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THE POPULATION STRUCTURE AND
LIVING CIRCUMSTANCES OF IRISH
TRAVELLERS: RESULTS FROM THE 1981
CENSUS OF TRAVELLER FAMILIES

DAVID B. ROTTMAN, A. DALE TUSSING,
and
MIRIAM M. WILEY

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
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GENERAL SUMMARY

The 1981 Census of Travelling People was carried out under the direction of the authors in response to a request from the Travelling People Review Body. The Review Body was created in 1981 by the Minister for Health and the Minister for the Environment. Its report was published in 1983.

This paper reports on that Census. Chapter 1 serves as a general introduction, discusses the origins of the Travellers, and reviews previous Censuses. Chapter 2 turns to presentation of the main Census findings, which describe the size and composition of the population of the Travellers, and household structure. Tentative conclusions are drawn about age at marriage, fertility and mortality. Chapter 3 examines the geographic distribution of Travellers by places of current and past residence, duration of residence, and patterns of migration. Chapter 4 discusses the living conditions experienced by Travellers, including type of housing and access to water, sanitary facilities, and electricity. Chapter 5 sets out the authors' conclusions and policy recommendations.

The Irish Travellers are almost certainly indigenous. They are a small, uniquely disadvantaged, minority itinerant subgroup, living on the periphery of Irish society. Recent economic and social change has tended to reduce the opportunity for Travellers to fill a valued role in Irish society; it has also tended to make urban rather than rural areas the locus of Traveller life. Individual Traveller families may, or may not, currently live an itinerant existence. The 1981 Census records a total population of 14,131 persons, of whom 5,946 were living along the roadside, in caravans, wagons, huts or tents. Most of the remainder lived in "standard housing", mainly local authority. Of the roadside Travellers, approximately one-fifth had lived on their present sites, and two-thirds in their present counties, for more than a year. While all Travellers have been on the road or descend from those who have, and thus share that tradition, it is not itinerancy *per se* that unifies them. Instead, they are a distinct subgroup who tend to marry and make strong friendships only amongst themselves. However, it is clear that the Traveller identity today embraces several lifestyles, a combination of choice and force of circumstances. Most data are reported

separately for roadside Travellers, those living on caravans or unauthorised and unserviced sites.

Censuses of the Irish Travelling People were carried out by the Garda Síochána in 1944, 1952 and 1956. The Commission on Itinerancy sponsored Censuses in 1960 and 1961, also carried out by the Gardai. Beginning in 1971, the Department of Local Government sponsored a series of annual Censuses, and the 1981 Census analysed here is a part of that series. The Review Body, however, wanted a more complete and consistently derived Census than had been previously available, and the 1981 Census was designed to serve that end. As in previous years, the responsibility for the actual collection of Census information rested with the local authorities. Therefore, the statistics reported here are derived from the reports compiled by 33 county councils and corporations.

The 1981 Census varied from previous practice in two important respects. First, it was carried out in the November to mid-December period, contrasting with the mid-October dates of other post-1970 Censuses. Second, Census guidelines of the Central Statistics Office were adhered to. This means that individuals or families were included only if they were actually found to be currently residing in the jurisdiction. In previous Censuses, Travellers not actually present at the time of the Census were apparently often counted. The 1981 Census presumably involves less double counting. It also omits all Travellers temporarily out of the country, e.g., staying in Northern Ireland or visiting relations in Britain. The 1981 results are, therefore, not directly comparable with results from previous years, and total numbers are believed to be somewhat lower than they would have been if the standard methods had been employed.

There are methodological problems underlying any study of Travelling people. One concerns the definition of the group's boundaries. Another concerns Irish Travellers resident outside the 26 counties of the Republic of Ireland. A third is the potential for inaccuracy introduced in a survey of a highly mobile, poorly educated population that is often suspicious of strangers. In spite of these problems, which are inherent to the subject matter, the present Census is believed to be the most comprehensive and reliable in recent years.

