

**A study of the existing sources of information and analysis
about Irish emigrants and Irish communities abroad**

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This Study was produced collaboratively, with substantial contributions from scholars in several global locations. The views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the Minister for Foreign Affairs or his Department.

We should like to thank John Walsh for producing the maps and Helen Humphrys for typing the tables.

August, 2002

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INTRODUCTION

This study provides background data and analysis for the Task Force report on Policy concerning Emigrants. It brings together different sources of information and analysis in order to provide a statistical and analytical portrait of the three constituent populations that form the concern of the Task Force: Irish emigrants, returnees and Irish communities abroad. It analyses a wide range of sources of information in Ireland and each country of destination in order to provide as full a range as possible of interpretations of the causes and circumstances of contemporary Irish emigration, return migration and the needs and condition of Irish communities abroad.

The study focuses on the post-1945 period which represents the most recent stages of a much longer history of emigration from Ireland. Ireland occupies a very unusual place in the wider pattern of European emigration in the very large numbers of emigrants relative to the total population of the country, such that there was continuous decline from 8.2 million people in 1841 to only 4.2 million in 1961. The peak years of outflow were in the immediate aftermath of the Great Famine of 1847-51 and the loss by 1920 is estimated to be around 6 million people. The major destination in the nineteenth century was the USA, but from the 1920s the direction of the flow turned to Britain which has been by far the largest destination until the 1990s.

In the post-1945 period there have been three detailed reports on emigration from Ireland, each associated with a period of crisis which led to large-scale outmovement. The massive 'second wave' movement of the 1950s was meticulously explored in the *Reports of the Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems* (1956). The 'third wave' of late 1980s emigration was recorded by the NESC Report (1991), *The Economic and Social Implications of Emigration*, which additionally looked in detail at the circumstances of the Irish community in Britain as the largest population outside Ireland. Most recently the Harvey Report (1999) on *Emigration and Services for Irish Emigrants*, produced for the Irish Episcopal Commission for Emigrants, expanded the scope to the global scale. This study aims to draw on and complement these approaches.

The availability of material is very variable according to location and topic. Whilst economic aspects of emigration from Ireland have been explored in depth, social and cultural causes and consequences have been much less systematically examined. Outside Ireland, the situation of the Irish in Britain has been recorded and analysed extensively by those providing services within the community and academics constructing frameworks within which to interpret their positionings in that society. The most thorough investigation to date has been the Commission for Racial Equality report *Discrimination and the Irish community in Britain* (Hickman and Walter, 1997). In the US detailed research on the post-1945 period has been carried out at a more local scale, focusing especially on New York, for example in the work of Mary P. Corcoran (1993) and Linda Dowling Almeida (2001). Published material on other locations, such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada is much sparser, though the situation is changing in the first two countries. Gaps in the record will be highlighted in this study.

Wherever possible information on both the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland will be included. Although less recognised than flows from the Republic, emigration from Northern Ireland has a very long history and has at different times both mirrored the pattern of movement from the Republic in the post-1945 period and diverged from it. Whatever their religious background, people from Northern Ireland are usually regarded simply as 'Irish' in other countries so many points raised here about their experiences as emigrants apply equally to both populations.

Although this study attempts to paint a comprehensive, if necessarily brief, portrait of migrating and returning Irish populations, and those settled abroad, particular attention is paid to the needs of the vulnerable. Vulnerability is defined broadly to include the better-known categories of young, poorly-equipped migrants and of older Irish people some of whom now wish to return at the end of their working lives. It is also extended to more 'invisible' groups such as people of all ages with problems relating to health (physical, including HIV/AIDS, and mental), family and social circumstances, institutional and domestic abuse, drug use, sexuality, and to Irish Travellers.

PART 1: A PORTRAIT OF IRISH MIGRANTS AND RETURNEES

There is a large literature on Irish migration, in addition to the major policy studies mentioned above. This section focuses on three distinct strands in order to highlight key aspects of contemporary migration issues:

- a statistical profile of migrants both leaving and returning to Ireland post 1945
- an analysis of explanations offered for these flows
- a study of existing provision in Ireland

1. Statistical profile

1.1 Outward flows

No record is kept of numbers leaving Ireland so that estimates have to be made. In the past data for *net* migration has been calculated from population changes identified at five-year Census intervals. But this figure simply provides a balance of out- minus in-migration and greatly underestimates the true size of flows in both directions. For example, in 1991 there was a very small net outward flow of 2,000 but this resulted from a large emigrant out-movement of 35,300 almost balanced by a large in-migration of 33,300. However this data remains the best guide to overall trends over time, especially before more detailed estimates by the Central Statistics Office (CSO), which include gross migration data from 1987 (Table 1.1).

Net migration data shows very large fluctuations in the post-1945 period. Two large peaks of outward movement from the Irish Republic, often called the ‘second wave’ and ‘third wave’ respectively, after the huge post-Famine ‘first wave’ of the mid- to late-nineteenth century, are clearly demonstrated in the late 1950s and late 1980s. In the 1950s the average outflow was 40,000 per year and in the late 1980s the figure was 27,000. Two marked periods of net inward movement can also be identified. In the 1970s, the population increased sharply for the first time in over one hundred and fifty years (+ 465,157: 1971-81). The most recent Census period saw further high net gains. Between 1996 to 2001 the population of the Republic grew by 8.0 percent between (+291,249: 1996-2001), of which 58 percent was estimated to be by net migration (2002 Census Preliminary Returns, CSO).

The pattern of net migration from Northern Ireland has followed quite similar cycles. However Northern Ireland did not experience the massive outflow of the 1950s. In the 1960s the rate was slightly higher from the North than from the Republic and the trends diverged in the 1970s when heavy emigration was a consequence of the most violent phase of the conflict (Table 1.2). In the 1990s emigration from Northern Ireland was at a similar rate to that from the Republic, and also showed net gains in the early 1990s, though these had levelled off by the end of the decade. However Northern Ireland continued to show net losses to the rest of the UK (Table 1.3).

The *gross* estimates available from 1987 show that substantial numbers still leave the Republic each year despite net immigration totals (Table 1.4). However there has been a continuous sharp decline from a high point of 61,100 in 1988 to only 19,900 in 2001. Net losses from Northern Ireland were also recorded in 8 out of 11 years between 1990 and 2000, with gross outflows of about 11,000 people per year (Table 1.5).

1.2 Profile of emigrants

Slightly more men than women have left Ireland in the post-1945 period, though the balance has shifted between decades (Table 1.6). More women left in the immediate post-war period 1946-51 and again in 1961-71. Fewer returned in the 1970s though the positive balance in 1991-96 included many more women than men.

Although the 1980s was a time of higher male emigration, in the 1990s when much more detailed CSO annual estimates have been available, young women have been leaving at a greater rate than young men (Table 1.7). The difference has been quite marked, for example, in 1998, of people aged 15-24, 1299 women per 1000 men emigrated and in 2000 the ratio was 1267. The gross outflow cumulatively of 15-24 year olds between 1996 and 2001 was 48,500 women and 40,400 men. Figures are not available for Northern Ireland by gender.

The most striking characteristic of migrants throughout the post-1945 period is their young age. A profile of the whole post-1945 period is provided by Table 1.8. This shows that in each intercensal period net losses have been greatest in the 15-24 age groups. In times of heavy loss this extends into the adjacent category of 25-34 year old people, and in the 1950s large numbers also left from 35-64 year old groups.

Continuing loss of young people even in times of net immigration is also shown. In 1991-96 for example net migration was inward at +8000, but there was a decline of 48,900 in the 15-24 year old age group. The 15-24 age group has had the highest losses of any age category throughout the 1987-2001 period. Greatest relative losses were between 1992 and 1996, which coincided with the highest rates of emigration during the 1990s (Table 1.7). It appears therefore that when emigration rates rise, the proportion of young migrants rises, but when the overall rate falls, higher proportions in the older group (aged 25-44) leaves the country.

Geographical origins of emigrants within Ireland cannot be known precisely because only net figures are recorded. The pattern of net migration for the period 1945-96 gives a more accurate indication of emigrants' counties of origin in earlier periods when immigration was small (Table 1.9). However it suggests that certain areas have had persistent losses which have not been offset by immigration. These include more inland rural areas such as Longford, Laois, Offaly, Tipperary, Cavan and Monaghan, which were still losing population in 1991-96 when counties such as Kerry, Galway, Wicklow and Clare, most of which had been large net losers until 1971, had become significant gainers. However results from the 2001 Census show a very significant change. For the first time since the Great Famine no county registered net emigration. The lowest increases were in Monaghan (+1.2%), Longford (+1.9%) and Dublin

(+2.0%), whilst the greatest gains were in Meath (+24.4%) and Kildare (+20.0%) (2002 Census Preliminary Returns, CSO).

The socio-economic profile of emigrants 1987-97 is similar to that of the total population in four out of seven major socio-economic groups. The main difference lies in greater proportions of emigrants amongst professional and employer/manager-headed households and fewer from those headed by unskilled labourers (Table 1.10).

In the case of Northern Ireland much less is known about the population profile of emigrants, but a calculation of the proportions of Catholics and Protestants in the flow between 1937 and 1971 showed that rates were around double for Catholics (Table 1.2). Accurate census data by religion has not been available since then.

1.3 Return migration

Immigration flows are also not monitored by official records of individuals entering either the Irish Republic or Northern Ireland. Estimates must again be made using a variety of sources including net census data.

In the case of return migration, the relevant data is hard to disentangle from that of immigration by non-Irish people who are included in the overall CSO estimates (Table 1.11). A further area of uncertainty is the extent to which 'foreign-born' people are of Irish background. For example, many children of returning migrants were born in Britain.

However censuses after 1986 do allow immigrants to be identified by birthplace (Table 1.12). This shows that the number of returning Irish-born migrants increased sharply between 1986 and 1996, from 171,600 to 211,500 (+23.3%). A somewhat larger total of non-Irish-born immigrants also settled in the Republic (213,200 to 251,600, +18.0%). Overall immigrants made up 13 percent of the population of the Republic in 1996, a far larger proportion than in Britain, for example (7%).

1.4 Profile of returned migrants

The most detailed statistical analysis of returnees has been carried out by Punch and Finneran (1999). This shows that more women were recorded amongst returned Irish-born migrants in each census year, the ratio increasing from 1018 females per 1000 males in 1986 to 1052 in 1996. For the most recent Census period 1996-2002, average annual rates of net migration were +6.9 per 1000 for women and +6.7 for men (2002 Census Preliminary Returns, CSO). As Punch and Finneran point out, the excess of women is particularly interesting given the excess of men amongst emigrants in the preceding ten years, suggesting a greater propensity of women to return.

An analysis by age group shows that one in eight people aged 50-64 years was an Irish-born person who had spent at least a year outside the Republic (Punch and Finneran, 1999). There is also clear evidence that significant numbers of younger Irish-born people, especially those born between 1961 and 1971, returned between 1991 and 1996.

Regions of greatest immigrant settlement in 1986-96 included Donegal, Galway County Borough, Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown and Mayo. There were fewest long-term migrants in Offaly and Laois. More than 20 percent of people in Donegal had lived outside Ireland for more than one year, 75 percent coming from Britain.

The socio-economic status of Irish-born returning migrants was higher than that of non-migrants. For example, 31.7 percent had completed post-secondary education compared with 16.8 percent of non-migrants. Returning Irish-born men were much more likely to be construction workers (17.9%, non-migrants 10.7%) and professional, technical and health workers (19.2%, non-migrants 8.9%). Women were also considerably over-represented in the last category, professional, technical and health workers (37.8%, non-migrants 20.1%) and under-represented in all other major categories. These figures suggest that well-qualified people are able, and choose, to return, although higher unemployment rates after arrival were also recorded amongst returning migrants.

In-migration has been greatest amongst the young middle-aged groups, suggesting return or foreign immigration amongst the young family life stage (Table 1.13). However an important proportion, around 10 percent, is in the pre-retirement age-group of 45-64 year-olds. What is striking about this age group is the preponderance of men. In each year, with one exception, from 1987 to 2001, men outnumbered women by a significant amount. In 13 out of 15 years men also outnumbered women returnees/immigrants in the 65+ age group, despite fewer numbers of men in this age group.

When the nationality of immigrants is considered the picture is of a diminishing share of Irish people between 1987 and 1996. The Irish proportion was greatest in the late 1980s coinciding with the downturn in the British economy and a large pool of recent migrants to Britain, suggesting that considerable numbers of these also returned during this time. Proportions from each of the other areas of the world increased over the period (Table 1.11). In 2001 the proportions by immigrants' origins were only 33.7 percent from the UK, 38.0 percent from the Rest of the World, 20.7 percent from the Rest of the EU and 10.55 from the USA. The extent to which these are Irish in background cannot be accurately known.

Key tables

Table 1.1

Annual Estimates of Net Migration from Irish Republic 1945-2001			
<i>Year (Commencing Mid-April)</i>	<i>Net Migration (000)</i>	<i>Year (Commencing Mid-April)</i>	<i>Net Migration (000)</i>
1945	-21	1974	+20
1946	-9	1975	+16
1947	-16	1976	+10
1948	-30	1977	+7
1949	-36	1978	+16
1950	-30	1979	-8
1951	-35	1980	+2
1952	-33	1981	-1
1953	-36	1982	-14
1954	-45	1983	-9
1955	-48	1984	-20
1956	-41	1985	-28
1957	-58	1986	-27
1958	-32	1987	-32
1959	-41	1988	-46
1960	-40	1989	-44
1961	-15	1990	-23
1962	-8	1991	-2
1963	-17	1992	+7.4
1964	-20	1993	-0.4
1965	-21	1994	-4.7
1966	-13	1995	-1.9
1967	-16	1996	+8.0
1968	-15	1997	+15.0
1969	-5	1998	+22.8
1970	-5	1999	+18.5
1971	+11	2000	+20.0
1972	+13	2001	+26.3
1973	+16		

Sources: (1) Hughes J.G.(1977), Estimates of Annual Net Migration and their relationship with Series on Annual Net Passenger Movement, Ireland 1926-76. ESRI Memorandum Series No.122. (2) CSO, Dublin.

Table 1.2

Net Emigration Rates from Northern Ireland (Rate per 1,000 per annum)				
<i>Period</i>	<i>Catholics</i>	<i>Non-Catholics</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Republic</i>
1937-51	6.5	2.3	3.7	6.9
1951-61	10.8	4.6	6.7	13.8
1961-71	6.9	2.8	4.3	4.8
1971-81	N/A	N/A	7.2	-3.2
1981-91	N/A	N/A	4.5	14.0

Source: to 1971 J. Simpson, 'Economic Development: Cause or Effect of the Northern Ireland Conflict', in J. Darby (ed.) *Northern Ireland. The Background to the Conflict*, Belfast, Appletree Press, 1983, p.102. Post 1971 data for the Republic from NESR Report 90 and for Northern Ireland from Northern Ireland Census 1991. Table 8

Table 1.3

Net civilian migration from Northern Ireland			
	<i>Total</i>	<i>to/from rest UK</i>	<i>to/from IR and rest of world</i>
61-66	-7	-7	-
66-71	-7	-3	-4
71-76	-14	-7	-7
76-81	-8	-4	-3
82-83	-5	-2	-3
83-84	-5	-4	-2
84-85	-5	-	-4
85-86	-6	-7	+1
86-87	-6	-6	+1
87-88	-8	-7	-1
88-89	-6	-6	-1
89-90	-4	-3	-1
90-91	+2	+1	+1
91-92	+4	+2	+2
92-93	+3	+1	+3
93-94	+1	-2	+3
94-95	+1	-1	+1
95-96	+6	+3	+4
96-97	+1	-2	+3
97-98	-	+2	+3
98-99	-3	-	-3
99-2000	-	-1	+1

Source: *Population Trends 1981-2001*

Table 1.4

Emigration from the Irish Republic 1987-2001									
	<i>Total</i>	<i>UK</i>		<i>Rest of EU</i>		<i>USA</i>		<i>Rest of World</i>	
		<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
1987	40.2	21.8	54.2	3.1	7.7	9.9	24.6	5.4	13.4
1988	61.1	40.2	70.0	2.8	4.6	7.9	12.9	10.2	16.7
1989	70.6	48.2	68.3	3.9	5.5	8.2	11.6	10.0	14.2
1990	56.3	35.8	63.6	5.1	9.1	7.7	13.7	7.6	13.5
1991	35.3	23.0	65.2	3.1	8.8	4.8	13.4	4.4	12.5
1992	38.9	19.4	49.9	8.6	22.1	4.2	10.8	6.7	17.2
1993	41.0	18.8	45.9	8.5	20.1	6.1	14.9	7.6	18.1
1994	41.5	17.8	42.9	6.7	16.1	10.9	26.3	6.0	14.5
1995	39.5	15.9	40.3	5.7	14.4	10.4	26.3	7.6	19.2
1996	31.2	14.1	45.2	5.1	16.3	5.2	16.7	6.8	21.8
1997	29.0	12.9	44.5	4.1	14.1	4.1	14.1	7.9	27.2
1998	21.2	8.5	40.1	4.3	20.3	4.3	20.3	4.1	19.3
1999	29.0	10.2	35.2	4.5	15.5	5.4	18.6	8.9	30.7
2000	22.3	6.3	28.3	4.3	19.3	3.2	14.3	8.5	38.1
2001	19.9	5.3	26.6	4.1	20.6	2.3	11.6	8.1	40.7

Source: CSO, Dublin, 1987-2001

Table 1.5

Internal migration: In/out Northern Ireland to England, Scotland and Wales			
	<i>Inflow</i>	<i>Outflow</i>	<i>Net</i>
71	12.1	21.6	-9.5
76	9.7	14.2	-4.5
81	7.2	10.1	-2.9
82	6.9	9.6	-2.7
83	7.2	11.0	-3.8
84	7.3	10.0	-2.6
85	7.9	10.9	-3.0
86	8.8	15.1	-6.3
87	9.6	15.3	-5.7
88	9.4	16.8	-7.4
89	10.2	15.6	-5.4
90	12.2	13.3	-1.1
91	12.5	9.3	+3.2
92	11.7	11.0	+0.7
93	10.7	11.5	-0.8
94	10.9	12.2	-1.2
95	14.1	12.3	+1.8
96	11.4	11.8	-0.4
97	10.2	12.6	-2.4
98	11.7	12.4	-0.8
99	11.6	12.5	-0.8
2000	11.2	11.9	-0.7

Source: *Population Trends* 1981-2001

Table 1.6

Net Migration by Sex 1871-1986				
<i>Intercensal Period</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Persons</i>	<i>No. of females per 1,000 males</i>
	<i>Annual Average ('000)</i>			
1871-81	-24,958	-25,314	-50,172	1,010
1881-91	-19,257	-30,476	-59,733	1,042
1891-1901	-20,315	-19,327	-39,642	951
1901-11	-11,764	-14,390	-26,154	1,223
1911-26	-13,934	-13,068	-27,002	938
1926-36	-7,255	-9,420	-16,675	1,298
1936-46	-11,258	-7,453	-18,711	662
1946-51	-10,309	-14,075	-24,384	1,365
1951-61	-21,786	-19,091	-40,877	876
1961-71	-6,236	-7,215	-13,451	1,157
1971-81	+5,806	+4,583	+10,389	789
1981-86	-8,283	-6,094	-14,377	736
1986-91	-14,865	-11,969	-26,834	805
1991-96	+311	+1,336	+1,647	4,296

Sources: (1) Commission on Emigration. Reports (1954)
(2) Censuses of Population 1946, 1951, 1981, 1986, 1996

Table 1.7

Gross Emigration of Young People aged 15-24 1987-2001						
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Women</i>		<i>Men</i>		<i>Women per 1000 men aged 15-24</i>
		<i>N</i>	<i>% aged 15-24</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>% aged 15-24</i>	
1987	40.2	18.6	62.9	21.6	60.2	951
1988	61.1	27.1	52.8	34.0	50.0	841
1989	70.6	31.3	56.9	39.2	49.0	927
1990	56.3	27.7	59.6	28.6	50.0	1,154
1991	35.3	17.7	58.8	17.6	54.0	1,095
1992	38.9	18.2	70.3	20.7	57.5	1,076
1993	41.0	19.9	68.8	21.2	57.5	1,123
1994	41.5	19.4	70.1	22.0	60.0	1,030
1995	33.1	14.9	72.5	18.2	64.8	915
1996	31.2	15.9	73.6	15.3	64.1	1,171
1997	29.0	14.3	67.1	14.7	55.8	1,107
1998	21.2	10.4	59.6	10.8	51.9	1,299
1999	29.0	14.7	59.2	14.2	47.2	1,179
2000	22.3	11.2	58.9	11.1	50.5	1,267
2001	19.9	10.3	55.3	9.6	46.9	1,179

Source: CSO, Dublin 1987-2001

Table 1.8

Net Migration classified by Age for intercensal periods between 1946 and 1996							
Sex, Age (at end of period)	1946/51	1951/61	1961/71	1971/81	1981/86	1986/91	1991/96
	000						
Males							
0-14	-2.1	-11.1	+11.4	+24.4	-3.3	-4.5	+10.3
15-24	-27.9	-73.5	-46.8	-4.9	-26.7	-40.2	-26.1
25-34	-23.3	-80.6	-34.4	-1.3	-12.1	-28.1	+1.4
35-44	-1.4	-25.2	+7.0	+22.7	-1.5	-4.3	+6.1
45-64	+0.6	-27.6	-3.8	+8.0	-1.6	-2.9	+6.4
65+	+5.8	+7.2	+4.8	+9.0	+3.9	+3.9	+3.5
Total	-48.3	-210.8	-61.9	+57.9	-41.4	-74.0	+1.6
Females							
0-14	-2.3	-11.8	+11.7	+23.0	-3.0	-3.6	+9.8
15-24	-38.4	-73.4	-44.0	-5.3	-21.8	-37.6	-22.8
25-34	-20.3	-59.4	-30.3	+0.2	-7.0	-19.6	+7.6
35-44	-6.7	-19.3	+1.1	+16.9	-0.1	-1.8	+5.9
45-64	-4.3	-26.7	-12.0	+1.8	-1.3	-0.2	+3.7
65+	+3.8	+4.3	+2.5	+9.2	+2.6	+3.3	+2.4
Total	-68.3	-186.4	-70.9	+45.8	-30.5	-59.6	+6.7
Persons							
0-14	-4.4	-22.9	+23.1	+47.4	-6.3	-8.1	+20.1
15-24	-66.3	-146.9	-90.8	-10.2	-48.5	-87.8	-48.9
25-34	-43.6	-140.0	-64.7	-1.1	-19.1	-47.7	+9.0
35-44	-8.1	-44.5	+8.1	+39.6	-1.6	-6.1	+12.0
45-64	-3.7	-54.3	-15.8	+9.8	-2.9	-3.1	+10.1
65+	+9.6	+11.5	+7.3	+18.2	+6.5	+7.2	+5.9
Total	-116.6	-397.1	-132.8	-103.7	-71.9	-133.6	+8.3

Sources: Census of Population of Ireland, 1966, 1981, 1996

Table 1.9**Average annual rate of estimated net migration (inward less outward) per 1,000 of average population in each intercensal period, 1951-2002**

<i>Province or County</i>	<i>1951-56</i>	<i>1956-61</i>	<i>1961-66</i>	<i>1966-71</i>	<i>1971-79</i>	<i>1979-81</i>	<i>1981-86</i>	<i>1986-91</i>	<i>1991-96</i>	<i>1996-2001</i>
Leinster	-11.4	13.1	-1.5	-1.7	5.5	-0.5	-4.5	-7.3	-0.2	7.2
Carlow	-12.9	-16.1	-12.2	-8.9	1.8	-0.6	-6.9	-9.1	-2.3	10.0
Dublin	-9.7	-10.1	4.8	-0.7	4.0	-3.5	-7.2	-7.4	-1.0	2.0
Kildare	-15.5	-18.4	-8.4	0.9	18.3	14.2	5.0	-1.3	9.0	20.0
Kilkenny	-11.1	-15.6	-10.9	-4.2	5.5	1.6	-2.6	-6.1	-0.5	5.8
Laoighis	-13.6	-17.2	-12.6	-6.4	3.1	1.4	-1.9	-10.0	-2.4	11.6
Longford	-16.6	-20.8	-16.8	-11.3	3.2	-2.4	-5.2	-12.1	-3.5	1.9
Louth	-10.2	-17.1	-6.8	0.9	6.8	-0.4	-3.4	-9.1	-1.8	9.6
Meath	-8.2	-14.7	-4.1	1.3	15.6	9.5	3.4	-6.3	0.8	24.4
Offaly	-12.3	-13.2	-11.7	-11.6	0.5	-4.6	-4.9	-11.1	-2.3	6.6
Westmeath	-13.3	-15.9	-12.3	-9.1	3.2	0.2	-5.6	-11.9	-1.9	14.9
Wexford	-14.3	-17.4	-9.5	-4.0	1.8	-0.2	-3.1	-8.3	-0.7	12.1
Wicklow	-18.8	-17.2	-4.2	7.5	14.5	5.6	3.0	-3.7	2.9	10.3
Munster	-12.8	-14.2	-6.4	-3.5	3.2	-1.3	-4.0	-7.8	0.5	5.5
Clare	-15.9	-14.9	-6.3	-1.9	7.3	5.7	0.1	-6.3	2.6	10.4
Cork*	-10.0	-11.2	-3.9	-1.9	4.1	-2.8	-3.7	-7.1	0.1	5.2
Kerry	-14.0	-15.2	-11.2	-4.7	1.6	2.2	-3.8	-6.3	5.6	6.1
Limerick*	-15.8	-17.0	-5.0	-6.5	1.5	1.0	-5.9	-9.9	-1.7	4.2
Tipperary, N.R.	-14.0	-16.1	-8.3	-6.5	-0.7	-7.5	-6.7	-10.8	-3.7	4.2
Tipperary, S.R.	-15.5	-18.6	-13.0	-8.2	1.3	-3.0	-5.9	-11.4	-1.7	4.2
Waterford*	-10.6	-14.8	-5.0	1.6	4.4	-4.0	-3.4	-5.4	1.6	5.1
Connacht	-17.4	-18.3	-13.6	-10.0	2.4	-0.4	-3.4	-7.9	2.3	8.8
Galway*	-15.2	-16.2	-10.6	-6.7	4.6	1.2	-1.7	-4.4	4.2	11.5
Leitrim	-23.1	-22.7	-19.1	-14.7	-2.3	-5.9	-6.3	-12.2	1.0	7.0
Mayo	-19.1	-20.3	-17.1	-14.0	0.2	-2.7	-5.2	-10.8	0.9	7.9
Roscommon	-16.1	-17.9	-11.7	-10.9	0.6	-0.3	-2.8	-11.4	0.3	6.7
Sligo	-17.1	-16.6	-12.7	-6.8	4.6	2.0	-4.1	-8.2	0.9	4.1
Ulster (part of)	-19.6	-20.7	-14.2	-6.6	3.8	-0.9	-3.1	-8.6	-2.2	4.6
Cavan	-18.2	-21.3	-13.8	-9.1	-3.0	-7.7	-7.0	-9.2	-2.7	6.8
Donegal	-20.2	-17.9	-15.0	-6.3	7.2	2.9	-1.2	-8.2	-1.6	5.0
Monaghan	-19.7	-26.5	-12.9	-4.4	3.2	-2.9	-3.7	-8.8	-3.3	1.2
State	-13.4	-14.8	-5.7	-3.7	4.3	-0.7	-4.1	-7.6	0.2	6.8

* County and County Borough

Source: Census of Ireland, 1996, Preliminary Results 2002.

Table 1.10**Households from which an emigrant departed in previous 12 months by socio-economic group of head of household (pooled dated from 1987-1997)**

<i>SEG of head of household</i>	<i>Emigrant households %</i>	<i>Total households %</i>
Farmers and farm workers	14.2	14.1
Professionals	13.0	11.1
Employers and managers	9.7	7.2
Salaried employees	2.7	2.4
Non-manual workers	23.4	23.8
Skilled and semi-skilled manual workers	21.1	21.5
Unskilled manual workers and unknown	15.9	20.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Punch and Finneran (1999) p. 22

Table 1.11**Immigration to the Irish Republic 1987-2001**

	<i>Total</i>	<i>UK</i>		<i>Rest of EU</i>		<i>USA</i>		<i>Rest of World</i>	
		<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
1987	17.2	8.1	47.1	2.2	12.8	3.0	17.4	4.0	23.3
1988	19.2	9.9	51.6	2.6	13.5	3.4	17.7	3.4	17.7
1989	26.7	14.2	53.2	3.6	13.5	3.1	11.6	5.8	21.7
1990	33.3	17.6	52.9	5.0	15.0	3.9	11.7	6.9	20.7
1991	33.3	18.7	56.2	4.2	12.6	4.3	12.9	6.1	18.3
1992	40.9	22.7	55.5	6.6	16.1	4.6	11.2	6.9	16.8
1993	35.0	17.3	49.4	7.1	20.3	5.0	14.3	5.7	16.3
1994	31.5	15.4	48.9	6.5	20.6	4.5	14.3	5.1	16.2
1995	33.5	16.1	48.1	8.1	24.2	3.8	11.3	5.6	16.7
1996	39.2	17.6	44.9	7.2	18.4	6.4	16.3	8.0	20.4
1997	44.0	20.0	45.5	8.1	18.4	6.6	15.0	9.3	21.1
1998	44.0	21.1	48.0	8.7	19.8	4.9	11.1	9.3	21.1
1999	47.5	21.6	45.5	10.0	21.1	5.7	12.0	10.2	21.5
2000	42.3	16.4	38.8	9.8	23.2	4.6	10.9	11.5	26.1
2001	46.2	15.5	33.5	8.7	18.8	4.4	9.5	17.5	37.9

Source: CSO, Dublin 1987-2001

Table 1.12

Returned Migrants 1986-96, Irish Republic						
	1986		1991		1996	
	000	%	000	%	000	%
Returned Irish-born migrants	171.6	4.9	183.9	5.3	211.5	5.9
Foreign-born usual residents	213.2	6.0	213.7	6.1	251.6	7.0
Total	384.8	10.9	397.7	11.4	463.1	12.9

Source: Punch and Finneran (1999) p,5

Table 1.13

In-Migration to the Irish Republic by Age, 1987-2001						
	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+	Total
	%					'000
1987 M	16.0	23.5	42.0	12.3	6.2	8.1
F	19.7	35.2	29.7	10.8	5.4	9.1
1988 M	15.0	24.0	40.0	11.0	9.0	10.0
F	16.3	32.6	34.7	10.7	5.4	9.2
1989 M	16.9	27.7	42.6	5.9	7.4	13.6
F	16.0	30.5	35.9	10.7	6.9	13.1
1990 M	15.2	26.4	44.9	8.4	4.5	17.8
F	16.0	34.6	37.8	7.7	3.2	15.6
1991 M	15.3	25.6	45.5	8.0	5.1	17.6
F	16.5	30.4	41.1	7.0	5.1	15.8
1992 M	15.5	27.9	42.5	11.0	3.7	21.9
F	14.7	34.6	37.7	9.4	3.1	19.1
1993 M	16.9	24.3	44.1	11.9	2.8	17.7
F	15.5	35.6	37.9	8.6	2.3	17.4
1994 M	16.8	27.1	41.9	11.0	2.6	15.5
F	13.1	37.5	36.9	9.4	3.1	16.0
1995 M	17.7	21.8	51.0	8.8	1.4	14.7
F	16.4	29.1	43.0	7.9	3.0	16.5
1996 M	16.5	22.3	46.3	11.7	3.2	18.8
F	17.6	32.8	39.7	6.4	2.9	20.4
1997 M	13.4	27.3	44.4	11.1	3.7	21.6
F	15.6	34.8	38.4	8.9	2.2	22.4
1998 M	15.1	22.5	49.0	9.6	4.1	21.8
F	17.6	31.5	38.3	9.5	3.2	22.2
1999 M	13.2	25.6	49.6	13.2	2.6	23.4
F	13.3	37.8	41.1	6.6	1.2	24.1
2000 M	11.7	26.3	51.6	8.5	1.9	21.3
F	11.4	40.0	41.0	5.7	1.4	21.0
2001 M	11.2	21.6	59.1	6.9	0.9	21.3
F	12.2	46.5	46.5	6.1	0.9	21.0

Source: CSO, Dublin, 1987-2001

2. Frameworks for understanding Irish migration

A variety of explanations have been put forward to account for patterns of contemporary Irish migration. This section provides a brief overview of these explanations, highlighting the social as well as economic reasons which underlie the emigration and return of vulnerable groups of the population.

