

undisciplined, and continuous enforcement with heavy penalties would seem necessary to produce any restraint. Similarly, restraint on private transport without improving mass transit would seem counterproductive, and C.I.E.'s recent record is not encouraging. It has also been suggested that a downstream crossing of the Lee is needed *immediately* rather than in 10-15 years time, since traffic is necessarily channelled through the central area without it. Finally, L.U.T.S. is premised on government commitments for finance, transport improvements, and phased harbour developments, and the structural shifts of the city's economy are contingent on decentralisation from Dublin. These may make the implementation of L.U.T.S. very difficult indeed, but the published study is still the most imaginative and advanced strategic plan for an Irish city to date.

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#### IMMIGRATION TO THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND, 1946-71

For several years a major goal of national planning in Ireland has been to reduce or curb emigration. High levels of emigration in the past were a clear indication of the failure of the national economy to provide a sufficient number of jobs for the workforce. Since the overriding concern has been with emigration little attention has been directed towards immigration into Ireland. Until recently little was known about the volume of immigration or the spatial distribution or the demographic and socio-economic attributes of the immigrants. However, since the publication in 1978 of Volume XI of the 1971 census of population some detailed analyses of immigration can now be made. In part I of that volume the residents of each county are classified by their place of residence twelve months previously, while in part II they are classified by their place of birth. This paper, which is based on some of the contents of that volume, attempts to highlight the main trends in immigration. The first part of the paper examines the volume, origins and destinations of immigrants up to 1971. The second part investigates in greater detail the principal demographic, educational and occupational attributes of the immigrants over the twelve months prior to April 1971.

#### *Immigration up to 1971*

In 1971 one out of every twenty-two people residing in the Republic of

Ireland had been born outside the state. Eighty per cent of the immigrants were from the U.K. Of the remainder 4% were born in mainland Europe, 8% in the U.S.A. and 8% elsewhere. This has been the general pattern since at least 1946 (Table 1).

TABLE 1

## ORIGIN OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND,

1946-71

(Percentages shown in brackets)

<i>Year</i>	<i>N. Ireland</i>	<i>England and Wales</i>	<i>Scotland</i>	<i>U.S.A.</i>	<i>Other countries</i>
1946	33,498 (33.88)	39,289 (39.73)	10,155 (10.27)	8,509 (8.61)	7,426 (7.51)
1961	27,129 (27.42)	45,463 (45.94)	8,333 (8.42)	6,447 (6.51)	11,579 (11.70)
1971	26,183 (19.07)	75,189 (54.76)	8,849 (6.44)	11,145 (8.12)	15,930 (11.60)

Source: 1971 Census of Population, Vol. XI, Part II, Table 3.

A number of trends are apparent from this table. By 1961 there were 98,951 immigrants in the country. This represented an absolute increase of only 74 over the figure for 1946. However, this marginal increase is significant when viewed in relation to the decline of almost 137,000 in the total population over the same period. The distribution by origin changed between 1946 and 1961, though not significantly. The proportion from Northern Ireland declined by six per cent while the percentage from England and Wales increased by a similar amount. The number of American born immigrants declined by over 2,000 so that for every four American born immigrants in 1946 there were only three in 1961.

Between 1961 and 1971 the total population of the country grew by almost 160,000. The number of immigrants in the country increased by 38,400 over the same period. By the end of the decade over 11,000 immigrants were arriving per annum. This number was augmented by a further 13,500 return migrants. Return migrants were people who were born in Ireland but living outside the state for some time prior to April 1970. Some of the trends that emerged in the 1950s continued into the 1960s. By 1971 the proportionate distribution of immigrants by birthplace was significantly different from the 1946 distribution. The number of immigrants from Northern Ireland declined further while the number from England and Wales increased by almost two-thirds. There was also a substantial increase in the number from the U.S.A.

