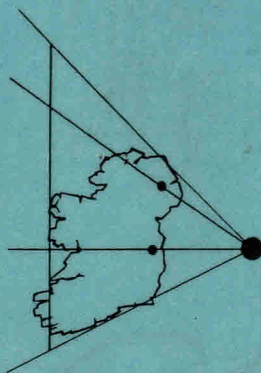


INSTITUTE OF **IRISH** STUDIES



UNIVERSITY of LIVERPOOL

IRISH MIGRANTS IN BRITAIN

Socio-Economic and Demographic Conditions

Liam Greenslade Maggie Pearson Moss Madden

OCCASIONAL PAPERS IN IRISH STUDIES
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Preface

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(C) Institute of Irish Studies
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Preface

Preface

This paper arises from research undertaken in connection with the pioneering Declan Kelly Research Programme on the Health of Irish People in Britain at the Institute of Irish Studies at the University of Liverpool. The programme, which has also received assistance from the Ireland Fund, seeks to identify the health experience of Irish migrants and their descendants and the management of health in daily life. It forms part of the Institute's research on Irish migrants.

The Declan Kelly Research Programme is a timely one because of recent and increasing concern over the position of Irish migrants in Great Britain. Few studies have explored the health status of Irish migrants in Great Britain, despite alarming evidence of the poor state of their health compared with other groups. Irish men are the *only* migrant group whose health is *worse* in England and Wales than in their country of origin, while Irish-born people over the age of fifteen, especially women, have the highest psychiatric admission rates of all national groups. The extent of these health problems has been outlined in a previous paper by the same authors (*Generations of an Invisible Minority: The Health and Well Being of the Irish in Britain*, Occasional Papers in Irish Studies No.2, Institute of Irish Studies, University of Liverpool, 1991).

This present paper provides a much-needed demographic and socio-economic profile of Irish people in Britain in view of the recognised association between health status, psychiatric morbidity and social and demographic circumstances. In doing so, it confirms the disadvantage and distress suffered by Irish migrants in the past. It also gives cause for concern about the well-being of Irish people in Britain, specifically those born in the Republic of Ireland, and warns against the danger of basing diagnoses and remedies on the experience of highly qualified migrants in the early 1980s, whose over-representation was an historical exception rather than the start of a new trend. Far more research is necessary to understand the causes of Irish disadvantage and distress and to prevent their recurrence in the new generations of Irish people in Britain.

The authors of the paper are the leaders of the Declan Kelly Research Programme: Liam Greenslade, social psychologist; Maggie Pearson, medical sociologist; Moss Madden, urban planner.

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Introduction

Irish people make up the largest ethnic minority group in Britain, but comparatively little is known about their demographic patterns and socio-economic conditions. This is particularly disturbing since Irish people in Britain suffer distressingly high mortality and mental hospital admission rates (Pearson, Madden, & Greenslade, 1991) and there is a long recognised association between health status, psychiatric morbidity and social and demographic circumstances (for example, Hollinshead & Redlich, 1958; Cochrane, 1977; Townsend & Davidson, 1982; Whitehead, 1987). Complementing the research carried out in other centres and specific regions, this paper seeks to sketch out a socio-economic and demographic profile of the Irish migrant community in Britain and provide a firmer basis for further research and for policy options on the different problems and preoccupations of that community.

Size of the Irish Community

At the 1981 census, the number of people born in the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland living in Britain totalled 606,851 and 242,969 respectively. If the children of these groups and people who claim Irish descent are taken into account, it is estimated that their numbers exceed 2 million people, making Irish people the largest migrant minority community in Europe.

This figure represents a significant increase since the Second World War, as a result of continued migration. At the time of the 1951 Census, the total number of Irish-born people in Britain was 716,028. Of this figure 537,709 were born in the Republic of Ireland, or Ireland part not stated, and 178,319 were born in Northern Ireland, Irish-born people at that time made up approximately 1.5% of the total population (Jackson, 1963). By the 1971 census this total had grown to 957,830 of whom 709,235 were born in the Republic of Ireland or Ireland, part not stated, and 248,595 were born in Northern Ireland, representing approximately 1.8% of the total population of Britain.

During the 1970s there was a decline in the numbers of Irish people resident in and migrating to England. Emigration from the Republic of Ireland to England fell off somewhat between the 1971 and 1981 census dates and there was a considerable amount of return migration during this period. Garvey (1985) estimated that there was a net migratory loss of some 13,000 people in the intercensal period, with the outflow being strongest in the 30-59 age group where the net loss to England was some 43,000 adults and an estimated further 44,000 of their British born children under 15 (Garvey, 1985). By the time of the 1985 Labour Force Survey the number of people born in the Republic of Ireland resident in Britain was estimated to be 546,000, or just over 1% of the total population of the country.

The upward trend in Irish migration to Britain was resumed, however, in the later 1980s. It is estimated that 40,000 people arrive every year in London alone (AGIY/TIDE, 1988). Applications for British National Insurance numbers from citizens of the Irish Republic increased from 2,548 per annum in 1983 to 31,816 in 1989 (Gribben, 1990).

Lack of Research

Despite an abundance of historical material (for example, Jackson, 1963; Swift & Gilley, 1989), until very recently, little research has been conducted nationally into the social and demographic conditions of the Irish migrant community since the Second World War. The decline in the numbers of Irish people resident in and migrating to Britain during the last decade or so is probably a significant factor in the absence of detailed study, but there are other factors which may have discouraged further investigation.

First and foremost is the tendency of Irish people to maintain a relatively low profile, to keep themselves to themselves and opt for a kind of social invisibility, merging into the host community as far as possible (for example, Connor, 1987). In face of this, there has been a corresponding tendency for researchers concerned with questions of race or ethnicity to overlook the Irish and by default treat them as part of the British-born population. The contemporary research position regarding Irish migrants in Britain contrasts markedly with that adopted during the nineteenth century when their communities were the subject of all manner of investigation and surveillance (Greenslade, 1990).

Note A second difficulty concerns the political complexities surrounding people from Northern Ireland. The division in the community there renders it impossible to treat the Irish community as some sociologically or culturally homogenous entity. Differences of religion, politics and cultural identity which have been brought to a head in the events of the last two decades or so have made the study of Irish people a particularly complex domain. Such factors discourage many researchers because of the practical difficulties they entail.

A third factor that makes research into the Irish community a less than simple and attractive proposition for social researchers derives from the policy of successive British governments of incorporating Irish people into the political and demographic structure of Britain. By treating Ireland (including the Republic) as administratively part of the British Isles, primarily for the purposes of immigration control, Irish people have not been subject to the same kind of obvious monitoring and surveillance as other migrant groups, most notably those from the New Commonwealth and elsewhere. This is not to say that no monitoring of Irish people has occurred, but it has largely served other purposes and taken different forms from those addressed to other migrant communities. In the case of the Irish, the gathering of data has been directed by security needs, under the auspices of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, 1974, rather than health or social policy concerns. This has led to a dearth of information in support of research in these latter areas.

The problem of collecting information regarding second and third generation Irish people is particularly fraught in respect of routine official statistics. These people, who have been born in Britain, and who may regard themselves as being ethnically Irish, seem to disappear altogether. Unlike people of Afro-Caribbean or Asian origin and parentage, people of Irish descent are not routinely given the opportunity to define themselves as such. In view of the long-standing history of migration between Ireland and England, it is likely that a large population of ethnically Irish people exists whose numbers have continued to grow over the years despite a decline in the number of Irish-born migrants.

According to a Greater London Council policy report on the Irish community, it is estimated that up to one sixth of the City's population could claim Irish descent (GLC, 1984).

Although no figures are available for other major cities in England, it would not be surprising if places like Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham were to claim comparable proportions of persons of Irish descent among their respective populations, given the historical tendency of Irish people to settle in these cities.

Where studies of health and mental illness have addressed the conditions of this group either in Britain (for example, Raftery, Jones & Rosato, 1990) or elsewhere (for example, Malzberg, 1963), second generation Irish people have been found to suffer, like their parents, shorter than average life expectancy and higher than average rates of mental hospitalisation. It is truly a glaring omission in government and other data that second generation members of this community, are rendered effectively invisible by official statistics which are collected in terms of nation of birth and colour of skin (Greenslade, 1990).

Data Sources

The information presented in this paper derives from two principal sources, the national report for Britain of the 1981 Census (OPCS, 1983) and the 1984 General Household Survey (GHS).

The first of these provides a range of information regarding the composition of the population usually resident in Britain. Like all surveys it is subject to a certain margin of error, in particular that of under-estimation. For 1981, the indications were that there was a net understatement of the population of the order of about 100,000 people for England and Wales or about 0.2% of the population present on census night. This is not thought to have any serious implications for the present study of Irish born people in Britain. A more serious qualification applies to the margin of under-estimation for Inner London, which is thought to be as high as 2.5% (OPCS, 1983). As over a third of Republic Irish born people were resident in Greater London, and as nearly half of these lived in the inner boroughs of the city at the 1981 Census, underestimation of their numbers could translate into a margin of error for Republic Irish people of close to half a per cent or 3,000 people. It remains an open question as to whether this might be a significant limitation on the reliability of the data source for present purposes.

Unlike the 1971 Census, which generated a considerable amount of information on immigrant populations, the 1981 Census form was much more limited in its scope and amounted to what Raftery, Rosato and Jones (1990, p.579) characterise as 'little more than an overall count of immigrant numbers'. Despite this limitation, the 1981 Census provides the most recent, systematic and extensive picture of the British population at the time of writing.

The Irish in Britain: Problems of Definition

When describing and discussing questions of national identity, ethnicity or 'race' (Husband, 1982), terminology is notoriously fraught and difficult. The problems sharpen when using official statistics which refer to country of birth, since there are dangers in inferring that country of birth gives a valid reflection of how the people might choose to describe themselves.

In this paper, the term Irish-born is used to describe people born in the island of Ireland, whether in Northern Ireland or the Republic. More specifically, the country-specific migrant populations will be referred to as 'Northern Irish' and 'Republic Irish' respectively.

In the absence of 'Irish' as a category in the self-defined 'ethnic' question, in either the 1981 Census or the 1984 General Household Survey which form the two principal data sources in this paper, it was possible only to identify first- and second-generation respondents with Irish roots, according to parentage and/or country of birth.

The discussion of the 1981 Census population of Britain refers to the population living in households of which the head was born in Britain, Northern Ireland or the Irish Republic. This particular method of description is necessary because of the difficulty in establishing accurately the numbers and conditions of those people who might otherwise be regarded as 'second generation' Irish people.