2.1 Explanations of Emigration

(i) Economic push-pull

By far the most frequently-cited explanations for the high rates of population movement in and out of Ireland in the post-1945 period relate to the economy, particularly the availability of employment for those born in the country. The causes of emigration are seen as arising from the changing performance of the Irish economy. It is argued that individuals make decisions to leave according to the job opportunities made available to them.

According to this approach, huge outmigration in the 1950s was primarily a consequence of the loss of men's and women's work in agriculture and agricultural-related employment on an unprecedented scale. The publication of *Economic Development* by T.K. Whitaker, then secretary of the Department of Finance as the basis for the first *Programme for Economic Expansion* (See Breen, Hannan, Rottman and Whelan, 1990; Clancy, Drudy, Lynch and O'Dowd, 1995; Kennedy, 1986; Litton, 1982; Peillon, 1982), represented a new phase of Irish modernisation that opened up new avenues of employment and somewhat stemmed the loss through migration. This programme for internationalisation, economic expansion and modernisation was prompted by experiences of emigration. Slowing down of out-migration and a higher rate of immigration in the 1970s was explained in terms of EEC membership giving particular benefits to the Republic of Ireland, which had an unusually large agricultural sector.

The findings of the NESC Report on emigration in the 1980s continued to use these economic criteria in their analysis of migration data in the 1980s (NESC, 1991). The analysts' findings suggest that emigration was most concentrated among people at the top and those at the bottom of the class structure. This is explained in relation to push/pull factors, with push factors being most evident in the emigration of the poorly-educated and pull factors influencing the decisions of educated middle-class emigrants. The solutions offered in the Report included: first, the development of a stable economy, second, a programme of structural reforms leading to increased investment and an increase in employment opportunities, and third, policies directed at long-term unemployment. These proposals arose out of an analysis based on modernisation theory 'which assumes that Ireland's problems are simply attributable to [Ireland's] relative lack of development in the industrialisation process' (Jackson, 1991). Although taking an economic approach to accounting for 1980s migration, the report does not engage with theories of the changing formations of capitalism, its increasingly global nature including the development of 'global cities' and reliance on a mobile labour force.

(ii) Global mobility

A new type of economic explanation emerged in the 1980s. This emphasised the position of the Irish Republic within a global set of economic relationships, rather than the pull of individual economies, predominantly Britain. The description of 1980s emigration as different from previous periods of emigration is justified for three reasons. First, out-migration seemed to affect all geographical areas in Ireland, second, more emigrants were in professional or managerial work than in the past, and third, highly educated people were leaving in large numbers – a phenomenon referred to as the 'brain drain' (Sexton, 1987; Shuttleworth, 1993). The labour market profile of Irish women immigrating to Britain changed in the 1980s with more of them occupying managerial and professional categories (Hickman and Walter, 1997). Irish women's levels of emigration fell to 75 percent of men's levels. This contrasts with previous decades when women's emigration levels were often higher than those of men (Walter, 1989). Between 1971 -1988, there was a 27 percent rise in female employment in the Republic of Ireland. This rise was mainly in the insurance and professional services sectors (Hazelkorn, 1990).

When the 1960s 'baby boom' generation came onto the labour market in the 1980s, the economy was contracting and employment patterns were changing in the shift towards a knowledge-based economy, so unemployment and emigration soared again. This 'new wave' emigration included more middle-class and highly-educated emigrants and was characterised in political and media rhetoric in Ireland in terms of opportunity, globalised career structures and 'skilling-up' abroad in order to contribute more productively to Ireland's economic development on return. Although a significant proportion of this generation emigrated with low levels of education and few prospects, and the image of the successful mobile Irish migrant was contested (see Kelly and Nic Giolla Choille, 1989, 1995; Mac Laughlin, 1994), this discourse dominated government and media representations of 1980s emigration.

As the dominant class composition of migrants changed so too did the meaning of migration. Instead of representing shame and failure, or 'anti-national' individual ambition, emigration became a mode of self and national modernisation in the new context of global consumer culture (Gray, 2000, 2002a). Migration and the diaspora were being redefined in elite circles as positive attributes of Irish culture. However as mobility and diaspora became watch-words of Irish identity in the 1990s, many of those who did not emigrate in the 1980s felt that migration was valued above staying in Ireland (Gray, in press). This celebration of migration as global mobility intensified in the 1990s.

(iii) Social model - a rite of passage

Another major set of explanations centres around notions of the 'tradition of emigration' and the self-perpetuating pull of existing social networks to explain flows between Ireland and Britain. This is usually represented as a set of supporting social acting as a further stimulus alongside the primary economic causes of migration, but one which can also take on a life of its own. Migration is less a displacement with its accompanying breaking of close ties, than a movement to retain those connections, although of course they were initially severed by emigration.

The importance of social networks was emphasised by the *Commission on Emigration and other Population Problems*, which reported in 1955. The authors commented that young people in the early 1950s simply left rural Ireland without fully considering the option of staying.

Tradition and example have also been very powerful influences. Emigration of some members of the family has almost become part of the established custom of the people in certain areas – a part of the generally accepted pattern of life. For very many emigrants there was a traditional path ‘from the known to the known’, that is to say from areas where they lived to places where their friends and relations awaited them (Commission on Emigration, 1955:137).

In an overview of Irish migration to Britain in the post-War period, Liam Ryan (1990) argues that ‘the assumption that it is mainly due to economic causes requires some qualification’. In his view the ‘second factor’ is ‘the pull of those already away’. But this was not simply one half of a push-pull mechanism, it was a complete process in its own right. He summed it up by a key word ‘Crack’:

...a magical word which connoted all that was pleasurable in human society. More especially, it meant the jovial company on one’s own people... And so many of them left Ireland simply because ‘the crack was over there’, in Camden Town, and Cricklewood, in the Irish communities, Irish dancehalls and Irish pubs of London (Ryan 1990:51).

This ‘culture of emigration’ is not confined to working-class young people. The same theme was brought to the fore by Ian Shuttleworth (1993: 318) in his survey of the migration intentions and behaviour of Irish graduates in the late 1980s. The group of graduates with most propensity to emigrate were those who had worked abroad or had a family history of emigration.

These representations of the migration flow as the ‘inevitable contemporary manifestation of a long drawn out historical and cultural tradition of emigration’ are criticised by Jim Mac Laughlin (1997) who sees them as part of a political process of the naturalisation and sanitisation of emigration. Emphasis on the exceptionalism of the mobility of Irish youth detaches the flow from a broader context in which Ireland shares a position with other economically peripheral and semi-peripheral states. However, long established social networks facilitate Ireland’s continuing role as an ‘emigrant nursery’, especially for the British economy.

(iv) Emigration as Social Exclusion

An explanation for emigration which is given much less attention in academic literature is that of social inequality and disadvantage. A smaller number of studies has characterised it as an ‘escape’ from poverty, restrictive sexual mores, the claustrophobia of a small Irish society or family difficulties (see, for example, Ní Laoire, 1999). Another way to frame these narratives of escape is in terms of social exclusion.

Excluded groups might include those forced to migrate as a result of changing labour market structures in Ireland over the twentieth century; women who were pregnant outside of marriage until the 1970s at least (often known in British Rescue Societies in the middle decades of the twentieth century as PFIs, i.e. pregnant from Ireland) as well as those who are socially excluded from 'Celtic Tiger' Ireland.

The numbers of women going to Britain for abortions from both the Republic and Northern Ireland constitutes an important migration flow which is undercounted and usually omitted from discussions of emigration. Medb Ruane suggests that 'the experience of abortion represents modern Ireland's hidden Diaspora' (2000:10). A recent survey of women attending British abortion clinics entitled *The 'other' Irish journey* (Rossiter and Sexton, 2001) quoted Office for National Statistics figures in Britain of 1,430 abortions performed on Northern Irish women. But the authors pointed out that the real figure is much higher as many women give false addresses in Britain to avoid identification. Current estimates of numbers of women travelling from the Republic to Britain for pregnancy terminations are at 7,000 per annum (see All Party Oireachtas Committee Report, 2000 and Mahon, Conlon and Dillon, 1998).

The socio-political climate of Ireland, north and south, has also been a factor in gay and lesbian emigration (Maguire, 1995, 1997; Smyth, 1995). The political factors affecting emigration are also significant with emigration from the North being much higher in the 1970s and 1980s than in previous decades (White-McAuley, 1996).

As far as vulnerable intending and returning migrants in Ireland are concerned, most of these can be seen as falling into the policy category of the 'socially excluded': these include young people coming out of special schools, foster care, residential care and probation hostels; alcohol and drug users; Those with HIV/AIDS; those who have family or relationship difficulties, those excluded from the housing market; those who have moved around the few hostel places available in Dublin, Cork and other urban centres and find themselves homeless in Ireland; those who are fleeing the law or debts in Ireland; some who move over and back between England and Ireland with migration being a response to problems in each of these countries; and elderly returnees with housing, health and welfare support needs.

The Observatory on Social Exclusion came up with a working definition of social exclusion related to rights in 1991. The 1992 Irish report to the Observatory distinguished between four kinds of rights: civil rights, economic rights, social rights and personal relations rights. If these rights were recognised, individuals would be integrated and included in the democratic and legal system, the labour market, the welfare state, and the family and informal system (O'Conneide, 2000: 60). The London Irish Elders' Forum has raised questions about the exclusion of elderly Irish immigrants to Britain from all of these rights as a result of their 'forced' emigration in the 1950s and earlier. Although citizens of Ireland, they cannot vote in Irish elections, they are not entitled to free travel in Ireland like their peers 'at home', and have paid a high personal cost in terms of being separated from their families and communities in Ireland.

As in the past, we know very little about who is leaving now, their reasons for going, the geographic spread and their educational levels, their intentions and their relationships to Ireland of the 'Celtic Tiger'. While emigration is falling dramatically,

we know that income inequality is increasing and may be affecting young people's circumstances, expectations and decisions to leave. Some research suggests that over 60% of those who grew up in residential care in Ireland emigrated, most of them to Britain. The Focus Ireland report based on interviews with young people coming out of special schools, foster care, residential care and probation hostels, identified a range of health and social problems including addiction, homelessness, prostitution, exploitation and crime (Kelleher, Kelleher and Corbett, 2000). Two years after leaving care, over 40% of those who had been to special schools and 30 percent of those coming out of health board care had drug related problems. The Action Group for Irish Youth (London) and the London Connection, a mainstream service provider for homeless young people, note that young Irish people remain disproportionately represented at the sharp end of homelessness.

The Irish National Anti-Poverty Strategy calls for the reduction of demand for drugs and prevention programmes, the elimination of waiting lists for treatment and the expansion of community-based facilities. The need for a comprehensive service system is obvious but the infrastructure and funding are not in place. The Programme for Prosperity and Fairness sets out the need to review National Anti-Poverty Strategy (NAPS) under themes of child poverty, women's poverty, health, older people and housing/accommodation but fails to make the links between poverty, addictions and emigration. One way of getting help with alcohol or drug problems is to emigrate. For those leaving/contemplating leaving with addiction issues emigration can also be about breaking patterns of behaviour and social networks.

Many of those emigrating to Britain and US cities (often undocumented immigrants in the US) are early school leavers. The 1999/2000 Report of the Inter-Departmental Policy Committee entitled Social Inclusion Strategy notes that there has been little progress on attempts to increase the retention rates to Leaving Certificate level. One reason they pose for this is the pull factor of abundant employment. Although young people may be leaving school early for what seem like high wages, the experience with employers like 'Fruit of the Loom' in Donegal point to specific local contexts in which early school leaving, low skilled and unstable employment can contribute to longer term social exclusion and emigration.

2.2 Explanations for return migration

Although return migration to Ireland was on a much smaller scale than other European states which sent large numbers to the USA in the nineteenth century, it has been a significant feature of many communities in the post-1945 period.

(i) Economic explanations

Return migration can be interpreted as part of the circulatory pattern of labour migration which responds flexibly to labour demands. In the 1960s, for example, John Jackson (1966:4) estimated that around a quarter of the adult Irish population had lived and worked outside Ireland at some time.

Return movement can also be related to the opening up of economic opportunities in Ireland which allowed reluctant emigrants to relocate, bringing skills and savings with

them. Immigration was boosted in the 1970s when rising incomes following EEC membership were coupled with a large supply of 1950s and 1960s migrants in Britain eager to return. They were able to sell houses and businesses in Britain to fund the initial move. The 1990s saw another large scale return movement, this time of 1980s migrants who could again find work in the booming economy.

(ii) Social explanations

Although employment opportunities make possible the return of many emigrants, for widely differing groups of people return to Ireland is not simply a work-related choice.

Children's upbringing: for several decades qualitative studies of returnees' motives have shown a tendency for young families to return in order for children to be brought up in the perceived 'safer' environment of Ireland. This has especially been a choice of migrants who settled in large British cities (Walter, 1979).

'Quest for anchorage': young well-educated people also returned to Ireland in the 1990s. Mary Corcoran (1997) argues that many of those left in large numbers in the 1980s were ambivalent about identifying themselves as emigrants. 'Although they participated in the global labour market their self-identity remained remarkably local' She believes that they return to Ireland in a search for a better quality of life, including

having more time, the ease of Irish sociability, the quality of friendship and the slower pace of life. These returning emigrants want to feel organically part of something which, for want of a better word, we can call community (Corcoran, 1997:2).

Ironically the booming economy of Ireland has brought to Ireland the very economic values and fast pace of life they are trying to escape, and many now feel disappointed.

Older people: Nessa Winston's (2002) study of the needs and issues concerning the return of older Irish people shows that emotional attachment was a prime reason for wanting to return. In a sample of older Irish people in Britain considering the move 54 percent 'felt that Ireland was home' and a further 14 percent 'missed Irish culture and music'. Amongst those not wanting to return, the prime reasons related to the location of family and friends, 33 percent wanted to live close to family and friends in Britain and a further 14 percent might have considered moving to Ireland but felt that they no longer had family and friends there.

In this survey more men than women expressed an interest in returning to Ireland. This may reflect different weightings given by women and men to family ties against attachments to places. It may also be a measure of the social benefits women gained when they left. However it clashes with the statistical finding of greater numbers of women amongst the population of returnees, which requires further investigation.

3. Provision of services

3.1 Irish State involvement in the welfare of emigrants

Following the 1937 Kirkintollich (a small village in Scotland) tragedy, in which ten migrant workers from Achill island died as a result of a fire in their sleeping quarters, an Interdepartmental Committee on Seasonal Migration was established (*Report*, 1938). The committee's report argued that the Irish state should not get involved in the welfare concerns of Irish nationals in Britain. This role had been and continued to be played largely by the Irish Chaplaincy and Catholic Church in Britain.

By 1965, when asked to intervene in providing support for the welfare of Irish emigrants in Britain, Sean Lemass noted that 'the diversion of Irish state revenue to the support of Irish centres in England would be unsound from the point of view of state finance and would in practice be incapable of being kept within fixed limits' (quoted in Delaney, 2000: 259). He saw it as more appropriate that they be financed through donations and voluntary effort. In 1968, Under Minister for Labour, Patrick Hillery, a huge shift took place in the Irish state's response to migrants when it was proposed that: local employment exchanges provide information about employment opportunities in Britain; mutual recognition of educational qualifications be agreed and some state aid be made available for the welfare of emigrants in Britain (Delaney, 2000). However, the Departments of External Affairs and Finance were concerned that such measures would give the British government control over migration flows and that they would institute a shift from voluntary to state welfare aid for emigrants. In the event, only the mutual recognition of qualifications was pursued.

In the early 1970s, Minister for Labour, Joe Brennan set up COWSA (Committee on Welfare Services Abroad) to support those young people who were leaving for England with little preparation or money. The Catholic Social Service Bureau and National Manpower service supported this initiative. The minister appointed about 15 people to this committee, which met in the Department of Labour in Dublin and was superseded in 1984 by the London-based DION committee established by the then Minister for Labour Ruairí Quinn. He decided that a committee in Dublin was not adequate to the task of addressing the needs of vulnerable Irish migrants in Britain and established a much smaller DION Committee (Dion meaning roof or shelter).

The final Report of the Commission on the Family, which was established by the Minister for Social Welfare in 1995, dedicated one full chapter entitled 'Family Networks – the Irish Diaspora' to emigration, the diaspora and the family. It noted that 'emigration and its effects on family networks are strong themes throughout Irish history' (1998: 368). Noting that emigrants have strong kin networks with 'their families back home', the report sets out to both acknowledge the contribution of the diaspora to Ireland and examine how kin networks might be strengthened and young people might be better prepared for migration. The report also notes the establishment of the Irish Centre for Migration Studies at University College Cork in 1997, which was seen as being a central institution for the organisation of 'continuing research and...a focus for continued interest in the Irish Diaspora' (1998: 373).

Irish state support for emigrants takes place largely *outside* of the state with service provision for intending or returning migrants being provided largely by the Catholic

Church and voluntary sector organisations (with some financial support from the Department for Social Community and Family Affairs). A survey of existing migrant advice agencies in the Irish Republic was conducted for this study in April 2002. The small number of organisations, funded in a variety of ways, provides services for intending migrants, those who have left and increasingly, to those who wish to or have already returned to Ireland. It is not possible therefore to divide the services into simple categories as most serve several functions have developed in response to the changing demand. Moreover agencies provide services to migrants of all backgrounds, which increasingly includes non-nationals (See Appendix 1). Gaps and obstacles to a full service provision which emerged from our survey are highlighted below.

3.2 The Irish Citizenship Status of Emigrants

The status and entitlements of emigrants who hold Irish citizenship received little attention until recent years. Approximately 3 million Irish citizens live abroad and over 1.2 million of these were born in Ireland. The Council of Europe Committee on Migration Report, *Refugees and Demography Report Links between Europeans Living Abroad and their Countries of Origin* (1999) discusses 'kin-State/external citizen' relationships of the member States of the Council of Europe and divides these into three main categories.

States with 'national outreach' or 'proactive' policy programmes in which citizens outside the State are not just a symbolic part of the state but the state has developed 'resolute policies on their expatriates and make them a priority, even if their budgets do not always match their good intentions'. (These states are mainly Mediterranean states and include: - France, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Cyprus, Turkey).

States that have little or no outreach programmes are described as 'laissez-faire', a position mainly taken by northern European States including the UK, Germany, Holland, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark.

Ireland and Austria are identified as states in which policies are in a process of transition from the second approach to the first one as they are beginning to adopt a proactive or outreach position in relation to citizens abroad.

When proposals for Seanad representation for emigrants were not passed in the mid-1990s the matter was passed on to the All Party Oireachtas Committee on the Constitution. The recommendations of this committee with regard to emigrant representation in its seventh progress report on Parliament in March 2002 are that:

1. The right to vote in Dáil elections should remain confined to citizens ordinarily resident in the state, and to such other classes of resident as are determined by law.
2. The Taoiseach, in nominating senators, should include among his or her nominees a person or persons with an awareness of emigrant issues.
3. For reasons similar to those set out in our discussion of Northern Ireland representation, the committee believes that the right to vote in presidential

elections should not be extended to emigrants at the present time, nor should the right to vote in referendums be granted to emigrants.

The rationale for these recommendations in the report are: first, that ‘the likely scale of the emigrant vote, and how it might be mobilised and directed, cannot be known for certain’ (p. 58), and second, that ‘emigrant votes could...play a major and even decisive role in returning deputies and thus, perhaps, in forming governments’ (p. 58).

3.3 Gaps, obstacles and considerations in relation to full service provision

1. Agencies dedicated to emigrant advice are not able to access the most vulnerable group i.e. those young people from around the country who for multiple reasons are socially excluded in Ireland and for whom emigration is triggered by unpredictable events in their lives. These are usually those who are early school leavers, have low skill levels, and who may have addiction difficulties. In the recent ÉAN pilot database development project, only one Traveller was identified in a sample of 1,287 service users. Also, most of those using the services of participating agencies were skilled or professional, a finding that highlights the difficulties articulated by emigrant advisors in reaching vulnerable groups.
2. Advice providers have to work in an environment where the prevailing popular perception is that ‘emigration has ended’. Emigration can no longer be understood outside the fact of contemporary immigration to Ireland. Those providing services in Ireland to intending and returning migrants address experiences of displacement, loss, opportunity and settlement and have developed the skills and experience, which are now being extended to new immigrants who see their services as sources of help. Although raising many questions with regard to the mechanics of service delivery, the integration of these areas of work will provide a good basis for developing a more grounded and institutionally supported ‘multicultural’ Ireland.
3. As it gets easier (cheaper and visa waiver) to go to the US some vulnerable individuals take this route where they encounter serious problems as undocumented residents (see Part 2, Section B).
4. For returning migrants accommodation is a serious problem. There is a chronic lack of hostels, social housing and even ways of gaining access to bed and breakfast places without credit card number etc. For example, there are only 800 emergency hostel beds in Dublin.
5. FÁS Directories of migration and integration services, Ireland/Northern Ireland and Great Britain are useful. But there is a need for more a comprehensive and central information source for all service providers to those leaving and returning. One idea would be to include ‘emigration’ and ‘return migration’ as ‘life events’ on the Comhairle website – (public service information for life) www.oasis.gov.ie. The ÉAN database ran for 4 months but is not detailed enough to be useful to service users and policy makers – there is need for more work on this.

6. There is a lack of accurate figures. No satisfactory system of monitoring and cross-reference with services in Britain has been developed and neither has a research or funding strategy for this work. There is a need for a coordinated monitoring and research strategy to identify the factors affecting continuing emigration and to monitor the needs and service use of the various categories of migrants and their descendants. This might involve relevant government departments, the interdepartmental committee on emigration, the Central Statistics Office, and Irish welfare agencies in Britain (and elsewhere) and research institutions collaborating to agree a monitoring/research agenda for data collection, storage and dissemination.
7. Social protection has been compromised and under-resourced in Ireland by its location within the Health Board framework. As a percentage of GDP, Ireland allocates much less than the average allocated by EU countries to social protection which would potentially prevent the emigration of vulnerable individuals.
8. The lack of clarity about the citizenship or kin status of emigrants in relation to the Irish state disempowers them and raises questions about the sincerity of recent state and popular appeals to the diaspora.
9. The EU Commission's recently proposed 5 year EU Social Action Programme which aims to strengthen co-operation among Member States in combating Social Exclusion from 2001 to 2005 has three strands.

The first strand emphasizes understanding through the promotion of research. The lack of effective monitoring of service users and wider quantitative and qualitative research represents a fundamental obstacle to the tracking of factors of social exclusion as they affect current emigration from Ireland.

The second strand is co-operation based on exchange of information on good practices between member states. With increasing numbers of Irish people migrating to EU countries and continuing migration to Britain, there is a need to open channels of communication between relevant NGOs across national boundaries. A start was made at the inaugural ÉAN conference in Ireland, but the potential for transnational collaboration seems to have faltered.

Capacity-building, is the third and central strand and this involves the provision of financial and other support to NGOs involved in combating social exclusion and emigration when it arises as a result or as a form of social exclusion.

4. Conclusions

Migration has an effect on Irish society greater than that experienced by any other industrialised European state. The complexities of increased levels of immigration are now being added to the longstanding consequences of a predominantly outward flow.

Although academics and politicians have come up with different explanations and ways of accounting for emigration, we have only a scanty picture of its implications for the development of Irish society and for those individuals and families affected by it (see <http://migration.ucc.ie/oralarchive> for accounts of how 1950s emigration was experienced by those who did not migrate). There is considerable evidence that emigration operated at familial and national levels as one form of social exclusion for some time. Perhaps this is why it remained an under-analysed phenomenon in Irish society and continues to operate in 'taken for granted' ways. As the diaspora begins to 'speak back' to the 'homeland' some important questions about Irish emigration past and present are being raised.

The minimal development of services in Ireland to respond to the needs of intending and returning migrants left little opportunity to monitor the changing needs and motivations of migrants. It is noteworthy that the focus of state interventions in relation to the welfare of emigrants has been primarily outside of the state after they have left.

As Ireland experiences in-migration and begins to develop a 'multicultural' society, it is even more important that Irish society comes to terms with its history of out-migration and recognises in more concrete ways the *experiences* of the diaspora, as well as identifying the nature of the relationship between Ireland and the diaspora. The next section of the report explores the other parts of the diasporic framework, the societies which have both received emigrants and form the background from which returnees travel.

PART 2: IRISH COMMUNITIES ABROAD

Overview

2.1 A diasporic framework

A more inclusive way of thinking about Irish populations both within Ireland and at a global scale is signalled by the increasing use of the term ‘diaspora’. It is only recently that Irish populations abroad have begun to be grouped together in this way as sharing significant common elements of origin and culture at a global scale, rather than simply seen as an outward ‘scattering’.

This change in direction was signalled by President Mary Robinson in her inaugural speech in 1990 when she made particular reference to her intention to represent both those living in the Irish state and those who recognise an Irish identity outside it.

Beyond our state there is a vast community of Irish emigrants extending not only across our neighbouring island – which has provided a home away from home for several Irish generations – but also throughout the continents of North America, Australia and of course Europe itself. There are over 70 million people living on this globe who claim Irish descent. I will be proud to represent them.

(Inaugural Address as President of Ireland, 3 December, 1990)

What was also significant about this shift to include a global Irish community was the specific reference, at the head of the list, to ‘our neighbouring island’, Britain. Previous scholarly references to the Irish ‘diaspora’ had assumed that it referred primarily to the USA (for example, McCaffrey, 1976).

Thinking about ‘diaspora’ rather than ‘emigration’ brings into focus new kinds of relationships. It draws attention to ties between Ireland and the different communities abroad – through visits, remittances, phone calls, assistance to new arrivals, cultural exchanges. These ties can also cross between different overseas communities – Britain and the USA, Canada and Australia. It also includes more than one generation, recognising that senses of ethnic and national identity are not confined to birthplace groups but extend to their own families and descendants. This reorientation was confirmed by the change of Article 2 in the Irish Constitution in 1999 to state that ‘the Irish nation cherishes its special affinity with people of Irish ancestry living abroad who share its cultural identity and heritage’.

Bringing together people who share common geographical and cultural origins permits comparisons to be made between their experiences, which in turn highlight differences in their treatment and opportunities in different destinations. Members of the same family may have very different experiences if they settle in the USA and Britain, for example. These differences help to disentangle experiences which relate to the migration process itself, those which arise out of contact with specific political and social structures of the country of destination and those that are affected by the socio-political relationship between Ireland and the country of destination. The needs

of Irish people in different parts of the diaspora will therefore depend strongly on the national and local conditions they encounter.

However, although the country began to experience return migration alongside high levels of in-migration in the late 1990s (Mac Einri, 2001), the term diaspora, which was identified with the dispersal of ‘Irish’ people over many generations, has not yet been extended to the dispersals of *incoming* migrants from other parts of the world.

2.2 Statistical profile

2.2.1 Birthplace

The outflows from Ireland during the post-1945 period have added to substantial existing Irish populations in different parts of the world. Census data is available for the four major destinations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – the USA, Britain, Canada and Australia (Table 2.1). But the total number of Irish-born people and those of Irish descent is greater than these numbers suggest. Smaller proportions have continued to settle in many other countries, including New Zealand, South Africa and Argentina, though data is often sparser in these locations. Increasing proportions of recent migrants have also moved to other EU states where birthplace data is often absent altogether from official statistical datasets.

Table 2.1

Irish-born Populations living outside Ireland 1841-1991				
	<i>USA*</i>	<i>Britain</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>Canada</i>
1841		415,725		122,000
1851	962,000	259,326		227,000
1861	1,611,000	805,717	177,405	286,000
1871	1,855,827	774,310	213,765	223,000
1881	1,854,571	781,119	214,771	186,000
1891	1,871,509	653,122	229,156	149,000
1901	1,615,499	631,629	185,807	102,000
1911	1,352,155	550,040	141,331	93,000
1921	1,037,232	523,767	106,274	93,000
1931	924,000	505,385	79,185 ^a	108,000
1941	678,000	ni	45,066 ^b	86,000
1951	520,359	716,028	47,844 ^c	80,795
1961	406,884	950,978	50,327	ni
1971	292,212	957,825	63,902	ni
1981	217,648	850,395	69,917	16,720
1991	[220,000]	837,464	74,494	28,405

* USA Census dates: 1840/50/60 etc.

a 1933 b 1947 c 1954

What is striking about the Irish experience of emigration is the high proportion of Irish-born people living outside Ireland. This has declined from a peak in 1891, some forty years after the Great Famine, when nearly half (45.6 percent) were living in the four major countries of destination (Table 2.2). However although there has been a

steady decline since that time, at least one quarter of all Irish-born people were still living outside Ireland in 1991, an extraordinarily high proportion in European terms.