The distribution of immigrants up to 1971 corresponded very closely with the spatial distribution of the total population as shown by a Spearman rank correlation coefficient of 0.74 between the percentage of the total population and the total immigrant group in each county. Above average concentrations of immigrants occurred in Dublin, Wicklow, Donegal, Louth and Monaghan in both 1946 and 1971. However, this was less marked in the last two counties

in 1971, which can probably be explained by the overall decline in the number of immigrants from Northern Ireland. The concentration in the east region is obviously due to the role of Dublin as capital city and main point of entry for most immigrants to the state.

The distribution pattern of the 1970/71 immigrants was characterised by an overconcentration in the east region and also in the western counties of Clare and Galway. The latter development must be due in part to regional planning policies. The industrial developments promoted by Shannon Free Airport Development Company, Gaeltarra Eireann and the Industrial Development Authority have resulted in the creation of job opportunities for both foreign industrialists and return migrants in areas where employment was previously unobtainable.

The immigrants showed a definite preference for urban areas. Fifty-one per cent of them chose to reside in settlements with more than 3,000 inhabitants. This figure can be compared with 55% for intercounty migrants and 45% for the total population. In fact there were some immigrants in every town with more than 1,500 inhabitants. The importance of urban areas is obviously related to employment opportunities and the provision of housing.

#### *The 1970/71 immigrants*

A total of 11,362 immigrants came to the Republic of Ireland in the twelve months prior to mid-April 1971. This number was augmented by almost 13,500 return migrants, giving a total immigration of almost 25,000 people. These people made a very significant contribution to the change in the total population in 1970/71. Were it not for immigration the total population would have declined by about 5,000, while instead a net increase of approximately 20,000 was recorded.

In Table 2 the principal demographic characteristics of the immigrants are compared with those of the 1970 resident population.

TABLE 2  
RELATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS AND 1970 RESIDENTS  
BY AGE AND SEX

Age Group	1970 Residents		Immigrants					
	M	F	Total		Irish Born		Non Irish Born	
			M	F	M	F	M	F
1—14 yrs	15.24%	14.60%	13.93%	13.64%	3.50%	3.40%	26.34%	25.83%
15—19	4.73	4.51	2.21	2.74	1.66	2.33	2.86	3.22
20—24	3.72	3.51	6.64	9.43	8.58	11.81	4.33	6.62
25—34	5.54	5.39	13.42	12.80	18.34	17.26	7.57	7.49
35—44	5.19	5.18	6.32	4.95	8.39	6.44	3.87	3.17
45—64	10.56	10.41	4.90	5.04	5.99	6.54	3.59	3.24
65+	5.22	6.20	1.97	2.00	2.84	2.92	0.96	0.91
Total	50.20	49.80	49.40	50.60	49.30	50.70	49.52	50.48

Note: In this and subsequent tables 'Irish born' refers to people who were born in the Republic of Ireland.

Source: 1971 Census of Population, Vol. XI, Part 1, Table 7.

There were slightly more females than males in the immigrant population, while the converse was true of the usual residents. Thus the effect of immigration was to improve marginally (by 0.0007%) the sex ratio in the total population. This was particularly true in the 35-44 age group.

As might be expected the age structure of the immigrants was substantially different from that of the rest of the population. On the one hand over 42% of the immigrants were 20-34 years of age while this was true of only 18% of the usually resident population. On the other over 32% of the 1970 residents were over 45 compared to 14% of the immigrants. The greater proportion of younger people arises because of their greater adaptability to new environments and because of their weaker bonds with their local communities.

There were substantial differences in age structure between the Irish born and non-Irish born immigrants. Over half the non-Irish born immigrants were under fourteen years of age compared with about 7% of the return migrants. Allied with this were differences in marriage rates. Over 56% of the return migrants were married compared with 30% of the remainder of the immigrant group. From these differences one may infer that a large number of the non-Irish born immigrants were in fact the children of return migrants. An estimate of 32% can be obtained if one assumes that the ratio of children to adults was the same for both groups. A final point worth noting about the age structure of immigrants is that 988 of them were over 65 years of age. Almost 80% of them had been born in Ireland and were clearly returning for their retirement.

