism Association represented the private tourism sector up to 1950s. The Irish Tourist Board (ITB) was established in 1939 to build, and help others build, various types of tourist accommodation. It was renamed Bord Fáilte in 1952, and its responsibilities changed to the accreditation (rather than building) of accommodation; the provision of training; and the marketing of tourism in Ireland (Heneghan, 1976). In the mid 1940s, there was a two year exchange of memos between various departments including the ITB (which came under the Department of Industry and Commerce) regarding the development of Irish colleges and summer resorts (Department of Industry and Commerce, 1946). The issues included the decline of teachers' support for the summer colleges in existence since the 1920s; whether the ITB was willing and/or able to develop and run such courses; and the tension between serious language learning and 'ordinary' tourists. The Board was 'anxious to help in the promotion of schemes for holiday facilities combined with the study and use of the Irish language'. The result was an interdepartmental committee which visited certain Gaeltacht areas in 1947 (NAD, 1947, S7839B). A scheme was already underway in Cork and another was being proposed for Donegal. No information has to date been uncovered regarding what was implemented in the Galway Gaeltacht by this committee.

Angling and gaming, key elements of Connemara and Gaeltacht tourism were heavily promoted throughout most of the 20th century, especially during *An Tóstal* – 'Ireland's springtime festival' to attract the Irish diaspora home on holidays, held in the 1950s (Bord Fáilte, 1954; 1953a; 1955a; 1956; all in Trinity College Dublin, 2007), throughout Ireland. There were complaints about the inadequate availability of acommodation and of low standards. The Gaeltacht was a microcosm of the state as a whole. Bord Fáilte soon initiated a special grant aid schemes to improve the quality of accommodation, particularly in the two and three star establishments. It was disappointed with the sluggish level of uptake of support. By 1961-62 only 10% of eligible establishments nationwide had availed of the Bord Fáilte support (Bord Fáilte, 1962a). It pointed to the inadequate rate of private investment, pointing out that local authorities and private enterprise still tended to leave the burden of investment on Bord Fáilte and other bodies (Bord Fáilte, 1962a, 17). The Réamhrá (Preface, written in Irish) of the same report, urged *'seachnaimís an féin-tsástacht'* - that we avoid self-satisfaction (p. 2).

6.2.2.1.1 Gaeltacht in 1950s to 1980s Tourism Brochures

The Gaeltacht features in many of the brochures and booklets published by Bord Fáilte from the 1950s to the 1980s, usually associating Gaeltacht people with 'ancient Gaelic traits' (Bord Fáilte, 1960) telling '2,000 year old stories', (Fógra Fáilte, 1954), an image

lampooned in the 1980s in Antoine Ó Flatharta's (1986) play, '*Gaeilgeoirí*', about Irish colleges. The cynical *fear an í'* (man of the house) comments that he's probably expected to entertain the language students by sitting around the microwave telling mythological stories *(Suífidh muid timpeall ar a'* microwave *ar ball ag inseacht scéalta fiannaíochta')* (1986, 20). Bord Fáilte annual reports also repeatedly mention the importance of the Gaelic culture and the Irish language, and show the Gaeltacht areas on their brochure maps (Bord Fáilte, 1959 – 95; available in Trinity College Dublin (TCD), 2007). Information leaflets on the Gaeltacht itself have scant reference to Irish language service providers other than Údarás itself, and on its traditional music leaflet five not-for-profit providers, including Gael Linn (Bord Fáilte, 1974; 1983b; 1987). A series of brochures for cultural / learning for leisure courses from 1982 to 1994 mention 3 or 4 Irish language course providers, including in Galway University College Galway (now NUIG) and An Gaelacadamh ('the gaelic academy'); other similar booklets list no providers for the language (TCD, 2007).

By the turn of the 21st century, the Gaeltacht was becoming largely invisible in national tourism promotion, and a 1999 report commissioned by the Údarás tourism promotion subsidiary Gaelsaoire revealed that of tourists visiting the Gaeltacht only 3% were there for language reasons and only 15% for cultural reasons (D'Arcy Marketing, 1999).

6.2.2.2 Entrepreneurship History

6.2.2.2.1 Bord Fáilte Registrations

During the CDB era there were two hotels and two fishing lodges (3 are still in business) operating in the area. A review of numerous Bord Fáilte directories from the 1950s to the 1990s reveals how approved accommodation developed in the area (Bord Fáilte, 1959 - 1995, in TCD, 2007). Among the first hotels to gain Bord Fáilte's accreditation in the 1950's was Mongan's Hotel in Carna. An Óige (YHF) ran a hostel in Ceantar na nOileán for a few years in the 1950s. In 1958-59 the Local Development Committee in Roundstone, accessed state funding for the construction of a community centre where visitors could enjoy Irish dancing and music (Bord Fáilte, 1959). In the 1956 review of the Gaeltacht, Roundstone village, was removed but its surrounding townlands remain in the contemporary Gaeltacht. It is in 1971 that any significant Gaeltacht activity begins to emerge with a few hotels, including 2 in the Galway Gaeltacht receiving Bord Fáilte grant aid. The following year, Folan's Caravan Park in An Cheathrú Rua received aid, and by the mid 1970s Irish domestic tourism was performing remarkably well and a handful of Galway Gaeltacht guesthouses had received aid. In the early 1980s self-catering houses and a new hostel run by An Óige in Indreabhán were also receiving aid. In the early 1990s, five enterprises received funding for outdoor activities, craft shops and heritage

projects. Three of these were in the Aran Islands, where there is a long tradition of tourism. Although there was a language and craft learning category, of the seven enterprises listed nationally, none was in any Gaeltacht. It is unclear whether this scheme applied to Irish language learning as well as English language learning.

6.2.2.2.2 Irish Language Tourism

Child, teenager and adult Irish language learning have been the main forms of Gaeltacht tourism promoted since the Gaelic League's establishment in 1893. Irish colleges were organised, whereby language learners spent a few weeks in Gaeltacht homes, attending language classes during the day and social events in the evening. The first in the Galway Gaeltacht was established in 1910 and is still in operation. By the early 1930s, *Coiste na bPáistí* (the Children's Committee) had been established by middle class trade-unionists. It had branches in various cities around the country and raised voluntary contributions which were matched by the state to allow thousands of children to spend a minimum of four weeks in the Gaeltacht living with families and learning Irish. In 1935 the Dublin committee alone raised the significant amount of £800 (Department of the Taoiseach, 1935, in NAD S7449A).

Bord Fáilte's complaints about the low uptake of grant aid in the 1950s and early 1960s echo those made in 1954 by the Congested Districts and Gaeltacht Office[37] about the limited uptake of the various schemes, such as for home extensions and improvements, available to Gaeltacht residents (Oifig na Gaeltachta agus na gCeantar gCúng, 1954). It felt that by increasing the number of (subsidised) language visitors, through an expansion of the Gaeltacht Scholarship scheme, Gaeltacht people might be encouraged to avail of the various schemes. The Interdepartmental Committee saw the scheme as an 'industry' for Gaeltacht people. It also recommended that Gaeltacht people grow more vegetables, keep more poultry and bees etc. Any inaction in the Gaeltacht was a reflection of the nationwide situation. The Committee also saw that there were not enough Irish colleges in Connacht or Munster, and that there was a need for more playing fields and entertainment halls.

Today, apart from general sightseeing and touring throughout the whole of Connemara[38]; and Inis Mór in the Aran Islands, the primary form of tourism venture in the Gaeltacht is

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37 Despite the fact that the CDB was disbanded in 1923, up to the 1950s, the Congested Districts continued to be referred to as such, and treated to particular policy measures, primarily in conjunction with the Gaeltacht.

38 South Connemara is in the Gaeltacht; North Connemara, including the popular tourist destinations of Ballyconneely, Clifden and Kylemore Abbey, is not.

the Irish College. Traditionally the colleges have been supported directly by the Departments of Education and Science (DES) and of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs (DCRGA), and not by Údarás na Gaeltachta. Throughout the various state documents and state commissioned reports, the Irish colleges are not seen as an industry. The Government departments concern themselves with curriculum and safety issues and the administration of grant aid for teachers' salaries and housewives's payments, rather than more strategic planning issues. It is only in the last few years that they have begun to receive funding from Údarás na Gaeltachta, in the period subsequent to the cut-off year of 2003 for the Core Database. Thus none appears in the Core Database, and the data presented in the next section were sourced directly from DCRGA.

6.2.2.3 Tourism Foundings

6.2.2.3.1 Overall Tourism Foundings

Table 26 presents the tourism foundings from the mid 1960s to the year 2003. The overall level of start-ups is lower than might be expected and just over one half are for basic amenities such as restaurants and cafés, hotels and other accommodation, reflecting the under-developed nature of the area. The next highest group is the tourism development groups, which are primarily co-operatives and community groups which developed various cultural or sporting projects. The air transport reflects the development of Galway Airport in Carn Mór, half of which is in the Gaeltacht; and the air transport between the mainland and the Aran Islands. Given the outdoor amenities (hills, rivers, beaches, etc) available the relatively low level of sporting foundings is remarkable. Despite the relatively low level of development, there is a high level of formal organisation – 90% of the 97 foundings were categorised as Company and only 10% as Individuals. This reflects the involvement of co-operatives and community groups, some of which were also involved in the catering / accommodation categories.

Industry	1965 - 1969	1970 - 1974	1975 - 1979	1980 - 1984	1985 - 1989	1990 - 1994	1995 - 1999	2000 - 2003	Grand Total
Air Transport		2	1	3		1			7
Cultural & heritage tourism services and events						2	5	2	9
Hotels & other shortstay accommodation		1	2	2	4	2	5	1	17
Museums & other buildings						2	6		8
Restaurants and cafes	2	2	6	14	2	3	1	2	32
Sporting Activites				1	1	3	1		6
Tourism Development Groups					3	8	5	2	18
Grand Total	2	5	9	20	10	21	23	7	97

Table 26: Tourism Foundings by 5 Year Periods.

Not captured in the table were other tourism ventures as advertised in the Bord Fáilte magazine *Ireland of the Welcomes* in the 1950s and 1960s (available in TCD, 2007). Anne Fergus, Gael Linn and Máirtín Standún and his wife advertised knitwear. The Standúns were incomers who established a private knitwear factory in the 1940s and ran a still thriving tourist shop now run by their son. Their daughter Dearbhaill is the co-founder of Cnoc Suain, a pioneer entrepreneur discussed later in this chapter.

As mentioned earlier, the DCRGA and its various predecessors have historically supported not only the Irish colleges but also various other schemes to promote the language and home improvements. In 1970 there were ten different schemes operated by Roinn na Gaeltachta (Department of the Gaeltacht, forerunner to Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs) to promote linguistic tourism in the Gaeltacht, and a total of £726,395 had been spent from 1965 to 1970 (Appendix 15) (Roinn na Gaeltachta, 1970). The number of private homes in the Galway Gaeltacht alone, which received grant aid to make houses suitable for visitors is remarkable, as seen in Table 27. Most of the work made the houses suitable for Irish college teenagers, where up to 6 people could share one bedroom. The author's pilot study on the Ceathrú Rua area (Ní Bhrádaigh, 2003) showed an estimate that 15% of households were listed as providing this accommodation. As a percentage of the Gaeltacht B&Bs in this scheme, the number of houses on the Bord Fáilte approved lists (last column in Table) is striking, illustrating that few houses preferrred, or upgraded to, the higher Bord Fáilte standards in order to develop a more substantial business.

Houses Providing Accommodation in Galway Gaeltacht, 1973-82

Year	B&B Houses	Total Rooms	Chalets	Financial Notes	Other Notes	Approved Town & Country Homes & Farm-houses
1973	109	532	12	£7.50 to £10 pw fb	One house has 17 bedrooms	29
1974	137	676	21	Up to £14.50 pw fb	A local community leader has 12 rooms	
1975	151	704	22	£8 to £25 pw fb	One woman has 5 chalets	30
1976	173	802	23+	£10 - £28 pw fb		29
1977	212	910	30+	£9.50 to £30 pw fb	Chalets up to £25 pw in summer; houses £35	
1978	264	876	33+			26
1979	330	975	38+			
1980	380	1,044	45+			
1981	424	1,166	57+			
1982	460	1,328	61+			46

Notes:
1. These houses all received grants under a particular Department scheme, and thus were eligible to take in guests.
2. Each booklet stated:
'Is féidir glacadh leis go bhfuil soláthar uisce agus córas séarachais i ngach teach ar an liosta.'
'It can be assumed that there is a water supply and sewerage system in each house on the list.'
3. The figures in the last column include places officially in the Gaeltacht but where little Irish is spoken nowadays.
4. pw: per week; fb: full board
5. Many senior community figures feature on the lists.
Sources:
Roinn na Gaeltachta (1973-1982) Tithe íostais do Chuairteoirí Gaeltachta
(Roinn na Gaeltachta booklets of Accommodation for Gaeltacht Visitors)
Bord Fáilte (1973-82) Town and Country Homes and Farmhouses Guidebook (in TCD, 2007)

Table 27: Houses Providing Accommodation in Galway Gaeltacht, 1973 – 82.

6.2.2.3.2 Irish College Foundings

Table 28 illustrates the level of Irish College start-ups. In 2005 there were 47 colleges operating nationally; 14 in the Galway Gaeltacht, catering to 9,983 students attending 3-weeks courses, equating to 209,643 bednights (An Roinn Oideachais agus Eolaíochta, 2006). The Department of the Gaeltacht introduced *Scéim na bhFoghlaimeoirí* (The Learners' Scheme) in 1972 to support Irish colleges, by paying a portion of the accommodation costs. The Department of Education and Science also has *Scéim na gColáistí Gaeilge* (the Irish Colleges Scheme) to pay teachers at the colleges. There is a higher foundation rate from the 1970s on. It was noticed during the compilation of Table

28 that although the Galway Gaeltacht is larger and linguistically stronger than any other Gaeltacht it was slower than other counties in developing Irish colleges. Many of the colleges established in the 1970s and 80s were established by the community co-operatives and they seem to have a higher failure rate, but this issue needs further investigation. There may have been some mergers or acquisitions or renamings, as some of the colleges are geographically quite close to each other and perhaps draw on the same facilities and households for accommodation. A DCRGA official was of the opinion that the privately-owned colleges were generally better run, than those run by community groups (Ó Finneadha, S., 2006), probably because of one single person's drive, ability and independence. The largest college, Coláiste Lurgan, catering for 1,987 students in 2005 has its roots in one of the more successful co-operatives and is now run by the son of the first manager of that co-operative.

Year Established	1910	1955	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
Colleges	1	1	6	9	11	10	3
Colleges alive in 2005	1	1	3	2	3	3	1
Colleges dead by 2005	0	0	3	7	8	7	2

Sources:
An Roinn Oideachais & Eolaíochta (2004, 2005, 2006) Olltuairisc ar na Coláistí Gaeilge, BÁC
Bord Fáilte (1955b) An Ghaeltacht le haghaidh saoire (the Gaeltacht for holidays), Dublin
Bord Fáilte (1962b) Saoire sa Ghaeltacht (holidays in the Gaeltacht), BÁC
Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge (Irish language umbrella body) (1979-89) Saoire sa Ghaeltacht, BÁC
CONCOS (1991-2003) Coláistí Samhraidh (CONCOS is Irish college representative organisation)
Dáil Debates, 25 November, 1981; 3 December, 1987; 2 November, 1988

Table 28: Irish College Foundings 1910 to date

The Irish colleges are a significant part of the Gaeltacht economy. In 1987, they were estimated to have generated an income of over £2.7 million, of which 22% was state funding in the form of grant aid for teachers and accommodation (Ó Cinnéide & Keane, 1988). Using a similar calculation, this author 'guesstimates' the value in 2005 with 9,983 students having attended accredited courses (An Roinn Oideachais agus Eolaíochta, 2006) at €15 million of which ca. 17% was state funding. Around 300 Irish-speaking housewives in the Galway Gaeltacht, many in more peripheral / disadvantaged areas, received funding for Irish college students from the DCRGA in 2005 (Ó Finneadh, S., 2006), an indication of how rooted in the community the colleges are.

6.2.2.3.3 A Few Fledglings for the Future

In general there is a limited tourism infrastructure throughout the area, with a handful of hotels and restaurants, very few package holiday providers, no marinas, no permanent

diving/sailing centre and no maritime museum. There is one general interpretive centre on Inis Mór, closed for renovations in 2007. This underdevelopment is no different to the general situation in the Border Midlands West Region or along the west coast from South County Clare up to Mayo and Donegal (Marine Institute, 2006b). The primary tourism destination in the County Galway Gaeltacht is Inis Mór, one of the Aran Islands, accessed mainly via Ros a'Mhíl port. No proper village has grown up around this 'young' port despite one ferry-company alone, carrying 170,000 passengers per annum to and from the island (O'Brien, 2006). These are mainly day-trippers, many being bussed out from Galway city by a number of bus tour operators, rather than staying in the local area. This underdevelopment is now being addressed, through a co-marketing campaign, by various state agencies including Údarás na Gaeltachta, Fáilte Ireland (the Tourism Board) and the Marine Institute. Údarás recognises that in the past it may have missed the opportunity to sufficiently influence national institutions such as Bord Fáilte (Ó Finneadha, B., 2006). There have been relatively few private initiatives, apart from B&B accommodation.

Nevertheless, Údarás estimates that there are ca. 930 enterprises in the national Gaeltacht[39] dealing directly with tourism, and employing ca. 2,500 people (Údarás na Gaeltachta, 2006a). Údarás's current strategy includes developing two flagship tourist destinations, preferably including a marine centre. It is encouraging the co-operatives to accept a role in developing tourism, especially in providing tourist information centres of which there is only one in the Galway Gaeltacht, on Inis Mór, run by Fáilte Ireland rather than by a local community organisation. Údarás is also currently seeking private sector co-investors. It also plans to draw on the large number of small community based and community focused Galway hooker sailing festivals (Údarás na Gaeltachta, 2006b). These festivals are run by volunteer leaders and those festivals with the internal ability and vision to develop are limited by an underdeveloped tourism infrastructure able to support large numbers of visitors. The seven marine tourism start-ups supported in the 1990s are related to reviving the Galway hooker boats for pleasure, of which four are registered Companies. Echoing the disappointing take-up in the 1950s and 60s of tourism development grant aid and Gaeltacht grant aid, in 2006 Údarás was disappointed with the number of entrants in the *An Baile Beo* ('the Vibrant Town') competition aimed at fostering a Gaelic image and spirit in Gaeltacht communities (Ó Finneadha, B., 2006).

In summary, the main Populations in the tourism Community are the well-developed Irish colleges, and the small number of angling centres some dating back to the 19th century. The standard tourism infrastructure of B&Bs and a few hotels also exists. The main

39 The term national Gaeltacht is used to refer to the whole Gaeltacht across seven counties, as distinct from the Galway Gaeltacht.

tourism product in the Aran Islands is the high volume day-tripping from Galway city via Ros a'Mhíl harbour on tour buses and ferries. Although Údarás has supported, and continues to encourage the co-operatives in tourism activities no Population of any significance has emerged.

6.2.3 Audio Visual[40]

While the Irish colleges are viewed as being linguistically healthy for the Gaeltacht, the audio visual Community is equally healthy for the Irish language. From an entrepreneurship point of view, it is a more successful Community generating highly skilled employment and high aspiration levels among young Gaeltacht people.

6.2.3.1 Context and Emergence

Man of Aran (Flaherty, 1934) and *The Quiet Man* (Ford, 1952) were both filmed in the Galway Gaeltacht and still feature in tourism promotion in Inis Mór and in Cong[41]. However no film-making industry emerged out of these two major film projects. From 1956 to 1964, Gael Linn made the *Amharc Éireann* newsreels, some of which were filmed and shown in the Gaeltacht. In the period 1965 to 1970, Roinn na Gaeltachta had grant-aided Irish language short film-making to a total of £50,069 (Roinn na Gaeltachta, 1970). In the mid 1970s Bob and Helen Quinn moved to the former CDB knitting factory in An Cheathrú Rua, and began operating a small cinema in their living room at weekends. Bob was associated with the Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta (CSG / Gaeltacht Civil Rights) movement and he and Carna native Seosamh Ó Cuaig filmed newsreels similar to *Amharc Éireann* ('See Ireland') to show in the Quinn 'cinema' and in halls around the area. After the Quinns hosted a successful première of one of Bob's own films, attended by the arts community of Dublin, the 'cinema' was closed down on safety and licencing grounds (Quinn, 2006).

One of the Gaeltacht Civil Right's (GCR) demands was for a Gaeltacht community radio station and a group organised a pirate broadcast in 1970, symbolically from Ros Muc (site of Patrick Pearse's holiday cottage), which ultimately resulted in the establishment of Raidió na Gaeltachta in 1972 (Ó Glaisne, 1982). In the 1980s, a group of those who had been involved in GCR were part of a crew sailing a converted Galway Hooker to the North Sea (Ó hÉallaithe, 2004). They were inspired by the fact that the Faroe Islands, with a population of 45,000 had its own Faroese language television station. On their return, buoyed by the success of Raidió na Gaeltachta they set up a pirate television broadcast in

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40 Many of the data and opinions in this case study were presented at a 2006 conference marking the 10th anniversary of TG4, attended by many senior figures in the industry. See Ní Bhrádaigh, 2008.

41 The latter was removed from the Gaeltacht in the 1956 review.

1987, again symbolically in Ros Muc. There were also various non-payment of television licence fee campaigns around the country. At the same time, prompted by the desire to find new industries to develop, Údarás was assessing the viability of developing an audiovisual sector in the area, and a few years earlier Bord na Gaeilge (the Irish language board, based in Dublin) had recommended that an Irish medium television station be established. At that stage, RTÉ was against the establishment of an independent station (Bord na Gaeilge, 1983). In 1988, Údarás organised and funded a training course with emphasis on screen writing and technical skills. In 1986, it also established Telegael, a joint venture with RTÉ, and Pól Ó Coimín who left his job as an accountant with Údarás to become the managing director and minor shareholder.

By the early 1990s Údarás had attracted the American Roger Corman to establish a studio making B-rate films. Corman was known for low salaries, but providing excellent technical training. It was estimated that around half of the 55 crew members working on a film in 1992 were Irish speakers (Fennell, 1995). By the time the Minister of Arts, Michael D. Higgins announced the establishment of *Teilifís na Gaeilge* (later rebranded to TG4) in 1993, the path had been paved in terms of demand from within and without the Gaeltacht and the existence of a fledgling production industry. By the time it started broadcasting in 1996, there were already 26 production companies in the Gaeltacht nationally (seven in the Galway Gaeltacht), with 200 fulltime employees (nationally), and a group of producers most of whom were trained on Údarás funded courses. (ÚnaG, 1996, AR). TG4 celebrated its tenth anniversary at Halloween 2006, by which stage the industry had gone through the common growth and shakeout phase of industry growth, well documented in the Peter Quinn and Associates (2004) report commissioned by Screen Producers Ireland. In the Galway Gaeltacht two major independent producers have emerged, EO Teilifís and Telegael, each employing over 50 full-time employees and a substantial additional number on a seasonal / project basis. Both produce very successful soaps – *Ros na Rún* and *Aifric*, the former in a joint venture with a Dublin production company. One other company Gael Media enjoyed a good phase of major commissions by TG4 but has not won a single commission in the last few years. There are also a dozen small production companies, most of them operating on a project-by-project basis. The larger more successful companies and a few of the smaller companies have also won commissions from other broadcasters such as RTÉ and BBC, and/or have sold their productions on the international market.

6.2.3.2 Audio Visual Foundings and their Growing Pains

Table 29 outlines the Audio Visual foundings from the 1970s to 2003, categorised by Individual or Company, with Company accounting for 83% of records. The most frequent enterprise type is production company with 81% of records. The Community is

characterised by a high level of 'self-employed' activity although there is a high rate of CRO registration. The other main activity is in support services for the production companies. Given the fact that TG4 was not established until 1996, the level of start-ups before the 1990s is interesting. Most of these earlier start-ups looked to RTÉ for business, or had commissions from TG4 in preparation for its first year of broadcasting.

	1970s		1980s		1990s		2000s		Grand Total
AV Subcategory	Company	Individual	Company	Individual	Company	Individual	Company	Individual	
Equipment				1					1
Photography and microfiche	1		3						4
Postproduction editing and studio facilities					3		1		4
Production Companies	2	1	6	3	27	4	6	2	51
Subtitling and Translation					2		1		3
Grand Total	3	1	9	4	32	4	8	2	63

Table 29: AV Foundings by Decade, categorised by Company / Individual

The establishment of TG4 brought with it much hope and a certain amount of complacency among Gaeltacht-based producers, that TG4's legal and moral mandate was to only commission from Gaeltacht based enterprises or at least from enterprises conducting their business entirely through Irish. This has led to frustration among some of the independent producers, including the creatively (but not always financially) successful. TG4 did indeed provide particular soft support and encouragement to Gaeltacht or Irish-speaking enterprises but focussed on its primary mandate to broadcast high quality Irish language programming nationwide (Ó Ciardha, 2006). It came as a surprise to some producers that they were competing against well established experienced companies nationwide who only needed to have an Irish speaking presenter and some interviewees, but could conduct all other aspects of growing and operating their businesses through the medium of English (King, 2006; Mac Eachmharcaigh, 2006; Ní Bhrádaigh, 2006b & 2008; Ní Néill, 2006; Ní Thuathail, 2006; Ó Ciardha, 2006; Ó Cofaigh, 2006; Ó Curraidhín, 2006; Ó Meallaigh, 2006; Quinn, 2006; Seoighe, 2006). TG4's experiences mirror many of those its Welsh language counterpart S4C experienced from its foundation over a decade before TG4 (Jones, 2003). Both broadcasters involved themselves in the strategic development of theoretically independent, but in practice dependent producers, encouraging them to seek customers and markets elsewhere; to invest in R&D; to develop sound business practices. In 2006-07, TG4 and Údarás jointly provided a fund of €500,000 out of which seven producers employed full-time researchers for a period of a year. In summary the audio-visual Community has a healthy enterprise start-up rate

including a high level of micro-enterprises, common in the creative industries. Although it has a shorter life-span, the Community has in one way 'caught-up' with the marine and tourism Communities.

6.3 **Analytical Themes**

The conceptual framework presented in the Literature Review (Figure 3) addresses the issue of how, over time, new Populations of organisations emerge to form the entrepreneurship landscape; and how those Populations are shaped by the environment from which they emerge, and by the strategies they employ to facilitate their own growth. This section discusses the three case studies within this framework, commencing with the stages of emergence. The pioneers and fledglings are identified and some of the issues they faced are discussed. The variations that did or did not happen are then discussed, followed by the strategies employed to facilitate growth and achieve legitimacy (**Table 1**). The final part of the discussion is how embedded are the three chosen cases in the local community. Throughout the discussion the three cases are compared to highlight the similarities, differences and interrelationships.

6.3.1 Stages of Emergence and Growth

This section is a discussion of Table 30, which presents an overview of the pioneers; fledglings; and variations, which emerged in each of the cases. The table also presents some of the key legitimacy issues and a summary of how embedded each case is in the local community.

Stages	Definition	Year	Audio Visual	Year	Marine Resources	Year	Tourism
Pioneers		1973	Cinegael; 'maverick'; sole proprietorship; no growth ambitions	1947	Arramara State Co, seaweed processing, no spin-offs	1910	Coláiste Chonnacht Irish college (language summer camp)
	First occurrence of new form	1986	Telegael, JV Údarás, RTÉ & former public servant	1957	Gael Linn Dublin-based non-profit oyster & fish packing	1935	Coiste na bPáistí non-profit non-Gaeltacht socialist group funds visiting children staying with Gaeltacht families
		1996	Europus Subtitling & Translation	1979	Bradán Mara Teo, JV Gaeltarra & ESB. Also NUIG Taighde Mara R&D	1985	National University of Ireland Galway adult language courses
				1986	Irish Seafood Producers Group - marketing - JV Údarás & local fish-farms	2003	Cnoc Suain residential cultural centre
Early Fledglings		1989	EO Teilifís; 1991 Gaelmedia	1970s	9 Co-operatives - fishfarming & shellfish	1960s	6 new Irish colleges
	Handful of new form established		Many had attended 1988 Údarás training course	1980s	40 fish farms est by end of decade	2000s	Individual family stays end
				1980s	Value added processing		2 - 3 other adult language centres
Variation							
	Change in routines & competencies, in organisational form etc		Telegael & EO Teilifís have JVs with non-Gaeltacht firms		Limited variation into value added processing; increased local fish-farm ownership.		Essentially none in Irish college Population; limited adult cultural holidays
Legitimacy							
	Self-organisation (representative bodies)	1993	Réalt - Shortlived group lobbied TG4; Some are now members of Screen Producers Ireland	1990s	9 marine co-ops; Comhlachas na gComhar-chumann Gaeltachta (Fed-eration of Gaeltacht Co-ops)	1969	CONCOS national representative body
	Socio-political organisations & groups accept	1996	TG4 state broadcaster est		Environmental lobby against farming up to 1990s		
	Aspiration to work full-time in Community		High		Medium		Low - very little full-time employment in Irish colleges
Embedded in System							
	Part of regional brand & identity		Strong brand identity		Fishing & fishfarming only		Strongest brand is Irish colleges & general touring & daytripping to Aran Islands
	Third level education / training available		FÁS funded training; links with 3rd level starting		Fishfarming & marine biology only; very little in business		Each college provides own in-house training; general Gaeltacht tourism training started 2007
	Significant employer		100 employed in independent sector - mainly Telegael & EO Teilifís		In fishing & fish-farming only		
Summary			More self-organisation required; not yet fully fledged Community;		90 start-up fishfarms in 3 decades; value added & marine services & tourism not yet emerging		One organisational form only - Irish colleges; some pioneers emerging in adult market

Table 30: Stages of Emergence of Populations

6.3.1.1 Pioneers

The following section describes some of the pioneers identified in the three case studies, and the issues faced by them.