Population, Age Composition, and Family Structure

The 1981 Census enumerated 2,432 Traveller families and an estimated 14,821 persons. Information on family size was not collected for 149 families, mainly in Co. Dublin. The Census actually enumerated 13,982 persons; the remainder is an estimate based on the assumption that the 149 families for whom no size data were collected were of the same size as the average of other families. Of the 2,432 families and 14,821 persons, 1,132 families (46.5 per cent) with 5,946 members (42.1 per cent) lived along the roadside on unauthorised halting sites.

The population of Travellers is growing extremely rapidly, more than doubling

over the past two decades with an average annual growth rate of 6.7 per cent. Family numbers are growing nearly as rapidly as numbers of persons, but average family size is also growing. The age structure of Traveller families is radically different from that of the general population, with extremely large numbers of infants and children, and few older persons. This age structure is consistent with a high birth rate and a high infant and child death rate, and there is evidence of both. Roadside Travellers have an even more skewed age distribution.

Data collected on deaths seem unreliable, at least with respect to total numbers, but the information on age at death can be taken as indicative of certain patterns. Infant and child mortality among Travellers is extremely high; one-fourth of all reported Traveller deaths in the last three years has been of children aged under five years at death. From other research studies, we know that deaths among Travellers are five times more likely than those among the general population to result from accidental or violent causes and that the utilisation of ante-natal care is negligible, with severe consequences in the form of miscarriages, infant mortality and susceptibility to illnesses.

The family size varies from one to nineteen persons and averages 6.1 persons. Thirty-six per cent of Travellers for whom family size data are available lived in families of ten or more persons and among roadside Travellers the figure was 30 per cent. Though they are very much larger, in structure Traveller families resemble the conventional nuclear families of the settled community.

There are more marriages at every age among Travellers than is the case for the general population. Teenage marriages among Travellers are less common than previously reported, but are far more frequent than in the general population. By the age of 19, 21 per cent of male Travellers and 45 per cent of females were married; in the general population, only 2 per cent of males and 8 per cent of females were married by that age.

High rates of marriage, an average age at marriage for female Travellers that remains substantially below the national average, and fertility rates that are substantially higher than in the general population, together with the overall youthfulness of the Travellers as a group, all indicate that the number of Travellers and of Traveller families will continue to grow very rapidly indeed. The Travelling People Review Body has estimated that 500 children will be born to Traveller families each year. This is a minimum estimate.

Thus, we must reiterate in the 1980s the urgency expressed by the Commission on Itinerancy in the early 1960s. Demographic realities ensure that any delay in finding solutions will simply see the challenge increasing in size. Further, despite whatever progress has been made in the past 20 years, infant mortality and low life expectancies continue to set Travellers apart from the rest of the Irish population.

Location and Migration of Travelling People

The Travellers are said to have been "urbanised" in recent decades. This is true in a sense. Between 1961 and 1981, the proportion of Traveller families living in Co. Dublin rose from 4 per cent to 24 per cent. Travellers in Co. Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland live increasingly on the edges of urban regions. Their "urbanisation", however, is very different from the typical one. They live mainly on the outskirts of built-up areas, and in newly developed sectors of the urban fringe. There is no evident effect of this urbanisation on family size or other basic demographic patterns. It does, however, bring them into increasing conflict with the settled population, particularly in new working-class suburbs.

Family size among roadside and total Travellers varies from county to county. The variations do not seem to reflect extent of urbanisation, though average family size in Co. Dublin is less than the average of other areas.

Among Travellers living on the roadside in 1981, some 27 per cent lived in Co. Dublin and nine per cent in Co. Galway. If we add counties Tipperary, Meath, and Cork, we account for just over one-half of all roadside Travellers. In the State as a whole, 47 per cent of Travellers included in the Census were living in either standard housing or in "chalets". The vast majority of these lived in local authority housing. Of other Travellers, only 13 per cent lived on serviced sites, a statistic which helps explain the primitive living conditions of Travellers, discussed later. The per cent living in standard housing or chalets varies considerably from county to county. Only 16 per cent of Kildare Travellers were reported as settled in 1981, while at the other extreme, 83 per cent of Leitrim Travellers were settled.

The Census provides two types of information on Traveller mobility. It reports the counties in which Travellers lived one year prior to the Census, as well as their current counties of residence. Of such year-to-year inter-county moves, 80 to 90 per cent were by roadside Travellers. None the less, many "settled" Travellers had been mobile within the previous year.