For the purposes of discussing data taken from the 1984 General Household Survey five sub-groups were defined:

- (i) people born in the Republic of Ireland (Republic Irish);
- (ii) people born in Northern Ireland (Northern Irish);
- (iii) people born in Britain, with one or both parents born in the Irish Republic (Republic-British);
- (iv) people born in Britain, with one or both parents born in Northern Ireland (NI-British);
- (v) British-born respondents whose parents were also born in Britain (British-British).

It is possible, therefore, that in each of these five groups, there may have been respondents who would identify themselves as belonging to another ethnic group, for example, British-born Afro-Caribbean or Asian.

In this paper, we use the five specific categories defined above to refer solely to the specific sub-population in the GHS sample. We use the aggregate term 'Irish' to refer to people born either in the Irish Republic (Republic Irish) or in Northern Ireland (Northern Irish). The aggregate term 'second generation Irish' refers to people born in Britain with one or both parents born in Ireland (Republic-British or NI-British). 'Irish-origin groups' refers to the four first and second generation Irish groups in Britain.

Data relating to health and other matters of Irish migrants in Britain are presented elsewhere in Pearson, Madden, and Greenslade (1991). This present paper is, therefore, devoted to the discussion of data describing the socio-economic and socio-demographic characteristics of the various Irish sub-populations as compared with the 'British-British'. It analyses first the 1981 Census and then the General Household Survey, finally concluding that there is serious cause for concern about the well-being of Irish people in Britain, specifically those born in the Republic of Ireland.

1. The Irish in Britain 1981 Census

Irish-born Populations

Of the 53.5 million population recorded in the 1981 Census as usually resident in Britain (England, Wales and Scotland), nearly 0.5% were born in Northern Ireland, and over 1% in the Irish Republic (Table 1).¹ Migrants from the Irish Republic comprised the largest migrant population from any one country (OPCS, 1983), the next largest migrant population being from India (391,874 persons, comprising 0.7% of the total population).

Table 1
*Country of Birth of Population 'Usually Resident' in Britain
Census 1981*

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Britain	24,267,380	(93.1)	25,686,737	(93.4)	49,954,117	(93.3)
N Ireland	119,091	(0.5)	123,878	(0.5)	242,969	(0.5)
Ir Republic	284,788	(1.1)	322,063	(1.1)	606,851	(1.1)
Ireland (N/Rep)*	230		347		577	
Other	1,381,701	(5.3)	1,370,696	(5.0)	2,752,397	(5.1)
TOTAL	26053190	(100.0)	27503721	(100.0)	53556911	(100.0)

(* Ireland, part not stated)

Place of Residence

Unlike other migrant communities and settled minorities in Britain, the Irish-born population is widely dispersed. There are, however, significant concentrations of Irish-born people in several parts of Britain. In Greater London, 3% of the population were born in the Irish Republic, compared with the average for Britain of 1.1%. In West Midlands and Greater Manchester Metropolitan counties respectively 2.3% and 1.76% of the total population was born in the Irish Republic. By contrast, the highest concentrations of Northern Irish-born population were in Scotland, with 0.77% in the Central Clyde conurbation, compared with 0.7% for all of Scotland and 0.5% for Britain as a whole.

In terms of relative population densities, the two communities show some marked differences. Table 2 below shows the concentrations of Republic Irish and Northern Irish people in 5 metropolitan areas, the total populations of which comprise some 28% of the British population as a whole. As can be seen from this table, over half the people (55%) born in

¹ 230 people were defined as being from 'Ireland, part not stated'. The majority of these would be elderly people who migrated before the partition of Ireland in 1921.

the Irish Republic live in one of these five areas as opposed to just over one third (36%) of Northern Irish-born. Furthermore, the former group make up nearly two and a quarter percent of the population in these areas as opposed to just over one percent in the population of Britain as a whole, increasing their representation to over 3% in Greater London, where nearly a third (32.83%) of all Republic-born Irish people were resident in 1981. People born in Northern Ireland only marginally increase their representation as a proportion of the population in the metropolitan areas, from 0.45% nationally to 0.58%, suggesting that the Northern Irish population is far more evenly distributed throughout the country than the Republic Irish one.

Table 2
Irish-born Populations in Five Metropolitan Areas

LOCATION	REPUBLIC IRISH			NORTHERN IRISH		
	N	% Area Pop'n	% Irish Pop'n (a)	N	% Area Pop'n	% Irish Pop'n (b)
Gr London	199,253	3.02	32.83	36322	0.55	14.95
Gr Manc'r	45,325	1.76	7.47	14550	0.56	5.99
Merseyside	14,984	1.00	2.47	6728	0.45	2.77
W Midlands	60,483	2.30	9.97	17053	0.65	7.02
C Clydeside	14,401	0.85	2.37	13091	0.77	5.39
TOTAL (c)	334,466	2.23	55.11	87744	0.58	36.11

(a. Total Republic Irish born 606,851 persons; b. Total Northern Irish born 242,969 persons; c. Total population metropolitan areas 15,019,094 persons)

Sex

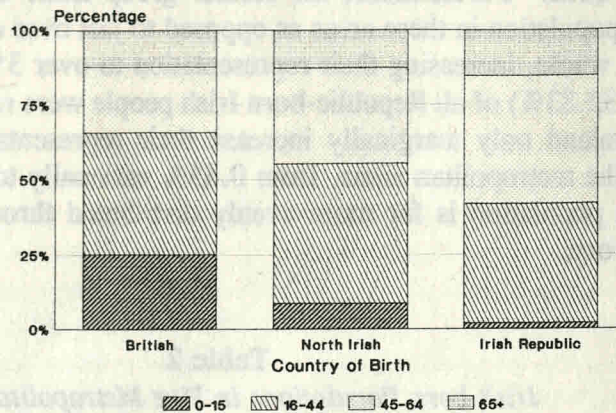
A slightly higher than average proportion of migrants born in Northern Ireland were men (Table 1), as were all other migrants except those from the Irish Republic. As suggested below, the latter may be a reflection of their relatively older age distribution, since women have a greater life expectancy than men and thus comprise a greater proportion of the population over 65 years. Alternatively, this may reflect an historical tendency that distinguishes Irish migrants from other groups, in that Irish women have historically tended to emigrate in equal or greater numbers to Irish men (Lennon, McAdam, & O'Brien, 1988).

Age

It is not possible to compare directly the age structure of the total populations born in Britain, Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic, since the Census reports population figures by groups which include 'pensionable age'. Since women are entitled to a State pension in Britain at the age of 60, compared with 65 for men, the separate age structures for men and women can not be directly aggregated in the same detail with which they are reported separately.

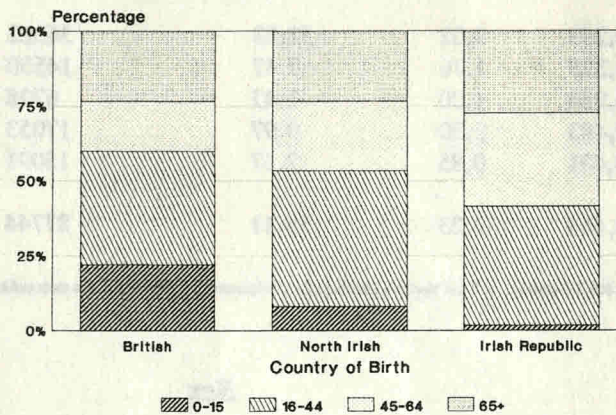
Increasingly for the purposes of international comparison, however, the proportion of the population over the age of 45 is taken as an index of 'demographic ageing'. Table 3 shows

Figure 1
Age of Male Pop'n By Country of Birth



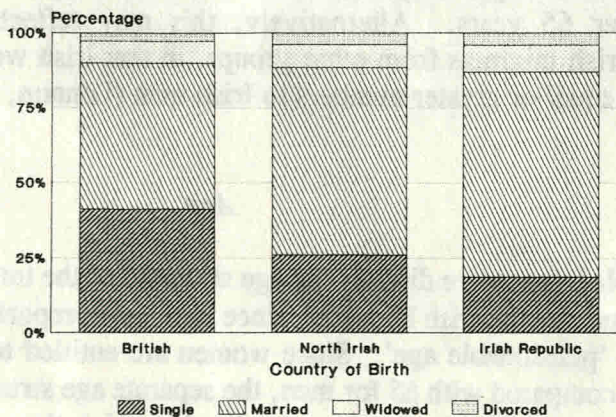
Census 1981

Figure 2
Age of Female Pop'n By Country of Birth



Census 1981

Figure 3
Marital Status



Census 1981

the aggregated age structures of the respective British and Irish-born populations. Whilst one might expect significantly fewer of the migrant populations to be under the age of 15, since people are more likely to migrate before starting their own families, the very high proportion of over 45s among the Republic-born Irish is indeed striking. Moreover, when the age-specific populations over the age of 45 are further disaggregated into those of a pensionable age, and those who are not (Figures 1 and 2), the slightly higher proportion of pensionable population among Republic-born men and women is evident. Thus, within the adult population in Britain, migrants born in Northern Ireland and in the Republic are proportionately 'older' than British-born adults.

Table 3
Age Structure of Resident Population

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	0-15 N (%)	16-44 N (%)	45+ N (%)	TOTAL
Britain	11,577,193 (23.1)	19,756,810 (39.5)	18,620,114 (37.3)	49,954,117
N Ireland	20,388 (8.4)	111,557 (45.9)	111,024 (45.7)	242,969
Irish Republic*	10,583 (1.7)	241,854 (39.8)	354,991 (58.4)	607,428
TOTAL	11,608,164	20,110,221	19,086,129	50,804,514

(Including Ireland, part not stated)

Marital Status

The marital status of the British and Irish-born populations recorded in the 1981 Census is shown in Table 4 and Figure 3. Reflecting their older age structure, people born in the Irish Republic were least likely never to have been married (i.e., were 'single'); and most likely of the three groups to be married at the time of the Census. They were also most likely to be widowed. Less than a fifth of the Republic Irish-born were single, compared with over 40% of the British-born population; whereas less than half of the British-born were married, over two-thirds of the Republic Irish were. Both the Republic-born Irish and those born in Northern Ireland were more likely than the British-born to have been previously married. In particular, the divorce rate in the Irish-born populations was higher.