In many migration studies great emphasis has been put on the role of education as a selection factor. In Table 3 the 1970 residents aged fourteen years and over and the immigrants of similar age are classified by highest level of educational establishment attended.

TABLE 3  
RELATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS AND 1970 RESIDENTS  
AGED FOURTEEN YEARS AND OVER BY HIGHEST LEVEL OF  
EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT ATTENDED

Level of educational establishment	1970 Residents		Immigrants					
			Total		Irish Born		Non Irish Born	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Primary	60.18%	56.59%	41.82%	36.84%	50.15%	42.06%	22.69%	25.23%
Secondary	13.96	18.57	19.59	29.60	17.86	28.88	23.58	31.19
Vocational	9.19	7.75	10.07	8.29	11.78	9.91	6.13	4.67
Sec. & Voc.	3.16	5.45	5.37	9.18	4.83	8.98	6.61	9.62
University etc.	4.48	3.02	16.76	11.00	13.05	8.04	25.28	17.58
Post school	9.03	8.62	6.38	5.09	2.33	2.12	15.70	11.70

Source: 1971 Census of Population, Vol. XI, Part 1, Table 12.

Among the usually resident male population 60% had only primary education, 26% second level and 4.5% had attended some third level institution. The situation was not very different among the female population. However, among the immigrant population there was a substantially smaller proportion with only primary education and larger proportions who had attended either second or third level institutions. The contrast was most marked among the male population where almost 17% of the immigrants had attended a third level institution while this was true of only 4.5% of the 1970 residents. Thus, in general, the immigrants had achieved a considerably higher standard of education than the usually resident population. This was most apparent among the non-Irish born immigrants (Table 3). Of course, these differences are partly due to the age structure of the immigrants.

Migration is selective not only according to age and education levels but also according to occupation. An analysis of the occupations of migrants gives some idea of their potential contribution to the region into which they move. In Table 4 the immigrants of both sexes are classified by occupation groupings. For comparison a similar classification of the 1970 resident population is included.

TABLE 4  
RELATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS AND 1970 RESIDENTS  
AGED FOURTEEN AND OVER BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Occupational Group	1970 Residents		Immigrants					
			Total		Irish Born		Non Irish Born	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
1	32.10%	8.96%	8.74%	2.64%	10.27%	2.56%	4.65%	2.87%
2	22.42	15.66	27.58	6.54	28.97	6.86	23.86	5.74
3	10.59	0.28	12.61	0.11	16.00	0.12	3.53	—
4	8.66	4.12	6.67	1.57	7.60	1.74	4.21	1.13
5	8.84	23.43	4.03	20.13	4.05	19.79	3.97	21.00
6	8.80	12.53	8.82	6.52	8.93	6.62	8.52	6.25
7	3.60	17.52	5.78	17.82	4.92	16.52	8.08	21.21
8	6.07	16.86	18.26	43.51	20.51	44.72	28.90	40.37
9	3.42	8.89	7.49	1.14	4.96	1.06	14.28	1.33
% Gainfully occupied	79.24	27.07	85.14	37.70	88.96	39.46	76.34	33.78

Source: 1971 Census of Population, Vol. XI, Part 1, Table 9.

Key to occupational groups: 1. agricultural workers; 2. producers, makers and repairers; 3. labourers; 4. transport and communications workers; 5. clerical workers; 6. commerce, insurance, finance; 7. service workers; 8. professional and technical workers; 9. others.

A number of points emerge from an examination of Table 4. Firstly, the participation rates for both sexes among the immigrants were higher, especially among the return migrants. The lower participation rates among non-Irish born immigrants are due to a number of factors, including the fact that a considerably larger percentage of them were still at school (Table 3). Nevertheless, over 11,000 of the immigrants were gainfully occupied by the time of the census. This figure assumes some importance when one considers that the increase in total employment in the country in 1970/71 was only 2,000.