Table 2.2

Irish-born People living inside and outside Ireland 1871-1991			
	<i>Total Irish-born in Ireland (RI + NI)</i>	<i>Total in four main external destinations</i>	<i>% of total living outside Ireland</i>
1871	4,053,187	3,066,902	43.1
1891	3,468,694	2,902,787	45.6
1911	3,139,688	2,136,526	40.5
1931	3,591,574	1,616,570	31.0
1951	4,332,514	1,365,026	30.5
1981	4,986,000	1,154,680	18.8
1991	5,099,719	1,160,393	18.5

There has been a sharp change in the size of Irish-born populations in different emigrant destinations. In the peak year of populations living in the four major destinations, 1871 (3.1 millions), the USA was by far the largest country of settlement with 60.5 percent of the total. The proportion in Britain, the second destination, was far lower (25.2%), though the frequency of movement to Britain and poor recording mechanisms means that the total was greatly underestimated. Cormac O'Grada (1973) has written of the 'missing million' Irish-born people in nineteenth-century British censuses. Both Canada (7.3%) and Australia (7.0%) were British 'dominions' with smaller total and Irish-born populations.

The Irish-born population in the USA reached a peak of 1,874,509 in 1890 and declined thereafter, falling to below one million in 1930 and sharply again to 520, 359 in 1951. By 1980 it had more than halved again to 217, 648. The 1990 total was artificially deflated by failure of large numbers of undocumented young people to register, and no separate publication of Northern Irish birthplace figures.

By contrast the size of the Irish-born population in Britain increased during the twentieth century. In 1951 the number exceeded the US total for the first time (716,028 compared with 520,359) and by 1981 there were four times as many Irish-born people living in Britain as in the USA. The peak year was 1971 when the total reached 957,825, representing the culmination of post-War immigration of the 1950s and 60s. The 1981 total was substantially lower (-11.2%) following net return migration in the 1970s.

Both Canada and Australia reached peak figures in the second half of the nineteenth century (1861 Canada, 1891 Australia). In the case of Canada, the decline continued in the post-1945 period so that by 1991 there were only 28, 405 Irish Republic-born people living there. In Australia on the other hand there has been a steady increase from a low of 45,066 in 1947 to 74,494 in 1991 (+ 65.3%).

However the distribution of new emigrants within the diaspora has changed very sharply in the last fifteen years. Detailed construction of gross migration estimates by

the CSO since 1987 allows this shift to be traced on an annual basis (Part 1, Table 1.5). At the start of the period in 1988, the pattern was quite typical of the earlier part of the post-1945 period. By far the largest total of new emigrants chose Britain (70.0%) with much smaller totals going to the USA (12.9%) and the Rest of the World (16.7%).

Within two years this pattern had changed as the EU proportion doubled to 9.1 percent in 1990 and the UK share fell to 63.6 percent. By the middle of the decade a much larger shift had taken place, the UK proportion plummeting to 40.3 percent and sharp rises taking place in all other major destination groupings. The UK proportion continued to fall, reaching a low of 26.6 percent in 2001, whilst the totals choosing other destinations fluctuated quite sharply. Numbers going to the USA, for example, also fell steeply again after 1995 to levels similar to those of the 1980s and earlier (11.6% in 2001). The major relative gains had therefore taken place in the EU (20.6% in 2001) and rest of the World (including Australia) (40.7% in 2001). These changes had taken place against a backdrop of sharply declining overall numbers, especially after 1989 and again after 1995.

2.2.2. Irish descent

Birthplace is not the only way in which Irish populations can be defined. Children brought up in households where one or two parents are Irish-born may also feel themselves to be wholly or partly Irish, and may pass significant elements of this identity on to their own children (Walter, Morgan, Hickman and Bradley, 2002). The extent to which this happens will vary greatly with the circumstances in which they settle into new societies, including individual states' attitudes towards the integration and status of different ethnicities, relationship between Irish populations and other members of the societies in which they settle, degree of permanence intended and opportunities to maintain cultural distinctiveness. Meanings of Irish identities thus vary greatly across the diaspora.

All these factors affect ways in which census questions about Irish identities are posed and responses given. Occasionally the more specific question of parents' birthplace is recorded (see Britain, Australia), but this is rare. More commonly respondents are asked to choose the way they describe their ethnic 'origin', 'ancestry' or 'cultural background'. In 1990/91 three of the four major countries of destination included ethnic ancestry questions. By far the largest response was from the USA where nearly 23 million people claimed Irish ancestry, a ratio of 1:134 of birthplace: ancestry. In Canada (1:28) and Australia (1:30) the ratios were very similar. In Britain a question about ethnic groups' 'cultural background' included an 'Irish' tick-box for the first time in 2001 and results are yet to be published (see Appendix 3).

Because of the different time periods when they received inflows from Ireland the balance of Irish-born and Irish descent populations varies sharply in different locations. The needs of these populations also varies by generation, but also by the characteristics of those generations, especially those relating to age, gender, socio-economic status and religion. Each major location will now be examined in order to highlight key aspects of the circumstances, identities and positioning of their Irish communities.

A. The Irish community in Britain: a portrait

1. Britain within the Irish diaspora

More than three-quarters of the Irish-born living outside Ireland now live in Britain (see Section 2.2, Table 2.1 above). In the post-1945 period Britain has replaced the USA as the largest area of settlement. Although numbers declined from a peak of 957,000 Irish-born in 1971 the total remained at 850,000 in 1991. It is estimated that a further 1.7 millions have been born to Irish parent/s (Hickman, Morgan and Walter, 2001). Many third-generation children are also raised with a strong sense of their Irish heritage, especially in large centres of Irish settlement. A three-generation Irish community could number 6 millions.

Between the 1950s and 1980s approximately 80 percent of all emigrants came to Britain. More recently however a sharp change has taken place and in the period covered by detailed CSO estimates of out-migration, 1987-2001, the proportion has fallen dramatically (see Part 1, Table 1.5). Since 1988 when 70 percent still chose the UK, the proportion fell to 40 percent in 1995 and in 2001 had declined to 27 percent of the total emigration from Ireland. The largest group of migrants currently living in Britain is therefore the 'bulge' of 1950s migrants, with an added peak from the large 1980s outflow. There are likely to be far fewer young migrants in Britain now than at any time in the post-War period.

Britain occupies a distinctive place in the Irish diaspora for a number of reasons which relate to the proximity between the two countries. Firstly, as the closest destination Britain has attracted migrants who could afford the cheaper travel costs and have not needed to draw a hard line between a temporary 'sojourn' and a permanent move. Secondly, the political relationship between Britain and Ireland has left a legacy of distrust of Irish people as potentially subversive and their racialisation as inferior. This continues to emerge in anti-Irish prejudice which can take a number of forms (Hickman and Walter, 1997). Thirdly, Britain has been an imperial centre rather than a settler nation, as in the case of the USA, Canada and Australia and has represented itself as an homogenous society, rather than one composed of immigrants. This has profoundly influenced the ways in which different groups of post-1945 migrants have been placed.

In contrast to other major centres of Irish settlement abroad, the USA, Australia and Canada, the Irish in Britain have remained in reality an 'ethnic minority' rather than becoming a significant, and privileged, part of the 'white' majority. However for a variety of reasons this status has not been officially recognised. Political decisions related to the status of Northern Ireland and the value of Irish labour were made in the 1950s that the Irish were 'the same' as the British and they were excluded from the restrictive immigration legislation which came to determine which groups were defined as 'ethnic' (Hickman, 1998).

The Irish in Britain are therefore officially included within an undifferentiated 'white' majority for purposes of resource distribution even though in reality their needs may be similar to those of recognised 'non-white' groups. Moreover although well-educated Irish migrants undoubtedly have little difficulty in joining mainstream

British society economically, they may also be affected by negative stereotyping of the Irish as a group (Kells, 1995a).

The inclusion of the Irish as part of the same cultural group as the majority British population has also meant that the Irish background of those born in Britain has not been a recognised source of identity. Unlike the Irish communities in the settler societies of the USA, Australia and Canada, where Irish ancestry is recorded and celebrated, the Irish community in Britain has been seen as a birthplace group only (Walter, 1998). For the first time in the 2001 Census the option to choose an 'Irish' ethnic group was offered, but unlike in North American and Australia, this was a singular rather than mixed or multiple choice. In England and Wales the named 'White' ethnic categories were 'British' and 'Irish', without provision for a 'Mixed' category, whilst in Scotland the specific choices were 'Scottish', 'Other British' and 'Irish' (see Appendix 3).

This section has four aims:

- To provide a statistical profile highlighting key features of the post-1945 population in the Britain
- To present an overview of Irish identities and culture in England (and Wales) in the post-1945 period
- To identify issues of comparative Irish disadvantage and social exclusion in England (and Wales) and to highlight the most vulnerable groups
- To draw attention to the distinctive, and under-explored, character of Irish settlement in Scotland

2. Profile of the Irish community 1945-2001

2.1 Population and settlement

The Irish in Britain have a distinctive population profile within the diaspora. The most obvious feature is the large numbers throughout the post-1945 period (Table 2A.1). The pattern is often described as comprising two 'waves' the largest in the 1950s when over 500,000 people settled in Britain and a second representing the huge outflow in the later 1980s, which focussed heavily on Britain. Substantial numbers from both the Republic and Northern Ireland are included. The Northern Irish proportion is 27.7 percent of the whole and expanded slightly over the post-1945 period.

However average statistics for Britain may be misleading. Differences in the profiles of England and Scotland are particularly striking and the two nation/regions will be distinguished in this study. Wales has had a very small Irish-born population during the post-War period so that the figures presented for the administrative region of England and Wales can in practice be taken to apply to England alone.

In England the Irish-born population grew most rapidly in the 1950s when most of the very large outflow from Ireland entered Britain. Most of this group settled permanently and the peak of second-generation Irish people now in their thirties and forties represent their children born in the 1950s and 1960s. Some families returned in the 1970s. The 'third wave' of 1980s migrants added a new younger population with markedly higher educational qualifications when they arrived. Many are likely to have returned to Ireland in the 1990s, but the extent to which this has happened will not be known until 2001 Census results are published.

Throughout the period 1951-91 there have been more women than men from the Irish Republic and since 1981 the number of women from Northern Ireland has also been greater than men (Table A2.2). This partly reflects large numbers of women choosing to leave Ireland and also the attraction of a high demand for their labour in Britain. Gender ratios of women to men are increasing as men in the 1950s cohort of migrants die younger.

The Irish in England are strongly clustered by region of settlement (Table A2.3). The tendency to settle in the South East, especially in the Greater London area, strengthened in the post 1945 period and over half (56.7 percent) lived in the South East in 1991. Within London further clustering by boroughs and wards occurs so that in Brent for example the Irish-born proportion was 9 percent in 1991 (over 20% including the second generation), with totals for Islington of 7.1 percent Irish-born (18% including second generation) and Hammersmith and Fulham 6.9 percent (17% including second generation).

In the 1950s large numbers were attracted to the employment opportunities in the industrial West Midlands (11.9% of the Irish-born in England in 1991), including Birmingham and Coventry. Although the Irish-born comprised only 1.8 percent of the total population of England in 1991, they formed nearly 6 percent in two Birmingham parliamentary constituencies of Erdington (mainly middle class) and Sparkbrook (mainly working class). Again adding the second generation will bring each of these totals nearer to 20 percent of the total population. In North West England, which includes 12.8 percent of the Irish-born in England, very large numbers of people are of Irish descent. Manchester retains a strong Irish-born presence (4.6% Irish-born in 1991, estimated 9% second generation). Towns outside these regions also have large Irish populations, for example Luton (5.4% Irish-born, estimated second generation 12%) and substantial clusters are found even where overall totals are lower, for example in Sheffield.

In Scotland the picture is very different. Throughout the post-1945 period there has been a sharp decline in immigration from Ireland so that the total number of Irish-born fell by 45 percent from 89,007 in 1951 to 49,184 in 1991. By far the largest clustering is located in the Strathclyde region which includes Glasgow (58% Republic-born, 47% Northern Irish-born). Much higher proportions in Scotland are thus in the second and third generations, children of much larger Irish-born populations earlier in the twentieth century. The Irish-born are an ageing population, 26.4 percent aged 65+ and with a high proportion of women (1207 per 1000 men) (Table A2.4).

The second-generation Irish population includes people with both one and two Irish-born parents. In 1971 the proportion with two Irish-born parents was about 40 percent and this had declined to 23 percent by 1991. Proportions with two Irish-born parents are higher at times, and in places, with larger Irish-born totals. Its age structure shows a clustering of people in their thirties in 1991, born to the 1950s 'bulge' of 'second wave' migrants. The regional distribution is similar to that of the Irish-born.

2.2 Socio-economic position

Irish-born people in Britain have very high rates of participation in the labour market and are more likely to be self-employed than White people as a whole. The 1991 census shows that Irish-born men's occupations are quite similar to those of the whole population (Table A2.5). They are under-represented in 'white collar' occupations but are slightly over-represented in professional work. Irish women by contrast, are more strongly clustered in particular occupational groupings. Much higher than average proportions of Irish women are in occupations such as nursing, and also in personal services such as domestic and catering work. There are therefore two very different groups of Irish women – highly qualified nurses and low-skilled personal service workers.

This is consistent with a general dual pattern of labour migration from Ireland – highly trained professional for whom there is a skill shortage in Britain, and low paid manual workers employed in jobs rejected by the indigenous population. Analysis by age suggests that the balance has shifted towards professionals: Irish men and women under the age of 30 in 1991 were more likely to have a degree than men and women in the population as a whole. However overall Irish-born men had a higher than average unemployment rate in 1991 (15.1% compared with 11.3% for the male population as a whole). On the other hand Irish women's rate was almost identical to that of the total population.

The 1991 Census showed that in terms of social class Northern Irish-born men in England were more likely to be in the highest social class, Class I, and as likely to be in Class II as the English-born (Table A2.6). However they were also more likely to be in the lowest Class V. The Republic-born were much more likely to be in Social Class V than any other group of men, including Pakistanis and Black British. Overall the Republic-born were also disproportionately located in the lower-ranked classes. However the arrival of young, highly qualified people entering professional and managerial careers is likely to have produced significant changes in the overall profile during the 1990s. Work remains to be done on the social class distribution and patterns of social mobility in Scotland.

The housing profile of the Irish-born reflects their migrant origins and need for immediate access to affordable accommodation at rates well above those of the settled British-born. A higher percentage of households with Irish-born heads thus lives in public-sector rented property than either all White-headed or other ethnic minority group-headed households. As a result of the poor quality of much rented housing, the proportion of Irish-headed households lacking housing amenities is well above average for all White people. Rates for overcrowding are twice those of the population as a whole.

Key Tables

Table 2A.1

Total Numbers of Irish-born in England/Wales and Scotland			
	<i>Total</i>	<i>England/Wales</i>	<i>Scotland</i>
1821	182,000		
1831	290,000		
1841	415,725	289,404	126,321
1851	726,172	519,959	207,367
1861	805,700	601,634	204,000
1871	774,300	566,540	207,770
1881	781,119	562,374	218,745
1891	653,122	458,315	194,064
1901	631,565	426,565	205,000
1911	550,040	375,325	174,715
1921	523,767	364,747	159,020
1931	505,385	381,089	124,296
(1941)	ni	ni	ni
1951	716,932	627,021	89,007
1961	870,445	870,445	80,533
1971	957,830	891,670	66,155
1981	850,395	789,426	60,971
1991	837,464	788,280	49,184

Source: Census of Great Britain, 1841-1991

Table 2A.2

Gender ratios of Irish-born in England/Wales						
	<i>RI</i>			<i>NI</i>		
	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Ratio</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Ratio</i>
1951	248,102	223,856	1,108	64,752	70,213	922
1961	346,239	336,657	1,028	89,676	97,873	916
1971	303,180	281,380	1,077	107,000	108,805	983
1981	307,181	272,652	1,127	106,009	103,033	1,058
1991	305,364	264,395	1,155	111,663	106,858	1,045

Gender ratios of Irish-born in Scotland						
1951	21,550	23,331	924	20,832	22,155	940
1961	20,206	19,464	1,038	18,919	18,389	1,029
1971	16,545	14,715	1,124	17,295	15,495	1,116
1981	14,882	12,136	1,226	17,869	16,058	1,113
1991	12,837	12,338	1,040	14,055	9,936	1,415

Source: Census of Great Britain 1951-1991

Table 2A.3

Regional distribution of Irish-born population in Britain, 1991			
<i>Region</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>% total Irish-born</i>	<i>% change 1981-91</i>
North	16,301	1.9	-0.4
Yorkshire/Humberside	40,690	4.9	-9.5
North West	98,011	11.7	-13.9
East Midlands	42,489	5.1	-5.6
West Midlands	91,377	10.9	-11.0
East Anglia	18,442	2.2	+12.5
South East	412,863	49.3	+7.0
South West	47,275	5.6	+7.6
Wales	20,844	2.5	+3.0
Scotland	49,184	5.9	-19.3
Total	837,464	100.0	-1.5

Source: Crown Copyright, Census 1991, Ethnic Group and Country of Birth Tables, Table 2.

Table 2A.4

Age Groups, England and Wales, 1991								
	<i>RI</i>				<i>NI</i>			
	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
0-14	8,580	8,873	17,453	3.1	5,107	5,226	10,333	4.7
15-19	4,221	3,668	7,889	1.4	3,202	3,407	6,609	3.1
20-24	16,255	11,875	28,130	4.9	8,176	7,834	16,010	7.3
25-44	80,037	73,601	153,638	27.0	39,812	39,126	43,738	20.0
45-64	120,712	111,787	232,499	40.8	32,883	34,502	67,385	30.8
65-74	47,385	38,508	83,193	14.6	14,144	11,826	25,970	11.9
75+	28,174	16,083	44,257	7.8	8,339	4,937	13,276	6.1
Total	305,364	264,395	569,759		111,663	106,858	218,521	

Age Groups, Scotland, 1991								
	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
0-14	327	420	747	3.3	817	818	1,635	5.6
15-19	125	137	262	1.1	466	498	964	3.6
20-24	351	303	654	2.9	1,004	965	1,969	7.5
25-44	2,970	2,455	5,425	23.8	4,522	4,329	8,851	33.5
45-64	4,779	3,795	8,574	37.6	3,701	3,453	7,154	27.1
65-74	2,468	1,860	4,328	19.0	2,579	1,386	3,965	15.0
75+	947	1,000	1,947	8.5	1,716	889	2,605	9.9
Total	12,848	9,943	22,791		14,055	12,338	26,393	

Source: Crown Copyright, Census 1991, Ethnic Group and Country of Birth Tables, Table 2.

Table 2A.5

Occupational change 1951-91 Republic Irish-born and total populations									
	<i>% Irish employed</i>			<i>Irish as % total workforce</i>			<i>% total workforce employed</i>		
	<i>1951</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>1951</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>1951</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1991</i>
WOMEN									
Professions	22.2	22.4	21.4	4.7	2.9	1.7	8.4	11.7	17.2
Personal services	40.3	33.5	34.6	3.1	2.8	1.9	23.5	22.3	12.8
Clerical	8.0	17.7	19.0	0.7	1.2	1.5	20.2	27.2	27.2
Sales	4.9	6.2	6.5	0.0	1.0	0.7	12.3	11.6	10.4
Metals, engineering	3.4	6.6	4.0	2.0	2.8	0.9	3.0	4.3	8.1
Total	78.9	82.4	73.0	1.7	1.8	1.3	67.4	77.1	76.2
MEN									
Construction, labourers	33.9	25.5	25.2	6.8	7.1	2.3	14.0	10.4	10.9
Metals, engineering	12.4	18.1	12.9	1.0	1.4	1.0	16.1	20.1	25.9
Cranes, transport	11.4	13.1	13.0	1.3	3.0	1.8	11.6	9.9	6.5
Personal services	5.4	7.0	3.2	1.9	1.9	1.3	3.8	5.7	6.0
Professions	5.3	5.1	11.6	1.0	1.4	0.9	5.0	10.6	16.4
Clerical	3.5	5.5	5.7	0.8	1.3	1.0	6.0	6.8	6.6
Total	71.9	74.4	78.9	1.3	1.5	1.2	56.6	63.5	72.3

Source: Census of England and Wales, 1951; Great Britain 1971, 1991

<i>Census categories</i>	<i>1951</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1991</i>
Professions	XIX	XXV	2a,b,c,d 3a,b,c
Personal services	XII	XXIII	6b,9b(women)
Clerical	XXIII	XXI	4a,b
Sales	XXII	XXII	7a,b
Metals, engineering	VI	V,VI,VII	5a,8a
Construction + labouring	XIV,XV	XV,XVIII	5a,9b(women)
Cranes, transport	XVII	XVII	8b

Table 2A.6

Registrar General's Social Class by birthplace/ethnic group and gender, England, 1991 (2% Individual SARS)									
	<i>Eng.</i>	<i>Sco.</i>	<i>Wales</i>	<i>NI</i>	<i>Ir. Rep</i>	<i>Bl. Car.</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Pak.</i>	<i>Bl. Afr.</i>
<i>WOMEN</i>									
I	3,328	148	107	55	68	30	149	16	24
%	1.5	3.1	3.1	3.8	1.9	1.0	4.2	2.6	2.9
II	55,209	1,614	1,295	508	1,082	880	717	122	255
%	24.6	34.1	37.9	35.5	31.0	29.3	20.0	20.1	30.5
IIIN	89,363	1,578	1,131	420	884	978	1,214	193	246
%	39.9	33.4	33.1	29.3	25.3	32.6	33.9	31.8	29.5
IIIM	16,987	260	185	69	233	202	225	39	44
%	7.6	5.5	5.4	4.8	6.7	6.7	6.3	6.4	5.3
IV	39,742	748	450	237	663	566	1,023	191	136
%	17.7	15.8	11.7	16.6	19.0	18.9	28.6	31.5	16.3
V	16,727	302	200	118	492	249	144	15	96
%	7.5	6.4	5.8	8.2	14.1	8.3	4.0	2.5	11.5
Total	224,084	4,731	3,419	1,432	3,490	3,002	3,581	606	835
<i>MEN</i>									
I	16,585	571	486	162	193	62	505	106	119
%	6.3	9.2	11.9	9.5	11.8	2.2	10.7	5.7	13.3
II	71,128	1,967	1,508	449	815	384	1,245	324	204
%	27.2	31.7	37.1	27.5	20.3	13.7	26.4	17.4	22.7
IIIN	29,991	675	429	152	266	327	709	240	149
%	11.5	10.9	10.5	9.3	6.6	11.7	15.0	12.9	16.6
IIIM	84,551	1,488	817	443	1,462	1,048	1,099	565	147
%	32.4	24.0	20.1	27.1	36.4	37.4	23.3	30.3	16.4
IV	41,458	875	494	233	705	629	835	450	148
%	15.9	14.1	12.1	14.3	17.5	22.4	17.7	24.2	16.5
V	14,114	307	144	119	484	236	185	120	74
%	5.4	4.9	3.5	7.3	12.0	8.4	3.9	6.4	8.2
Total	261,314	6,208	4,068	1,635	4,022	2,803	4,711	1,863	897

Source: Crown Copyright ONS, 1991. Samples of Anonymised Records

Keys:

I	Professional occupations	Eng	England
II	Managerial and technical occupations	Sco	Scotland
		Wales	Wales
IIIN	Skilled occupations - non-manual	NI	Northern Ireland
IIIM	Skilled occupations - manual	Ir.Rep	Irish Republic
IV	Partly skilled occupations	Bl. Car.	Black Caribbean
V	Unskilled occupations	Ind.	Indian
		Pak.	Pakistani
		Bl. Afr.	Black African

3. The Irish in British society

This section looks behind the broad picture painted by the population statistics to assess the place of the Irish in the post-1945 period. It draws on existing research to identify key aspects of this experience. Whilst relative advantages will be noted, particular attention will be paid to areas of comparative disadvantage and inequality. This analysis will provide a starting point for a comparison of the situation of Irish communities in different parts of the diaspora.

Three aspects of the position of the Irish in British society are examined in this overview. First, an analysis of Irish identities in Britain helps to explain their social positioning and senses of belonging. Second, issues of Irish comparative disadvantage and inequality will be examined, and, thirdly, the most vulnerable sections of Irish populations in Britain highlighted.

The positioning of Irish-born people in different parts of Britain must be taken into account. The most important distinction is that between England (and Wales) and Scotland where particularly significant differences affecting both identities and access to services are found. These arise from both the different bases of national identity in the two nations, and from separate institutions. Even before devolution in 1999, Scotland had many separate institutions, which had important consequences for provision of services, including separate systems of law, education, housing and welfare provision. Yet more important for Irish people has been the cultural divide based on 'sectarian' differences in which the Irish have come to be associated with Catholicism against the Protestantism of dominant Scottish identities.

To date both research and provision of services has reflected these stark differences in the place of the Irish in England and Scotland, the latter often being underrepresented in studies and welfare and cultural organisations. In order to ensure that attention is paid to both parts of Britain, additional coverage will be given to Scotland.

4. The Irish in England

4.1 Identities and culture

Irish identities in England have had a very low profile. There has been a widespread assumption both by most academics and by the public at large that the Irish unproblematically assimilate into the 'white' population within a fairly short space of time and that their children are simply 'English'. This reflects the 'myth of homogeneity' of British society, which represents Britain as a stable, unchanging 'white' nation only recently disrupted by the arrival of (black) immigrants. However this picture has existed alongside longstanding rejection of Irish people as alien 'others' (Walter, 2001).

The post-1945 Irish population has therefore been caught between these two images. On the one hand their migrant experience and cultural difference has been denied because they are a 'white', 'British Isles' population group. On the other anti-Irish stereotypes persist in British society and have been fuelled by anti-IRA fears over the last thirty years.

In the last ten years academic analyses have explored these processes in more depth. They have focussed on the one hand on explaining ways in which British society has constructed the place of the Irish, and on the other on the feelings of Irishness expressed by the Irish-born settled in Britain and their British-born children. An understanding of both these aspects of Irish identities is important to discussions of Irish experiences in England and attitudes to return migration.

For years the classic study by John A. Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* (1963), was the only well-recognised text and it remains the only comprehensive sociological study of the post-1945 period. However a much richer list of academic publications now parallels the growth of Irish welfare and community groups in England and the widening range of analytical frameworks available within ethnic and racial studies. It has also been bolstered by the establishment of Irish Studies courses in further and higher education in England (Danaher, 1992).

Challenges to the notion of Irish assimilation have been particularly important. Mary J. Hickman's (1995) work on the role of Catholic education in Britain showed that the notion of incorporation provided a much better explanation for the apparent loss of Irish identities over time. She argued that Irish children were educated to become 'good Catholics' and to lose their Irish national identities in the public sphere of school and the outside world. However they persisted at home and strong senses of Irishness were often passed on to second-generation children.

However the outcomes vary. Some groups of Irish people retain a much stronger sense of an Irish identity than others. Key aspects are social class, region and extent of participation in Irish social and cultural activities.

The survival of Irish identity is more likely if the individual of Irish descent is of working class origin, lives in an Irish area, visits Ireland regularly and participates in Irish social and cultural activities (Hickman, 1995:246).

Regional differences in the experiences of Irish-born people and those of Irish descent living in different parts of England have been highlighted. Research in Liverpool and London showed that second-generation schoolchildren growing up in 'Irish' neighbourhoods in London were likely to describe themselves as 'Irish' or 'London Irish' but never as 'English', whereas children of more distant Irish descent in Liverpool called themselves 'Liverpudlian' (Hickman, 1990). This suggests that Irish people feel comfortable taking on a local English identity, but not a national one.

Second-generation Irish people identify themselves in a great variety of ways, but a strong strand of Irishness is retained (Campbell, 1998, 1999; Free, 1998). Existing studies show that a maximum of a quarter of people with one or two Irish-born parents describe themselves as predominantly British/English (Ullah, 1985, Hickman, 1995). A recently completed research project which explored second-generation Irish identities in five different locations in Britain found that region was again an important factor (*Irish 2 Project* <http://www.apu.ac.uk/geography/progress/irish2/>). More people in the larger centres of London and Manchester saw themselves as solely 'Irish', but people's senses of their ethnic identities changed over the lifecycle and their responses depended on the contexts of the discussion and the wording of the

question. This suggests that responses to the 'Irish' tick-box in the 2001 Census will need very careful interpretation. Because they asked for a single Irish or British answer they fail to account for the large proportion of people who said they had mixed, or hybrid identifications ('Irish and English', 'half-and-half') (see Appendix 3).

New arrivals in the 1980s were much more likely to be well-educated young people who might be expected to join English society without difficulty. However Mary Kells' (1995a) anthropological research with young middle-class Irish people in London showed that 'ethnicity, in a context where it is possible to de-emphasise it, remains important and relevant to my informants'. Most frequently people expressed their pride in their Irishness, but there were also examples of ways in which they experienced negative stereotyping. But a striking feature of the findings was the wide range of variation in identities expressed, both for individuals in different situations and between categories of Irish people. Mary Kells (1995b) found that the North/Republic divide was fundamental, and that rural-urban division and more general regional differences were also important.

Gender differences in identification and experiences of being Irish in Britain are also being explored in depth. From her interviews with Irish women in London Breda Gray (1997) shows that many have difficulties expressing senses of Irishness different from dominant views. These are left as 'silences, gaps and tensions' in the accounts they give of their experiences of Irishness and emigration. Among the absences are the experiences of women who find they can belong outside Ireland, preferring the anonymity of a foreign city and freedom from interference in their lives. Another set of experiences which are not acknowledged in the dominant view is the 'ongoing pain, loss and re-configuration of family and friendship relations that emigration brings about' (1997:219). Representations of Ireland as 'the only place you can belong' clash with the reality that many need to leave.

Senses of Irish identity are supported by access to Irish social and cultural activities. During the early years of the recent large-scale conflict in Northern Ireland many Irish people 'kept their heads down' in England. Irish events were not widely advertised and many Irish people stayed away from them for fear that they would be branded as 'IRA supporters' (Hickman and Walter, 1997:216-217). However since the early 1980s these have grown in number and visibility in most large and medium-sized towns in England in regions of more substantial Irish settlement. They are regularly advertised in the weekly newspapers, *The Irish Post* and *The Irish World*. In the last five years St Patrick's Day parades have started to be held again especially in the areas with largest Irish populations, notably Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and, in 2002, in the centre of London.