6.3.1.1.1 Marine

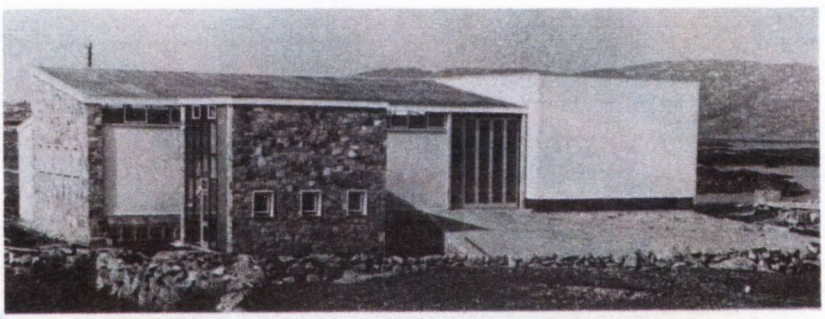
The main pioneers in this Community, in chronological order were the CDB, Gael Linn, Comharchumann Sliogéisc Chonamara Thiar (West Connemara Shellfish Co-operative), Gaeltarra Éireann, NUIG, and Irish Seafood Producers Group. In total two state agencies; a state-funded university; a state-initiated and supported co-operative; an outsider Irish-language voluntary organisation; and a co-operative marketing group with state equity. Each innovated in endeavouring to marshall resources to create a new organisational form. Some, but not all, encountered resistance from different sources. In establishing fish curing stations and larger boat fishing, the CDB had difficulties with infrastructure, marketing and with the local community. They also sometimes had difficulty finding merchants or managers to run the curing stations. Gael Linn (see Pen Picture in Appendix 14), the voluntary Irish language promotion organisation based in Dublin had an oyster farm and fish (and vegetable) processing plant in Cill Chiaráin in the 1950s. It is remembered by many in the community and was cited as an example to the author in many casual discussions about the research. While it was welcomed initially, with growing discontent at lack of local ownership it encountered resistance from the very community it was assisting. Gael Linn's licences had originally belonged to the local Anglo-Irish gentry. After a 'fish-in' by local agitators, ultimately Gael Linn achieved its long-term aim by transferring its oyster fishing rights, via Gaeltarra Éireann to a co-operative (Comharchumann Sliogéisc Chonamara Thiar) formed to take over the rights and activities hitherto managed by Gael Linn. In the 1970s, Gaeltarra's fish farms were the first in Ireland and encountered resistance from environmental and tourism lobby groups, as did fish-farms nationwide.

HELPING THE WEST

Gael-Linn's quick freeze plant in Carna offers a guaranteed market to local fishermen for all the lobsters, crayfish, crabs,oysters,escallops, periwinkles and salmon that they can supply. These are exported chiefly to continental markets either live or processed.

Our fresh frozen salmon postal service to all parts of Ireland is being availed of more and more by housewives.

Gael-Linn Factory at Carna.



Food Processing.



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Figure 23: Gael Linn Food Processing Factory in Carna, ca. 1966

In establishing a new organisational form, each had to develop its own knowledge through learning and experience. Most of the leadership in each of the pioneers listed above was provided by incomers rather than by local people. Although it had 200 members at its establishment, the first chairman and the first manager of the shellfish co-op mentioned above were both incomers, who have remained working in the Community and living in the area (Breathnach, 2007). One incomer originally from Cork was the leader in the fish farming Population, and is still looked upon by his fellow farmers as the leader (Ó Cinnéide, 2007). His vision and insight complements the local farmers' lifelong fishing and marine skills and experience. It is in the last decade or so that leadership in these pioneering organisations has emerged out of the local population.

A Population of processing and marketing enterprises emerged in the 1970s and 1980s. The most prominent of the latter is the Irish Seafood Producers Group (ISPG) established in 1986 in Cill Chiaráin, 80km west of Galway city. It was founded by a group of farms with equity funding from the National Enterprise Agency and Údarás na Gaeltachta. It initially underestimated its staffing requirements and grew rapidly in its first two years of operation. It soon had insufficient supplies from its members and expanded to marketing the produce of non-members and accounted for over two thirds of national farmed salmon exports (Ó Cinnéide, 2007). While its turnover has since declined substantially, this group continues to operate and play a leading role in the fish-farming Population, and has, in conjunction with its members evolved into the marketing of organic farmed fish. A number of other processors are currently developing niches in organic value-added products, opting not to compete directly with large scale lower priced supplies from Norway and Chile. Again, this group's initial management team members were all outsiders, although the managing director was from the Kerry Gaeltacht (Ó Cinnéide, 2007).

While not a failure, Ó Cinnéide feels that the Irish Seafood Producers' Group (ISPG) was hampered in its development in 1988/89 by a public hanging of sorts *('sort crochadh poiblí')* when it announced its intention to move from Cill Chiaráin to Ros a'Mhíl harbour (30km nearer Galway), to be nearer to the source of its supplies, and because of the state of the telephone service, the electricity and the roads. The decision was made in conjunction with the Engineering department of Údarás, but once the Cill Chiaráin community heard about it, they arranged a public meeting, chaired by an Údarás board member and attended by another board member and the two most senior executives. Eventually ISPG stayed put. While Ó Cinnéide fully understands the community's attitude and praises the Cill Chiaráin workforce for its loyalty, the fact that the roads were still as bad a decade later did hamper the development of the company and it losts its first mover advantage of handling around 80% of Irish farmed salmon (Ó Cinnéide, 2007). Its

turnover has nearly halved from €24m to €15m. Although there are other factors contributing to this decline, Ó Cinnéide believes the peripheral location and inadequate infrastructure, and the conflicting needs of the business and the community were to the detriment of the business.

6.3.1.1.2 Tourism

In chronological order the pioneers in this Community are Coláiste Chonnacht, (1910) Coiste na bPáistí (1930s), Coláiste Lurgan (1960s) and with a new organisational form and product, the emerging Cnoc Suain. Coláiste Chonnacht was originally established in 1905 in the Mayo Gaeltacht by the Gaelic League. Its intellectual leaders included Douglas Hyde and Patrick Pearse, and Mícheál Breathnach, a scholar from An Spidéal. After a split a new separate Coláiste Chonnacht was established in An Spidéal. Coiste na bPáiste was a 1930s Dublin based socialist movement sending children on scholarship to stay in Gaeltacht homes to learn Irish. Its activities were then transferred to Gael Linn in the 1950s, again a Dublin based voluntary organisation. This scheme was subsidised by the state up to the early 1970s when the state set up a new system to support the Irish colleges. Thus the pioneers in language-based tourism were primarily outsiders and incomers, mainly national cultural movements.

The first Irish college established by local people seems to have emerged in the 1950s and 60s. in the 1970s NUIG established an Irish college targeting the adult market; this unit is led by and staffed by Gaeltacht people. A recent private cultural tourism initiative is Cnoc Suain, a husband and wife team, both teachers, one also a musician, who view themselves as pioneers in developing a new model of high quality cultural tourism. The award-winning Cnoc Suain[42] ('the restful hill'; www.cnocsuain.com) provides cultural courses in music, heritage; archaeology etc in a number of traditional thatched cottages in a remote bog. They have experienced great difficulty in developing their own knowledge base in transferring from a product to a market orientation, an issue common in the tourism Community. They have also found it difficult to develop socio-political legitimacy or gain the support of the relevant state agencies such as the Regional Tourism Organisation or Údarás. In 2004, they found their entry on the national Tourism Ireland website in the 'Other' section 'between a launderette on Prospect Hill and an Auctioneer in Galway', (Standún & Troy, 2006), illustrating how pioneering their cultural tourism enterprise is. There were no other similar entries on the website, despite Fáilte Ireland's strategy including cultural tourism. They say this unfortunate website entry is symptomatic of the overall underdevelopment of cultural tourism products such as theirs,

42 In 2006-07 the author was a member of a team mentoring Cnoc Suain.

and their own lack of business skills. They also recognise that in the past they themselves have been reluctant to use their social network of strong and weak ties to their benefit, as that would not have been 'right'. In the last two years, they have improved their own learning and cognitive legitimacy.

6.3.1.1.3 Audio Visual

The pioneer in the Audio Visual Community was Bob Quinn, a member of Aosdána (the highest arts honour in Ireland). He has operated as a sole trader under the name Cinegael from 1973 onwards. Despite being a critically acclaimed pioneer in independent filmaking in Ireland and being based in the Galway Gaeltacht for all of his independent film-making (1969 to date), Bob Quinn never established a limited company or developed a growth enterprise. He did not capitalise much on his experiential advantage when TG4 was established, partly due to his age at that stage (61 years) and partly due perhaps to his self-declared independent maverick qualities (Quinn, 2001; 2006). He did however collaborate with and support a fellow-producer, Christy King, founder of Gael Media, a company no longer active. Quinn's work in the 1970s as part of the Gaeltacht Civil Rights movement had a positive influence on Gaeltacht identity and self-confidence.

Telegael was established in 1986 as a joint venture by Údarás, RTÉ and Pól Ó Coimín who at the time was working as an accountant with Údarás. A native of Dublin, Ó Coimín had a 15% stake in the company, and in 2007 led an MBO with his senior management team. Thus there was state ownership in Telegael for its first 20 years. The other pioneer, an inward investor now gone, was Roger Corman who provided much employment and valuable training and experience.

6.3.1.2 Fledglings

6.3.1.2.1 Marine

The first fish-farms in Ireland were established by Gaeltarra Éireann in the late 1970s, with Bradán Mara ('sea salmon') a wholly owned subsidiary being the first. Given the innovation and R&D required at the time, it is unsurprising that the early adopters were state-led or were large national corporations such as the Electricity Supply Board and later with investment from the tobacconists PJ Carroll (in a trend at the time to diversify out of the tobacco industry). The involvement of PJ Carroll would have brought professional and specialist management skills into the sector. It was around a decade before the local people had the necessary technical and management skills, and the financial resources and the self-confidence required to establish fish farms themselves. Some attended fishfarming courses at the National Fisheries College in Greencastle Co

Donegal. They were encouraged to set up satellite fishfarms subsupplying to Bradán Mara and to the Irish Seafish Producers Group.

Most of the fishfarms were set up by local people with a background of generations of fishermen and boatmen. Ó Ráinne (2007) is one such man. He recalls being very confident in the face of cynicism and lack of faith from those around him, and on leaving school (in 1983) chose a career at sea over 'easy' jobs such as teaching or the police force. Emigration featured highly in his family, the seven elder siblings having emigrated and not returned. It was also the main topic of conversation among his cohort of school-leavers in the 1980s. Ó Ráinne had his own fishfarm by the age of 21, in conjunction with a friend and with Údarás holding preference shares. When the prices of salmon dropped due to increased supplies, they unsuccessfully tried smoking salmon, and eventually diversified into turbot farming. Lack of 3-phase electricity in the area meant that the turbot farm required an independent generator. Cashflow problems led to their not having a back-up generator and during a storm in 2003 the system failed and the crop was lost. Ó Ráinne took up a job as a supervisor on a Rural Social Scheme while re-establishing the farm. He is primarily a producer with a focus on the production of fish and the sale of large volumes of unprocessed fish.

6.3.1.2.2 Tourism

The activity of sending thousands of children to the Gaeltacht was initially driven by committees outside rather than inside the Gaeltacht. In 1954 the Department of Education had suggested a Gaeltacht organisation was required to co-ordinate the reception of the students from the various Coistí (Committees) (Roinn Oideachais, 1954). By 1971, there were over 200 committees operating around the country, sending children to the Gaeltacht and availing of the various scholarship schemes offered by the Department of the Gaeltacht (Roinn na Gaeltachta, 1971). This enterprise blossomed with the introduction in 1972 by the then Department of the Gaeltacht's *Scéim na bhFoghlaimeoirí* ('The Learners' Scheme') aimed at supporting Irish Colleges, and at this stage Gaeltacht people themselves, primarily through the co-operatives, began to lead the development of language tourism. These fledglings had varying levels of success. The co-operatives had difficulties in running colleges, due to their managing a number of different projects, transferring cash from one activity to another as needed, and being run by committee. In general colleges in private ownership have been run to a higher standard (Ó Finneadha, S., 2008). For example Comharchumann Dhúiche Sheoighe co-operative invited Spleodar, a college run by an outsider (the author's cousin) to set up a new centre in its area, having seen Spleodar's success in running a college in Ceantar na nOileán (Ó Brádaigh, 2006; Ó Finneadha, S., 2008).

6.3.1.2.3 Audio Visual

By the time TG4 started broadcasting in 1996, there were already seven production companies operating in the Galway Gaeltacht (Ní Bhrádaigh, 2008b). Apart from Telegael (already discussed) the major independent player to emerge was EO Teilifís, established by Máire Ní Thuathail from the Mayo Gaeltacht, and for a while, Gael Media, established by Christy King. The former is thriving while the latter has not received a commission in a number of years.

6.3.1.3 Variation and Selection

Aldrich and Ruef (2006) use the four steps of variation, selection, retention and struggle as an analytical tool to understand organisational evolution. They propose that the more variation occurs – whether intentional or by chance, the greater the opportunity for change. The four phases occur simultaneously rather than sequentially. In practice, there are cycles and a continuous feedback loop (2006, 26). While many efforts at innovation and variation were made from the 1890s onwards, in each of the three case studies, the variety of organisational forms, which have emerged in any substantial number, is limited. This is partly due to the fact that the chosen region has a population of only 42,326 people (CSO, 2006, Vol. 1), and thus cannot sustain more organisations. What is of interest is the types of organisations which have emerged, and those which have not, but might be expected to have done so given the environmental conditions.

The primary organisational form in the marine Community is the fishfarms of which there were 95 start-ups (fin- and shell-fish) over a period of three decades. What did not emerge is any substantial form of marine-based value-added products such as ready-made seafood dishes or restaurants, or services such as marine tourism sailing packages. Reasons for this dearth might include: the high investment required in value-added production, the fact that such production activity is not rooted in the area; the lack of a local year-round market for specialist dining. The overall lack of marine-based tourism infrastructure, not only in the Galway Gaeltacht but along the whole west coast, has already been documented (Marine Institute, 2004).

A similar lack of variation or of spin-offs exists in tourism. The primary organisational form which emerged is the Irish colleges which have not been supported by Údarás na Gaeltachta until the last few years, as they were viewed, and have viewed themselves primarily as educational establishments (Denvir, 2006; Ó Brádaigh, 2006; Ó Foighil, 2006). Only two Irish colleges have availed of the 50% funding available from the DCRGA (Ó Finneadha, S., 2008) to build facilities; the others seeming to prefer to let local community groups access 80% funding from the same source and then act as sitting

tenants in those facilities for the 2 – 3 months of the summer when the colleges are active. There is little variation visible in the Irish college Population beyond the standard season of two 3-week courses per summer with a team of seasonal staff for the duration of the courses. This may be because the colleges were primarily founded by, or are now managed by, teachers who have free time in the summer to manage them, but are occupied with their full-time profession the rest of the year. As the colleges depend on an annual subvention from the DCRGA and the DES, they are also bound by their criteria in terms of bednights and teaching hours etc. The primary variation in the Irish colleges is the change of ownership from the co-operatives to private individuals or co-investors. This happened within 10 – 15 years of each of the co-operatives establishing Irish colleges in the 1970s and 80s and seems to be a better business model.

None of the colleges has diversified into, or no new form of college has emerged, specialising in one particular activity through the medium of Irish – for example in water-based sports, or drama and music (Ó Finneadha, S., 2008). This is despite there being a pioneer of this kind in neighbouring County Mayo, and drama and music being integral to the Gaeltacht arts scene. To date no college has seized the opportunity to provide services to the untapped market of the thousands of parents who visit the course on at least one of the weekends to visit their offspring (9,983 students in 2005). It is now customary for all parents to visit at least once, taking their offspring to the beach or to Galway city or Clifden for a meal on the Sunday. Some rent self-catering houses for the week.

However, such variation may be beginning. Coláiste Lurgan is one of the most successful colleges in the area attracting nearly 2,000 students every summer, and providing some water sports in the afternoons. It is currently planning to develop adult language learning courses. While interviewing the manager and co-owner of Coláiste Lurgan, Mícheál Ó Foighil, a teacher by profession, the author asked him whether he was an entrepreneur. He nearly took the idea as an insult, suggesting that this author had misunderstood what Coláiste Lurgan was about. He eventually relented and accepted that Coláiste Lurgan's plans to develop into adult language learning might be considered 'business'. He was sceptical of terms such as social/cultural entrepreneur, and was happy to charge low prices for the adult learning packages based on cost plus profit, regardless of what competitors might charge (Ó Foighil, 2006). Denvir, co-founder of Coláiste Chamuis laughed at the notion of being called an entrepreneur, and eventually decided she had no choice but to admit that she was one, given this author's description of an entrepreneur (Denvir, 2006). Ó Brádaigh (2006), an outsider who spent 20 years living in the Gaeltacht more readily accepted the term entrepreneur.

This lack of variation and reluctance to see the colleges as enterprises are examples of path dependence influenced by the entrepreneurs' own backgrounds and education (as educators); their perceptions and aspirations, and by institutional factors. They are also an example of imprinting. For example, CONCOS, the Irish college representative body made a submission in 1995 to the Irish College working group in the then Department of Arts, Culture and Gaeltacht without any reference to the strategic development of the industry or potential new markets. It made no reference to the primary institution responsible for the economic development of the Gaeltacht, Údarás, despite stating that private (i.e. student fees) and state funding amounted to £8.5 million for the year 1994 (CONCOS, 1995). No Irish college is listed in this project's Core Database and only a handful has dealt with Údarás since 2003, the cut-off year of the database. Údarás's work with language-based business is discussed later in the chapter.

Although not an organisational form per se, the very high level of private Gaeltacht households (see Table 27) which have received grant aid over the last few decades to improve the general housing stock and provide Irish college accommodation, does not seem to have spawned higher levels of Fáilte Ireland approved accommodation. Part of the reason for this is the seasonal market, but may also be institutional. The Irish college season is 2 or 3 months long, and the income generated is tax free and does not affect any other social benefits in the household such as the dole (Ó Finneadha, S., 2008). By keeping the maximum number of students allowed per house (16) for 3 weeks on each of two courses in July and August, a housewife can earn over €15,500 tax free, albeit before costs. Given that some of the most disadvantaged areas are also those with the highest levels of Irish-speakers, the scheme is particularly attractive to those who are otherwise unemployed.

Other than the Irish colleges and the private homes, very little organised tourism has emerged. The other main tourism products are angling and the Aran Islands. The former is represented by a handful of angling centres; the latter primarily by bus and ferry day-trippers from Galway. While the region and the community in general prides itself on its cultural heritage relatively few cultural / heritage services have emerged.

Given the youth of the audio-visual Community, the number of production company start-ups from 1970 to 2003 is high, at 51. Of these two grew to a significant size, developing international business and joint ventures with companies in Dublin and overseas. Telegael also provides post-production facilities and subtitling services, and EO Teilifís has accessed state funding to set up training programmes for the network of production

companies and freelancers operating in the area. Given how dependent on TG4 the smaller production companies are; their reluctance or inability to find other customers; and the lack of joint venturing between them (Ní Bhrádaigh, 2008) it is debatable whether any further variation will occur in this Community in the near future. Although the audio visual Community is the youngest of the three cases, it has achieved a high level of legitimacy and is embedding well into the local community, as discussed in the next two sections.

6.3.1.4 Embeddedness in System

Once new forms of organisations, or new Populations of organisations emerge, they seek acceptance and legitimacy, in order to eventually embed themselves fully in the region or within the environmental institutions. Before discussing the strategies facilitating growth employed by the various Populations, a brief description is given of how embedded each is at present. This embeddedness is measured in a simple manner by discussing how strongly each Community is associated with local identity or a 'regional brand'; what level and type of specific education or training is provided by the accredited national education and training bodies for that Community; and whether the Community is a significant employer or provides employment to which young people aspire.

Unsurprisingly, the sea and the coast are an integral part of the Galway Gaeltacht's identity, with Ros a'Mhíl having a prominent position nationally, yet with no village or tourism business having grown up around the harbour. The Ros a'Mhíl area is primarily made up of fish processing and other related industries. The fish-farms went through a successful high growth period in the 1980s but lost some ground to increased national and international competition. Most of the training for the sector takes place outside the area in the national fisheries centre in north Co Donegal. Marine biology is one small niche in which the university conducts research. Marine based tourism essentially does not exist, beyond the small volunteer Galway hooker sailboat festivals, which have more of a community than tourist focus, despite the Údarás strategy of encouraging them to develop them as a tourist product. The marine Community is embedded in the local community in that most of those employed are from the area with a long family history of fishing. Employment is mainly on fish-farms and in fish processing. A cluster of marine based enterprises has yet to appear in the Údarás-developed marine industrial park built in the early 2000s in Cill Chiaráin around 40km from Ros a'Mhíl, near the Arramara factory.

While Connemara is popular as a tourist destination, the Gaeltacht part, South Connemara is marked by a continuing lack of infrastructure with many tour buses passing straight through the area, rather than having an opportunity to spend time and money in

engaging with the unique culture of the area. Irish language tourism is still embedded in education and Gaeltacht, rather than in tourism, despite the fact that the Irish colleges are a strong brand associated with all Gaeltacht areas. Few of the colleges have more than one or two full-time staff, and some of the colleges are still managed or owned by teachers living outside the Gaeltacht, and thus not really embedded in the area. Even though so many private homes (300) provide accommodation to the colleges these households are involved more in a passive than an active capacity in the development the Community. The colleges are usually staffed by teachers and trainee teachers, who have been educated in the relevant national education institutes. But there is no other specific training other than in-house training in each college. Education in tourism in general is a relatively new subject in the national third level institutes. Working in an Irish college is not viewed as a viable career at present, primarily because so few full-time jobs exist.

While national tourism brochures, policy documents and annual reports mention the importance of the Irish language, it does not seem to have transferred into practical on-the-ground services for domestic or overseas tourists (Ó Finneadha, B., 2006; Bord Fáilte brochures available in TCD, 2007), and 12 years after its establishment Gaelsaoire, Údarás's tourism promotion subsidiary has not managed to make an impact on the relevant national and regional tourism bodies.

The audio-visual Community has achieved much legitimacy and is embedding well in the local community, perhaps unsurprisingly given its young, international, modern and visual nature. The reasonably new training network, *Gréasán na Meán* ('the media network'), has recently commenced discussions with the local Galway-Mayo Institute of Technology (GMIT) for accreditation for its production company training courses (King, 2006). Most of the training provided however is in the technical and creative skills with less demand for, and less provision of, business skills. NUIG's Gaeltacht education unit, provides Irish language medium postgraduate diplomas in applied communications, and in radio skills; and starting in September 2008 will also provide an undergraduate degree in communications with emphasis on broadcast media. Training courses in the related field of translation (and subtitling) are by contrast available with Masters accreditation both at the university, and in a joint venture between GMIT and a local translation company.

6.3.2 Strategies Facilitating Growth of New Populations

When pioneers and early fledglings establish completely new forms of organisations, they may be constrained by lack of tangible resources such as finance, facilities or raw materials; or intangible resources such as skills, networks of trust and of supportive people, and acceptance by environmental institutions (Aldrich & Ruef, 2006). As they are

new, they depend more on the environment and are thus more susceptible to imprinting by the environment (Stinchcombe, 1965). They develop their own strategies to facilitate their growth and as the Population grows from the individual pioneers and early fledglings, the Population co-operates within the Population and with other Populations and also within the Community of Populations. Thus for example, the first fish farmer has to build up the necessary resources and gain support and legitimacy, and the early fledgling fishfarmers market their produce co-operatively, or buy feed in bulk, or share temporary staff. A certain way of operating becomes the norm within the fishfarming industry; more collaboration starts with the other ancillary service providers such as transport operators, monitoring laboratories and cage makers. The marine resources Community collaborates in protecting its interests in the face of tighter legislation or foreign competition. Aldrich & Ruef's (2006, 185) categorisation of these growth strategies was presented in the Literature Review. The growth strategies of the new Populations, which emerged and evolved in the three case studies, are illustrated in Table 31 and Table 32, and are discussed, with specific emphasis on the dominant Population discussed within each Community, namely the production companies, the fish farms and the Irish colleges.

Level of Analysis		Learning	Cognitive Legitimacy
Organisational			
		Create knowledge base through experimentation	Link new ventures to past via narrative & identity development
	AV	Cinegael founded by incoming pioneer former RTÉ employee; Telegael 1st real pioneer - majority state owned	Cinegael concentrated on cultural heritage & association with Gaeltacht Civil Rights movement, new technology linked Gaeltacht with modernity.
	MR	Very slow emergence of organised fishing since 1890s; state established 1st fish-farm in 1975	Experience of bad seasons, weak infrastructure & failure hampered early development of fishing industry; Fish-farming driven by state in 1970s.
	T	Most Irish colleges est by teachers / co-ops with little business experience;	Innovation in early 20thC in Irish colleges based on link with tradition - little competence destroying variation since.
Within-Population			
		Deepen knowledge base by encouraging convergence around a dominant design	Collaborate to create recognised & standardised organisational form
	AV	2 leading companies & 10+ micro-companies; FÁS funded training for industry; Údarás & TG4 encouraging increased R&D.	Informal network; some interfirm transfer of people; networking in An Chuasnóg; few enterprises have copied successful Telegael & EO Teilifis business model.
	MR	Most fishfarms are satellites supplying Irish Seafood Producers Group	Shellfish primarily partnerships / co-ops; finfishing primarily ltd co & sole proprietory, fishfarms primarily ltd co. All primarily production focussed.
	T	Entrepreneurs learn as apprentices in other colleges; dominant college design emerged in 1970s; Muintearas tourism course 2007 encourages networking	Little change in 100 years in 3 week Irish college format; some spin-offs; Insufficient enterprises in other Populations to have standard form.
Between-Population			
		Spread knowledge by promoting alliance & third party activities	Draw on taken-for-grantedness of existing Populations with similar identity
	AV	2 Leading cos have formed (inter)national alliances; state policy encourages alliance now; An Chuasnóg hub promotes inter-firm learning; Gréasán na Meán provides between Population training	Some tension re non-Gaeltacht producers perceived unfair advantage in TG4 commissions; more successful collaborate with them & with international producers; some are members of Screen Producers Ireland.
	MR	Value added Population slowly emerging, mainly from fish-farms	ISPG has representation role for fish-farmers; Irish South & West Fishermen's Association; new Federation of Irish Fishermen.
	T	Very little integration between Irish colleges & other tourism Populations.	CONCOS est 1969 to represent Irish colleges; no Gaeltacht based representation organisation.
Community			
		Solidify knowledge base by creating linkages with established educational curricula	Fit categorical requirements of independent certifying institutions
	AV	Gréasán na Meán ran unaccredited courses but is now linking with GMIT	TG4 is de facto certifying institution - chief customer of most.
	MR	No higher level training / education in business, only FETAC and science; no business training links with Unis / ITs; 80% of aquaculture has no post Leaving Cert training. Major research programmes primarily scientific.	BIM & FETAC primary accreditors; none at 3rd / 4th level apart from science.
	T	Irish colleges have own unaccredited apprenticeships & draw on trainee teachers; Tourism/hospitality in GMIT, but not NUIG; No Gaeltacht related courses / research programmes	Only certifying body for Irish colleges is Dept of Ed & Sci.; other tourism operators can gain Fáilte Ireland approval. No specific training body.

Source: Aldrich & Ruef, 2006, 185.

Table 31: Cognitive Strategies Facilitating Growth of New Populations

Level of Analysis		
	Moral Legitimacy	Regulatory Legitimacy
Organisational		
	Build on local networks of trust	Avoid entanglement with Government agencies as long as possible
AV	Cinegael link with Civil Rights and emphasis on local culture; Many key players in subsequent industry attended same Údarás screen production course in late 1980s; TG4 for Gaeltacht or nation?	Cinegael's home-cinema in 1970s suffered once 'above the radar'. 1980s to date public sector drove innovation & entrepreneurial ethos in conjunction with bottom-up activity for 20 years before TG4 est.
MR	Fishing deeply embedded in local heritage; some distrust of Gael Linn non-profit' led to local led co-ops, some had difficulty in building co-operation.	Tension re regulations between fishermen and state / EU; no Gaeltacht producers' organisation.
T	Irish colleges well embedded via ca. 400 housewives providing accommodation.	Irish colleges always subsidised by state; little other tourism has emerged that was not supported by state.
Within-Population		
	Foster perceptions of reliability by mobilising collective action	Present united front to political & government officials.
AV	Some temporary alliances to lobby Údarás / TG4; SPI lobbies from Dublin.	No formal Gaeltacht producers organisation.
MR	Co-ops had difficulty fostering internal co-operation; fishing lifestyle akin to individual hunter-gatherer.	Fishing Community not as self-organised as agricultural sector due to being scattered coastal community
T	CONCOS based in Dublin; no formal Irish college housewives organisation.	
Between-Population		
	Develop reputation of new activity as reality by negotiation with other industries	Co-opt government agencies as allies against competing Populations
AV	Some links with new media emerging now	
MR	Tension between fish-farming & angling, tourism & environmental lobbies in 1980s handled by major players & state subsidiaries	Government agencies led most of development.
T	No overall tourism representative organization	No major competition ; Community underdeveloped.
Community		
	Embed legitimacy by organising collective marketing & lobbying efforts	Embedded Population within political system & hiring of former Government officials
AV	Profit making from Irish language not yet fully legitimised in industry itself; independence driven by TG4 & Údarás rather than by industry.	Pattern of former Government officials leaving to est own firms
MR	Federation of Irish Fishermen est 2006; no broader based marine lobby group.	
T	Irish language based tourism as profit making not fully legitimised in local community	Irish college management mainly part-time teachers

Source: Aldrich & Ruef, 2006, 185.

Table 32: Socio-Political Strategies Facilitating Growth of New Populations

6.3.2.1 Learning

The pioneers in each of the main Populations were incomers who brought the necessary technical skills into the area. There were few pre-existing templates from which entrepreneurs could benefit (Aldrich & Ruef, 2006, 184). The skills had to be built up within each of the dominant Populations before additional fledglings could be expected to emerge. The state was directly involved in the necessary upskilling in television production and in fish-farming, and indirectly in the Irish colleges in that most of the leaders have been qualified or trainee teachers. Relatively little training or education has been provided privately or by the state in business and entrepreneurship skills compared to the technical skills. Most of the formal fishfarming training takes place outside the region, as does most of the general fishing education. The only exception is in marine biology research in that NUIG has a research station in Carna and Gaeltacht people increasingly work in this field. There is a remarkable lack of senior business education available at university or fourth level for the fishing sector. By comparison there are postgraduate business or management courses available for the food industry; health services; voluntary sector; tourism; retailing, etc. Údarás took quite a visionary step in investing in television production skills in the mid 1980s, yet the education and training available in that Community in general still emphasises creative and technical skills with little attention to business skills despite the fact that many of the small-scale producers interviewed by the author recognised their weaknesses in business skills (Ní Bhrádaigh, 2008b). Training in the Irish college Population is primarily through on-the-job training and in-house courses off-season. There do not seem to be any specific training courses in cultural tourism, although GMIT has recently increased its tourism training activity. The NUIG's Gaeltacht education unit has no business related courses on its Galway campus, but its new BA in Business Administration starts on its Donegal campus in September 2008.

