

**THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF
MIGRANTS, 1986-1996**

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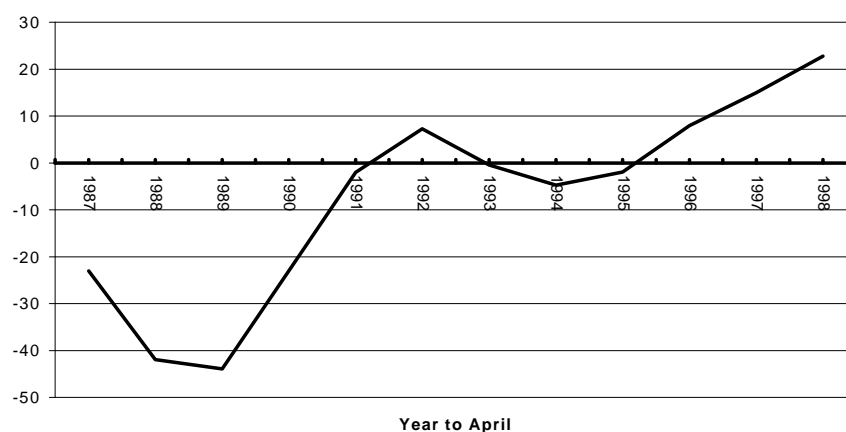
(read before the Society, 13 May 1999)

1. INTRODUCTION

Migration has long been a major feature of Irish demography. The most dramatic illustration of this is provided by the statistic that over two and a half million persons emigrated from the island of Ireland in the twenty-year period following the Famine of 1846/47 (see Statistical Table 26 of the report of the Commission on Emigration, 1948-1954). In the present century migration has also featured strongly, albeit at a less spectacular level. During the 1950s net emigration from the Republic of Ireland averaged over 40,000 per annum while in more recent times, in the latter half of the 1980s, the average net outflow was 27,000.

It is this recent period since 1986 that we turn to in the present paper. The period is particularly interesting from a migration perspective, given the volatility of the annual flows as illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Net Migration 1987-1998



Net outward migration, which was over 40,000 in each of the twelve-month periods to mid-April 1988 and 1989, declined to a level of just 2,000 by 1991. Following a four-year period when net migration fluctuated around zero the evidence for the period since 1995 points to increasing net inward migration.¹

In the paper we draw on the following data sources: the censuses of 1986, 1991 and 1996 and the annual *Labour Force Surveys* (LFSs) for 1987 to 1997. Data from the annual series of population and migration releases are also used. This series was introduced in 1994 and covers the period since 1986.

The paper commences with a consideration of some of the technical issues relating to the migration questions used in the above data sources. Section 3 deals with the stock of persons usually resident in this country who were either born abroad or who lived outside the country for a period of one year or more. The characteristics of the Irish-born and foreign-born persons who make up this group are compared with those of persons who never emigrated. To-date the only information published on the two categories of migrants is the basic demographic information published in the census reports. Section 4 examines the annual gross inflow data derivable from the censuses and labour force surveys while section 5 sets out the available information on the characteristics of the households from which persons have emigrated. The main findings of the paper are summarised in the final section and a number of topics for further study are suggested.

2. SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON MIGRANTS

Stocks and Flows from the Census

The following question on place of birth was asked in the 1986, 1991 and 1996 censuses:

<p>PLACE OF BIRTH</p> <p>If born in Ireland state the County</p> <p>If born elsewhere state the Country</p>

A question relating to persons who lived outside the country for a period of one year or more was introduced in the 1986 census and retained in the censuses of 1991 and 1996. These persons are termed long-term migrants, Irish-born and foreign-born, in the remainder of this paper.

The formulation of the question used was the following:

PREVIOUS RESIDENCE IN
ANOTHER COUNTRY

If the person lived outside Ireland
(Republic) for a period of one year or
more please indicate:

The year of taking up residence in Ireland (Republic)	Country of last previous residence
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The explanatory notes at the back of the census form further specified that the period of absence had to be a continuous one of twelve months or more and that persons who were brought to live here before their first birthday were also to be included. The more important results were published in the relevant census reports.²

The stock of Irish-born migrants covers those now living in the country who emigrated at some stage in the past, remained abroad for a continuous period of one year or more and subsequently returned to the country. It is not possible to determine from the responses when the person emigrated or whether the person had more than one experience of emigration.³

A question on usual residence at the time of the census and one year previously was also asked in the censuses of 1986, 1991 and 1996. This enables one-year inflow data to be derived for those usual residents who lived outside the state one year before the census. However, it is not possible to determine when exactly the relevant persons came to live here, (i.e. it could be anytime over the previous twelve months).

Stocks and Flows from the LFS

The LFS is a rich source of data on migration stocks and flows. In all surveys since the first one in 1975⁴ questions have been asked on:

- nationality; and
- country of residence one year before the survey.

Country of birth was first asked in the 1992 survey as was the year of taking up residence for people born outside Ireland.

A question on emigration with the following wording was introduced in the 1985 LFS:

Did any person who usually lived in the
--

household
EMIGRATE since
April 19xx

This version of the question was also used in the 1986 and 1987 surveys. However, as reported in Garvey and McGuire (1989), because of a perceived understatement of emigration the question was softened in 1988. The revised version which has remained unchanged up to the last annual LFS in 1997, was as follows:

Is there anyone who
usually lived in the
household in April
19xx who is now
living abroad.

The following information was collected on the individuals involved: sex, age group, country of destination and month of departure. Because the LFS is not able to capture complete households which have emigrated, the estimates of emigration derived from this source are an underestimate of the true level of emigration. The level of understatement was estimated as 25 percent on the basis of the 1986/1991 intercensal comparison. Subsequent annual estimates were adjusted for this understatement with the result that the discrepancy remaining after the 1991/1996 intercensal reconciliation was of a more modest nature, although there were some revisions to the estimated distributions by age.

Annual Population and Migration Release

As already mentioned an annual series of gross migration flow data from 1987 onwards was introduced in 1994. The estimates attempt to reconcile available data from a number of different sources. The main input into the annual migration estimates was the annual LFS which has now been replaced by the *Quarterly National Household Survey* (QNHS). The results of the continuous *Country of Residence Survey* (CRS) of passengers conducted at airports and seaports⁵ are also carefully monitored while administrative data sources such as the *Register of Electors* and *Child Benefit Scheme* are also consulted.

The published information analyses emigrants and immigrants by sex, age group and origin/destination. In addition immigrants are classified by nationality. While the structural information provided is fairly robust, the accuracy of the absolute levels of emigration and immigration for the period since 1996 should be treated with due caution as the data may be revised once the results of the 2001 census become available.⁶

3. THE STOCK OF LONG-TERM MIGRANTS

In this section of the paper we begin our analysis with a consideration of the stock of long term migrants. This stock consists of the two components:

- persons usually resident in this country who were born abroad⁷; and
- Irish-born persons who spent one year or more abroad and who have since returned to live in this country.

The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of these two population sub-groups are compared with those of usual residents who never emigrated⁸, termed non-migrants in the rest of the paper. The three categories together make up the usually resident population.⁹ The numbers involved are set out in Table 1.

Table 1: Long-Term Migrants and Non-Migrants, 1986, 1991 and 1996

Category	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 Long-term Migrants	384.8	10.9	397.7	11.4	463.1	12.9
Non-migrants	3,139.8	89.1	3,104.7	88.6	3,133.4	87.1
Total Usually Resident Population	3,524.6	100.0	3,502.4	100.0	3,596.5	100.0

Basic Demography of Long-term Migrants

There was a moderate decline between 1986 and 1991, followed by a resumption in 1996 in the upward movement in population which has been in evidence since 1961. Both categories of long-term migrants increased in absolute and percentage terms during the two intercensal periods under consideration.

The number of returned Irish-born migrants in the population increased from 172,000 in 1986 to 184,000 in 1991 – a period of relatively high emigration - and increased further to 211,000 by 1996. There were over a quarter of a million foreign-born persons resident in the country at the time of the last census, representing an average annual increase of 3.3 percent between 1991 and 1996. The number of foreign-born persons living in Ireland grew from 6 percent of the population in 1986 to 7 percent ten years later. In comparing the figures from one census to the next account has to be taken of the possibility that some long-term migrants present at the earlier census may have emigrated from the country again or may have died before the next census.

Females outnumbered males in each of the long-term migrant categories with the excess widening over time. The female excess is particularly pronounced for foreign-born persons coming to live here, that is 1,079 females per 1,000 males as against a ratio of 1,007 in 1996 for non-migrants. The high female ratio for returned Irish-born migrants in 1996 at 1,052 is particularly interesting given that 11 percent

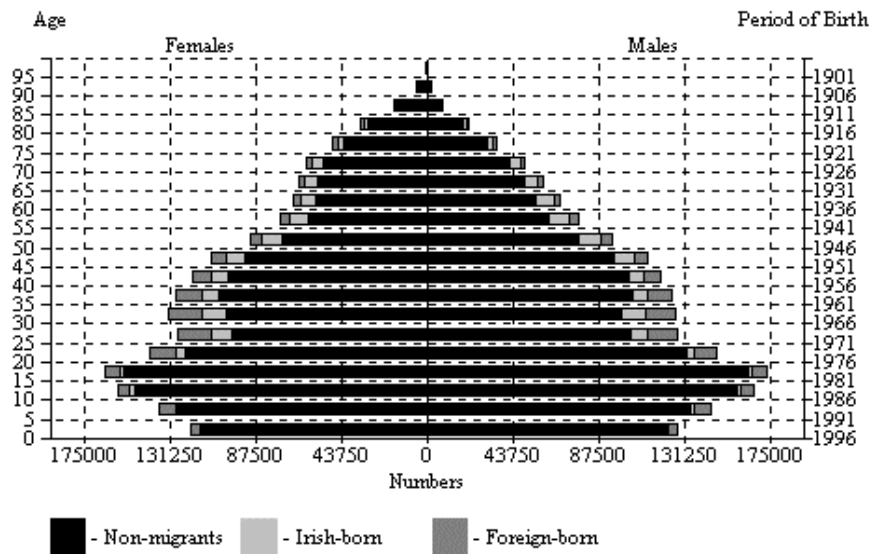
more males than females emigrated over the previous ten-year period. The figures indicate a greater propensity to return on the part of female migrants compared with their male counterparts.

Table 2: Number of Females per 1,000 Males, 1986, 1991 and 1996

Category	1986	1991	1996
Returned Irish-born Migrants	1,018	1,027	1,052
Foreign-born Usual Residents	1,060	1,077	1,079
Total Long-term Migrants	1,041	1,054	1,066
Non-migrants	996	1,006	1,007
Total Usually Resident Population	1,001	1,011	1,014

It is also instructive to look at the age distribution of the three sub-populations which are being studied in this section. This is done by charting the relevant data in a population pyramid. The stock situation according to the 1996 census is set out in Figure 2 with the relevant data reproduced in Appendix Table A1.

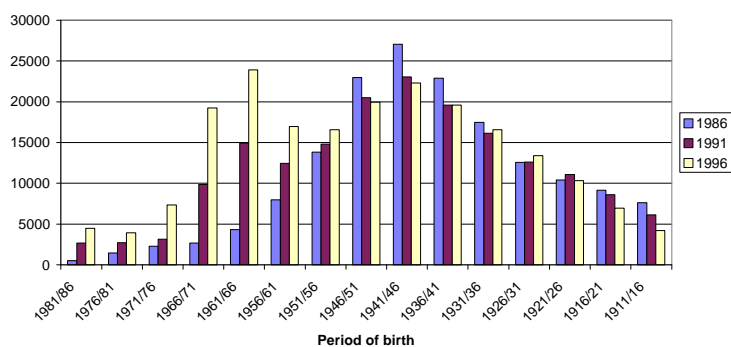
Figure 2 Population Pyramid for 1996



About one in five persons aged 25-34 years in 1996 was a long-term migrant, and of these 60 percent were foreign-born. One in eight persons in the pre-retirement age groups 50-64 years was an Irish-born person who spent at least a year outside the state. Most of these would more than likely have left the country during the 1950s when net emigration was running at 40,000 persons a year.