The other type of information collected concerns how long (in months) Travellers have been on their present sites. These statistics show that the Travelling people really do deserve that name. Of roadside Travellers, nearly one-third had been at their present sites for less than a month; more than half had been there 2 months or less; and 80 per cent had been there a year or less. For settled Travellers, mobility is less but still high; almost a fourth had been at their current sites one year or less, at the time of the Census. There is a substantial population of Irish Travellers resident in Britain. These Travellers were not covered by the Census; others have estimated their numbers at 800 families and 5,200 persons.

There is a great concentration of surnames among the Travellers. Surnames can be used as a surrogate measure for kinship groups and kinship ties cannot

be ignored when making provisions for accommodation, whether in standard housing or on halting sites.

Living Conditions and Accommodation Preferences

Life is harsh for Travellers. Their average life expectancy appears to be substantially lower than for the rest of the population. In particular, there are very high infant and child mortality rates. No amount of romanticism about the freedom of the open road can gainsay the vital fact that Irish Travellers pay for their style of life and their low status in Irish society with levels of illness and deprivation long since thought intolerable in European society generally. The Traveller mother typically gives birth to and raises ten children, and must bear the added burden of high morbidity and mortality of these children.

Travellers not in standard housing are unlikely to have access to piped water, hot water taps, fixed baths or showers, toilet facilities, or electricity supplies. This important fact affects the quality of Traveller life in many ways. Travellers of all ages lack elemental privacy. There are regional variations in the availability of these facilities. The North-West and Southern Health Board areas generally do the best; the Eastern Health Board area generally does the worst.

Regional variation in these facilities concerns mainly settled Travellers. Virtually no Traveller Families living along the roadside, including those on authorised halting sites, have access to any of these facilities. The Census bears out statistically what any observer of Traveller living conditions can deduce, — that the circumstances of roadside Travellers are unacceptably primitive.

Most Travellers who live in these deplorable conditions along the roadside do not do so by choice. Roadside Travellers, even including those who previously lived in local authority housing, state a preference for standard housing, and half have at some time applied for local authority housing. The main reason for the persistence of these conditions is not the housing preferences of Travellers but the failure of local authorities to provide housing in the quantity and form needed.

Conclusions

The stated objective of public policy affecting Travellers is to provide standard housing for all families who desire such accommodation and adequately serviced halting sites for the remainder of Traveller families. The rate of family formation among Travellers is such that the need for housing, halting sites, and other services will grow very rapidly in the foreseeable future. The vast majority of Travellers currently living along the roadside and on serviced sites state a preference for some type of fixed housing. It is reasonable that the preferences of Travellers should be considered both in terms of the type of accommodation and the location of the houses and halting sites that are made available to them.

There seems to be no conflict between Travellers' wishes and stated official policy on these issues. Why, therefore, has the provision of accommodation been so inadequate as to leave more than a third of all Traveller families living along the roadside on unauthorised, unserviced sites?

The Irish Travellers are caught up in a vicious circle. The more squalid and unsanitary their living conditions, the more despised and outcast they become; the more unpopular they are the fewer services are provided to them by the community, and they are pressurised to move on. The fewer services that are provided the worse the living conditions become. The authors view the provision of adequate and acceptable accommodation as the critical factor in breaking the vicious circle. Present institutional arrangements for the provision of accommodation seem unlikely to achieve this breakthrough.

The system for providing accommodation for Travellers in 1981 can generally be described as one of local authority responsibility for the provision of accommodation, including responsibility to decide whether, where, and how to provide accommodation, with the central government's role essentially limited to indicative statements of goals, on the one hand, and the payment of subsidies toward the accommodation costs on the other. The undesirable feature of this system is the strong incentive to local governments to minimise the number of Travellers living within their jurisdictions. An effective way of doing this would be to limit the services provided to Travellers in the hope that they would move on.

Travellers are viewed as extremely undesirable neighbours by the community, who insist that the authorities restrict their movement into the area, and encourage their movement out. It is difficult for local authorities under such circumstances to provide Travellers with either adequately serviced halting sites or standard housing. Instead, the strong incentive is to provide no housing related services whatever.