The knowledge base in the marine and audiovisual Communities was kick-started by the provision of technical training and by state investment whereas the knowledge base in tourism in general was not developed in the same manner. The knowledge base in the Irish college Population developed via the voluntary sector and has converged around a standard design which has changed relatively little since the early 1970s. Learning and training alliances are developing in the audiovisual Community through the *Gréasán na Meán* media network initiated by EO Teilifís. Given the high level of freelance work within the audiovisual Population and its concentration around the town of An Spidéal, there is more opportunity for between-Population alliances and co-operation. The same is not true of the Irish colleges which have developed few alliances with other tourism Populations in the area.

6.3.2.2 Cognitive Legitimacy

Aldrich and Ruef define cognitive legitimacy as 'the acceptance of a new kind of venture as a *taken for granted* feature of the environment' (italics in original) (2006, 186). Knowledge of how to operate a particular form spreads throughout the community. Once a particular model has been legitimised and has proved successful, it is easy to copy it. Potential entrepreneurs can use similar organisations as incubators for their own nascent enterprises. Certain ways of doing business become more accepted – for example the seasonal, part-time nature of the Irish colleges. Routines become culturally embedded; efforts at improvement may be based on competency enhancement rather than creative destruction.

The repeated mediocre performance, or failure, of the fish curing stations in the late 19th and early 20th century did not produce a successful organisational model. The industry was beset with infrastructural limitations found throughout the country and not only in this region. The decline of the language and the erosion of local traditions may have led to a reluctance to accept any kind of innovation, seeing all innovation as a rejection of traditions, as the creative destruction of the equilibrium. The low levels of formal education, and the linguistic barriers, probably also hampered development. The Gaeltacht Civil Rights movement managed to break some of these barriers. Through Bob Quinn's Cinegael, it used new technology (cinematography) at a time when the national television broadcaster (RTÉ) had been established only a few years[43], to reflect Galway Gaeltacht people's own lives and surroundings back to them. It was perhaps one of the first clear uses of modern technology to preserve a declining tradition, culture and language. However, due to the fact that new enterprises depend more on, and are affected more by, their environment at time of foundation, and suffer from liability of newness; and that the linking of language with business had a low level of socio-cultural legitimacy, it could be that language-based enterprises did not have that supportive environment in which to legitimise their actions (Bull & Willard, 1995; Stinchcombe, 1965).

6.3.2.3 Moral Legitimacy

Socio-political legitimacy, divided up by Aldrich and Ruef (2006) as moral and regulatory legitimacy, is about being accepted as normal by the community, society and political system in which an organisation or Population operates. It is about how the cultural and political éiltes and institutions (including, for example, education, mass media, religion,

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43 Prior to the establishment of RTÉ television in 1961, access to television broadcasting was limited to the east coast of Ireland and the counties around the border, which had access to British / Northern Irish television broadcasting.

local and national government) who have the power to change cultural norms and values in a society, approve of the new form.

Aldrich and Ruef's model (see Table 31 and Table 32) suggests that at an organisational level, new organisations need to build on local networks of trust. In the case of the Gaeltacht few of the relevant networks existed from the late 19th to around the mid 20th century. Thus pioneers were hampered in gaining moral legitimacy for their new forms of enterprise, especially those who were incomers, establishing enterprises in which there was little (if any) local ownership and involvement in their development. Fishermen in the CDB era were wary of new ownership systems on the newer larger boats; curers reverted to their own methods of curing after training courses. In later years, some of the co-operatives had internal co-operation difficulties. Some of the current co-operatives still have internal co-operation difficulties and there is a reluctance to form larger alliances with neighbouring co-operatives, preventing within-Population collective action. In the other cases, collective action within Populations includes the audio-visual production companies forming temporary alliances to lobby TG4 or Údarás, and the training network instigated by EO Teilifís. Two of the four largest Irish colleges in the area are not members of CONCOS, the national federation of Irish colleges, an organisations involved primarily in representing the Population when dealing with government departments. Within each Community, there are few strategic collaborative efforts between Populations. Quite the opposite of collaboration happened in the marine resources Community in the 1980s, when there were tensions between the fish-farming Population and the angling, tourism and environmental lobbies regarding chemical and visual pollution. BIM (the Irish Sea Fisheries Board) and major investors such as PJ Carrolls (tobacconists diversifying into other business activities) led publicity campaigns to assuage public fears.

Given the way the Irish college Population has evolved, it seems they do not see themselves as for-profit enterprises, with growth or diversification objectives. Despite seeing the financial value of them for the Gaeltacht economy and their linguistic value, there seems to be a reluctance to associate profit-making too closely with the language. Some of this may be a lack of legitimacy for such enterprise, a point made by the manager of Coláiste Lurgan's father, Pól Ó Foighil, an incomer who was the first manager of the Co-operative out of which Coláiste Lurgan evolved. 'I was nearly put out of the Gaeltacht with a pike because I linked Irish to money.' (Ó Foighil, 2004, in Walsh, 2009). Walsh (2009) provides further evidence of scepticism and a general lack of understanding of how businesses could be established based on minority language. This lack of legitimacy for such business existed in the community, and in some of the community leaders. The intellectual leader of the Gaeltacht Civil Rights movement, Máirtín Ó

Cadhain, Professor of Irish at Trinity College Dublin dismissed one of the Irish colleges run by co-operative leader Pól Ó Foighil as 'an Irish language factory'. This lack of understanding or support existed not only in the general community but also in Údarás and in central government up to the early 21st century when language-based enterprise became a central theme in Údarás's strategy, as discussed in the next section.

6.3.2.4 Regulatory Legitimacy

Institutional factors can shape how a new Population gains legitimacy – by encouraging it, by inhibiting it, or encouraging a certain form of organisation or strategic direction. Some of these effects can be unintended, some a result of consciously designed policies. Without Audretsch and Keilbach's (2004) 'milieu of agents' such as banks, investors, suppliers, and without socio-political institutions such as the local, national and industry sector agencies, pioneers and new Populations of organisations might find it difficult to gain regulatory legitimacy. Aldrich and Ruef's (2006) model of regulatory legitimacy seems to assume that all new Populations see Government agencies as perhaps detrimental to their development. What emerges in these three case studies is how closely each Community worked with Government agencies and in the case of the audio-visual and marine Communities, the extent to which Government agencies and public bodies provided the leadership and financial resources, to kick-start the emergence, and to support the development and evolution of those Populations. In a way, state legitimisation (regulatory) of entrepreneurship preceded community (socio-cultural) legitimisation, yet the state and Irish language voluntary groups delayed the legitimisation of forms of entrepreneurship viewed as detrimental to the language, most notably in tourism.

Údarás and the relevant other public bodies such as RTÉ and the Department of the Arts (in the case of audio-visual), and BIM (in the case of fish farming) provided the necessary incubator to develop the technical and business skills in both cases. Údarás organised the television production training course in 1988 and attracted Corman's television studio investment to the area, and established the Telegael joint-venture with RTÉ. Its predecessor, Gaeltarra established the first fish-farm R&D facility and the first fish farm and Údarás was closely involved in the establishment of the Irish Sea Producers' Group. Údarás and Gaeltarra both drove these developments, encouraging and motivating the relevant sectoral organisations to co-operate with it.

The state chose a different policy and strategy for the tourism Community. The Irish colleges were always dealt with as educational or cultural enterprises with, until recently, no role in their development for Údarás or its business focussed predecessor. For all

other types of tourism, there has been a longstanding tension between the financial benefits and the linguistic dangers. As discussed earlier 'tourists pure and simple [were] not [to] be encouraged (McEntee, 1934). A decade later Bord Fáilte (the Irish Tourist Board) was happy to help, rather than lead, the promotion of language learning holidays, as distinct from any other kind of holidaymaking, in the Gaeltacht (Department of Industry and Commerce, 1946). Nevertheless as discussed earlier, the Gaeltacht featured in much of the Board's promotional material up to the end of the 20th century, at which stage it had largely become invisible. Up to that stage the promotion of the national Gaeltacht as a tourist destination came under five of the Regional Tourism Organisations, and Bord Fáilte had not developed a single strategy, focus or brand for the Gaeltacht (Flanagan, 1994). While Bord Fáilte's Development Plan for 1994 to 1999 mentions the Gaeltacht and the language quite often, it is more in general terms rather than with specific actions (Bord Fáilte, 1994).

It was around this time, in 1996, that Údarás established its marketing subsidiary Gaelsaoire. One of the main achievements of Gaelsaoire, the Údarás subsidiary responsible for tourism, over its first decade from 1996 to 2006 was gaining recognition as a major player in tourism (Ó Finneadh, B., 2006). However, Gaelsaoire's success in increasing tourist numbers or in developing cultural tourism has been limited. It does not seem to have had the in-house expertise in language-based business nor in linguistic / cultural tourism. Some brochures and handbooks were only published in English, or with limited use of Irish. Gaelsaoire seems to have made little impact on Gaeltacht tourist businesses in terms of encouraging the use of Irish or the targetting of Irish-speaking tourists. Gaelsaoire itself has not developed any marketing campaigns targetting the market segments most likely to be interest in the area's unique selling points. This author was told by a Gaelsaoire staff member that the language was downplayed in a lot of the promotional activities, in order to not put off those potential tourists who had bad experiences learning Irish during their school years. In summary, without the state subsidiary itself having developed the regulatory legitimacy for cultural tourism, it is difficult to imagine how it could give that legitimacy to the relevant pioneers in that Community.

6.3.2.5 Socio-Political Legitimacy

The absence of socio-political legitimacy for entrepreneurship was most apparent in the language-based Populations. Rather dramatically, Pól Ó Foighil was nearly driven out of the Gaeltacht with a pike for associating the language with profitmaking. His son was uncomfortable with this author suggesting he was an entrepreneur. Some of the audi-visual producers felt uncomfortable with being called entrepreneurs, or with the benefits of

improving their business skills. There was a discomfort with linking the language with business or with profit and wealth. As Pádraig Ó Ciardha (2006), *Leas-Cheannasaí* (vice Director) of TG4, put it, there is more respect for Seán who emigrates to America and becomes wealthy making plastic buckets than there is for his brother Tomás who stays at home and becomes wealthy making Irish language television programmes, even though the latter is providing high quality Irish language based employment at home. Within the audio-visual industry, training sessions on creativity are far more popular than those on business (Ó Ciardha, 2006). Denvir, co-founder of an Irish college, who herself was uncomfortable with the term entrepreneur, thought Gaeltacht people had a chip on their shoulders about wealthy people or people with successful careers in public sector jobs (Denvir, 2006).

Another interesting side to the socio-political legitimacy debate is the legitimacy of state aid. The founders of Cnoc Suain initially felt that it was 'not right' to seek grants for a project so personal to them and because they were not 'brought up' to seek grant aid (Standún & Troy, 2006). Once they realised that many state agencies recognised the value and quality of what they were developing they became frustrated at their difficulties in developing the project without significant support. This positive, independent attitude goes against the grant mentality and the couple attributes the attitude to Standún's business background (see Standún's private knitting factory in Chapter Four) and Troy's Dublin background.

6.4 **Conclusions**

6.4.1 Common Points

It is remarkable that the state had such a central role in the establishment of all the Communities / Cases discussed above. Essentially it seems that state intervention was required, but too much of it may have stifled some of the 'bottom-up' private efforts – for example Toradh Toinne Teo attributed some of its failure to the unfair competition from its state-owned and state-subsidised competitor Arramara (Ó Catháin, 2006).

Given the innovation and scientific research required at that stage, it is understandable that in an area of social, educational and financial disadvantage, a major state operation was required to 'kick-start' a new modern scientifically advanced industry such as fish-farming in the 1970s. By its very nature fishing is a dangerous seasonal hunting activity depending on fishermen with particular personal attributes such as being content to be away at sea for days at a time. There is also an overall lower level of formal education among fishermen, perhaps making it difficult for the general fishing community to engage

with and accept scientific evidence-based policy, and to lead the strategic development of a new Population requiring a different knowledge base.

What is interesting about the cognitive strategies in these case studies is the relative lack of business and/or management education and training available for the key Populations within each Community. The syllabi of Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge and of Sabhal Mòr Ostaig in Scotland have been discussed in the previous chapter.

At intra-Population level the main forms of co-operation to emerge are at operational rather than strategic or representative (lobbying) level. Fish-farmers co-operate through the Irish Seafood Producers Group; smaller audio-visual producers co-operate through the Skillnets training programme led by one of the two large production companies, EO Teilifís. In the 1990s there was a fledgling tourism promotion organisation, Turasóireacht Chonamara agus Árainn (Connemara and Aran Tourism) but it disbanded in 1999. The Irish Colleges Population is represented by CONCOS, although three of the largest colleges are not members. CONCOS, with one full-time staff member, was based in Dublin up to April 2008 when it opened an office in the Galway Gaeltacht. While it has in the past made submissions to various national tourism reviews such as the Taskforce on Tourism in 1992, it does not seem to see a role for itself in developing into other tourism markets or products. In the audio-visual sector, in 1996 a group of around 30 producers established *Réalt* (star) to represent their interests. The group fell apart after a number of years, due to insufficient members, and also perhaps as Screen Producers Ireland, to which some Gaeltacht producers belong, was a better mechanism (King, C., 2006). It might also be due to the difficulty creative people sometimes have focussing on administrative issues. This difficulty is mirrored in the Craft Centre in An Spidéal (established in the 1980s) where the resident craftspeople find it difficult to self-organise. When their contact in Údarás was promoted to a new position, one remarked: 'so we are waiting for a new person.' (Respondent B, 2006). It is in the nature of creative people to focus on the creative activity, perhaps in the hope that others will take care of the practical matters of business, an echo of Plunkett's dreamers and practical men mentioned in Chapter Four.

6.4.2 Differences

The three Communities have different histories. While fishing has been central to the local community for centuries, it was persistently dogged by difficulties in self-organising, even with continuous outside help. There was a strong history of fishing in the Aran Islands, and this has continued, especially since Ros a'Mhíl harbour was developed as one of the national Fisheries Harbour Centre. The fish-farming Population was pioneered

by the state, and within two decades was marked by primarily local ownership and management. By comparison the tourism sector with a history of at least one century has developed in a more limited manner, primarily with the Irish colleges and Inis Mór, the largest of the three Aran Islands. Major strategic development of tourism, especially cultural tourism, is part of current Údarás policy but it is finding it difficult to foster private or community-based enterprises. By comparison, the audiovisual sector flourished in less than 20 years from the foundation of Telegael in 1986 and of TG4 in 1996.

The relative lack of development of tourism can be traced back to the unease about its linguistic impact. From the 1920s to the 1940s there was tension between the Department of Industry and Commerce and the Irish Tourist Board under its remit on the one hand and the Gaeltacht Commission of 1926, the Department of the Taoiseach, the Department of Finance. Essentially the Department of Industry and Commerce was of the opinion that it was 'not directly concerned' in any of the Commission's recommendations. Although the ITB was of the opinion that it had no responsibility and no expertise to develop holiday resorts in the Gaeltacht, it was eventually co-opted onto a committee to develop these resorts. (NAD, 1927, S7440; NAD, 1944, S7839A). The potential disadvantages of tourism were well recognised by Gaeltarra Éireann in its 1971 plan for the Gaeltacht. Its stated aim was to develop tourism for the benefit of the Gaeltacht not as a tourist amenity, and it saw huge potential in the relatively underdeveloped Irish college market (Gaeltarra Éireann / SFADCO, 1971). While Gaeltarra funded the development of one large hotel in each of the major Gaeltacht counties around 1970, its other support of the tourism Community had a shortlived effect. It seems to have been overlooked that tourism, linguistic tourism in particular, was already being promoted and heavily supported by the various government departments as it fulfilled national language revival objectives as well as income generation objectives in the Gaeltacht. Up to its dissolution in 1979, tourism was not seen as an industry to be promoted by Gaeltarra Éireann, although legislation prevented it and its successor (Údarás) from developing it into a viable economic sector. This is despite the fact that it is one of the few industries which fulfills the linguistic and cultural objectives and the fundamental reason for the existence of a separate authority for the Gaeltacht. By being categorised as education or cultural organisations rather than entrepreneurial tourist organisations, their development may well have been hindered. This is the very complaint that led to the establishment first of all of the Gaeltacht Services Division in 1948; of Gaeltarra Éireann in 1958 and Údarás na Gaeltachta in 1980, in order to better develop the Gaeltacht industries.

6.4.3 Summary

Each of the Communities was legitimised and embedded in the community through a process which involved the state, and incomers in the form of public (i.e. state employed) or social (i.e. voluntary organisations) entrepreneurs, before the local community itself took on leadership roles. The longstanding tension between the language and development, especially in tourism delayed the legitimacy of language-based private enterprise. An entrepreneurial culture requires not only the acceptance of entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs but admiration and aspiration for the role. Young school leavers, or graduates, now aspire to work in both the marine and audiovisual sectors but there is insufficient high quality employment available in the tourism sector, which is further hampered by seasonal issues. The smaller audiovisual producers, and the Irish college entrepreneurs, both in language-related sectors had a discomfort with the term entrepreneur, although this discomfort is also attributable to the common perception of entrepreneurs as wealthy founders and owners of large organisations. The success of Gaeltacht entrepreneurship can be highlighted by reference to the fact that there were 95 fish-farm startups as a result of the innovation and forward thinking of Gaeltarra and the state agencies with which it co-operated in kick-starting that new Population. As Carroll and Hannan (2000, 18) say, a longitudinal approach does not always square with conventional wisdom.

7 Synthesis

7.1 Introduction

The starting point for this research was the author's curiosity about why the Galway Gaeltacht had developed as it had, especially in terms of entrepreneurial activity; and what forces had shaped that development. This chapter summarises the steps taken in formulating a research question; reviewing the relevant research literature; devising a new conceptual model; conducting the research; and analysing the findings. It then synthesises the findings in the context of the conceptual model; and presents a number of implications for academia; policy makers; entrepreneurs; and minority language communities. The chapter ends with a discussion of the contributions made to theory; method; data; and policy and practice.

7.1.1 From a Question towards some Answers

Although not from the Gaeltacht, the author has had a very close engagement with the Galway Gaeltacht for most of her life and was often struck by the emphasis on the past, and the contrast between that area and other places she was familiar with. Discussions with various people about the area invariably led to the past, to the loss of the Irish language and the tensions between economic progress and language preservation. These discussions contrasted with her professional engagement with the study of entrepreneurship and the entrepreneur's tendency to look to the future and learn from mistakes but not necessarily to look back. There seemed to be a limited understanding of the effects (minority) language and business (much less entrepreneurship) have on each other, apart from the assumed detrimental effect of industrialisation and business in general, on Irish language use. It was felt that a pre-requisite to understanding that relationship, was a better understanding of the dynamics of entrepreneurship in the Gaeltacht. This had not been studied before. This is the context in which the research question was formulated.

7.1.2 Research Context and Research Question

Given how long it takes to change any deep-seated culture, and given over 80 years of special Government policy in relation to areas in which the Irish language has, or had, been the dominant community language, the adoption of a longitudinal approach seemed most appropriate. This was confirmed within the entrepreneurship literature, by thinkers such as Durkheim, Schumpeter, Stinchcombe, Aldrich, and Carroll & Hannan, who proposed that longitudinal research might provide answers and insights not available through focus on a shorter time frame.

The research question posed was:

> How did entrepreneurship emerge in the Galway Gaeltacht from the pre-industrial stage in the late 19th century; and evolve through the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century.

7.1.3 Methodological and Conceptual Models; and Research Conducted

After reviewing the entrepreneurship literature, a longitudinal multi-level approach seemed to provide an avenue to insightful answers, and a methodological model was developed (see Figure 24). This showed how the origin of current Communities and Populations could be traced back to the beginnings of new enterprises and Populations, pinpointing the Pioneers who triggered the emergence of those new Populations and ultimately the new Communities. This model is a contribution to entrepreneurship methodology research, in that is illustrates time frames and levels of analysis.

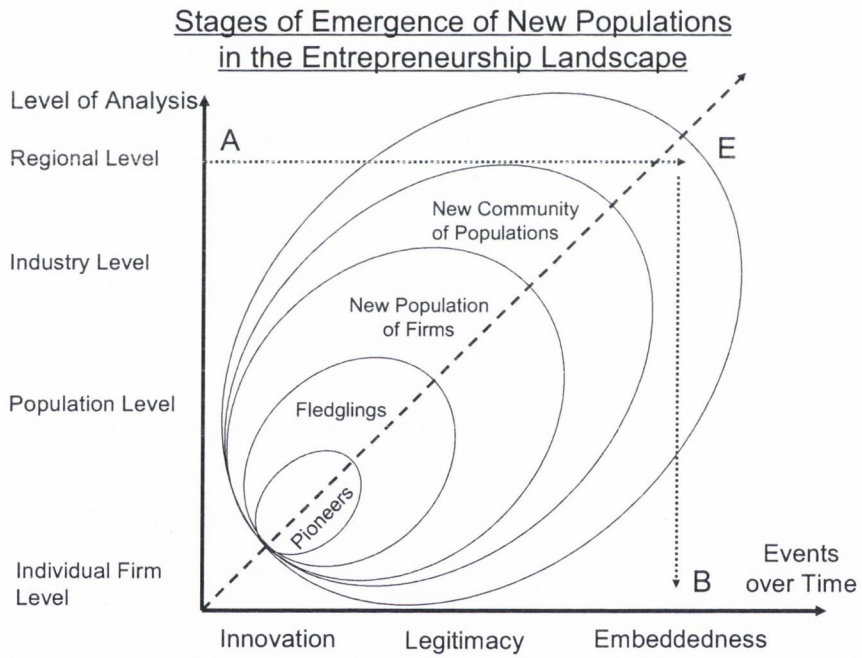

Figure 24: Methodological Approach: Timeframes and Levels of Analysis

From this was developed the conceptual model presented in Figure 25. This model was the basis for the research conducted. It is also a contribution to theory development, in that it outlines the issues that are considered of theoretical importance. It could be said that the conceptual model is best analysed through the lenses of the methodological model. The conceptual model was used to review and analyse the enterprises, which received support from the three main state agencies charged specifically with developing the Galway Gaeltacht, and from numerous other smaller scale Government department

initiatives in the intervening period when the state bodies were not in existence. This review was complemented by analysis of both state archives and other sources of data and scholarly opinion, such as national archive documents, and scholarly work on the industrial and enterprise development of Ireland and on Gaeltacht development. Formal interviews with 56 informants, and numerous informal conversations took place with other people over the course of the research, especially during the author's five months living in the community, and through her professional and social life in the nationwide Irish speaking community. This extensive amount of formal and informal conversation further improved the validity and quality of the research.

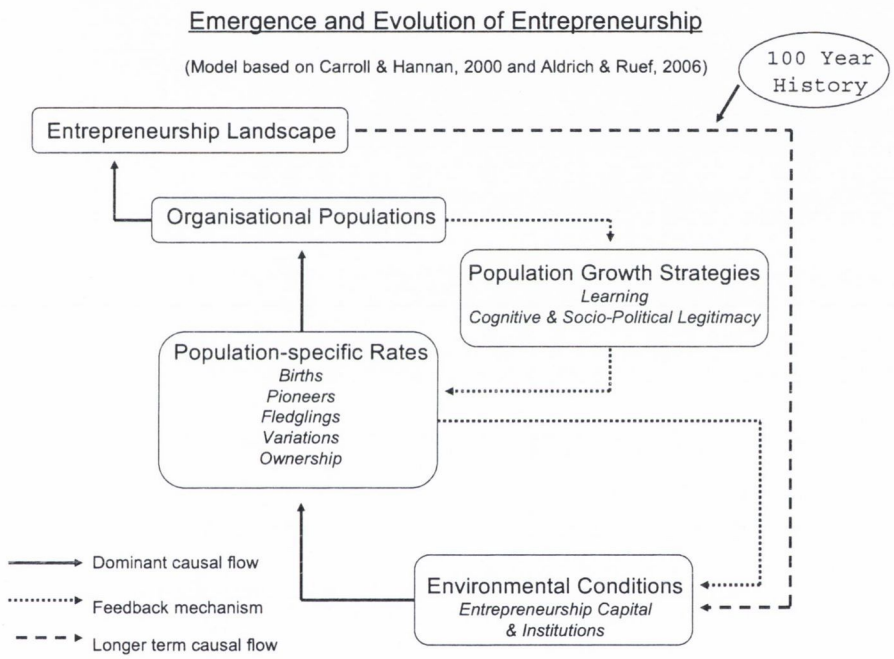

Figure 25: Conceptual Model: Emergence and Evolution of Entrepreneurship

Notwithstanding the previous statements on the validity and quality of the research, there are also a number of limitations in it. Most of the quantitative data are from official state sources and the Core Database was limited to those enterprises which had received state support. Difficulties were encountered in accessing other data, especially for the earlier period, before comprehensive business directories were developed. The model was designed to provide a framework through which the emergence of entrepreneurship over a period of more than 100 years, could be studied. It allowed for a broadbrush overview of the patterns of entrepreneurship, complemented by in-depth analysis of three particular case studies. It allowed for the emergence of new insights into Gaeltacht

entrepreneurship, and entrepreneurship in general, especially in marginal communities. What follows is a discussion of some of the findings, and then of the contributions the research makes to theory; method; data; and policy and practice.

7.2 Some Answers

The findings that emerged from the data analysis are synthesised through the framework of the conceptual model. The overall entrepreneurship landscape is discussed first of all, in two time periods, delineated by the switch from high rates of self-employment, a proxy often used for entrepreneurship rates; to strategic organisation-building where an increasing number of formal organisations were established and grown. The subsequent sections cover entrepreneurship capital, new Population emergence, Pioneers and strategies of growth.

7.2.1 The Evolving Entrepreneurship Landscape

The entrepreneurship landscape presented in the CDB baseline reports of 1892-97 might be viewed in the early 21st century as extremely bleak and hopeless. One should apply with due caution, and perhaps with a more encompassing approach, today's definitions of entrepreneurship to a period more than one century earlier. The reader is reminded of the author's preferred working definition of entrepreneurship, namely that proposed by Steyaert and Hjorth:

> 'Entrepreneurship is a complex social-creative process that influences, multiplies, transforms, re-imagines and alters the outlook of the space of society in which it is at once grounded and contextualised' (2006, 2).

The standardised list of questions the CDB inspectors had to address in their survey (Appendix 9) includes many issues central to today's understanding of entrepreneurship. While it was not assessing business start-up levels or firm growth, or interviewing entrepreneurs about their experiences and behaviour, it was assessing the forms of enterprise, entrepreneurial behaviour and entrepreneurship capital, which existed at that time. It sought to assess Audretsch *et al's* 'milieu of agents and institutions conducive to the creation of new firms' (2006, 60); to understand Steyaert and Hjorth's 'complex social-creative process' (2006, 2). It was a different form of entrepreneurship; a different milieu with a different set of institutions. Thus the entrepreneurial energy and entrepreneurship patterns were different.

While the term entrepreneur is closely associated by the community, with profit making, entrepreneurial behaviour of some kind was required, especially up to the 1960s. One successful language translation entrepreneur (Ní Chonghaile, 2002) remarked that Galway Gaeltacht people had always been entrepreneurial as they had no option, there

being so little state support or large scale employment. The key difference was that the earlier entrepreneurship was based on multi-tasking, multi-income, self-employment activity, rather than strategic formal organisation building. People were industrious, but not in industry. Few formal organisations existed in the community other than those of the church and the education system. Collective activity was limited to that which occurred within the family or the local informal meitheal (seasonal work party) coming together for the annual harvest.

7.2.1.1 From Frustrated Inertia to Incubation

The people were as entrepreneurial as they could be, given the environmental circumstances. As described in Chapter Four, there were high rates of self-employment and efforts made, mainly by outsiders or incomers, to organise better business forms. There were conflicting reports about the efficacy of the CDB's efforts and there was also some reluctance to engage with the outsiders, for example in providing information to inspectors or to adopt new innovations. Schumpeter (1934, 80) refers to the Central European peasant selling his calf; 'his economy has not changed at all for centuries – he cannot take a step out of the beaten path'. Concerted efforts had not reached the critical mass required for change to happen; some of the reasons are discussed under entrepreneurship capital below. From the foundation of the Free State in 1921 the dearth of formal business organisations in the province of Connaught illustrates how little formal organisation there was even in more developed areas of the west. The existence of the Office of the Gaeltacht and the Congested Districts up to the 1950s illustrates that both territories were considered to have the same problems of disadvantage. Special programmes to support both areas were supplemented by additional schemes for Gaeltacht residents, illustrating the levels of disadvantage in Gaeltacht areas, but also the state policy to provide particular support to Irish speakers. Up to the middle of the 20th century these supports fostered individual self-employment type activities rather than organisation on an industrial scale. The nationally available support provided by the state for this latter activity did not encourage or trigger any start-ups in the Gaeltacht, and from the foundation of the Free State, to the 1940s the Department of Industry and Commerce did not see a role for itself in Gaeltacht development (NAD, 1927, S7440; NAD, 1944, S7839A). There was a particular tension regarding tourism development – the Irish Tourist Board (under the aforementioned department's remit) did not see a role for itself, and Irish language lobbyists cautioned against the development of tourism (NAD, 1944, S7839B). In 1968, Comhlacht Comhairleach na Gaeilge, (the Irish language Advisory Company) suggested any Bord Fáilte support of Gaeltacht hotels should require the prior approval of the Department of the Gaeltacht. It also suggested that in order to promote the use of Irish in any new Gaeltacht located enterprises, Gaeltarra should have equity in

them. Gaeltarra's subsequent equity and board membership in many companies, was more about providing business and management expertise than language promotion.

One result of the lack of aid from, or uptake of, the nationally planned industrial development schemes was the 1930s Gaeltacht Services' Industrial Grant Scheme designed specifically for the Gaeltacht. It was availed of for much smaller scale activities. Only one record, of an industrial scale project (a granite quarry) was located by the researcher, although more may have existed, but without state assistance. Apart from Galway city itself, privately-owned industrial-style entrepreneurship seems to have been limited to a handful of enterprises, primarily on the outskirts of the city. Rural electrification of the Galway Gaeltacht happened in the 1950s; piped water schemes in the 1970s. Some areas received three-phase electricity only in the early 2000s. The necessary physical infrastructure to support industrialisation did not exist.

7.2.1.2 From Emergence to Full Flight

Gaeltacht industrialisation was state-led in the late 1960s with advance factories built in desolate peripheral areas, in order to attract inward investment. While the national thinking at the time did not include indigenous entrepreneurship, Gaeltarra recognised, and addressed the need to develop indigenous entrepreneurship (Kenny, 1969). It had a dual track strategy of supporting small scale enterprises established by Gaeltacht people, and the inward investment of larger scale manufacturing plants. Many of the small scale businesses were in basic production and services such as rock blasting and site preparation; timber processing; furniture-making; boatbuilding; manufacture of windows; crafts; printing and publishing; heritage centres; and cafés. Gradually a cohort of Gaeltacht owned businesses developed providing role models for the community, some privately owned, some owned by co-operatives.