By examining the data for returned Irish-born emigrants by age group in each census we can get a picture of how emigration has impacted on particular birth cohorts, see Figure 3. By definition emigrants who are still abroad are excluded from the exercise although it is possible to analyse these from the census results of destination countries.¹⁰ There is clear evidence suggesting that significant numbers of the younger birth cohorts, especially those born between 1961 and 1971, have returned between the censuses of 1986 and 1996.¹¹ For the older birth cohorts, mortality clearly plays a major role in reducing cohort size from census to census. However, some re-emigration, albeit on a minor scale, cannot be ruled out.

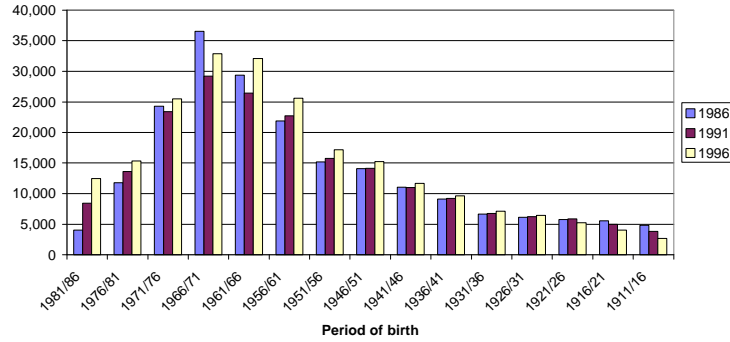
Figure 3 Irish born migrants by period of birth, 1986, 1991 and 1996



Looking at the cohort data for foreign-born persons at each census we can see a distinct pattern for those born between 1961 and 1971 and to a lesser extent those born in the succeeding five-year period, see Figure 4.

The evidence points to some of these persons emigrating between 1986 and 1991 and either returning again in the later intercensal period or being replaced by other foreign-born emigrants. When compared with the same Irish-born cohorts this would appear to indicate that some of those born abroad, including the children of Irish-born parents, who came to live in this country are more mobile from a migration perspective.

Figure 4 Foreign-born migrants by period of birth, 1986, 1991 and 1996



To assess the impact of long-term migration on family formation we examine in Table 3 those family units¹² in which at least one of the parents was a long-term migrant according to the 1996 census. The number of family units involved was 176,390 in 1996, representing 21.9 percent of the total number of family units in the State.

Table 3: Family Units in which at Least One of the Parents was a Long-Term Migrant, 1996

Family Cycle	Foreign Parents	No Foreign Children			Total
		No Foreign Children	Some Foreign Children	All Foreign Children	
Couple without Children	None	20,119	-	-	20,119
	One	23,508	-	-	23,508
	Both	6,118	-	-	6,118
	Total	49,745	-	-	49,745
Couple with Children	None	-	24,457	7,665	38,268
	One	-	46,942	5,239	57,381
	Both	-	4,751	1,977	10,393
	Total	-	76,150	14,881	106,042
Lone Parent with Children	None	-	4,953	1,897	10,953
	One	-	6,604	907	9,650
	Total	-	11,557	2,804	20,603
All Family Units	None	20,119	29,410	9,562	69,340
	One	23,508	53,546	6,146	90,539
	Both	6,118	4,751	1,977	16,511
	Total	49,745	87,707	17,685	176,390

Note: Foreign signifies foreign-born

Over two-thirds of 'migrant' families with children had no foreign-born children, 14 percent had some, while over one in six had children, all of whom were born abroad. There were nearly 50,000 'migrant' family units without children. About one in six of the 38,000 family units where both parents were Irish-born had all foreign-born children. Four out of five of the 57,000 families containing an Irish-born and a foreign-born parent had Irish-born children only. These unions could either have been formed abroad or in this country.

A similar analysis of 'migrant' families is presented in Appendix Table A4 for 1986. While the overall number of 'migrant' families is smaller than for 1996 there were more families where both spouses were Irish and at least one of the children was born abroad, 24,300 in 1986 compared with 13,811 in 1996. It would appear that by 1996 at least some of the foreign-born children may have moved out of the family home.

Geographic Characteristics

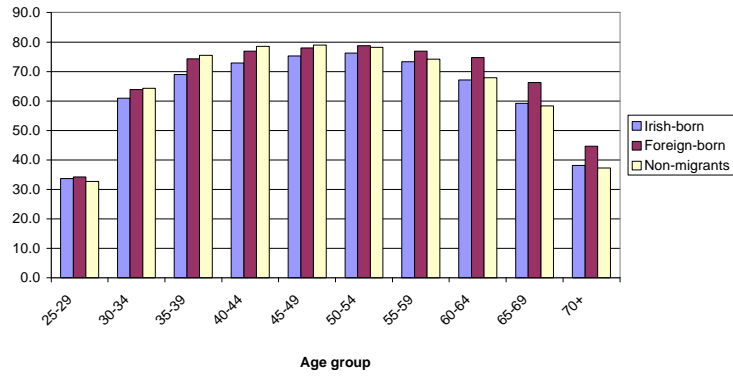
At the time of the 1986 census nearly four out of five long-term migrants resident in the country came from the UK. This proportion fell to just over 75 percent by 1991 and stabilised at that level for the most recent census. The share of the remaining EU countries increased over the same period from 4 percent in 1986 to 6 percent ten years later. The main constituents of the other EU figure are Germany (29.7 percent), France (18.6 percent), Netherlands (13.8 percent) and Spain (11 percent). The share of long-term migrants from the United States has been around 8 percent since 1986 while long-term migrants from the rest of the world now stand at just over 6 percent. The main components of the rest of the world figure are Australia (24 percent) and Canada (14.4 percent).

The counties most affected by long-term migrants are Donegal, Galway County Borough, Dún Laoghaire/Rathdown and Mayo. These counties dominated in each of the censuses of 1986, 1991 and 1996 while Offaly and Laoighis had the smallest shares. The detailed table for all counties for the three censuses is given in Appendix Table A5. More than one in five persons living in Donegal in 1996 lived outside the state for more than one year with three quarters of them coming from Britain.

Marriage and Separation

A greater percentage of returned Irish-born migrants are married than those born abroad as determined by the 1996 census, that is 58.9 percent and 51.7 percent respectively of the relevant sub-populations aged 15 years and over. Both rates are higher than for the population which never migrated, which is 48 percent. However, as the overall rates are affected by the different age structures of these population groups we examine the age specific rates to gain a fuller understanding. The situation is illustrated in Figure 5 for the population aged 25 years and over.¹³

Figure 5 Percentage married by age group, 1996

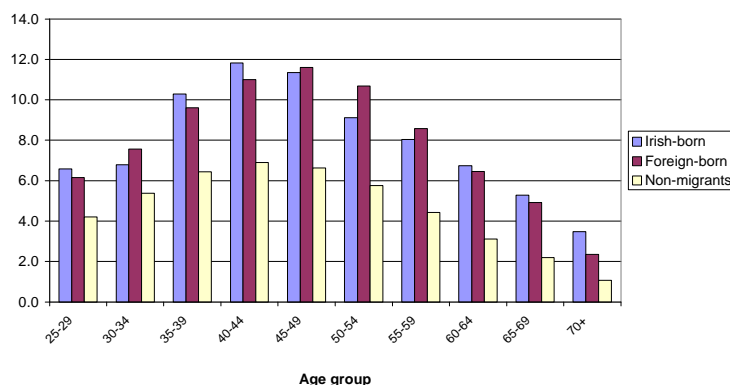


A greater proportion of the non-migrant population in the age groups 30-64 years were married than their Irish counterparts who spent at least a year abroad. The differences were greatest for persons aged 35-44 years. Foreign-born persons who came to live here also have a higher propensity to marry than Irish migrants at all age groups. The differences were greatest at older ages which may suggest that in the past marriage may have been a factor in foreign-born persons coming to live here.

Marriage breakdown¹⁴ is significantly higher for the migrant classes than it is for those who never emigrated. The rates are broadly similar for both Irish-born and foreign-born migrants, especially according to the most recent census at 8.1 and 8.3 percent respectively for Irish-born and foreign-born migrants compared with 4.8 percent for non-migrants in 1996. All three categories display the familiar pattern of female separation rates exceeding those of males and of an increasing trend over time. Indeed, migration may follow in the aftermath of marital breakdown in certain cases as individual partners look to start a new life. Appendix Table A6 contains the relevant data.

The age-specific data in Figure 6 reveals that the separation rates for migrants significantly exceed those for non-migrants for each age group with the differential between returned Irish migrants and foreign-born persons living here being fairly minor.

Figure 6 Percentage separated by age group, 1996



Socio-Economic Characteristics of Long-term Migrants

Turning to the highest level of education completed, a greater proportion of the Irish-born who spent a year or more outside the country were educated to third level than their counterparts who never migrated, see Table 4. The 1996 census indicated that 31.7 percent of Irish-born migrants completed post-secondary education as against 16.8 percent for non-migrants. Foreign-born migrants living here were better educated than the Irish who emigrated and returned.

Table 4: Long-term Migrants and Non-migrants Aged 15 Years and Over Who Have Left Education by Highest Level of Education Completed, 1996

Highest Level of Education	Irish-born	Foreign-born	Non-migrants
		Percentage	
Primary	28.3	12.8	31.4
Lower Secondary	15.2	22.0	21.4
Upper Secondary	24.8	30.5	30.4
Non-Degree	13.7	14.0	8.7
Degree or Higher	18.0	20.8	8.1
Total (excluding Not Stated)	100.0	100.0	100.0

The main factor accounting for the difference is the higher proportion of Irish-born migrants who were educated to primary level only, reflecting the high numbers who emigrated in earlier periods with far poorer educational attainment than the most recent emigrants who have gone and returned. Evidence for this is provided in Appendix Table A7 in which an analysis by broad age group is supplied. The table shows that nearly half of the returned migrants aged 55 years and over were educated

to primary level only while 46.4 percent of returned migrants aged 15-34 had a third level education.

Returned Irish-born male migrants had higher labour market participation rates than non-migrant males, see Table 5. However, they also had a higher chance of being unemployed. What is not clear from the census figures is whether the returned long-term migrants came back after losing a job abroad to be faced with unemployment here or whether having left a job abroad they found it difficult to get one in Ireland. We look to the LFS one-year inflow data later on in the paper to throw some light on this issue. Though not as marked as in the case of Irish-born migrants, the unemployment rate for foreign-born males also exceeded that of non-migrants while an excess was also recorded in their labour force participation in the last two censuses. Foreign-born females were more active in the labour force than those born in Ireland and of the latter group, those who spent at least a year abroad had higher rates than non-migrants. In terms of unemployment, foreign-born women had the highest rates.