In spite of this, there are counties such as Galway, Kerry and Wexford which provide standard housing for more than half of their substantial Traveller populations. At the other extreme is County Dublin, where approximately one-fourth of Travellers live, but only one-sixth of these families lived in standard housing in 1981.

The settled population's responsibilities to the Travellers imply reciprocal obligations Travellers bear to the communities in which they live. Here the issue of suitable and adequate accommodation for Travellers is crucial. The facilities offered to Travellers must be such as to permit a standard of living that will allow them to meet their responsibilities to their neighbours.

The legal obligations of local authorities with regard to accommodating Travellers is currently as stipulated in the Housing Act, 1966. Each authority is bound by the Act to (a) assess the adequacy and availability of housing; (b)

prepare a building programme, one of whose objectives is to provide accommodation for those unable to do so from their own resources; and (c) to prepare a scheme setting out priorities for allocation of housing. The scheme of priorities as envisaged in the Housing Act of 1966 would put most Travellers on top of the housing lists; however, in practice this rarely happens.

The authors endorse the idea of a national policy for the provision of standard housing and serviced sites for Travellers. The regional inequalities which are now evident in service provision can only be eliminated if area-based targets for housing and site provision are developed and monitored at the national level. The implementation of this policy should initially be undertaken through the local authority framework. Given the current policy of maintaining primary responsibility for these services within the local authorities, the tasks of developing and implementing area-based targets which are in line with national standards must be firmly based within a central government agency, if the influence of local interests which are antagonistic to the needs of Travellers is to be minimised and a further deterioration in their living conditions is to be avoided. A full-scale review of such a system should be undertaken within ten years. If it has not proved effective, national level provision should be substituted for the current arrangements.

The authors also recommend immediate attention to the health needs of Travellers including medical care, nutrition, water and sanitation, immunisation, and health education.

Finally, the authors recommend that the enumeration of Travellers undertaken by the Department of the Environment be periodically extended to replicate (and improve where possible) the methodology followed in the 1981 Census.

The central conclusion of this study is an inescapable one: the circumstances of the Irish Travelling people are intolerable. The clear implication is that the system and structure of responsibility existing at the time of the 1981 Census of Traveller Families failed to provide an acceptable solution to the problems experienced by the most under-privileged population group within Irish society. The solution lies in changing that system and structure. The authors firmly believe that the problems facing the Irish Travelling People are, unlike many of the problems society faces, solvable, given good and strong will. Remedies are at hand. They should be taken.

Chapter 1

THE 1981 CENSUS OF IRISH TRAVELLER FAMILIES: BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The Irish Travelling People, a small minority itinerant sub-group of apparently native Irish origins, are a uniquely disadvantaged group: impoverished, under-educated, often despised and ostracised, they live on the margins of Irish society. The purpose of this paper is to contribute to our understanding of the Travelling People in a very specialised way. The paper reports on a Census of Irish Traveller Families conducted under the supervision of the authors in November/December 1981. The result is the most comprehensive social and demographic portrait of the Travelling people since the Censuses of 1960 and 1961 which were undertaken at the request of the Commission on Itinerancy. In so far as information can elucidate policy needs, priorities and choices, the 1981 Census of Travellers offers the best resource at our disposal.

The provision of information for those purposes is the main objective of this paper. But information on its own is rarely of direct policy relevance. It needs to be placed within a context that makes raw data interpretable. This requires that we consider how recent economic and social changes in Ireland have affected the Travellers and how their present situation compares with that of the general population.

This chapter serves as a general introduction to the study. It discusses who the Travellers are; reviews previous censuses; sets out the background and nature of the 1981 Census; and makes some recommendations for future censuses. Obviously, a census of a highly mobile and marginal social group presents particular problems for data collection. The 1981 Census was designed to minimise, within constraints of cost and time, the potential for inaccuracies from such an exercise. Therefore, though much of this chapter will sound a note of caution about the use of the 1981 Census of Traveller Families, it is, in our opinion, more reliable than other enumerations. This confidence stems largely

from the fact that we are in a position to identify the problems that are present and to specify how they affected our findings.