7.2.2 Entrepreneurship Capital

Entrepreneurship capital is defined by this author as a function of human capital, psychological capital, social capital and financial capital. This last capital was a major issue in the Galway Gaeltacht, given the extremely poor land in the area, where little can be grown. For the poorer sections of the community any increase in income was spent on improved nutrition. Organisation building was not a priority. This poverty led to isolation and a difficulty with investing in the next most basic element of entrepreneurship capital – human capital in the form of education, training and relevant experience. The other barriers were social capital in terms of institutional thickness and network ties; and psychological capital in terms of low levels of self-efficacy, optimism, hope / perseverance and resilience (Luthans *et al.*, 2007). Psychological capital was developed recently and

was discovered by the author in the final stages of this research. It has emerged as a most important factor in the development of entrepreneurship capital in the focal community, and is discussed in detail later, after reflecting on human and social capital.

7.2.2.1 Human Capital

Human capital is an important pre-requisite for entrepreneurship in the sense of organisation-building. The extremely low levels of formal education and lack of skills in the region at the turn of the 20th century slowed the adoption of innovation. The education system itself was not particularly conducive to building entrepreneurial skills and behaviour. One informant queried whether the contemporary system fosters entrepreneurship (Ó hIcí, 2007). On the other hand, a 1980s university graduate, and former micro-business founder and owner, remembers the President of the University of Limerick telling them at their graduation that as there were no jobs available they would have to create their own (Ó Céidigh, 2006). The Gaelic League's and the founders of the Free State's emphasis on a cultural identity being a foundation for economic development was not followed up sufficiently soon enough with scientific, technical and commercial education. The fact that the revolution was led by people of high cultural capital, and that much of the large-scale business was in Protestant or Anglo-Irish hands may have delayed the evolution of a high entrepreneurial capital, especially in the west. By comparison the Danish Folk School of the late 19th century produced people who were efficient, competitive and spiritually strong; the Workers Educational Association in England, and the People's School in Antigonish, Nova Scotia concentrated on scientific and technical education rather than cultural and linguistic (Lotz & Welton, 1997). While much emphasis has been put on the lack of technical education by this and other authors (Garvin, 2004), this is a simplification of the issue. Many other softer skills are also required, and perhaps more important for an entrepreneur (Kirby, 2006).

There was a limited amount of second level education available up to the late 1960s delaying the increase in human capital. The state policy of Gaelicisation and bilingualism channelled many of the more able and more educated people into the civil service, the public sector and into teaching. This may have diverted some potential entrepreneurs away from entrepreneurship in terms of private sector activity but perhaps also in terms of community organisation, as many were attracted away from the area by better employment prospects44. On the other hand state policy of positive discrimination for Irish speakers in terms of the preparatory schools (1920s to 1960s) and of special entry to

44 Irish-speaking civil servants and public servants (such as Gardaí [police] and teachers) receive a salary bonus of up to 7.5%, for working through the medium of Irish, or in the Gaeltacht (Lá, 2008).

colleges of education (for primary teachers, still available) helped increase the levels of human capital in the area, mostly in terms of those who returned to the area.

Human capital can also be measured in terms of training and prior experience. Although one informant thought that the CDB and later native government schemes might have been more successful had more emphasis been put on the training aspect (Ó Loinsigh, 2002), the CDB and its successors did indeed make efforts to improve skills, but there was also a high emigration rate among those it trained, preventing the area from benefiting from the investment made. In the 1970s in response to the lobbying of a group of entrepreneurs, *An Grúpa Miontionsclóirí* ('the minor industrialists') Údarás established an Apprentice Scheme and a Management Training Scheme. Both schemes still operate successfully. As described in Chapter Six, in the marine and audio-visual sectors the counterpart to the apprentice scheme developed first, with courses primarily technical and operational in focus with little if any business training (Bord Iascaigh Mhara, 2001; King, Ó., 2006; Ó Ciardha, 2006; Ó Cinnéide, 2007). Business training is gradually being introduced into the audio-visual training scheme, although the creative training has always been more popular within the sector. The tourism industry has not been addressed in the same manner, perhaps as the necessary skills are softer, and more difficult to identify than the more obvious technical skills of operating a camera or a fishfarm.

7.2.2.2 Social Capital

One of the aspects of social capital beneficial to entrepreneurs is the type of people in their personal network, or the people they can access through their own close ties. These people can provide financial, practical or moral support, or act as role models. A number of interviewees were asked to describe or name the heroes of the local community. Heroes included accomplished sailors, oarsmen, sportsmen, businessmen and those who provided employment. What was striking was the number who mentioned that those who emigrated were admired and seen as heroes, particularly if they earned good money or if they established successful businesses, especially in the building sector (Ó Conchubhair, 2006; Ó Conghaile, 2006; Ó Loingsigh, 2002; Ó Ráinne, 2007). It was difficult to be a hero in your own community (Ó Conghaile, 2006), especially if your wealth had been acquired through a language-based business (Ó Ciardha, 2006), as discussed later in the chapter. With such high emigration, the potentially beneficial network of personal contacts existed, but outside the area.

Low population mobility in terms of general travel and in terms of inward migration and marriage created a communal stagnancy and perhaps an element of Portes' (1998) downward levelling norms where people get singled out for joining the higher classes.

Kenny (1972) observed that while two thirds of Gaeltacht factory workers believed a local person capable of becoming a manager, over half did not want to see a local person taking the position. Yet Gaeltacht emigrants' opinions changed quickly once in America, illustrating the power of the environment and of local value systems and culture. Taking on these managerial roles, or being empowered by one's personal circle to do so, is one of the steps toward gaining the necessary experience and contacts to branch into establishing one's own enterprise.

Stinchcombe (1965) makes the point that poor, illiterate, rural, technically backward societies use more functionally diffuse social structures, rather than special purpose organisations. The special purpose organisations at the turn of the 20th century, such as the Agricultural Raiffeisen Credit Banks operated in just such an unsupportive environment, and were shortlived. They were ahead of their time, and imprinted by the environment in which they were established. In a way, elimination of poverty, and introduction of literacy and technical skills had to come first before any organisation-building entrepreneurship. The Civil Rights movement could not happen until the 1960s, when some of these fundamental issues had been addressed. By then a more supportive environment existed, in which the co-operatives emerged, but again these were functionally diffuse, although special purpose in providing community services – from communal water services to early childhood learning projects. Special purpose community-owned organisations have not yet emerged; the co-operatives continue to engage in a wide range of activities. In the area, institutional thickness is good in terms of the number of co-operatives, parish committees; leisure clubs (GAA and sailing especially); and many small community festivals. But this institutional thickness is of limited quality in terms of professional specialisation and organisation growth. There is no Gaeltacht business people's organisation (nationally or locally), and a lower than average involvement in the Galway Chamber of Commerce and Industry (2002). There are no formal special interest representative groups – for example the well-developed Connemara Tourism co-operative marketing organisation is based in north Connemara (Connemara Tourism) and includes only a minor part of the Connemara Gaeltacht. By comparison, Turasóireacht Chonamara agus Árainn, the Galway Gaeltacht based co-operative tourism marketing organisation, established in the 1990s disbanded in 1999 (see Chapter Six). There are a small number of professionally (as distinct from voluntary) managed cultural organisations.

7.2.2.3 Psychological Capital

Luthans et al (2007) describe psychological capital as made up of self-efficacy, optimism, hope/perseverance and resiliency, and in the research this emerged as a more important

issue than had initially been expected. As described in Chapters Four, Five and Six, many writers and interviewees, from the 1980s to very recently, refer to similar issues, well described by Plunkett (1902) as 'a present without achievement, a future without hope'. By the 1960s, Symes observed that '[t]he apparent inevitability of the situation has produced a variety of reaction both within and outside the Gaeltacht – resignation, apathy, complacency, but very little optimism or determined forward thinking' (1965, 25). There was a 'collective passivity' in a 'depressed and disintegrating community' (Fennell, 1976, 340 & 341), which Fennell (an intellectual leader of the Gaeltacht Civil Rights movement) attributes to the lack of local governance. This focus on the past, on emigration, on poverty, on resignation, is well reflected in the 1970s and 1980s contemporary Galway Gaeltacht popular songs (Cló Iar-Chonnachta, 1994; Ó Conghaile, 1993)45. Ó Cinnéide (2007) attributes these negative aspects to the long history of poverty. The Galway Gaeltacht community was 'gripping the rocks and squeezing a living from them (*ag breith greim ar na carraigreacha agus ag fáisceadh slí beatha amach astu*)'. Ó Cinnéide (2007) believes that this long history of poverty had a long-lasting effect so that even when the industrial era 'arrived into' the Gaeltacht areas, the community had no experience of being in charge, of having stability, more so in the Galway Gaeltacht than in his native Kerry Gaeltacht or other Gaeltacht areas. This lack of self-confidence, was compounded by the teasing in Galway city (as late as the 1980s), especially for those who had only Irish, or were not fluent in English (Ó Céidigh, 2006; Ó Conbhubhair, 2006; Ó Ráinne, 2007), and as mentioned in Chapter Five the negative attitudes towards Irish speakers.

Longstanding intergenerational unemployment left many unsuitable for work. Údarás still has a problem filling FÁS training courses (Ó Conghaile, 2006). In a 2006 survey on interest in call centre employment, construction training and life-long learning, it only received one response from the 75 people on the Live Register (i.e. unemployed) surveyed in a high unemployment area (Ó hAoláin, 2006). Small scale lobster fishermen asked to record the size of lobsters caught as part of a longitudinal scientific survey of lobster growth, submitted inaccurate information for fear of losing whatever welfare benefits they were entitled to alongside their fishing income (Ó Corrduibh, 2004). The challenge of addressing such psychological factors is reflected in Mac Aodha's (1971, 9) opinion that: 'excessive state pampering in certain ways has contributed greatly to the lack of initiative and the general unwillingness to do an honest day's work which so characterise the Gaeltacht today'.

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45 This repertoire includes 2 popular songs on emigration and on the tension between outdoor life and factory work, composed by the current CEO of Údarás.

7.2.2.3.1 'Will you have another party when you close it [the factory] down?'

(*'An mbeidh ócáid mar seo agaibh nuair a dhúnfaidh sibh é [an tionscal]?'*) Cathal Mac Gabhann (2004), then CEO of Gaeltarra remembered a few occasions at the official openings of factories in the 1970s where someone, with a few drinks taken, would query the potential longevity of the latest industry brought into the area. He remembered even the more educated community leaders, such as teachers and clergy, also lacking hope, albeit not saying it too publicly. This is similar to Ó Cinnéide's (2007) analogy of the cargo culture, described in Chapter Five. Mac Gabhann remarked that matters were not much different from the rest of the country either. Even those in senior positions in Dublin had no hope; they were reluctant to try out any new ideas, unless it had been tried out in Britain already (Mac Gabhann, 2004). They recognised 'the enormity of the task of industrialisation' (Whitaker, 1983, 65) throughout the country. By contrast to this bleak attitude of the 1950s (Lee, 1989) and early 1960s, Ó Cinnéide (2007) recalls driving in his native Kerry Gaeltacht in 1962-63 and his father forecasting the rise in tourism: 'This road will be jammed with people some day' (*'Beidh an bóthar seo dubh le daoine fós.'*). People in the community could see the tourism industry was taking off, were willing to invest in it and saw it was worthwhile. This attitude came a generation later in Connemara. Yet, the ambition and interest in setting up (any kind of) a new business is not yet sufficiently high in the Galway Gaeltacht, especially compared to the Donegal Gaeltacht. For example, in 2006, Údarás ran a series of information, motivating and networking workshops where successful entrepreneurs spoke about their experiences. The Donegal (population: 23,783) event attracted 90 people; the Galway (population: 42,326) event 10 – 15 people (CSO, 2006, Volume 1; Ó hAoláin, 2006). Per capita, there were 12 times as many people at the Donegal event.

7.2.2.4 Are you an Entrepreneur?

Most interviewees were asked what they thought were the attributes of an entrepreneur, and most entrepreneurs interviewed were asked whether they were entrepreneurs. The most prominent themes were the success of builders; the centrality of profit-making and organisation growth; ambition; an unpleasant personality; greed; idealism; being a dreamer or *cineál craiceáilte* (half mad). The discomfort of the smaller audio-visual producers, and the Irish college owners (see Chapter Six) with the term 'entrepreneur' is rooted in both a residual discomfort with the term entrepreneur, and with profit-making, an issue mentioned by the consultants from New York (IBEC, 1952); the 1960s & 70s Chair of Gaeltarra (Kenny, 1972) and an incomer social entrepreneur (Ó Foighil, in Walsh, 2009), and the discomfort with relating entrepreneurship with Irish language-based activities. On the other hand, one of the two largest audiovisual producers was very happy with the term entrepreneur and pointed out how central the Irish language was to

the enterprise: 'It's part of what we are, it's the 4th dimension that maybe underwrites what we do, keeps us going, especially as we now go international'46 ·(Ó Coimín, 2006). This longstanding tension between language preservation and entrepreneurial behaviour, in the sense of organisation-building and profit-making seems to have hampered the development of growth-oriented language-based enterprises.

7.2.2.5 Collective Effervescence

Collective action sometimes requires a real emergency preceded by a period of stagnation and inaction. The passive, accepting, complacents are eventually jolted into action after a prolonged period of apathy or hopelessness (Olson, 1967 cited in Garvin, 2004). Those with most to gain by action are often those with most to lose; the poor cannot act to change the system as they risk losing what little they have. This may have been some of the reason for the continued poverty and underdevelopment in the region.

Few events of collective effervescence were identified in the research. Chapter Four described how the CDB was established due to a desire to appease dissatisfied citizens in a period of national unrest, but most of its work in the Galway Gaeltacht was related to land reform and infrastructural improvements. Its textile factories were primarily training centres rather than profit-making enterprises. The first real incident of community-based (bottom-up), rather than state-led collective effervescence was the work of the Gaelic League (established 1893) which was primarily led by Dublin-based middle classes, some working as *timirí Gaeilge* (Irish language organisers) some working in Gaeltacht areas to encourage retention of the language, and organising precursors to the Irish colleges. While they paid some attention to industrial development nationally, the author has not seen any reference to their leading any economic development activity in the Galway Gaeltacht. Gael Linn instigated the processing centre in Cill Chiaráin and assisted Toradh Toinne Teo seaweed processing in An Cheathrú Rua, but again this was a Dublin-based, university graduate-led, non-profit organisation. Its work preceded the establishment of Gaeltarra Éireann in 1958, which itself operated for 7 years managing state-owned textiles centres from a Dublin base before a shift in state policy allowed it to support private enterprise.

Chapter Five describes how the Gaeltacht Civil Rights movement emerged in the late 1990s. It is credited with ultimately leading to the establishment of the co-operatives within a few years and the establishment of the democratically elected Údarás na

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46 This interview switched between Irish and English, a common phenomenon in some conversations, especially with those fluent in Irish, but as their second language. The other three dimensions under discussion were creativity, technical and business skills.

Gaeltachta over a decade later in 1980. However it was an organisation which was primarily led by or involved teachers and campaigners, many with arts degrees or motivated as much by language preservation as by improving the infrastructure (e.g. Máire Denvir; Peadar Mac an Iomaire; Bob Quinn; Donnacha Ó hÉallaithe; Seosamh Ó Cuaig47). They were campaigners rather than strategists or planners, conducting little analysis of their own, but depending on Irish language campaigners and the republican movement (Ó hÉallaithe, 2004). Their intellectual leaders included two writers, Desmond Fennell and Professor of Irish at TCD, Máirtín Ó Cadhain. There were few business people or entrepreneurs involved. For example successful local businessman and senator Nioclás Ó Conchubhair (2006) was not involved although his brother and sister were. Máire Denvir co-founded Coláiste Chamuis (an Irish college) which has not diversified into any other activity, and employs her full-time, and many others on a seasonal basis. Bob Quinn operated as a sole trader and never established a formal business despite his cinematographic success. The co-operatives which emerged out of the movement, met with an initial flurry of success in the 1970s, with much state support, but ultimately did not flourish and develop beyond the provision of a variety of local services, or the business activity for which they were initially founded (Breathnach, 1986; Foinse, 2007; Mac Gabhann, 2004) – echoing Stinchcombe's (1965) functionally diffuse social structures.

7.2.3 New Population Growth: From Multi-Tasking Self-Employment to Strategic Organisation Building

This section reflects how new Populations grew from the preliminary stages of collective effervescence to the initial pioneers and fledglings, and how they collectively sought and gained legitimacy. The section ends with a discussion of the role the state played in this course of events.

7.2.3.1 Key Carusos[48] and Troublesome Rebels[49]

A number of individuals and organisations are acknowledged by a number of informants as being particular drivers of new organisations or of new Populations of organisations. Many of the potential key carusos, i.e. those with ability and drive, either emigrated, or did not have the relevant skills or the relevant supportive environment in which to build and grow new organisations. The 1950s seaweed processing factory in An Cheathrú Rua, which was a starting point for this author's research project was established by four men:

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47 Those listed are only those with whom the researcher has discussed her work. Others were also involved.

48 Schumpeter, 1934

49 Mac Gabhann, 2004

this author's all-Irish speaking primary school principal in Dublin, who grew up metres from the factory location; a Celtic Studies professor who subsequently became President of NUIG; a local engineer working in Galway city; and a local publican. As described in Chapter Four, they did not have a particularly supportive environment (Ó Catháin, 2006). There were gaps in the entrepreneurship capital; they were the fledglings in a new Population, on a steep learning curve, struggling to gain legitimacy.

7.2.3.2 Pioneers and Fledglings[50]

In any new Population the Pioneers initiate a new organisational form, in terms of industry, market or ownership model for example. In due course Fledglings follow them, copying the business model, or varying from it to create what will eventually become a new model. Eventually a new Population exists in which much learning has taken place on how businesses in this Population normally operate. A legitimate business model exists in the eyes of those in the businesses, the local community and the regulatory authorities. The new Population self-organises to varying degrees, to ensure its growth.

The Galway Gaeltacht entrepreneurship Pioneers were primarily state and community or non-profit organisations (see Chapters Four and Five). The new Populations emerged out of inward investment, community co-operation and state-led investment. The successful builders mentioned by a number of interviewees (Mac Gabhann, 2004; Ó hÉallaithe, 2004) developed some holiday homes and in one case acquired a hotel, but have not been leaders in terms of the more holistic socio-economic development of their communities (Ó Conghaile, 2006). While they were Pioneers they did not spawn new Populations. Some of the state employees could be considered Pioneers, or public entrepreneurs. Cathal Mac Gabhann rejoined Gaeltarra as CEO after Ivor Kenny of the IMI was appointed Chairman and was instrumental in many of the innovations for example in sociological analysis, management training and introducing fish farming to Ireland. He became a private entrepreneur on leaving Údarás in the early 1980s, when he established a restaurant in An Spidéal in conjunction with his daughter.

Chapter Six describes how in the audiovisual sector, Údarás was the Pioneer in establishing the conditions and developing the skills required to build an audio-visual industry. In 1984-85 it was part of an Inter-departmental committee which commissioned Stokes Kennedy Crowley to examine the possibility of Irish language television programme making (Ó hAoláin, 2006). Many of those who attended the first Údarás film-

50 The words Pioneer and Fledgling appear with capital letters as they are this author's choice of terms and are not in general currency in entrepreneurship literature.

making training course in 1988 are still involved in the industry. While there was active community agitation for a radio station in the 1970s and a television station in the 1980s, it is difficult to imagine how such an industry could have been kick-started by any other institution other than the state. Bob Quinn was the original Pioneer but not in terms of strategic organisation building. Once Údarás put the structures in place and TG4 was established (by the state), a successful audiovisual sector emerged, something that might have been difficult to imagine even 15 years ago (Ó hIcí, 2007). The same pattern occurred in the marine sector.

It can be said that both the marine resources and audiovisual sectors were successfully 'kick-started' by Gaeltarra and Údarás. The necessary initial financial, human and physical investment was made by state agencies and within a decade or so, a reasonable critical mass of a few medium and a handful of small enterprises were in operation. The case in tourism is not the same. Despite the fact that the Irish colleges emerged initially in the early 20th century and flourished from the early 1970s, they have largely been supported not by Údarás, but by the Department of the Gaeltacht (and its various successors). Údarás is precluded by EU legislation (Ó Cuinneagáin, 2006) from supporting tourism infrastructure such as accommodation or services, yet sometimes finds (legitimate) avenues to get around this legislation (something they also did in the marine sector). Various co-operatives, community groups and private individuals have received support for tourism-related activities such as heritage centres, sailing schools etc but very few quality added-value tourism enterprises have emerged. The current Údarás policy (Ó Finneadha, B., 2006) is to develop six flagship projects throughout the country, including one or two in the Galway Gaeltacht, one preferably marine based. It is seeking private investors / entrepreneurs for a joint-venture but has had no success to date. Although the return on its large training investment in kick-starting the audiovisual sector is evident, at present it has no plans for similar training for the tourism sector. It may be that in order to reach the critical mass to improve quality tourism and the number of visitors, it may need to follow a strategy similar to that which it followed for marine and audiovisual. It could take the lead in establishing a key tourism venture, around which, and out of which other enterprises would emerge. Its promotion subsidiary Gaelsaoire has had limited success in developing Gaeltacht tourism. Údaras has not had any success with its efforts over the last five years to encourage all the Irish colleges to develop into the adult market, offering long-weekend and low season courses (Ó hAoláin, 2006). It has also had very little success in encouraging the co-operatives to diversify into providing tourist information centres and value-added holidays. Its targetting of the co-operatives and of the Irish colleges is questionable given their histories and internal competencies.

7.2.3.3 Cognitive Legitimacy and Learning

Once a new form of business or a new Population has emerged, the necessary knowledge and understanding of how such a business is run develops within the community. A standard business model emerges. This is most obvious in the Irish college sector where there are low levels of full-time employment; capital investment and diversification. For example Denvir and her husband did not take a businesslike approach to their college until an accident injured a student when the college was seven years old. It was only then that they registered the college as a limited company and became more business-like. Up to then, and still now, the college is about fun, craic, camaraderie, as much as about the socio-economic and linguistic benefits to the community and the visiting students (Denvir, 2006). By comparison, in the audio-visual sector, as seen in Chapter Six, there is a high level of formal registration of even the smaller producers.

7.2.3.4 Socio-Political Legitimacy

Aldrich and Ruef (2006) divide socio-political legitimacy into socio-cultural and regulatory legitimacy. Given that the Gaeltacht is a linguistic construct and that much of the state- and community-led development of the area has been framed in terms of the preservation of the language, this author finds it more illuminating to discuss socio-political legitimacy in terms of the link with language. Schumpeter (1934) felt compelled to state that some of his readers thought he was glorifying the entrepreneur; an illustration of the historical distrust of the entrepreneur (Gerschenkron, 1966; Ó Curraidhín, 2006). While there is a respect for those who create employment, there was a time when Údarás would have been frowned upon for dealing with successful local businessmen. This attitude has now changed but perhaps not enough (Ó Conghaile, 2006; Ó hAoláin, 2006). The historical link of the English language with trade and economic advancement, and the negative associations of the Irish language may have hampered the development of socio-political legitimacy for private entrepreneurship and moreso for language based enterprise. This is most apparent in the tourism and audio-visual sector case studies and in Pól Ó Foighil's account in Chapter Six of nearly being driven out of the Gaeltacht with a pike, due to his having linked the Irish language with money, and his son Mícheál's discomfort with this author asking him whether he was an entrepreneur. It took until the early 2000s for a real recognition to emerge that the Irish language and bilingualism were untapped resources capable of contributing to real socio-economic development. This point had been made in the 1980s by the Netherlands-based Van Leer foundation which funded early childhood education projects in disadvantaged Ceantar na nOileán (Fiontar, 2001). A recent initiative to raise the profile of Gaeltacht business and language enterprises in particular is the televised *Gradam Gnó na Gaeltachta* (the Gaeltacht Business Awards), initiated in

2007 and co-sponsored by Údarás and TG4. The inaugural competition included a 'language-based business' category.

7.2.3.5 The State's Role

Entrepreneurs often see the state at worst as interfering with, or at least not supporting their entrepreneurial efforts. Yet, in a peripheral disadvantaged region, with relatively little physical or business infrastructure such as the Galway Gaeltacht at the end of the 19th century, the state's involvement has been key to fostering entrepreneurship capital. Up to 25 different state agencies were observed to be involved, to different extents, in the socio-economic development of the area (Fennell, 1976; Ó Cinnéide & Keane, 1988). Gaeltarra and Údarás have pointed out that they could not single-handedly develop the Gaeltacht. In the words of the Chairman Ivor Kenny in 1969:

> 'We are never short of advice. We now need also the active co-operation of everyone inside and outside the Gaeltachtaí. ... A successful Féile or Oireachtas is a fine thing. .. It does not create extra jobs. This is done only by a long persistent slog.'

Without specific state policies and agencies, peripheral areas may get overlooked. In part, the CDB, Gaeltarra and Údarás's role was to draw attention and support to the overlooked Gaeltacht, yet they had to work in co-operation with other institutions such as at micro level, families, parishes, church leaders, and community leaders; and at macro level, the education system, local government and the relevant specialist government agencies / public bodies, such as BIM (fisheries); Bord Fáilte / Fáilte Ireland (tourism); and RTÉ / Department of the Arts (audiovisual). Kenny also recognised that the process of Schumpeter's creative destruction would 'unfold through decades or centuries' (see Chapter Two).

The establishment of Gaeltarra Éireann in 1958 allowed targeted state support for a peripheral disadvantaged region. The only other region afforded such targeted support was the Shannon Region around the new Shannon Airport, encompassing counties in the Mid-West. Localised state support for small-scale entrepreneurship throughout the rest of the country did not happen until the 1990s, when the County Enterprise Boards were established (Hanley & O'Gorman, 2004). Up to then, support for micro-enterprise was decided in the context of national plans with little thought for the local culture, the local psychological capital, the local needs or potential impact. It is doubtful that the area would have developed as well as it did without specialist localised policies.

7.2.3.6 The State as Incubator

Many of the key carusos actually spent their incubation periods working in the Gaeltacht Services Division, Gaeltarra or Údarás. In the earlier period some were state employees running wholly-owned subsidiaries, such as Annraoi Ó Baoighealláin (Henry Boylan) who was joint MD of Arramara for 20 years (1950s & 60s) after his period in the Gaeltacht Services Division. He was of the opinion that operating within civil service rules was a 'severe handicap on commercial activities' (Boylan, 2002, 99; Ó Baoighealláin, 2002). Pól Ó Coimín left Údarás to establish Telegael, Dónal Ó hIcí left to work in a number two position in a number of firms before taking the reins in the ailing Arramara in 2006; Pádraig Ó hAoláin, now CEO, left Gaeltarra to manage and develop Comharchumann Chois Fharraige co-operative for 8 years before returning to Údarás; Damien Ó Ceallacháin left to manage the first fishfarm (Ó hAoláin, 2006). Two interviewees saw themselves as having entrepreneurial mindsets and behaviour despite working for Údarás for 41 years (De hÁl, 2004) or for the state-funded Irish Seafood Producers' Group (Ó Cinnéide, 2007). Three of Ó Cinnéide's colleagues in ISPG have since established other businesses and one is manager of a venture capital fund, interestingly none in a Gaeltacht area. Ó Cinnéide thought all four had behaved as entrepreneurs while they were with ISPG although they did not have any shareholding in the company. Similarly a number of co-operative managers led the spin-out of some of the co-operative's activities and established privately owned businesses, such as a knitwear company, a growing retail shop and in the early 2000s a wood chippings company which won a prize in the 2008 Gradam Gnó na Gaeltachta competition. It seems that public or social entrepreneurship precedes private entrepreneurship in this disadvantaged area, as the former can gain the necessary support and legitimacy (both cognitive and socio-political) more easily than the latter.

7.2.3.7 A View from the State

The Chief Executive of Údarás na Gaeltachta, Pádraig Ó hAoláin, was invited to write a commentary, on, and for publication with, a paper presented by this author at the Irish Academy of Management conference in Belfast in September 2007 (Ní Bhrádaigh, 2007d). Ó hAoláin is an incomer who in the 1960s was working with Gael Linn, who were asked by the then CEO of Gaeltarra Éireann, to provide a teacher of Irish for the managers and staff in the businesses it (Gaeltarra) was establishing in the Gaeltacht. He returned to Údarás in the 1980s after spending some time managing Comharchumann Forbartha Chois Fharraige. He has nearly 40 years of experience working, living, socialising, and composing songs (see footnote 2 this chapter) in the Gaeltacht and has a deep understanding of the challenges faced by the government institutions in developing the Gaeltacht socially, culturally and economically.

The parts of his commentary, as relevant to the socio-political legitimacy issues in the three cases, are provided here.

> While it had an enlightened and farseeing Chief Executive [Cathal Mac Gabhann] – whose leadership laid the foundation for the industrial base that emerged over the decade after its decentralisation from Dublin in 1969 - the corporate culture of Gaeltarra Éireann did not facilitate or legitimate the development of indigenous entrepreneurship mainly because that concept was not in common currency at that time. The agency had a high level of competence in the technical skills of running and establishing enterprises but there was a lack of understanding within the organisation of the factors that contribute to or constrain the development of entrepreneurship, particularly in marginal areas. The functionaries of the agency were working in an environment where
>
> - the community was suffering from ongoing high-level emigration which was viewed as an inevitable and unavoidable route to work and success.
> - the education system prepared pupils mainly for the civil or public service
> - there was a backdrop of poor physical and telecommunications infrastructure and
> - there was a community culture that was extremely cautious about risk-taking and extremely fearful of the stigma of failure.
> - Not withstanding that, considerable progress was made in generating employment through indigenous enterprises and resources – indigenous in the broadest sense of native to Ireland rather than to the locality.

An important factor which overarches and informs the strategic and operational plans of all development agencies is the political pressure to deliver jobs in sufficient numbers to impact on the live register (official unemployment figures). Historically that factor also had a strong influence on the slow process of 'growing our own trees' as FDI was the fastest route to deliver jobs. Apprenticeship schemes and a trainee management programme were seen as the keys to unlock that slow process.