Table 4
Marital Status

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	SINGLE N (%)	MARRIED N (%)	WIDOWED N (%)	DIVORCED N (%)	TOTAL
Britain	20,596,320 (41.2)	24,375,843 (48.4)	3,648,444 (7.3)	1,333,510 (2.7)	49,954,117
N Ireland	63,196 (26.0)	151,913 (62.5)	18,261 (7.5)	9,599 (4.0)	242,969
Irish Republic	113,221 (18.7)	414,878 (68.4)	53,712 (8.9)	25,040 (4.1)	606,851
TOTAL	20,772,737	24,942,634	3,720,417	1,368,149	50,803,937

This national picture is not reflected in the figures for the Greater London area provided by Connor (1987). There, single men and women make up 42.8% and 33.7% of the Republic Irish population, compared to 31.8 and 25.2 percent respectively for the UK population in the city. Furthermore, in every age group over 24 there is a greater proportion of single Republic Irish people. For economic reasons people in the Irish Republic have tended to marry late, particularly in rural areas (Scheper-Hughes, 1977). The same constraints do not apply in Britain. However, the potential problem of an ageing population of single people should not be readily dismissed.

Limitations of Census Data Estimates of the Respective 'Irish' Populations

While it is possible to present an apparently complete demographic profile of Irish people in Britain based on the 1981 Census, the limitations of the data should not be ignored. These limitations are underlined by the difficulty of estimating the size of the population in Britain which might identify itself as 'Irish'.

In the absence of a question on ethnic group in the 1981 Census, and of an 'Irish' category in the question proposed for the imminent 1991 Census, the only possible way of estimating from official population data the size of the population which might identify itself as 'Irish' would be to calculate the size of the population living in households of which the person classed as head was born in the Irish Republic or Northern Ireland. This crude procedure is the only one possible, but is fraught with several definitional and practical problems.

First, and most obviously, the population in households of which the head was born in Northern Ireland are subsumed within the 'UK-born' category for head of household. Thus the size of the 'Northern Irish' community cannot be estimated. Secondly, because women are not classed as 'head of household' if an adult man is present, households in which an Irish woman lives with a household 'head' who was born in Britain will not be included. It is not possible to estimate from published Census data the rate of inter-marriage or co-habitation between women born in Ireland and partners born elsewhere (including Britain). Those households with an Irish-born mother and non-Irish father, which may have second generation 'Irish' but British-born children are thus excluded from any estimates of the Irish community(ies) in Britain. Given the key role played by women in maintaining and reproducing culture and group identity (O'Dwyer, 1989; Guru, 1991), this omission is a serious one. Thirdly, people born in the UK, who may consider themselves Irish but who are not living with an Irish Republic-born head of household, are excluded. The exclusion of Northern Irish born and their households has already been noted above, but the second generation and subsequent offspring of Northern and Republic Irish who no longer live with their (grand)parents, but who may class themselves as Irish, are also not identifiable.

The population usually resident in private households is reported in the Census tables by the birthplace of the head of household. Data are not reported separately for heads of households in Britain who were themselves born in Northern Ireland: they are included in an aggregate 'United Kingdom' category. Data are reported, however, for households of which the head was born in the Republic of Ireland. It is these data which are summarised here.

In 1981, 949,372 persons (1.8%) in Britain lived in 313,046 households of which the head was recorded as having been born in the Irish Republic (Table 5). For the reasons suggested above, this can only be taken as an underestimate of the population with household connections to the Irish Republic. Thus, less than half of the 606,851 Irish Republic-born population living in Britain in 1981 was head of a household.

Table 5
Population by Country of Birth of Head of Household and by Age

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	0-15 N (%)	16-44 N (%)	45+ N (%)	TOTAL
UK	10,642,371 (22.04)	19,282,075 (39.93)	18,366,140 (38.03)	48,290,586
Ir Republic	230,362 (24.26)	391,708 (41.26)	327,302 (34.48)	9,493,712
Other	1,020,013 (28.97)	1,635,498 (46.46)	864,863 (24.57)	3,520,374
TOTAL	11,892,746 (22.54)	21,309,281 (40.39)	19,558,305 (37.07)	52,760,332

With a Northern Irish-born population of 242,969 recorded as resident in Britain in 1981, it is possible that there were at least 100,000 households of which the head was born in Northern Ireland, suggesting that at least 300,000 people living in Britain had household connections with Northern Ireland.

In their analysis of the 1971 Census data, Raftery, Jones, and Rosato (1990) calculate the all-Ireland, first and second generation population to consist of 2,262,280 persons (1,104,365 men, 1,156,915 women). This figure was calculated by adding together the number of people whose place of birth was either the Irish Republic or Northern Ireland or to those people who had either one or both parents born in Ireland. The total population of first and second generation Irish people increases by a factor of 2.36, compared with the numbers of Irish-born.

If, for the purposes of crude comparison, the same ratio is applied to the population of first generation Irish people resident in Britain in 1981 (850,937), then the total number becomes 2,006,937. If this figure is adjusted for the loss to Britain of 13,000 Irish-born individuals and their 44,000 British-born children estimated by Garvey (1985), then the number of first and second generation Irish people in Britain would be 1,949,937, a figure which exceeds the number of people in households where the head was born in Ireland by a factor of more than two.

The fact that such a huge discrepancy can exist between estimates emphasises once more the considerable difficulties inherent in attempting to research the Irish population in Britain. In fact it renders any discussion of the demography of second generation Irish people largely pointless. In view of such obvious shortcomings in the data from the 1981 Census, even at the crude level of numbers, other sources are necessary if an adequate socio-demographic model of the Irish population in Britain is to be presented. The remainder of this paper examines the information provided in just one such other source, the 1984 General Household Survey.

2. The Irish in Britain: Socio-demographic Characteristics 1984 General Household Survey

Sub-populations

The paucity of data in the 1981 Census contrasts with that of the General Household Survey (GHS). The GHS is a nationally representative continuous survey with an achieved sample of approximately 10,000 households containing 25,000 individuals. In the 1984 GHS, 11,867 households were interviewed, comprising 25,354 respondents. 83% of households sampled answered all or part of the interview. 14% refused and contact was not made with 4%. The interview includes questions on population and fertility, housing, employment, education and health. Questions on smoking and drinking are included in alternate (even) years. Interviews are sought with all adult members of the private households sampled. Where this proves impossible, despite repeated calls, a proxy interview is conducted with a near relative who is a member of the same household. For these cases questions on educational qualifications, income and those eliciting opinions are omitted.

Of the total of 25,141 respondents in these five categories, 95% were British-British. The largest Irish-origin group was the second generation Republic Irish (Republic-British), comprising 2.3% of the total (Table 7).

Table 6
Origins of Respondents

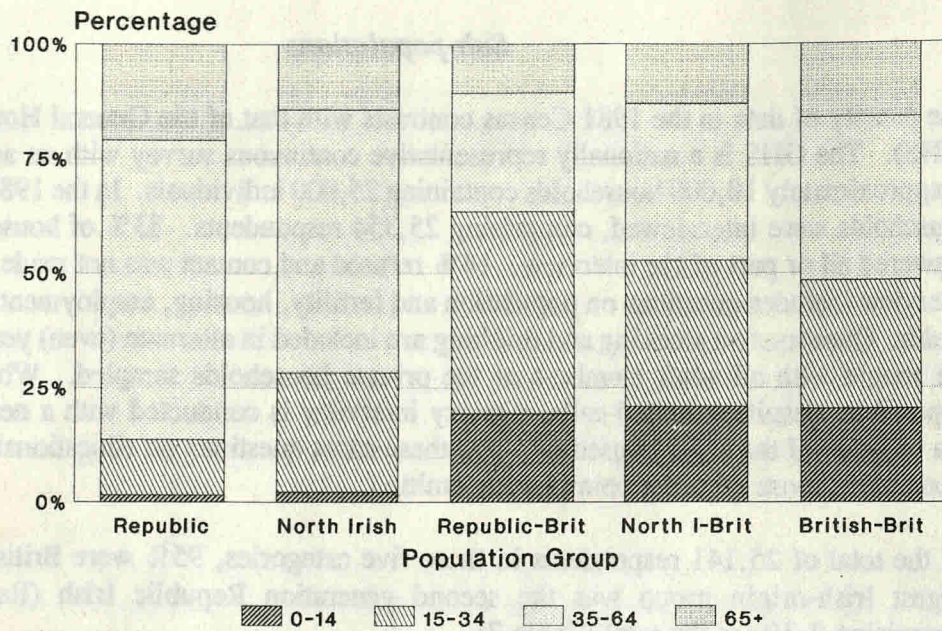
	Number	(%)
Republic Irish	273	(1.1)
Northern Irish	134	(0.5)
Republic-British	575	(2.3)
NI-British	283	(1.1)
British-British	23,888	(95.0)
TOTAL	25,153	(100.0)

A comparison of Table 6 and Table 1 above indicates that the proportion of first generation Irish people in the GHS sample is identical with their proportion in the 1981 Census.

Vital Statistics

Tables 7, 8, 9, and 10 and Figures 4, 5 and 6 show selected demographic characteristics of the five sub-populations from the 1984 GHS sample. Table 7 and Figure 4 show the age of the respondents.

Figure 4
Age of Respondents



GHS 1984

Table 6
Origin of Respondents

Origin	Number	Percentage
Republic	111	11.1
North Irish	131	13.1
Republic-Brit	212	21.2
North I-Brit	283	28.3
British-Brit	218	21.8
TOTAL	955	100.0

A comparison of Table 6 and Table 1 shows that the proportion of first generation Irish people in the GHS sample is identical with their proportion in the 1981 Census.

Final Statistics

Tables 7, 8, 9, and 10 and Figures 5, 6 and 7 show selected demographic characteristics of the GHS sample. Table 7 and Figure 4 show the age of the respondents.

Table 7
Age of Respondents

	0-14 N (%)	15-34 N (%)	35-64 N (%)	65+ N (%)	TOTAL N
Republic Irish	4 (1.5)	33 (12.1)	179 (65.5)	57 (20.9)	273
Northern Irish	3 (2.2)	35 (26.1)	77 (57.5)	19 (14.2)	134
Republic-British	112 (19.4)	252 (44.1)	149 (25.9)	62 (10.7)	575
NI-British	9 (20.8)	90 (31.8)	97 (34.2)	37 (13.0)	283
British-British	4,885 (20.5)	6,653 (27.9)	8,528 (35.7)	3822 (16.0)	23,888
TOTAL	5,063 (20.1)	7,063 (28.1)	9,030 (35.9)	3997 (15.9)	25,153

(Chi-square = 263.91, with 12 d.f. $p < 0.01$)

The most striking feature of these age distributions is the under-representation in the lowest age group of Irish born, both from the Republic and from Northern Ireland. This under-representation is repeated in the second age group for Republic-born, with a corresponding over-representation of Republic Irish in the oldest two age groups. British-born respondents show fairly similar profiles whatever the country of birth of their parents, although almost half the Republic-British are in the 15-34 age group.

The overall conclusion from Table 7 is that the Irish-born are substantially older than the British-born sub-populations. Again, this reflects the pattern in the 1981 Census, indicating higher rates of migration from Ireland to Britain in the more distant past than recently.