These findings suggest that there is a large pool of Irish people in England who retain strong feelings of attachment to Ireland. Some, including members of the second-generation, move 'back' to live in Ireland. Others choose to use Irish social and cultural facilities on a regular or occasional basis. But the problematic relationship between Britain and Ireland, extending back over several centuries but intensified over the last thirty years of the Northern Ireland conflict means that this identity has been difficult to negotiate publicly in Britain.

4.2. Issues of comparative disadvantage and inequality

Many Irish people have been economically successful and have ‘fitted in’ well to English society. However for a variety of reasons not all of those who migrated from Ireland, or grew up as a person of Irish background in England, are fully integrated. Integration is defined as being able to live in a public space which allows all people of whatever ethnic background to act as equal citizens and publicly express their identities with no penalties.

In 1997 the Commission for Racial Equality, a body funded by the British Government, responded to strong pressures from Irish voluntary organisations over a ten year period, to produce a report on *Discrimination and the Irish Community in Britain* (Hickman and Walter, 1997). This included a detailed documentation and analysis of specific issues of disadvantage and inequality which are brought to Irish welfare agencies, which may include evidence of discrimination. The Commission for Racial Equality report identified barriers to integration and social inclusion.

These barriers are related to the specific relationship between Britain and Ireland which has had a long history. Two elements which have an ongoing negative impact on Irish people’s experiences are firstly, anti-Irish racism, which can take a multitude of forms and is unacknowledged in a society which understands racism only in terms of black/white differences and, secondly, non-recognition of the migrant background of Irish people, because ‘immigrant’ has come to be synonymous with ‘black’ and of Irish cultural specificity.

Consequences for the vulnerable of these barriers include:

Discrimination, involving

(i) Non-recognition of Irish needs, cultural specificity and experiences of racism

Irish people entitled to, and in need of, statutory services do not receive resources on an equal basis with other members of society. For example, the CRE Report showed that they were not routinely included in ethnic monitoring procedures which would allow Irish agencies to demonstrate needs. Their migrant background was wrongly used to argue that they were ‘intentionally homeless’ and ineligible for housing. Culturally sensitive community care plans were rare.

Although many public facets of Irish culture are now admired and emulated – especially music, dancing, literary skills – important areas of religious practices, family traditions, moral beliefs, and food preferences, which may be particularly strong amongst older people, remain hidden within the Irish community. As this population ages and comes into contact with social services, perhaps for the first time, these issues assume much greater importance. They may be enhanced by language differences, which may be taken to indicate low intelligence or lack of education and so discourage requests and explanations on the part of older Irish people.

(ii) Stereotyped responses and exclusionary practices

Stereotypes of Irish people widespread in British society and reproduced casually in anti-Irish jokes include portrayal as stupid, prone to drunkenness and fraudsters

(Morgan, 1997). Service providers made judgements based on these stereotypes to deny equal access. For example, benefits claims were delayed and excessive documentation demanded.

(iii) Racial harassment

Physical and verbal abuse of Irish people, because of their Irish background, was reported to Irish agencies. But action was rarely taken because of an understanding in British society, accepted by authorities such as the police, that racial attacks could only involve black/white encounters.

Comparative disadvantage, which can be identified in the major areas of employment, housing and health. For relative disadvantage in employment and housing see Section 2.2. Health will be discussed more fully here as it is more widely recognised as an indicator of ethnic disadvantage, partly because it is statistically measurable and easier to recognise as ‘hard evidence’. Poor health can also be seen as a more fundamental summary of an ethnic group’s position in society, associated as it is with processes of both economic and social exclusion.

Studies of the health of Irish-born people in Britain, drawing on a range of different datasets, have confirmed the trend for Irish-born people to suffer from more ill-health than the British population. They experience levels of ill-health which are higher than would be expected from their demographic and socio-economic status (Harding and Balarajan, 1996). In other words, once the elderly profile (related to higher migration in the 1950s) and low class status of Irish people in Britain has been accounted for, they are more ill than just these indicators would lead you to expect.

This suggests that there is something about the experience of migration to Britain which negatively impacts on Irish people. For example, standard mortality rates (SMRs) for Irish-born people in Britain were higher than average in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. The higher mortality rate is not accounted for by the increasingly elderly profile of this population. It is not explained by the ‘selection effect’, that is the idea that those who migrated were of poorer health anyway (Raftery, Jones and Rosato, 1990). Moreover standard mortality rates worsened for Irish-born men in the 1990s to 35% higher than average; for women SMRs remained 16% higher than average.

In order for these exclusions and disadvantages to be recognised and addressed a system of ethnic monitoring must include an Irish category. The 2001 Census included an ‘Irish’ box in the Ethnic Group question for the first time, but may not produce satisfactory results (see Appendix 3 for a discussion of ethnic monitoring).

4.3 Identification of most vulnerable sections of population

New Migrants: Irish people are still migrating to Britain, especially young people. There is concern that some of these migrants are not well-prepared for life in Britain, and lack the resources, financial and otherwise, to support themselves (personal communication New Horizon Youth Centre). Access to housing may be a particular problem for newly-arrived emigrants who are likely to be identified as ‘intentionally homeless’ and thus ineligible for statutory provision.

Irish Elders: there is plenty of documentary evidence, including submissions to the Taskforce to evidence the high levels of concern regarding this section of the Irish community in Britain. Irish elders are likely to under claim welfare benefits and social support services to which they are entitled (Leonard, c2000; Tilki, 1998). Elders may not feel entitled to claim or may be unaware of an entitlement (Kowarzik, 2000, 2001; Leonard, c2000). There is also concern about Irish elders who are socially isolated especially because of the lack of recognition of Irish culture by mainstream services (Hickman and Walter, 1997). Older Irish men are disproportionately at risk of homelessness. Older Irish women are likely to be disproportionately at risk of social isolation because they live longer and are more likely to be widowed or never married. Some elders are survivors of institutional abuse; this has only recently been recognised with the establishment of three Irish community service groups for survivors (in Coventry, London and Sheffield).

Irish Travellers: despite the recent court ruling in which Irish Travellers were recognised as a distinct ethnic group with their own history and culture there is little or no recognition of the specific needs and culture of Irish Travellers in Britain. A recent survey of local authorities in London discovered that there remain high levels of prejudice against Irish Travellers in particular, with them characterised as scroungers and of a lesser quality than the 'native' Roma nomadic group (Childs, 2002). The particular legal framework which regulates stopping in Britain – effectively making nomadism illegal – actively discriminates against all nomadic groups in Britain, including Irish Travellers (Avebury, 1999). This is compounded by the negative and racist attitudes of some police officers who deal with illegal encampments to the extent that there is cause for great concern regarding the policing of Irish Travellers in Britain (Morris and Clements, 1999). Rates of conviction for young nomads, including Irish Travellers appear to be out of proportion to their population numbers in Britain (ibid.). This may stem from negative stereotypes about Irish Travellers as Irish people and as nomads as well as from the criminalisation of their lifestyle. There is currently a large-scale project 'Room to Roam: Britain's Irish Travellers', which will produce qualitative data on Irish Travellers in Britain and their experiences of service provision.

Second-generation Irish people: second-generation Irish people in Britain experience levels of poor health and excess rates of mortality (Abbotts, Williams, Ford, Hunt and West, 1999; Harding and Balarajan, 1996; Harding, 1998, 1999; Harding et al., 1999; Mullen, Williams and Hunt, 1996; Pearson, Madden and Greenslade, 1991; Raftery, Jones and Rosato, 1990, Williams, 1993; Williams and Ecob, 1999). In Scotland, social stereotypes about Irish inheritance may affect the attitudes of health professionals dealing with second and subsequent-generation Irish people who present with alcohol addiction problems (Mullen, Williams and Hunt, 1996). Second- and subsequent-generation Irish people are doubly invisible because their identities as Irish people are often denied by other people in both Britain and Ireland. This denial may have a negative impact on health, including mental health.

Drug users: some community groups have commented in their annual reports and submissions to the Taskforce that some of their clients are not only drug users but that they have been ordered out of Ireland (North and Republic) by vigilantes and paramilitaries. This means that their emigration to Britain is forced and, as a consequence, completely unplanned. In addition, risk behaviour among drug users

increases on arrival in Britain, putting them at higher risk of contracting HIV (O'Brien and Power, 1998). This epidemiological pattern is not recognised by HIV service providers (*ibid.*).

Mentally ill people: New work on the position of Irish people in the British health system needs to be carried out (there is a research project in action examining the relationship between depression and migration for Irish-born people in Britain). The data and reports which are available, however, highlight several issues of concern. Irish people are more likely to be hospitalised for: mental distress, alcoholism, depression and schizophrenia (Shimwell, c.2002; Walls, 1996; Tilki, 1996). Irish women are particularly over-represented in admissions (Walls, 1996). Irish people are over-represented in psychiatric hospital admissions (Tilki, 1998), likely to be middle aged (Walls, 1996), more likely to be compulsorily detained under the Mental Health Act and to be administered ECT (Farrell, 1996).

There is some evidence that Irish people presenting with alcohol addiction or mental health problems do not receive equal treatment in the health care system in part because of stereotypes pertaining to Irishness. Such attitudes reduce the likelihood that a culturally sensitive system of treatment can be offered. Better training is needed for psychiatric professionals and general practitioners in order to facilitate the development of culturally sensitive services (Shimwell, c.2002). There is scope for capacity building in the Irish community services sector in this area (Tilki, 1996).

Homeless people: Access to housing on an equal basis remains a problem for Irish people in Britain. There are high levels of homelessness among the Irish-born in Britain. In London, about 10 percent of the homeless are Irish-born and they are more likely to be rough sleepers (Diaz, 2001). Irish homeless people are more likely than any other group to experience lengthy delays in being re-housed in permanent accommodation (Warnes and Crane, 2001; O'Flynn, 1992; King and Shuttleworth, 1989). This appears to be an especial problem for older, homeless Irish men who are over-represented in hostel accommodation (*ibid.*).

There are high rates of alcohol addiction among Irish homeless; the assumption by mainstream agency staff that this is inevitable compounds the difficulties for Irish homeless people in accessing adequate services (Warnes and Crane, 2001). The failure of agencies to recognise these long-term problems in their dealings with Irish homeless people and to adequately put in place systems in order to properly deal with Irish homelessness constitutes a crisis for Irish homeless (Diaz, 2001). However, problems in the housing sector for Irish people are seen as being solely within the remit of the Irish housing providers (Cope, 2001, 2002). In London 'the proportion of letting by local authorities and housing associations was considerable lower than would be expected given the size and need of the community' (Cope, 2002: 3). Outside of London, recognition of Irish people as belonging to an ethnic group with specific housing needs is even less likely (eg. Reading, Berkshire, see Power, McAdden and Brennan, 2002).

Child migrants: there is no real data on this category of Irish migrants to Britain. However, the lack of recognition of 'Irishness' in a positive manner may leave them

vulnerable. There is evidence that Irish identities and Irish accents and idiom are viewed negatively by some educators (Hickman, 1995; Maguire, 1997).

Disabled migrants: again, there is no real data available on disabled people who migrate to Britain. There is evidence that some have emigrated to access particular services unavailable in Ireland; others may have emigrated within family groups while yet others may have emigrated for the same reasons as fully able people (Maguire, 1989).

It is possible that some disabled migrants to Britain are survivors of institutional abuse; as yet, there does not appear to be a focus on this aspect of the problem of institutional abuse. A disabled individual wrote to the Taskforce, highlighting the issues of isolation for disabled Irish people in Britain. Within the care system in Britain there is no reliable data available on either disabled Irish people or their carers. Irish carers are likely to lack the support of a family network (Kowarzik, 1994). Irish disabled people and Irish carers are often invisible to statutory and Irish community service sectors alike (Maguire, 1989).

Gay and lesbian migrants: although there is no good data available on gay and lesbian migrants to Britain, there have been some small-scale projects. The proportion of gay and lesbian emigrants from Ireland may exceed the 5-10 percent proportion of gay and lesbians estimated in any given population. Gay men and lesbian women have often left Ireland (North and Republic) because of negative attitudes to homosexuality (Casey, 1999; Fahey, 1998; Whelan, 1996). For some, the move to Britain involves a more 'open' lifestyle (Taylor, 1988). For gay men, a more open lifestyle may also result in increased HIV risk behaviour (O'Brien and Power, 1998).

However, for others this has not been the case; friends and family in Ireland may remain unaware of an individual's gay or lesbian sexuality because of fears of negative reactions and rejection (Fahey, 1998; Whelan, 1996). Although Irish service providers are generally positively welcoming of all users regardless of sexuality, attitudes among users and especially older users may be similar to negative attitudes in Ireland which traditionally have associated homosexuality with sin. While there is a much larger gay and lesbian community in Britain, particularly in urban centres, this community is not always welcoming of Irish people (Hickman and Walter, 1997).

Children who are adopted and fostered: Paul Michael Garrett (2000) has written that many Irish children have been placed with foster parents and adopted without any due care for their cultural, religious or other social needs as Irish children. This may leave adult leavers of care and adoptees with confusion about their Irish identity. A number of people who had been adopted or in care were interviewed in the *Irish 2 Project*: only one had been adopted by an Irish father. For all the others, there were no recognition of their Irishness and it was even denied in some cases. This may be because Irishness is viewed negatively by some involved in the care and adoption industries and/or it may stem from lack of knowledge.

Prisoners: For the Irish in Britain, interaction with the police and wider criminal justice system has been a long-term problem not least because of continuing stereotypes of Irish criminality, drunkenness and fecklessness. In the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s these problems were exacerbated by conflict in Northern Ireland,

particularly when it was extended to bombings in Britain (Hillyard, 1993, 1994). While the ceasefires have ameliorated this perception of Irish people in Britain as a suspect community, problems for Irish people in their dealings with the police and criminal justice system remain (Borland, King and McDermott, 1995; Murphy, 1994, 1995).

A dossier from the 1990s lists over non-paramilitary cases where there are concerns that convicted Irish people have not been dealt justice (AGIY et al., 1997). Irish people in Britain expect to be discriminated against in dealings with the police, courts, and prison (Hickman and Walter, 1997; Hickman and Morgan, 1997); this may make them reluctant to approach the police for assistance. Irish deaths in custody remain unacceptably high and the Irish Commission for Prisoners Overseas has many concerns about the treatment of Irish people in custody in Britain. Although there is a system of transfer between Britain and Ireland for Irish prisoners, there appear to be unexplained and lengthy delays inherent in the process, even when transfers have been granted (ICPO). This has a negative impact on the health and welfare of the prisoners concerned and may negatively influence rehabilitation. The lack of recognition of Irish people's identity and ethnicity in the criminal justice system militates against the introduction of appropriate cultural recognition within

5. The Irish in Scotland

5.1 Population characteristics

The west central belt of Scotland contains a particularly dense concentration of 'Irish' people. The 1991 census showed that there were 50,000 Irish-born people living in Scotland (Section 2.2, Table 2.1 above). This was a significant decline from the peak of 1881 when the figure was more than three times this number. However, the Irish 'community' in Scotland consists of a multi-generational profile of people from all over Ireland where around one in four/five of the general population in the west-central belt is of second-, third- and fourth-generation Irish descent. More than half of the Irish born in Scotland live in and around the city of Glasgow.

The complexity of the composition of the Irish in Scotland is reflected in the west-central belt town of Coatbridge. Here the general population numbers almost 50,000 with around 1 percent born in Ireland (North and South). However, it is possible that between a half and two thirds of the town's population can claim second-, third- and fourth-generation Irish status. A similar story unfolds in other west-central belt towns and villages (for example, Motherwell, Hamilton, Glenboig, Carfin) as well as in specific areas of Glasgow, particularly in the east of the city, in neighbourhoods such as Shettleston and Gorbals.

An important point in understanding the Irish in Scotland is that they have largely come to be described as the 'Catholic' population in Scotland. Although not all Catholics in the country are 'Irish', the vast majority is of Irish origin. The *Irish 2 Project* (2000-2002) study of second- and third-generation Irish people in Scotland (and Britain) found that the Irish themselves considered Irish and Catholic to be synonymous or closely aligned terms (see also Hickman and Walter 1997:139).

Although many thousands of Protestants from Ulster have also traditionally migrated to Scotland they have, by and large, assimilated into the wider population and consider themselves British/Scottish (see *Irish 2 Project* findings, forthcoming). They are unlikely to look to the Irish Government for cultural or economic assistance. These general points illustrate ways in which the Irish in Scotland are viewed and in how they perceive themselves.

5.2 Associations and organisations of the Irish in Scotland

Unlike in England, there is no existing network of specifically Irish community groups, advice centres or County Associations. Many of these were destroyed by the social effects of the two World Wars and by the social and cultural climate of the times in Scotland.

Although the GAA, Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann, the Gaelic League, Celtic Football Club, the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), a variety of Irish dance schools and political groups and associations are visible signs of Irish activities and identity in Scotland, the English pattern is not replicated. Groups such as the Irish in Britain Representation Group (IBRG) and the Federation of Irish Societies (FIS) have no impact in Scotland. There is not even an independent Irish Tourist Board office in Scotland. Current networks of people usually revolve around 'Irish' theme pubs and Celtic Football Club connections, mainly for men. This is apart from the small networks of language, dancing and sporting activities that are specifically Irish-orientated.

In the post-War periods, much Irish activity died or was re-diverted into such organisations as the Knights of St Columbanus and the Celtic FC Social Club scene. In relation to welfare and dealing with the poorer sections of the Irish diaspora in Scotland, by the far the greatest independent activity emerges from organisations like the St Vincent de Paul and the Knights of St Columbanus. As the CRE Report observed, there are 'no specifically Irish organisation dispensing a front-line service of advice to Irish people' and the Catholic church in Scotland 'has remained as an essential element in the ethnic culture and identity to a significantly greater extent than in England' (Hickman and Walter 1997: 138, 146). Apart from the state, which dispenses services across the board, the Catholic Church remains the only institution which might be considered as caring for the needs of Catholics, that is, the Irish in Scotland.

5.3 Recent relevant findings and statistics: indicators of the social and economic position of the Irish in Scotland

A key to understanding the needs of the Irish is the impoverished nature of the areas lived in by many of those of Irish extraction. Alcohol abuse, suicide, drug abuse, debt, unemployment, poor housing, poor diet, lack of care facilities, low self-esteem, morbidity excess, mental health problems, disability, low educational attainment and homelessness, all overly characterise many of these areas. Yet the absence of specific mention of the Irish background of this population in media coverage, for example, illustrates the lack of recognition of the ethnic dimension and specific needs of this community. However academic studies are beginning to establish links between disadvantage and a Catholic/Irish background (Abbotts, Williams and Ford, 2001).

The specific context experienced in Scotland has produced a society oblivious to the Irish presence except in racist and sectarian terms. One of the by-products of this has been the development of a community that disguises its Irishness, both to itself and to the outside community. 'Catholic' is in fact currently a more accurate term and description of people having Irish-born parents and grandparents would be more appealing to this population, that is, 'language appropriate to those of Irish descent'. In contrast to the situation in England, few people in Scotland would respond to agencies on the basis that they intended to assist a deprived or disadvantaged 'Irish' population.

5.4 Irish service provision in Scotland: specific gaps and areas of need

Recognition of Irish needs will be made easier by the publication of Scottish Census data from the 2001 Census. For the first time ever in Scotland, the 2001 Census requested information on both Irish identity and religious background. As pointed out above, 'Catholic' provides a better description of people of Irish descent and is likely to provide a larger and more accurate total of the population than the confusing category 'Irish' offered in England and Wales. It will be possible to cross-tabulate responses to this category with measures of socio-economic well-being (employment, housing, health). Agencies and academics must be encouraged and financially assisted to access the 2001 Census to make more sense of Irish disadvantage. For a fuller range of specific needs see Appendix 4.

Irish identity has been marginalised in popular, media, political, social and cultural discourses and the recognition and expression of Irishness has been problematic. This has maintained an ongoing low-level conflict within and without the Irish community with regard to its identities and their expressions. It is the main barrier to social inclusion and social integration for the Irish in Scotland.

6. Conclusions

The Irish population in Britain is large and diverse. Many people still relate strongly to their Irish identities and maintain links of some kind with Irish family and friendship networks or more formal community organisations, social, cultural or educational.

It includes a significant proportion of people who have needs associated with their Irish origins. These vulnerable groups, identified above, are more likely to access 'Irish' headlined service provision, where their cultural background is understood. A network of voluntary organisations has developed to try to meet these needs, and extensive literature detailing the circumstances of the populations they seek to help has been built up over the last decade. Often these organisations are entitled to seek funding from British sources, but they face a difficult task in gaining recognition – described as 'the battle to be heard'.

However the extent to which needs are articulated depends on location within Britain. Many welfare groups are based in London, where the majority of the Irish-born and second-generation live. But Irish people are also widely scattered and those in smaller

towns are much less well provided for. As Section 5 highlighted, complex political factors mean that Irish identities have become conflated with Catholic ones which has made it much harder to raise issues as more publicly recognised ethnic equality ones rather than apparently 'private' religious concerns.

B. The Irish community in the USA: a portrait 1945-2002

1. The USA within the Irish diaspora

The Irish community in the USA has a central numerical and iconic place in the story of Irish emigration and settlement abroad. At each census between 1850 and 1910 over 60 percent of all Irish-born people living outside Ireland were recorded in the USA (Section 2.2, Table 2.1 above). In 1890 3.5 million people lived in Ireland and a further 1.9 million Irish-born in the USA, more than half the total number. It is not surprising then that 22.7 million people claimed Irish ancestry in 1990, a far higher ratio between birthplace and descent than in any other country.

However the numerical if not the iconic status of the US contribution to the Irish diaspora has substantially shifted during the twentieth century. The size of the Irish-born section of the population decreased dramatically. From 1.6 million in 1900 it had fallen to just 217,648 in 1980, the last census where accurate numbers can be assumed before the arrival of many 'illegals' in the 1980s. In 1980 the proportion of all Irish-born people living abroad located in the USA was 18.8 percent (1990 estimate 18.9%). This is now about one quarter of the total living in Britain.

According to the CSO estimates of destinations of emigrants 1987-2001 there was an increase in the numbers and proportion of new emigrants choosing to go to the USA in the 1990s (Part 1, Table 1.5). Over this period an estimated 100,000 travelled there, the majority as result of visa lottery programs. The movement reached a peak in the years 1994-95 when over 10,000 of the 40,000 emigrants went to the USA compared with 16,000 to Britain. But the burst was short-lived and returned to the 1988-92 proportion of around 12 percent of the total. By 2001 this was much smaller than the proportions going to Rest of the World (mainly Australia, Britain or Rest of the EU).

The USA occupies a very different place in the Irish diaspora from that of Britain. It has been seen as a place of escape from British control both in Ireland and in Britain itself (Kennedy, 1973). As a country of immigration it has recognised the value of Irish labour and openly encouraged entry from Ireland until the 1920s. There have been opportunities to move up the social, economic and political hierarchies to occupy key positions whilst retaining and proclaiming an Irish identity. The local and national political control exercised by Irish groups has been used to benefit other members of the community. Recognition of multiple ethnic identities by ancestry has allowed large numbers to continue to assert their Irish difference. In all these ways there is a striking contrast with the lack of recognition and lower status of Irish identities in Britain, though clearly the picture in both societies is more nuanced than this broad outline suggests.

There are three key groups of Irish people in the USA – Irish Americans, who may extend over more than one generation, older Irish-born people who may have lived there for thirty or forty years and the New Irish, young migrants who arrived in the 1980s. Many of the latter are now legal residents, having benefited from the extensive visa schemes between 1989 and 1994, but a significant number of young people remain undocumented.

This section has three aims:

- To provide a statistical profile highlighting key features of the post-1945 population in the USA
- To present an overview of Irish identities and culture in the USA in the post-1945 period
- To identify issues of comparative Irish disadvantage and social exclusion and to highlight the most vulnerable groups

2. Profile of the Irish community 1945-2001

2.1 Population and settlement

The number of Irish-born people in the USA almost halved from 520,359 in 1950 to approximately 220,000 in 1990 (Table 2B.1). Whilst there was a steady decline in numbers born in the Irish Republic, the Northern Irish proportion was much more volatile. From an all-time low of 15,398 in 1950, it rose sharply to 68,162 in 1960, then fell again to 19,831 in 1980. This represented only 9.1 percent of the total, compared with 27.7 percent in Britain. However Irish immigration centres in East Coast cities report that the proportion of new migrants from Northern Ireland has risen noticeably in recent years. The report to the Task Force from the Irish Immigration Centre in Philadelphia puts the proportion at 75 percent of migrants arriving in the city in 2001.

The gender ratio recorded in the 1990 Census showed a very high weighting towards women. Overall there were half as many women again as men in the Irish-born population in the US. But this overall figure disguises a marked contrast between the long-established and New Irish. Amongst those who arrived pre-1980 the ratio was 1749 women per 1000 men, whereas for those arriving after 1980 it averaged only 820 women per 1000 men. The very high ratio of women to men reflects the old age profile of the Irish-born in the USA. In the 65+ age there were 41,092 women but only 17,919 men. This mainly reflects women's longer lifespans, but is also related to higher rates of emigration of women from Ireland in the past. In the 1980s by contrast more men than women left Ireland (Part 1, Tables 1.6, 1.7).

The top-heavy age structure of the Irish-born is shown in Table B2. In 1990 70.3 percent were aged over 45, compared with only 32.6 percent of the Republic Irish-born in England and Wales (65.2% in Scotland). The proportion of those aged 45+ amongst the group arriving pre-1980 in the USA was 85.1 percent (Table 2B.3). The 65+ plus age group is a very important part of the Irish-born population, comprising 43.1 percent of the total in 1990. This was made up of the 'young-old' aged 65-74 (14.1%), the 'old-old' aged 75-84 who make up the largest proportion (19.0%) and the 'very old' aged 85+ (10%).

A further cohort of late middle-aged people was about to enter these age groups in 1990, 57,544 (42.0%) of the total Irish-born population and will show up in the 2000

census figures when these are published. These are followed by a much smaller group in the 25-44 year category, suggesting that the present structure is historically specific and will characterise the Irish-born population for a limited period of 20-30 years.

As in Britain, Irish people in the USA are extremely concentrated into certain parts of the country (Table 2B.4 and Map B1). In this case the large majority are in the most heavily urbanised, and earlier-settled North East states. The Census figures are those for 1980 when regional distributions were last published. Those born in the Irish Republic were especially concentrated in the North East region, which had 64.4 percent of the total in 1980. It is estimated that one quarter of new migrants after 1995 settled in New York (Almeida, 2001:144). The Philadelphia region also received a large boost to its Irish-born population from the New Irish: 25,000 immigrants arrived between 1985 and 1994, compared with 55,000 in the period 1930-1985. In 2002 the Boston Irish Immigration centre estimated the arrival of new immigrants at 7000 per year.

A steady increase of Irish-born people in the West region has been recorded throughout the 1990s, the great majority being documented or 'in-status' immigrants. Estimates in San Francisco show a steady increase from about 17,000 people in 1992 to a peak of 37,000 in 2001, which fell slightly in 2002 due to the demise of 'dot.com' companies and the subsequent loss of visas (communication from Irish Immigration Pastoral Center, San Francisco, 2002). The Center also reported an increase in both 'out-of-status' immigrants and J-I student visa holders after 1997 and estimates a 20 percent rise overall in immigration to the San Francisco/Bay Area during this period.

The North East region also experienced the greatest decline 1970-80, a fall of 27.2 percent. By contrast the South region had gained 12.8 percent. Bearing in mind the large numbers in older age groups, this suggests movement to sunnier locations by retirees. Again as in Britain, people born in Northern Ireland were much more widely scattered at a regional scale. Only 42.9 percent were located in the North East states in 1980, with a substantial representation on the West (23.1%). Again only the South showed an increase between 1970-80 and the greatest fall was in the North East states (-65.6%).

At a smaller geographical scale, Irish-born people in 1980 were much more urbanised than the US population as a whole (Table 2B.5). The great majority were located inside urban areas (89.3% of the Republic-born and 82.3% of the Northern Irish-born) compared with 61.4 percent of the total population.

The demographic patterns of those claiming Irish ancestry was quite different, with a much more even distribution across the ages (Table 2B.6, Map B2). There is also evidence of a large-scale redistribution of the Irish population in the USA in subsequent generations. The largest proportion was in the South (33.3%), followed by the North Central region (26.0%), which includes the mid-West states and then the North East (21.7%) closely followed by the West (19.1%). In other words the Irish American population is widely scattered throughout the country.

2.2 Socio-economic position

The US Census provides data by occupation for 1990 (Table 2B.7). It shows a strong clustering in managerial and professional occupations for both women and men, with much smaller proportions in manual occupations. This clustering is more marked for the longer established pre-1980 group suggesting both upward mobility with age and the limitation to low-paid work amongst new arrivals. The profile contrasts with that in Britain (Tables 2A.5, 2A.6), where, although the proportion of Irish-born people in professional categories have grown significantly, the largest occupational categories for both women and men are still in the lowest income groups.