The case-study sectors chosen are extremely interesting as these are sectors where local entrepreneurs would be expected to have certain advantages. There were also certain common denominators in the agency's approach to generating the development of entrepreneurship in all three. While properly highlighting the

factors that result in 'incomers' being more likely that "locals" to exploit the business opportunities of these sectors the research paper highlights the strategy adopted by the agency as "Pioneer entrepreneur" as being particularly crucial. In the case of these sectors the agency

- was proactive in formulating a sectoral development strategy where the main ingredients were pinpointed as being awareness creation, upskilling or capacity-building, market development and seed capital
- recognised that each of the three sectors had particular strengths in terms of their inherent/indigenous resources
- recognised the need to act as Pioneer for the sector in order to provide it with credibility and anchoring and take the initial risks involved
- created the space for the emerging entrepreneurs to get involved to the extent of their own resources and generate their own synergy. (Ó hAoláin, 2007, in Ní Bhrádaigh, 2007d)

Ó hAoláin, like Kenny (see above), recognises the slow process of development and the tension between this and the political pressure of immediate job creation. He also recognises the psychological factors of the particular community in question, and the lack of understanding within Gaeltarra, of these 'softer, intangible' issues compared to the more obvious technical skills of business management. He also highlights that the concept of indigenous entrepreneurship was not part of national Government policy at the time.

7.2.3.8 Variation

Many types of variation are possible – such as growth, diversification or change of ownership structure. A growth strategy often requires relinquishing complete ownership, or the establishment of joint ventures. There seems to be a general reluctance to sell some of the ownership, or to get involved in joint ventures in the audiovisual sector (Seoighe, 2006) perhaps reflecting a reluctance in Ireland in general, or at least in the more visible rural setting (Ó hAoláin, 2006). Although the rights for many of the programmes remain with TG4 rather than the independent producers, where the producers have the rights, few of them make the effort to exploit the opportunity to sell the programmes to additional customers (Ní Néill, 2006; Ó Ciardha, 2006), or even to seek commissions from other customers. In general their growth aspirations are very limited. The two largest companies however have great growth ambitions. Ó Coimín's (2006) (Telegael) longterm vision is an IPO on the stockmarket.

Another method of variation is diversifying into other activities. Údarás has attempted to foster this diversification in the tourism industry. Over the last 3 years, it has been

encouraging the co-operatives to establish information centres and tourism packages, and the Irish colleges to develop new markets and products, without success in any case (Ó Finneadha, B., 2006; Ó hAoláin, 2006) to date.

From the meso-level Community of Populations point of view one could say that a form of variation is when an organisation spawns a new organisation, perhaps by an individual being incubated in the first organisation before establishing a second organisation. One example of this is, Coláiste Chamuis where Liam Ó Cuinneagáin worked as a voluntary and later a paid teacher in the 1970s. He later established his own adult cultural tourism centre, Oideas Gael, in his Co Donegal home townland of Gleann Cholm Cille. It is probably the top language tourism enterprise in any Gaeltacht. He claims he was inspired by Coláiste Chamuis as well as by the well-regarded Father McDyer (McDyer, 1982) who is credited with providing great leadership in developing the Gleann Cholm Cille community in the mid to late 20th century (Ó Cuinneagáin, 2007). Mait Ó Brádaigh, founder of Spleodar, spent his teenage years attending Coláiste na bhFiann (one of the earliest colleges, established in 1968), and later 20 years working with them, before establishing Spleodar (Ó Brádaigh, 2005). Many other former Irish college attendees have graduated into entrepreneurial and / or leadership positions in the Irish language sector nationwide, an interesting issue for further study, but outside the scope of this research.

The subsequent entrepreneurial career of those working in ISPG in its early days did not take place in a Gaeltacht area. Some of the satellite fishfarmers initially operating around Bradán Mara were essentially apprenticed to the company. A number of the businesses established by the co-operatives in the 1970s and 1980s were eventually privatised. Two of these businesses were bought by the initial managers of the relevant co-ops. One is a very high quality designer knitwear company (Cniotáil Inis Meáin) on Inis Meáin (the middle of the three Aran Islands), managed by the former manager and his son (the latter now having established a high quality B&B and restaurant on the island); the other a thriving supermarket and petrol station west of An Spidéal managed by the former manager's son (Siopa an Phobail), brother of the Irish college manager Mícheál Ó Foighil. Another has established a woodchippings organisation using the waste from a timber processing factory originally owned by a co-operative. No other pattern of incubators has been ascertained by this researcher in the three case studies.

7.2.4 Community Entrepreneurship and Self-Organisation

The late 19th century Agricultural Co-operative Banks were the first examples of community self-organisation, yet they failed, as outlined in Chapter Four. They failed to

achieve the cognitive and social legitimacy required to flourish. They might also have been operating in an unsupportive environment given the power of the local shopkeeper and the levels of poverty in the area. Although the co-operative movement developed well in the dairying regions elsewhere in Ireland, it was slow to develop in the Gaeltacht. The first modern Gaeltacht co-operatives were established in Kerry and Mayo in 1967 and in the 1970s in the Galway and other Gaeltachtaí. By 1979 there were 22 co-operatives throughout the Gaeltacht but they were still seen as yet another state provider rather than as self-help organisations in which the community could be the leading actor in its own future (Johnson, 1997). The culture of dependency (Comharchumann Forbartha na nOileán, 1979) was slow to change to a culture of empowered self-determination.

Gaeltarra established the coistí pobail (community committees) structures in the 1970s and Údarás recognises the need for bottom-up development. Today there is still a residual lack of hope and leadership in some of the more disadvantaged communities in the western part of the Galway Gaeltacht, where small co-operatives do not co-operate with neighbouring co-operatives; where elections for co-operative or committees do not attract sufficient candidates; or where parishes do not enter the community development competitions (Ó Conghaile, 2006; Ó hAoláin, 2006). There are still people waiting for a messiah on a white horse (*messiah ar chapal bán*) to arrive in from outside (Ó Conghaile, 2006). This dependency is likened by Ó Cinnéide (2007) to the cargo cult discussed in Chapter Five. The community does not see its own responsibility in being an agent of change, or does not have the ability to effect that change.

The co-operatives, which emerged in the 1970s, were focussed on the special purpose of community development and the generation of employment – of any kind (Breathnach, 1986). But they were functionally diffuse, in that they were generalists rather than specialists – some co-operatives providing a number of services from community water systems to agriculture to handcrafts to tourism services. They too were imprinted by the environmental conditions at the time of establishment. They were at times major employers in their areas, but once the unemployment problem had been addressed and more opportunities were available elsewhere, or locally, their initial special purpose was no longer central. In addition, the initial leaders of the co-operatives lacked the necessary formal business and management skills (Breathnach, 1986). There was also a lack of long- and medium-term planning and of clarity on the roles and relationships of the management committees and the managers, again a product of the time and context in which the co-operatives emerged.

7.2.4.1 Self-organisation: a microcosm view

While the village of An Cheathrú Rua has benefited from having the first comprehensive school located there in the 1960s; one of the advance industrial parks; and later the health centre, the fire-station, the old folks home, the NUIG satellite centre etc, it does not have a parish committee or co-operative and there is little co-operation among the various leading businesses (Ó Conghaile, 2006). Despite having a number of popular beaches in its neighbourhood, and a longstanding tradition of language tourists, its tourism infrastructure is quite underdeveloped. Much of the development has been led by the state, for example through the county council and Údarás, which has identified the village for strategic development in terms of leisure amenities and also as an enterprise hub.

7.3 The Conceptual Model's Contributions

The conceptual model was designed to address the research question as stated at the beginning of the chapter. The author then applied the model and makes the following key contributions to better understanding how entrepreneurship emerged and evolved in a peripheral region over a period of more than a century.

- Documents and describes the patterns of entrepreneurial activity in the Galway Gaeltacht from the late 19th century to the early 21st century.
- Collates and presents data on firm start-up rates for a period of more than one century.
- Summarises the emergence and evolution of new Populations highlighting the role of the various institutional forces including that of various state agencies.
- Provides an example of the way in which the state can shape the evolution of entrepreneurship.
- Analyses some of the debate throughout the 20th century on the tension between language preservation and enterprise development.

The research also makes a number of contributions to theory; methodology; data; and policy and practice. These are now discussed, followed by a discussion of some of the implications for researchers, for policy makers and for minority language communities.

7.3.1 Contribution to Theory

The conceptual model builds on corporate demography and organisation evolution and the relatively new concept of entrepreneurship capital. The model is an example of theory building, whereby the model was developed through an iterative process during exploratory research. It illustrates that while a supportive environment might exist in terms of financial capital or regulatory and political support, there may be other issues 'stunting the entrepreneurship vitality' (to paraphrase the DATI statement of 1904 quoted in Chapter Four) of a community which may have particularly low levels of other factors such

as social capital and of psychological capital. In this case these low levels are attributed by many commentators to the peripheral location and the loss of the Irish language. Carroll and Hannan (2000, 30 – 31) make the point that long term forces do have an impact on corporate demography, but that they often do not get modeled explicitly, partly due to the fact that available theory is not up to the task. This conceptual model is a contribution towards addressing this weakness in theory. The model combines a broad number of factors, such as legitimacy and entrepreneurship capital, in conjunction with quantitative corporate demographic information (e.g. birth rates). By using the model to analyse entrepreneurship emergence and evolution, issues hitherto not considered central to the topic emerge as being important, for example in the progression from state to community to private ownership; the state's role as an incubator or training ground for entrepreneurship; and the higher legitimacy of public / community entrepreneurship compared to private entrepreneurship.

7.3.2 Contribution to Methodology

The methodological model developed by the author (see Figure 24 above), and which provided the basis on which the conceptual model was developed, is in itself a contribution to methodology. The model proposes that multi-level research on a longer timeframe can provide new theoretical insights and empirical evidence. The multi-level research involved examining individual entrepreneurs in each Community of Populations (the case studies), the Populations themselves and their places in their Communities, and examining the regional levels of entrepreneurship, and then putting that in a national context. It illustrated the commonality of issues at all levels – for example in learning, in gaining legitimacy, in embedding in the local community. The evolution of entrepreneurship over time, especially the emergence of the three Communities of Populations (the case studies) at different points in time, illustrated common themes. The convergence of evidence, at different levels and at different points in time, increases the validity and quality of the findings. For example, the individual entrepreneurs in the tourism industry were reluctant to be called entrepreneurs, to consider their colleges as 'businesses', echoing the historical state reluctance to develop tourism in the Gaeltacht lest it damage the language. The micro level echoes the macro level. The issues in 2008 echo those of the 1930s to 1950s. The state entrepreneurship development agencies (Gaeltarra and later Údarás na Gaeltachta) kick-started both the marine and the audio-visual sectors, two decades apart, both eventually leading to a healthy Population of new organisations.

The methodological and conceptual models combined illustrate the benefits of combining qualitative and quantitative data in answering the research question. They also critique or

challenge some of the taken for granted 'knowledge' or understanding the community itself and the larger national community has about Gaeltacht entrepreneurship.

7.3.3 Contribution to Data

The author has made a significant contribution to entrepreneurship data. Quantitative and qualitative data for a period of more than a century have been collated, organised and analysed. These data provide empirical evidence to challenge some of the aforementioned taken for granted 'knowledge', regarding for example the following: state efforts to trigger and foster entrepreneurship in the local community; the importance of cultural and psychological factors as well as financial, infrastructural and human capital factors in fostering entrepreneurship; the sequence from state- to community- to privately-owned enterprises. The author's ability to communicate with the local population in their own language, and to access Irish language official state documents and creative literature brings new empirical evidence into the canon of entrepreneurship research. Throughout the course of the research process, many entrepreneurs, policy makers and academics commented that this was the first time these data (i.e. quantitative and qualitative data on Gaeltacht entrepreneurship) had ever been collected, collated or analysed. A number of entrepreneurs commented on the fact that they had rarely, if ever before, been asked certain questions during their interviews. This in turn triggered some of them to reconsider their own positions regarding, and perceptions of, entrepreneurship. New data, collated, presented and analysed through new conceptual / methodological models should hopefully lead policy makers to consider new policies, as discussed in the following section.

7.3.4 Contribution to Policy and Practice

The long-term focus of the research draws attention to the challenges faced by policy makers and those implementing the policies. Hindsight and reflection on historical evidence validates many of the statements made by policy makers at the turn of the 20th century – for example in terms of the levels of resignation and hopelessness in the community (see the Chapter on Incubation). Those same issues arose again throughout the early to mid 20th century (see the Chapter on Emergence and Take Off) with Gaeltarra executives competent in the technical skills of entrepreneurship but lacking the understanding of these softer cultural and psychological issues (see the 'View from the State' section earlier in this chapter). While physical industrialisation took place from the 1960s onwards, psychic industrialisation (in terms of community attitudes and psychological capital) did not emerge until the 1980s. By then Gaeltarra and later Údarás na Gaeltachta understood the importance of the softer cultural and psychological issues but found it difficult to break through the web of dejection and resignation.

The long-term focus in the research also highlights the difficulty policy makers have in being under short-term political pressure to create jobs, often provided by incomers, versus the long-term project of fostering indigenous or local entrepreneurship and job creation. The long-term focus also illustrated the pattern of the state leading entrepreneurship for up to two decades before community- and privately-owned enterprise could emerge. Gerschenkron's (1966) pre-requisites of industrialisation, in terms of guilds, self-organisation and formal organisation building needed state leadership. The research also illustrated that public service provided good incubation for many subsequent private entrepreneurs. Providing public servants, particularly in enterprise development agencies with a temporary safety net of the option to return to public service may encourage them into private entrepreneurship.

In summary the research makes a contribution to a better understanding of entrepreneurship theory and research methodology. It provides new empirical data and new insights into policy and practice. Some of these issues are discussed in the next section.

7.4 Some Implications or Consequences of the Research

In embarking on this research, the author hoped to get a better insight into the patterns and dynamics of entrepreneurship in the Galway Gaeltacht, as a stepping stone to better understanding the relationship between language and entrepreneurship. The research has given her a better insight into that first question and has raised some implications in terms of future research which may be of interest to the academic community; and in terms of future policy making; current and future entrepreneurs; and the future of minority language communities. In a way these implications or consequences are suggestions which arise out of the contributions discussed in the previous section. Various audiences might wish to consider these, as discussed now.

7.4.1 For Academia

This research draws on a wide range of material over a period of over one century. It takes quite a broader view of entrepreneurship compared to the more immediate, managerially-focussed. What is interesting is that some of author's, and others' intuitive opinions at the beginning of the research did not emerge, thus illustrating that different approaches, such as the evolutionary, multi-modal approach taken, with empirical evidence from an extreme case, will not always 'square with conventional wisdom' (Carroll and Hannan, 2000, 18 – see Chapter Two). It counters the warning about 'exotic fallacy'

(see Chapter Three), and by examining an extreme case, the author has found particular illuminations (Yin, 2003). These are now discussed.

A conventional wisdom which has been challenged is the opinion that the state often interferes with successful entrepreneurship development through its policies and regulations. In a disadvantaged area, the scale of the development challenge is so enormous that state intervention is required. In addition, while infrastructural and institutional supports such as education may be required, the psychological capital factors may need particular attention. Given the historical distrust of entrepreneurs, perhaps the legitimacy of private entrepreneurship is best preceded by public and social entrepreneurship in strategic preparation for private entrepreneurship.

The fact that the same conclusions were drawn in two totally different situations (the centuries old natural resource based marine Community and the modern, intellectual resource-based audio visual services Community) and the contrast between how those two Communities and the tourism Community evolved, strengthens the validity of the findings. The convergence of opinion in the qualitative published data and the interviewees' stories and opinions further validate the findings.

7.4.1.1 Research Methodologies

The use of a multi-modal, multi-disciplinary, multi-level research methodology had its particular challenges but uncovered useful and innovative insights. Research based on a short-term managerial focus may provide short-term insights, but little in terms of long-term development or more strategic societally-based understandings.

7.4.1.2 Research Topics

Innovations often emerge at the edges of established disciplines, or at the juncture between a number of disciplines. An advantages of interdisciplinary research is that by drawing on research methods in other disciplines, (in this case drawing on historical records or on socio-linguistics, or engaging with a minority language community, new insights emerge, opening new avenues of research and understanding. This author has engaged with geographers (Ní Bhrádaigh & McCarron, 2005; Ní Bhrádaigh et al., 2007); a socio-linguist (Walsh et al, 2005), and entrepreneurship researchers specialising in indigenous entrepreneurship (see Ní Bhrádaigh, in Dana & Anderson, 2007).

The methodology and methods employed have great applicability world wide, in many peripheral rural areas. The author was struck by the comparisons during her 2006 visits to the Maori community of New Zealand; the First Nations communities of Saskatchewan

and of Nova Scotia; and the tiny Scots Gaelic and small Acadian (francophone) communities of Cape Breton. Although the Gaeltacht community is ethnically the same as the rest of the Irish nation, and although some people queried the relevance of comparisons with indigenous (popularly inferred as non-White and unmodernised, communities), the challenges faced by the indigenous communities' leaders in developing community- and privately-owned enterprises were very similar to the author's Gaeltacht findings. The historical similarities of colonialism, marginalisation and language loss are vey similar. Perhaps these indigenous communities are now in the same situation the Gaeltacht community was in up to the 1960s, in terms of entrepreneurship capital and its constituent parts, human, social and psychological capital. Much of the work done in such peripheral communities is within the discipline of development studies, and interdisciplinary research with this field might bear fruit.

Given the extent of poverty, the exceptionally bad land and lack of mineral wealth, an interesting international comparison would be to choose another minority language coastal community with a similar history of peripherality and disadvantage, such as the crofting communities in Scotland; sea-faring Galicians in northern Spain, or the sea-faring Bretons in France. Much research has been conducted on the Basque community, and the Mondragon community's economic development story (MacLeod, 1997) which had a very strong industrial base from the early 20th century, and this would provide a comparison in terms of whether the marine resources of that sea-faring community evolved differently because of the industrial hinterland. The northern part of Wales where the Welsh language is the majority language would be more suitable than the southern part, known for its mining industry.

An interesting cross-Community, or ownership-based Population (rather than activity-based) to now examine as an additional case study is the co-operative movement and see how that new Population emerged and evolved and how it was imprinted by the environmental conditions at that emerging stage, and what strategies for growth the Population employed.

7.4.2 For Policy-Makers[51]

Following on from the discussion on implications for academia, is the issue of research-based policy making. One of the challenges in terms of developing the Gaeltacht is that none of the primary state agencies responsible for the development of the Gaeltacht or of

51 Some of the thoughts in this section are in the author's 2005 submission to the Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs for the review of the functions of Údarás na Gaeltachta.

the Irish language has a research unit, or a research programme. By comparison the Welsh Language Board has a research unit. There is also no Gaeltacht Studies centre in the country. An ongoing research programme might lead to more appropriate policies. Some overall issues (for research) are discussed now.

7.4.2.1 Entrepreneurship Capital

While entrepreneurship, in terms of organisation-building, cannot be expected to happen where poverty exists, the elimination of that problem will not automatically lead to entrepreneurial behaviour. Up to the 1950s, grant aid was available to those financially able to access it, but was often undersubscribed. The relevant psychological capital was missing. The same seems to apply today, towards the end of the era of the so-called Celtic Tiger. Údarás has still not found suitable co-investors to develop large-scale strategically important tourism enterprises anywhere in the national Gaeltacht. The financial and political support is available; local private wealth and business acumen are available, but the hope and vision for a viable tourism sector does not seem to exist in the local community. Soft supports, in terms of encouragement, promotion of successful role models, training and mentoring may be as powerful as hard financial support. For example, the conventional wisdom among many in the Gaeltacht is that little entrepreneurship emerged, that there were no opportunities at home, that most of the fault for this lay with outside forces. Yet this research shows that those outside forces made many efforts, well-intentioned but sometimes ineffective. The inside forces may have been even stronger. Opportunities did exist at home but were shunned in favour of the draws of a perhaps more exciting life in Boston or Huddersfield. Entrepreneurship did eventually emerge, for example with the 95 fish-farm startups, creating sufficient cognitive and socio-cultural legitimacy, especially among local people.

In the last 20 years, staff of enterprise development agencies usually come from a business, commerce or economics background and the approach taken to fostering entrepreneurship would be largely managerial with a relatively short-term focus of 5 to 10 years. There is also the short-term political pressure of job creation alluded to earlier by Ó hAoláin. However, in a peripheral or disadvantaged area, more patience, and a more thorough understanding of deep-seated cultural norms and attitudes are required. Gaeltarra was quite far-thinking in employing at one stage both an anthropologist and a sociologist to assist it in its industrial development agenda. Údarás has a wider remit which also embraces the socio-cultural development of the area, especially taking the language into consideration. Yet it does not have on its staff a qualified sociologist, socio-linguist or cultural studies specialist.

7.4.2.2 Failure or Foundation Stone?

Supposedly failed enterprises or Populations of enterprises may provide the incubation and learning context for potential entrepreneurs. The CDB's efforts although criticised by some, did provide much-required infrastructure; a short-lived co-operative banking sector; and the foundation for an improved fishing sector; and a longstanding textiles industry. While the popularly well-known glasshouse scheme (1940s to 60s) was deemed astonishing at the time of its instigation and was considered a failure by some, it did provide innovation; employment; income; and an opportunity to invest in new markets and in co-operative marketing, for over two decades (Ní Bhrádaigh, 2003; Ó Conghaile, 1988). They were innovative and ambitious for their day. While the paper and plastics companies had a shorter than hoped-for lifespan, they did provide industrial employment and experience, and raised the overall wealth and human capital (in terms of industrial experience) of the area. The advance factories built in the 1970s are now being redesigned for more modern service-based activities. One large factory space in Casla has been converted into a thriving building supplies store, diverting business that otherwise would have gone to Clifden or Galway city, and thus providing local employment. A longer-term view of some 'failure' might interpret that failure as laying the foundations for subsequent successes.

7.4.2.3 The Local in the Central: Gaeltacht in National Entrepreneurship Policy

Centrally conceived programmes (top-down) initially failed in regional and local development due to their failure to recognise the particular problems in the more disadvantaged areas, especially in the west and including the Gaeltacht (Breathnach, 1988). The Gaeltacht has benefited from having specific policies and specialist state agencies dealing with the area since the 1950s, and Údarás is well-embedded in the development of the area. However, the danger of having a specific agency within a Government department separate from the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment, under which the other enterprise development agencies exist is that the marginal agency intentionally or unintentionally marginalises itself and is not party to the strategic development of enterprise policy (Mallaghan, 2002). While it works well with the IDA in attracting overseas investment Údarás has not been sufficiently integrated with Enterprise Ireland for example. As an illustration, an Interagency Planning Manager's Group was already in existence before an Údarás manager became aware of and joined the group in the late 1990s (Bolger, 2004).

IDA Ireland has had a successful strategy in attracting Irish emigrants back home to set up new enterprises, bringing with them their wider network of strong and weak ties. The

Gaeltacht has experienced a similar flow of returning emigrants and a similar strategy could be adopted, especially considering McDonagh and Commins (1999) findings on incomer and returned local entrepreneurship levels.

7.4.2.4 Legitimising Entrepreneurship

The socio-political legitimacy of entrepreneurship was negatively affected by the bad experiences of the gombeen man many throughout the whole country had. In the case of the Gaeltacht, this low socio-political legitimacy was further lowered by the adverse effects of industrialisation on the language. Importation of senior managers with little if any Irish did little to allay the concerns of the community's socio-cultural leaders. This double negative effect may not have provided the supportive environment needed by nascent entrepreneurs. It may also have encouraged local entrepreneurs to develop their skills and realise their visions outside the Gaeltacht, elsewhere in Ireland, or abroad. The individual level human and psychological capital may have been present but that individual may have had difficulty developing social capital or raising financial capital, due to the societal level of the aforementioned capitals.

7.4.2.5 Handholding or Excessive State Pampering?

Conventional wisdom among entrepreneurs might be that the state should provide the necessary supports and 'leave them to it'. Yet this research shows that in the Gaeltacht context, in terms of getting a new Population afloat the state agency, and other public bodies such as TG4, needed to extend the period of handholding for up to two decades. The extra supports for Gaeltacht residents may have fostered an attitude of dependency. There is a fine line between this handholding and Mac Aodha's (1971, 9) 'excessive state pampering'.

While Gaeltarra and Údarás repeatedly highlighted the need to foster entrepreneurship among Gaeltacht individuals themselves, it continued a practice of establishing its own subsidiary companies, up to the early 2000s. This was in contrast to the policies of the IDA or the more recently established Enterprise Ireland. Compared to these two national organisations, Údarás and Gaeltarra also had a significantly higher number of associated industries, i.e. enterprises in which it had a majority or minority shareholding (Flynn, 1983). While required perhaps in the early decades, this policy could be interpreted as being rather paternalistic, especially from the 1990s onwards, at a time when higher levels of education and of business experience should lead to better survival and success rates. The current Údarás strategy is to divest itself of its subsidiaries and its majority / minor equity in other companies, perhaps confident that the new Populations are now afloat.

Údarás's aim is to foster private or community entrepreneurship and to reach a stage where owning or running a business is nothing exceptional (Ó hAoláin, 2006). While recognising the political pressures of job creation, there is a case for public policy makers to focus more on the medium to long-term aim of generating and fostering a cluster and critical mass, rather than on the more immediate short-term individual firm success rates. Innovations which succeed in a particular firm may well have already failed in a previous firm, and thus from a public policy or regional development perspective, perhaps initial failure is not as critical. Having a dedicated research unit, whether in the public organisation or in an academic institution, might contribute to a deeper understanding of the longer-term issues.

7.4.2.6 Stewardship and Corporate Governance

The fact that 17 of the 20 board members of Údarás na Gaeltachta are democratically elected in a similar fashion to local county council elections and that three are appointed by the Minister has a number of implications. There is no mechanism to ensure that the various stakeholders or interest groups (other than political parties) such as particular industry sectors, have an official strategic voice in the authority. There is no mechanism to ensure that the relevant expertise is on the board. For example although the Irish language is the core reason for the existence of any kind of a Gaeltacht or Gaeltacht authority, there is no sociolinguistic expertise on the board (or on the executive for that matter). Given the importance of industrialisation, job creation and more recently enterprise development, there is an anomaly between the primary aims of the authority and its board. For example, Údarás is the Gaeltacht counterpart of Enterprise Ireland and the county enterprise boards (CEBs), i.e. Enterprise Ireland and the CEBs do not operate within the Gaeltacht. The board structure of the CEBs includes business and business support representatives, providing for the relevant expertise. The board of Enterprise Ireland is appointed by the Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Employment and is currently made up of senior industrial figures. While these too are essentially political appointments, an effort is made to provide for the relevant expertise.

7.4.2.7 Innovation and Údarás recruitment policy

Analysis of the senior management of Gaeltarra and Údarás (GÉ, 1959 – 1979, ARs; ÚnaG, 1980- 2003, ARs) revealed a particularly low level of personnel turnover. There are two periods of at least a decade, when senior management did not change at all. This is partly to do with the large number of jobs created in the 1970s followed by a recruitment embargo in the 1980s; and the agreement with the union that all jobs be advertised externally only if no internal candidate has been successful. This history and practice also applies to the other enterprise development agencies in the country. In the case of

Údarás, it was remarked by a number of people that Galway city and environs are known as the 'graveyard of ambition', with many across all sectors choosing to settle there at the expense of career opportunities elsewhere, due to a good quality of life, and indirectly blocking the advancement of new talent.

7.4.3 For Minority Language Entrepreneurs and Communities

With the gradual decline of their language and culture, minority language communities can lack the high psychological capital factors of optimism and hope and can equate trade and business with that loss. These factors are intangible and softer than the more tangible human capital factors of training or relevant experience. Softer transferrable skills useful for entrepreneurship, often more difficult to identify and to develop could be introduced in tandem with technical skills. By being aware of, and building entrepreneurship capital, perhaps initially in community entrepreneurship, new Populations of organisations beneficial to the community and its social capital can be fostered. The lack of legitimacy for language-businesses can be detrimental to the very language business is seen to be adversely affecting. By initiating interdisciplinary dialogue between entrepreneurship researchers and socio-linguists (who's primary focus is the language issue) both disciplines might gain deeper understandings of each other's issues thus improving linguistically-beneficial entrepreneurship activity in minority language communities.

The 1971 Gaeltarra / SFADCO report recognised that ambitious young people were attracted to employment in public services due to the need for Irish speakers in that sector. Government and state institutions' policies may unintentionally divert entrepreneurial capacity in less than optimal directions, creating high legitimacy for public sector employment and low legitimacy for private sector entrepreneurship.

7.5 Conclusion

This research had as its starting point the author's curiosity as to the contrast between the pessimism of the Gaeltacht, and the optimism of entrepreneurship. By engaging in multidisciplinary, multi-modal, and multi-level longitudinal research, the evolution of three Communities and their three main Populations was studied and analysed. Many quantitative and qualitative data were drawn on and collated, and interpreted through a conceptual model that recognises the longterm effects of the cycle from entrepreneurship landscape (in this case mainly consisting of multi-tasking, self-employment) to environmental conditions and entrepreneurship capital in particular, to the emergence of new Populations and Communities, back to the, by now, organisation-building based entrepreneurship landscape.

By developing a methodological model, and from that a conceptual model; and by using those models in the work, the research makes a contribution to theory; to methodology; to data; and to policy making and practice. These contributions are further elaborated in this chapter, into more practical implications or consequences for three distinct but interrelated audiences, namely academia, policy-makers and minority language communities. The exploratory nature of the research conducted uncovered a consistency of evidence both at the different levels of analysis and at different points over the period of more than a century. It also uncovered new understandings of the issues affecting how entrepreneurship, in the sense of strategic organisation-building, emerged and evolved in the Galway Gaeltacht minority language community.

Appendices

I. State and Other Official Documents
II. Categorisation of Methodological Approaches
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X. 1926 & 1936 Occupations / Industrial Sectors of Fíor-Ghaeltacht Employers and Own Account Workers
XI. Irish Industrial Directory
XII. Special Gaeltacht Grant Aid Schemes
XIII. NACE Codes
XIV. Pen Pictures
XV. Roinn na Gaeltachta expenditure on Tourism 1965-1970

I. State and Other Official Documents Consulted

In order to ensure that a comprehensive understanding was developed, a wide selection of official documents was consulted. The selection included annual reports, commission reports, civil service memos and reports, and submissions from members of the public to state departments. These were primarily located in the libraries of TCD, UCD, NUIG, the National and Dáil Libraries, and in the National Archives. A number of documents were also found in Galway County Library. The Irish colleges division of the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs also kindly allowed access to their archives, which hold documents not passed on to the National Archives. This appendix lists the material consulted with information on its location.