Although there were more women than men in the two groups of Irish migrants, reflecting their older age structure, the difference in gender composition of the five sub-groups was not statistically significant (Table 8).

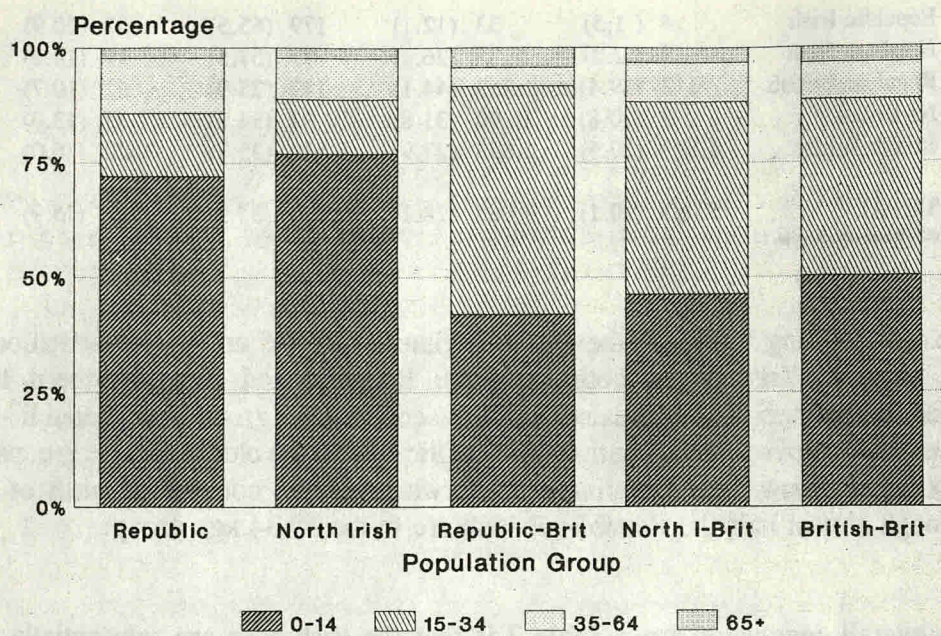
Table 8
Gender of Respondents

	MEN N (%)	WOMEN N (%)	TOTAL N
Republic Irish	120 (44.0)	153 (56.0)	273
Northern Irish	60 (44.8)	74 (55.2)	134
Republic-British	287 (49.9)	288 (50.1)	575
NI-British	146 (51.6)	137 (48.4)	283
British-British	11,538 (48.3)	12,350 (51.7)	23888
TOTAL	12,151 (48.3)	13,002 (51.7)	25153

(Chi square = 4.56, with 4 d.f., $p = 0.336$)

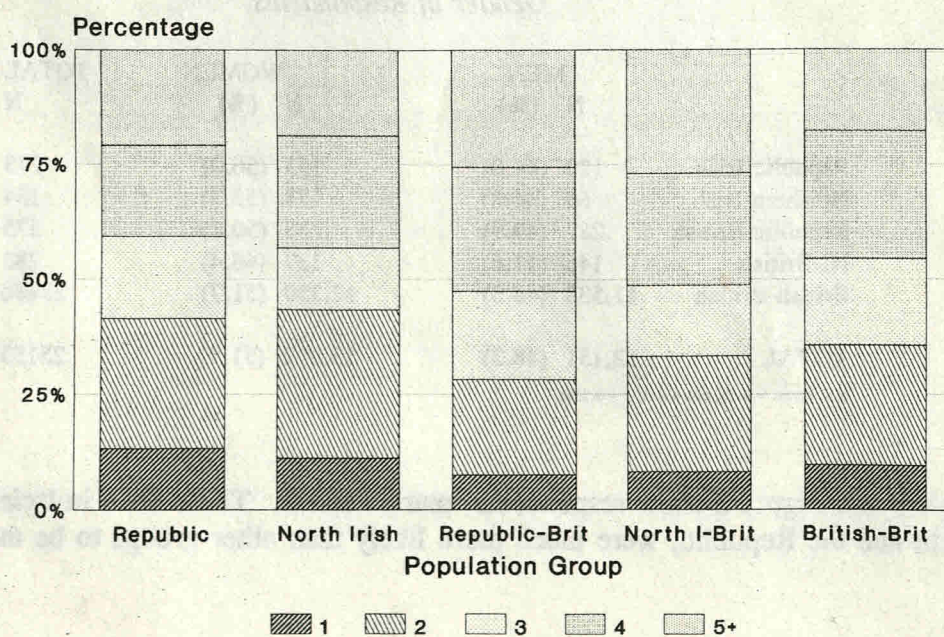
Table 9 and Figure 5 show respondents' marital status. Those born in Ireland, in both the North and the Republic, were much more likely than other groups to be married, and the

Figure 5
Marital Status of Respondents



GHS 1984

Figure 6
Household Size



GHS 1984

Republic Irish were also much more likely to be widowed. These characteristics reflect closely the different age profiles of the five sub-groups.

Table 9
Marital Status of Respondents

	MARRIED N (%)	SINGLE N (%)	WIDOWED N (%)	DIV/SEP N (%)	TOTAL N
Republic Irish	197 (72.2)	37 (13.6)	33 (12.1)	6 (2.2)	273
Northern Irish	103 (76.9)	16 (11.9)	12 (9.0)	3 (2.2)	134
Republic-British	241 (41.9)	286 (49.7)	23 (4.0)	25 (4.3)	575
NI-British	131 (46.3)	119 (42.0)	24 (8.5)	9 (3.2)	283
British-British	11,922 (50.2)	9,179 (38.5)	1,911 (8.0)	788 (3.3)	23,888
TOTAL	12,664 (50.3)	9,655 (38.4)	2,003 (8.0)	831 (3.3)	25,153

(Chi-square = 163.18, with 12 d.f., $p < 0.01$)

Table 10 and Figure 6 display household size, again apparently reflecting the age distribution. The Irish predominate in single person households, particularly those born in the Republic. Migrants from Northern Ireland and the British-born children of British parents are least likely to live in large households (5 persons and over), while the second-generation Irish tend to be in the two largest household groups.

Table 10
Household Size

	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	4 N (%)	>5 N (%)	TOTAL N
Republic Irish	36 (13.2)	77 (28.2)	49 (17.9)	54 (19.8)	57 (20.9)	273
Northern Irish	15 (11.2)	43 (32.1)	18 (13.4)	33 (24.6)	25 (18.7)	134
Republic-British	43 (7.5)	119 (20.7)	110 (19.1)	156 (27.1)	147 (25.5)	575
NI-British	3 (8.1)	71 (25.1)	44 (15.5)	69 (24.4)	76 (26.9)	263
British-British	2,317 (9.7)	6,187 (25.9)	4,491 (18.8)	6,665 (27.9)	4,228 (17.7)	23,888
TOTAL	2,414 (9.7)	6,497 (25.8)	4,712 (18.7)	6,977 (27.7)	4,533 (18.0)	25,153

(Chi-square = 83.22 with 16 d.f., $p < 0.01$)

Geographical Distribution

24.9% of the Republic Irish born were resident in the Greater London area in the 1984 GHS, as were 19.3% of the Republic-British group. The proportion of Republic Irish living in Greater London is considerably lower than might be expected from the 1981 Census data (See Table 2 above). This discrepancy may reflect a bias in the sampling of the GHS towards the selection of stable households. Connor's (1987) study of the London Irish found that almost 20% of that population were housed in the private sector, where occupier mobility is known to be greater.

The concentration of the two Republic groups in Greater London contrasts with the British-British group of whom only 7.7% were resident in these areas and the two Northern-Irish populations of whom 17.2% and 11.3% for Northern Irish and NI-British resided there. As might be expected from Table 2 above, the North West and West Midlands metropolitan areas, which include Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham, accounted for a considerable proportion of the remainder of the two Republic Irish groups. 17.9% of the Republic Irish and 12.5% of the Republic-British groups were resident in these two regions.

Again, as might be expected, a considerable proportion of members of the two Northern Irish groups were to be found in Scotland, although it far exceeds what might be expected from the 1981 Census data. 24.7% of the Northern Irish born were resident in Scotland as were 37.9% of the NI-British Group. This contrasts with 19.1% of the British-British group, 8% of the Republic Irish and 15% of the Republic-British Group.

Residential Mobility

The GHS also contains data on the number of residence changes preceding five years. This is summarised in Table 11.

Table 11
Number of Moves in Preceding Five Years

	0 N (%)	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	4 N (%)	5 N (%)	>5 N (%)
Rep Irish	190 (69.68)	57 (20.91)	20 (7.20)	2 (0.73)	2 (0.73)	1 (0.37)	1 (0.37)
Rep British	331 (59.24)	127 (22.72)	51 (9.11)	34 (6.10)	8 (1.41)	5 (0.88)	3 (0.53)
N Irish	90 (67.15)	25 (18.65)	9 (6.73)	7 (5.22)	1 (0.76)	1 (0.76)	1 (0.75)
NI British	273 (71.65)	62 (16.28)	23 (6.04)	16 (4.19)	3 (0.78)	2 (0.54)	2 (0.54)
Br British	14,919 (65.13)	5,337 (23.30)	1,464 (6.39)	667 (2.91)	250 (1.09)	111 (0.49)	158 (0.69)
TOTAL	15,804 (65.16)	5,608 (23.12)	1,566 (6.46)	726 (2.99)	264 (1.09)	120 (0.90)	164 (0.68)

(Chi-square = 54.29, with 24 df, $p < .01$)

As might be predicted on the basis of age-structure, the older Republic Irish group is less likely to have changed residence than the other groups. Similarly, the group with most members in the 15-34 age range, the Republic British, were the most likely to have moved home at least once within the preceding 5 years. Unexpectedly, perhaps, the group least likely to have changed address within the preceding 5 years were the NI-British.

Townsend (1987) argues that the number of moves in the last five years is a key indicator of social deprivation. Given what is known from other work (for example, Connor, 1987) about socio-economic disadvantage suffered by Republic Irish people, the data in Table 11 are somewhat surprising. The pattern of domestic mobility displayed for all groups, however, offers some support for the conjecture (Pearson et al, 1991, p. 20) that the GHS sample is biased towards stable households. Two thirds of those surveyed here had been resident in the same place for the preceding five years.

Length of Residence in Britain

The GHS also contains a question on date of arrival in the UK. Obviously, for those four groups the members of which were born in Britain, the question is not of relevance. Table 12 below summarises the situation for the Republic Irish group.