Key tables

Table 2B.1

Birthplace and Ethnic Origin 1870-1990						
	<i>Irish Born</i>			<i>Irish Origin</i>		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>RI</i>	<i>NI</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>RI</i>	<i>NI</i>
1870	1,855,827					
1880	1,854,571					
1890	1,871,509					
1900	1,615,459					
1910	1,352,155					
1920	1,037,233					
1930	923,642	744,810	178,832			
1940	678,447	572,031	106,416			
1950	520,359	504,961	15,398			
1960	406,884	338,722	68,162	1,621,574	1,434,590	186,984
1970	292,212	251,375	40,837			
1980	217,648	197,817	19,831	10,337,353		
1990		169,827		22,721,252		

Source: US Census

Table 2B.2

Age Groups Irish Born 1990		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
0-14	3,141	1.8
15-24	7,892	4.6
25-44	39,470	23.2
45-64	59,746	35.2
65+	59,578	35.1

Source: US Census, 1990

Table 2B.3**Age Groups by Year of Arrival in the USA**

	Pre 1980		1980/1		1982/4		1985/6		1987/90	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
0-14	149	0.1	272	8.1	412	7.7	965	11.8	1,613	10.1
15-19	527	0.4	104	3.1	93	1.7	190	2.3	574	3.6
19-24	965	0.7	1,005	29.9	360	0.1	118	1.4	965	6.0
25-44	18,734	13.7	2,349	69.8	3,827	72.0	5,813	71.0	8,747	54.6
45-64	57,544	42.0	392	11.7	538	10.1	412	5.0	860	5.4
65-74	19,306	14.1	73	2.2	58	1.1	42	0.5	121	0.8
75-84	25,968	19.0	51	1.5	23	0.4	36	0.4	88	0.5
85+	13,737	10.0	5	0.1	6	0.1	-	-	64	0.4

Source: US Census, 1990

Table 2B.4**Geographical Distribution 1970/80****Born in Irish Republic**

	1970		1980		% Change
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	
North East	174,797	69.5	127,273	64.4	-27.2
N Central	35,214	14.0	27,825	14.1	-21.0
South	15,168	6.0	17,105	8.6	+12.8
West	26,196	10.4	25,614	12.9	-2.2
Total	251,375	100.0	197,817	100.0	-21.3

Born in Northern Ireland

	1970		1980		% Change
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	
North East	24,721	60.5	8,515	42.9	-65.6
N Central	5,599	13.7	3,017	15.2	-46.1
South	3,712	9.1	3,720	18.8	+0.2
West	6,805	16.7	4,579	23.1	-32.7
Total	40,837	100.0	19,831	100.0	-51.4

Irish Origin 1980

	<i>Irish</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
North East	3,139,662	30.4	49,135,283	21.7
N Central	2,168,162	21.0	58,865,670	26.0
South	3,593,729	34.8	75,372,362	33.3
West	1,435,800	13.9	43,172,490	19.1
Total	10,337,353	100.0	226,545,805	100.0

Source: US Census, 1980

Table 2B.5

Urban/Rural Distribution 1980			
	<i>IR born</i>	<i>NI born</i>	<i>Total</i>
Urban	89.3	82.3	61.4
<i>Central city</i>	<i>46.1</i>	<i>32.3</i>	<i>29.6</i>
<i>Urban fringe</i>	<i>43.2</i>	<i>50.1</i>	<i>31.8</i>
Rural	6.8	11.8	26.3

Source: US Census, 1980

Table 2B.6

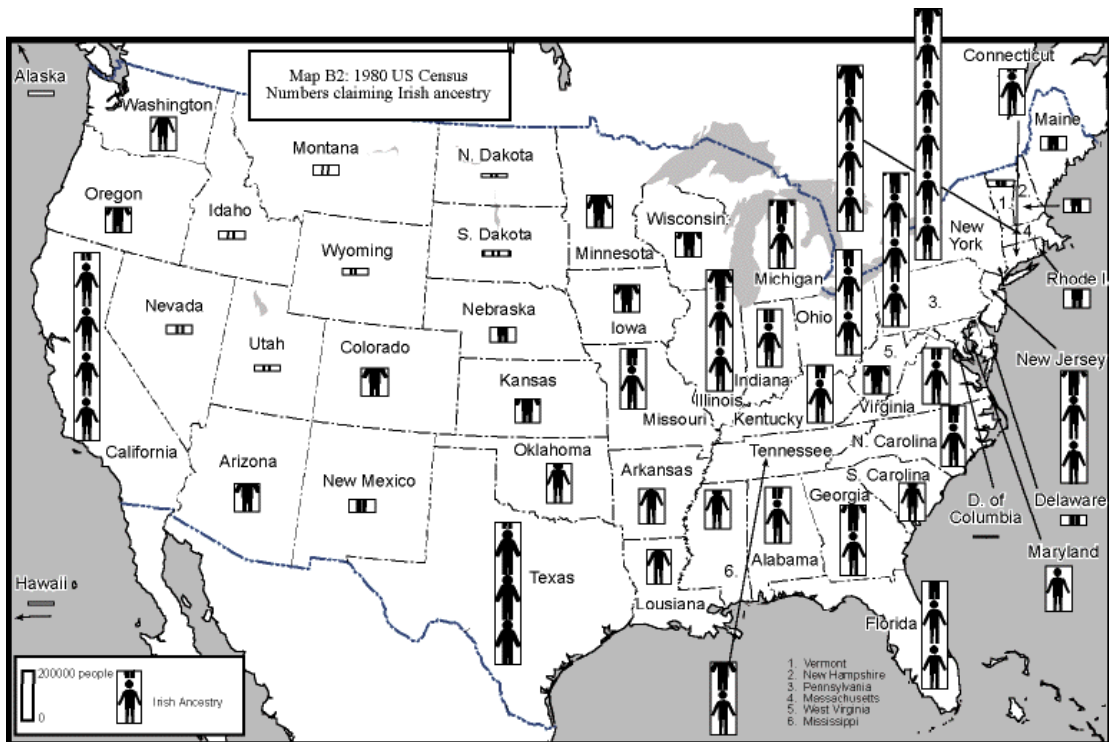
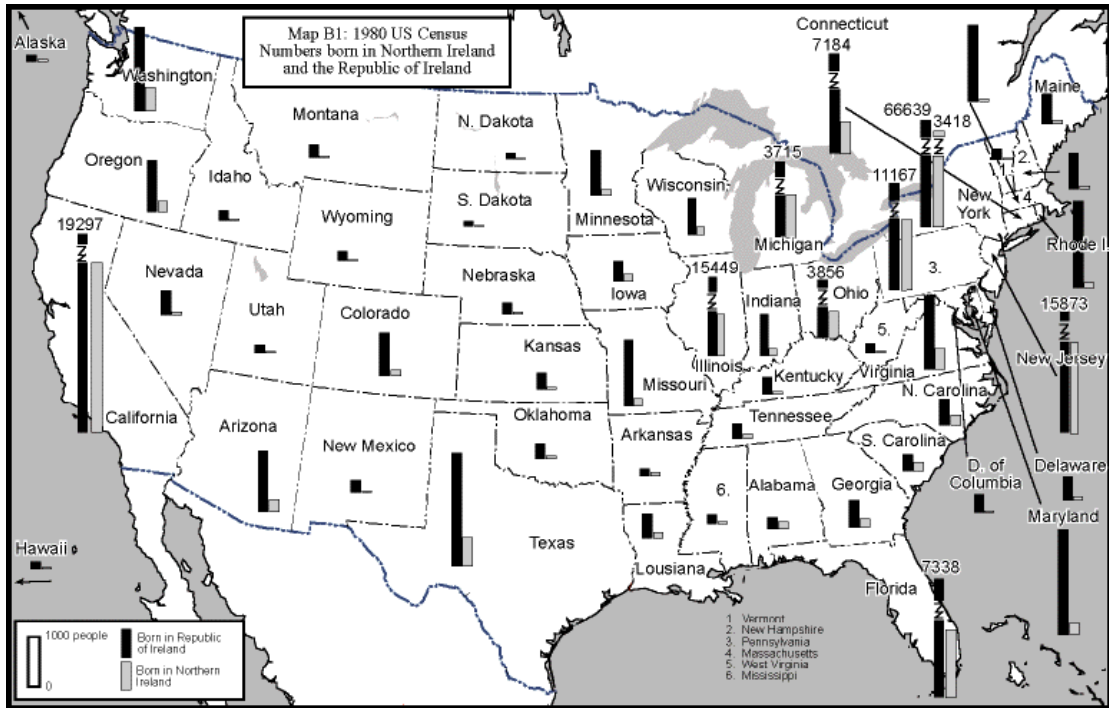
Ethnic Origin by Age, 1980 (Ancestry Groups)					
<i>Age</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Total %</i>	<i>Men/Women Ratio</i>
0-14	1,393,145	674,063	719,082	13.5	937
15-24	1,725,348	848,472	876,876	16.7	967
25-44	3,038,293	1,524,173	1,514,120	29.4	1,006
45-64	2,563,414	1,354,975	1,208,439	24.8	1,121
65+	1,617,153	992,804	624,349	15.6	1,590
Total	10,337,353	5,394,487	4,942,866	100.0	1091

Source: US Census, 1980

Table 2B.7

Employment in the USA						
	Total Irish born		Arrived in US			
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	Pre 1980		1980-9	
<i>N</i>			<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	
ALL						
Managerial and professional	24,242	29.6	17,604	29.8	6,638	28.9
Technical, sales, administrative support	21,052	25.7	16,208	27.5	4,844	21.1
Service	16,026	19.5	11,424	19.0	4,602	20.0
Farming, forestry, fishery	1,008	1.2	652	1.1	356	1.5
Precision production, craft and repair	12,478	15.2	7,683	13.0	4,795	20.9
Operators, fabricators and labourers	7,202	8.8	5,448	9.2	1,754	7.6
Total	82,008	100.	59,019	100.	22,989	100.
WOMEN						
Managerial and professional	11,820	30.3	9,119	30.4	2,701	29.9
Technical, sales, administrative support	14,745	37.8	11,737	39.1	3,008	33.3
Service	10,464	26.8	7,397	24.7	3,067	33.9
Farming, forestry, fishery	100	0.3	76	0.3	24	0.3
Precision production, craft and repair	670	1.7	532	1.8	138	1.5
Operators, fabricators and labourers	1,247	3.2	1,147	3.8	100	1.1
Total	39,046	100	30,008	100	9,038	100
MEN						
Managerial and professional	12,422	28.9	8,485	29.2	3,937	28.2
Technical, sales, administrative support	6,307	14.7	4,471	15.4	1,836	13.2
Service	5,562	12.9	4,027	13.9	1,535	11.0
Farming, forestry, fishery	908	2.1	576	2.0	332	2.4
Precision production, craft and repair	11,808	27.5	7,151	24.6	4,657	33.4
Operators, fabricators and labourers	5,955	13.9	4,301	14.8	1,654	11.9
Total	42,962	100	29,011	100	13,951	100

Source: US Census, 1990



3. The Irish in US society 1945-2001

This section provides an overview of the identities of the Irish in the US. It highlights the different experiences of Irish people who crossed the Atlantic from those who crossed the Irish Sea. Those living in, or entering the US, in the post-1945 period belonged to, or joined, a society in which their ethnic group had already established a very large presence. It is often argued that they were accepted unquestioningly as a central part of 'white' mainstream (Lloyd, 1994; Lubheid 1997), though there remains evidence of ongoing ethnic difference including disadvantage (MacDonald, 1999). However most vestiges of anti-Irish prejudice, which had been attached to the 'Famine Irish' by the WASP ascendancy in the nineteenth century, had disappeared (Kenny, 2000). In all these ways their position contrasted strongly with that of the Irish in Britain.

However barriers to integration and social inclusion continue to exist for certain sections of the Irish population. Reasons for this are discussed and the most vulnerable sections of present-day Irish populations are identified in fourth part of this section.

The following overview of the post-1945 period has been prepared for this study by Dr Matthew J. O'Brien, Franciscan University of Steubenville, Ohio.

3.1 Irish America in the late-twentieth century

Over the last fifty years Irish America has undergone two important transformations, both of which have resulted from a remarkable rise in socio-economic status and political prominence. For many second- and third-generation Irish ethnics, the middle-class attainments and patriotic leadership since the Second World War represented the fulfilment of both material and ideological aspirations. These achievements thus encouraged an accentuation of the view that Irish-American history was the quintessential story of immigrant success in the United States. This selective process of ethnic commemoration relegated earlier ancestral experiences in Ireland and the urban neighbourhoods to the prologue of the history of Irish America, venerated but hardly missed by upwardly mobile ethnics. Over the course of the second half of the twentieth century, therefore, Ireland was transformed from a geographic place of origin to ethnic point of reference.

3.2 The Post-war Rise of Irish America, 1945-1965

The census figures compiled during the middle decades of the twentieth century attested to the growth of an identifiable Irish-American middle class, reflected in remarkable improvement in the incomes, education, and occupational status of later-generation Irish Americans. In addition, the 1940s and 1950s seemed to represent the fulfilment of the ideological dreams of Irish immigrants as well through the widespread recognition of Irish-American patriotic contributions to the United States. A new generation of post-war leaders rose to prominent national positions even before the historic presidential election of 1960, and academics identified the children and grandchildren of Irish immigrants as quintessentially American.

This triumphant mood that emerged during this 'coming of age' for Irish America dominated a series of historical works on Irish immigration in the decades immediately following the Second World War. While Hollywood directors cast stock ethnic characters to portray the victory of this 'nation of immigrants' over the Nazi 'master race,' respected experts such as Carl Wittke (1956) and Margaret Mead (1943) echoed similar sentiments in the academic sphere. These patriotic assertions about American pluralism continued with the arrival of the Cold War in the late 1940s and 1950s as popular and academic commentators wrote on interfaith co-operation in the United States, reminding readers about the threat that atheistic communism posed to freedom of religious freedom.

Both trends place Irish-Americans of Catholic faith at the forefront of American ideology. The urban political bosses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, previously scorned as corrupt manipulators, now became known as champions of ethnic assimilation. The anti-machine complaints of the progressive school were quickly forgotten, and instead historians hailed political bodies like Tammany Hall as the originators of American ethnic pluralism. The ensuing fight against godless communism that began in 1945 also embellished the patriotic credentials of Catholic Americans by virtue of the Church's longstanding opposition to communism.

Yet this post-war ascension of Irish America also entailed a subtle yet unmistakable break with preceding forms of Irish ethnicity. As writers focused on the transformative potential of American opportunity, they recast the experiences of Irish immigrants and their working-class offspring as the humble origins of this triumphant group. The hagiography of Irish American success stories relegated the green fields of Ireland and the crowded tenement houses of Hell's Kitchen to innately inferior starting points, accentuating views of 'the Old Country' and 'the old neighbourhood' that were sometimes romanticised and inevitably condescending.

As a result, commentators on Irish America looked upon those individuals in Ireland or the increasingly run-down urban neighbourhoods who seemed to resist this evolutionary process with Darwinian detachment. At the same time as national spirits in Ireland rose with Whitaker-fuelled prosperity and ambitious new social plans, historians of Irish America in the 1950s and early 1960s continued to dwell on the image of Ireland and morally pure but economically backward.

This fixation on Irish-American success in the years after the Second World War also betrayed a subtle sense of condescension toward the remaining numbers of working-class Irish Americans. At the same time as postwar accounts paid tribute to the sacrifices and determination of their predecessors, the writers of the 1950s and early 1960s sought a more refined sense of their ethnic past through an enlightened middle-class Irishness. John V. Kelleher (1961), an Irish-American who managed to scale the ivy walls of academia to take a teaching position at Harvard University, had little doubt that Irish America had progressed in the years since the Second World War, from the days when adulation in 'every Irish quarter [was reserved for] its strong man, who would lift a dumpcart on his back or bend a crowbar, and who ruptured himself of booze.' Kelleher concluded that the domesticisation of later-generation Irish ethnics was as beneficial as it was inevitable, and assimilation was seen as the fulfilment of dreams rather than a betrayal of tradition: 'Is there, then, nothing to

show for all that century-long struggle of the Irish to become American? . . . The Irish contribution [to the United States] was their grandchildren, no longer Irish.'

3.3 The Costs of Assimilation, 1965-1990

The iconoclastic disorder of the late 1960s soon shook Irish-American confidence in assimilation, however. As other racial and ethnic groups stridently challenged melting-pot patriotism, a new generation of commentators on Irish America began to count the spiritual cost of success. Historian Lawrence McCaffrey (1976, rev.ed 1997) aired misgivings about ethnic homogenisation, worrying that Irish Americans had sacrificed their own history in order to secure acceptance among the higher ranks of American society. McCaffrey became even more pessimistic about the future of Irish America, concluding his account of Irish-American history with a chapter titled 'From Ghetto to Suburbs: From Someplace to No Place.' In it he criticized 'Irish-American Catholic educators [who] have rejected their own cultural heritage and insist that their students do the same,' blaming a lack of ethnic leadership for the fact that 'Irish identity is going, going, and soon . . . will be gone.' (McCaffrey's tone has grown more hopeful over the last two decades. The 1997 edition of the *Irish Diaspora in America*, titled *The Irish Catholic Diaspora in America*, noted the resurgence of interest among young Irish American men and women and the success of the American Conference of Irish Studies. Nevertheless, there was a sense of urgency that accompanied this new optimism as he warned, 'It will be difficult sustaining Irishness without the Catholic dimension and in suburban melting pots.'

This question of homogenisation also plagued even the most optimistic academic writer on Irish America in the 1970s, sociologist Andrew Greeley (1972,1981). While Greeley maintained his belief in the persistent 'distinctiveness' of Irish-American ethnicity, he limited this particularistic quality to an American context. Inspired by a seeming revival of tradition with the 'new ethnic' movement of the early 1970s, Greeley's account of Irish-American upward mobility was statistically strong. His assertions about the persistence of Irish-American ethnicity were more impressionistic, however, as he identified ethnicity as an ancestral link with historical Ireland rather than a transnational identification with the Republic of Ireland, or even cross-class link within urban ethnic neighbourhoods.

3.4 New Realisations and New Challenges for Irish America, 1990-?

During the last twenty years, however, two concurrent developments have forced commentators to look beyond middle-class success stories in understanding Irish-American ethnicity. The first of these has come with new work on working-class Irish ethnicity in the United States. In the midst of a minor publishing boom on Irish America during the mid-1970s, sociologist Marjorie Fallows (1979) published a slim account of Irish-American ethnicity that was overlooked by most reviewers. But the last pages of Fallows' survey offered an exceptional contribution with a brief but insightful description of the problems that faced working-class Irish-Americans. The author addressed issues that contested the triumphant tone of most work on Irish America with material on Irish-born victims of the Great Depression who remained traumatized a half-century after the crash, as well as allusions to the problems of urban blight that now faced those Irish Americans who still clung to life in the old neighbourhoods. But the conventional middle-class hagiographies remained

reassuringly popular. The ethnic holdouts of neighbourhoods like South Boston and Brooklyn seemed to be an atavistic source of embarrassment, especially for middle-class Irish Americans who had encountered the vestiges of anti-Catholic condescension on their way up the social scale.

And so it was not until the 1990s that Irish-American readers began to recognize the compelling nature of well-told accounts of working-class Irish America. The two foremost accounts, given by Pete Hamill (1994) and Michael Patrick MacDonald (2000), addressed the two great bogeys of Irish America: drinking and racism. Both works spoke with candour and insight that portrayed life in working-class Irish America in a sympathetic light without engaging in blame-shifting. Hamill and MacDonald spoke nakedly of drinking problems and racial violence, but in the end their ability to turn away from such plagues without sacrificing their own identity conveyed that working-class Irish America amounted to more than just alcoholism and prejudice.

Meanwhile, the emergent trend of “New Irish” migration in the late 1980s and early 1990s has also challenged middle-class Irish America. The transatlantic migrants of this period soon encountered points of cultural disjunction with their ethnic hosts in the United States. For many of the New Irish, Irish-American ethnicity seemed to be based on an anachronistic view of peasant Ireland that clashed with their own experience growing up in the modernised surroundings of post-Whitaker Ireland. Nevertheless, this breach was hardly unprecedented, as the elder statesmen of the New York Irish community, Paul O’Dwyer, reminded Irish-Americans of the many precedents for such intergenerational squabbling.

But the undocumented status of most New Irish arrivals posed a more serious problem. Mary Corcoran’s (1993) work provided an in-depth description of the obstacles that faced the ‘Irish illegals’ during the late 1980s, ranging from workplace dangers to personal alienation. Although this plight was initially ignored by the Irish-American establishment, the plight of the illegals soon became a common rallying point for immigrants and ethnics and produced effective campaign for the legalisation of undocumented New Irish arrivals. While intergenerational friction occasionally reappeared, both groups appealed to the tradition of Irish immigrant sacrifice and success in the United States, securing a wealth of immigrant visas for Irish applicants.

This success, however, has made the New Irish challenge to middle-class ethnicity even more apparent, as increasing numbers of Irish-born migrants returned to the Republic in the 1990s. In her recent book, Linda Dowling Almeida (2001) identified a wider gap between immigrants and ethnics that went beyond cultural shibboleths to acknowledge a more fundamental difference in understanding the transatlantic migration experience. The surprisingly large share of immigrant visas that have gone unclaimed by Irish candidates seems inexplicable in the eyes of middle-class ethnics, whose ethnic identification with Ireland has been shaped by the twin themes of Irish-American socio-economic achievement and immigrant patriotism. While the outcome seems far from certain, such a trend would seem to require a more integrative relationship with contemporary Ireland.

3.5 Conclusion

The constantly changing nature of Irish-American ethnicity over the last half-century offers a reminder of the malleable nature of expatriate identity. As we begin to see the way in which domestic events in the United States have led to an indigenous form of Irish ethnicity, we can better appreciate the broader conceptual approach of the Irish Diaspora. This new emphasis on comparing migration networks enables us to broaden our perspective beyond the simplistic (and condescending) view of expatriate Irishness as a diluted form of domestic Irish identity. Rather than sentencing emigrants to lives of permanent alienation in their lives abroad in a misguided quest for 'authenticity,' we can see ethnicity as a means by which emigrants negotiate the complementary pull of transnational ties with the domestic gravities exerted their foreign environments.

Our increased awareness of the particular forces of working-class ethnicity and transnational ties in Irish-American ethnicity emphasizes the need for practical programs as well. As working-class Irish-Americans grow more confident about their place within the Irish Diaspora, outreach programs targeted to inner-city ethnic neighborhoods are in order. Meanwhile the increasingly transnational nature of New Irish migration also puts a premium on state-sponsored programs for the education of prospective migrants and the reception of returnees as well. As we begin to see the way in which migrants use ethnicity to establish equilibrium between their land of birth and their present setting, we can better understand the integrative potential of the migration.

4. Issues of comparative disadvantage and inequality

4.1 Categories of disadvantage

The presence and workload of a network of advice and welfare agencies for Irish immigrants suggests that important pockets of disadvantage are present within an overall picture of middle-class success. These fall into three categories, those arising from legal barriers within US society, those arising out of class divisions which have a significant ethnic component and those arising from the migration experience.

In contrast to Britain one of the major providers of advice and material support is the Catholic Church. In New York State, for example, the Archdiocese and parishes are a large private network of independent social service organisations. Another important service provider is the Emerald Isle Immigration Center, which also helps other immigrant groups. Although Catholic organisations also provide a wide range of services in Boston, however, the large Irish Immigration Centre there was founded and run by young undocumented immigrants themselves. A Coalition of Irish Immigration Centres was set up in 1996 to coordinate activities at a national scale but has found it difficult to implement a common agenda owing to limited budgets.

Services are also available to immigrants and the elderly through state, local and federally funded government or non-profit agencies all around New York. However often the Irish do not avail themselves of the programs because they do not know they

exist or do not know how to access them. Project Irish Outreach, for example, advises elderly immigrants on using these services.

(1) Barriers to integration and social inclusion

Barriers which prevent Irish people in the US from living as equal citizens are different from those in Britain. The most striking is the issue of immigration controls. The Irish have been exempted from immigration restrictions which have limited the access to Britain of other immigrant groups. Mary J. Hickman (1998) shows that it was in British interests to treat the Irish as a special case when the first controls were introduced in 1962. This followed the pronouncement in 1949 following the declaration of independence in 1948, that whatever the Irish Government thought, in official British eyes Ireland was 'not a foreign country'.

In the US, Irish immigrants are subject to different immigration restrictions. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, because of strong Irish immigrant and Irish American grass roots efforts and legislative lobbying, the Irish were able to avail themselves of a significant number of non-preference visas offered to countries disadvantaged by immigration legislation passed in 1965. Most of those visa lottery programs have expired. Under the current visa lottery system open to the Irish, called the Diversity Visa program, applicants must meet minimum age, skill and education requirements. Of the 50,000 visas available in this program in 2000, the Irish won less than 300. Other visas based on skills, family relations and other qualifications exist as well.

The Walsh Visa program is open to young people from certain border counties in the Republic and Northern Ireland, but that is a three-year program aimed at skill enhancement and does not permit permanent residence or job placement. The program is heavily criticised by users who say it is badly co-ordinated and that the training offered is poor, leading to high levels of disappointment. Those who do not qualify for the Diversity Visa or the other visa schemes available to the Irish, but who wish to immigrate, enter the United States as tourists, overstay their visas and work and live in the country as undocumented aliens.

In recent years the penalties for overstays have been much harsher, ultimately resulting in re-entry bans to the US of up to three and ten years, depending on the length of overstay (Almeida, 2001:145). Complicating the near future and relief prospects for undocumented aliens in America, is the lower level of tolerance in popular and official attitudes towards illegals since the World Trade Center attacks of September 11, 2001. Prior to the attack advocates in the community had hoped that Congress might pass some kind of amnesty legislation aimed at the illegal population, that is no longer a possibility. The most serious disadvantages facing the undocumented population include restriction to low-paid casual work, lack of health insurance, inability to leave the country and return, and fear of exposure.

In recent years, the issues for young undocumented people are often strongly gendered. Immigrant agencies report that young women are particularly disadvantaged. For example, domestic work is a common occupation among illegal females, but the jobs often require a driver's licence, which cannot be acquired without proper documentation. This can limit the number of work opportunities available to young women. (One other aspect of immigration legislation passed in the

late 1980s that affects the Irish are the penalties placed on employers and employment agencies for hiring or placing undocumented aliens, thus restricting labour opportunities for men and women to work 'paid under the table'). Young women therefore can find themselves in relationships in which the men are the primary income earners and the women are unemployed and isolated socially, leaving them dependent on their male partner and sometimes subject to abuse. The Aisling Centre in Yonkers, New York, reports that many more women than men seek help at the center.

(2) Poverty amongst longer-established Irish communities

As O'Brien's analysis in Section 3 pointed out, attention has recently been drawn to working class neighbourhoods where a range of problems related to poverty persist. Research is needed to assess the ethnic dimensions to these issues, and in particular any connections with Irish origins.

(3) Needs of older migrants

Although the problems of young undocumented people appear most stark and urgent, there are also chronic needs amongst older Irish-born people which may only come to light by chance. These could be part of the wider issue of poverty in working-class neighbourhoods identified above, but they may also be more spatially scattered and thus less likely to be recognised.

Problems identified by Project Irish Outreach in New York relate especially to women, who greatly outlive and outnumber older men (Table B3). Many older women in New York City are socially isolated, widowed or never-married. Commonly they had low-paid jobs as domestic workers and have no savings. They may also have documentation problems, especially if they chose not to take out US citizenship preferring to retain their Irish nationality, or failed to update their Green Cards after retirement. In August 2001, for example, citizenship became a requirement for eligibility for social security (SSI) benefits, a major source of income.

The Irish ethnic component of this issue is women's unfamiliarity with US social service agencies, possibly because of their encapsulation in an Irish family and community world. Often 1950s and 60s migrants lived in strongly Irish neighbourhoods which may now be decaying as many of their age groups have died or moved into residential care. These women may be in ignorance of the services which they could access and unaware of ways of presenting themselves most effectively to achieve what they want. In the past many would have returned to Ireland, but the recent changes there may mean it is no longer be an appropriate option.

4.2 Identification of the most vulnerable sections of the population

Young, undocumented: this category has a number of sub-groups, including: single men, a number of whom may experience homelessness, and women seeking work in areas increasingly closed off to non-drivers, such as private childcare. Those who arrived in the later 1990s are at greater risk than those who entered the US in the

1980s (Almeida, 2001:144). Recent arrivals are younger, have lower levels of qualifications and are less equipped to support themselves abroad. People 'escaping' from Ireland may bring with them problems of drug abuse, mental ill-health. After September 11, 2001, the undocumented found themselves particularly vulnerable to job loss and deportation.

New migrants, both documented and undocumented, who are cut off from family support systems in Ireland, for example mothers of small children. Fathers may work long hours. Women in abusive relationships, perhaps owing to the alcoholism of their partner, may be unable to leave. They are unable legally to take children out of the country and may have no alternative means of support or accommodation.

Irish elders living on low incomes, especially those without family support. The high cost of residential care causes particular anxieties. See above.

Those in poor health including serious long-term/chronic illness, addiction problems, alcohol, drugs. Health insurance is a serious problem for those on low incomes and in employment where this is not included in the payment package. A particularly vulnerable group are those in the age group 50-64 who are at risk from chronic disease but are not yet eligible for Medicare (65+). Research is needed to establish whether the same patterns of above-average poor health amongst Irish population in Britain apply in the US.

Prisoners who are very isolated, usually lacking funds for adequate legal support, visitors and response to requests to be transferred to Ireland.

5. Conclusions

The Irish immigrant and ethnic population in the United States is divided into many more groups with very different identities than the community in Britain. There is a far more visible and very large number of Irish Americans spanning several generations. In fact the number of second-generation people, children of Irish-born migrants, is substantially smaller than in Britain where over 80% of 1950s migrants settled, so that many Irish Americans have more distant connections with Ireland.

The myth of Irish success in the USA has strong foundations, but is not universal. However it operates a powerful magnetic effect on younger generations in Ireland who believe the USA will offer them a better life than in the lower reaches of life in the Celtic Tiger Republic or the economically-depressed North.

However the largest number of immigrants is found in the older generation who left a much more rural Ireland and made an improved, though often modest, living in the USA. This is now a declining group, where women now outnumber men by three to one.

C. The Irish community in Australia: a portrait 1945-2002

1. Australia within the Irish diaspora

Australia has the third largest Irish-born population outside Ireland, after Britain and the USA. Throughout the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries it has accounted for a small but remarkably steady proportion. In 1861 the census recorded 177,405 people, 6.2 percent of the total in the four major destinations (Part 2, Table 2.2). Although this rose to 7.9% in 1891 and fell to 3.5 percent in 1951, by 1996 it had returned to 6.7 percent, though now with the much smaller total population of 74,494. However, as in other destinations with large nineteenth century populations, the number proclaiming Irish ancestry was much higher, 803,372 in 1986.

The relative importance of Australia as a destination for very recent emigrants has changed dramatically. In the annual emigration figures published by the CSO, Australia forms a large proportion of the residual category 'Rest of World' which rose from 13.4 percent of the total in 1987 to 40.7 percent in 2001 (see Part I, Table 1.5). The estimated total for Australia alone in the year 2001 was 5,600 out of 8,100 in the larger category. This slightly exceeded the total entering the UK in that year (5,300) and was well above that for the rest of the EU (4,100) and for the USA (2,300).