Chapter 2 turns to the presentation of the main Census findings, which describe the size and composition of the population of the Travelling People. In overall terms, this involves numbers of persons by age, sex, and marital status. This chapter then turns to the structure of households: number of persons per household unit, kinship, and age distribution. The information is sufficient to allow us to discuss births, deaths, and marriages among families of Travellers. Tentative conclusions can be drawn from this about the crucial issues of age at marriage, fertility, and mortality.

Chapter 3 continues the presentation of Census data by examining the geographic distribution of Travellers by place of current and past residence, duration of residence, and patterns of migration. Here, the extraordinary changes of recent decades are particularly apparent, with the urbanisation of the Travellers, particularly to the Dublin area, marking a sharp departure from the patterns of many generations. We distinguish four main groups of Traveller families: (a) those living in standard housing accommodation, (b) those living in demountable "chalets", (c) those living on authorised, and usually serviced, halting sites, and (d) those living on the roadside.

Chapter 4 discusses the living conditions experienced by Travellers. Questions were included in the Census forms on the type of housing and also on access to basic necessities, such as water, sanitary facilities, and electricity. The results from those questions will be considered based on a comparison to the standards obtaining in Irish society generally.

Finally, Chapter 5 sets out the conclusions and recommendations we draw from our analysis.

Who are the Travelling People?

The Irish Travelling People are members of a social sub-group found in several countries, an outcast, essentially itinerant population living on the fringes of organised society.¹ They seem to be rather well differentiated from the rest of the Irish population though they share with the larger (or "settled") society nationality, race, language and religion.

Travelling people, unlike Gypsies found in many countries (almost never in Ireland), are almost certainly indigenous.² One cannot be certain about their

¹Gmelch (1977) cites as other examples the Woonwagonbewoners in the Netherlands, the Taters in Norway and the Tattare in Sweden, as well as the Gypsies in many countries.

²Gypsies are almost certainly of Indian origin, though the timing and circumstances of their dispersal remain obscure; Gypsy bands first reached Europe in the fifteenth century (see Clébert, 1961/67, pp. 17 and 23).

origins, but an informed view is that they descend from itinerant tradespeople — tinsmiths, pedlars, horse traders, migrant farm labourers — who in past times travelled established routes in rural areas in Ireland as in many European countries. The Irish Travellers, indeed, are most frequently called “tinkers” in the vernacular, though that expression apparently has come to be regarded as pejorative by many Travellers, and will not be used here. (The Travellers are also called “itinerants” but that term is used here as a generic one, including all such peoples, in all countries.)

Travelling People, as we will see, may or may not travel. Our 1981 Census records a total of population of 14,131 persons, of whom only 5,946 (42 per cent) lived along the roadside, in caravans, wagons, huts or tents. Most of the remainder lived in “standard housing”, either local authority or other. Of the roadside Travellers, approximately one-fourth had lived on their present sites, and two-thirds in their present counties, for more than a year. While all Travellers have been on the road or descend from those who have, and thus share that tradition, it is not itinerancy *per se* that unifies them. Instead, they are a separate sub-group in Ireland, who (with rare exceptions) marry and make strong friendships amongst themselves. Moreover, it is said (though we have no evidence to contribute on the point) that “settled Travellers” often take to the road again, or that, more commonly, their children do.

Irish Travellers are today an identifiable group within Irish society, but it is likely that the membership of this group was established over centuries rather than at any one period and by a diversity of causes which led families to take up an itinerant way of life (Gmelch and Gmelch, 1976; Gmelch, 1977; Kearns, 1977). “Initially, adaptation to an itinerant lifestyle molded a common identity. This was gradually reinforced by endogamy and physical isolation from settled Irish. Development of a unique argot, known as *Shelta* or *Gammon* and unintelligible to outsiders, furthered sub-cultural evolution” (Kearns, 1977, p. 539). The Irish Travellers are therefore a social group bounded by a distinctive subculture and kinship.

The Irish Travellers for some uncertain but lengthy period had adapted their way of life to rural Ireland, its economy and socio-economic hierarchy. The transformation of Irish society after World War II, and especially after 1960, first disrupted and then destroyed the social order to which the Travellers had adapted. That set in train the process by which Travellers became increasingly urban rather than rural dwellers, economically dependent rather than economically active and “settled” rather than nomadic.