Table 12
Length of Residence in Britain

YEARS RESIDENT	N	(%)
< 1	4	1.9
1 - 10	11	5.3
11 - 20	28	13.5
21 - 30	68	32.7
31 - 40	50	24.0
41 - 50	26	12.5
> 51	21	10.1
TOTAL	208	100.0

(Chi-square = 100.34 with d.f. 6, $p < .01$)

Yet again, as might be expected from its age structure, the members of the Irish Republic group who answered this question were long term residents in this country. Just under 80% of the sample had first settled in the UK over 20 years previously (i.e., before 1963), the bulk (56.7%) arriving here between 1944 and 1963. This pattern fits approximately with findings from the 1971 Census discussed by Raftery, Jones and Rosato (1990). Of the Republic Irish born population resident here in that count nearly half (47%) first arrived between 1940 and 1959.

From the point of view of migrant physical and mental health, the question of length of residence has important implications. The stress associated with the migration and the conditions under which migrants have to live initially have both been suggested at one time or another to be associated with higher mortality and rates of mental illness (for example, Zwingmann & Pfister-Ammende, 1973). However, these factors might be expected to decline with length of residence, as migrants integrate into the host community and/or stabilise their lives. This does not seem to be the case with the Irish. Marmot et al (1984) identified a higher death rate between 1970 and 1978 amongst Irish-born men living in England and Wales. Assuming a comparable length of residence distribution amongst the population sampled by Marmot et al for their study, then most would have been resident more than twenty years. The implication is that long term residence does nothing to improve Irish health. In fact, the opposite seems to be the case when their situation is compared with other work on migrants. Measured life-expectancy is shorter for Irish men who come to Britain compared to those who stay in Ireland and they are the only group of migrants for which this is the case (Pearson et al, 1991).

Furthermore, other workers, such as Marmot et al (1984), suggest that mortality rates for the major groups of diseases usually change within one or two generations to approximate those of the host population. An important question arises as to whether this is the case for second

generation Irish people or whether the elevated mortality rates of the parents are reproduced amongst their British-born children. Work by Raftery et al (1990) suggests the latter is the case.

In this context, a suggestive finding with respect to mental illness appears in Cochrane and Stopes-Roe (1979). In this study it was found that levels of psychological symptoms, measured in a variety of ways, correlated positively with length of residence amongst Irish born men. Like the mortality data, this suggests that for some reason Irish people despite long term residence in Britain fail, as Fanon (1970) puts it, 'to climb up' into the host society and never overcome the initial stresses of the migratory decision.

Summary of Socio-demographic Characteristics

All in all, the main conclusions that can be drawn from these demographic tables is that migrants from the Irish Republic are generally older than the Northern Irish, who in turn are generally older than the British-born population, regardless of its parentage. Within this last group, the Republic-British are concentrated more in the age group 15-34 than are the other two groupings. These differential age profiles are reflected in the marital status of the populations, with the older populations displaying higher widow(er) rates, and the young populations having greater proportions of single people. Household size also reflects age: the Irish-born groups are more likely to be in one- and two-person households than the British-born groups.

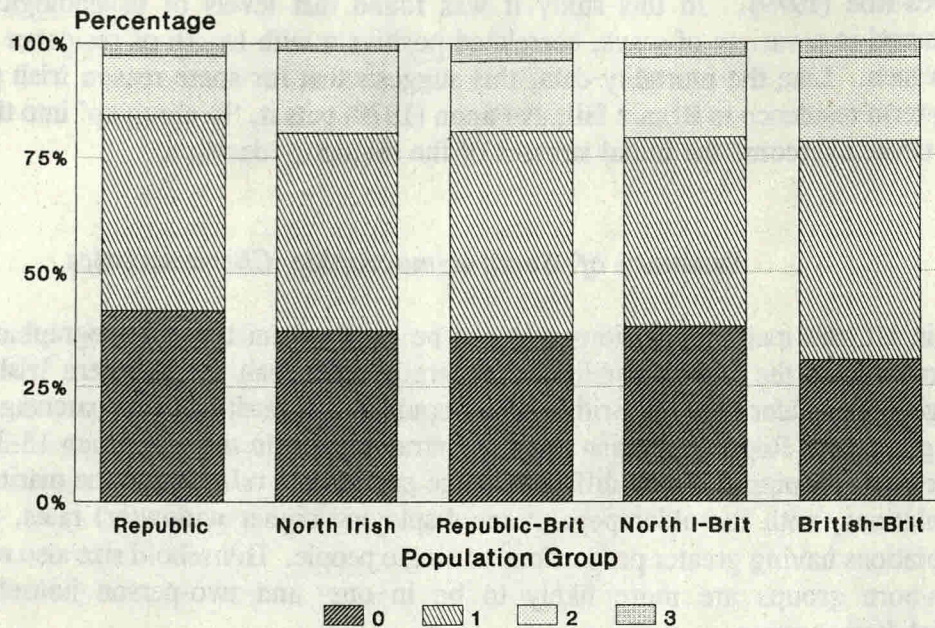
With regard to geographical distribution, the Republic Irish are more likely to be living in the South East, particularly within Greater London, or in the North West and West Midlands metropolitan areas. The Northern Irish groups are more likely to be found in Scotland, particularly those of Northern Irish parentage.

Reflecting the age structure, Republic-British group was most likely to have moved home within the preceding five years. Of all the groups, the Northern Irish British were the least likely to have done so.

Table 15
Car Ownership

	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Republic Irish	129 (41.8)	118 (42.3)	36 (13.2)	17 (6.5)	277
Northern Irish	50 (37.3)	38 (41.3)	34 (42.1)	7 (1.3)	134
Republic-British	207 (34.0)	236 (44.7)	89 (15.4)	23 (4.0)	555
NI-British	88 (33.2)	116 (41.0)	58 (21.7)	9 (3.2)	271
British-Born	1,326 (25.0)	1,117 (47.3)	4,389 (18.3)	80 (3.1)	7,852
TOTAL	2,703 (31.9)	2,605 (47.3)	4,568 (18.3)	136 (3.7)	10,012

Figure 7
Car Ownership



GHS 1984

3. The Irish in Britain: Socio-economic Circumstances 1984 General Household Survey

The tables in this section show a range of social and economic circumstances of the five sub-populations - Republic Irish, Northern Irish, Republic-British, NI-British and British-British - in relation to a range of indicators such as car ownership, housing tenure, economic status of head of household, rate of unemployment, net weekly earnings and income of head of household, occupations and socio-economic groupings.

Car Ownership

Table 13 and Figure 7 show car ownership. Overall, the British-born of British parents possess the most cars, with the Republic Irish being least likely to own a car at all. Each of the four Irish-origin groups was less likely than the British-British to own a car at all. The Northern Irish were least likely to own 3 or more cars, but the second generation Republic Irish had the highest percentage of 3-car owners.

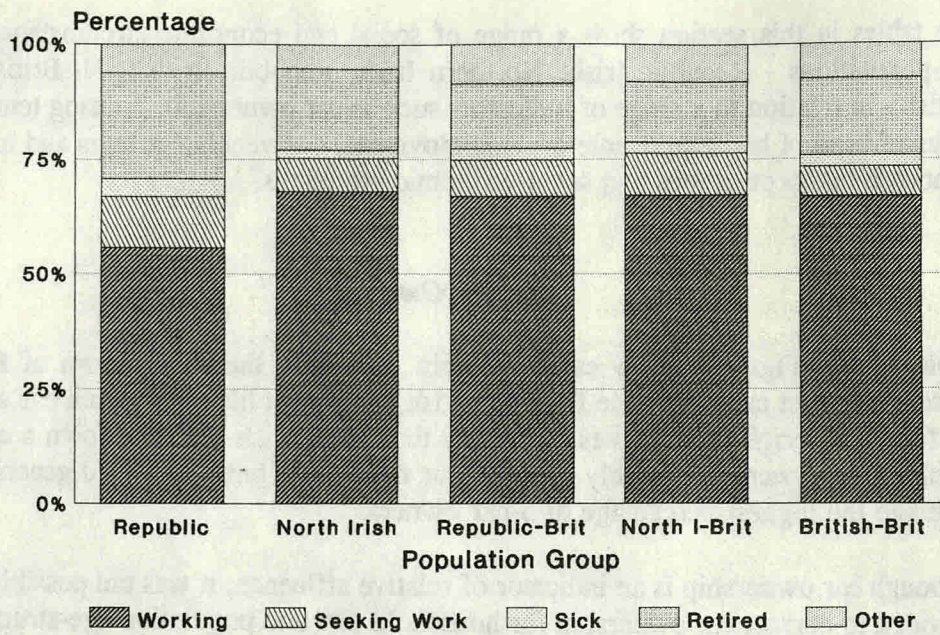
Although car ownership is an indicator of relative affluence, it was not possible with the data provided to correct car ownership for household size and population age-structure. The fact that the Republic British group had the largest proportion of its members in households of 4 or more persons might, possibly, numerically skew multiple car ownership into Republic-British households because of the way the GHS data is collected. Nonetheless, if the groups are re-categorised simply on a binary basis (car ownership/no car owned) the relatively greater affluence of the British-British group over and against that of Irish groups is still significant (chi-square = 32.56 with 4 d.f., $p < .01$), with the Republic Irish group significantly less likely to be car owners at all.

Table 13
Car Ownership

	0 N (%)	1 N (%)	2 N (%)	3 N (%)	TOTAL N
Republic Irish	114 (41.8)	116 (42.5)	36 (13.2)	17 (2.6)	273
Northern Irish	50 (37.3)	58 (43.1)	24 (18.1)	2 (1.5)	134
Republic-British	207 (36.0)	256 (44.7)	89 (15.4)	23 (4.0)	575
NI-British	108 (38.2)	116 (41.0)	50 (17.7)	9 (3.2)	283
British-British	7,306 (30.6)	11,317 (47.3)	4,369 (18.3)	883 (3.7)	23,875
TOTAL	7,785 (31.0)	11,863 (47.2)	4,568 (18.2)	934 (3.7)	25,150

(Chi-square = 39.62, with 12 d.f., $p < 0.01$)

Figure 8
Economic Status of Household Head



GHS 1984

Housing

Table 14 describes housing tenure. The Northern Irish and second generation Northern Irish differ most from the average, with only half living in owner-occupied property. Migrants from the Republic and second generation Republic Irish follow in turn.