Table 5: Labour Market Indicators for Long-term Migrants and Non-migrants Aged 15 Years and Over, 1986, 1991 and 1996

	Unemployment Rate			Labour Force Participation Rate		
	Irish-born	Foreign-born	Non-migrants	Irish-born	Foreign-born	Non-migrants
1986						
Males	24.8	23.3	18.8	79.0	70.4	73.9
Females	13.2	19.1	14.2	29.8	36.3	31.9
Total	21.6	21.8	17.4	54.1	52.6	52.7
1991						
Males	23.9	21.6	17.6	75.3	73.6	71.2
Females	15.2	17.5	13.6	38.9	42.0	34.9
Total	20.9	20.0	16.3	56.8	57.1	52.8
1996						
Males	20.1	19.2	15.9	73.0	76.3	70.0
Females	11.8	14.9	11.8	45.4	47.9	39.6
Total	16.8	17.4	14.4	58.9	61.4	54.6

Looking at the 1996 data classified by occupation group in Table 6 it can be seen that nearly one in five male migrants worked in professional, technical or health occupations.¹⁵ This represents more than twice the relevant proportion for the non-migrant population. Building and construction workers featured highly among returned Irish male migrants, that is 17.9 percent, while service type occupations were represented more among foreign-born migrants than among the two other categories. Female migrants, especially those Irish-born, tended to be predominantly

in professional, technical and health occupations while the Irish-born were under-represented in manufacturing and sales and commerce occupations.

Table 6: Long-term Migrants and Non-migrants Aged 15 Years and Over in the Labour Force by Occupation Group, 1996

Occupation Group	Males			Females		
	Irish-born	Foreign-born	Non-migrants	Irish-born	Foreign-born	Non-migrants
Farming, Fishing and Forestry Workers	7.6	4.4	15.1	1.7	1.8	2.5
Manufacturing Workers	14.6	17.9	20.4	4.8	8.2	9.8
Building and Construction Workers	17.9	11.5	10.7	0.6	0.7	0.5
Clerical, Managing and Government Workers	10.8	11.2	9.7	23.8	24.2	27.9
Communication and Transport Workers	7.2	7.0	9.0	1.1	1.2	1.2
Sales and Commerce Workers	10.9	11.6	11.6	11.8	14.3	16.0
Professional, Technical and Health Workers	19.2	19.0	8.9	37.8	26.7	20.1
Services' Workers	7.3	10.1	7.3	13.7	15.8	13.7
Other (incl. not stated)	4.5	7.3	7.2	4.8	7.0	8.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Because the same industrial classification was used to present the results of the 1986, 1991 and 1996 censuses it is possible to analyse the target sub-populations on a consistent basis over the period. Table 7 presents the average percentage distributions of persons in the labour force by industrial group, separately for males and females. The picture which emerges is very much in line with the analysis by occupation presented in Table 6 for 1996.

The male agricultural labour force is under-represented among the immigrant groups, especially the foreign-born, while this latter group has highest representation in manufacturing industry. The large share accounted for by the building industry for returned Irish-born migrants, which was already reflected in the occupational analysis for 1996, is again very much in evidence. Both categories of male migrants are likely to be represented to a greater extent in professional services than their non-migrant counterparts.

Nearly 45 percent of returned Irish-born female migrants are in professional service industries compared with just 28 percent for the non-migrant population. In contrast, manufacturing industry is relatively under-represented among returned female migrants.

Table 7: Long-term Migrants and Non-migrants Aged 15 Years and Over in the Labour Force by Industry Group (Average Percentage Distribution For 1986, 1991 and 1996)

Industry Group	Irish-born	Foreign-born	Non-migrant
Males			
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	9.8	5.6	17.9
Mining, quarrying and turf production	1.0	0.6	0.9
Manufacturing industries	19.1	24.1	21.5
Building and construction	14.2	8.7	8.5
Electricity, gas and water supply	7.1	4.7	5.0
Commerce, insurance, finance and business services	15.8	18.5	17.7
Transport, communication and storage	6.2	5.8	7.2
Public administration and defence	4.0	4.7	6.5
Professional services	14.8	13.3	7.6
Other industries (including not stated)	8.0	13.7	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Females			
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	2.2	2.1	3.3
Mining, quarrying and turf production	0.1	0.1	0.1
Manufacturing industries	11.8	17.6	18.2
Building and construction	0.6	0.8	0.7
Electricity, gas and water supply	0.5	0.5	0.7
Commerce, insurance, finance and business services	18.3	22.0	24.4
Transport, communication and storage	2.4	2.7	3.5
Public administration and defence	3.2	3.4	5.7
Professional services	44.6	30.0	27.7
Other industries (including not stated)	16.3	20.8	15.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

4. ONE-YEAR INFLOWS

This section of the paper deals with usual residents at the time of the census or survey whose usual residence one year previously was either in a different county in Ireland or outside the state. These two categories along with those whose usual residence one year previously was in the same county¹⁶ are separately distinguished in the first part of this section which relies on the censuses of 1986, 1991 and 1996.

Censuses of 1986, 1991 and 1996

Looking at internal migration in the year before each of the censuses it is possible to derive outflows from any county to the remaining counties on the basis of the corresponding information on inflows. Appendix Table A8 expresses inflows, and the resulting outflows and net flows as a percentage of the usually resident populations for each county. The relevant percentages are averages of the data from the three censuses.

While at the overall level 2.1 percent of usual residents move from county to county on an annual basis there are substantial variations in the county figures. Galway County Borough tops the list on all counts (inflows, outflows and net flows). An annual inward movement from elsewhere in Ireland equivalent to 6.7 percent of the population of Galway city was off-set by an outflow of 3.5 percent, resulting in a net inflow 3.3 percent. The counties which ranked highest in terms of inflows also featured prominently in terms of outflows. These included the county borough (or city) areas as well as the Dublin counties. Donegal and Monaghan were least affected by internal migration.

The age groups 15-29 for both males and females are the ones most affected by internal movements between counties within the state, see Table 8. These movements are, no doubt, driven by the take-up of third level places in education as well as labour market considerations. For inflows from abroad the age groups 20-34 years are the ones most affected.

Single persons are represented to a greater extent among the two migrant sub-populations while the proportion separated is also higher than for those who either did not move at all or moved only within their respective counties.

Females have a higher propensity to move within the state and immigrate from abroad as illustrated by the comparative age group information and the relevant sex ratios. While the ratio of 1,053 females per 1,000 males coming from abroad is in line with the data contained in Table 2 this is exceeded by the corresponding ratio for internal movements of 1,125.

Table 8: Non-migrants and One Year Inflows by Age Group, Marital Status and Sex (Average Percentage Distribution for 1986, 1991 and 1996)

Age Group	Same County	Different County	From Abroad	Same County	Different County	From Abroad
	Males			Females		
1-4	6.7	6.8	7.5	6.3	5.7	6.9
5-9	9.5	5.5	6.1	8.9	4.7	5.4
10-14	10.3	3.7	4.4	9.7	3.1	3.9
15-19	9.8	14.1	4.7	9.1	16.9	5.8
20-24	7.8	23.8	18.2	7.2	26.6	24.4
25-29	6.9	18.2	19.2	6.9	17.9	19.7
30-34	7.0	10.7	12.6	7.1	9.3	10.7
35-39	6.9	6.0	7.9	6.9	4.6	6.1
40-44	6.4	3.4	4.9	6.3	2.5	3.8
45-49	5.7	2.0	3.2	5.5	1.5	2.7
50-59	4.8	1.4	2.7	4.6	1.1	2.2
55-59	4.3	1.0	2.3	4.2	0.9	2.1
60-64	3.9	0.9	2.2	4.1	0.9	2.3
65-69	3.5	0.8	2.3	4.0	0.9	1.8
70+	6.6	1.8	1.7	9.2	3.4	2.3
Single	58.3	69.5	63.7	51.1	69.0	64.6
Married	38.2	27.0	31.7	38.2	25.8	29.3
Separated	1.3	2.7	3.8	2.0	2.3	3.7
Widowed	2.2	0.8	0.8	8.6	2.9	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Females per 1,000 males	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	1,007	1,125	1,053

From the data in Table 9 it is clear that internal migrants and one-year inflows from abroad accounted for a greater proportion of those who left education at older rather than younger ages. Because the persons covered in Table 9 had completed their education, it is most likely that the relevant migrations were job-related, although the possibility of moving residence on marriage should not be ruled out. Those who completed their education aged 20 years and over, which roughly corresponds to the population educated to third level, were the most mobile group from the point of view of migration within the State. They also had the highest proportion of persons coming from abroad.

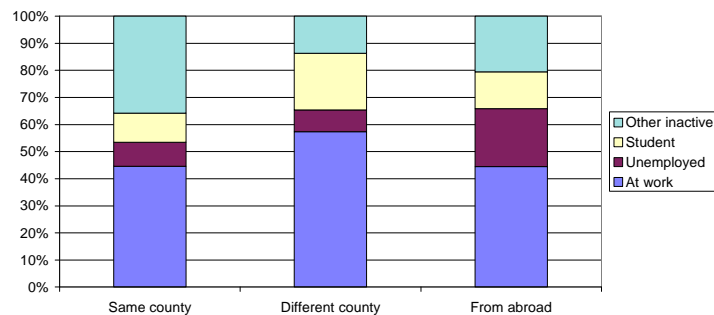
Table 9: One Year Inflows and Non-Migrants by Age Education Ceased

(Average Percentage Distribution for 1986, 1991 and 1996)

Age Education Ceased	Same County	Different County	From Abroad	Total
<15	99.1	0.6	0.3	100
15	98.2	1.1	0.6	100
16	97.8	1.3	0.8	100
17	96.5	2.6	0.9	100
18	96.2	2.8	1.0	100
19	94.6	4.0	1.4	100
20-24	91.3	6.1	2.6	100
25+	90.5	5.4	4.1	100
Not stated	95.9	2.8	1.3	100
Total	96.9	2.1	1.0	100

By examining the one year inflow data by principal economic status we can get some indication of the possible rationale for changing address in the previous twelve month period, see Figure 7. Over one in five of those who moved to a different county were students. It would appear that the take-up of third level places contributed in a major way to this movement. Nearly 60 percent of those who moved within the state were employed compared with a figure of 45 percent for those who did not move. A greater proportion of those who moved from abroad were unemployed than for either of the other two categories.

Figure 7 One year inflows and non-migrants by Principal Economic Status (average of 1986,1991 and 1996)



The industry sector with the greatest internal mobility over the three censuses was professional services, see Table 10. This is followed by public administration and defence, which was probably fuelled to some extent by the government's decentralisation policy, but depends to an extent on movements due to career mobility within local administration and the Gardaí. The industry sector with the least mobility was agriculture.

**Table 10: One Year Inflows and Non-Migrants by Industry Sector
(Average Percentage Distribution for 1986, 1991 and 1996)**

Industry Sector	Same County	Different County	From Abroad	Total
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	99.1	0.6	0.3	100.0
Mining, quarrying and turf production	98.5	0.9	0.6	100.0
Manufacturing industries	96.6	2.4	1.0	100.0
Building and construction	97.0	1.6	1.3	100.0
Electricity, gas and water supply	96.5	2.5	1.0	100.0
Commerce, insurance, finance and business services	95.4	3.4	1.2	100.0
Transport, communication and storage	96.6	2.5	1.0	100.0
Public administration and defence	95.0	4.4	0.6	100.0
Professional services	93.1	5.0	1.9	100.0
Other industries (including not stated)	94.0	3.7	2.3	100.0
Total	95.8	3.0	1.2	100.0

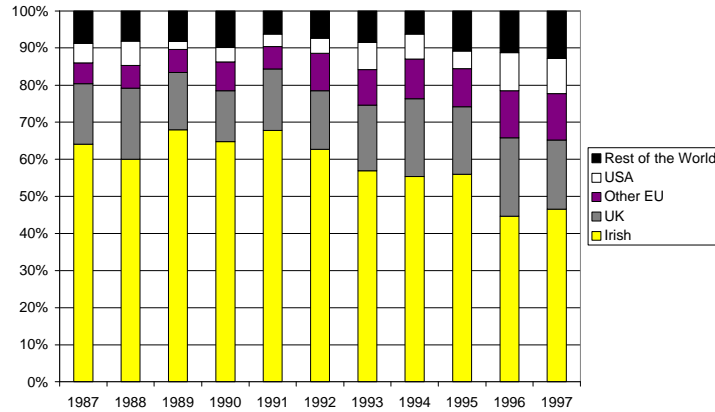
Labour Force Surveys

In the remainder of this section of the paper we concentrate exclusively on one-year inflows from abroad that is immigrants. The source of the data used is the Labour Force Surveys for the years 1986 to 1997 inclusive. To gain a deeper insight into the factors contributing to immigration we examine the principal economic status of immigrants at the time of survey and twelve months before it. First, however, we look at the nationality of those who came to live in this country since 1986.