Those changes represent what Kearns (1977, pp. 538-539) terms “the three transitional processes” that give rise to the concerns underlying this report, as well as the work of the Commission on Itinerancy (1963) and the Travelling People Review Body (1983): (1) rural to urban migration, (2) economic

adaptation to the urban milieu, and (3) nomadic to sedentary shift. Nostalgia for a happier, now lost era of *entente* between Travellers and the general population is not appropriate; indeed, the standard of living experienced by Travellers in the recent past was truly appalling, unacceptable by today's ideas on the minimum level of food, clothing, shelter and other essentials to which all citizens are entitled. But the "transitional processes" offer a basis for understanding the needs of Travellers generally and, equally importantly, differences among Travellers in terms of needs and preferences.

Gmelch (1977) and Kearns (1977; 1978) stress the degree to which Travellers were integrated within traditional rural Ireland. Their activities as traders and seasonal/occasional labour filled basic needs in the poorer agricultural areas, primarily in the Midlands and West. Traveller families had regular patterns of movement during the period from March to November, generally covering relatively little territory (usually two or three counties) and regular places of habitation during the rest of the year. It was the winter that primarily brought Travellers into the larger towns and cities seeking shelter.

The role played by the Travellers in rural life was both economic and social:

Tinkers traditionally enjoyed an association of mutual economic exchange with rural dwellers. Though tinsmithing was their primary occupation, most also traded horses, peddled wares, swept chimneys, and performed odd-jobs ... Exploiting mobility and resorting to a multiplicity of occupations Tinkers subsisted by finding and filling gaps in the system of economic supply and demand throughout the Irish countryside ... As purveyors of news and gossip among relatively static farm communities, Tinkers historically occupied an important social, as well as economic, niche in rural Ireland (Kearns, 1977, p. 539).

Much of the economic exchange was not for cash, but for food or material suitable for recycling, such as scrap metal (Gmelch, 1977).

Large-scale farm mechanisation was evident by the late 1940s; between 1946 and 1961, the size of the male agricultural work-force dwindled from 502,000 to 342,000. The decline was most marked among agricultural labourers, whose share of the national work-force fell from 14.1 per cent to 9.3 per cent in that 15-year period (Rottman and Hannan, 1982, pp. 40-46). Farm mechanisation greatly reduced the demand for all manual labour — seasonal as well as assisting relatives on farms. The market for farm animals similarly contracted.

By the mid-1960s, the living standards within Irish society were beginning to improve significantly and an expanding cash economy and mass produced consumer goods first narrowed and then largely eliminated the role of tradesmen. The mobility offered by motor vehicles and public transportation facilitated access to town and city retail outlets, and along with telephone and television, greatly

diminished the social as well as the economic niche once occupied by Travellers.

In the 1970s Irish Travellers became for the first time predominantly urban dwellers. This involved migration to the outskirts of cities, along the main access roads, and was a decisive break with previous patterns of migration and residence. This began the process, as yet uncompleted, of adaptation to the urban environment.

In general, it can be concluded that there was an inverse relationship between economic success since the 1940s and the viability of the Traveller life in rural areas. Where modernisation and prosperity have been most pronounced, the number of Traveller families has declined. This exodus was not always voluntary; legal sanctions since the late 1940s have assisted localities in "moving on" Travellers. This practice, however, was restricted in 1980 by a Supreme Court decision in which the Chief Justice reminded local authorities of their "statutory duty to look to the housing needs of those unable to provide for themselves" and therefore to "provide alternative accommodation that is adequate and suitable" (Irish Law Reports, 196-1980).