Referencing

In the body of the thesis, the annual reports listed below are referred to with the suffix AR and the year and page. Thus reference to page 6 of the Gaeltarra Éireann 1974 annual report is given as (GÉ, AR, 1974, 6). Files in the National Archives Dublin are listed by the Reference number and the citation / description of it. In the body of the thesis, this material is referred to with the prefix NAD, the year of the actual document and the reference number. Thus (NAD, 1944, S7839A) refers to a document originating in 1944 which is available in the National Archives via reference number S7839A. The files of the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs files are referred to as RG (Roinn na Gaeltachta) the year and the memo number.

Congested Districts Board

Annual Report	Year		British Parliamentary Papers	Microfiche Reference
1st	1891-1892	CD 6908	HC 1893-94 Vol LXXI	
2nd	1892-1893	CD 7266	HC 1893-94 Vol LXXI	
3rd	1893-1894	CD 7522	HC 1894-95 Vol LXVIII	
4th	1894-1895	CD 7791	HC 1895-96 Vol LXXIX	
5th	1895-1896	CD 8191	HC 1896-97 Vol LXVIII	
6th	1896-1897	CD 8622	HC 1897-98 Vol LXXII	
7th	1897-1898	CD 9003	HC 1898-99 Vol LXXVII	
8th	1898-1899	CD 9375	HC 1899 Vol LXXVII	
9th	1899-1900	CD 239	HC 1900 Vol LXVIII	
10th	1900-1901	CD 681	HC Vol LX	(paper copy in UCD Stores)
11th	1901-1902	CD 1192	HC Vol LXXXIII	pp 71 – 167
12th	1902-1903	CD 1622	HC Vol LV	pp 90 - 203
13th	1903-1904	CD 2275	HC Vol LXIII	pp 229 -
14th	1904-1905	CD 2757	HC Vol XCVII	pp 355 -
15th	1905-1906	CD 3161	HC Vol XCVII	pp 493 -
16th	1906-1907	CD 3767	HC Vol XXIII	pp 287 - 443
17th	1907-1908	CD 4340	HC Vol XXIII	pp 443
18th	1908-1909	CD 4927	HC Vol XVI	pp 1 - 91
19th	1909-1911	CD 5712	HC Vol XIII	pp 397 onwards (2 years)
20th	1910-1912	CD 6553	HC Vol XVII	pp 386 - 483
21st	1911-1913	CD 7312	HC Vol XVI	pp 1097
22nd	1912-1914	CD 7865	HC Vol XVI	pp 621
23rd	1913-1915	CD 8076	HC Vol XXIV	pp 693
24th	1914-1916	CD 8356	HC Vol VI	pp 525 – 605
25th	1915-1917	CD 8853	HC Vol XV	pp 199 – 251
26th	1916-1918	CD 9139	HC Vol VII	pp 769 – 815
27th	1917-1919	CD 758	HC Vol XIX	pp 889 – 963
28th	1918-1920	CD 1409	HC Vol XIV	pp 613 – 659
29th	1919-1921	Missing –	not found in TCD, UCD or NL.	
30th	1920-1922		Ref L7 / 2 National Library (Miscatalogued as L7 / 1)	

Minutes of CDB Industrial Committee, 1894 to 1897, Minutes of 27 meetings.

The annual reports are available on microfiche in UCD library for the years 1891-92 to 1898-99, and in TCD library for all years up to 1920. The report for 1921-22 is available in the National Library. That for 1920 - 21 was not located in any of the above libraries. The Industrial Committee minutes are available in the National Library. The Board was dissolved in July 1923. It is unclear whether a final report exists. Its Rural Industries activities and responsibilities were transferred to the Department of Lands and Agriculture, and in 1924 on to the Department of Fisheries.

Royal Commission on Congestion in Ireland

Reports	Year	British Parliamentary Papers	Microfiche Reference
7th	1907		CD 3786 UCD
8th	1907	HC 1908 XLI	pp 1
9th	1907	HC 1908 Vol XLI	pp 472 – 569
10th	1907	HC 1908 Vol XLII	pp 1 - 189
11th	1908	HC Vol XLII	pp 583
final	1908	HC Vol XLII	pp 729

Gaeltarra Éireann & Údarás na Gaeltachta

An original and photocopy collection of all annual reports 1957-58 to 2003 inclusive was collated from National Library, TCD Library, NUIG Library, UCD Library, Dáil Éireann Library and Údarás na Gaeltachta archives. None of the preceding institutions apart from Dáil Éireann library has a full set. The author is grateful to the librarian in Dáil Éireann who made an exception in providing the two missing annual reports to her.

Roinn na Gaeltachta Archives, Na Forbacha, Co Galway

Coláistí Samhraidh (Irish colleges) file.

Memo 1: 28 Nollaig (December) 1958: Memo re recommendation to widen age band from 10 – 14 years, to 10 – 17 years, and grant ait from £4 to £5.

Memo 2: 31 Nollaig (December) 1958: Memo: Scoláireachtaí Samhraidh sa Ghaeltacht (Summer scholarships in the Gaeltacht).

Memo 3: 13 Feabhra (February) 1988: Memo re income tax numbers for housewives

Galway County Library

An Foras Riaracháin (IPA) (n.d. ca. 1963) Iar-Connacht: A Survey, IPA, Dublin

Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge

1970s to 1990s files of CONCOS: Irish college representative organisation.

National Library

G10 / 1 Department of Fisheries Annual Report 1923 – 25

L7 / 1 (L7/2) Congested Districts Board 30th Annual Report, 1921-22

Congested Districts Board Industrial Committee Minutes of meetings 1894 to 1897

Trinity College Dublin Official Publications

OPUB IE Agri 3 Annual Reports of Department of Agriculture

1st to 4th 1931-32 to 1934-35

11th to 22nd 1941-42 to 1952-53

29th and 30th 1958-59 and 1960-61

National Archives Dublin

Roinn na Gaeltachta Files

A1/2 Oifig na Gaeltachta agus na gCeantar gCúng (Office of the Gaeltacht and Congested Districts), established ca 1951. Various documents / reports on tourism, handcrafts, glass houses, tourist roads, fishing boats.

S 15155 Pig Industry in Gaeltacht and Congested Areas. Insurance scheme and loans.

S 7441A Gaeltacht Rural Industries – 1920s to 30s; Gaeltacht Committee of the cabinet, established 23rd June 1933; Industrial Development in Gaeltacht, 1935. Memo from Minister for Industry and Commerce, 1935. 1937 Memos re delay / refusal to grant aid under Trade Loans (Guarantee) Acts for industries including brewery, rabbit skins, garment making.

S 15054 Manager of Gaeltarra Éireann brand seeking customers in America, Canada, Holland ca 1950. Debate on establishing a commercial organisation to control and manage rural industries in 1952. Rural electrification correspondence. 1955 Review of Rural Industries and their Management. 'The industries are a social service.'

S 7839B Gaeltacht Tourist Industry and Holiday Resorts – Ref to file TTA 119/2 - re 1946 Interdepartmental Committee of Gaeltacht Resorts

S 14920: Connemara Development Board – reference to Tennessee Valley

S 97/9/40 Connemara Gaeltacht: Deputations to taoiseach, 1933 & 1934, re transplanting to Co Meath; Public works in Connemara; Irish speakers unsuccessful in gaining typing jobs.

S 97/9/1137: Businessman's difficulties operating a business in West.

A143: Toy Factory in Galway – Shantalla, Gaeltacht Division, 1941. Late payment of rent.

A195: Memo from Gaeltacht Services Division to Taoiseach, 1949, re seaweed; rural industries, toys; tweed, German trade fair.

A2: Oifig na gCeantar gCúng. (Congested Districts Office) Estimates 1951-52; 1953 – 54.

Department of Industry and Commerce Files

(Subsector: Dept of Tourism and Transport 1940 – 1960)

TTA 2/37 Housing (Gaeltacht) Amendment Bill 1959 – Grants for Holiday Chalets and Hostels, 11/2/59 -= 5/8/59

TTA1091: 4/42 Irish Industrial Development Association.

D15072/56 Vol 2 Dept of Communications – Telephone services

R303/ 1/53: Gaeltarra Éireann – establishment of a knitting industry. Formerly PWP6/200. 1955- 60.

Department of Marine Files

MAR S2/84/37: Sea Fisheries Association

MAR:S17/49/40:Carna: correspondence with local Garda and local inspector re accurate returns on lobster fishing and dole

MAR: S17/57/40: Ditto for Costelloe Bay

MAR S17/85/40:Ditto for Lettermullan. Ref to 'Their own independent republic.'

MAR: P 172/56: Parliamentary question from Deputy Gerald Bartley re [inaccurate report re] interference of BIM with deal with continental buyer.

MAR: A11/15/16: Galway Chamber of Commerce Committee on Inland Fisheries.

MAR: A5 series: Many individual files on boats, many from Aran Islands, and loan arrears.

MAR: P 96-55: Parliamentary Question (PQ) by An Teachta Gearóid Mac Pharathaláin (Gerald Bartley TD) re fishing centre in Casla

MAR: P 167/55: Request by Bartley for boat scheme for Irish speakers where downpayment not required.

MAR P 113/56: Parliamentary discussion re number of applications from West Galway [12] for single motorboat available soon under special Fior-Ghaeltacht scheme.

MAR: P45/64: PQ by Fintan Coogan on Tuesday 15 Dec 1965 re Galway fish plant wages.

MAR: S2/140/57: Complaint re officer conducting course for boat applicants from Fíor-Ghaeltacht, and correspondence re success, failure and dropout rate of course. Difficulties due to lack of basic education, sense of inferiority, mental outloook, etc.

MAR: A1/32/17: 1914 Escallop fisheries in Carna, Bertraghboy and Kilkeerrin Bay.

MAR: A1/120/50: Connemara Sea Fishing Development. Large file. 'Only the largest boats should be based at ports in Connemara and should be operated by the State. ... proposal to base ... activities in Connemara on the basis of the Tennessee Valley Authority in the USA..

MAR: A2/197/66: Connemara Seafoods

MAR A5/99/35: Industrial Loans lent to Gaeltacht Services; Summons Server unable to get boat and crew to go to island to serve summons.

MAR: A5/164/35: Fishery Loan Installments to Fisheries and Gaeltacht Services

MAR: A5/331/35: Carna sergeant says local boatowner well able to repay arrears.

MAR: A2/97/46: Development of the Irish Fishing Industry. Bostonian had major plans to invest but government favoured small scale local private enterprise.

MAR: A3/4/34: Request for boatloan for seaweed and turf

MAR: A6/139/39: Ballynahown Fishing Association

MAR: A6/118/38: Mr Digby's Hatchery, Furbough House, Barna for his private hotel for sportsmen.

A5/12/34: Difference of opinion on provision of a Motor Boat to Run from Aran to Costelloes Bay or Galway for fish catches.

MAR: A6/92/35: Galway Anglers' Association.

MAR: P 167/56: PQ by Deputy Gerald Bartley on establishing a fishing station in Galway Gaeltacht, in Rosaveel.

MAR: P36/'56: Detailed survey at Caladh Thaidhg (Greatman's Bay) and Rossaveel (Casla Bay).

MAR: P72:58 PQ from Patrick O'Donnell PQ on perceived discrimination against Gaeltacht fishermen.

MAR: P 171/ 55 PQ from Bartley re loans to fishermen

MAR P 69/51: Answer to Bartley: Over 500 loans granted between 1923 and 1931

Department of Taoiseach 1922 – 60

AGI A 13586/20 Conference of Agricultural Instructors in Western Counties held in Town Hall, Galway, 26 March 1920.

S 4291 Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction: Transfer of Functions

S 4355 Winding up of a CDB fund

S 1091 Irish Industrial Development Association

S 1088 Irish Co-operative Organisation Society

S 7439: Gaeltacht Commission. Statement revised to 22/8/1927 and transferred to the Department of Fisheries. Connacht Tribune account of public meeting on state of Gaeltacht.

S 7442: Proposal to establish a factory in the Gaeltacht.1929. Dept of Industry and Commerce replied it would create a monopoly.

S 7446: Production of Phosphate Fertilisers in the Co Clare Gaeltacht.

S 6505: Gaeltacht Committee of the Cabinet 1939. More discussion on Irish language than on Gaeltacht. Also Gaeltacht Economic Development Committee and Gaeltacht Services Division.

S 7440: Gaeltacht Commission Observations – 1927 Comments from all Government departments, including Department of Lands and Agriculture; Industry and Commerce; Fisheries. Development proposal from Lady Abbess of Kylemore Abbey.

S 9409: Gaeltacht Committee of the Cabinet, 23 June 1933

S 7449A:	State Grants for Sending School Children to Gaeltacht, preparatory colleges; Coiste na bPáistí.
S 7449B:	Grant aid for Children visiting Gaeltacht 1953; Oifig na Gaeltachta agus na gCeantar gCúng (Gaeltacht and Congested Districts Office) 1954.
S 7449C:	Grant aid for Gaeltacht children only.
S 7839A	Memo by Seán McEntee, Minister for Finance, re Development of the Tourist Industry in the Gaeltacht, 1934. Memo to Taoiseach & much other correspondence re Gaeltacht Summer Colleges & Role of Irish Tourist Board, 1944. Establishment of Interdepartmental Gaeltacht Committee, 1946.
S7448:	Gaedealtachta (sic) Trust Sweepstakes (Temporary Provisions) Bill 1933
S 7447:	Gaeltacht (Economic and Development) Committee, Reports from 1929 to 1934. 1933 Report: '... the manufacture of goods mainly for profit must be excluded as far as possible; the industrialisation of the Gaeltacht in the modern sense must not be permitted; industrial expansion in the individualist sense does not enter into the scheme.'
S 151574B:	Hallaí Siamsa sa Ghaeltacht (Entertainment Halls in Gaeltacht) 1955
S 15156:	Development of Seaweed Industry
S7839A	Taoiseach's office 1934 to 1947

II. Categorisation of Methodologies Approaches

A list of publications reviewed according to methodological approaches used; approaches reviewed in meta-analyses of previously published empirically based research; or approaches proposed to be employed in future entrepreneurship research.

Evolution of Social Science Methodologies

Kane & O'Reilly–De Brún, 2001; Kumar, 2005 Susman & Evered, 1978; Welsh & Liao, 2003.

State of the Art Overviews

Acs & Audretsch, 2003; Bruyat & Julien, 2005; Howarth et al., 2005; Parker & Gartner, 2003; Savage & Black, 1995; Shane, 2002; Starbuck, 1995; Welsch & Llao, 2003; Westhead & Wright, 2000.

Quantitative Analysis

Aldrich, 1990; Aldrich et al, 1990; Alline, 1990; Audretsch & Keilbach, 2004; Åstebro & Thompson, 2007; Beugelsdjik & van Schaik, 2005; Carroll & Hannan, 2000; Davidsson, 1995; Davidsson & Honig, 2003; Davidsson & Wiklund, 2001; Delacroix & Carroll, 1983; Delacroix et al, 1989; Fitzsimons & O'Gorman, 2006; Honig, 2001; McPherson, 1990; Mezias & Kuperman, 2000; Plummer & Taylor, 2004; Reynolds et al, 2002; Ruef, 2000; Ruef, 2004; Svendsen & Svendsen, 2004; Tripathy, 1990.

Qualitative Analysis

Aarsæther & Nyseth, 2004; Barth, 1963; Dana, 1995; Neck et al, 2004; Shaver & Scott, 1991; Spilling, 1996.

Spatial Analysis

Audretsch, 2003; Beugelsdjik & Van Shaik 2005; Hart & Gudgin, 1994; Mottiar & Jacobson, 2002; O'Farrell & Crouchley, 1984; O'Farrell & Crouchley, 1985; Sorenson & Audia, 2000; Sorenson & Baum, 2003; Thornton & Flynn, 2003.

Longitudinal Research

Durkheim, 1912; Gergen, 1973, in Singleton *et al.*, 1993; Schumpeter, 1934.

Multi-Level Research

Aldrich, 1999; Bygrave & Minniti, 2000; Carroll & Hannan, 2000; Davidsson & Wicklund, 2001; Johnstone & Lionais, 2004; Low and MacMillan, 1988; Murray, 2004; Schoonhoven & Romanelli, 2001; Venkatamaran, 2003.

Multi-Disciplinary Research

Aldrich & Ruef, 2006; Bruyat & Julien, 2000; Davidsson & Wicklund, 2001; Murray, 2004; Shaver & Scott, 1991; Shaver, 2003; Ucbasaran et al, 2001; Welsch & Liao, 2003.

Case Studies

Daft, 1993; Eisenhardt, 1989; Kumar, 2005; Singleton et al, 1993; Welsch & Liao, 2003; Yin, 2003.

III. Personal Values, Motivation and Background

It is well recognised and accepted now in the behavioural and social sciences and especially in the phenomenological paradigm that the researcher's own personal background, culture, values and motivations are intertwined with every aspect of a research project. Thus as a researcher, it was important that I openly consider and reflect upon these issues[52]. The choice of research methodology is partly influenced by my personal philosophy that people are active agents in their own lives and fate, within social, physical and institutional contexts and constraints. Thus the methodology is more phenomenological and rooted in social construction and less positivist. The creative destructor, the intuitive change agent, the free spirit, the rugged individualist is more in keeping with human nature's voluntarism rather than determinism (Burrell & Morgan, 1979).

I am essentially a product of the Irish language revival, having been brought up through Irish by non-Gaeltacht parents in the suburbs of Dublin. The family has a small holiday home in An Cheathrú Rua in the Galway Gaeltacht, in which I have spent a lot of time, and in the 1970s I also attended an Irish college (Irish language summer camp) in Ros Muc for three weeks each summer for 6 years, living with different families, engaging with and learning about the local community and culture, especially the sean-nós (old-style) singing tradition, an interest I still engage with. I also grew up with a deep awareness and knowledge of Continental European culture and languages, through much travel, Swiss antecedents and relations, fluency in French, and a BA in Irish and German.

I have witnessed much of the socio-economic and infrastructural development of the Gaeltacht from the 1970s onwards. I spent years frustrated at the lack of development and reflecting on the numerous lost opportunities, in particular regarding a disused, and now semi-derelict seaweed processing factory in an area officially zoned as an area of outstanding scenic beauty and within view of the family holiday home (see Chapter One). The essential motivation in conducting this research project is to contribute in some way to the positive development of the Gaeltacht, in a manner not detrimental to the language. I am an outsider in the sense of not being from or of the area, but an insider in terms of my fluency in the language and understanding of the culture of the area. I spent 5 months living in the area in the summer of 2006 during this research project, immersing myself in community activities. While not engaging in formal ethnographic research, my intention is

52 This section is written in the personal rather than impersonal voice, in line with the practice in phenomenological research.

to accurately and insightfully reflect the views and experiences of other members of the Gaeltacht community apart from those formally interviewed.

My work as a Lecturer in Entrepreneurship, working through the medium of Irish in Fiontar53, Dublin City University has allowed me the opportunity to work within the Irish language sector, gaining an understanding of the institutional factors affecting Gaeltacht development. I have also sat on a number of employment interview panels for executive positions in Údarás na Gaeltachta allowing me to gain a significant insight into the workings of that organisation and of the issues faced by it, and build up a good relationship with its Chairman, its Chief Executive and various senior staff members.

My choice of PhD supervisor and academic institution was partly based on a desire to locate myself in a research community not previously engaged with the Gaeltacht, so that new fresh views and opinions could be developed to counter-balance my personal bias of advocating the development of the Irish language and of Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht. I also wished to consider and examine from a different point of view the commonly accepted view that industrialisation (rather than general modernisation) had contributed to the decline of the Irish language. I was aware that practically no research in the field of entrepreneurship had addressed the Gaeltacht, thus providing me with an opportunity to explore hitherto unexplored empirical data and phenomena through the lenses of the relatively new discipline of entrepreneurship; and within that discipline the emerging research method of longitudinal, multi-level research. The hope is that the research conducted provides a new insight into, and understanding of, Gaeltacht entrepreneurship and a significant contribution to the research community, and will eventually give the Gaeltacht community itself a better understanding of entrepreneurship.

In summary, my experience, values and outlook based on my middle-class urban well-educated background influences the interpretation of phenomena in a rural, mixed-class, peripheral, partly disadvantaged region. There is also a contrast between a milieu, which consciously chose to speak Irish through a sense of nationhood and self-identity versus a milieu where the language was an accident of birth, and often associated with poverty, disadvantage and emigration, rather than with progress and development.

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53 Fiontar is the Irish word for enterprise and has the same root as the word venture. Fiontar delivers undergraduate and postgraduate courses in business studies through the medium of Irish.

IV. Government Departments & Agencies Responsible

Government Departments; State Bodies and Committees with responsibility for Gaeltacht Entrepreneurship / Development 1891 – 2008

Please note below when the Gaeltacht was designated officially.

1891 Congested Districts Board Part of Gaeltacht; part of Galway Gaeltacht

1909 Congested Districts Board All of County Galway

1901 to 1931 Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (disbanded 1931)
(CDB schemes and later Gaeltacht Schemes)

1923 Congested Districts Board disbanded
Acht Dlí Talmhan (Coimisiún)
Congested and Gaeltacht Rural industries transferred to Land Commission

1924 Rural industries transferred to Department of Fisheries
(Fishing and Gaeltacht services)
Acht na nAirí agus na Rúnaidhthe

1925 Gaeltacht Commission appointed.

1926 Gaeltacht Commission report published.
Economic Development of the Gaeltacht Committee under chairmanship of Minister for Lands and Fisheries established in accordance with Gaeltacht Commission recommendation.
Committee composed of representatives from Departments of: Finance; Local Government and Public Health; Education; Industry and Commerce; Agriculture; Public Works; and Lands and Fisheries. Vice-chairman is Parliamentary Secretary to Department of Lands and Fisheries. First meeting 5 October, 1928. To meet fortnightly.

1929/30 Gaeltacht Industries Depot established in Dublin to design, manage and market on behalf of the rural industry products. Device of 'Irish Round Tower' and words 'Round Tower' developed as common trade mark.

1931 to 1961+ Department of Agriculture (Special Gaeltacht Schemes)

1931-32 Interdepartmental committee on economic development of Gaeltacht, includes representative from new Department of Agriculture.

1934 Fisheries branch transferred to Minister for Agriculture
Gaeltacht services Sub-department (Fó-Roinn) under Minister for Lands
Offices in 64/65 Merrion Square, Dublin

1933 Gaeltacht Committee of the Cabinet established 23 June. Members include Ministers for Local Government and Public Health; for Education; for Defence and Acting Minister for Lands and Fisheries. Minister for Industry and Commerce is not a member.

1935 Gaeltacht Economic Development Committee re-established, chaired by Minister for Lands. Members included representatives from Departments of Finance, Industry and Commerce, Agriculture; Agriculture's Fisheries Division; Office of Public Works; Land Commission and Gaeltacht Services. Monthly meetings held.

1937 Gaeltacht Committee has last meeting. A representative from more or less every department present.

1948 Gaeltacht Services Division established with Henry Boylan

1951 Inaugural meeting 24 August, of Interdepartmental Committee to advise on 'the direction and co-ordination of efforts towards the economic and social development of the Gaeltacht and Congested Districts.

1956 Department of the Gaeltacht established

1958 Gaeltarra Éireann established

1980 Údarás na Gaeltachta established and Gaeltarra Éireann's functions, and staff transferred to it.

Sources

Department of Agriculture, Annual Reports for Years 1931-32 to 1934-35; 1941-42 to 1952-53; 1958-59 and 1960-61, Dublin

NAD, Taoiseach, S7441A

Roinn Iascaigh (Department of Fisheries) (1927) Annual Report on Sea and Inland Fisheries of An Saorstát for the years 1923-25 and on the Rural Industries Scheme in the Congested Districts for the years 1924-25, Baile Átha Cliath, (Dublin).

Roinn Taillte agus Iascaigh (Department of Lands and Fisheries) (1928) *Report on the Sea and Inland Fisheries for the years 1926, 1927 and 1928*, Baile Átha Cliath, (Dublin).

Roinn Taillte agus Iascaigh (Department of Lands and Fisheries) (1930) *Report on the Sea and Inland Fisheries and Gaeltacht Services for the years 1929 and 1930*, Baile Átha Cliath (Dublin).

Seirbhísí na Gaeltachta, Roinn Tailte (1937) *Tuarasgbháil na mBliadhan 1935/36 agus 1936/37*, (Report of the Gaeltacht Services Division of the Department of Lands for the years 1925/36 and 1936/37, Oifig an tSoláthar, Baile Átha Cliath.

V. Interviewees: People, roles, place, time

Interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 5 hours.

* Status: F - Founder; CF - Co-founder; PS - Public Servant; M - Manager

Name	Organisation	Status *	Background Info	Background *	Date	Place
Áine Ní Chonghaile	Europus	F	Translation & subtitling; former Oireachtas legal translator	Local	27 June2002	Office
Ann Mallaghan	Galway County Council	M	Community and Enterprise Development Officer	No	3 Sept 2004	Office
Annraoi Ó Baoighealláin	ex Gaeltacht Services Division	M	Aged 92 at time of interview, former manager of Gaeltacht Services; RIP	No	29 July 2002	His home
Bob Quinn	Cine Gael	F	Proud to be termed a maverick film-maker, founder of Cine Gael; Member of Aosdána	Incomer	19 October 2006	His home in Béal an Daingin
Brian Mac Aonghusa	First CEO of Raidió na Gaeltachta	PS	Retired; father of author's schoolfriend	Dublin	February 2004	Return Train from Tóstal na Gaeilge public meeting
Brian Ó Cuív	Údarás na Gaeltachta	M	Company Secretary; Brother of Minister Éamonn Ó Cuív, T.D.	Incomer	Aug 2006	Telephone
Bríd & Seán Ó Conghaile	Elderly couple, multiple income sources	I	Elderly couple, 7 children, spent 15 - 20 years in Boston. Author's landlady and landlord for 5 months	Local	Numerous conversations	Their house & author's house
Caoimhín Ó Flaithimhín	Údarás na Gaeltachta	M	HR Manager	Incomer	15 July 2004	Údarás Offices
Cathal Mac Gabhann	Gaeltarra Éireann	CEO	Former CEO; 1st employee of new Gaeltarra Éireann; ex-Dublin; Very well respected. RIP	Incomer	16 Aug 2004	His home & return car trip to Ennis
Christy King	Gaelmedia Teo	F	Founder of Gaelmedia; Accountant, Údarás portfolio manager; Gaelmedia inactive at present	Incomer	9 November 2006	Telephone

Ciarán Ó Cofaigh	Rosg Teo	CF	Co-founder; Founder of Hofnaflús	Meath Gaeltacht	3 November 2006	Oireachtas Festival, Derry
Dara Ó Flatharta	Arramara	PS	Seaweed Collection Manager; former seaweed processing operative	Local	15 February 2007	Touring by car around seaweed collection points
Dearbhail Standún & Charlie Troy	Cnoc Suain	CF	Teachers with a vision'; authentic cultural homes & holidays; wife's father est successful tourist shop & knitwear factory. This author has acted as mentor of Dearbhaill and Charlie, in conjunction with two other of their friends, taking part in a number of strategy meetings.	Dearbhaill Yes, Charlie Incomer	5 Sept 2006, and a number of other dates	Their home in Cnoc Suain, and also numerous telephone conversations
Deidre & Séamas Mac Cathmhaoil	Rí na Mara	CF	Seaweed skincare products; husband has O-Levels; wife is qualified nurse, both originally from Co Tyrone.	Incomers	31 Aug 2006	Their offices in back yard of their house
Dónal Ó hIcí	Arramara	PS	General Manager; former Údarás Senior Executive	Incomer	15 February 2007	Arramara Offices
Donnacha Ó hÉalaithe	GMIT	PS	Mathematics lecturer & language activist; from Co Tipperary; involved in CSG	Incomer	13 July 2004	His home
Dr. Conchúir Ó Brádaigh	Gaoth Tec Teo & CTL Teo	CF	Composites for aerospace industry; 100% export market; NUIG Mechanical Engineering Lecturer (1/3rd time contract now); Author's cousin. Winner of Gradam Gnó na Gaeltachta 2007 Innovation category	No	8 Sept 2006	CTL Offices
Éamonn Ó Neachtain	Údarás na Gaeltachta	M	Munster Regional Manager, Údarás na Gaeltachta; Native of Cois Fharraige	Local	6 May 2004 & numerous conversations	Various
Fear Chor na Móna	Comharchumann Dhúiche Sheoigeach	M	Co-operative Manager	Local		Co-op offices

Gearóid Ó Murchú	An Spailpín Fánach	CF	Irish language T-shirt & gifts shop; member of Pléaráca Community Arts Committee; Personal friend of author; Numerous conversations	Incomer	Numerous	Numerous
Irial Mac Murchú	Nemeton	CF	Former salesman and freelance journalist	Waterford Gaeltacht	8 November 2006	Telephone
Macdara Ó Curraidhín	Independent film-maker		Formerly a Director with Gaelmedia; electronic engineer in electronics industry	Local	15 November 2006	Telephone
Máire Denvir	Coláiste Chamuis	CF	Second level teacher, married to co-founder, Gearóid, Professor of Modern Irish NUIG	Local	February 2006	Máire's Home, Indreabhán
Máire Ní Thuathail	EO Teilifís	F	School teacher, former Education Officer Bord na Gaeilge	Mayo Gaeltacht		EO Teilifís Offices
Máirín Seoighe	Scannán Dobharchú Teo	F	Former second level school teacher; Transferred company from Gaoth Dobhair to An Spidéal	Donegal Gaeltacht	10 November 2006	Connemara Coast Hotel
Máirtín & Nóra Breathnach	Dan O'Hara's Homestead	CF	Developed family homestead into tourist destination	Local	10 Sept 2006	Their homestead
Máirtín Ó Conghaile	Údarás na Gaeltachta	M	Regional manager, native of Cois Fharraige, living in Leitir Móir	Local	31 Aug 2006	Údarás Offices
Máirtín Óg Mac Donnacha	Plant hire & property developer	F	CF of Rás an Turcaí (The Turkey Race) Christmas cycling race	Local	7 Sept 2006	Author's 5 month Connemara home
Mait Ó Brádaigh	Spleodar	F	Primary school principal; 20 years experience in other Irish college; author's cousin	Incomer	November 2005	An tOireachtas Festival, Cork
Mark Norman	Taighde Mara Teo	M	Scientist, former manager of Comharchumann Sliogéisc Chonamara	Incomer	16 February 2007	Oranmore Lodge Hotel
Mícheál De hÁl	Gaeltarra Éireann	M	Former Company Secretary / Deputy CEO 1967 - 1996	No	13 Aug 2004	Woodview Hotel

Micheál Ó Cinnéide	Marine Institute	PS	Director Environment & Food Safety Food Group; Harvard MBA graduate; Former diplomat; Formerly 1st Manager of Irish Seafood Producers Group; Brother is co-founder of Federation of Irish Fishermen	Kerry Gaeltacht	16 February 2007	Oranmore Lodge Hotel
Micheál Ó Corduibh	Údarás na Gaeltachta	M	Manager Marine Resources	Local	12 Nov 2004	Office
Micheál Ó Foighil	Coláiste Lurgan	M	Science teacher, son of leading local community leader originally from Co Tipperary	Local		Coláiste Offices
Micheál Ó Meallaigh	TG4	P	Commissioning Editor; Co-founder of shortlived Nocht TV production in 1989	Donegal Gaeltacht	20 October 2006	TG4 Offices, Baile na hAbhann
Micí Ó Flatharta	Shopkeeper	M	Inherited father's butchers and evolved into small grocery store	Local	24 June 2002	His shop
Miriam Ní Néill	Údarás na Gaeltachta	P	Responsible for Audio-Visual sector	Local	10 November 2006	Údarás Offices
Morgan Ó Conchubhair	Comharchumann Shailearna	M	Former teacher	Local		Co-op offices
Niall Mac Eachmharcaigh	Lios na Sí Teo	CF	Maker of highly acclaimed comedy CU Burn; central actor in Ros na Rún soap; Co-founder of Nocht TV 1989 (shortlived)	Donegal Gaeltacht	4 November 2006	Oireachtas Festival, Derry
Nioclás Ó Conchubhair	Homebase hardware store	F	Third generation local merchant, Former Fianna Fáil County Councillor & Senator; Board member Naomh Anna GAA club	Local	5 Sept 2006	His home
Noel Bolger	Údarás na Gaeltachta	M	Senior Manager, now retired	No	15 July 2004	Údarás Office
Órla King	Gréasán na Meáin	M	Project Manager	No	10 November 2006	EO Teilifís Offices
Pádhraig Ó Catháin	ex Raidió na Gaeltachta	PS	Father was co-founder of Torradh Toinne Teo. RIP	Local		His home

Pádhraig Ó Ciardha	TG4	P	Deputy CEO; Special advisor to Máire Geoghegan Quinn Minister for Communications ca 1990 & to Minister Michael D. Higgins T.D. in 1990s	Local	15 November 2006	TG4 Offices, Dublin
Pádraig Ó Biadh	Comhairle Cheantar na nOileán	M	Údarás Fianna Fáil board member 2001-2004	Local	5 Sept 2006	Comhairle Offices, Leitir Móir
Pádraig Ó hAoláin	Údarás na Gaeltachta	CEO	Originally from Co Tipperary, Worked with Gaeltarra Éireann, Comharchumann na nOileán, Údarás na Gaeltachta; composer of two songs about emigration and the 'prison' of factory work	Incomer	7 Sept & Oct 2006	Údarás Offices
Peadar Mac Con Iomaire	NUIG	M	Gaeltacht Civil Rights national election candidate 1969; Director of Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge (NUIG)	Local		Various personal conversations at Irish language events
Pól Ó Cuimín	Telegael Teo	CF	Former accountant with Údarás	Incomer	10 November 2006	Boluisce Restaurant, An Spidéal
Prof Mícheál Ó Cinnéide	NUIG	Prof	NUIG Geography Professor, Gaeltacht development publications	Kerry Gaeltacht	15 July 2004	Office
Séamas Ó Finneadh	Roinn Gnóthaí Pobail, Tuaithe & Gaeltachta (DCRGA)	PS	Responsibility for Irish colleges	Local	14 February 2006	Telephone
Séamas Ó Ráinne	Turbad Teo	F	Founder & co-owner; involved in local GAA club	Local	15/16 February 2007	Comhairle Offices, Leitir Móir
Séamus Breathnach	Bord Iasaigh Mhara	PS	Inshore Development Officer	Local	15/16 February 2007	BIM Offices, Carna
Seán Ó Loinsigh	Galf-Chúrsa Chonamara	CF	Developed family homestead into 9-hole golf-course	Local	23 June 2002	Golf clubhouse, over 2 whiskeys. Hic!