The trend in the annual immigration flows by nationality as depicted in Figure 8 is an interesting one. The relevant data are given in Appendix Table A9. The picture shown is of Irish nationals accounting for a diminishing share of immigration. The Irish share was at its height in the late 1980s and early 1990s, coinciding with a downturn in the British economy, which obviously forced many Irish nationals back to this country for employment. The high emigration of the late 1980s provided a large pool of Irish emigrants abroad to fuel return migration.

UK nationals peaked at 21.2 percent of total immigration in 1996 while the other EU share has experienced a steady increase from 5.6 percent, at the beginning of the period under review, to 12.5 percent at the end. Immigrants of US nationality and those from the rest of the world are also on the increase and stood at 9.5 percent and 12.5 percent respectively in 1997.

Figure 8 Immigrants by nationality, 1987-1997



We next consider the responses to the questions on principal economic status at the time of the LFS and one year previously for those whose usual residence in the earlier period was outside the country. The relevant data are given in Appendix Table A10; the following table sets out the unemployment rates based on this data.

Table 11: Unemployment Rate of Immigrants Aged 15 Years and Over at the Time of the Survey and One Year Previously

Year	Now	One Year Ago	Now	One Year Ago
	Males		Females	
1987	37.4	20.9	31.9	16.4
1988	41.1	15.8	28.3	9.5
1989	37.6	10.5	28.6	8.8
1990	32.9	11.8	28.0	11.5
1991	43.2	11.5	30.7	10.2
1992	42.2	18.1	36.1	12.2
1993	41.0	13.0	35.2	10.5
1994	38.4	16.1	35.4	13.7
1995	29.6	15.4	24.4	11.3
1996	26.8	14.3	23.8	13.8
1997	26.8	13.0	23.7	8.7

A surprising feature of the data is the extent to which the unemployment rates for persons who immigrated in the twelve months before the survey far exceed the rates for the same persons one year earlier, when they lived outside the State. This relationship, which holds in the case of males and females for each of the years analysed above, was also observed by Garvey and McGuire for 1983 to 1986. Sexton *et al.* (1991) in their NESC report on the *Economic and Social Implications of Migration* also remarked on the high unemployment rate among immigrants over

the same period although they did not have comparative information for the immigrants prior to their arrival in this country.

It is noteworthy that the unemployment rate of the immigrants studied is over two and a half times what it was one year previously and is over twice the corresponding rate in the domestic labour market. The differential persisted over a period which embraced unfavourable as well as favourable labour market conditions.

One possible explanation is the fact that the question on principal economic status relates to two distinct time periods one year apart and takes no account of the possible changed circumstances of the person in between while still living abroad. For instance, it is entirely possible that a person may have been employed abroad twelve months before the date of the LFS but may have lost his or her job in the intervening period and then returned to Ireland. It appears implausible that a person would voluntarily cease employment abroad and come to Ireland to face unemployment unless the employment experience abroad was particularly unsatisfactory.

In order to shed some light on the situation we look at pooled data for 1987-1997 inclusive classified by Irish and foreign nationality¹⁷ using the following four-way typology of the labour force:

- At work now and at work last year (WW)
- At work now and unemployed last year (WU)
- Unemployed now and at work last year (UW)
- Unemployed now and unemployed last year (UU).

For the purposes of the present analysis we ignore those outside the labour force at the time of the survey or one year before it. An examination of the detailed data shows that most of the interactions involved are 'diagonal', that is students, home duties and retired one year before the survey classified to the same categories at the time of the survey.

Looking first at Irish nationals, that is returned migrants, who make up 70 percent of the pooled data, the analysis in Table 12 clearly reveals that the higher the level of education the greater the chance of returning to a job in Ireland. More than four out of five of those with a degree or higher worked in both periods while the proportion for the remaining persons educated to third level was close to three-quarters. A quarter of those educated to primary level only were unemployed in both periods while a further 39 percent returned to unemployment in this country having had a job abroad the previous year. The picture for foreign nationals is not too dissimilar.

Table 12: Immigrants Aged 15 Years and Over Who Were in the Labour Force Last Year and This Year by Nationality, Highest Level of Education and Status (Pooled Data for 1987-1997)

		UU	UW	WU	WW	Total
Irish	Primary	24.8	39.0	4.5	31.7	100.0
	Lower secondary	14.4	41.2	5.3	39.1	100.0
	Upper secondary	8.3	30.0	3.6	58.2	100.0
	Non-degree	4.8	17.3	5.0	73.0	100.0
	Degree or higher	2.5	13.7	3.0	80.8	100.0
Foreign	Primary	29.6	30.8	7.4	32.2	100.0
	Lower secondary	16.8	32.2	7.0	44.1	100.0
	Upper secondary	10.9	22.6	6.5	60.0	100.0
	Non-degree	6.2	23.7	5.6	64.5	100.0
	Degree or higher	3.5	11.4	2.2	82.8	100.0

Table 13: Immigrants Aged 15 Years and Over Who Were in the labour Force Last Year and This Year by Nationality, Socio-Economic Group and Status (Pooled Data for 1987-1997)

Socio-Economic Group	UU	UW	WU	WW	Total
Irish					
Farmers and farm workers	10.6	13.4	4.9	71.1	100.0
Professionals	2.2	14.2	3.3	80.4	100.0
Employers and managers	8.0	18.7	1.4	71.9	100.0
Salaried employees	3.7	16.3	3.7	76.3	100.0
Non-manual workers	9.3	30.0	5.4	55.3	100.0
Skilled and semi-skilled manual workers	12.5	34.7	5.0	47.7	100.0
Unskilled manual workers and unknown	28.2	51.0	4.1	16.7	100.0
Total	9.8	27.4	4.3	58.4	100.0
Foreign					
Farmers and farm workers	15.8	14.6	10.1	59.6	100.0
Professionals	4.0	15.2	3.0	77.7	100.0
Employers and managers	0.9	14.2	1.4	83.5	100.0
Salaried employees	5.5	8.7	0.0	85.8	100.0
Non-manual workers	9.5	26.5	7.9	56.1	100.0
Skilled and semi-skilled manual workers	15.5	26.1	6.6	51.8	100.0
Unskilled manual workers and unknown	49.9	32.4	2.1	15.5	100.0
Total	9.8	20.7	4.8	64.6	100.0

Looking at the analysis by socio-economic group in Table 13 we see that for both Irish and foreign nationals those in the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual groups ran the highest risk of being unemployed. A high proportion of Irish nationals in these groups, as well as non-manual workers, returned from being employed abroad to unemployment in Ireland.

Professionals and salaried employees on the other hand predominantly return to employment having been employed abroad. This finding is consistent with the proposition put forward by Sexton *et al.* (1991) that the migratory inflow may consist of two distinct groups – those with skills and qualifications who are readily employable and the unskilled who may experience difficulties in getting a job.

5. CHARACTERISTICS OF EMIGRANTS

In the penultimate section of the paper we turn our attention to emigrants. By definition, because emigrants have departed from Ireland it is not an easy matter to obtain information on them. We rely instead on the remaining persons in a household to supply a limited amount of information on the person who has emigrated.¹⁸ The information requested is sex, age group and country of destination. The relevant figures have been published on an annual basis and are reproduced in Appendix Tables A11 and A12 along with corresponding information for immigrants. We concentrate here on the characteristics of the households from which emigrants have departed.

In the case of four out of the seven socio-economic groups there is a remarkable similarity between the proportion of emigrant households and households in general, see Table 14. Households headed by professionals and employer/managers accounted for more than their due share of emigrants while those whose head was an unskilled manual worker were correspondingly under-represented.

Table 14: Proportion of Households From Which an Emigrant Departed in Previous Twelve Months by Socio-Economic group of Head of Household (Pooled Data 1987-1997)

Socio Economic Group of Head of Household	Emigrant Households	Total Households
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

The fact that the more affluent households tend to be the ones from which emigrants are most likely to depart is also borne out by the analysis of occupancy status of the household in Table 15. The category “*Owner occupied without mortgage*” accounts for a disproportionately high share of the households from which emigrants depart. There appears to be some trade-off between the categories “*Rented from Local Authority*” and “*Being acquired from a Local Authority*”. The low share of the rented sector amongst emigrant households may be due in some measure to the prevalence of one person households in this occupancy group and the difficulty cited above of accounting for emigrants from these households.

Table 15: Proportion of Households From Which an Emigrant Departed in Previous Twelve Months by Nature of Occupancy of Household (Pooled Data 1987-1997)

Occupancy Status	Emigrant Households	Total Households
Rented from Local Authority	6.7	8.8
Rented furnished or part-furnished	1.1	1.9
Other rented	4.7	7.3
Being acquired from Local Authority	6.5	4.7
Owner occupied with mortgage	32.6	33.6
Owner occupied without mortgage	46.5	41.3
Occupied rent free	0.8	1.2
Not stated	1.0	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0

The final variable tested for emigrant households is the type of household, that is in terms of numbers of persons and their age compositions. From the information provided in Table 16 it is clear that major differences exist in the distribution of household type for those from which emigrants departed and households in general. A greater proportion of emigrant households was in the larger categories. It seems entirely plausible that relatively few one person households would have contained someone who emigrated in the previous twelve months. Possibilities would be households comprising a lone parent with a child in the emigration age bracket or two unrelated persons sharing a household in which one decides to emigrate.

The category “*Two persons aged 15 years and over with one or more persons aged 0-14 years*”, which most likely corresponds to a family with young children, is also unlikely to have contained an emigrant during the twelve months before the survey. The three and four or more person households in which all persons are aged 15 years and over would include family households with older children who would be potential candidates for emigration.

Table 16: Proportion of Households From Which an Emigrant Departed in Previous Twelve Months by Type of Household (Pooled Data 1987-1997)

Type of Household	Emigrant Households	Total Households
One person	7.7	21.5
Two persons both aged 15 or over	19.4	21.6
One person aged 15 or over with one or more persons aged 0-14	2.9	2.2
Two persons aged 15 or over with one or more persons aged 0-14	6.4	22.9
Three persons aged 15 or over	18.3	8.5
Three persons aged 15 or over with one or more persons aged 0-14	9.9	6.7
Four or more persons aged 15 or over	19.9	8.7
Four or more persons aged 15 or over with one or more persons aged 0-14	15.6	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Note: The household typology used in the table relates to the time the survey was carried out, that is, after the emigrant has departed.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Main Findings

The paper examined the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of migrants based on the results of the censuses of 1986, 1991 and 1996 and the Labour Force Surveys for 1987 to 1997. The main findings are:

- The number of returned Irish-born migrants increased from 172,000 in 1986 to 211,000 in 1996 while over the same period foreign-born persons living in the state increased from 213,000 to 252,000.
- There were 1,079 foreign-born females per 1,000 foreign-born males resident in the state in 1996. There was also a greater propensity to return on the part of female migrants compared with their male counterparts, that is 1,052 females per 1,000 males.
- Four out of five of the 57,000 families containing an Irish-born and a foreign-born parent had Irish-born children only. These unions could either have been formed abroad or in this country.
- The counties most affected by long-term migrants are Donegal, Galway County Borough, Dún Laoghaire/Rathdown and Mayo. These counties dominated in each of the censuses of 1986, 1991 and 1996 while Offaly and Laoighis had the smallest shares.