As Kearns (1977, p. 541) notes, Travellers must find an economic role among those activities which the "sedentary Irish are either unable or unwilling to undertake". This, in urban areas, has translated into scrap-metal collection, peddling, and odd-jobbing, activities that some families supplement by begging. Over recent decades Traveller families have increasingly become entitled to Welfare State provisions (particularly after the consolidation brought about by the Social Welfare Act, 1952). The most important of those provisions are Unemployment Assistance, Children's Allowances, and Medical Cards. Payments under Unemployment Assistance are pegged at a higher rate for urban residents than for those residing in rural areas. Though the payment differential is not great, it is perhaps a factor that contributed towards the urbanisation of the Travellers. Receipt of that payment itself argues for permanence of residence, due to regulations in relation to "signing on" and the practice of making payment to Travellers in a single designated half-hour which is observed nationally.³ The Health Act, 1970, which established the medical card scheme, similarly argued for more permanence of residence, particularly for families with young children, as not all medical practitioners may welcome Traveller patients, while some "specialise" in providing such a service.

Establishing a niche within the urban setting required substantial modification to traditional patterns of migration and way of life among the Travellers.

³The Commission on Itinerancy (1963, p. 75) prompted a relaxation of the requirement that "signing on" must be done at a particular labour exchange (see Review Body, 1983, p. 97).

Migration to cities has initiated the transition from nomadism to sedentarisation. Pressures towards settlement stem from two principal factors: first, attachment to a particular section of a city is economically advantageous since it ensures a regular income from scrap collecting, begging, peddling, and the dole; secondly educational benefits for children, which are of increasing importance, demand a degree of permanence (Kearns, 1977, pp. 543-544).

Such adaptations have differentiated the Travellers. The most obvious difference is between those families that have migrated to urban areas and those that remain in their traditional locales, following traditional patterns of annual migration and winter sheltering. But urbanisation also raised basic issues revolving around the future of the Travellers as a group. "Settlement" brings with it strong pressures toward assimilation with the general population, threatening, for some, the viability of the Traveller identity.

In practical terms, the different responses to economic and social change are most apparent in types of accommodation. The responses of Traveller families, however, would be filtered through the policies of the various local authorities, which determine the services available to Travellers.

Sholdice (1974) identified four subgroups of Traveller families based on accommodation needs/desires.

- (1) Those families that do not wish to exchange the Traveller way of life for that of the "settled" population and, consequently, their main housing need is properly serviced sites for caravans.
- (2) Families that wish to have the security and facilities that require a fixed place to live, but who are unwilling to give up living in a caravan.
- (3) Travelling families that wish to have permanent domiciles, and thus, leave the itinerant life-style, but who do not wish housing on local authority estates, preferring to live in groups among their own people.
- (4) Those Travellers who wish to adopt the standard living arrangements of the general population and thus to integrate with the settled community.

The first two groups are viewed as requiring serviced halting sites, with one needing alternative sites available along their traditional routes of travel and the second fewer but more substantial sites. Chalets (tiggins) or other pre-fabricated dwellings on specially built serviced sites were intended to serve the needs of the third group, while the fourth group was to be part of the programme of local authority housing. At present, most families within the first group and many in the second are living on unauthorised areas along the roadside, frequently on the main access routes to Dublin.

Initially, the four groups were seen as a way of assimilating the Travellers

within the mainstream of Irish society, fulfilling the commitment of the Commission on Itinerancy to a philosophy of "absorption" and integration (1963, p. 62) as a solution to the problems posed by the itinerant way of life. Academic commentators have also seen the groups as stages in a process. Kearns (1978, p. 29) posits a process of transition from nomadic to sedentary ways of life:

... the nomadic to sedentary process ordinarily follows either three or four well-defined stages: (I) unauthorised encampment; (II) encampment on an authorised site; (III) settlement on a *tigin* or chalet site; (IV) standard housing.

This basic typology of Traveller families is also evident in the Report of the Travelling People Review Body (1983, p. 33), though enthusiasm for the interim stage of chalets had by 1983 given way to a recommendation that such accommodation should no longer be offered (p. 43). The Review Body thus worked on the assumption that four "broad groupings" of families require consideration:

- (a) Families who wish to live in a standard house among settled people.
- (b) Families who wish to live in a house but situated among their own people, i.e., group housing.
- (c) Families who wish to remain living in a caravan in a place on which they are entitled to park, with the benefit of sanitary amenities.
- (d) Families who wish to continue travelling but who would avail of authorised serviced sites on which they can remain for as long as they wish (p. 33).