This section has three aims:

- To provide a statistical profile highlighting key features of the post-1945 population in the Australia
- To present an overview of Irish identities and culture in the Australia in the post-1945 period
- To identify issues of comparative Irish disadvantage and social exclusion and to highlight the most vulnerable groups

2. Profile of the Irish community 1945-2001

2.1 Population and settlement

The number of Irish-born people in Australia reached a peak of 229,156 in 1891, the same year as in the USA, though well after the peak year in Britain of 1861. After 1891 Australian totals fell at each census date to reach a low of 44,813 in 1947. In contrast to the USA, however, numbers increased steadily again throughout the post-War period. From a low of 44,813 in 1947 they had reached 74,494 in 1996, an increase of 66 percent (Table 2C.1).

Data on birthplace by period of arrival shows that over one third of the Irish-born in Australia had arrived in the past ten years, in 1991, 11.5 percent of the total entering in the brief period of 1988-9 (Table 2C.2). Clearly then Australia was a destination of choice at the time of massive out-migration in the late 1980s.

Populations born in the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland were recorded separately between 1947 and 1986, and showed higher proportions on Northern Irish-born than in either Britain or the USA (Table 2C.1). Between 1966 and 1986 over 30 percent of the total was Northern Irish-born, reaching 36.9 percent in 1986.

In striking contrast to the USA and, later, Britain, fewer Irish-born women than men have been recorded throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century censuses. The ratios were particularly low from the 1891-1929 (Akenson,1996:105), but were still under par in 1986 (913 per 1000 men) and 1991 (937).

Detailed special tabulations on the Irish-born have been compiled from the 1996 Census as part of a series of Community Profiles and could be analysed to provide a much more detailed statistical portrait (Lucas, 2000). The Ireland-born profile relates to those from the Republic, the Northern Irish-born being covered by the UK profile. Statistics for the Republic-born show for example higher than average educational and occupational qualifications (54.8% of men and 46.8% of women, compared with an Australian average of 42.3%). Unemployment rates were lower than average (7.7% for men and 5.4% for women, compared with 9.9% and 8.3% respectively in the population as a whole).

Compared with the total, the Irish-born were more likely to be in the Professional category (22.3% as against 17.6%) and also featured more strongly as Tradespersons and Related Workers (15.1% compared with 13.4%) (Table 2C.7). Proportions in the Professional category increased substantially between 1991 and 1996 from 12.7 percent to 22.3 percent, suggesting that new arrivals had high educational levels. As in Britain, women were more concentrated in these categories (28.9% against 17.2% for men), representing the importance of nursing as a career opportunity in Australia.

Data on patterns of Irish descent is available in certain censuses. Unusually amongst countries of Irish immigration parents' birthplace was recorded in 1991 (Table 2C.3). This showed a total of 95, 216 second-generation Irish people, of whom 15.7% had two Irish-born parents, 30.7 percent had an Irish-born mother only and the remaining 53.6 percent an Irish-born father only. The partners of Irish-born fathers were much more likely to have been born in Australia (77.3%) than those of Irish-born women (60.3%). Higher proportions of Irish-born women had partners born 'in a mainly English-speaking country', presumably Britain or North America (29.3%) or 'other country' (8.9%).

Patterns of geographical settlement can be plotted at state/territory level (Tables 2C.4, 2C.5, 2C.6, Maps C1,C2). These show that New South Wales and Victoria have the largest proportions of Irish-born and people of Irish ancestry, sharing about 60 percent of the total. The large growth of Northern Irish-born people during the 1980s throughout the country is also brought out by this table.

Key Tables

Table 2C.1

Birthplace and Ancestry, 1861-1991				
	<i>Total</i>	<i>RI</i>	<i>NI</i>	<i>Ancestry</i>
1861	177,405			
1871	213,765			
1881	214,771			
1891	229,156			
1901	185,807			
1911	141,331			
1921	105,033			
1933	78,652			
1947	44,813	4,664	5,539	
1954	47,673	5,992	9,503	
1961	50,215	7,628	13,158	
1966	55,175	8,340	17,059	
1971	63,698	8,306	21,936	
*1981	67,738	45,780	21,958	
*1986	69,962	44,136	25,826	803,372
*1991		52,437		
1996		51,501		

*Includes RI and Undefined under RI

Source: Census of Australia

Table 2C.2

Birthplace by Year of Arrival, 1991		
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
pre 1981	33,456	64.7
1981-5	4,414	8.5
1986-7	3,921	7.6
1988-9	5,952	11.5
1990-1	2,756	5.3
Not stated	1,232	2.4
Total	51,731	100.0

Source: Census of Australia, 1991

Table 2C.3

Second-Generation Irish in Australia, 1991		
Two Irish-born parents		14,950
Irish-born mother, father born elsewhere:		29,196
<i>Australia</i>	17,612	
<i>Main English-speaking country</i>	8,554	
<i>Other country</i>	2,601	
<i>Not stated</i>	429	
Irish-born father, mother born elsewhere:		51,070
<i>Australia</i>	39,452	
<i>Main English-speaking country</i>	9,272	
<i>Other country</i>	2,005	
<i>Not stated</i>	251	
Total		95,216

Source: Census of Australia, 1991

Table 2C.4

Geographical Distribution 1986					
Born in Irish Republic* 1981/86					
	1981		1986		% Change
	N	%	N	%	
New South Wales	15,069	32.9	14,728	33.4	-2.3
Victoria	12,788	27.9	11,652	26.4	-8.9
Queensland	5,777	12.6	5,756	13.0	-0.4
South Australia	4,107	9.0	3,560	8.1	-13.3
Western Australia	6,457	14.1	6,808	15.4	+5.4
Tasmania	616	1.3	566	1.3	-8.1
New Territory	342	0.7	394	0.9	+15.2
ACT	627	1.5	672	1.5	0
Total	45,780	100.0	44,136	100.0	-3.6

* including undefined

Born in Northern Ireland					
New South Wales	6,603	30.1	7,398	28.6	+12.0
Victoria	6,540	29.8	7,416	28.7	+13.4
Queensland	2,806	12.8	3,720	14.4	+32.6
South Australia	2,549	11.6	2,847	11.0	+11.7
Western Australia	2,588	11.8	3,440	13.3	+32.9
Tasmania	328	1.5	393	1.5	+19.8
New Territory	121	0.6	177	0.7	+46.3
ACT	423	1.9	435	1.7	+2.8
Total	21,958	100.0	25,826	100.0	+17.6

Source: Census of Australia 1986

Table 2C.5**Irish Ancestry – Single identity, Geographical distribution %**

	<i>N</i>	<i>% of total</i>
New South Wales	129,167	34.2
Victoria	112,890	29.9
Queensland	64,929	17.2
South Australia	23,975	6.3
Western Australia	28,744	7.6
Tasmania	7,535	2.0
New Territory	2,928	0.8
ACT	7,368	2.0
Total	377,590	100.0

Source: Census of Australia, 1986

Table 2C.6**Irish Ancestry: Geographical Distribution 1986**

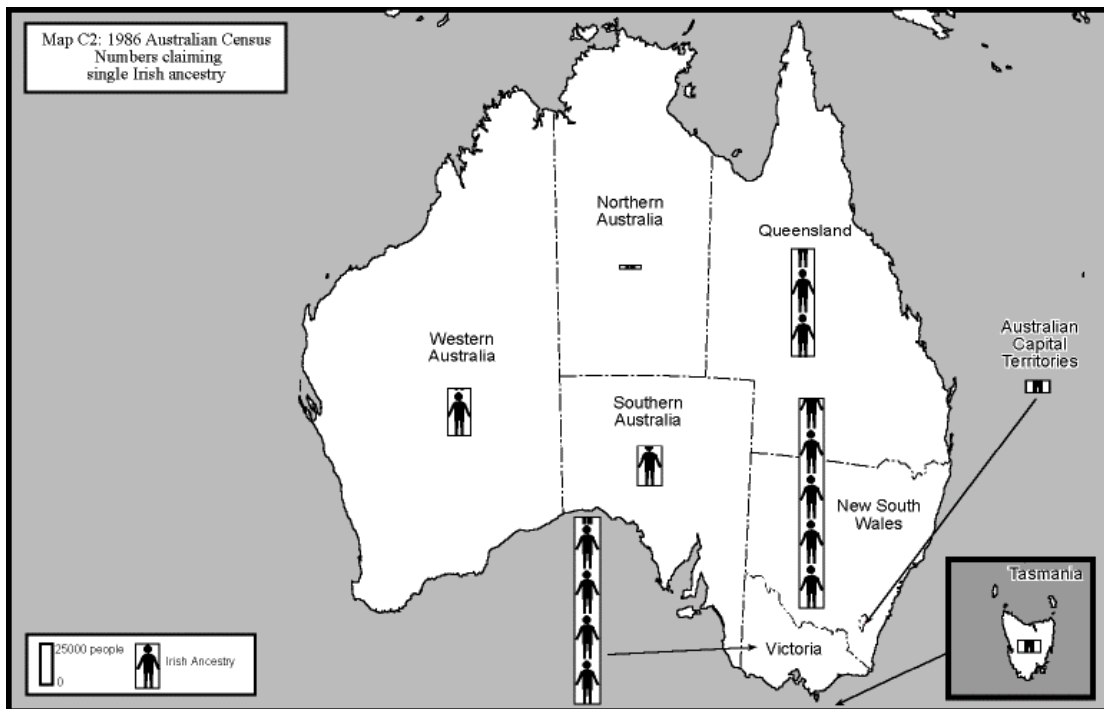
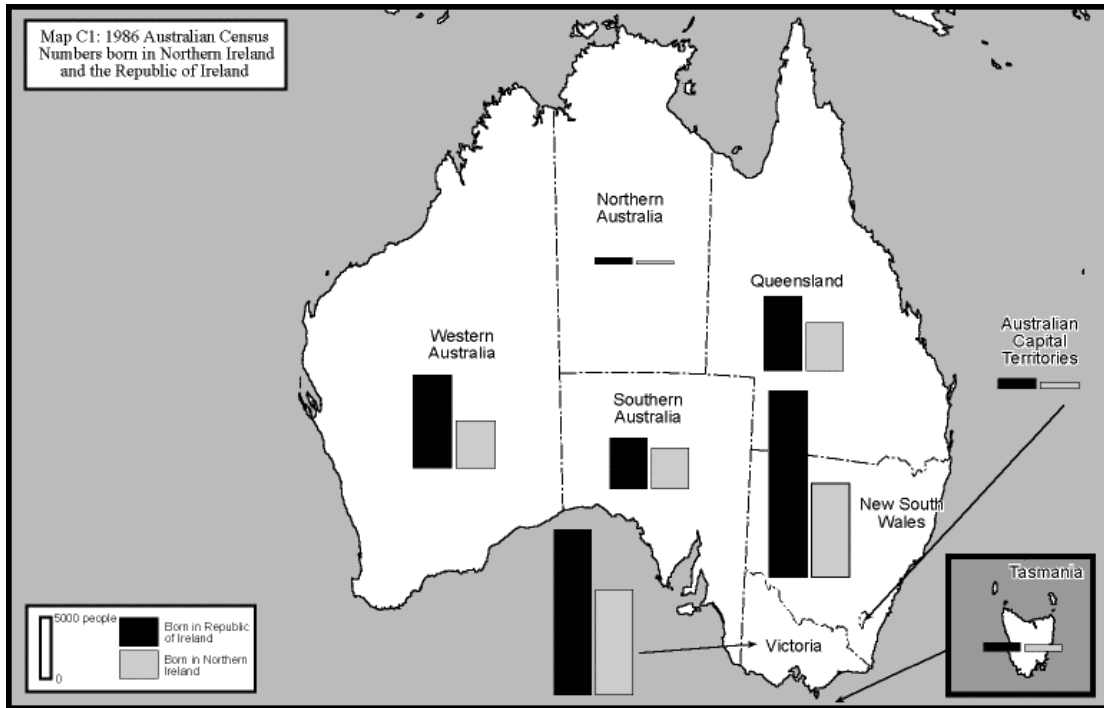
	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Australian -Irish</i>	<i>English- Irish</i>	<i>Irish- Scottish</i>	<i>Irish- German</i>	<i>Total</i>
New South Wales	129,167	14,081	95,150	31,016	11,668	185,932
Victoria	112,890	10,287	65,683	23,842	7,535	220,237
Queensland	69,929	7,044	48,331	17,561	11,853	154,718
South Australia	23,975	2,539	15,434	5,150	3,801	50,899
Western Australia	28,744	3,585	19,384	6,012	1,894	59,619
Tasmania	7,535	684	6,472	2,122	885	17,698
New Territory	2,982	303	1,978	848	426	6,537
ACT	7,368	952	6,425	2,080	757	17,582
Total	377,590	39,475	258,857	88,631	38,819	803,372
%	47.0	4.9	32.2	11.0	4.8	100.0

Source: Census of Australia, 1986

Table 2C.7**Occupations of Irish-born (RI), 1996**

ALL	Total Irish-born		Women		Men	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Managers, administrators	2,437	8.5	604	5.1	1,797	11.1
Professional	6217	21.7	3,519	28.2	2,698	16.7
Associate professionals	3114	10.9	1,236	9.9	1,878	11.6
Tradespersons and related workers	4,206	14.7	297	2.4	3,909	24.2
Advanced clerical and service	1,308	4.6	1,176	9.4	132	0.8
Intermediate clerical, sales, service	4,470	15.6	3,091	24.8	1,379	8.5
Intermediate production and transport	2,093	7.3	264	2.1	1,829	11.3
Elementary clerical, sales, service	1,807	6.5	1,177	9.4	693	4.3
Labourers and related	2192	7.7	787	6.3	1,405	8.7
Total	28,593	97.6	12,463	97.8	16,130	97.5

Source: Lucas (2000)



3. The Irish in Australian society 1945-2001

Although ‘in the 1990s Irish-Australian Studies is a flourishing area of research and publication’ (McLaughlin1998:xiv), research on the post-1945 period is at a much earlier stage than in either Britain or the USA. The paper prepared by Dr Val Noone, Editor of *Táin* magazine and Visiting Fellow at the Europe-Australia Institute, Victoria University, for this study is the overview of the period and represents a major new contribution to our knowledge and understanding.

3.1 Irish Australia in the late-twentieth century

The host Irish Australian community was built of convicts, soldiers, free settlers and assisted settlers. Some 300,000 Irish settlers came to Australia and New Zealand in the forty years after the Great Famine. From 1890 to 1914 tens of thousands came, but between 1914 and 1945 there had been very few migrants from Ireland. When Irish migration resumed after World War II, the Irish came into a quite different Australia.

As Australian historian Humphrey McQueen (1978) remarked in a neat summary, ‘it must be remembered that the reason for bringing migrants here was so that they could work’. Ann-Mari Jordens (2001) draws attention to the planning from 1942 onwards, that is three years before the end of the war, for the post-war migration scheme. At the time notions of national security were uppermost in policy makers’ minds. A key slogan was: ‘Populate or perish’ and a key architect of the policy was Arthur Calwell, himself a second-generation Irish Australian (Jordens, 1995).

Charles Price (2000), a leading Australian demographer, has estimated that between 1947 and 1998 the total intake from the island of Ireland was 115,200. This is a major change from the earlier large migrations of the nineteenth century when Irish were about a quarter of the intake. By 1981, only 2 % of immigrants living in Australia were born in Ireland and Italian-born Australians outnumbered the Irish-born by four to one. As Seamus Grimes (2001) remarked, ‘From being the largest minority group, [the Irish born] now found themselves to be a minority within minorities.’

Thus Irish immigrants in the 1980s and 1990s came to a markedly different Australia from that of the 1940s or 1870s. Those arriving in 1996 came to a society of about 18 million in which a quarter were born overseas and another quarter were children of parents born overseas. Many were children of non-English speaking immigrants. Ann-Mari Jordens (2001), author of the history of the Australian department of immigration, pointed out that ‘since 1945 Australian society, culture, and sense of national identity have been more profoundly changed by immigration than for almost any other country in the world.’

3.2 Difficult post-1945 demographics and social contexts

Although estimates can be made, no accurate figures are available for Irish migration to Australia since 1945. There are several reasons for this. One is that until recently figures on country of last residence of permanent and long-term arrivals give United Kingdom and Ireland as one category (Akenson, 1993). While this way of categorising migrants neglected ethnic differences between English and Irish, it

reflected a positive discrimination by the Australian government in favour of Irish migrants. There are other complicating factors. For example, many of the Irish who came to Australia did so after spending some time in England or Scotland. In addition, details of death rates and figures on returnees need to be researched.

Until 1987, Irish migrants coming to Australia had a special status. From 1948 to 1987 this was enshrined in the Nationality and Citizenship Act which said that '[an alien is] a person who does not have the status of a British subject and is not an Irish citizen or a protected person'. Protected persons were those who lived in Australian protectorates such as the Cocos and Keeling Islands. Thus, people from Ireland, whether from the Republic of Ireland or Northern Ireland, were accepted as 'non-alien', that is, as in some ways equal to English migrants (Jordens, 1995). However this factor can co-exist with other aspects of discrimination against Irish migrants.

A further difficulty in studying Irish migration of the past fifty years is that two leading and influential Australian demographers, Charles Price (2001) and James Jupp (2001), use the category 'Anglo-Celtic' in preference to differentiating between English and Irish. While Price uses the category 'UK and Ireland' in his work, he does however calculate Irish ethnic origin, and puts it at 12.36 percent of the population. Al Grassby calculates it at 38 percent while Jupp makes it 33 percent. (Price says that the major ethnic grouping in Australia are those who are a mixture of Anglo-Celt and non-Anglo-Celt, which group he calculates at 5.5 million, that is 30 percent of the population. In his view 'This will be the key element in determining Australia's future as a nation').

Of some seventy theses listed by Patrick O'Farrell (1993) in the bibliography of his major opus, *The Irish in Australia*, (second edition), there is only one on post-1945 migration: Seamus Grimes' study of friendship and settlement patterns among 1970s migrants in New South Wales. He found the inner, eastern and mid-western suburbs acted as receiving areas for the most recent arrivals, while the outer suburban areas had a more settled and established immigrant population. In a later study of Irish immigrants in Sydney's Landsdowne Club in the 1980s Grimes (2001) found that the club offered networking for professional and commercial immigrants, many of them managers in the financial services sector, working in the central business district of Sydney. A similar presence can be found in the other Australian capital cities.

Leading up to and after 1980, several factors changed Irish immigration to Australia. First, at the Australian end, the oil crisis of 1974 and domestic factors brought to a close the long post-war economic boom. Also, in 1973 the government had formally ended the White Australia Policy (Jupp, 2001) So there were fewer migrants and fewer of them came from Europe. In 1982 Australia ended assisted migration except for refugees.

In the 1980s Irish migrants, as a group, were more highly educated. By 1981 Irish-born women migrant workers seem to include more professionals and technical workers. Grimes (2001) says that between 1986 and 1988 some 20 percent of graduating Irish nurses left for Australia. The 1982 census suggests that more families migrated from Northern Ireland and more single people from the Republic. In the 1980s many Irish people were denied permanent residence. This led, in part, to the

arrangement of the temporary visas, with 4000 given in 1991 for Irish people 18-25 years of age. 11,000 were issued by the Australian Embassy in Dublin in each of the years 1999-2000 and 2000-2001.

There are two major if unequal studies of 'the new Irish' or 'the modern Irish' in Australia. The first is by Patrick O'Farrell in a chapter which he added to the second (1993) edition of his *The Irish in Australia*, and which he has revised in the third (2000) edition. The second is a PhD thesis by Jean Chetkovich (forthcoming, 2002) of which some extracts have already been published (2001). O'Farrell speculates about the tensions between what he calls the 'old Irish' Australia of pre-1960s migrants and the 'new Irish', indeed the 'new Ireland'. He goes on to state that the new Irish, with some exceptions, are selfish and backward looking, but he cites no sociological evidence and supplies no footnotes. While all who study Irish Australia are in O'Farrell's debt, his sometimes contradictory generalisations need to be treated with caution. Further studies of recent migrants in Perth and Melbourne respectively (Chetkovich and O'Connor, both in progress) will give a firmer basis to discussions about the recent immigrants).

3.3 Issues for Irish Australians today

(a) Irish Cultural and Welfare Activities

Many voluntary agencies have involvements with and by Irish immigrants. Those that involve the largest number of people are some 200 Irish dancing schools. In these, recent migrants are intermingled with Australian-born people.

Several voluntary groups are concerned with welfare, several with business, some are Republican political groups, some run language classes; and there are scores concerned with sport, music and other cultural activities. O'Farrell (2000: 321) writes of 'an explosion in the numbers of Irish associations, clubs and other activities'. For example, at the present time, there are some 20 radio programs, and an estimated 500,000 Australians bought tickets to *Riverdance* when it toured Australia. Moreover, to state the obvious, informal friendship groups and (for those with relatives in Australia) family gatherings play a crucial role in the lives of Irish immigrants.

Since the Embassy of Ireland in Canberra has a comprehensive list of some 76 voluntary groups (other than dance schools), this report makes no attempt to list them. Their current activities are advertised in a range of newsletters and in *Irish Echo*, *Táin*, *The Journal*, and *Irish Scene*. However, in recent years, St Patrick's Day celebrations in Sydney and Melbourne have experienced difficulties. In Sydney there have been public controversies over the role of suburban festivities over against a central parade. In Melbourne, recent parades and concerts have drawn only small crowds. It may be that the shape of the structures no longer fit the needs and interests of the community.

In Melbourne, booklets have been published on the history of the GAA, and the local Australian Irish Welfare Bureau. It is likely that there are similar booklets for other states. Graeme Smith (1990, 1994) and John P Cullinane (1994) have recorded some of the history, respectively, of musicians and dancing teachers (some times paid, sometimes voluntary). *Táin* magazine is making a small ongoing contribution to

recording the history of some of the voluntary groups (Glass, 2001-02; O'Brien 2001-02, McNally 2001; Glass and Monagle 2001; Malcolm 2001; Malcolm 2000; Stephenson, 2000; Ryan, 2000; Lyons 2000; Hegarty 2000). However, the quiet work of the many men and women who have built and maintained the societies and organisations that eased the pain of migration remains a largely untold story.

(b) Language

The Irish language was a foundation language of the Europeans in Australia, arriving with the first convicts and settlers. And it has a definite, if smouldering, life yet. There are tens of thousands of Irish immigrants and some hundreds of Australian-born who can speak Irish, but in only a few homes, it seems, is Irish spoken as a first language. Although several cities have night classes in the Irish language, there are no schools that teach Irish for examination purposes. The Irish government gave a fare to bring out Eilis Ní Shuilleabháin for the 2000 summer school and gives occasional grants for textbooks. Perhaps ways could be found to arrange for teachers to come from Ireland and for Australian Irish to be trained in language teaching in Ireland. Language plays a central role in identity and even the knowledge of a cúpla focal can serve that function and become a source of pride.

(c) Education

While there are units of Irish studies at a handful of universities, there is no tertiary course on Irish immigration to Australia; nor, it seems, does any secondary school teach Irish studies or Irish Australian studies, let alone the Irish language. The establishment in 2000 of the Gerry Higgins chair of Irish Studies at Melbourne University and the appointment of Professor Elizabeth Malcolm is a remarkable development that is opening up new courses there. However, one family's philanthropy has not yet been imitated by others.

(d) The challenge of reconciliation with indigenous Australians

A central question facing Irish migrants to Australia, and all Australian settlers, is what Patrick O'Farrell called above 'the unfinished business of reconciliation with the ancient people of this land'. Philip Bull (1996) has argued that the Irish experience on the land question lays a foundation for Australian Irish to support the land rights of Aboriginal people.

(e) Facing multiculturalism and globalisation

The difficulties of maintaining Irish culture while adapting to Australian conditions have been eased, it seems, by official Australian government policies on multiculturalism. For the Irish born, most states now have English-language Irish programs broadcasting through the ethnic radio stations network. Participants in regional workshops on family history (mostly Australian born) often remark that their revived sense of Irish Australian identity was stimulated by the increased emphasis on multiculturalism and respect for other cultures in Australia over the past two decades.

Initially the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) which was set up by the Australian government to provide television and radio broadcasts in languages other than English

refused space to Irish community groups. However, lobbying was effective and last year saw the twentieth anniversary celebration of the SBS Irish-language program.

At the same time, important aspects of Australian identity are at stake in the current conflict between asylum seekers, supported by human rights and church groups, and the Howard government. In a small way, *Irish Echo* and *Táin* have been among those defending the rights of refugees and asylum seekers. The inscription on the famine Rock at Williamstown in Melbourne (unveiled in 1998) links the suffering of the Irish with that of the indigenous Australians and all those who suffer hunger today.

4. Issues of comparative disadvantage and inequality

4.1 Anti-Irish attitudes

Sectarianism has always been a strand in public life in Australia. Irish Catholics, along with other Catholics, experienced discrimination in employment, education and access to land. The separate Catholic education system which grew out of perceived sectarian issues around 1870 was denied government funding until some concessions were made in the middle of the 1960s and large-scale state funding granted in the 1970s. In his interesting and cautious study of sectarianism in Australia, Michael Hogan (1987) remarked that ‘the politics of Ireland had been part of the Catholic versus Protestant mixture in Australia from the beginning of European settlement’.

Mainstream media in Australia still use pejorative stereotypes of Irish people and this is reflected in everyday experience. As in England and North America, Irish jokes have long reflected mainstream attitudes of superiority and, at times, racial hatred. It is important to note, nonetheless, that while there were aspects of discrimination against Irish in Australia, the White Australia Policy gave preference to Irish migrants and all other European migrants over Asians and those from other countries outside Europe.

Recent articles have reported and analysed contemporary examples of racist attitudes on Sydney radio and in the Melbourne Age. In 1990, a group of Irish Australians in Sydney took successful action before the Anti-Discrimination Board against a journalist in the national newspaper, *The Australian*, over an article inciting hatred of the Irish. A leading presenter on *Radio 2GB* in Sydney marked St Patrick’s Day 2001 by inviting listeners to telephone in their Irish jokes (Maher, 2001). Most were insulting. Over a couple of years, a columnist in the Melbourne daily, *The Age*, made fun of Irish nuns and ridiculed commemorations of the Great Irish Famine. He wrote of ‘sentimentalists of Hibernian heritage who want to promote an Irish holocaust, so-called’. As if in response to criticisms, *The Age* later published an article against Irish jokes (Noone, 2001).

In the absence of more thorough research, much evidence remains anecdotal. At the formation meeting of the Melbourne Famine Commemoration Committee in 1995, for example, half a dozen second and third-generation Irish Australians related the task being undertaken to that of redressing discrimination they had experienced over the years. Such views came from professional people who, despite their financial and

social successes, had a sense that employers, clubs, media and the education system had discriminated against Irish Australians (personal observation, Val Noone).

Most observers say that discrimination against Irish in Australia is now at a low level. However, notable gaps in the education system in regard to Irish Australian history and culture suggest that those of Irish heritage are discriminated against in education, at least. Detailed research is, however, needed.

4.2 Identification of the most vulnerable groups: some comments

Illegal immigrants: there are differences of opinion about the number of illegal immigrants from Ireland. Patrick O'Farrell (2000) estimates their total at 6000-8000 while Tim Pat Coogan (2000) says 10,000-14,000.

Child migrants: Ann-Mari Jordens (2001), an historian of Australian immigration and a liaison officer of the Department of Immigration with the Child Migrants Trust, has pointed out that there were some Irish child migrants in the post-1945 scheme despite opposition from the Irish government. Moreover, Brother Barry Coldrey, an historian of child migration to Western Australia, has suggested that religious orders moved Irish 'orphans' to institutions in England and, from there, children were sent to Australia. He has further noted that many of the Catholic children who came out to Australia in the post-war child-migration scheme were conceived in Ireland.

Those who came as child migrants have been active along with community and legal supporters in addressing the aftermath. In recent years, there has been considerable media coverage of the topic, and the Catholic Church has issued an apology for its part in the scheme. Nonetheless, there is scope for further social, legal, historical and political action in respect of Irish and other child migrants. Numbers and further details about Irish-born child migrants are not as yet available.

'Perpetual migrants': In the chapter on Australia in his survey of the diaspora, Tim Pat Coogan (2000) drew attention to a paper by Dr Anne Cross O'Brien, a psychotherapist, about her experience in dealing with Irish clients, in particular those who had immigrated to Australia from the 1960s onwards. She has found that some of the people she sees have a sense of being 'perpetual migrants', never completely present or at home in the here and now. She reports that such people have an acute sense of powerlessness and 'consistently under-estimate their own initiatory and decisive capabilities'. O'Brien's remarks deserve wider and more community discussion than they have so far gained.

During a day spent with the Task Force in 2002, it was noticed that a number of people were profoundly moved to be asked about their experience of migration and what they might hope for from the Task Force. Some people appeared to be expressing publicly for perhaps the first time feelings about the trauma of migration, about success and failure, and about how they are perceived back in Ireland. At least, they were not accustomed to talking about such matters and welcomed the chance to do so (personal observation, Val Noone).

Childers and other disasters: In the course of the year 2000, the year of the Olympic Games, when a higher than usual number of young Irish people were in Australia on short-term working holidays, there were a number of tragedies that changed, at least temporarily, public perceptions about backpacking in Australia.

In September the Embassy of Ireland and the Consulate General in Sydney issued a full-page warning in the *Irish Echo* (2000) about the dangers of travelling in Australia. The advertisement was headed 'Have the craic, but watch your back!' They recommended telephoning home regularly, taking out insurance cover, wearing seatbelts, avoiding alcohol and drugs while driving, taking precautions regarding mosquito-borne diseases, not hitch-hiking, watching out for currents when swimming, avoiding doubtful areas at night, not staying in accommodation that has safety risks and so on.

Second and later generations: In addition to first-generation Irish immigrants, second and later generations are also vulnerable to the effects of migration. Silences in family history and continuing feelings of displacement are among the symptoms of pain and loss to be found in this wider group of settlers. Increased levels of interest in genealogy and family trees seem to be a reflection of this as does the increase in Australian Irish groups that are constructing public memorials to Famine victims and earlier immigrants. Much has already been done but 'There is scope for improved 'exchanges of information and personnel in both directions', from Australia to Ireland 'as well as from Ireland outwards, facilitating short and long-term projects' (Gray, 1997).

5. Conclusions

The large-scale Irish presence since the earliest days of colonial settlement means that a population of Irish descent is deeply embedded in the social and cultural fabric of Australia. But their distinctive contribution to the society is only beginning to be acknowledged. Alongside an 'explosion' of interest in Irish associations and activities runs a continuing thread of anti-Irish attitudes, which echo on a much smaller scale those still present in Britain. Academic research is beginning to flourish, but much more remains to be done, especially on the contemporary period.