- Marriage breakdown is significantly higher among long-term migrants, over 8 percent, than it is for those who never emigrated at 4.8 percent.
- A much higher proportion of returned migrants, both males and females, were in professional, technical and health occupations than for the population in general. Building and construction workers featured highly among returned male migrants, 17.9 percent compared with 10.7 percent for those who never emigrated.
- Females have a higher propensity to move from one county to another within the state than males, that is 1,125 females for every 1,000 males.
- The share of Irish nationals among immigrants decreased from nearly two thirds in 1987 to just under a half in 1997. Nearly one in five immigrants was a UK national in 1997 while nationals from the remainder of the EU accounted for just under 13 percent.
- Over the period 1987-1997 as a whole the unemployment rate among immigrants was over two and a half times what it was one year previously when they were abroad and over twice the corresponding rate in the domestic labour market.
- Looking at the labour market status of immigrants at the time of the labour force surveys and one year previously the paper revealed that more than four out of five of them who had a degree or higher level qualification worked in both periods. By way of contrast a quarter of those educated to primary level only were unemployed in both periods while a further 39 percent returned to unemployment in this country having had a job abroad the previous year.
- The more affluent households tend to be the ones from which emigrants are most likely to depart. Households headed by professionals and employers/managers accounted for more than their due share of emigrants while those whose head was an unskilled manual worker were correspondingly under-represented.
- In terms of the occupancy status of households, the category “*Owner occupied without mortgage*” accounted for a disproportionately high share of households from which emigrants departed.

Topics for Further Study

Migration will continue to be a major feature of Irish demography. However, with the success of the Irish economy over recent years the spotlight has turned away for

the time being from our traditional pre-occupation with emigration and switched instead to immigration. While emigration is likely to persist it will probably be outweighed by immigration and will differ in a number of important respects from past emigration. The most important distinction is the voluntary nature of emigration undertaken now compared with the economic necessity of emigration in former times.

The prospect of well-educated returned migrants with suitable skills acquired abroad is an appealing one. However, there is a limit to the pool of these Irish-born persons abroad. The results of the censuses to be carried out in various countries in 2000/2001 will enable us to study this pool.

The increasing trend for foreign-born persons, especially those from other member states of the EU, coming to live here will probably be maintained in the short-term. The 2001 census to be carried out in this country will be a valuable tool in tracking such changes.

The panel nature of the QNHS in which households are retained for five successive quarters will enable a better picture to be built up in due course of the characteristics of emigrants. By comparing usual residents from quarter to quarter it will be possible to isolate those who have emigrated thereby facilitating a more precise analysis of emigrants than has been possible up to now.

APPENDIX TABLES

Table A1: Long-Term Migrants by Sex and Age Group, 1996

Age Group	Irish-born	Foreign-born	Non-migrants	Total	Percent		Non-migrants	Total
					Males	Females		
0- 4	0.4	3.9	95.7	100.0	0.4	3.9	95.6	100.0
5- 9	0.9	6.1	93.0	100.0	0.9	6.1	93.0	100.0
10-14	1.3	3.9	94.8	100.0	1.4	3.8	94.8	100.0
15-19	1.1	4.4	94.5	100.0	1.2	4.7	94.1	100.0
20-24	2.1	8.0	89.9	100.0	3.0	9.6	87.5	100.0
25-29	6.4	12.4	81.2	100.0	8.6	13.3	78.1	100.0
30-34	9.2	12.0	78.8	100.0	9.3	12.9	77.8	100.0
35-39	6.6	9.8	83.5	100.0	6.7	10.3	82.9	100.0
40-44	6.7	7.0	86.3	100.0	7.2	7.3	85.5	100.0
45-49	8.7	6.6	84.7	100.0	9.1	7.0	83.8	100.0
50-54	12.1	5.9	82.0	100.0	12.0	6.7	81.2	100.0
55-59	13.5	6.2	80.4	100.0	12.3	6.5	81.2	100.0
60-64	12.8	5.1	82.0	100.0	11.5	5.3	83.2	100.0
65-69	11.5	5.2	83.3	100.0	9.9	5.1	85.0	100.0
70+	9.2	4.7	86.1	100.0	7.7	4.8	87.5	100.0
Total	5.8	6.8	87.4	100.0	6.0	7.2	86.8	100.0

Table A2: Long-Term Migrants Who Took up Residence Between 1991 and 1996 by Age Group in 1996

Age Group	Persons
0- 4	10,700
5- 9	11,535
10-14	6,970
15-19	4,978
20-24	12,510
25-29	23,926
30-34	23,322
35-39	13,194
40-44	7,454
45-49	5,203
50-54	3,886
55-59	3,392
60-64	3,192
65-69	2,963
70+	3,361
Total	136,586

Table A3: Long-Term Migrants Who Took up Residence Between 1986 and 1991 by Age Group in 1991

Age Group	Persons
0 - 4	8,521
5 - 9	7,106
10 - 14	4,759
15 - 19	3,872
20 - 24	13,617
25 - 29	18,608
30 - 34	11,969
35 - 39	7,427
40 - 44	4,928
45 - 49	3,415
50 - 54	2,650
55 - 59	2,482
60 - 64	2,717
65 - 69	2,829
70+	3,310
Total	98,210

Table A4: Family Units in Which at Least One of the Parents was a Long-term Migrant, 1986

Family Cycle	Foreign Parents	No Children	No Foreign Children	Some Foreign Children	All Foreign Children	Total
Couple without Children	None	10,762	-	-	-	10,762
	One	14,052	-	-	-	14,052
	Both	3,210	-	-	-	3,210
	Total	28,024	-	-	-	28,024
Couple with Children	None	-	20,833	15,007	9,293	45,133
	One	-	34,192	5,674	4,307	44,173
	Both	-	3,201	1,742	2,606	7,549
	Total	-	58,226	22,423	16,206	96,855
Lone Parent with Children	None	-	3,091	2,205	3,783	9,079
	One	-	3,945	548	1,271	5,764
	Total	-	7,036	2,753	5,054	14,843
All Family Units	None	10,762	23,924	17,212	13,076	64,974
	One	14,052	38,137	6,222	5,578	63,989
	Both	3,210	3,201	1,742	2,606	10,759
	Total	28,024	65,262	25,176	21,260	139,722

Note: Foreign signifies foreign-born

Table A5: Long-Term Migrants as a Percentage of the Usually Resident Population by County, 1986, 1991 and 1996

County or County Borough	1986	1991	1996
Carlow	8.3	8.2	9.3
Dublin Co. Borough	9.6	10.4	12.7
Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown	15.4	16.0	18.2
Fingal	11.3	11.0	12.3
South Dublin	9.6	9.3	10.2
Kildare	10.0	10.1	11.6
Kilkenny	8.6	8.9	11.4
Laoighis	6.8	7.1	8.6
Longford	11.0	9.8	11.6
Louth	11.2	10.4	13.2
Meath	10.7	9.9	11.4
Offaly	7.3	7.5	9.1
Westmeath	9.9	9.7	11.6
Wexford	8.9	9.3	10.8
Wicklow	12.8	12.8	14.3
Clare	12.4	12.7	14.7
Cork Co. Borough	9.0	9.9	11.1
Cork County	9.2	9.7	11.3
Kerry	12.5	12.8	14.8
Limerick Co. Borough	8.7	9.0	10.2
Limerick County	10.2	10.3	11.5
Tipperary, N.R.	7.7	8.1	9.8
Tipperary, S.R.	9.1	9.3	11.0
Waterford Co. Borough	8.8	9.8	10.9
Waterford County	10.4	10.6	12.2
Galway Co. Borough	15.8	17.0	19.0
Galway County	11.7	11.8	13.9
Leitrim	11.6	12.4	15.1
Mayo	15.1	14.8	16.7
Roscommon	11.3	10.8	13.1
Sligo	12.9	12.7	14.6
Cavan	10.0	9.8	11.7
Donegal	18.5	17.2	20.1
Monaghan	13.2	12.8	13.7
State	10.9	11.1	12.9

Table A6: Separated Persons as a Percentage of Ever-Married in 1986, 1991 and 1996

Year		Irish-Born Migrants	Foreign-Born Migrants	Non-Migrants
1986	Males	4.2	4.1	1.7
	Females	5.8	4.2	2.3
	Total	5.0	4.1	2.0
1991	Males	5.6	5.2	2.5
	Females	6.7	5.9	3.5
	Total	6.2	5.6	3.0
1996	Males	7.5	7.7	4.1
	Females	8.6	8.7	5.3
	Total	8.1	8.3	4.8

Table A7: Long-Term Migrants and Non-migrants by Highest Level of Education Completed, Age Group and Sex, 1996

Level	Irish-Born Migrants				Foreign-Born Migrants				Non-Migrants				
	15-34	35-54	55+	Total 15+	15-34	35-54	55+	Total 15+	15-34	35-54	55+	Total 15+	
Males	Primary	5.2	26.8	55.2	32.5	6.6	11.7	30.0	12.8	8.6	30.8	65.2	32.1
	Lower Secondary	22.2	16.4	9.1	15.0	25.5	21.3	12.5	21.6	30.3	23.6	9.9	22.3
	Upper Secondary	29.4	23.7	16.9	22.5	33.7	26.6	24.8	29.4	39.4	28.2	16.1	28.9
	Non-Degree	17.3	9.4	5.6	9.8	14.6	13.2	9.9	13.2	12.2	7.7	3.4	8.1
	Degree or Higher	25.9	23.6	13.2	20.2	19.6	27.2	22.9	23.0	9.5	9.8	5.4	8.5
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Females	Primary	3.3	20.1	43.9	24.2	5.2	11.7	31.7	12.7	7.1	27.3	59.4	30.6
	Lower Secondary	13.5	18.7	13.2	15.4	21.5	25.6	18.6	22.4	22.4	24.5	14.0	20.6
	Upper Secondary	34.0	28.0	21.1	27.1	36.2	28.0	26.7	31.4	43.9	31.9	18.9	31.8
	Non-Degree	24.9	16.4	13.0	17.4	16.7	14.0	11.6	14.7	15.1	8.3	4.4	9.3
	Degree or Higher	24.3	16.8	8.8	15.9	20.4	20.7	11.5	18.8	11.5	7.9	3.3	7.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Persons	Primary	4.2	23.4	49.6	28.3	5.9	11.7	30.9	12.8	7.9	29.1	62.1	31.4
	Lower Secondary	17.5	17.6	11.1	15.2	23.4	23.5	15.8	22.0	26.4	24.0	12.1	21.4
	Upper Secondary	31.9	25.9	19.0	24.8	35.0	27.3	25.8	30.5	41.6	30.0	17.6	30.4
	Non-Degree	21.4	12.9	9.3	13.7	15.7	13.6	10.8	14.0	13.6	8.0	3.9	8.7
	Degree or Higher	25.0	20.2	11.0	18.0	20.0	23.8	16.7	20.8	10.5	8.9	4.3	8.1
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: "Primary" includes "No formal education", "Total" excludes "Not stated".