Table 14
Housing Tenure

	OWNS N (%)	RENTS N (%)	TOTAL N
Republic Irish	151 (55.3)	122 (44.7)	273
Northern Irish	68 (50.7)	66 (49.3)	134
Republic-British	327 (57.0)	247 (43.0)	574
NI-British	69 (51.2)	65 (48.8)	134
British-British	14,360 (60.3)	9,455 (39.7)	23,815
TOTAL	14,975 (60.1)	9,955 (39.9)	24,930

(Chi-square = 14.36 with 4 d.f., $p < 0.01$)

Again there is a sharp contrast between home ownership patterns amongst the Republic Irish and Connor's (1987) study based on 1981 figures for London. Only 34.5% of the London Irish were homeowners in that study as compared with 55.3% in the GHS national sample.

Head of Household: Economic Status

Table 15 and Figure 8 show the economic status of the head of the household. Again, as a result of age, the Republic-born predominate in the retired category, but also in the category seeking work, and, interestingly in view of our general concern with health, the sick. The lower proportion of Republic Irish respondents' heads of households who were in employment (55.8% compared with an average of 67%) appears to stem principally from the large proportion (22.9%) in retirement, although 11.2% were seeking work, compared with an average of 6.4%.

Table 15
Economic Status of Head of Household

	WORKING N (%)	SEEKING WORK N (%)	SICK N (%)	RET'D N (%)	OTHER N (%)	TOTAL N
Republic Irish	144 (55.8)	29 (11.2)	10 (3.9)	59 (22.9)	16 (6.2)	258
Northern Irish	77 (68.1)	8 (7.1)	2 (1.8)	20 (17.7)	6 (5.3)	113
Republic-British	346 (67.0)	41 (7.9)	13 (2.5)	73 (14.1)	45 (8.6)	518
NI-British	148 (67.3)	20 (9.1)	5 (2.3)	29 (13.2)	18 (8.1)	220
British-British	14,263 (66.9)	1,339 (6.3)	531 (2.5)	3,550 (16.7)	1,573 (7.4)	21,256
TOTAL	14,979 (67.0)	1,437 (6.4)	561 (2.5)	3,731 (16.7)	1,658 (7.4)	22,365

(Chi-square = 33.43, with 16 d.f., $p < 0.01$)

Unemployment

Table 16 shows the unemployment rate of respondents and of head of households, being the proportion of the economically active who were seeking work. The first and second generation Republic Irish are most likely to be unemployed themselves, with almost a fifth of migrants from the Republic who were in the labour market seeking work. There is an interesting divergence in the unemployment experience of the two second generation Irish groups. Whereas the economically active Republic-British were more likely (12.2%) than their heads of households (10.5%) to be unemployed, the reverse was the case for the Northern Irish. The unemployment rate among second generation Northern Irish was 9.1%, compared with 11.9% among their heads of households.

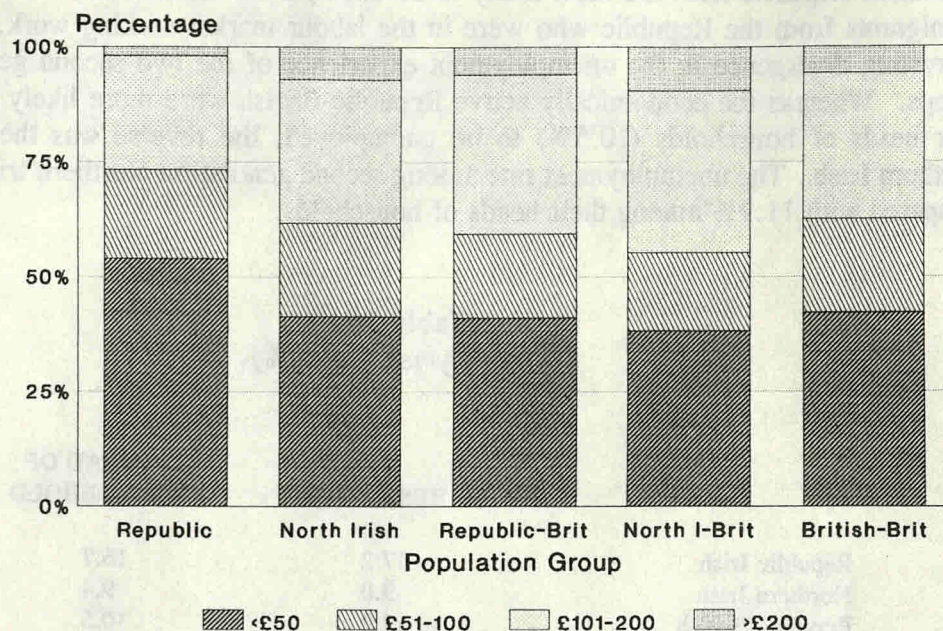
Table 16
Unemployment Rate (%)

	RESPONDENT	HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD
Republic Irish	17.2	16.7
Northern Irish	9.0	9.4
Republic-British	12.2	10.5
NI-British	9.1	11.9
British-British	9.0	8.6
TOTAL	9.2	8.8

Household Earnings and Income

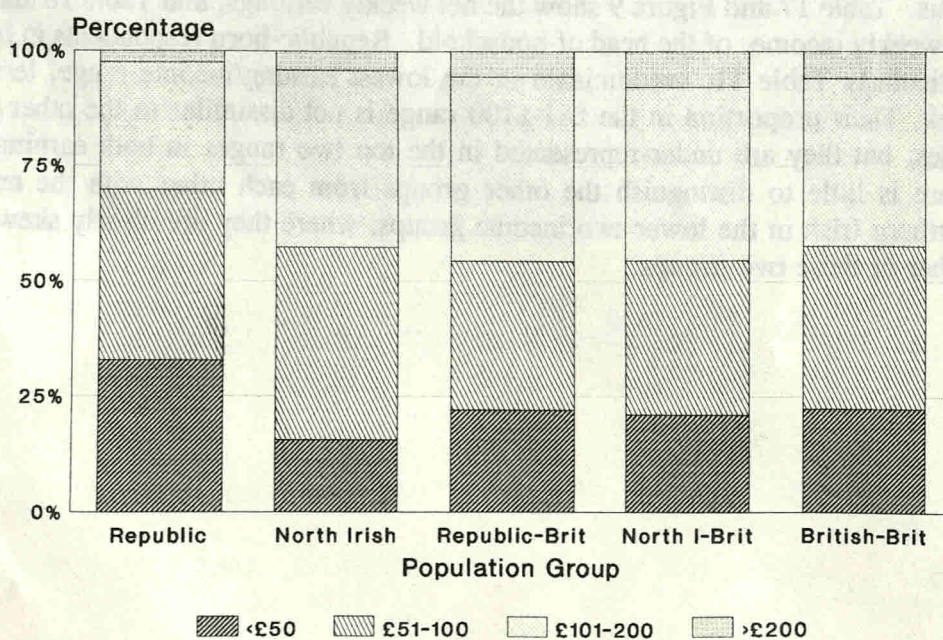
Household earnings and incomes show distributions which appear to correlate with economic status. Table 17 and Figure 9 show the net weekly earnings, and Table 18 and Figure 10 the net weekly income, of the head of household. Republic-born respondents in both tables, and particularly Table 11, predominate in the lowest earning/income range, less than £50 per week. Their proportion in the £51-£100 range is not dissimilar to the other groups in both tables, but they are under-represented in the top two ranges in both earnings and income. There is little to distinguish the other groups from each other with the exception of the Northern Irish in the lower two income groups, where they are clearly skewed towards the higher of these two groups.

Figure 9
Net Weekly Earnings of Household Head



GHS 1984

Figure 10
Net Weekly Income of Household Head



GHS 1984

Table 17
Net Weekly Earnings of Head of Household (£)

	<50 N (%)	51-100 N (%)	101-200 N (%)	>200 N (%)	TOTAL N
Republic Irish	115 (54.0)	41 (19.2)	53 (24.8)	4 (1.9)	213
Northern Irish	41 (41.4)	20 (20.2)	31 (31.3)	7 (7.0)	99
Republic-British	179 (41.1)	80 (18.3)	151 (34.6)	26 (6.0)	436
NI-British	72 (38.3)	32 (17.0)	66 (35.1)	18 (9.6)	188
British-British	7,747 (42.2)	3,727 (20.3)	5,839 (31.8)	1,046 (5.7)	18,359
TOTAL	8,154 (42.2)	3,900 (20.2)	6,140 (31.8)	1,101 (5.7)	19,295

(Chi-square = 25.42, with 12 d.f., $p = 0.013$)

Table 18
Net Weekly Income of Head of Household (£)

	<50 N (%)	51-100 N (%)	101-200 N (%)	>200 N (%)	TOTAL N
Republic Irish	66 (32.7)	75 (37.1)	56 (27.7)	5 (2.5)	202
Northern Irish	15 (15.6)	40 (41.7)	37 (38.5)	4 (4.1)	96
Republic-British	90 (21.9)	133 (32.4)	165 (40.1)	23 (5.5)	411
NI-British	38 (21.0)	61 (33.7)	68 (37.6)	14 (7.8)	181
British-British	3,866 (22.4)	6,103 (35.4)	6,255 (36.3)	1,036 (6.0)	17,260
TOTAL	4,075 (22.5)	6,412 (35.3)	6,581 (36.3)	1,082 (6.0)	18,150

(Chi-square = 25.81, with 12 d.f., $p = 0.011$)

Occupation

The GHS follows the Labour Force Survey practice of collecting data on occupation in terms of the 1980 Standard Industrial Classification (for example, LFS, 1985) as well as socio-economic grouping (SEG). They are summarised in Table 19. Due to the relatively small numbers, it was not possible to disaggregate the data by gender.