At the same time, Australia has become a popular destination for Irish migrants in the post-war period, particularly during the 'third wave' emigration of the late 1980s. This includes an above-average share of Northern Irish migrants, greater than in either Britain or the USA, which increased sharply during the 1980s. In addition, many young Irish people visit Australia on a temporary basis.

D. The Irish community in Canada: a portrait

1. Canada within the Irish diaspora

Canada now has a small Irish-born population (28,405 Republic-born in 1991), but retains a greater number who claim Irish ancestry reflecting much larger numbers in the nineteenth century (592,090 in 1991). In fact Irish settlement in Canada took place very early, the main period being 1815-1855 according to Houston and Smyth (1990:40).

Very little academic work has been published on the Irish in Canada, particularly in the post-1945 period. This account relies strongly on the work of the geographer William Jenkins, who provides the only analysis of the contemporary Irish presence, in a short background paper for a Toronto health project (Jenkins, undated).

From Jenkins' account, what is striking about Irish experience in Canada are contrasts with its large southern neighbour, the USA. These stem largely from Canada's position as a British Dominion, in contrast to the independence won by the USA in 1778. Although large numbers of Catholic Famine migrants settled in Canadian cities, they were outnumbered by Irish Protestants. The Orange Order played an important role in late nineteenth century Toronto which was nicknamed 'The Belfast of Canada'. Acute discrimination was experienced especially in the public sector where Protestant influence was strongest. Not surprisingly, therefore, Irish numbers stagnated between 1871 and 1911 at about 11,000 in contrast to the massive growth in the English population from 15,000 to 71,000. In 1931 only 26.8 percent of those of Irish 'racial origin' were Catholic, in sharp contrast to all three of the other destinations considered so far, Britain, the USA and Australia.

The persistence of this English connection helps to explain the low numbers of Catholic Irish people settling in Canada. As Jenkins observes 'Despite the gradually warmer welcome for non-Protestants, Toronto would not shake off its reputation as one of the most white, Anglo-Protestant cities in North America until the 1970s'. The declining, but vestigial, importance of Orangeism was noted by Shelagh Conway (1992) who reported that 'the Orange Order has all but died out'. However Donald H. Akenson (1993) strongly disputes the idea that Irish Catholics were discriminated against, and indeed uses evidence of a similar economic profile between Irish protestants and Catholics in the late nineteenth century to argue that

in a relatively non-discriminatory society (far from perfectly so, but less so than in the USA in the same period), the Irish Catholics were not hindered by their cultural background' (1993: 241).

Nuanced research on the later twentieth-century experiences of Irish Catholics, both of Irish birthplace and descent, would provide valuable evidence for comparative analyses of Irish experiences abroad.

2. Profile of the Irish community 1945-2001

The Irish-born proportion of Canada's population has never been very large, compared with the huge size of its southern neighbour, the USA (Section 2.2, Table 2.1). The maximum number recorded was in the first post-confederation census in 1871 (223,212) and there has been a continuous decline since the nineteenth century. This has been particularly sharp in the post-1945 period (Table 2D.1).

However the importance of earlier patterns of immigration is shown by the much larger population of people claiming Irish origins (Table 2D.1). Even as early as 1871 this was 846,414, representing 23.5 percent of the total Canadian population. By 1901 more than one million people claimed Irish ancestry although the number of Irish-born had fallen to just over 100,000.

The Irish-born population in Canada is an ageing one, heavily concentrated in middle aged groups. As Table 2D.2 shows, numbers in the young migrant age groups were very small and the largest proportion in 1991 was in the 45-64 group. The growth in the number of Irish-born children suggests the immigration of families rather than single young people. Numbers of women and men have been relatively evenly balanced during the post-1945 period, the slight increase reflecting an ageing population overall (Table 2D.3 and 2D.4).

The pattern of provincial settlement of the Irish population shows distinct clustering (Table 2D.5, Maps D1, D2). By far the largest number of Irish-born people is found in Ontario (62.5% of the total) followed by British Columbia (15.3%) and Alberta (10.3%). By contrast numbers of people claiming an Irish origin were more widely scattered, forming the highest proportion of the total population in the smaller Atlantic seaboard provinces of Newfoundland (9.9% of the total population) and Prince Edward Island (7.9%).

Overall numbers could not compete with the new surge of other immigrant groups coming into the country after the First World War and especially after The Second World War. By 1969, Irish immigrants comprised just 2 percent of the total incoming group and, ten years later, just 1.7 percent. After 1961, then, those recognising an Irish origin comprised 9.6 percent of the population, a 15 percent drop since Confederation. In 1981 the total was still very similar at 1,151,955 but this now represented only 4.8 percent of the total population. The number fell sharply after this date for reasons which are related to attitudes to multiculturalism and Canadian identities.

The decline in immigration from Ireland reflects Canadian immigration policies. The use of the points system in Canada, for example, reflects the desire to seek out skilled or highly-skilled labour in order to meet the growing labour market. The points system has reduced the quantity and increased the quality of immigrants coming into the country. More specifically, this emphasis on skilled and highly-skilled labour has led to the increase of immigrants from Asian countries and the decrease of immigrants from European countries, including Ireland.

Two articles by Monica Boyd (1999, 2001) provide an important analysis of, and a possible explanation for, the more recent decline in Irish-born persons living in

Canada. As Boyd notes, the Count-Me-Canadian campaign of the early 1990s encouraged 'visible' minorities and those with strong European ties to indicate a Canadian ethnicity in the censuses of 1991 and 1996. While she never touches specifically on the Irish per se, Boyd's study offers a useful series of explanations as to why ethnicity in Canada has become more and more amalgamated. "Despite difficulties in documenting the magnitude of its influence on increasing 'Canadian' responses in 1991, the importance of the 'Count-Me-Canadian' campaign should not be discounted. The campaign,' she further notes, 'had a high profile in several geographical locations, particularly in the Oshawa, Toronto and Niagara areas, and it was viewed by the media as having considerable impact on ethnic responses'. The Toronto *Sun* played a huge role in urging a 'Canadian' response and even hired an attractive young woman as the Sun 'girl' of the day. Wearing a cut-off tank top, with a 'Count-Me-Canadian' caption across her breasts, she appeared on the front page of the *Sun* issued on June 4, 1991, the day of the census.

Table 2D.1**Irish Birthplace and Irish Origin**

	<i>Total population: Canada</i>	<i>Irish born</i>	<i>%total Canada</i>	<i>Irish origin</i>	<i>% total in Canada</i>
1871	3,605,010	223,212	6.19	846,414	23.5
1881	4,324,810	185,526	4.29	957,403	22.1
1891	4,833,239	149,184	3.09	ni	
1901	5,371,315	101,629	1.89	988,721	18.4
1911	7,206,643	92,874	1.29	1,074,738	14.9
1921	8,797,949	93,301	1.06	1,107,803	12.6
1931	10,376,786	107,544	1.04	1,230,808	11.9
1941	11,506,655	86,126	0.75	1,267,702	11.0
1951	14,009,429	*80,795	0.58	1,439,635	10.3
1956	ni	ni		ni	
1961	ni	21,000(NI)		1,753,351	9.6
1971	ni	ni		ni	
1976	ni	ni		ni	
1981	24,083,495	16,720	0.07	1,151,955	4.8
1986	25,022,005	ni		699,680	2.8
1991	26,994,045	28,405	0.11	725,660	2.7
1996	28,528,125	ni		592,050	2.1

* - RI: 24,110, NI: 56,685

ni - no information

Source: Census of Canada 1871-1996

Table 2D.2**Age Groups 1986/91 of Irish-born**

	<i>1986</i>		<i>1991</i>		<i>Change 86/91</i>
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
<15	1045	4.0	1475	5.2	+41.4
15-24	1545	6.0	1515	5.3	+1.9
25-44	9520	36.8	9110	32.1	+4.3
45-64	9590	37.0	10815	38.1	+12.8
65+	4295	16.6	5485	19.3	+27.7
Total	25,900	100.0	28,405	100.0	+9.7

Source: Census of Canada, 1991

Table 2D.3**Gender ratios of Irish-Born, 1951-1991**

	<i>Ratio Women per 1000 Men</i>
1951	940
1981	1053
1986	1056
1991	1095

Source: Census of Canada, 1951-91

Table 2D.4**Gender ratios of Irish-Born, 1991
Ages**

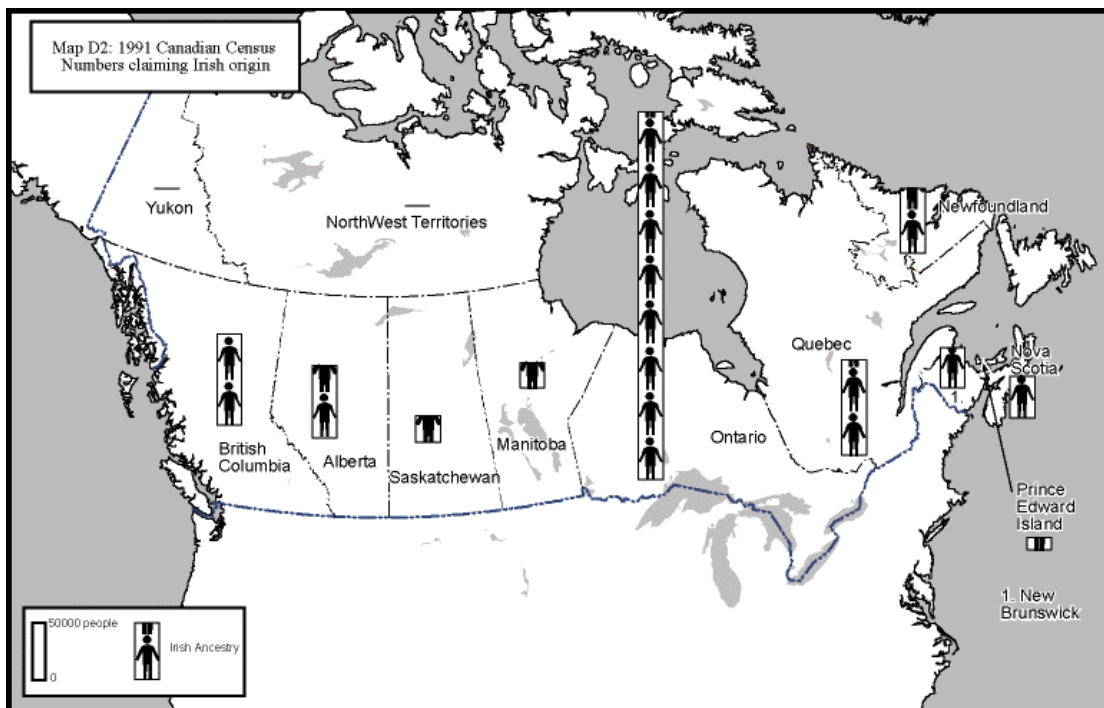
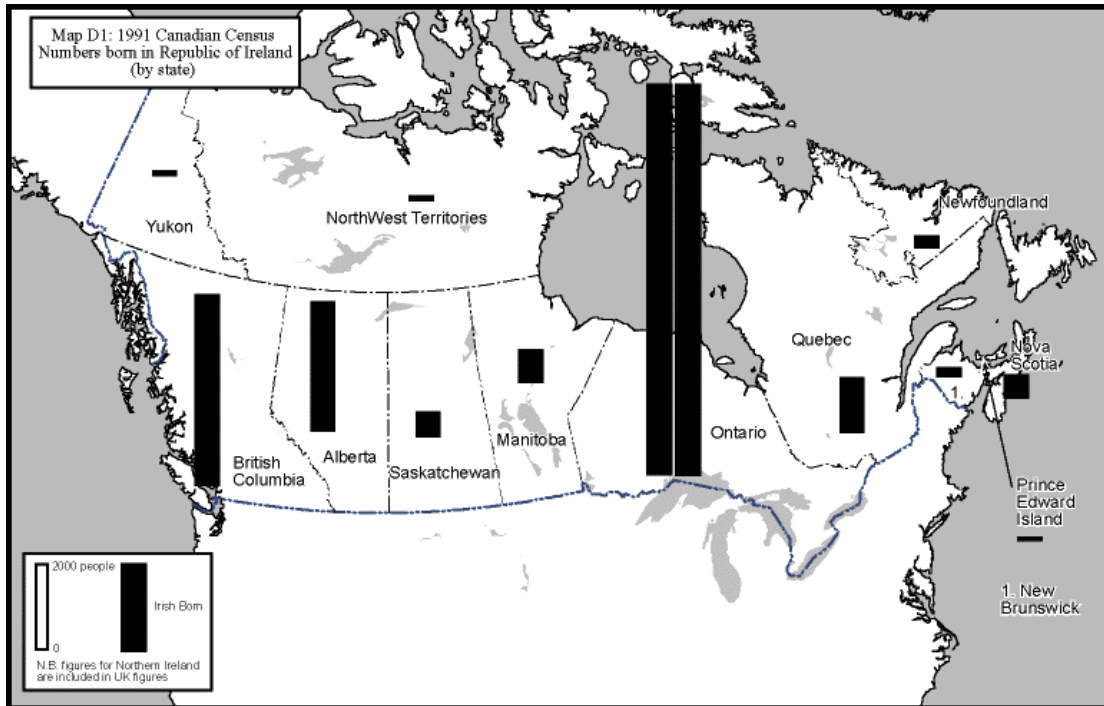
	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Ratio Women per 1000 Men</i>
<15	735	745	987
15-24	680	835	814
25-44	4705	4405	1086
45-64	5665	5150	1100
65+	3055	2430	1257

Source: Census of Canada, 1991

Table 2D.5**Regional Patterns (20%)**

	Irish-born 1991			Irish origin 1991			<i>% total Canadian population</i>
	<i>total 1991</i>	<i>% total in Canada</i>	<i>% change 1986-91</i>	<i>total 1991</i>	<i>% total in Canada</i>	<i>% change 1986-91</i>	
Newfoundland	215	0.8	-8.5	56,070	7.7	+8.8	9.9
Prince Edward Is.	25	0.1	0	10,155	1.4	+8.3	7.9
Nova Scotia	480	1.7	+26.3	35,850	4.9	+12.6	4.0
New Brunswick	155	0.6	-46.3	34,740	4.8	+8.2	4.8
Quebec	1205	4.2	-17.2	82,790	11.4	+11.0	1.2
Ontario	17,750	62.5	+15.3	318,700	43.9	+0.3	3.2
Manitoba	705	2.9	+2.9	21,915	3.0	-9.6	2.0
Saskatchewan	510	1.8	-13.6	22,675	3.1	-9.5	2.3
Alberta	2,920	10.3	+9.2	62,360	8.6	-2.7	2.5
British Columbia	4,350	15.3	+5.6	78,645	10.8	+11.0	2.4
Yukon	45	0.2	+125.0	920	0.1	+41.5	3.3
NW Territories	45	0.2	+12.5	835	0.1	-4.6	1.4
	18,450	100.0	+11.6	725,660	100.0	+3.7	2.6

Source: Census of Canada, 1991



3. The Irish in Canadian society 1945-2001

The Irish have had a very low profile in post 1945 Canada for a number of reasons according to Jenkins. One is their small numbers, which were not replenished by new arrivals. Only 731 Irish-born people immigrated between 1931-41, though a larger inflow took place between 1967-77 when 66,700 people of Irish descent entered Canada. Numbers declined again between 1970 and 1991. In 1970 1500 people from Northern Ireland and 2000 from the Republic were accepted, but by 1988 the inflow had fallen to 300 from Northern Ireland and 1300 from the Republic and by 1991 to 147 Irish people (Conway, 1992:99). The decline in flow in the 1980s is reflected in the closure of the Canadian consulate in Dublin so that Irish people have to apply through the London High Commission.

A second factor was that Irish Protestants fitted in well with the English majority, and many preferred to lose their Irish identities. Peter Toner (1988:235) argues that the sharp decline in Irish-born numbers in 1941 in New Brunswick, so that Catholics outnumbered Protestants can be explained partly by the fact that Protestants were more eager to intermarry and assimilate, so that 'many of the "Scots" and "English" of New Brunswick have more Irish roots than they probably know or may want to remember'. Catholics, on the other hand, 'kept their heads down' to avoid residual discrimination. Both Catholics and Protestants opted for 'desired anonymity' during the renewed Northern Ireland conflict. The Toronto St Patrick's Day parade was revived in 1989.

Third, the Irish in Canada were almost invisible in statistical terms (Table 2D.1). This reflected both small numbers and Canadian census takers' cavalier attitude to Irish ethnic difference. Irish ancestry was included as 'British Isles origins' in 1951 and 1961 and birthplace figures were frequently unavailable.

Finally, Irish people are described by Jenkins as a 'good example of a structurally assimilated group with little group-level consciousness'. Economic indicators in Canada as a whole in 1986 placed them slightly above the English and below the Scottish, whilst in Toronto in 1996 their median income and occupational status was higher than either group. They were not residentially segregated in Toronto but scattered amongst suburban areas.

4. Irish community needs

There is a range of cultural, social and sporting facilities for Irish people in Toronto (see Appendix 5). One of the most important organisations is the Irish Canadian Aid and Cultural Society, established in 1967 with the objective of 'assisting both the newly arrived immigrant with the settling-in process and established immigrants in time of need'.

This is one of a small number of Irish cultural and social organisations who provide services particularly to older Irish populations. In 1996, 28.2% of the population was aged 45-64 and 14.4 percent 65-74. The main needs of this group are for social and emotional support, especially as many are isolated in suburban areas. In Toronto,

Jenkins identifies a key problem as the lack of a community centre in which to provide such services.

5. Conclusions

The Irish communities in Canada have a much lower profile than those in Britain, the USA or Australia. Although numbers are much smaller, this invisibility probably reflects a number of factors. There has been a larger proportion of Protestant Irish immigrants who might mix more easily with the predominant English culture. The British cultural influence has also encouraged Catholic Irish migrants to keep their difference private, especially at times of political tension. Those who preferred to be part of a stronger Catholic Irish presence could have moved on to neighbouring North Eastern US states. The distinctive multi-cultural political climate in Canada may have encouraged Irish Canadians to embrace a Canadian identity in preference to retaining an Irish one.

Nevertheless Irish migrants to Canada have experienced the dislocations noted in the discussion of Task Force meetings in Australia, which gave people permission to discuss their feelings perhaps for the first time. Such acknowledgement of their migrant background and cultural difference may also be an unmet need for the Irish in Canada.

Research on these areas would be very valuable, throwing light on the importance of structural and cultural factors in both Irish communities and majority societies in influencing migrant experiences and positionings. It is a further indication of the low profile of the Irish in Canadian society that such studies have not been published to date.

E. The Irish community in New Zealand: a portrait 1945-2001

This section draws on a background paper prepared by Christine Mills, Co-editor, *Táin* Magazine.

1. New Zealand in the Irish diaspora

Although the total numbers of Irish people settling in New Zealand have not been large, the Irish have been a major source of New Zealand's inhabitants since the nineteenth century. Using data from 1858 to 1951, Donald H. Akenson (1996) shows that the Irish constituted between 12 percent and 18 percent of the total population throughout that period.

However the Irish in New Zealand constitute only a very small part of the diaspora as a whole. In 1986 there were 13,254 Irish-born people, 1.2 percent of the total in the five largest destinations outside the EU (Table 2E.1). It is also a quite sharply declining number, falling from 17,508 in 1956 (-24.3%). This reflects very low numbers entering and an ageing population overall. In contrast to the USA, Australia, Canada and (in 2001) Britain, Irish ancestry is not recorded.

Table 2E.1

Irish-born in New Zealand				
	<i>RI</i>	<i>NI</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>% born NI</i>
1956	8,423	9,085	17,508	51.9
1961	8,810	8,983	17,793	50.5
1966	8,448	9,155	17,603	52.0
1971	7,456	8,709	16,165	53.9
1976	7,499	9,694	17,193	56.4
1986	6,525	6,729	13,254	51.1
<i>% Change</i>				
1956	4.6	-1.0	1.6	
1961-66	-4.1	1.9	-1.1	
1966-71	-11.7	-4.9	-8.2	
1971-76	0.6	11.3	6.4	
1976-86	-13.0	-30.6	-22.9	

1986 gender
ratio (F per
1000 M)

846 837

Source: New Zealand Census, 1986.

Between 1864 and 1951 the Irish ethnic group, including those of Irish descent, comprised 16-18 percent of the Pakeha ('White') population of New Zealand (Akenson, 1993:69). Using the surrogate of 'Catholic', Akenson calculates that their occupational profile in 1921 was almost identical to that of the 'entire male population' (presumably again Pakeha) (1993:89).

What is unusual about New Zealand is the higher proportion of people born in Northern Ireland than in the Republic. Throughout the post-1945 period, slightly over half were Northern Irish-born. The number went up steeply between 1971-76 (+11.3%) compared with a static total from the Republic. This suggests that people left during the Troubles to join family and friends in New Zealand. Another unusual feature is that men have outnumbered women in both Irish populations (1986: 837 NI women per 1000 men, 846 RI women), despite the top-heavy age structure. In 1986 35.4 percent of Republic-born women and 27.8 percent of men were over 65, with slightly lower proportions in the Northern Ireland-born group (27.3% women, 21.1% men).

A number of historical studies exist, but very little research has been carried out on Irish settlement in New Zealand post 1945. However detailed published tables including Irish birthplace are available in Censuses since 1951 so that a statistical analysis of the demographic and socio-economic structure of the Irish-born population could be carried out.

2. Profile of the Irish population in New Zealand

More information is available about nineteenth century settlement. In the early part of the century there was a strong regional variation within New Zealand in the settlement patterns of different ethnic groups. The pre-1840 Irish population comprised mostly transient visitors - whalers, sealers and traders. Assisted immigrant schemes of the 1840s saw the Irish contribute substantially to the population of Wellington, Nelson and New Plymouth and in the 1850s to Otago and Canterbury. Irish men arrived as part of military contingents to fight against the Maori and settled mostly in the Auckland region. Westland also had a large number of Irish people - especially miners who had migrated across the Tasman from the Victorian gold fields to the West Coast and Otago gold rushes of the 1860s.

The nominated and assisted emigration schemes of the 1870s encouraged even more Irish to settle – again in Westland and Auckland. Twentieth-century Irish immigrants to New Zealand have gravitated towards the larger cities, particularly Auckland, and settled where employment opportunities were at their highest, the search for work being one of the primary reasons for migration in the first place. However there is now a wide regional spread.

The number of Irish nationals departing New Zealand has, since the mid-twentieth century, ebbed and flowed with the local economic tide and on numerous occasions has exceeded those arriving. Many Irish used New Zealand as a stepping-stone to Australia, staying the obligatory three years and gaining citizenship before moving freely across the Tasman.

3. Patterns of post-1945 Irish migration to New Zealand

1945-1951: about 1000 arrivals

The excess of overseas arrivals over departures of people born in the Republic of Ireland (not including New Zealand residents born in the Republic of Ireland returning after an absence of less than 12 months) for the period 1945 to 1951 was 488 males and 491 females. This was 2.3 percent of a total excess of 20,017 males and 21,620 females and was the second largest number of immigrants from any single non-Commonwealth country after the Netherlands.

A peak in 1957

Ireland maintained a position in the top three non-Commonwealth countries until 1970, usually only superseded by the Netherlands and the US, except when abnormal figures were reflected in some years due to the acceptance of displaced persons or assisted immigrants for a limited period (e.g. after the Hungarian revolution in 1956 about 1,000 Hungarian refugees came to New Zealand). Numbers of those born in Ireland intending permanent residence in New Zealand during the 1945-1970 period varied from a high of 652 in 1957 to a low of 301 in 1967. A downturn in the New Zealand economy in the late 1960s made it a less attractive country for migrants and those arriving imposed a considerable strain on resources and services. This combination resulted in a new immigration policy and a noticeable fall in the number of Irish arriving in 1970 and 1971 – down to a mere 72 and 75 respectively.

1974: end of Commonwealth preference

Until 1974, Commonwealth citizens of European ancestry and Irish citizens had unrestricted right of entry for residence. From that date, government residence policies provided for the selection of immigrants from all sources on the same criteria and people who wished to emigrate to New Zealand were considered under one of three main categories: skills, family ties and humanitarianism.

1976: occupational priority

At the beginning of 1976, the New Zealand Government took measures to reduce the number of immigrants coming into the country. The mechanism used to control entry was the Occupational Priority List (OPL), which designated those occupations for which employers could recruit overseas. Workers from traditional source countries, of which Ireland was one of seventeen, were given priority but the number of Irish immigrants approved for residence from then through to the mid-1980s was very low compared to previous years. Only 84 Irish were approved for residence in 1982, 74 in 1983, 55 in 1984 and 72 in 1985. That policy lasted until 1986 when it was replaced by yet another scheme, which in turn was overhauled in 1991.

1980s rise in Irish intake

Irish immigrant numbers rose in the late 1980s reflecting the significant outflows from Ireland at that time due to high unemployment and poor economic conditions.

4. Current Irish migration

1991: points system restrictive

The 1991 overhaul of residence policy was revised again in 1995, when a points system called “General Skills and Business Investor Categories” came into effect and yet again in 1998 and 2001 when adjustments were made to the points system. Points were allocated for employability, age, and acceptable level of English language spoken and settlement factors. The passmark could be adjusted to meet the target number of immigrants and since 2001 this mark is confirmed quarterly by the Minister of Immigration.

1990s: about 100 per annum

Irish nationals have however not been in the top fifteen, in terms of numbers accepted for residence in New Zealand, at any time in the 1990s or early 2000s and the number of approved Irish has not reached 200 in any one-year during that decade. It, more often than not, has hovered around the one hundred mark. Ireland’s improved economy is the likely cause of fewer migrant departures and New Zealand’s strict immigration policies the cause of fewer arrivals.

Short-term working visitors: trend towards applying for residence

Working holiday permits are issued each year to a maximum of one thousand young Irish people aged 18 to 30 years. They allow holders to undertake casual work such as fruit picking for a maximum of 12 months, as long as they stay no longer than three months in any one job. The 1997/8-year saw 596 of these permits issued to those born in the Republic of Ireland and the maximum of 1000 in the 2001/2-year. A large percentage of those who come to New Zealand on this, or the other types of temporary permit, apply for and are approved for permanent residence. Of applications for residence in 2000/1, 53 percent had previously held a student, work or visitor permit at some stage since 1997.

5. Vulnerable groups

One can only speculate with regard to the vulnerability of those emigrating from Ireland. Their numbers have not been quantified, data collection is difficult and one would need a qualitative research approach to discover how many there were and the circumstances that made them vulnerable. The Irish Consulate in New Zealand has rarely been the recipient of requests for assistance from emigrants who have fallen on hard times in the country. The only times the present Consul, Rodney Walshe, can recall being asked for assistance in his 26 years in office were relatively recent and came from young people on working visas rather than long term migrants. In both cases financial assistance was advanced and later reimbursed by relatives in Ireland.

Family links supportive

Historically, many migrants came to join family members in New Zealand and that is still an important feature of Irish immigration today with 74 Irish approved for

residence under the Family Category in the 1997/8-business year (July – June) compared to 60 under the General Skills Category. Because of this support, immigration is not as socially or psychologically disruptive for those immigrating who, as a result, are not as vulnerable as they might be. People who have a relationship, marriage, same sex or de facto, with a New Zealand resident or citizen may qualify for residence under the family category but the relationship must be proven to be genuine and stable and residence is never guaranteed.

6. Conclusions

Little research has been carried out on identities and positionings of the Irish-born in post-1945 New Zealand. However the commentaries provided by two major authors on the Irish diaspora, who have placed New Zealand within a broader comparative perspective, suggest that their experiences have been positive overall. Donald Akenson (1993:90) concludes that ‘there was nothing in the cultural background of the Catholic migrants from Ireland to New Zealand that prevented them and their children from prospering as much as anyone else’. Tim Pat Coogan (2000: 288-89) contrasts their situation with that in Australia: ‘The emigrants did not arrive as convicts, although a sizeable number of Irish convicts who had served their sentences did make their way to New Zealand in the transportation era, and they did not face the same antagonisms and apprehensions as in Australia’. But further research is needed to enable scholars to draw comparative conclusions from the New Zealand experience.

F. The Irish in other member states of the EU

1. The EU within the Irish diaspora

Although there have been close connections between Ireland and European countries other than Britain for centuries, migration for employment on a significant scale is a very recent phenomenon. It belongs clearly to the latest economic phase of emigration, that of global mobility, and is in striking contrast to the social model of movement 'from the known to the known' (see Part 1, Section 2.1).

As yet there is very limited data available on these destinations of Irish emigrants, or as sources of return migration. This is partly due to the different traditions of census-taking in other European cultures, where birthplace has often not been recorded. France is an exception. Although data could be drawn from the Labour Force Study/QNHS for each state this would be a complex exercise and has not yet been attempted. In view of the small numbers of Irish-born people in each state the statistics would be unreliable in any case. Moreover the rapid fluctuations in numbers over a few years would make any census snapshots inaccurate.

More useful estimates are those compiled by Irish embassies towards the end of the 1990s (Harvey 1999:21) (Table 2F.1). These show that the largest Irish-born populations are in France (16,000) and Germany (16,000) followed by Belgium (10,000) and Spain (8,000). Smaller numbers are found in the Netherlands (4,040) and Italy (2,000). Unlike longstanding diaspora destinations, the number with recent Irish ancestry in these countries will be much smaller.

The newness of this migration flow is brought out by the detailed CSO emigration statistics for 1987-2001 (Part 1, Table 1.5). In the late 1980s the proportion of the outflow was well under 10 percent of the total. Between 1991 and 1992 however there was a large increase from 9 percent to 22 percent at the expense of the UK where the proportion fell correspondingly from 65 percent to 50 percent. Although it dropped to around 15 percent, by 2001 the share of the total had climbed back up to 21 percent. Strikingly this put the Rest of the EU above the proportion going to the USA (12%).

Migration to Europe perhaps has a new iconic status for Ireland. It firmly welds Ireland to part of an EU future, as evidenced by the adoption of the currency of the euro in 2002. It is also a destination which is inclusive of different emigrant strands in the Irish population, attracting both well-qualified graduates and manual workers. Moreover it epitomises the flexibility and impermanence of diasporic movement, many emigrants using it as part of a much wider pattern of labour migration.