**Table A8: Internal Flows as a Percentage of Usually Resident Population
(Average of 1986, 1991 and 1996)**

County	Inflows	Outflows	Net Flows
Carlow	2.1	2.1	-0.1
Dublin Co. Borough	3.1	3.0	0.0
Dublin Belgard	3.2	2.9	0.4
Dublin Fingal	3.5	2.5	1.0
Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown	3.0	2.7	0.3
Kildare	2.8	2.0	0.9
Kilkenny	1.4	1.7	-0.2
Laoighis	1.4	1.8	-0.4
Longford	1.2	1.9	-0.7
Louth	1.1	1.3	-0.2
Meath	2.0	1.8	0.2
Offaly	1.2	1.8	-0.6
Westmeath	2.0	2.2	-0.3
Wexford	0.9	1.4	-0.5
Wicklow	2.2	2.0	0.2
Clare	1.4	1.7	-0.4
Cork Co. Borough	2.8	2.9	-0.1
Cork County	1.4	1.5	-0.1
Kerry	1.0	1.4	-0.4
Limerick Co. Borough	3.6	3.4	0.2
Limerick County	2.7	2.4	0.4
Tipperary, N.R.	1.5	2.4	-1.0
Tipperary, S.R.	1.4	1.7	-0.3
Waterford Co. Borough	3.2	2.3	0.9
Waterford County	1.5	2.1	-0.6
Galway Co. Borough	6.7	3.5	3.3
Galway County	1.3	1.9	-0.7
Leitrim	1.1	1.9	-0.8
Mayo	0.9	1.6	-0.7
Roscommon	1.2	1.8	-0.6
Sligo	1.8	1.9	-0.1
Cavan	0.9	1.6	-0.6
Donegal	0.7	0.9	-0.1
Monaghan	0.8	1.2	-0.4
Total	2.1	2.1	0.0

Table A9: Percentage Distribution of Immigrants by Nationality, 1987-1997

Year to April	Irish	UK	Other EU	USA	Rest of the World	Total
1987	64.1	16.3	5.6	5.2	8.8	100.0
1988	60.1	19.1	6.1	6.6	8.1	100.0
1989	67.9	15.5	6.2	2.2	8.2	100.0
1990	64.7	13.8	7.7	3.9	9.9	100.0
1991	67.8	16.6	6.0	3.4	6.2	100.0
1992	62.7	15.8	10.1	4.1	7.3	100.0
1993	57.6	17.9	9.5	7.2	7.5	100.0
1994	55.8	20.9	11.0	6.6	5.6	100.0
1995	56.4	18.6	10.3	4.8	9.9	100.0
1996	45.2	21.2	12.8	10.2	10.7	100.0
1997	46.6	18.6	12.5	9.5	12.5	100.0

Table A10: Immigrants by PES and Sex at the Time of the Survey and One Year Previously, 1987-1997

Year	At the Time of the Survey			One year ago			
	At Work	Unemployed	Inactive	At Work	Unemployed	Inactive	
	Males 000s			Females 000s			
1987	At Work	2.5	0.3	0.3	1.7	0.1	0.7
	Unemployed	1.0	0.8	0.1	0.6	0.4	0.2
	Inactive	0.4	0.0	1.5	0.3	0.0	3.3
1988	At Work	3.0	0.4	0.3	2.0	0.2	0.4
	Unemployed	1.9	0.7	0.0	0.7	0.1	0.2
	Inactive	0.6	0.0	1.6	0.6	0.0	3.5
1989	At Work	4.4	0.1	0.6	3.0	0.2	1.0
	Unemployed	2.3	0.8	0.1	1.2	0.3	0.2
	Inactive	1.0	0.0	1.9	0.7	0.0	4.5
1990	At Work	6.6	0.7	0.6	3.3	0.3	0.9
	Unemployed	2.8	0.7	0.3	1.2	0.4	0.2
	Inactive	0.9	0.0	2.5	1.3	0.0	5.5
1991	At Work	6.2	0.2	0.4	4.6	0.2	0.7
	Unemployed	3.9	1.1	0.2	1.5	0.6	0.3
	Inactive	0.7	0.1	2.0	0.8	0.1	4.5
1992	At Work	6.5	0.4	0.6	3.4	0.3	1.3
	Unemployed	3.4	2.0	0.1	1.9	0.6	0.3
	Inactive	0.9	0.0	4.5	1.2	0.0	7.0
1993	At Work	5.4	0.2	0.5	3.1	0.2	1.0
	Unemployed	3.0	1.1	0.2	1.5	0.4	0.4
	Inactive	0.9	0.0	3.1	1.5	0.1	6.5
1994	At Work	4.1	0.3	0.9	2.7	0.2	1.0
	Unemployed	2.0	1.0	0.4	1.3	0.5	0.3
	Inactive	0.8	0.0	2.8	0.8	0.0	6.4
1995	At Work	4.9	0.6	0.7	3.7	0.3	1.1
	Unemployed	1.7	0.7	0.2	1.1	0.4	0.2
	Inactive	0.5	0.0	2.9	1.2	0.0	5.6
1996	At Work	6.5	0.6	0.9	3.7	0.2	1.9
	Unemployed	1.8	0.8	0.4	0.8	0.6	0.4
	Inactive	0.8	0.2	3.7	1.0	0.1	8.0
1997	At Work	7.5	0.5	1.0	4.6	0.3	1.8
	Unemployed	2.1	1.1	0.1	1.5	0.4	0.2
	Inactive	1.3	0.1	5.1	1.9	0.1	8.1

Table A11: Emigration and Immigration by Age Group, 1987-1997

Year	Emigrants						Immigrants						Net Migrants
	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	>= 65	Total	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	>= 65	Total	
Persons	Thousands												
1987	2.8	24.0	11.8	1.7	0.0	40.2	3.1	5.1	6.1	1.8	1.1	17.2	-23.0
1988	8.3	31.2	18.3	3.2	0.0	61.1	3.0	5.4	7.2	2.2	1.4	19.2	-41.9
1989	7.8	37.0	21.9	3.8	0.0	70.6	4.4	7.7	10.6	2.2	1.8	26.7	-43.9
1990	6.7	30.8	16.9	1.9	0.0	56.3	5.2	10.1	14.0	2.7	1.4	33.3	-22.9
1991	4.6	19.9	10.5	0.4	0.0	35.3	5.2	9.3	14.6	2.5	1.7	33.3	-2.0
1992	0.7	22.5	8.8	1.2	0.2	33.4	6.2	12.5	16.5	4.1	1.4	40.7	7.4
1993	1.1	23.6	9.1	1.2	0.2	35.1	5.6	10.3	14.5	3.6	0.8	34.7	-0.4
1994	1.4	24.6	8.2	0.6	0.0	34.8	4.4	9.7	12.1	3.1	0.9	30.1	-4.7
1995	1.2	22.6	8.5	0.8	0.0	33.1	5.3	8.0	14.6	2.6	0.7	31.2	-1.9
1996	0.9	21.4	8.1	0.7	0.0	31.2	6.6	10.9	16.9	3.6	1.2	39.2	8.0
1997	0.7	17.9	9.6	0.9	0.1	29.0	6.4	13.8	18.2	4.4	1.3	44.0	15.0
Males													
1987	1.4	12.3	6.9	1.0	0.0	21.6	1.3	1.9	3.4	1.0	0.5	8.1	-13.5
1988	4.3	17.0	11.0	1.6	0.0	34.0	1.5	2.4	4.0	1.1	0.9	10.0	-24.0
1989	4.1	19.2	13.7	2.2	0.0	39.2	2.3	3.7	5.8	0.8	1.0	13.6	-25.7
1990	3.6	14.3	9.7	1.0	0.0	28.6	2.7	4.7	8.0	1.5	0.8	17.8	-10.8
1991	2.3	9.5	5.8	0.1	0.0	17.6	2.7	4.5	8.0	1.4	0.9	17.6	-0.1
1992	0.3	10.8	5.8	0.5	0.0	17.3	3.4	6.0	9.3	2.4	0.8	21.8	4.4
1993	0.6	10.9	5.7	0.4	0.1	17.6	2.9	4.2	7.8	2.0	0.5	17.4	-0.2
1994	0.6	11.6	5.3	0.0	0.0	17.6	2.4	4.0	6.3	1.6	0.4	14.8	-2.7
1995	0.6	11.8	5.5	0.3	0.0	18.2	2.6	3.2	7.5	1.3	0.2	14.7	-3.4
1996	0.4	9.8	5.1	0.0	0.0	15.3	3.1	4.2	8.7	2.2	0.6	18.8	3.5
1997	0.4	8.2	5.5	0.5	0.1	14.7	2.9	5.9	9.6	2.4	0.8	21.6	6.9
Females													
1987	1.3	11.7	4.9	0.7	0.0	18.6	1.8	3.2	2.7	0.8	0.6	9.1	-9.5
1988	4.0	14.3	7.3	1.6	0.0	27.1	1.5	3.0	3.2	1.0	0.5	9.2	-17.9
1989	3.7	17.8	8.2	1.5	0.0	31.3	2.1	4.0	4.7	1.4	0.9	13.1	-18.2
1990	3.1	16.5	7.2	0.9	0.0	27.7	2.5	5.4	5.9	1.2	0.5	15.6	-12.1
1991	2.3	10.4	4.7	0.3	0.0	17.7	2.6	4.8	6.5	1.1	0.8	15.8	-1.9
1992	0.4	11.7	3.0	0.7	0.2	16.0	2.8	6.5	7.2	1.7	0.6	18.9	2.9
1993	0.5	12.7	3.4	0.8	0.1	17.5	2.6	6.0	6.6	1.6	0.4	17.3	-0.2
1994	0.7	13.0	2.9	0.6	0.0	17.3	2.0	5.7	5.8	1.4	0.4	15.3	-2.0
1995	0.6	10.8	2.9	0.5	0.0	14.9	2.7	4.8	7.1	1.3	0.5	16.5	1.6
1996	0.6	11.7	3.0	0.7	0.0	15.9	3.6	6.7	8.1	1.3	0.6	20.4	4.4
1997	0.3	9.6	4.1	0.3	0.0	14.3	3.5	7.8	8.6	2.0	0.5	22.4	8.0

Table A12: Emigration and Immigration by Destination/Origin, 1987-1997

Year	Emigrants					Immigrants					Net Migrants
	UK	Rest of EU	USA	Rest of World	Total	UK	Rest of EU	USA	Rest of World	Total	
Persons	Thousands										
1987	21.8	3.1	9.9	5.4	40.2	8.1	2.2	3.0	4.0	17.2	-23.0
1988	40.2	2.8	7.9	10.2	61.1	9.9	2.6	3.4	3.4	19.2	-41.9
1989	48.4	3.9	8.2	10.0	70.6	14.2	3.6	3.1	5.8	26.7	-43.9
1990	35.8	5.1	7.7	7.6	56.3	17.6	5.0	3.9	6.9	33.3	-22.9
1991	23.0	3.1	4.8	4.4	35.3	18.7	4.2	4.3	6.1	33.3	-2.0
1992	16.9	7.5	3.5	5.5	33.4	22.7	6.5	4.6	6.9	40.7	7.4
1993	16.4	7.3	5.6	5.8	35.1	17.5	6.6	5.0	5.7	34.7	-0.4
1994	14.8	5.5	9.6	4.9	34.8	15.2	5.8	4.3	4.8	30.1	-4.7
1995	13.3	5.1	8.2	6.6	33.1	15.6	6.3	3.8	5.5	31.2	-1.9
1996	14.1	5.1	5.2	6.8	31.2	17.6	7.2	6.4	8.0	39.2	8.0
1997	12.9	4.1	4.1	7.9	29.0	20.0	8.1	6.6	9.3	44.0	15.0
Males											
1987	13.1	1.2	4.8	2.6	21.6	4.1	1.0	1.2	1.8	8.1	-13.5
1988	23.5	1.5	3.8	5.3	34.0	5.4	1.2	1.7	1.6	10.0	-24.0
1989	28.5	1.7	4.3	4.7	39.2	7.4	1.4	1.6	3.2	13.6	-25.7
1990	18.7	2.2	4.1	3.6	28.6	9.9	2.2	2.0	3.6	17.8	-10.8
1991	12.2	1.4	2.3	1.8	17.6	10.6	1.9	2.2	2.9	17.6	-0.1
1992	9.4	3.5	2.0	2.4	17.3	13.0	3.4	2.1	3.4	21.8	4.4
1993	8.2	3.4	3.1	3.0	17.6	9.0	2.9	2.5	3.1	17.4	-0.2
1994	7.7	2.6	5.0	2.2	17.6	7.8	2.7	2.1	2.2	14.8	-2.7
1995	7.8	2.5	4.6	3.2	18.2	7.3	2.6	1.8	3.1	14.7	-3.4
1996	6.7	2.2	2.7	3.6	15.3	8.4	3.2	2.8	4.3	18.8	3.5
1997	6.4	1.9	2.5	3.8	14.7	10.2	3.9	2.7	4.8	21.6	6.9
Females											
1987	8.7	1.9	5.2	2.8	18.6	4.0	1.2	1.7	2.2	9.1	-9.5
1988	16.7	1.3	4.2	5.0	27.1	4.5	1.4	1.7	1.7	9.2	-17.9
1989	19.9	2.2	3.9	5.3	31.3	6.7	2.2	1.4	2.7	13.1	-18.2
1990	17.1	2.9	3.6	4.0	27.7	7.7	2.7	1.9	3.3	15.6	-12.1
1991	10.8	1.7	2.5	2.7	17.7	8.1	2.3	2.1	3.2	15.8	-1.9
1992	7.5	4.0	1.5	3.1	16.0	9.7	3.2	2.5	3.5	18.9	2.9
1993	8.2	3.9	2.5	2.9	17.5	8.4	3.8	2.5	2.6	17.3	-0.2
1994	7.1	2.9	4.6	2.7	17.3	7.4	3.1	2.2	2.6	15.3	-2.0
1995	5.4	2.6	3.6	3.4	14.9	8.2	3.7	2.1	2.5	16.5	1.6
1996	7.4	2.8	2.5	3.2	15.9	9.2	3.9	3.6	3.7	20.4	4.4
1997	6.4	2.2	1.6	4.1	14.3	9.8	4.2	3.9	4.5	22.4	8.0