Seosamh Ó Cuaig	Raidió na Gaeltachta & Údarás	M	RnaG Broadcaster & Indepenent Údarás board member 199x to date; worked with Bob Quinn on newsfilms in 1970s; member of CSG (cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta)	Local	29 June 2002	RnaG
Siún Nic Ghrianna	Údarás na Gaeltachta	M	Marketing Officer & former Tourism Officer	Donegal Gaeltacht		Údarás Offices
Trevor Ó Clochartaigh	Comhairle Cheantar na nOileán	M	Describes self as 'Cultural Dynamo', is TV soap opera director, stayed in position less than 1 year	Local	February	Comhairle Offices, Leitir Móir

Total: 56

Respondents A & B	These respondents are listed above but are referred to anonymously in the relevant sections where their opinions were, in their own opinions, contentious or sensitive. They were assured of their anonymity.

VI. Interview Methodology and Protocol

Researcher's Methodological Approach

Interviews with key respondents were the main source of primary data. In discussing qualitative research interviewing, Kvale (1996) uses the analogy of the miner and the traveller. The miner conceives 'knowledge as nuggets of objective meaning-data to be uncovered, uncontaminated by the human researcher' (290) and the traveller 'wanders along with the local inhabitants, asks questions that lead the subjects to tell their own stories of their lived world, and converses with them in the original Latin meaning of conversation as "wandering along together"' (4). The hope is that the journey will lead to new knowledge and that the traveller might change as well. It is a scholarly, formative journey, a Bildungsreise. The miner operates in the positivist mine; the traveller is on a postmodern, constructivist journey.

This researcher accompanied the traveller, in the sense that her research objective was to understand from the point of view of Gaeltacht entrepreneurs, opinion leaders and policy makers why entrepreneurship had evolved in the way it did. It was a conversation, in some cases over a number of interviews with the same person. The purpose of the interviews was to 'obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee[s] with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena [entrepreneurship]' (Kvale, 1996, 6). This is a phenomenological approach accepting the historical and social context of the life world in question. Kvale sees this as an objective research method in that objectivity is about the object, in this case the person being interviewed. The interviewer aims to be true to the object, to reflect the nature of the object; in other words the researcher allows each interviewee's opinions to flow. Objectivity can also be conceived as intersubjective, that is, there is agreement between different researchers in a research community on the issues in question. Kvale sees no real dichotomy between objectivity and subjectivity.

As with any other source of information, the researcher needs to be aware of the limitations in the use of key informants (Kumar *et al.*, 1993). While they can be knowledgeable about a particular subject, they bring with them their own biases whether explicit or implicit. For example they can be biased towards (or against) the organisation they represent, or give an opinion which benefits from hindsight, or subconsciously try to impress the interviewer, or try to maintain their own self-esteem in the face of awkward questions. Again, triangulation of data, through the use of other key informants (private sector entrepreneurs, community leaders, public sector employees , outspoken opinion leaders for example) and other sources of information (official records for example) helps overcome these limitations.

Convergence of Data

What was interesting about the interviews conducted was that the opinions and stories of most respondents were strikingly similar to each other and to the published documents, increasing the validity of the findings. There was near unanimity on the difficulties encountered, especially during the emergence stage in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Many of the interviewees had worked for many years in different roles in the field of Gaeltacht industrial development. Many knew each other and would give similar opinions when another interviewee's account or opinion was given to them. Even in anecdotal informal conversations with other people familiar with the area, opinions and accounts converged. The only point of disagreement was that some felt that Gaeltarra Éireann executives did not understand the local community. This difficulty is reflected in Gaeltarra's commissioning of studies such as that of sociologist Eileen Kane (1977). A small number of entrepreneurs also expressed dissatisfaction with Údarás support. However, given that 56 people were interviewed, some for more than 3 or 4 hours, the strength of the convergence of accounts and opinions increases the quality of the data.

Interview Methods

Key respondents interviewed included the following: entrepreneurs; community leaders; senior managers in relevant populations of organizations; policy makers; policy implementers; and socio-linguists. Appendix 5 gives a full list of interviewees, their roles and backgrounds. As suggested by Yin (2003), interviews were conducted in a manner in which the intention was to elicit stories, opinions and insights into the current situation but also past events, going back as much as 60 years. Interviews were prefaced by an introduction outlining the general topic of 'the development of entrepreneurship in all its forms from industrialisation to non-profit community groups over a century'. Interviewees were asked to clarify issues when required but were not challenged in their opinions.

Interviewee Profile

Three particular interviewees could be considered key informants rather than respondents, and the interviews were lengthy or were conducted over two separate meetings. These three informants had thought a lot about the issues over the years and two had wide-ranging experience abroad in the 1950s and 1980s. Interestingly all three were originally from outside the Galway Gaeltacht but all had lived at least 20 years in the Gaeltacht and were well-integrated into the community professionally and privately.54 The oldest key informant interviewed was Henry Boylan (Annraoi Ó Baoighealláin), now deceased (Boylan, 2002). Annraoi was the first employee in the Gaeltacht Services Division of the Department of Lands established in 1946. A particularly key informant was Cathal Mac Gabhann (2004), also now deceased. Cathal was the first Chief Executive of

54 One is now deceased; the other two still live and work in the area.

Gaeltarra Éireann from 1958 to 1981 and considered a visionary with a particular understanding of the issues facing the development of the Gaeltacht (Mac Gabhann, 1978; Ó hAoláin 2007 in Ní Bhrádaigh 2007; Ó hÉallaithe, 2004).

Interview Settings and Practice

In aspiring to understand the Lebenswelt, the 'life world' of respondents, some of the interviews were conducted, at the request of the respondents, in the context of their natural activities and daily lives. Five respondents were interviewed in the following contexts: in his shop, in between serving customers (Ó Flatharta, 2002); in his car driving from Bearna to Ennis and back for a press conference (Mac Gabhann, 2004); in his garden while building a wall (Ó hÉallaithe, 2004); in his car while driving around seaweed gathering locations (Ó Flatharta, 2007); in her kitchen in between phone calls for bookings and inquiries (Denvir, 2006). An emic approach was used in interviewing all respondents, in that open-ended questions were asked, to allow respondents' own views and interpretations to emerge. Examples of the types of question asked include the following: Who were the main entrepreneurs in this area? Why do you think the area developed as it did? What is your understanding of the word entrepreneur? The very last question asked of most entrepreneurs was: 'Are you an entrepreneur?'

Good Practice and Ethical Issues

Most interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed. Notes were taken during non-recorded interviews and were written up within a day or two of the interview. These transcriptions and notes are available from the author on condition of prior consent from the interviewees. The ethical issues related to the interviews were openly addressed. In general interviews were tape recorded, except in cases where interviewees felt uncomfortable with that. It was agreed that any confidential information would be treated as such. In one case the tape recorder was paused for 10 minutes at the interviewee's request and turned on again later. The information given in those 10 minutes was relevant to the particular discussion in the interview, but is not presented in the thesis. Sensitive qualitative data, and in particular criticisms voiced, are attributed to the opinion holder where (s)he gave such consent. A number of opinions have been anonymised at the request of the opinion holder(s). This practice was made clear to all interviewees during the course of the interviews.

VII. Data Collation Operational Issues

This appendix gives a detailed account of some of the operational issues encountered in collating the data.

Data Cleanup and Cross Checking

The data in the Core Database were thoroughly cleaned and standardised, especially the data received in the Forfás database. This 'dirtiness' can frequently occur, especially with longitudinal databases, where information is collated from a number of different sources and not necessarily for the same purposes as those of a particular researcher. Cleaning the data was a particularly laborious time-consuming exercise. The data were then crosschecked individually and manually with the Companies Registration Office online database. Some records were also crosschecked in local phone books and through informal local knowledge. Each Record's ED was checked with Ordnance Survey Discovery Series maps (sheets 36; 37; 45 & 46) and the more detailed Tim Robinson (1990) maps which include more locally-used placenames, many of which appeared in the database.

Database Standardisation

There was little standardisation in terms of fields, categories, spellings etc. For example companies could be entered in the database as more than one record, with different spellings or address details. There were major inconsistencies with the spellings and addresses of individual people, especially those receiving small fishing boat grants. For example Contae na Gaillimhe (County Galway) was spelled in eight different ways, across 4 different address fields. Some Records were registered once in English, another time in Irish. Among the fishing community there is a prevalence of a limited number of forenames and surnames, some having suffixes or nickname descriptions, and a number of men from the same parish or even townland having the same name and surname. One quarter of the Údarás entries were categorised in the wrong ED, some understandably in a neighbouring ED but many in non-contiguous EDs.

CRO Registration

Some Companies were registered with the CRO with a slightly different name to that in the Údarás database – sometimes in English rather than Irish. There was no consistency in the CRO database regarding punctuation, spelling or spacing, especially with names composed of initials or abbreviations. The síneadh fada[55] was absent in some but not all cases. Some CRO entries were registered at a lawyer's or accountant's office rather than the location where the activity took place. Due to the relatively limited search functionality available in the CRO on-line database, each record was checked in up to seven different

55 The accent used on vowels to reflect pronunciation in the Irish language.

ways in the CRO cross checking alone, to allow categorisation as a Company or Individual.

Business Activity Location

Records were categorised by Electoral Division through analysis of the narrative address in the database. Where the CRO registration address was different this practice was still used. This was because the CRO address is often the solicitor's or parent company's address rather than the location of activity and employment. Local knowledge was also used in this case.

Data Not Included

Enterprises which did not access state funding are not included in the database. Given the fact that Údarás has had an all-encompassing integrated development remit covering small (and micro) scale to large scale new enterprises, and given how close it is to the community, and its socio-cultural remit as well as its economic remit, it is assumed that relatively few enterprises of relevance are not included in the Core Database (1958-2003). While Gaeltarra had a narrower brief, the Incubation chapter illustrates just how little organisation-building had developed in the area right up to the late 1970s when Gaeltarra was replaced by Údarás. Enterprises, which would not have been eligible for state support (in the Gaeltacht or elsewhere), such as locally traded services and professional services (accountants etc), are not included as a rule, although some have indeed received support for eligible investments / activities and are thus included. It is assumed that the profile of such enterprises is similar to the national profile in terms of size and number per capita.

From the 1930s to the 1960s, entrepreneurs (or industrialists in the language of that era) could access loans from the Industrial Credit Company Ltd or the Agricultural Credit Corporation Ltd (FitzGerald, 1963), or access grant aid through the Trade Loans (Guarantee) Acts and the Control of Manufacturers Acts (1932-34), operated by the then Department of Industry and Commerce. There was no shortage of capital, rather a shortage or 'sterilisation of talent' (FitzGerald, 1963, 34) throughout this period with relatively few new private start-ups. No records of Gaeltacht dealings were located. Proxy measures presented in the Incubation chapter illustrate how little formal organised company formation was happening in County Galway as a whole.

The Undeveloped Areas Act (1952) covered six full and part of two western counties, including the whole of County Galway. Industrialists in these areas would have been eligible for the grant aid scheme administered under that Act initially by An Foras Tionscail and later the Industrial Development Authority. Given that from 1952 to March 1967 (15 years), only 739 applications from undeveloped areas were considered (Industrial

Development Authority, 1967), and only 178 (24%) became 'actual or likely projects' (ibid, p 24) it is assumed that only a handful of industrialists in any Gaeltacht area accessed funding under the schemes available before 1965. So little happened in the Gaeltacht areas that Gaeltarra Éireann successfully campaigned for the Minor Industries Grant Scheme introduced in the Gaeltacht in 1965, a scheme later adopted nationwide as the Small Industries Programme (Industrial Development Authority, 1967; Mac Gabhann, 2004). The database includes those awarded grant aid under the Minor Industries Grant Scheme from 1965 onwards. Enterprises desiring state support after 1965 had to access it via Gaeltarra and Údarás. It is proposed that the number of records missing is so tiny that their absence from the database will not unduly affect the analysis conducted and conclusions reached. The next section addresses later lists and sources.

From the mid 1960s to the 1980s, qualitative reports (e.g. Mac Aodha, 1971) indicate the dearth of any kind of organised industry and the annual reports highlight the difficulties in attracting any kind of industry in the area. It is assumed that relatively few enterprises have been omitted for this period.

Compiled Lists not Included

Official Lists

There are numerous lists which provide information on businesses in Ireland, some more detailed than others, some stretching back longer than others. Various official lists such as those of the Company Registration Office, of VAT Registrations and of the Registrar of Friendly Societies (RFS) exist for legal reasons and each has its own different definitions and reasons for existing. Registration with the CRO is only required to form a Limited Company or a Limited Partnership. Each record in the dataset was cross-checked with the CRO online database. Other legal entities for business are Sole Trader and Unlimited Partnership, for which in neither case national, regional or local lists are compiled. VAT registration is only required for businesses with a turnover of more than €37,500 (services) or €75,000 (manufacturing), and lists of VAT registered businesses or breakdowns of national figures by County or by Gaeltacht are not released by the Revenue Commissioners (Kenny, 2008).

Industrial and provident societies (in other words, co-operatives with a profit making objective) may register with the Registrar of Friendly Societies (RFS), co-located with the Companies Registration Office. This registration, dating back to an 1893 Act, grants them limited liability and other legal benefits. There is no obligation to register. Friendly societies (with no particular commercial objectives; working men's clubs for example) may also register with the registrar, under an Act of 1896, dating back to an Act of the 1820s.

Again the registration is voluntary, and the benefits are mainly to do with respectability. Society has changed over the last century and there are now only around 50 active friendly societies in the country now (Mc Clean, 2008). As a spot check, the listings in the 2004 RFS Annual Report were checked and revealed only 456 additional organisations which were not already in the dataset. There is no legal framework for charities and a bill is going through the Dáil at present (Spring 2008) to address the issues of registration and status. Charitable organisations may at their discretion choose to register as such for tax purposes but need not register with the CRO. This registration has been available since at least the 1800s under legislation dating back to the 1600s (O'Flynn, 2008). As of 13 February 2008, there were seven Galway Gaeltacht organisations on the list of 1,500+ organisations with charitable status (Revenue Commissioners, 2008). The Irish Stock exchange listing was also checked. Unsurprisingly there are no publicly quoted companies based anywhere in the Gaeltacht, and interestingly, of the 75 companies listed, not one single one is in the province of Connacht (ISE, 2008).

Commercial Lists

Inclusion in non-official registers such as the Kompass, Thom's, Dun and Bradsheet Directories, and the Golden Pages are usually at the enterprise's discretion. Kompass started trading in Ireland in 1985 and published its first directory in 1987/88. A cross check of the County Galway entries in the 1997 Directory revealed 28 entries for the Galway Gaeltacht, of which at least 12 were already in the database, under the same or different names. Most of these were in the East Galway / City / suburb area, where Irish language usage is nearer the national average than that of the *Fíor-Ghaeltacht*. Thom's Directory has a longer history, but only includes cities, and some towns. The 2005 publication includes the two Gaeltacht towns of An Daingean (Dingle) and Glenties, and the Galway city part of the Galway Gaeltacht. As there are no other urban areas in the Gaeltacht, this directory was not cross checked with the database. Dun and Bradstreet provide credit ratings and thus provide more comprehensive lists. Their lists are compiled from a direct feed from the CRO, as well as local directories and newspapers. They commenced including Ireland in their listings in the 1900s, in the form of paper directories. In the 1990s they provided CD-based directories and since 2002 they are available on-line. Their old listings (pre 1980s) are not available in their Irish office (Belfast) or in any of the leading libraries in Ireland (Crudgington, 2008). The Golden Pages directory has been in operation in Ireland since the 1960s, and since 1999 it provides an on-line data search function. Businesses included in the database pay a fee for inclusion. Neither of these last two publications was checked with the database.

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56 Annaghdown Water Coop Society; Comharchumann Bhearna; Comharchumann Naíonra Chois Fharraige; Comhlachas na gComharchumann Ghaeltachta.

Representative / Accrediting Organisations' Lists

Membership of representative or accrediting organisations such as Chambers of Commerce; Fáilte Ireland; the Irish Co-operative Organisation Society (ICOS); the Irish League of Credit Unions; An Roth/The Wheel; Screen Producers Ireland; and IFA Aquaculture are also wholly at the enterprise's discretion. These organisations are listed here as they are of particular relevance to this project. The Galway Chamber of Commerce membership list for the year 2002 was checked, revealing 40 Gaeltacht members of whom 75% were in the dataset (the balance of 10 companies would not have been eligible for state funding). The 40 were the equivalent of 6% of Chamber members. Given that the Gaeltacht accounts for 18% of the human population of County Galway this would indicate that Gaeltacht enterprises are quite under-represented in the Chamber. (There is currently a suggestion for the establishment of a Gaeltacht business association (Ó Giollagáin *et al*, 2007).) The ICOS has only three Gaeltacht members, of which two are in the Galway Gaeltacht. This small number is not remarkable given that ICOS only has a total of 141 members at present compared to RFS in 2004 listing 829 members. The Irish League of Credit Unions has only two Galway Gaeltacht members, both of whom are already in the dataset. The Wheel is the representative organisation of not-for-profit organisations. It has 2 Galway Gaeltacht members, illustrating a relative underrepresentation given the modest membership fee (The Wheel, 2008). Screen Producers Ireland has 14 Galway Gaeltacht members (Screen Producers Ireland, 2008).

Measurement over Time

While this long time-span provides benefits it also raises other methodological issues. Macro and micro-time issues are discussed. Definitions of various measures of interest, categorisation, analysis and presentation of data change over time. For example, while the Companies Registration Office is a successor of the UK Companies Registration Office dating back to the 1800s, the (Irish) CRO did not automate its company data until the 1980s, and the online search did not become possible until the 1990s(O'Hare, 2008). Records prior to automation have proven patchy. Census data are presented in different spatial categories over the 113 year time period – such as dispensary and rural districts (neither of which any longer exists) and electoral divisions (EDs) (formerly known as District Electoral Divisions). The borders of some EDs have changed, such as that of Bearna now divided into 'Bearna' and 'Bearna part', the latter being part of the original Bearna, but now in Galway city. The Gaeltacht boundaries have changed on a number of occasions since 1926 and are currently under review, causing great difficulty in identifying patterns and trends (Ní Bhrádaigh & McCarron, 2005; Ní Bhrádaigh *et al*, 2007; Walsh *et al*, 2005). The Irish language question in the census has also changed a number of times.

Data on employment were collated with differing definitions of full-time, part-time and seasonal in different time periods. In some cases in this research project, detailed local knowledge helped ascertain if different addresses were used for the same enterprise over time, or whether the business had actually moved.

Measures over time are further complicated when attempting to measure entrepreneurial activity over more than a century from a pre-industrial period with a high level of barter and a non-cash economy, to a post-industrial service-based and increasingly internationalised period. Specific challenges include the following. The changing understanding over time of what exactly entrepreneurship is, affects what data were collected and how they were analysed and presented at particular points in history. Legal definitions of organisations change over time. Lists or registers of various types of organisations are not necessarily collated and if so, are not necessarily comparable across types or across time. Historical data may not have been retained in archives. Data are not necessarily collated or presented in the spatial units or industrial categories of interest, or these units and categories may change over time. For example, in the first half of the 20th century, County Galway Census of Production data were aggregated with the rest of the province of Connaught and the three counties of Ulster.

Serious research on small businesses is generally regarded as having commenced in Britain in the 1970s through the report commonly known as the Bolton Report (Committee of Inquiry on Small Firms, 1971) and in the USA around the same time (Curran & Blackburn. 2001). In Ireland the political emphasis on attracting overseas multinationals delayed any serious interest in small business and enterprise development until the 1980s, thus reducing the amount of contemporaneous research on which to draw.

Census & Electoral Divisions: Units of Analysis & Aggregation Levels

The smallest unit of analysis in Irish spatial analysis, especially with regard to CSO statistics, is the Electoral Division (ED), previously known as District Electoral Divisions. These are administrative units most of whose boundaries were set over 100 years ago (some as far back as the 1830s) largely based on parishes and on population levels which have changed substantially since then, most evidently in the expanding and growing suburbs of Galway, but also in rural areas.

Small versus Large EDs

Direct comparisons between EDs can be meaningless if there is a great difference between their sizes. For example in 2006 in the Galway Gaeltacht, the ED of Crompán (An Cheathrú Rua) had a population of 2,294 while Cill Chuimín (Oughterard District) had only 122, equivalent to 5.3% of Crompán's population (CSO, 2006). Direct comparisons

of say self-employment rates are meaningless. The change in status of two residents in An Uillinn will change overall percentages substantially, compared to two residents in Bearna. By comparison, census data in the United Kingdom are collated, analysed and released at ward level, units which typically have populations of ca. 4,000. However changing population levels over time require these units to be changed, rendering time-based comparisons difficult if possible at all.

Modifiable Area Unit Problem (MAUP) and Ecological Fallacy

The MAUP is the term used in geography research to describe the issue of choice of subdivision and location of boundaries (Ní Bhrádaigh & McCarron, 2005). The above example of Cill Chuimín's tiny population of 122 also illustrates how small numbers can skew statistics. Of a total workforce of 41, there are 9 self-employed people in Cill Chuimín, representing 22.0% of the workforce; one additional person changes that statistic to 24.4% (CSO, 2006a). One additional business would changes the business per capita figures substantially. This problem is normally overcome by aggregating two EDs or by aggregating two objects of measurement. However, larger units of analysis such as county-level data mask the intra-county differences. Pockets of unemployment in a county may be masked by the overall levels in that county. Census 2002 figures show unemployment nationally as 8.8%; in County Galway as 9.2%, but as 36.4% in Leitir Móir ED leading that ED to being included in the top six unemployment blackspots in the country (CSO, 2003). This 'level of analysis / aggregation' is what led to the inclusion of part-EDs in the Gaeltacht in recognition of different levels of Irish language ability within the EDs.

Another methodological issue involved in spatial analysis, and indeed any aggregate analysis, is the ecological fallacy that an apparent statistical relationship viewed at group level may not exist on examination of the individuals within that group. This was first described by W.S. Robinson in his 1950s research in the United States on literacy rates among those born outside the state (Thurstain-Goodwin, 2003). At aggregate level it seemed they had a higher level of literacy, but at individual level it was found that immigrants tended to live in states where the native population had a higher level of literacy. Any attempt to relate for example the percentage of regular Irish speakers to the percentage of self-employment or business start-ups raises this issue (and others). It cannot be assumed that both issues are related, without a micro-level examination of the linguistic patterns of those individuals self-employed or establishing businesses. The aggregate ED level data in this project is a starting point to examining whether there might be a particular relationship. Finding and assessing the relationship requires an in-depth

study of the residents in one particular Electoral Division. This question is not within the scope of this thesis.

Geographical Information Systems (GIS)

One way of overcoming some of these problems is afforded by GIS, whereby all individual businesses and individuals are assigned a single point geo-reference, thus allowing more refined analysis at many different levels. This level of analysis will be possible with the introduction of the proposed postal code system (Department of Communications, Marine and Natural Resources, 2006) and the geo-referencing project proposed in the Irish Spatial Data Infrastructure project led by the Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government, neither of which had been confirmed or implemented by spring 2008. This could well lead to a deeper understanding of patterns. However it would also require the CSO to release information at levels or units different to the current EDs.

National Statistics Available

The most fine-grained level at which the CSO provides Census of Population data is for an Electoral Division, for which the Small Area Population Statistics (SAPS) are available, giving the detailed data for all questions listed in the Census questionnaire, including issues such as self-employment.

SAPS for Small EDs

Data for urban areas in the 2006 Census are also available at the more fine-grained Enumerator Area level. Since late 2007, the SAPS are available in an interactive on-line format, allowing the public to create their own tables of data from the 2006 Census. However, the SAPS for the smallest 32 EDs are merged with their neighbouring EDs to preserve confidentiality. The smallest EDs for which data are publicly available are Grousehall in County Donegal and Nealstown in County Laois, each with a population of 79 people. Yet, of the 64 part-EDs in the Gaeltacht, 40 of them have populations of over 79, the largest part-ED being 5,552 (Bearna), yet these SAPS are not available. Total male and female population are the only data published at Gaeltacht part-ED level. All other data are available only at full ED level (CSO, 2008; CSO 2006; Clarke, 2008). Government commissioned research would allow access to the relevant data. Data which could be used to ascertain levels of self-employment or per-capital businesses cannot be computed for the part-EDs. Such information can be computed only at County level for the Gaeltacht regions, through the online SAPS.

Gaeltacht Data Published

The CSO publishes up to 13 volumes of Census data on issues including economic status and industries, occupations, education. Data are broken down spatially by Regional Authority, County, City, and Towns with populations of over 1,500. The only data also

broken down to Gaeltacht level (county and city level) are those for the Irish language published in volume 9. Thus a researcher is limited to the information deemed by the CSO to be of relevance to the Irish language, rather than of relevance to the Gaeltacht. The data published in the other 12 volumes are not categorised by Gaeltacht area. It is not possible to conduct analysis of the 15 part EDs in the Galway Gaeltacht (or the other 51 Gaeltacht part-EDs in the rest of the country) on issues such as per-capita business start-ups, or rates of self-employment. This is not a new issue. For example, volume three of the 1971 Census of Population covers industry sectors in which people were employed. It does not list any tables by Gaeltacht area (CSO, 1974).

Business Data Published

Similar issues exist with business data. The most fine-grained level at which Census of Industrial Production data are published or released is the county (CSO, 2005). Thus industrial production data are available for Counties Leitrim and Longford with human populations of 28,950 and 34,391 respectively. By comparison the Galway Gaeltacht's population of 42,326 is 46.2% higher than that of County Leitrim (CSO, 2006). Data by broad industrial sector and county are published in the Censa for Industrial Production 1997 and 2003 (CSO, 2000; 2005). The 1979 and 1981 Censa of Industrial Production provides overall data at county level but detailed data only at a more macro planning region level (CSO, 1984; 1985). The various Censa of Industrial Production, from 1926 to 1947 provide data on specific industries at province level and sometimes at county level. Data at a more detailed level are not released (Garvey, 2002). County Galway data are primarily under the heading Connaught, or Connaught and Ulster, with County Galway or Galway City rarely listed partly because any category with fewer than 3 entries was amalgamated with other categories for confidentiality reasons (CSO, 1950; Department of Industry and Commerce, 1933; 1934, 1937; 1938). In summary, no Industrial Production / Distribution analysis whatsoever of the Gaeltacht is possible, as no county is wholly in the Gaeltacht.

The Annual Services Inquiry for 2002 published data at NUTS257 level – Border Midlands West (CSO, 2005), and the Annual Services Inquiries for 1994, 1995 and 1996 were at state level only (CSO, 1994; CSO 1996). While the Census of Services 1988 published data at the level of towns with populations of more than 1,000 people, at that stage there were no such towns in the Galway Gaeltacht (CSO, 1988). Earlier state publications such as the Census of Distribution and Services for 1966 provided data at province and county level (CSO, 1971a, CSO 1971b). The Census of Distribution 1951- 1954 provided breakdowns at county level and city level, but not Galway city (CSO, 1956). The Census

57 See Acronyms legend.

of Distribution for 1933 provided data at province level and sometimes at county and county borough level (CSO, 1936).