2. Profile of the Irish in the EU post 1945

The lack of census data means that precise details of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of migrants to the rest of the EU are not known. Only in the French census are birthplace figures easily accessible, although they do not tally closely with embassy estimates (Table 2F.2). The much lower totals probably reflect a smaller settled population, which had not changed greatly between 1975 and 1990.

The majority were in middle-aged, especially men, and there were more than half as many women again as men (1647 per 1000 men in 1990).

In most cases, however, inferences must be drawn from the small number of qualitative studies which have been carried out in a few countries. In a study of Irish settlement in Paris in the late 1980s, Piaras Mac Éinri (1989,1991) showed that early members of the outflow to France were an unusual category of Irish emigrants 'urban, well-off, well-educated middle class' (1991:33). There was a majority of women (62%). Migrants were employed in skilled jobs such as teaching and nursing and tended to integrate easily, learning the language and interacting with local people. However they also had a strong sense of community, forming Irish clubs and specific ethnic meeting places. But Mac Éinri also noted a trend towards the formation of a more broadly-based Irish community.

A second small-scale investigation of the Irish-born living in another European capital city, Rome, was carried out in 1991 (King and Arbuckle, 1991). At that time the embassy estimated that about 1000 Irish people lived in Rome. These included a substantial minority of 'religious migrants' connected with the Vatican. As in Paris, it was believed that there was a majority of Irish women living in Rome, reflecting the employment structure in which there was a demand for secretaries and language teachers. Most men interviewed had arrived more recently.

The interviewees were fairly widely distributed by age with clusters in their 20s and 40s. Irish women were much more likely to have married Irish men than vice versa. Younger people tended to have casual jobs, such as hotel and bar work, and childminding. The most common reasons for emigration were the desire to travel, the need for change and educational reasons. Of the sample 515 had lived elsewhere outside Ireland, mainly in Britain and only one third planned to settle permanently.

A more recent study was carried out by Cliona O'Carroll for her PhD thesis on migrancy in Europe (2001). Part of her work focussed on Irish migrants living in Berlin between 1995 and 1999, and employed in the two majority occupations of temporary building contracts and bar work. In contrast to the earlier samples in Paris and Rome, these were predominantly young male migrants. They were also of rural or small town background, unlike the Dublin and city origins of the Paris and Rome samples. This group had very little language competence, but this was not a barrier as they lived in Irish environments. O'Carroll argues they cannot be described as belonging to 'Irish communities'. Instead there were a number of social 'scenes', for example networks which focussed on Irish pubs. They were transient, spending time all over Europe and Germany, proudly describing themselves as 'modern day gypsies'.

The reunification of Germany produced a huge demand for urban reconstruction, especially in Berlin which was chosen as the capital. A new city centre was planned on the site of the demolished Berlin wall. In the late 1990s Berlin became one huge building site. The Irish were one of many groups of foreign construction workers attracted to Berlin by word of mouth or subcontractors' advertisements, although by 1995-6 they had begun to move on. Estimates of numbers fluctuated wildly, some estimating 40,000 Irish workers in Berlin and the surrounding area.

O'Carroll found that there was a hierarchy of remuneration for tradesman, German workers made double the wages of Irish people, paying taxes but receiving health benefits, whilst other ethnic groups received far less. The pay is about three times what could be earned in Ireland. Some save, some send money home to girlfriends or family, others travel to distant places in the winter and yet others 'party' extravagantly. They return home to Ireland at Christmas and in the summer, perhaps more often.

The subcontractors hiring Irish people were mainly Dutch. Men live in crowded rented accommodation for short periods of time. Work is seasonal and the men usually move away in the winter. However by 1999 the pattern had changed and many were leaving Germany, possibly to go to Australia or the USA. The very transience of these migrants therefore makes them hard to quantify.

Table 2F.1

Europe: estimates of number of Irish people, 1990s

France	16,000
Germany	16,000
Belgium	10,000
Spain	8,000
Netherlands	4,040
Italy	2,000
Sweden	1,200
Denmark	1,020
Luxembourg	1,000
Austria	600
Greece	600
Portugal	250
Finland	144

Source: Harvey Report, 1999.

Table 2F.2

Irish-born in France, 1975, 1990

	<i>Men</i>			<i>Women</i>		
	<i>1975</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>% in 1990</i>	<i>1975</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>% in 1990</i>
0-14	120	136	10.7	220	136	6.5
15-24	200	192	15.1	440	600	28.7
25-34	220))	400))
35-54	300) 906) 71.3	400) 1,172) 56.0
55-64	140))	160))
65+	220	36	2.8	260	184	8.8
Total	1200	1,270	100.0	1,880	2,092	100.0

Gender ratio (F per 1000 M)	1541	1,647
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Source: French census, 1975, 1990.

3. Issues of disadvantage and inequality

Issues of disadvantage arise over EU rights which have been agreed, may not apply in practice. As the Harvey Report (1999:32) points out, 'the main difficulties Irish people experience in working in other European countries concern the transportability of social security entitlements, the mutual recognition of qualifications and bureaucratic requirements for work and residence entitlements'.

Problems include the difficulties experienced by unemployed emigrants who may be ineligible to seek work if they are uninsured and exclusion from public sector jobs on the basis that they are non-nationals. There is also no agreement on definitions of invalidity and pension entitlements and transfer arrangements differ.

The Harvey Report (1999) found eight welfare or social service organisations in continental European countries, all run by the Catholic Irish Episcopal Commission for Emigrants (IECE). One, in Munich, was staffed full-time, whilst those in Brussels, Copenhagen, The Hague, Lisbon, Luxembourg, Paris and Rome were open on a part-time basis. There was no Irish voluntary sector.

3. Conclusions

Emigration within the EU is a rapidly changing phenomenon. Ease of physical access means that it can be a temporary part of an employment profile, especially for young people. This makes it difficult to pin down statistically. Qualitative studies are likely to throw more light on the character of this migration strand and to pinpoint areas of vulnerability which need policy attention.

CONCLUSIONS

About twenty per cent of Irish-born people live outside (the island of) Ireland, which is a high proportion for a modern industrialised society. The proportion was much greater in the past at around 50 percent in 1891. Return migration of people born in Ireland, historically lower than for most other European migrants, has increased in recent years, with increasing transnational mobility, lower transport costs and greater opportunities in Ireland. However, most migrants are likely to remain permanently settled abroad as they, and their descendants, become part of the large Irish diaspora.

Taking an inclusive view of the Irish diaspora, which recognises both outward and inward flows as well as the 'diaspora space' of Ireland itself, allows us to reflect on the very different experiences of groups of migrants. A key factor influencing the advantages and disadvantages facing Irish people outside Ireland is the particular character of the destination in which they settle. This affects not only the problems which may be faced, but also the extent to which these may be alleviated by the support of welfare agencies.

The place of Britain is strikingly different in this respect from any other of the major locations examined in this study. There are many important points of contrast between Britain and more distant destinations on the one hand, and other close ones in the EU. The very large size of the Irish-born population is a major one, but the lack of immigration restrictions also sets Britain apart from destinations with which Ireland has had a long association, including the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Britain is also the country in which Irish people continue to experience more marked forms discrimination, partly reflecting the long history of hostility between the former imperial centre and its closest colony, and partly the close physical involvement of the two countries in the recent and on-going conflict in Northern Ireland. Although vestiges of anti-Irish attitudes can be traced in British settler colonies, they appear to be far less systematic.

On the other hand, within the diaspora, Britain also has the best-developed system of support for Irish migrants, drawing on a unique mix of state, local authority and ethnically-supported voluntary initiatives. This is evidenced by the huge output of reports from Irish agencies in Britain as well as by the scale of supporting academic research. Support remains on a very small scale relative to the needs of the community, and has been secured by means of a 'battle' to put Irish issues on the ethnic agenda in Britain and the national agenda in Ireland. Nevertheless it contrasts with the very restricted voluntary sector support in both Ireland (Republic and Northern Ireland) and the USA, where instead there is a strong reliance on the Catholic Church to organise welfare provision.

Even in Britain welfare support is very patchy. It is strongest in London, with other well-organised centres in Birmingham and Manchester. But the Irish population in Britain is also widely scattered and the needs of many are still not addressed. The particular circumstances in Scotland, where the Irish dimension to social exclusions is not even acknowledged has been highlighted in this study.

Outside the EU, the major issue of vulnerability is that of citizen status rights. This is most significant in the USA where young people are now seriously disadvantaged by

diminished access to visas. Lack of documentation places many at risk of unemployment, homelessness, and inadequate healthcare. Often young people with low educational qualifications choose to enter the USA by preference to going to Britain where they may have had, or heard of, bad experiences. It has been represented to them as the archetypal 'land of opportunity' especially for Irish people. The introduction of the visitor-waiver visa to enter the USA freely for a 90-day visit, has made the USA a more attractive destination for spontaneous and vulnerable migrants.

The history of emigration from Ireland during the twentieth century has led to clustering of particular groups of Irish-born people by gender and age. This leads to specific welfare needs in each location. For example in Britain, the USA and Canada women predominate in Irish populations, especially in older age groups. They have usually earned less in their lifetimes than men and may be particularly isolated if they outlive partners and friends. Tensions between older and newer members of the Irish diaspora are evident in accounts of Irish community divisions in the USA and Australia but less the case in Britain. This may be related to range of collaborative and interactive Irish community and welfare provision activities in large cities in England, which bring the generations together with a common purpose.

It is also important to note differences in the flows and experiences of migrants from the Republic and Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland has not shared in the Celtic Tiger prosperity of sections of the Republic's workforce and more young people are still leaving than returning. It appears that the chain migration is still a feature of this population. The Philadelphia immigration welfare agencies reported as many as 75 percent of service users coming from Northern Ireland. Although the Walsh visas appear to provide specifically for this population (and young people in border counties in the south), they are limiting in what they offer in reality.

This study has had a major focus on 'Irish communities abroad'. However it is clear that new patterns of global mobility mean that many migrants do not settle in one location where assistance can be provided. They may travel for 'adventure' and make little contact with settled Irish communities or services. This would include the large population of backpackers visiting Australia. Others have become 'modern-day gypsies', at the end of a mobile phone and ever ready to move to take up construction work anywhere in the world identified by subcontractors. Services for this group are much harder to provide because there is no fixed city, or even country, in which to base them. Issues of mobility for the Traveller community also mean that their needs may be overlooked both in Ireland and Britain.

Irish communities abroad have needs arising both from their ethnicity and their migrant status. Some of these are material, including support in accessing resources to which they are entitled, advice on choices about moving or staying, but others are for recognition of the difficulties involved with being separated from family and culture in Ireland. The Australian contribution to this study points poignantly to migrants need to talk about what has happened to them and to be given permission to speak. One such space is offered at Emigrant Advice where acknowledgement of the intention to leave often offers the only space to talk openly about migration. Other spaces were offered by the Task Force meetings in parts of the world not previously

visited by 'Official Ireland', which facilitated the expression of views and feelings about migration previously unarticulated.

In order to bring these needs to light and monitor moves to meet them, adequate information is a starting point. This study has made a preliminary step towards assembling statistical and qualitative data, but it has also drawn attention to gaps in both census material and academic research. By taking a comparative perspective, good practice in one location may be transferred to another and a fuller understanding of the processes at work may be reached.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Provision of services to intending and returning migrants in the Republic of Ireland : an overview

Support to providers

EAN, the Emigration Network, was established in 1996 to provide support for emigration information providers. It aims to work for the improvement of service levels to emigrants in Ireland and abroad by facilitating collaboration and the dissemination of relevant and up-to-date information for intending and returning emigrants; networking and promoting the exchange of good of good practice among service providers; increasing public awareness of emigration; promoting partnership between statutory and voluntary sectors, as well as research and policy in this field. With funding from the Department for Social Community and Family Affairs it has conducted a pilot project on developing a database of clients who use member organisations relating to all aspects of migration. A database system has been piloted but services are reporting a lack of detailed information necessary for full monitoring.

Primarily concerned with advice to intending migrants

Emigrant Advice Information and Counselling Service.

This is an information, advice and referral agency based in Dublin under the auspices of Crosscare (The Social Care Agency of the Archdiocese of Dublin), which focuses on the needs of intending and returning emigrants, but also works with new immigrants.

Emigrant Advice acts as a resource for other information providers, produces a quarterly newsletter and other publications and has a website with downloadable information. This organisation could potentially act as a hub/resource agency for migrants and other agencies providing information and support to migrants and in the monitoring of the changing nature of migration.

Staffing: currently staffed by a half-time Co-Coordinator, Information Development Worker, Information & Education Worker, and part-time Clerical Worker/Receptionist.

Funding: The Department of Social Community and Family Affairs, Crosscare (Dublin Diocese) and the Northern Area Health Board.

In the year 2001 Emigrant Advice

- dealt with 2,112 queries relating to migration in 2001
- 60% of queries during 2001 from those under 30; 23% from those aged 30-39 and 17% were over 40
- 34% of queries related to immigration – 8% were returning emigrants (most from the US and Britain). There was a rise from 16% in 2000 to 26% queries from non-nationals in 2001, many of whom are in Ireland on work permits.

- 65% of those contacting EA were Irish; 11% from rest of the European Economic Area and 24 % from elsewhere
- 19% of all contacts dropped in to the centre; 60% were telephone contacts; 21% by letter or email.
- 33% of queries related to the USA mainly relating to visas and help with applications for visas (this represents a drop of 40% on the previous year but is still the most popular destination for those contacting EA); 7% of enquiries related to Britain, yet over 25% of migrants still go to Britain – most do not seek pre-departure information and these are perhaps the most vulnerable group of migrants; 6% of queries related to Australia and New Zealand (11,000 Irish nationals availed of on year work/travel visas in year from June 2000 to July 2001).
- Key issue – Housing – long public housing waiting lists and lack of social housing. Groups affected by this are mothers with children living in Bed and Breakfast accommodation; single men disillusioned with hostels; those discharged from hospital or prison.
- Emigrant Advice was involved in running *Returning to Ireland* seminars in the US in particular. 39 people (including 3 couples) attended a seminar in January 2002 in New York. 23 people were in their 30s including two women laid off after the World Trade centre bombing. Ten were pensioners. Most were married with children and worked as in construction, as nurses' aides and waitresses.

Diocesan Emigration Services, Cork

The service offers advice and guidance to those thinking of leaving Ireland and is increasingly seeing immigrants to Ireland.

Staffing: Depends hugely on the personal contacts of Sr Patricia who is a retired teacher with experience of working in England.

Funding: supported by her Order (Sacred Heart of Mary Order) and the Diocese covers running costs.

Primarily concerned with emigrants abroad

The Irish Episcopal Commission for Emigrants (IECE)

This is a commission of the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland and was established formally by the Bishops of Ireland in 1957. It originated in the work of Archbishop of Dublin, John Charles McQuaid from 1947. Its aim is to care for Irish emigrants abroad particularly the more vulnerable by establishing a chaplaincy in centres where there were high numbers of Irish. It is by far the longest-established and most extensive service available to emigrants.

The work of the IECE is discussed fully in the Harvey Report (1999) an important purpose of which was to 'describe, characterise and assess the services provided for Irish emigrants' operating under its aegis. As the report explains, the commission recruits people to work with Irish emigrants abroad. Traditionally, bishops circularised their priests to ask for volunteers, or religious orders would develop a

service in a particular geographical area or sector of work and maintain a commitment to staffing it. In practice, many of the services abroad have become self-sustaining, with their own recruitment patterns and practices, though they continue to be part of the association. It was estimated in 1999 that the Irish chaplaincy employed 150 full-time staff, 20 part-time staff and 659 volunteers.

Staffing: Director in Dublin, director in London and a director coordinator in the US. The secretariat in Dublin has two staff a director and administrator.

Funding: Mixed: fundraising, Finance and General Purposes Committee of the Bishop's Conference and the Department of Social Community and Family Affairs from 2001.

The Irish Commission for Prisoners Overseas (ICPO)

This was a sub-commission of IECE providing support and welfare service to Irish prisoners in jails abroad and their families in Ireland. This Commission is currently in abeyance as its future role and status are considered.

Mayo Emigrant Liaison Committee

This is a very good example of a recently-established service providing for all aspects of emigration, settlement abroad and returning migrants.

It was founded September 1999 to help and support needy Irish emigrants by: raising funds for agencies that help them (e.g. Simon in London and the Aisling project); organising return holidays to Ireland; helping returned emigrants to integrate via the returned emigrant support group; promoting awareness of emigration by running seminars and other events on this topic. (PO Box 67, Co. Mayo)

Staffing: All volunteers

Funding: Fundraising events

EURES (European Employment Services)

This is a European labour market network aimed at facilitating the mobility of workers in the EEA. Regional FÁS Eures Advisors are accessible through local FÁS offices and can advise on job possibilities in potential migrants' EEA destination country (<http://europa.eu.int/jobs/eures>). Eures Advisors are employment market specialists who have been trained to provide advice and counselling on issues of mobility, migration and the labour market.

Staffing: There are 23 Eures Advisors around Ireland

Funding: EU and FÁS.

Youth Information Centres and Citizens Information Centres

These are also important because, while migration queries do not form a significant proportion of their queries, they are an easily accessible front line and referral service.

Youth Information Centres (YICs)

There are 31 YICs in Ireland and 10 of them are members of EAN. (Frances Newman, the co-ordinator of the Youth Information Centres based in the Dept of Education is also a member of EAN). These centres often have queries around migration and sometimes refer people to Emigrant Advice or Eures. They will handle some visa and working abroad queries themselves. To my knowledge, they have developed localised resources on working abroad, especially in the EU. Further information on the YICs is available at www.youthinformation.ie

Primarily concerned with returning migrants

(i) The 'Safe-Home' Programme

This was established in 2000 to help those over 65 who wish to return to Ireland and who lack the resources and 'know how' to see it through. The criteria for Safe Home weighting include, age, insecurity of tenure and income. They currently run an induction course via their newsletters, which covers information about the Safe Start programme, housing, pensions, benefits, health services and other services for the elderly as well as general information about Ireland. Eighty-five have been re-settled in Ireland through 'Safe-Home'. Links have been established with Rural Resettlement groups in Kerry, Galway, Leitrim and with their HQ in Co Clare. (www.safehomeireland.com)

Staffing: Co-ordinator and part-time administrator – Numbers of volunteers have fluctuated between 5 and 15 in Ireland and Britain.

Since its establishment Safe Home has received 1,003 formal enquiries from Britain, the US, South Africa, Germany and Northern Ireland. Arising from these enquiries they sent out 911 application forms and 411 of these were returned. A total of 83 returned migrants have been facilitated to date in finding housing near their place of origin in Ireland. There are 555 individuals on their waiting list as of April 2002. About 90 percent of users come from rural areas in Ireland and mainly the Western seaboard. They are finding that those with strong family ties, children and grandchildren in Britain will rarely follow up on returning. The majority of users are elderly couples without children, single men and women. About one-third of these do not get in touch again after initial contact.

Funding: DION. The Department of Social Community & Family Affairs has grant-aided specific projects within the Programme including the newsletter and the website.

(ii) Kerry Emigrant Support Ltd.

Established in 1992, this group became a Housing Association in 2000 is building 5 units in Tralee. They aim to bring emigrants home on holidays, try to resettle those

who want to return and have produced videos for schools for intending emigrants. They have raised money from church gate and street collections. Since 1992 they have helped 50 people settle back in Ireland.

Staffing: All volunteers

Funding: Fund raising events

(iii) The Returned Emigrants Network

This is a social, community and (on a small scale) a practical help network for returned emigrants. It also facilitates connection between returnees, emigrants abroad and the wider Irish and world communities. The network's main purpose is to smooth the re-entry of returnees back into Ireland and Irish culture through the organising of social meetings, events and activities, walks, trips, dinners, theatre, discussions etc) since many returnees find themselves to be on a different wavelength from those who never left Ireland (returnedmigrants@hotmail.com).

Staffing: All volunteers

Funding: None

(iv) Citizens Information Centres (CICs)

There is a network of 85 CICs around the country. They sometimes deal with migration queries, apparently mainly around returning. Most often they give copies of the 'Returning to Ireland' booklet and/or refer to Emigrant Advice. The CICs are supported in their information provision by Comhairle (National Support agency responsible for the provision of information, advice and advocacy to members of the public on social services). Comhairle have a Citizens' Information database, which includes the 'Returning to Ireland' booklet and other information leaflets provided by Emigrant Advice. Several CICs are members of Éan, too. (Further information available at www.comhairle.ie).

(v) Rural Resettlement Kilbaha, Co. Clare

Rural Resettlement was established in 1990 to facilitate population re-adjustment and combat rural depopulation in Ireland by resettling young families from cities in rural areas. Since 1990, the agency has resettled about 70 families from England (mostly Irish backgrounds). All of these came to privately rented accommodation, but many eventually bought their own houses. They do not actively recruit families from England but respond to requests. As their main focus is population re-adjustment in Ireland, returnees are not a priority. They recently became a voluntary housing association and are currently building their own houses.

Staffing: HQ in Clare – 3 staff – Founder/Executive Chair, Secretary and Voluntary Housing Officer. They also employ a Field Officer and an Administrator at their branch office in Dublin.

Funding: Department of the Environment and fundraising activities in the US.

Appendix 2

Areas of Irish comparative disadvantage and inequality: sources

There are five main sources of information and research on Irish people in Britain:

1. The report to the Commission for Racial Equality *Discrimination and the Irish Community in Britain* by Mary J. Hickman and Bronwen Walter (1997). This is the most comprehensive assessment of comparative disadvantage and inequality for Irish-born people in Britain. It draws on data on Irish-born people in Britain supplied by the 1991 Census, a survey of Irish community service groups in England and Scotland and a pilot survey comprising of 88 interviews with Irish-born people resident in Birmingham and London, both major centres of Irish settlement.
2. Data from the Irish Standardised Information System or ISIS. This is a database monitoring project co-managed by the Action Group for Irish Youth (AGIY) and the Federation of Irish Societies (FIS). The ISIS project provides the only available annual data on the advice and welfare needs of clients who use Irish community service groups. The project receives funding from the Dón committee and produces annual reports on the data gathered. The project has just been updated to a windows-based system. Currently 20 Irish community service groups are participating.
3. Academic articles and surveys, research reports and annotated bibliographies. There are a range of articles and reports dealing specifically with the Irish experience in Britain. These cover many different aspects of Irish experiences in Britain, including the second generation. Some of these have been drawn on for this report. As well as research undertaken by academics, there exists a large number of research reports commissioned by Irish community service groups. These often, but not always, focus on local issues (see Britain).
4. Annual reports from Irish community groups: all Irish community groups publish annual reports of their activities. These provide a wealth of information not only on the activities on the groups concerned but on more localised issues of concern.
5. Large survey datasets produced by the Office for National Statistics. These include the Quarterly Labour Force Survey, the General Household Survey, the British Household Panel Survey as well as the Census of Population. Until recently, statistics for Irish people in Britain have not automatically been produced from these datasets although all ask a question on birthplace. Following a long campaign by Irish community groups, figures for Irish-born respondents were produced for the 1991 Census. The 2001 Census data will be the first set of census data to include Irish people living in Britain as an ethnic group rather than a group defined by birthplace.

Appendix 3

Ethnic monitoring in Britain, including 2001 Census as a basis for monitoring

2001 Census of Population

In 2001 the decennial Census for the first time included 'Irish' as an identification category in the ethnic question in the Census for England and Wales and the Census for Scotland. The importance of this change to include 'Irish' is that:

- It permits, for the first time, Irish people who have been born outside of Ireland to identify themselves as 'Irish' in a Census of Population. This will provide data enabling the assessment of the full size of the Irish population in Britain beyond the numbers of Irish-born migrants and a meaningful set of data on their demographic and socio-economic profile. It also sends an important signal of recognition to second- and subsequent-generations of Irish people in Britain whose Irish identities have often gone unrecognised and even ignored;
- The inclusion of 'Irish' as an explicit category in the ethnic category makes it possible that statutory service providers in particular will include consideration of the size and needs of the Irish community in their future plans for service provision and delivery;
- The Office for National Statistics has now standardised the ethnic category question across all its national surveys. This means that the Quarterly Labour Force Survey and the General Household Survey will now provide data about Irish people in Britain. Previously, this was only available by examining data on birthplace and parents' birthplaces, a rather lengthy process. Other surveyors may adopt the ONS categories.

However, data from the 2001 Census may not be as comprehensive as would be desirable:

The persistent lack of recognition of second- and subsequent-generation Irish people as entitled to identify as 'Irish' may have deterred some from ticking the 'Irish' category in the 2001 Census. Although the Federation of Irish Societies, with Cara Irish Housing Association, spearheaded a campaign encouraging second and third generation people to tick the 'Irish' category it is too early to assess the impact of their campaign. Preliminary findings from the *Irish 2 Project* (Newsletter 2, see at <http://www.apu.ac.uk/geography/progress/irish2/>).

- indicate that some second-generation Irish people may have ticked 'British' because they thought it was a correct answer to an official question, even when they strongly identified as Irish in private and informal settings.
- A report of statistics compiled from large datasets suggest that there could be as many as 1.7 million second-generation Irish people in Britain, the majority of whom reside in England and Wales (Hickman, Morgan and Walter, 2001). This must be the yardstick against which statistics from the 2001 Census on the Irish population in Britain are measured.

Ethnic monitoring

Since 1995, the CRE has advised that an 'Irish' category should be included as standard in ethnic monitoring. Following the inclusion of 'Irish' in the ethnic category question in the 2001 Census of Population, the CRE has issued amended ethnic

monitoring guidelines which mirror (but do not match) the categories used in the Census. The main difference is in the inclusion of national identities (English, Scottish, Welsh) for the three constituent parts of Great Britain, replacing 'British'.

Advantages of ethnic monitoring in Britain

- Ethnic monitoring provides comparable data, ie. the position of the Irish in Britain on a range of measures can be compared to other groups. It facilitates the assessment of Irish use of and access to services and employment by comparing ethnic monitoring data with other survey data such as the Census.
- Inclusion in ethnic monitoring helps raise awareness of the different ethnic minority groups concerned, including the Irish. It also sends out a positive message to members of the ethnic minority groups concerned that their identities and specific needs are recognised.

Problems with ethnic monitoring in Britain

- There is no separate category for Irish Travellers (or any other nomadic group). This means that there is a lack of specific, national data on the population size, demographic profile and socio-economic status of Irish Travellers in Britain (although there is a new ethnic category of 'Irish Traveller' in the Northern Irish Census). The Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions monitors caravan/trailer numbers on official and unofficial sites but this data does not provide a breakdown by nomadic group.
- Ethnic monitoring remains heavily 'colour' coded, with ethnic categories subsumed under 'colour' heading. The category 'Irish' is in the 'white' category so black Irish and Asian Irish people cannot identify as Irish. This means that their experiences as Irish people are not monitored or included in planning;
- Specific data on Irish people identified by ethnic monitoring practices may be collapsed back into a catch-all 'white' category. When this happens, the specificity of Irish experiences is lost and the assumption is that Irish people and their experiences are the same as white British people. As the sections below will illustrate, this is far from the case.

National agencies which have continued this practice include two recent publications by the CRE (Cumberbatch et al., 2001; CRE with She magazine, April 2002), the Disability Rights Commission (DRC, 2001) and the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC, 2001). The failure to meaningfully include 'Irish' in their ethnic monitoring strategies and data collection means that there is no, or inadequate, monitoring of the implementation of racial equality, disabilities equality and sex equality on a national basis for Irish people in Britain.

Appendix 4

Specific needs of the Irish community in Scotland

- Monitoring of access to, and use of, resources. As the CRE report observed, in Scotland 'lack of monitoring was seen as a form of indirect discrimination itself' (1997:95).
- It would be advantageous for the first-, second- and third-generation Irish in Scotland if they could acquire Irish passports at the Irish consulate in Edinburgh. This should also be widely publicised.
- Irish Government recognition of the potential value in the presence of an Irish consul in Scotland. Although the Irish consul in Scotland (1999-2001) was viewed as being overly politically pro-active by members of the Irish political services in Ireland, on the positive side, his presence and activities meant that for the first time, the Irish Government appeared to be recognising its people in Scotland. His presence and activity also meant that representation and recognition was forthcoming from other sections of the Scottish population.
- Irish prison aid worker/s accessing Scottish prisons and focussing on Irish prisoners.
- Numerous 'Irish' people inhabit homes of care. Often they have little or no contact with relatives in Ireland primarily due to an incapacity to carry this out themselves as well as the lack of an Irish outreach programme.
- Regular 'accurate' updated versions of Irish in Britain directories that include Scotland in an appropriate historical context.
- Younger immigrants remain unprepared for Scottish life. Even those recent arrivals with reasonable qualifications find themselves requiring further qualifications to practice in Scotland (eg, electricians, teachers, etc.).
- There is no network for the several thousand Irish-born students in Scotland. This is further worsened for second- and third-generation Irish students who look to Ireland for identity.
- In recent years the press has reported (though few cases have been highlighted) on significant 'sectarian' and racist attacks on often Irish identifying Celtic FC supporters by Glasgow Rangers fans (as recently as in the *Sunday Mail*, 26/4/02). Several Celtic supporters have died as a result in the last decade. No agency exists to assist victims deal with these problems.
- Sectarianism is an ongoing problem (indeed, the most significant problem that those of Irish descent face in many walks of life in Scotland) in the workplace highlighted in recent ESRC research and other research (forthcoming). It is also prevalent in the media, a crucial opinion- and attitudinal-shaper in society.

- Full use of the 2001 Census, including resources to allow experienced researchers sensitive to the identities and needs of the Irish in Britain and Scotland explore its findings.
- Open debates about the to the social, economic, cultural and political circumstances experienced in Scotland. Self-recognition is one of the greatest problems faced by the Irish. Maintenance of identity should be viewed as an option for all members of the Irish community.

Appendix 5

List of Community Organizations and Associations in the Greater Toronto Area

Apostles of Ireland (business organization).

Comhaltas Ceolteoirí Eireann (language club).

Conradh na Gaeilge (language club).

Emerald Isle Seniors Society, 824 Danforth Avenue, Toronto.

Gaelic Athletic Association (Gaelic sporting body).

Ireland Canada Chamber of Commerce.

Irish Canadian Aid and Cultural Society (non-profit benevolent organization).

Irish Canadian Development Institute.

Lar na nGael (Irish Centre), 20 Strathearn Avenue, Brampton.

Taca na h-Eireann (The Ireland Supporters' Club), 4120 Ridgeway Drive,
Mississauga.

Toronto Irish Players.

University College Dublin Alumni Association.

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