Endnotes

1. While the figures for the annual flows in the two intercensal periods 1986-1991 and 1991-1996 are firm, the figures for the most recent years may be subject to revision once the results of the 2001 census become available.
2. The 1986 and 1991 data are provided in Volume 8 of the 1991 census report while the 1996 data are contained in Volume 4 of the 1996 census report.
3. Comparisons of the stock position between one census and the next, in respect of persons with the same characteristics, that is, sex, year of birth, year of taking up residence and country of last previous residence, will be distorted when long-term migrants from the earlier census re-emigrate before the later census.
4. Labour Force Surveys have been held in Ireland in 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981 and annually since 1983. The 1997 survey was the last annual survey. The LFS was replaced by the *Quarterly National Household Survey* (QNHS) in 1998.
5. For a comparison of CRS and LFS data for 1996 and 1997 see Eurostat (1998).
6. For a non-CSO perspective on the sources of official Irish migration statistics see Courtney (forthcoming).
7. In the census publications referred to in ,for 1986 and 1991, persons born outside the country who did not respond to the question on previous residence in another country were omitted from the relevant tables on long-term migration. They are included as long-term migrants in the present paper. The number of persons involved in 1996 was almost 60,000.
8. Strictly speaking, some of these persons may have emigrated for periods of less than one year.
9. Because of the *de-facto* count usual residents who were out of the country at the time of the census are excluded.
10. The authors along with their UK counterparts used Irish and UK migration and mortality data to track the situation of Irish born emigrants enumerated in the UK censuses of 1981 and 1991 (see Eurostat, 1998).
11. See Appendix Tables A2 and A3.
12. A family unit consists of a husband and wife or couple with or without never-married children as well as lone parents with never-married children.
13. The age groups 15-19 and 20-24 are omitted as the numbers involved are not significant.
14. Marriage breakdown is measured by expressing the number of separated persons as a percentage of the total ever-married.
15. Because the occupation classification used in the 1996 census differed from that used in previous censuses only 1996 data is examined here.
16. This category includes persons who moved within the same county in the past twelve months. However, as the emphasis in the remainder of this section is on inter-county movements and inflows from abroad they are combined with the population which did not move in the twelve months before the census or survey.
17. Country of birth was only introduced in the LFS in 1992.

18. As reported earlier in the paper, particular difficulties are faced when a complete household departs. This is probably more common in the case of one person households when the individuals involved are young and mobile. A correction is made to the overall estimates by age and sex to allow for this.

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DISCUSSION

Dr. Alan Barrett: I have been asked to propose the vote of thanks to the Mr. Punch and Ms. Finneran and I am happy to do so. The paper contains an enormous amount of information and to have such information gathered in this way will make it a very useful paper. The comments I have are not so much criticisms of the paper; instead, they relate to issues of structure and emphasis that are motivated more by my interests as an economist as opposed to any substantive disagreement with the authors.

In essence, the main additions that I would like to see are the development of hypotheses and interpretation. While the paper gives us many facts, we are largely left without the 'why?'. By this I mean that we are not generally given any reason as to how the aggregate patterns uncovered emerged from the decisions of individuals and families.

Underlying the figures presented are migratory processes that have been theorised about at length in the economics literature (for a review of economic literature on migration see Borjas, 1994). In their simplest form, theoretical models of migration see people comparing their lifetime incomes in their current location and alternative locations. Having adjusted these potential income flows to take account of the costs of migration, both monetary and psychic, individuals decide whether to move or stay. When one begins to think about which individuals are most likely to enjoy income gains and which individuals are likely to incur the largest costs of migration, it is possible to develop predictions as to who migrates. In addition, such thinking allows us to interpret the type of figures presented in this paper. Once we think in terms of the processes, not only is the paper supplemented, it is also altered in structure. Rather than being organised around data sources, it is organised around themes. In addition, greater attention is paid to different age groups of migrants as the processes are likely to have changed substantially over time. Finally, rather than looking at the figures in 1986, 1991 and 1996, contrasts across these periods should be considered. As the Irish economy has changed so much between 1986 and 1996, it is a strong possibility that the underlying migration process has changed.

Let me provide an example of how a thematic approach might alter the structure of the paper. In the earlier part of the paper, the authors present information on the countries from which migrants come. One notable point is that the number coming from Britain has fallen from around 80 percent in 1986 to 75 percent in 1996. Later in the paper we see that the proportion of Irish nationals in the inward flow has been falling in the 1990s (from 67.8 in 1991 to 46.6 in 1997) while the proportion of non-UK EU nationals has risen from 6 percent to 12.5 percent over the same period. Clearly, these points all relate to the growing importance of non-Irish immigration. This is a substantially more important point than others made in the paper but it is

not given sufficient 'billing'. It is clearly related to the changing fortunes of the Irish economy and should be placed in that context.

A similar point can be made with regard to the relative migratory propensities of men and women. When reading about long-term migrants in the earlier part of the paper, one sees that Irish-born women have a higher propensity to migrate back to Ireland than Irish-born men. I wondered if this was related to improved labour market opportunities for women in Ireland. However, later in the paper we see that women were more likely to move even within the state so my initial hypothesis would seem to be flawed. As a general point, this finding on female migration is extremely interesting. Mincer developed a theory in the 1970s which showed how women were more likely to be tied movers, in the sense of moving with a partner as long as the gain to him exceeded any loss to her (Mincer, 1978). The figures presented would appear to show more independent migratory behaviour on the part of Irish women.

The figures on marriage breakdown also lead one to hypothesise whether, looking at long-term migrants or one-year inflows, breakdown rates are higher than for non-movers. An immediate reaction would be that migration follows marriage breakdown and this is suggested by the authors. But might it be that an initial move for marriage purposes puts pressure on a marriage; for example, the strain of being far from one's family and close to the family of one's spouse may be destabilising for some. Equally, could it be that the psychic characteristics that lead people to migrate also make them less stable in marriage?

At this point I will return to more familiar ground for an economist. A particular interest of much migration research has been the labour market characteristics of migrants. A central question has been whether the better able or less able move? For the United States this has been an important question. It has been observed that most migration into the US is low skilled and this has had important implications. While an increased pool of cheap labour has helped to increase GNP, it has also led to increased labour market competition at the lower end of the market. This in turn has been advanced as an explanation for the reduction in real wages for the lowest paid Americans and the increase in earnings inequality.

In thinking about this for Ireland we need to think about two processes – the return migration process and the immigration process. As regards return migration, a number of theories have been advanced for why people go away and come back. In the case of Ireland, some may argue that it is simply a case that people go when there are no jobs and come back when there are. This is too simple a view however. We see in this paper that emigrants are more likely to come from more affluent households. This in turn would imply that they have higher educational levels and hence lower risks of unemployment. Hence, we need a more insightful answer to the 'why'.

One theory is that returners are failures and so come back. Another theory is that returners are successes; they make a sufficient amount of money that allows them to return home and to enjoy accumulated wealth at home. Yet another story sees returners as being people who go away to add to their stock of human capital and then return.

So what does the paper tell us about the labour market characteristics of returning migrants? We know from the paper that returning migrants are more highly educated than the population who never moved. However, the distribution of educational qualifications is highly differentiated across age groups for the group of returnees. This is no surprise given the differences in educational qualifications by emigrant cohort. What are perhaps more revealing are the numbers in the analysis of labour market status at the time of the survey and twelve months earlier. Those with lower levels of education are substantially more likely to be unemployed when back in Ireland while those with university education are more likely to have been employed both away and at home. Does this indicate that one group returns through failure while another group returns because of their success or because they were investing in human capital? I am not entirely sure but some commentary along these lines in the paper would enhance it enormously.

The higher educational levels of foreign-born immigrants are very interesting. As I noted earlier, the US has been concerned that migration is lowering the skill level of the workforce, increasing competition at the lower end and increasing earnings inequality. A first question for us is why are we attracting such a different group. Is it because Ireland is particularly attractive for higher earning people? Recent work that I have done with colleagues would suggest that this is so (Barrett, Callan and Nolan, 1999). Is it simply that more educated people have more information and they have been the first from their respective countries to come here? Is it the educated Irish bringing back equally educated partners? And what has been the effect in Ireland?

At this point, I would have to comment that the lack of a thematic structure leads to the non-reporting of some useful information. As the educational qualifications are so central to the impact that migration will have on the Irish economy and Irish society, it is surprising that more is not made of the educational and occupational information included in the *Labour Force Surveys*. This information is used in the context of unravelling the pattern of labour market status at the point of the survey and twelve months earlier. However, we are not given more simple tabulations on the educational and occupational distributions of returning migrants and immigrants. Elsewhere, a co-author and I have used the LFS of 1994 to 1996 for this purpose and some interesting results emerged, in particular the high qualifications of both groups relative to the resident populations (Barrett and Trace, 1998). An extension of our analysis back into the 1980s would have been interesting.

I mentioned at the outset of these remarks that thinking about the ‘why’ would lead us to think about the issues of migration in different ways, at different times. Let me illustrate this with some numbers from a recent paper of a colleague and mine (see Barrett and O’Connell, 1999). Where once migration was written about in terms of the misery it inflicted, the attitudes of third level graduates from the 1990s, who were also returning migrants, are quite different.

Table 1: How the Returning Graduates Felt When Originally Leaving Ireland

	Frequency	Percent
Very Upset-Sad	6	4.32
Upset-Sad But Not Badly	14	10.07
Not Too Bad	25	17.99
Looking Forward To Going	79	56.83
Delighted To Leave	15	10.79
Total	139	100

Source: Barrett and O’Connell (1999)

When asked how they felt about leaving they answered as shown in Table 1 above. From these figures it can be seen that migration for most of this group was not a source of misery. When combined with the changing national composition of the inflow, a picture emerges of an Irish migratory experience in the mid-1990s that differs from what has gone before. While this paper has not focused on this to the degree that an economist such as myself would have wished, it nonetheless achieves two important tasks. First, it provides much benchmark information against which future flows can be assessed. Second, it sets out the potential in using existing data sources to learn about this crucial aspect of Irish life.