Table 19
Occupations by Standard Industrial Classification

	REPUBLIC IRISH N (%)	REPUBLIC BRITISH N (%)	NORTHERN IRISH N (%)	N IRISH BRITISH N (%)	BRITISH BRITISH N (%)	TOTAL N (%)
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	2 (0.8)	3 (0.8)	1 (0.9)	3 (1.9)	480 (3.0)	490 (2.9)
Energy & Water Supply	5 (2.0)	10 (2.6)	4 (3.7)	4 (2.5)	451 (2.8)	474 (2.8)
Mineral extraction	9 (3.6)	7 (1.8)	2 (1.9)	4 (2.5)	528 (3.3)	551 (3.3)
Metal Goods, Engineering & Vehicle Mfr	26 (10.3)	38 (9.8)	10 (9.3)	23 (14.4)	1774 (11.2)	1872 (11.2)
Other Manufacturing	17 (6.7)	38 (9.8)	12 (11.2)	12 (7.5)	1913 (12.0)	1993 (11.9)
Construction	36 (14.3)	24 (6.2)	7 (6.5)	19 (11.9)	1014 (6.4)	1101 (6.6)
Distribution, Hotels, Catering	53 (21.0)	93 (23.9)	24 (22.4)	33 (20.6)	3373 (21.3)	3581 (21.3)
Transport & Communications	16 (6.3)	28 (7.2)	6 (5.6)	12 (7.5)	858 (5.4)	920 (5.5)
Banking, Finance & Insurance	9 (3.6)	35 (9.0)	7 (6.5)	10 (6.3)	1133 (7.1)	1194 (7.1)
Other Services	79 (31.3)	112 (28.8)	32 (29.9)	40 (25.0)	4240 (26.7)	4504 (26.8)
Not Stated/ Outside UK/Other	0 (0.0)	1 (0.3)	2 (1.9)	0 (0.0)	111 (0.7)	114 (0.7)
TOTAL	252 (1.5)	389 (2.3)	107 (0.6)	160 (0.95)	15878 (94.6)	16786 (100.0)

(Chi-square = 106.65 with 40 d.f., p < .01)

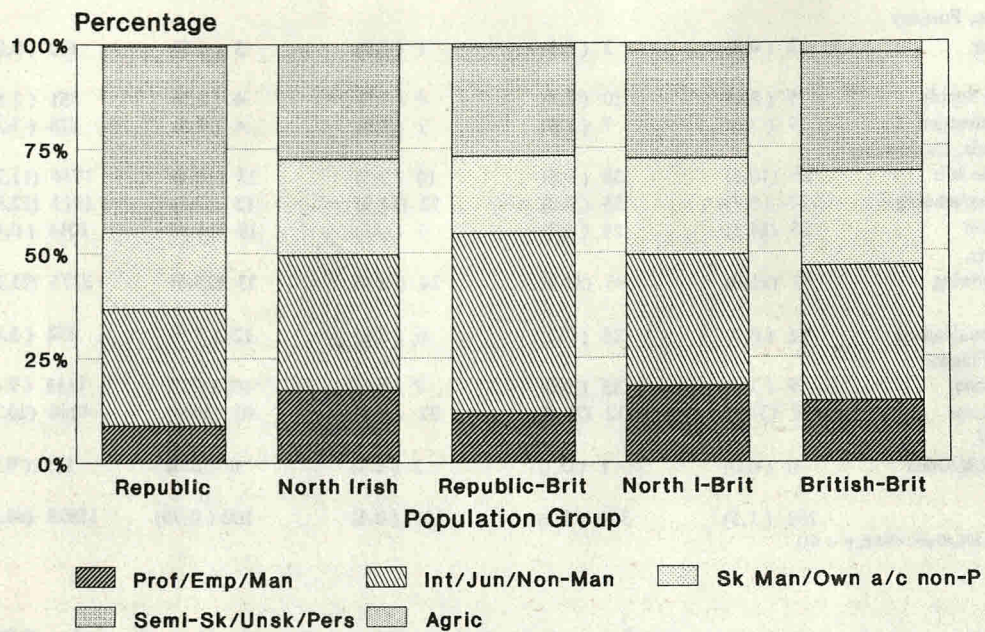
In accordance with the findings of the Labour Force Survey (for example, OPCS, 1985), the two industrial divisions accounting for the largest percentage of the working population were 'Other Services' (26.8 %) and 'Distribution' (21.3 %). The former category includes national and local government and the educational and health services. The wide range of possible occupations and SEGs taken in by these two classifications necessitates caution in interpreting the data. However, one or two clearly discernible tendencies emerge.

As might be expected (for example, Jackson 1963), the Republic Irish group is over-represented in the construction industry, where 14.3% of its employed members find their work, as opposed to 6.6% overall. Furthermore, they are significantly under-represented in the Banking, Finance, and Insurance sector (3.6% as opposed to 7.1% overall).

There have been changes over time, however. The Republic Irish working population is now less concentrated in the construction sector than it was at the time of Jackson's (1963) study, which was based on 1951 data, when 17.85% of Irish people were employed in building. Nevertheless, the move out of construction into other sectors of the economy is less than might be expected given the thirty years separating the two surveys, particularly given the contrasting conditions of the building industry in the two periods. In 1951 the industry was flourishing as a result of post-war reconstruction, whereas in the early 1980s it was severely curtailed by recession (Connor, 1987).

The Republic-British group is least likely to be found in general manufacturing industries and banking, finance and insurance (9% versus 7.1%). Given their urban concentration, this suggests a move away from the occupations in which their parents were traditionally involved, and as such reflects a wider structural tendency in the job market as a whole, away from

Figure 11
Socio-economic Group of Respondents



GHS 1984

manufacturing towards the service sector. Support for this contention is given in the discussion of Tables 20 and 21 below.

No clear pattern emerges for the Northern Irish group. They emerge close to the average for the sample as a whole. Surprisingly, given the industrial base of Northern Ireland, they are least likely to be found in the engineering and metal manufacturing areas.

The NI-British pattern suggests an occupational move in the opposite direction. Of the Irish groups they are the most likely to be found in manufacturing occupations.

Socio-economic Group

Table 20 and Figure 11 show the socio-economic group (SEG) of the respondents. This gives an indication of socio-economic status and position in addition to the sector of the economy in which respondents are located. The most striking feature of this table relates to the Republic-born Irish, who are very under-represented in the Professional, Employer and Managerial (PEM) SEG, somewhat under-represented in the Intermediate and Junior Non-Manual (IJNM) and the Skilled Manual and Own Account Non-Personal (SMOANP) SEGs, and correspondingly very over-represented in the Semi-Skilled, Unskilled Manual and Personal Service (SUMPS) SEG. The low proportion of Republic-born in PEM is reflected in the second generation Republic Irish, but this group is under-represented in SUMPS, with instead a large over-representation in IJNM. The Northern Irish, on the other hand, tend to be slightly over-represented in PEM, which increases for the British-born of Northern Irish parents.

Table 20
Socio-economic Group of Respondents

	PEM ¹ N (%)	IJNM ² N (%)	SMOANP ³ N (%)	SUMPS ⁴ N (%)	AGRIG N (%)	TOTAL N
Rep Irish	22 (8.8)	70 (27.8)	46 (18.3)	112 (44.5)	1 (0.4)	251
N Irish	18 (16.9)	34 (31.8)	24 (22.4)	29 (27.1)	0 (0.0)	105
Rep-British	45 (11.6)	166 (42.6)	71 (18.2)	101 (26.0)	3 (0.8)	386
NI-British	29 (18.2)	50 (31.2)	37 (23.1)	41 (25.6)	3 (1.9)	160
Br-British	2,283 (14.4)	5,076 (32.0)	3,506 (22.1)	4,473 (28.2)	413 (2.6)	15,751
TOTAL	2,397 (14.4)	5,396 (32.4)	3,684 (22.1)	4,756 (28.6)	420 (2.5)	16,653

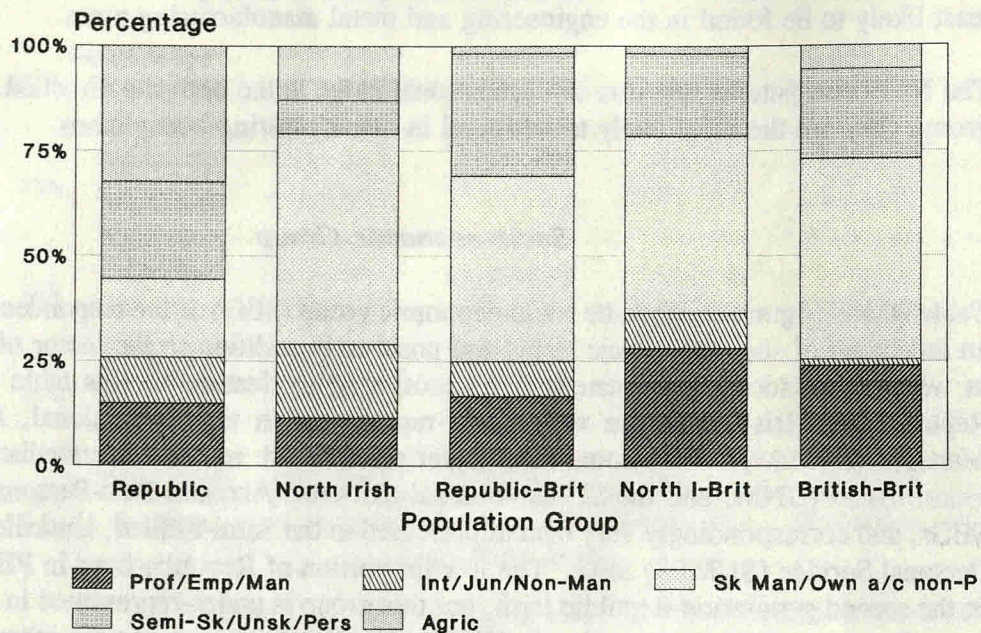
(Chi-square = 66.01 with 16 d.f., p < .01)

(1. Professional, Employer & Managerial; 2. Intermediate and Junior Non-Manual; 3. Skilled Manual and Own Account Non-Personal; 4. Semi-skilled, Unskilled Manual and Personal Service)

Intergenerational Mobility

An intergenerational aspect of socio-economic status is shown in the data in Table 21 and Figure 12. The most noticeable feature of this table is that both Irish-born populations have or had large proportions of agriculturally employed fathers, far in excess of those of the

Figure 12
Socio-economic Group of Father



GHS 1984

or had large proportions of agriculturally employed fathers, far in excess of those of the British-born populations. This is not surprising, since these first generation migrants came from an agriculturally oriented economy. What is interesting is that the information presented in Table 21 and Figure 12 makes it possible to establish whether or not there is any difference between the intergenerational mobilities of first- and second-generation migrants.

Table 21
Socio-economic Group of Father

	PEM ¹ N (%)	IJNM ² N (%)	SMOANP ³ N (%)	SUMPS ⁴ N (%)	AGRIG N (%)	TOTAL N
Rep Irish	16 (13.3)	12 (10.0)	20 (16.7)	25 (20.8)	35 (29.2)	108
N Irish	7 (10.3)	11 (16.2)	31 (45.6)	5 (7.3)	8 (11.8)	62
Rep-British	47 (15.9)	24 (8.1)	125 (42.4)	83 (28.2)	5 (1.7)	284
NI-British	30 (25.6)	9 (7.8)	45 (38.5)	21 (18.0)	2 (1.7)	107
Br-British	1,991 (20.7)	991 (1.3)	3,981 (41.4)	1,770 (18.4)	471 (4.9)	9,204
TOTAL	2,091 (21.4)	1,047 (10.7)	4,202 (43.0)	1,904 (19.5)	521 (5.3)	9,765

(Chi-square = 66.01 with 16 d.f., $p < .01$)

(1. Professional, Employer & Managerial; 2. Intermediate and Junior Non-Manual; 3. Skilled Manual and Own Account Non-Personal; 4. Semi-skilled, Unskilled Manual and Personal Service)

It is clear that first-generation migrants from the Republic show a dramatic move away from the dominating agricultural employment of their fathers, and that there is a similar though less pronounced shift for migrants from Northern Ireland. The British-British population shows a move in a similar direction but of a much smaller magnitude. Other intergenerational moves are more complex. Except for the first-generation Northern Irish, all groups show a marked generational shift away from PEM and towards IJNM. This latter shift is particularly large for second generation migrants, but also for the British-British population. There are corresponding large shifts out of SMOANP, with the exception of the first-generation Irish Republic migrants who show a small increase. All groups beside the second-generation Republic migrants display moves towards SUMPS, particularly the first-generation migrants from the Republic.

