

Nationalism in internationalism: Ireland's relationship with the EU

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Structure

- Ireland and the EU
 - the standard narrative
- An alternative perspective
 - nationalism and internationalism
 - Ireland's three-form transition
 - Implications



Standard narrative

- Ireland pre-1960 marked by traditional nationalism
- Change of policy adopted in 1958
 - Involving an embrace of internationalism
 - And particularly European integration
 - And a move away from nationalism



Three possible flaws in this argument



- That the government was the sole driver of change
- That the direction of change was uncontested
- That the change would marginalise Irish nationalism

An alternative version

- Multiple drivers of change
- Different directions of movement
- A redefinition of Irish nationalism



Three drivers of change three destinations?

- Political leadership
 - European integration
- Economic development
 - US-led internationalism
- Socio-cultural adaptation
 - Diffuse transnationalism



Nationalism in internationalism



- Adaptation of nationalism to fit an internationalised world
 - From absolute, exclusive nationalism based on identity legitimacy
 - To pooled, inclusive nationalism focused on output legitimacy
- Adaptation of internationalism to accommodate nationalism
 - A contested concept with (at least) three versions

Traditional and revised nationalism

	Traditional nationalism	Revised nationalism
Ethnic identity	Single and distinctive	Overlapping and diverse
Concept of sovereignty	Hard – own state, borders	Shared – nested, porous
Economic & social outlook	Autonomous development	Emphasis on progress
National identity	Unique and separate	Multiple and shared

Ireland & Europe pre-1960

- Strong focus on traditional nationalism
 - Sovereignty of state (IFS, border)
 - Party system built on nationalist split
 - Catholic social values written into constitution
 - Autarkic approach to economic development
 - Very few international links



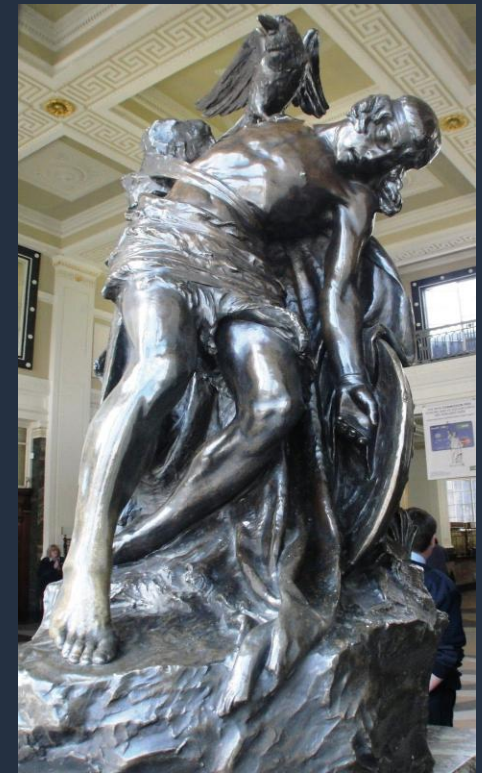
Path to membership

- Switch to open, export-oriented economy
- EEC was not an inevitable corollary
 - Still a very high degree of dependence on UK
 - Still a very limited economy
- But it was an obvious consideration



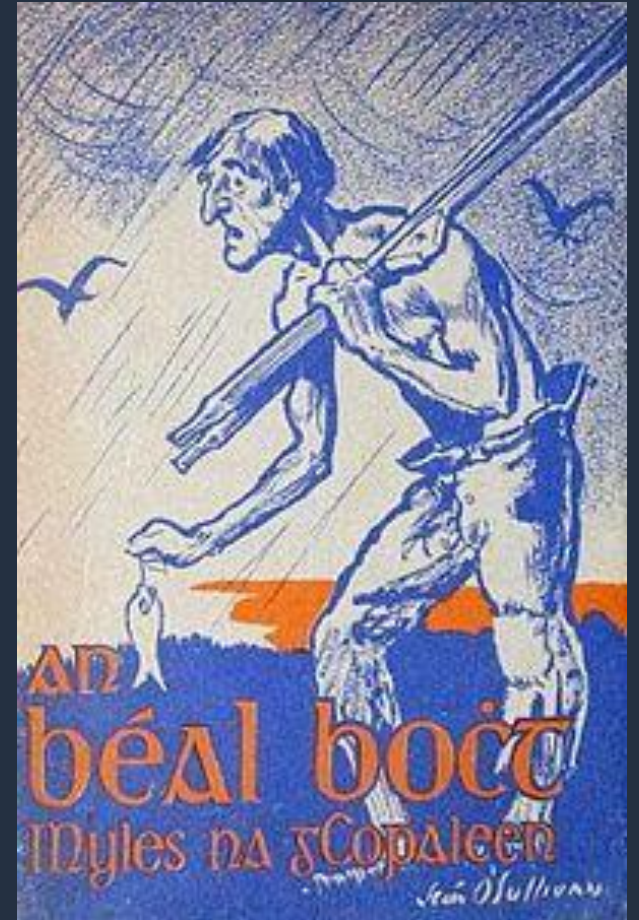
At this stage...

- Very much government-led
- Most economic sectors supportive
 - Though note some of the “protected” sectors
- Most of the public supportive
 - Apart from traditional nationalists



Adaptation to membership

- Learning the norms of cooperative behaviour
- Adapting to economics of Common Market
- Somewhat mercenary mentality



Changing nationalism?

- Membership of the EMS
- Diversification of Irish trade
- Role of EC in Northern Ireland



The Irish miracle

- Celtic Tiger boom
 - 1995-2000 average annual growth rate of 9.5%
 - Largely fuelled by multinational investment
 - 2001-2008 average annual growth rate of 5.9%
 - Largely fuelled by property speculation



The trouble with tigers

- Corporation tax
- False image of Irish prosperity
- Different explanations of the boom
- Limits to growth



Crisis after crisis

- Financial crash & bailouts
- Migration challenge
- Brexit crisis
- Covid crisis
- Russian crisis



The impact of the crises



- From a more EU-sceptic stance (financial crisis)
- To not much impact at all (migration, Russia)
- To reinforcing solidarity with the EU (Covid)
 - Or EU and US (Brexit)

N-in-1: political changes

- Focus on European integration
- High degree of commitment
- Benefits of cooperation



N-in-I: economic factors and actors

- Growth of a thriving Irish economy
- Two competing visions:
 - The European one
 - The American one
- Boston or Berlin debate



N-in-I: social dimensions

- Inward migration to Ireland
- Secularisation of society
- Exposure to a much wider world
 - Travel and telecoms



Impact on nationalism

- Weakening of traditional perceptions
- Greater focus on economic progress
- Greater focus on social transformation



Impact on international dimensions



- Some of this draws Ireland closer to (western) European norms
- Some of it moves Ireland towards a much more global identity
- But overall, a strong sense that EU is good for Ireland

Future challenges

- Defence policy
- Corporation tax
- Brexit developments





Nat & Int: two missing elements

- Impact of economic development
- Impact of social change

Traditional perceptio




Consequences of this

- Different actors involved
- Different directions of change pursued
- Irish nationalism doesn't disappear, but it changes



Consequences of this

- Political system
 - Economic interests
 - Social structures
- 

Directions of change

- Integration
 - Both economic and political
- Internationalism
 - Predominantly economic
- Transnationalism
 - Strong social and cultural elements