Secondly, as to be expected the proportion of the immigrants involved in agriculture was considerably smaller than among the usually resident population. Again, this was particularly the case among the non-Irish born immigrants.

Thirdly, smaller percentages of the immigrant workers were involved in transport, communication and clerical activities. Conversely, a greater percentage of the immigrants were involved in professional or service activities. Thirty-four per cent of the usually resident females were involved in service or professional activities. The greatest contrast with respect to the male population was between the usually resident and non-Irish born immigrants, approximately 37% of the latter being involved in service or professional activities, compared with 10% of the usually resident population. Finally, there are two other aspects of Table 4 worth noting. The first is the contrast between the percentage of Irish born and non-Irish born male immigrants classified as labourers. The high percentage (16%) among the Irish born immigrants would seem to suggest the return of labourers from Britain and America to take up employment in grant-aided manufacturing industry in this country. The second striking figure in Table 4 is the fact that over two-fifths of the gainfully occupied females were engaged in some profession. There is no detailed information available on the occupations of these professionals. However, it is possible that a large number of them were nurses returning after being trained in Britain.

To conclude the paper the immigrants to Dublin and Cork are contrasted with those to the remainder of the country (Table 5).

TABLE 5  
REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS AND RESIDENTS  
BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristic	Dublin		Cork		Remainder	
	Percentage in each region					
Age group 0-19	30.77%	29.35%*	12.63%	11.63%*	56.60%	59.02%*
Age group 20-34	37.20	33.90	10.10	11.90	52.70	54.2
Primary education	23.61	23.91	10.72	11.47	65.67	64.62
Third level education	48.77	40.69	10.44	11.50	40.79	47.81
Professional occupation	45.14	39.04	10.60	11.28	44.26	49.68
Clerical occupation	57.65	55.63	8.68	9.81	33.66	34.56
Labourer	21.10	28.98	9.77	11.50	69.13	59.52
All immigrants	32.74	28.56	11.32	11.85	55.94	59.59

Source: 1971 Census of Population, Vol. XI, Part 1.

\* Figures in these columns refer to the 1970 residents.

From this table it is clear that there is considerable variation in the characteristics of the immigrants to different parts of the country. As might be expected Dublin proved particularly attractive to immigrants aged between twenty and thirty-four and to those who had gained a third-level education and were employed as professionals or technical workers. Conversely, Dublin did not attract as many labourers or unskilled workers as might be expected from an examination of the occupations of workers residing in Dublin in 1970. In contrast to the situation in Dublin the proportions of the immigrants and 1970 residents with particular characteristics corresponded very closely in Cork. As a consequence of the attraction of Dublin smaller proportions of the immigrants than the usual residents of the remainder of the country had attended a third-level educational establishment or were employed as professionals or technical workers, while a larger proportion of the immigrants were classified as labourers or unskilled.

### *Conclusions*

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the trends described above. The principal ones are:

1. Immigration has made a significant contribution to the total population of the country and to the way in which it has changed.
2. In general, the immigrants were widely dispersed throughout the country. They were represented in the population of every town with more than 1,500 inhabitants. Furthermore 37% of them have chosen to reside outside of these settlements. The immigrants most attracted to rural areas were those from the U.S.A., 46% of whom settled outside of towns with more than 1,500 inhabitants.
3. Immigration to Ireland was highly selective in terms of age, education and occupational grouping. Almost 75% of the immigrants were under 35 years of age, 15% had attended a third-level educational establishment and 26% were employed as professional or technical workers. The corresponding figures for the usually resident population were 57%, 3.7% and 8.8% respectively.
4. There was considerable regional variation in the characteristics of the immigrants. Their overall pattern reflected and contributed to the existing pattern of regional imbalance in the population structure and the provision of high level professional and technical services in the country.

This paper has described the principal trends in recent times. Since attention has been largely confined to aggregate trends at the national level the author hopes to explore in greater detail in another paper the variations within the country.

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