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Mr. Damien Courtney: I am delighted to be associated with the vote of thanks to Aidan Punch and Catherine Finneran on their resourceful, innovative and timely paper. I have engaged in many interesting discussions with Aidan since he undertook his responsibilities in demography some years ago and value the professional relationship which I share both with him and Catherine, particularly as a member of the CSO’s *Population and Labour Force Projections Group*. They represent a select number of CSO statisticians who have worked in the area of population studies and shared with us their knowledge and experience of official demographic statistics through this forum provided by the *Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland*. I recall in particular papers on the *Census of Population* by T. P. Linehan (1992) and Donal Garvey (1983).

As a demographer I feel indebted to the Society for facilitating the presentation and publication of so many insightful population related papers in recent years, especially in the absence of a dedicated Irish demographic journal. During its one hundred and fifty-first session in 1997/1998 there were two such presentations, one on the *Northern Ireland Census of Population and Housing* (Caven *et al.*, 1998) and the other on *the Economic and Social Implications of Demographic Change in the Republic of Ireland* (Fahy and Fitz Gerald, 1998). Of course the ESRI and NESC have also contributed worthily.

The centrality of migration to any analysis of population and social change in Ireland is borne out by the profound influence which the balance between emigrants and immigrants has had on overall population movement for as long as data have been available both from the *Census of Population* and the *Vital Records of Births and Deaths*. The authors rightly identify in their paper the volatility of the period since 1986 when very high levels of net emigration comparable with those experienced during the 1950s have been succeeded by net immigration reminiscent of the historically significant 1970s. They cleverly employ their detailed knowledge and hands-on experience of CSO population and migration statistics to provide a demographic and socio-economic profile of Irish migrants since 1986 through the use of three successive five yearly Censuses of Population, annual Labour Force Surveys and the very welcome recently established series of *Population and Migration Releases*.

The paper provides a fascinating insight into the type of detailed and varied data about Irish migrants, which are now available through CSO sources, and the potential that exists for greater analysis and explanations using published and unpublished statistics. Data derived from censuses in different countries, which were the origin or destination of Irish migration, along with the output from Eurostat and

the Council of Europe are also worthy of examination. There are specific references in the paper to the significant publications by the *Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems (1948–1954)*, the *NESC Report (1991)* and Garvey and McGuire (1989).

Information on the stock of long term migrants reflects the use of relatively new questions from the Census, such as that on more than one year's residence abroad which was first asked in 1986, and the 1971 question comparing usual residence at the time of the Census with that one year previously which was later successfully transposed into the Labour Force Survey. It was the successful adaptation of the specific question on emigration in that survey which ultimately moved the process beyond the unsatisfactory unidimensional annual estimate of net migration along with that of the total population, onto what is now a comprehensive *Statistical Release* providing annually the estimate of population classified by sex, age group, marital status, regional authority area along with emigrant and immigrant flows by sex, age group, county of destination/origin, and the nationality of immigrants.

In the absence of more accurate migration statistics through, for example a *Population Register* – and I have often expounded on this topic (Courtney, 1994), the authors rightly indicate some of the methodological difficulties in interpreting dates and numbers of migrations by individuals classified as migrants especially over a long time period and where family migration is concerned. Likewise, they state that some of their 'non-migrants' may in fact have emigrated for periods of less than one year.

The 'de facto' nature of the Census excludes usual residents in Ireland from enumeration and causes further interpretation difficulties. Notwithstanding the complexities, including that of continuity, I believe that the adoption of a 'de jure' Census would facilitate more comparative migration and other types of population analysis between different countries, and in Ireland for example between the Census and the National Quarterly Household Survey which has replaced the Labour Force Survey. I agree that the National Quarterly Household Survey's use of a panel for five successive quarters will provide a more comprehensive understanding and should help to overcome some of the methodological problems referred to above.

I now propose to make some further short observations about some of the issues raised in this excellent paper. It is noteworthy that so many emigrants born during the 1960s returned to Ireland from 1986 to 1996 and that the greater number since 1991 is reflected in each age group, except for those aged 20-24 years in 1986. This is an example of the great detail provided in the many appendix tables and the value of the cohort analysis used.

The experience of migration is a very personal one yet it usually has many family consequences and is often undertaken as a member of a family group. The

information given on families and indeed households is of great value. The closeness of the Irish to migration is shown in the 176,390 family units in the 1996 Census when at least one of the parents was a long term migrant. That they represent almost 22 percent of all family units is worthy of more analysis. It is also of social significance that more than half of the higher number in 1996, compared with 1986, is accounted for by couples without children.

Changes in the categories of marital status used in the Census and Labour Force Surveys have confirmed the increasing incidence of marital breakdown in recent years. The application of this problem to migrants, insofar as it is much higher than for non-migrants and for each age group, should also be further researched.

In presenting a socio-economic profile of long term migrants, the authors also make good use of data on the level of education completed, occupational and industrial groupings. An intriguing question is the higher rate of unemployment experienced by Irish and foreign born migrants, both male and female by comparison with non-migrants and relative to their own situation one year previously. The risk of unemployment is greatest amongst groups of manual workers who have completed lower levels of education.

Data on households provides further evidence that the socio-economic profile of Irish migrants is changing, with more coming from higher status occupations, owner occupied households without mortgages and larger, probably family situations.

In conclusion may I say that I have greatly enjoyed this paper. It is a timely and relevant contribution to our knowledge of Irish migration and migrants, and will have confirmed for us the great store of data which is available on this subject at the CSO. I am sure that it will stimulate more research into what is an essential component in understanding contemporary Irish society. I am pleased to join with Dr. Alan Barrett in proposing the vote of thanks to Aidan Punch and Catherine Finneran.

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Mr. Aidan Meyler: In common with Dr. Barrett and Mr. Courtney I would also like to congratulate the speakers on collating, sorting and presenting such a mass of data in an extremely useful paper. Like Damien Courtney I was also struck by the high unemployment rate of immigrants illustrated in Table 11, which appears to be two or three times larger than the average unemployment rate. If I am interpreting the table correctly, I believe a large portion of this figure could be explained by job search activity. The table refers to people who have immigrated at some time over the last year. If their migrations were evenly distributed over the last year, then around one quarter would only have arrived in the three months prior to the survey, and may thus still be engaged in job search activities. Perhaps if we could see what their status is after two years, if we can get this from the new QNHS with its cohort tracking, then this would indicate whether job search helps explain the higher unemployment rate or if other factors are at work.

Professor John Fitz Gerald: This paper is of considerable importance as it contains much unpublished information on migrants into and out of Ireland. The previous valuable work in this area by Donal Garvey and Maurice McGuire in 1989 was not published in a widely accessible form, appearing as an ESRI seminar paper. It is to be welcomed that this paper will find a more permanent home in the Journal of this Society. The very interesting nature of the information in the paper provokes a number of supplementary questions:

Do we know anything about the education of the siblings of emigrants? This information might not tell us very much more about them than we can glean from the data on the social class of the head of household in the paper.

How many of the non-Irish born immigrants are partners or spouses of Irish born immigrants? What is their employment status?

Where are the recent immigrants, both Irish and non-Irish born, living? Has their housing status changed in recent times? Do we have any more information on their housing conditions such as rent payments etc.?

Do the authors have any ideas on why the information from the *Labour Force Survey* tends to overestimate emigration for the 1991-96 period while underestimating it in the earlier periods?

Mr. Gerry O'Hanlon I would like to join with the other speakers in congratulating Aidan and Catherine on the paper they have presented tonight. As a colleague who works closely with them I am fully aware of the considerable time and effort which went into its preparation.

At the outset I would also like to say that I am pleased that the issue of immigration, and immigration statistics in particular, is the focus of this lecture. As the responsible Director within the CSO, I have had to respond to criticisms, not least from the *National Statistics Board*, on the perceived absence of statistical data on immigrants. This paper clearly shows that this is not the case in that recent censuses and household surveys provide a rich source of relevant data. The CSO must of course accept some of the blame for not making users more aware of the data before now but equally users have also been slow to exploit the available data on their own initiative.

The issue of immigration will undoubtedly assume a greater importance for us in Ireland in the years ahead. In that regard it is perhaps useful to distinguish between short and long stay immigrants. We can get some indication of this by comparing the aggregate gross annual inflows, as in Table A11, with the change in migrant stocks in Table 1 between successive censuses. In the 1986 to 1991 period the stock change only represented around 10 percent of the aggregate inflow, suggesting that a high proportion of the immigrants may have been short stay, students for example. Between 1991 and 1996 the corresponding figure was over 37 percent. While care would need to be taken in interpreting these crude indicators, to take account of factors such as mortality and the compatibility of different sources, the higher implied 'retention' rate in the latter period is clearly consistent with the changed economic circumstances. In the current buoyant labour market situation we should expect the retention rate to increase even further and, with gross annual inflows of over 40,000, migrant stock levels could rise very rapidly over the next few years relative to the non-migrant population.

Thus a migrant population representing close to 20 percent of the population could be a reality within the next five to ten years. More importantly, it is likely that the non-Irish born component will rise at a faster rate than the Irish born and also be more varied than heretofore. Undoubtedly, as is the case in other countries, this will give rise to increased demands for more information on immigrants. Perhaps, fortuitously, we are about to test a question on ethnicity in an upcoming pilot test for the 2001 census. While this question is being included largely in response to

demands for better information on the *Irish Travelling* community, it does have the potential to provide very interesting data on non-Irish migrants.

Finally, I would warn that all data needs on groups such as migrants cannot be satisfied through the census or general surveys such as the LFS and QNHS. More targetted surveys may be required which can be enhanced by the availability of good quality reference data such as that presented to us tonight

Rev. John Brady SJ: I would like to make some observations on Tables 12 and 13 of the paper. These tables appear to indicate that as well as having an Irish born pool of long-term unemployed with low educational standards and a low level of skills, we have recently acquired an immigrant pool of long-term unemployed, also with low educational standards and a low level of skills. In particular the figures in Table 13 indicating that of the immigrant group defined as “*unskilled manual workers and unknown*”, 46.8 percent were unemployed both this year and last year, and a further 32.3 percent worked last year but are unemployed this year, are very striking. This situation of having a pool of immigrant labour with low educational standards and low skill levels from a social viewpoint is quite dangerous, indeed potentially explosive. Anyone with experience of meeting the Irish born long-term unemployed will have encountered rampant racial prejudice directed towards the immigrant long term unemployed in recent times.

We need to give more attention to providing jobs that persons with low educational standards and low skills can fill. It is not true that there are no jobs for the unskilled in Ireland. One only has to open the *Evening Herald* newspaper any day to see plenty of unskilled jobs advertised. These jobs are often not taken up for reasons that require investigation. In the difficult years of economic crisis in the 1980s many unskilled workers in the public service had their jobs abruptly terminated in the interests of the economy.

In recent years the economy has prospered and the fiscal position is very strong, but many of these jobs have not been restored. I feel strongly about this matter as I was almost killed last winter on account of it. While driving at very moderate speed along a road in County Meath, I ran into a very deep pool of water and lost all visibility and control of the car for several seconds. The next day there was a report of a similar event causing a fatal accident in a national newspaper. Such events occur because men with shovels are no longer employed to see that the drainage of surface water off our roads is kept working effectively. Even in Dublin city the road drainage system is not maintained to the standard it used to be when we were a poor country in the nineteen fifties, and heavy rain causes flood pools all over the city.

The existence of a large fiscal surplus makes it possible for us to take a decision to maintain the environment to a much higher standard than we currently do. This

would provide a variety of jobs for unskilled workers and be to the general public benefit.