The effects of migration from Ireland to Britain upon Irish Republic people's intergenerational mobility seem to involve moves away from agriculture and PEM into all other SEGs, but particularly SUMPS. Northern Irish migrants also experience the move away from the land, but at the same time experience a polarisation into less skilled and professional SEGs. Second-generation migrants with Republic antecedents are clearly upwardly mobile into the IJNM SEG, but also downward from PEM, while those with Northern Irish fathers appear to experience downward mobility from the professional SEG to the intermediate, and from the skilled to the semi-skilled SEGs. There must also be some upward movement from the skilled to the intermediate SEG. Our overall conclusion from these figures is that there are no clear differences between first- and second-generation mobility, with the (expected) exception of the shift out of agriculture for first-generation migrants.

Summary of Socio-economic Circumstances

Migrants born in the Irish Republic are the most likely of the five groups to be living on a low income, without a car. They are also most likely to be in manual, less skilled occupations and to be unemployed. Reflecting their age structure, they are also most likely to be retired. In short, they are most likely to be living in socio-economic circumstances known to be associated with raised mortality and morbidity.

Migrants from Northern Ireland, by contrast, are least likely to own their own home, but most likely to be working and to be in professional and managerial occupations. This cluster of characteristics shed some doubt on the universal validity of employing housing tenure as a surrogate for socio-economic status. They are also least likely to be living in poverty, as reflected in the head of household's net weekly income.

The contrasting patterns of home ownership are similar between the first and second generations of both groups of Irish migrants.

Statistically, this group has the highest proportion of unemployed, over 65 and retired heads of households. Over one-third (38.8%) of the group in the GHS sample was in one of these categories as compared with 26.6% of the next highest group, the Northern Irish born. Correspondingly, the Republic Irish are most likely to have heads of household whose weekly income/earnings were less than £20 per week in 1986 and the lowest proportion of members in the high income/earnings group (£20+ per week).

In terms of occupation and socio-economic group, members of the Republic Irish group are more likely to be found working in the construction industry and least likely to be found in areas such as banking and financial services. Nearly one-half (44.3%) of the Republic Irish group in the GHS fall into the semi-skilled, unskilled manual, and personal service SOC. Taking this fact in combination with the distribution of Republic Irish people across the Standard Industrial Classification outlined in the GHS, it is clear that a disproportionate number of this group occupy low status, low income jobs within the population as a whole.

Northern Irish

The position of migrants born in Northern Ireland differs somewhat from those born in the Republic. They are younger than the Republic Irish group and older than the British-born, with most of the population (45.9%) aged 15-44. Just over a third of the Northern Irish born are to be found in the five major metropolitan areas. This figure is comparable with the distribution of British born people, just under a third of whom live in these areas, and contrasts with those born in the Republic of Ireland of whom over half live in the five areas.

Statistically, the Northern Irish seem to fare better than their Republic Irish counterparts. Although more likely to be living in rented, rather than owned, accommodation, they have a higher percentage of heads of household in employment (63.1%) than any other group and, perhaps, correspondingly lower percentages of unemployed (7.1%) and sick (1.8%) heads of household. Migrants from Northern Ireland have the lowest percentage of heads of household whose weekly income was less than £20.

4. Summary and Conclusions

Despite the noted shortcomings in the data sources, the social, economic and demographic account of Irish people outlined above gives cause for concern regarding the well-being of Irish people in Britain, specifically those born in the Republic of Ireland.

Republic Irish

Demographically, this particular sub-population has a greater proportion of ageing single (including widowed and divorced) people largely concentrated in the major metropolitan areas of Britain. Most of these people have been resident in Britain for more than 20 years and, given the large number of retired people amongst them (22.9%) would thus seem unlikely to return to their country of origin.

Economically, this group has the highest proportion of unemployed, sick and retired head of households. Over one-third (38%) of the group in the GHS sample was in one of these categories as compared with 26.6% of the next highest group, the Northern Irish born. Correspondingly, the Republic Irish are most likely to have heads of household whose weekly income/earnings were less than £50 per week in 1984 and the lowest proportion of members in the high income/earnings group (£200+ per week).

In terms of occupation and socio-economic group, members of the Republic Irish group are more likely to be found working in the construction industry and least likely to be found in areas such as banking and financial services. Nearly one-half (44.5%) of the Republic Irish group in the GHS fell into the semi-skilled, unskilled manual, and personal services SEG. Taking this fact in combination with the distribution of Republic Irish people across the Standard Industrial Classification utilised in the GHS, it is clear that a disproportionate number of this group occupy low status, low income jobs within the population as a whole.

Northern Irish

The position of migrants born in Northern Ireland differs somewhat from those born in the Republic. They are younger than the Republic Irish group and older than the British-born, with most of the population (45.9%) aged 16-44. Just over a third of the Northern Irish born are to be found in the five major metropolitan areas. This figure is comparable with the distribution of British born people, just under a third of whom live in these areas, and contrasts with those born in the Republic of Ireland of whom over half live in the five areas.

Economically, the Northern Irish seem to fare better than their Republic Irish counterparts. Although more likely to be living in rented, rather than owned, accommodation, they have a higher percentage of heads of household in employment (68.1%) than any other group and, perhaps, correspondingly lower percentages of unemployed (7.1%) and sick (1.8%) heads of household. Migrants from Northern Ireland have the lowest percentage of heads of household whose weekly income was less than £50.

In terms of occupation, the Northern Irish born differ very little from the British-born groups in the GHS. Northern Irish respondents appear, however, to be somewhat over-represented in the highest SEG, that of professionals, employers and managers, with nearly 17% in that category.

Republic-British and Northern Ireland-British

As might be expected from other work on migrants, the two second generation groups occupy positions on most measures that bring them closer to the norm for the native born population of Britain than their parents. In most cases there is a relative shift towards the average, although in some unusual cases, such as the over-representation of Northern Irish in the Professional Employer and Managerial socio-economic group, there is an amplification of initial difference across generations.

For a number of practical and theoretical reasons, however, the data presented here have to be interpreted cautiously in the case of the British-born people of Irish origin. The composition of the sub-groups does not permit any 'index of Irishness' to be computed (cf. Raftery et al, 1990). Inclusion in the second generation groups in the GHS sample was simply based solely on the presence of an Irish parent, male or female. The meaning and likely effects of ethnicity on socio-economic and demographic conditions under such circumstances is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain.

Irish Immigrants in the 1990s

As emphasised throughout the foregoing discussion, there are a number of important limitations on the data presented, not least of which is its age. Both the 1981 Census and the 1984 GHS provide a reflection of the Republic Irish population that corresponds with what have become known as 'discrimination models' of the Irish in Britain (Hazelkorn, 1990). The work of Castles et al (1984) and Connor's (1987) analysis of the London Irish are typically cited as showing Irish people as providing a cheap source of unskilled and unqualified labour for the British economy. The data presented in this paper, insofar as it relates to first generation Irish people from the Republic, is in accordance with such models.

Since the middle of the 1970s, however, it has been argued that this picture is changing for the better. During the early part of the last decade, new migrants from the Irish Republic were better qualified than their predecessors and more likely to find themselves better paid, higher status employment. Over 50% of those who migrated to England between 1980 and 1983 possessed A levels or higher qualifications and only 25% arrived with no qualifications at all (Hazelkorn, 1990). However, these figures should not give rise to optimism. These people arrived in England when migration to this country from the Irish Republic was at its lowest for 30 years and longer term analysis of emigration patterns suggests that the over-representation of highly qualified persons amongst new migrants from the Irish Republic was an historical exception rather than, as has been argued, the start of a new trend.

The number of people emigrating from Ireland in the period 1984 to 1988 was three times that arriving here between 1980 to 1983 and the proportion of 'highly qualified' (i.e., 'A'

levels or above) migrants had fallen to 26.2%, on a par with their representation in migrant numbers in the 1950s and 1960s (Hazelkorn, 1990). In fact, as King and Shuttleworth (1988) have shown, while overall emigration from Ireland underwent a 244% increase in the period 1984 to 1986, graduate emigration increased by only 57%. In 1984 the percentage of graduates emigrating corresponded approximately to the share of the Irish population having a university education. By 1986 this proportion had halved. Although absolute numbers may increase, the proportion of Irish migrants likely to enter the higher socio-economic groups remains unchanged.

Using Hazelkorn's (1990) study as a guide, it seems likely that there will be a repeat of the pattern of emigration of the Irish to Britain typical of the 1950s and 1960s. As the same author notes (1990, p. 30) 'the rise in unskilled Irish immigrants arriving in the UK is quite remarkable'.

The rise in migration from the Irish Republic to Britain during the past decade shows no sign of abating. Whether these new migrants will have to confront the same conditions of material disadvantage, whether they will stay, on average, as long, and whether they will suffer the same levels of physical and psychological distress as their predecessors (Pearson et al 1991) all remain open questions. The economic, cultural, social and personal complexities that surround migration are beyond the scope of the present work. One issue, however, that cannot be avoided is whether they and their needs and difficulties will be shrouded in the same cloak of invisibility as those of earlier generations of Irish migrants.

What is clear from the foregoing analysis is that migrants from the Irish Republic who were resident here during the first half of the last decade were socially and economically disadvantaged relative to the other groups in the 1984 GHS. If this sample of ageing people on below average income, concentrated in the urban areas of England, most of whom arrived here before and during the post-war boom in the British economy, is typical of the Republic Irish population as a whole (and there is no reason to suppose that it is not), then the future does not bode well for those migrants arriving today in the midst of economic recession.

This somewhat gloomy conclusion does not mean, however, that a negative outcome is inevitable. The present paper has pointed to the relative paucity of accurate and up-to-date information on the status of Irish migrants and their British-born children in this country. By extension, it points to a far greater awareness of both the needs and ethnic status of Irish people within the British community as a whole. While the data that do exist point to the severe distress suffered by this group, far more research is needed to examine its causes and to prevent its recurrence in the new generations of Irish people in Britain.

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