VIII. Definitions Review and Consideration

An Enterprise

What is an organisation; an enterprise; a small enterprise? Does a sole trader constitute an enterprise, especially if there is no additional staff other than the founder? What is the difference between an entrepreneur and a small business owner? What definition do we use of 'an enterprise'? A new enterprise can be a legal entity registered with the Companies Registration Office for the sake of limited liability, or registered as a partnership, as a sole trader, or as a charitable organisation with the Revenue Commissioners, or not registered at all. Enterprises (whether limited, sole traders or partnerships) are required to register for VAT once the turnover exceeds €27,500 in the case of services and €55,000 in the case of products (Forfás, 2007). Is it best to restrict measures of new enterprises to limited companies registered with the Companies Registration Office, or to those registered for VAT, or should partnerships, sole traders and non-profit organisations be included as businesses or as enterprises?

The definitions of enterprise used in this project are:

- any individual, group of individuals, or registered or limited company which received state grant-aid from Gaeltarra Éireann, Údarás na Gaeltachta, for a new business activity
- any individual or group of individuals which received state grant-aid from the Congested Districts Board or other state bodies specifically responsible for the Gaeltacht up to 1957
- any enterprise established and managed, as a subsidiary or joint venture, by the Congested Districts Board, Gaeltarra Éireann or Údarás na Gaeltachta

These three definitions are required due to the changing circumstances over the 113 year period covered by research. In the case of the tourism case study, some organisations which received funding from the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and its predecessors are also included. This anomaly is explained in more detail in the Cases chapter.

Enterprise Foundings

What is the sequence of events a new enterprise goes through as it is born? When is it born – at the conception of the idea, of the completion of a feasibility study, or of a business plan, on receiving its first state grant, or its first sales order, or delivery of its first sales order, or once it registers for VAT? Researchers have used varying definitions. What exactly is a new organisation? What if it had a previous history before a take-over, before a management buy-out? What if it is the result of a merger? What about the date it was legally incorporated as a legal entity – a partnership or a limited company for example. A limited company might have pre-existed as a sole trader before changing its legal status.

The definitions for enterprise founding date used in this project are:

- the year a limited company registered with the Companies Registration Office (CRO),
- in the case of enterprises which did not register with the CRO, the year it was first awarded state grant aid for a new business activity
- the year the activity was first listed in a CDB annual report as an independent operation at a particular location.

Enterprise Deaths

What constitutes that other organisation life event, death? Is it cessation of business, dissolution, liquidation, bankruptcy, a merger, a take-over, a buy-out? Are legal bankruptcies a typical or atypical cause of death? If individuals continue in the same business with different partners or if physical assets continue to be employed by others, has death occurred or would a better analogy be a natural rite of passage from one life stage to another? Not all deaths should be interpreted as 'failures' or as 'bad'? The name of an enterprise may have changed due to its passing on to a new family member. What if the firm is or was a subsidiary of a larger organisation at some stage? These issues have been discussed and operationalised in various research projects such as those presented in Curran and Blackburn (2001) and in Jobert and Moss (1990).

In this research, death of an enterprise is defined as:

- the year in which it is deleted from the Companies Registration Office register, regardless of whether it is dissolution, liquidation, a bankruptcy or some other form of termination.

The death of enterprises not registered with the CRO was not measured for reasons to be outlined later.

Enterprise Size

Curran and Blackburn (2001), Jobert and Moss (1990) and the Observatory of European SMEs (2002) pose some of the most pertinent questions regarding the definition of new firms and their births and deaths. A new enterprise can be a legal entity registered with the Companies Registration Office, registered as a partnership, as a sole trader or as a charitable organisation, or not registered at all. The legal status of a firm can tell essentially nothing about the size, growth or profitability of a firm. For example assumptions on size cannot be made; a limited company may only employ one individual whereas a sole trader is an individual person operating a business which has no separate legal identity and is not restricted in terms of how many people (s)he employs (Murphy, 2004). However, legal incorporation can give some indication of the growth orientation of the entrepreneur, in terms of gaining the legal protection of limited liability which sole traders do not have.

An enterprise's size can be measured by turnover, number of employees, or assets. There is no international consensus on what exactly an SME is (OECD, 2004). An enterprise's size can be measured by turnover, number of employees, or assets. The EU categorises businesses with 0-9 staff as a micro-enterprises, those with 10 to 49 as small, those with 50 to 249 as medium and those with 250 or more as large. (Observatory of European SMEs, 2007). The definition also includes turnover and balance sheet categorisations and so complex is the issue from a legal point of view that the European Commission has published a 52-page information booklet for the benefit of those applying for SME funding (Enterprise and Industry Publications, 2005). Size can also be measured relative to other enterprises in a particular industry sector, in a region or in a particular state, and there might be a case for using different definitions in different industry sectors (Curran & Blackburn, 2001). In the USA, a small business is defined as having fewer than 500 employees for the purposes of research but the figures vary by industry and in terms of eligibility for government programmes. For example, a graphic design company employing 20 people is big relative to its own competitors, but small relative to multinational chemical companies. In the US, turnover figures are also included, and the definitions are revised over time (U.S. Small Business Administration, 2008). At the other end of the scale, while it does not yet have a formal definition of a small or medium enterprise, New Zealand publishes reports on SMEs using a maximum of 19 employees as its definition of SMEs (Ministry of Economic Development, 2005; 2007; OECD, 2004). In all cases, independent ownership is also integral to the definitions – i.e. the firms are not partly or wholly owned by larger corporations. Apart from the US definition, in general, the measurements do not account for the differences between labour intensive and capital-intensive enterprises. While size *per se* is not discussed in this research project,

all business foundings as defined above are included in the database, and a delineation is made between what could essentially be called self-employed people or small business owners with no growth orientation or no track record of growth; and entrepreneurs with a growth orientation and / or a growth track record, though the use of the Individual and Company categorisations discussed in the Research Methodology chapter.

IX. CDB Baseline Report Questions

Each CDB inspector had to report back on the areas assigned to him, under the following headings, which were used as the standardised format for each baseline report.

1. Whether inland or maritime.
2. Average quantity of land cultivated on holdings at and under £4 valuation, under (a) oats, (b) potatoes, (c) meadow, (d) green crops.
3. Extent of mountain or moor grazing, and rights possessed by tenant, whether in common or otherwise.
4. Extent and description of land, if any, which could be profitably reclaimed and added to existing adjoining holdings.
5. Particulars as to any suitable land in the district, which could be obtained, and to which families could be migrated with a reasonable prospect of success.
6. Method of cultivation, manures, rotation of crops, etc., etc.
7. General information with regard to stock, and suggestions as to improvement of breeds of – (a) cattle, (b) sheep, (c) horses and donkeys, (d) pigs, (e) poultry, etc., etc.
8. Markets and fairs for cattle and produce of district; also statement as to where the people obtain food and other supplies, and the prevailing custom with regard to the disposal of butter, eggs, and poultry; to what extent are they are sold in the first instance to local shopkeepers and dealers, and, generally speaking, how old are the eggs when sold to the first buyer, and about how old when they reach their ultimate destination in Great Britain.
9. Rail, steamer, sailing boat, road, postal and telegraph facilities.
10. Employment for labourers in district, whether temporary or constant, and rate of wage.
11. Migratory labour, average earnings per head, and where earned.
12. Weaving, spinning, knitting, and sewing, whether used locally or sold, and where.
13. Kelp-burning, and sale of seaweed.
14. Sale of turf, nature and extent of bogs.
15. Lobster fishing, number of men and boats employed.
16. Sea-fishing. Facilities for sale of fish, and number of men and boats solely employed in fishing.
17. Number of boats and men employed in carrying turf or seaweed or in fishing. Classification of boats.
18. Fish; whether consumed at home or sold.

19. Extent of fish-curing.
20. Piers and Harbours, existing and suggested, and how far those existing are adapted to wants of district.
21. Extent of salmon and freshwater fisheries. Number of men earning their livelihood therefrom.
22. Banks and Loan Funds.
23. Mineral and other resources.
24. Relative prevalence of cash or credit dealings, length of credit, interest charged, extent of barter, etc., etc.
25. Estimated cash receipts and expenditure of a family in ordinary circumstances.
26. Estimated value of home-grown food consumed, and period during which it lasts.
27. Dietary of people, number of meals daily, and the kinds of food throughout the year.
28. Clothing, whether home-made or bought etc., etc.
29. Dwellings: kinds of houses, home-life and customs, etc., etc.
30. Character of the people for industry, etc., etc.
31. Whether any organised effort has been made to develop the resources or improve the condition of the people. If so, by what means.
32. Suggestions as to any possible method for improving the condition of the people in future.

Sources: Congested Districts Board, 1892-1897; Morrissey, 2001.

X. 1926 & 1936 Occupations / Industrial Sectors of Fíor-Ghaeltacht Employers and Own Account Workers

Employer and Own Account Only	Male	Male	Male	Male	Female	Female	Female	Female
	1926	1926	1936	1936	1926	1926	1936	1936
Occupation	Employer	Own Acc't	Employer	Own Acc't	Employer	Own Acc't	Employer	Own Acc't
Agricultural Occupations	1,069	21,416	872	20,451	303	4,937	206	4,924
Fishermen	68	948	8	625	0	0	0	0
Mining & Quarrying	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Makers of Foods, Drinks & Tobacco	13	12	6	7	3	0	1	1
Textile Workers	4	6	5	31	2	213	4	44
Makers of Apparel & Textile Goods	55	300	14	264	5	466	1	243
Workers in Hides, Skins & Leather	1	14	0	11	0	0	0	0
Workers in Wood & Furniture	33	247	5	266	0	0	0	0
Metal Workers	41	168	5	211	0	0	0	0
Electrical Apparatus Makers & Fitters	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Workers in Chemical Processes, Makers of Fertilisers, Soap, Paints etc	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Workers in & Makers of Paper & Cardboard, Printers, Bookbinders, etc	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Builders, Bricklayers, Stone & Slate Cutters & Contractors	18	60	30	83	0	0	0	0
Painters & Decorators	0	11	0	14	0	0	0	0
Other Producers, Makers & Repairers	0	2	0	7	2	4	1	3
Total Producers, Makers and Repairers	1,302	23,186	946	21,971	315	5,620	213	5,215
Transport & Communications	8	96	8	102	0	0	1	1
Commercial, Finance & Insurance Occupations	144	374	101	434	54	141	22	205
Public Administration & Defence (excl. Professional Men/Women & Typists)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Professional Occupations	1	43	9	31	0	35	0	47
Persons engaged in Personal Services (incl. Institutions, Clubs, Hotels, etc.)	103	99	74	125	67	96	42	108
Clerks (& Draughtsmen) (not Civil Service or Local Authority) & All Typists	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other Gainful Occupations	1	2	2	19	0	2	0	3
Total Gainful Employment	1,559	23,800	1,140	22,682	436	5,894	278	5,579
Males / Females Not Gainfully Occupied	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Males / Females 12 / 14 Years and over *	1,559	23,803	1,140	22,682	436	5,894	278	5,579

* 1926: 12 Years; 1936: 14 Years

Source: 1926 Census of Population, Volume VIII,Tables 21A & 21B; 1936 Census of Population, Volume VIII. Tables 18A & 18B

XI. Irish Industrial Directory

Irish Industrial Directory: Late 1930s and 1955: Entries in / relating to Galway Gaeltacht

		1935+ *	1955
Name	Location	Goods Produced and Supplied	Goods Produced and Supplied
P (Martin) Conneelly	Inishere	Fishing nets	Not listed
T Furey, Kilroe Mills	Corrandulla	Oatmeal & Wheaten meal	Corn (Oats,Barley etc) Crushed and Ground
Gaeltarra Éireann	Fenian St & Westland Row	Shopping Bags; Cardigans, Jerseys, Jumpers, Jumper Suits, Pullovers; Carrigeen Moss; Embroidery Work; Knitted Work; Handkerchiefs; Neckties, Other Materials; Woolen Rugs; Swimming Costumes; Woolen & Worsted Piece Goods (Costumes & Cap Cloths; Tweeds)	Tweeds. Licenced to use the Standard Mark (Kilcar, Adara, Glencolumbkille); Household Linens & Cottons (Hand Embroidered) (Bruckless, Cliffoney); Rugs & Knee Rugs (Glencolumbkille); Pram Rugs (Elly Bay); Irish Lace (Bruckless, Cliffoney); Socks - Men's Hose & Half-Hose (Westland Row); Socks - Men's Hose & Half-Hose (Westland Row); Fancy Hosiery (Knitted Outerwear Men's and/or Women's) *; Knitted Clothing Children's (Westland Row); Soft Toys (Crolly, Elly Bay, Spiddal).
Teressa Knitting Industry	Moycullen	Cardigans, Jerseys, Jumpers, Jumper Suits, Pullovers; Children's Clothing Knitted; Frocks (Ladies')	Fancy Hosiery (Knitted Outerwear Men's and/or Women's); Knitted Clothing Children's
Francis Brennan Wade	Corandulla	Feeding Stuffs, Animal (Corn, Crushed & Ground) Feeding Stuffs, Animal (Feeding Meals & Meal Admixtures) Oatmeal & Wheaten Meal	Not listed
Mrs B O'Malley (Trading as Thomas O'Malley)	Ros Muc	Cardigans, Jerseys, Jumpers, Jumper Suits, Pullovers; Children's Clothing Knitted	Fancy Hosiery (Knitted Outerwear Men's and/or Women's); Knitted Clothing Children's
Alginate Industries (Ireland) Ltd	Kilkieran Carna	Not listed	Seaweed Meal. Head office 34 Westland Row (Gaeltarra)
Redmond Lee	Pollough, Roscahill	Not listed	Sand & Gravel Quarry
Entries for whole of Co Galway		48	38

* Places listed: Falcarragh, Carrick, Tellin, Glencolumbcille, Termon, Bangor Erris, Belmullet, Poulathomas, Mongs, Geesala, Carrowteigue, Derrybarp, Tourmakeady, Roundstone, Ballinahown, Rosmuck, Lettermore, Carraroe, Inis Mean, Inis Thiar

Notes:
1935+: Undated revised edition of 1935 edition, presumed late 1930s; Of 94 pages of listings, equivalent of only around 1.5 pages are in Galway.
1935+: Gaeltarra listings include all Gaeltacht areas. Notable the number from Donegal Gaeltacht noticed in compiling Galway list.
Source:
Department of Industry and Commerce (1935+; 1955) Industrial Directories, Stationery Office Dublin

XII. Special Gaeltacht Grant Aid Schemes

1930s-60s Special Gaeltacht Grant Aid Schemes (nationwide) Excluding Housing & other Building Schemes

Period	Title	No. in Galway	Details
1931-37	Industry Loans		Horses & carts for kelpmakers; purchase / repair of turf-boats
1931-50s	Tree Planting Scheme		4,950 trees 1948-49; 14,074 in 1949-50; 1/4th the nurseryman's price. 20,813 trees and shrubs in Connemara in 1951-52
1931-32	Training Scheme for Irish-Speaking Farmers		Attended Athenry Agricutural School before becoming Assistant Agricultural Overseers. By 1950s majority of Gaeltacht overseers conduct business through Irish.
1930s	Convent Industrial Classes (textiles)		Salaries of instructresses in 3 Gaeltacht convents
1930s	Marine Product Industries (kelp & carrageen)		Collective marketing
1930s	Poultry houses and piggeries		
Late 1930s - 1950s	Scheme for the Supply of Bee-Hives		250 - 350 hives nationwide to smallholders, some replacement swarms late 1940s, due to 'ravages of disease'.
1934-52	Scheme to Encourage the Commercial Production of Glasshouse Crops in Gaeltacht Areas	95 houses	Experiments in 1934 - 1 house in Galway. Interest free loans - some years none availed of in Galway. Production results show it's a 'sound economic proposition'. By 1940s, 100 houses in An Spidéal - Cnoc - An Cheathrú Rua; Average net income of £50 to £109 pa. 19 heated in 1963
1931 to 1951	Poultry Development Scheme	24 - 31 stations	Galway and Donegal; improvement of poultry-keeping; marketing; Irish speaking overseer. Reduced price pedigree hatching eggs
1952	Onion Production experiment	95 participants	Central propagation, drying and marketing. Demonstration plots, and 190 growing plots in Connemara in 1953

1952-58	Outdoor Tomato Scheme		Árainn & Indreabhán; 1952: 11,000 bulbs propagated centrally and distributed to 23 growers for free. 1958: 1,500 plants but very poor yield that year
1957-59	Production of Bulbs on Aran Islands	10,000 bulbs	Tulips & daffodils - 10,000 bulbs yielded extra 6,970. 1960 storm damage, yield of 25,000 tulip bulbs disappointing
1958	Celery Propagation Trials		Indreabhán Glasshouse Centre
1954	Toy Industry Development in Gaeltacht Services		£22,500 sanctioned by Taoiseach
1958-61+	Soft Fruit Growing		blackcurrant demonstration plots Donegal
1957-59	Scéim na Muc (Pig Scheme)	18	Sows, seeds & fertiliser
1958	Production of Onion Sets on Aran Islands	112 participants in 1953-54	Free seed & fertiliser; labour subsidy, bad weather - overwintered in Connemara glasshouses; transferred to Athenry. 1/8th acre plots initially. Four 1/12th acre plots in 1960s in Connemara
1958-1961+	Gaeltacht Chick Scheme		Day old chicks distributed. 150,876 in 1960-61 of which 14% in Galway
1958?	Connemara Development Scheme (land reclamation) Seed potatoes and fertiliser		For 1 acre, at half cost.
1950s&60s	Fior-Ghaeltacht Fishing Boat Scheme	1 large & some small	1 x 56 foot boat costing £12,000 and some small boats provided in Galway in 1963.
1960s	Gaeltacht Grassland Improvement Scheme		Phospates etc, at half cost, via Parish Agricultural Advisory Agent

1930s-60s	Special Gaeltacht Grant Aid Schemes (nationwide) Excluding Housing & other Building Schemes	
Period	Title	Details
	Sample Congested Districts Schemes (including Gaeltacht) at Same Time	
1940s	Boars	
1940s	Sheep Breeding	
1940s	Poultry Development	
1940s	Horticulture and Beekeeping Instructors	Encourage formation of associations
1940s	Knapsack spraying machines	

1950s	Supply of Limestone on Islands	Subsidised to mainland delivery price
1950s	Location of Bulls & Rams on Special Terms	
	Sample Schemes Nationwide	
1940s-50s	Beekeeping	Instructors; educational exhibits;
1940s-50s	Agricultural Implement loans	8,911 loans in 9 years 1944/45 to 1952/53
1940s-50s	Milking machine loans	1,579 loans in same period
1950s	Veterinary assistance	Vet in Ennis, and in Clifden
1950s	Fencing	Connemara and Donegal
1950s	Tourist Road Scheme	Building of quality roads to tourist destinations
	Unclear if Gaeltacht Only or Nationwide	
1960s	Fishery Training schemes	6 boys trained in Galway in from 1960-63
1960s	Skipper Training	
	Entertainment Halls	Via approved local committees
	Tourism Schemes	
1935-1971	Scéim Choiste na bPáistí / Scéim Scoláireachtaí Saoire sa Ghaeltacht	Matched privately raised funding; 470 - 480 children participated in 1958. Grant aid £4 per child.
1954-55	Ciste Forbartha Náisiúnta (Cionroinnt na Gaeltachta) National Development Fund (Gaeltacht Allocation)	Entertainment halls in Fíor-Ghaeltacht
1950s-72	Scéim na gCuairteoirí Gaeilge	
1972	Scéim na bhFoghlaimeoirí Gaeilge (Irish learners' scheme)	Replaced previous schemes

Sources: An Foras Riaracháin, 1963; Department of Agriculture Annual Reports, 1948-49; 1949-50; 1952-53; 1958-59; NAD: S15174B; A2; S7449A & B; MAR P113-56; Roinn na Gaeltachta Archives, Memo 2, 1958 Seirbhísí na Gaeltachta, 1937

XIII. NACE Codes: Samples

00	Agriculture, hunting & forestry
10	Mining & quarrying
15	Manufacture of food products, beverages & tobacco
17	Manufacture of textiles & textile products
18	Manufacture of leather & leather products
20	Manufacture of wood & wood products
21	Manufacture of pulp, paper, & paper products; publishing & printing
23	Manufacture of coke, refined petroleum products & nuclear fuel
24	Manufacture of chemicals, chemical products & man-made fibres
25	Manufacture of rubber & plastic products
26	Manufacture of other non-metallic mineral products
28	Manufacture of basic metals & fabricated metal products
29	Manufacture of machinery & equipment n.e.c. (not elswhere classified)
30	Manufacture of electrical & optical equipment
34	Manufacture of transport equipment
40	Electricity, gas & water supply
45	Construction
51	Wholesale & retail trade; repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles & personal & household goods
55	Hotels & restaurants
60	Transport, storage & communications
65	Financial intermediaries
70	Real estate, renting & business activities
75	Public administration & defence, compulsory social security
80	Education
85	Health & social work
90	Other community, social & personal service activities
95	Private households with employed persons
99	Extra-territorial organisations & bodies

Source: Classifications NACE Rev. 1. Available at www.cro.ie

XIV. Pen Pictures

Micí Ó Flatharta

Micí sells everything from groceries, to scythes to bicycle tyres to women's blouses in his small traditional shop. Micí was born in An Cheathrú Rua in the 1940s. He has a sister and a brother. Micí left school at the age of 14. His father decided that Micí's brother would be trained as a carpenter and that Micí would work with him in his slaughterhouse and butchershop. Micí wished to also go to vocational school and train as a carpenter and proposed that his sister would join the father in the business and ultimately inherit it. His father's answer was that if Micí thought his father was going to let some other man [whoever the sister might marry] come in and tell him how to do his business, he was mistaken. Micí's destiny was decided for him. To this day he regrets not having got more formal education and often talks of going to do some course, but that perhaps he doesn't have the brains for it – which he clearly does.

Father and son used to slaughter up to 25 sheep a week, but the business gradually evolved into a general store. Micí's was the original 7 – 11 shop, open till late into the night. Before the television era, his friends would call in and they'd play cards together, taking breaks when Micí needed to serve customers.

Micí was innovative in his day – he had the first whipped ice cream machine between Galway city and Clifden, but now does not see the very successful, growing, competing Eurospar shop across the road as competition. 'I sell what I sell, and if I don't have what people want, well I'm sure they'll find it somewhere else.' Micí's shop is still laid out with the old wooden counter running the length of the shop, with socks, shirts and boots in the cabinet at the back of the shop, just in front of the butcher alcove. Micí's innovation did not initially stretch to using a cash register. Up to the mid 1990s, he continued to tot up the bill on a paper bag or on a banana, and then totted it up on the register, remarking that the register had got it right, and then going over to the old wooden drawer for change. He still uses the wooden drawer for coins.

My pre-arranged interview with Micí took place in the shop, and was punctuated by his serving the customers proudly telling them he was being interviewed for some research. Micí is often interviewed on Raidió na Gaeltachta, particularly for his contribution to the campaign for a badly needed improvement in the water and sewerage system. He is always happy to help any Irish language learners practice their few words with him during the purchasing transaction. Micí's two daughters have university qualifications and one has recently moved back home from Dublin to develop Micí's business, in conjunction with her husband.

Dr Conchúr Ó Brádaigh

From County Roscommon and educated in NUIG, Conchúr[58] left a successful position as Senior Lecturer in the Department of Mechanical Engineering in NUIG to commerialise the composites technology he had developed. He felt his research was not central to the development of the Department and that a promotion to professorship was unlikely. He is joint managing director of Eirecomposites Teo, specialising in the development, manufacture and testing of complex composite materials for the aerospace, wind energy and Formula 1 racing industries. All the potential business is overseas. He now has two plants – in Baile an tSagairt east of An Spidéal and in An Cheathrú Rua, employing 40 people. An increasing number of the staff are originally from the Gaeltacht. Conchúr retains a 1/3 lecturing position, something that allows him to keep an eye on a source of future employees. A fluent Irish speaker since childhood, Conchúr currently lives outside the Gaeltacht, and has lost a three year campaign to get planning permission to build a new house for his family in the area. Conchúr has experienced problems with electricity supply to the plant in An Cheathrú Rua, one of the strongest Irish speaking areas in the country, and has had to transfer from that site to a new site near An Spidéal, to which he will also transfer the Baile an tSagairt plant.

Conchúr feels it would have been easier for him to access venture capital if he had attended one of the private schools in Leinster, and if he was based in the greater Dublin area. One of the reasons he chose to locate the company in the Gaeltacht was that he found Enterprise Ireland unreceptive to his initial approaches, and Údarás very receptive by contrast. In the summer of 2007, Éirecomposites signed a major contract worth over €2.7m with Bombardier Aerospace, at the Enterprise Ireland stand at the Paris Air Show. Conchúr's main source of pride is that there are airplanes in the air with components made out in the Galway Gaeltacht. Conchúr considers himself an entrepreneur.

Rí (agus Banraíon) na Mara - The King (and Queen!) of the Sea

www.rinamara.com

Deirdre Uí Chathmhaoil and her husband Séamas Mac Cathmhaoil moved from County Tyrone to the Galway Gaeltacht so that they could raise their children in an Irish-speaking environment. Seeing the sheer abundance of seaweed on the Atlantic coast, they realised they had found the basic ingredient for their long-planned desire to set up their own enterprise. A feasibility grant from Údarás na Gaeltacht allowed them to research the various value-added products and services they could produce from seaweed. They

58 The author's cousin.

considered a health and beauty spa, but saw more long term opportunities in seaweed skincare and cosmetics. Deirdre has complemented her nursing qualifications with a degree in Cosmetic Science gained through distance learning with De Montfort University in Leicester, England. Following two years of research and development in Ireland and on the European Continent, Rí na Mara was established in 2004, and now produces six products based on seaweed harvested off the West coast, primarily in County Mayo. The products are now sold in 300 outlets in Ireland, and the British, US and Australian markets are now being investigated. In 2006, Deidre won the Business Woman of the Year and Rí na Mara was in the Lá/Vision top 50 businesses using the Irish language. Rí na Mara specifically targets various awards as a means of gaining publicity. Reflecting on the success of Ri na Mara, Deirdre emphasises her commitment to life-long learning, and bemoans the difficulties in having sufficient working capital to expand the business. Séamus supports the idea of a collaborative umbrella brand for Gaeltacht products, similar to the Fuscia brand in West Cork, but does not see a leading role for himself in developing one. At the invitation of the Galway Enterprise Board, Rí na Mara had a stand at the Milwaulkee Irish Fest in August 2006, under their special promotion 'Spirit of Galway'. This festival is attended by 150,000 each year.

Gael Linn

Gael Linn is an interesting not-for-profit organisation, established by former members of university Cumainn Ghaelacha (Irish language societies) in 1953 to run football pools and bingo halls to raise funding for Irish language and Gaeltacht development projects. It was a pioneering, highly-influential high-profile organisation in the 1950s and 60s. Before the advent of television, its innovative Amharc Éireann newsreels were shown in cinemas nationwide throughout those two decades. For the first time, thousands of people saw week old video news footage of their own areas and country, with commentary in Irish. With the help of a local schoolteacher, Gael Linn established a fish and vegetable processing plant in Cill Chiaráin in 1957. Oysters grow particularly well naturally in Cill Chiaráin bay and Gael Linn acquired the fishing rights for the bay and operated the processing plant for around a decade. The plants were well received, and are remembered as providing good employment, but managed by incomers (Breathnach, 2007). There were few enough managers available locally, most being educated to primary level at most. Gael Linn also bought former life-saving boats, and amid much publicity sailed them from Dublin through the Grand canal to the Shannon, and up the west coast to Connemara and sold them at reasonable prices to local fishermen. A turning point in the development of local entrepreneurial activity occurred towards the end of the 1960s, when the Gaeltacht Civil Rights movement organised 'fish-ins' in the Gael Linn oyster beds as a protest demanding the return of fishing rights to local people. They

associated Gael Linn's ownership with the tradition of former Anglo-Irish landlords' ownership. Ironically, Gael Linn's ultimate aim was self-sufficiency and it soon sold its rights to GÉ which subsequently sold them on to a new 200 member fishing co-operative, Comharchumann Sliogéisc Chonamara, the Connemara Shellfish Co-operative, with over 200 founding members.

In the mid 1950s Gael Linn also took over the successful Coiste na bPáistí scheme whereby primary school children could spend three months living with a Gaeltacht family and attending school. They also established two Irish colleges in Donegal and Mayo, and established a music recording business under which musicians such as Seán Ó Riada and The Chieftains published their music. Gael Linn's currently concentrates primarily on educational materials and school based competitions through the medium of Irish.

To this day, the folk memory of the Cill Chiaráin plant is very strong in the Galway Gaeltacht. Many people have mentioned it to the author on hearing about the research. Only two mentioned the 'fish-in'. No other plant of significance was ever mentioned to the author.

XV. Roinn na Gaeltachta expenditure on Tourism 1965-1970

Grant Aid Expenditure on Tourism Development in Gaeltacht, 1965-1970

Title	Amount	Eligibility	£ Expenditure 1 April 1965 - 31 March 1970
Up to 3 additional bedrooms for visitors, to include wash hand basin	max £350	Individuals	60,337
Holiday chalet	max £300	Individuals / Committees	34,963
Hostels	max £6,000	Committees	7,000
Irish Colleges - buildings	max 80% of cost	Colleges	47,133
Halls for cultural and social activities, in addition to Arts Council / Local Council aid	max 80% of cost	Committees	25,961
Holiday accommodation (hotels, guest houses, other facilities) in addition to Bord Fáilte aid	max 20% of cost	Individuals	139,713
Holiday fittings (furniture, outside appearance of home etc)	max £200	Individuals	83,671
Miscellaneous Leisure Facilities (swimming pools, handball alleys, football pitches etc)	max £2,000	Committees	43,353
Hosting of Irish language learning visitors	max £1 pw	Individuals	30,877
Gaeltacht Holiday scholarships for 24 day stay in Gaeltacht (Irish Colleges)	£5 per child	Committees outside Gaeltacht	219,573
Scholarship to spend 3 months in Gaeltacht, attending school	£20 per child	Committees	28,087
Scholarships awarded as prizes at Feis competitions - for 24 day stay	£15	Feis committees	5,727
Total			726,395

Note: All grant aid contingent on Irish language usage by applicants.

Source: Roinn na Gaeltachta (1970) Leabhrán Eolais, BÁC (Department of Gaeltacht Information Booklet

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