This leaves a residual category, not considered by the Review Body, of families who have aspirations which do not include access to either standard housing or the specially designated facilities outlined above. Further information is required on the size and preferences of this group.

The Review Body also largely disregarded differentiations on the basis of kinship group. Kinship ties are basic to the Traveller way of life, past and present (Walsh, 1971, p. 137 uses the term "tribe" in describing family groupings among Travellers). The extended family is perhaps the major point of identification for Travellers, enhanced by the frequency with which marriages are contracted from among close blood relatives (see, for example, Flynn, 1982, which indicates the kinship ties of spouses for Traveller families in central Co. Westmeath, and other general sources such as Crawford and Gmelch, 1974 or Gmelch and Langan, 1975). Gmelch and Gmelch (1976, p.226) report that the 1960 Census undertaken for the Commission on Itinerancy found that 40 per cent of the Travellers shared 10 surnames; those 10 surnames were shared by 44 per cent

of Travellers for whom information was available from the 1981 Census of Traveller Families. Those family groupings are concentrated geographically and are important for understanding patterns of marriage, migration, and the propensity of the children of Traveller families to seek various forms of accommodation when they themselves marry.

It should be noted that there is a body of research on Travelling People that disputes the applicability of rural to urban transitional processes (Okely, 1983; Sibley, 1981; 1985). Certainly there is clear evidence that Irish Travellers were residents of British cities in the late nineteenth century (see Sibley, 1981, pp. 81-82) and the Travelling People generally had adapted to urban life in western Europe and America in the last century. Groups such as the Irish Travellers have historically been characterised by varying propensities to migrate and varying degrees of adaptation to the urban economy. Okely and Sibley argue that such diversity both continues and is vital to the future of Travelling Peoples in contemporary society. This suggests that some of the assumptions underlying the "transitional processes" academic literature and the categories used by government bodies may be unfounded. The most important reinterpretations offered by Okely and Sibley are:

- (a) that an itinerant Travelling life-style remains culturally and economically viable, with modernisation in the form of motorised vehicles, if anything, enhancing that possibility (Okely, 1983, p. 145); and
- (b) that an urban-based Traveller identity is also both culturally and economically sustainable, so urbanisation should not be automatically equated with either the marginalisation or the assimilation of Travellers.

In Okely's and Sibley's interpretations, official programmes to assist Travellers are often counter-productive because they assume that neither the migratory nor urban alternative are viable for Travellers today. Okely, (1983, p. 64) asserts that "Travellers have traditions of flexibility and adaptation to changing economic circumstances, and they have been able to exploit new occupations when others have declined. ... Diversity and a multiplicity of occupations have been the Travellers' strength, often overlooked by government studies". To the extent that this is accurate, then efforts to limit Traveller mobility and to integrate Travellers into the mainstream economy are undesirable.

It is possible to accept the validity of the evidence provided by Okely and Sibley without fully endorsing their optimism that the adaptability of Travellers is undiminished by recent economic and social changes. Also, their argument refers to a sub-group of Travellers, those wishing to maintain a life-style that is based on traditional definitions of the Traveller identity. Other families may wish to remain Travellers while defining their identity in a way that allows them to benefit from the improvements experienced by the Irish population generally

in areas such as education. Still, the point remains that public policy on Travellers may be based on an inaccurate understanding of the way of life pursued by a significant number of Traveller families.

Having sketched the background to the current situation of Irish Travellers, and noted some reservations to that assessment, we turn to a review of the sources available to this study.

Information Sources

(a) Previous Censuses

Previous national Censuses of the Travelling People fall into three groups or classes. First, Censuses were carried out by the Garda Síochána in 1944, 1952, and 1956. Second, the Commission on Itinerancy, which assembled an enormous volume of quantitative and qualitative information about the Travelling People, sponsored Censuses in 1960 and 1961, which were also carried out by the Gardai. Third, beginning in 1971, the Department of Local Government began to conduct a series of annual Censuses. Indeed, the 1981 Census analysed in this paper is part of that series. The National Council for Travelling People, a voluntary organisation, had by 1973 assumed the main burden of data compilation.

For these annual Censuses, from 1971 through 1980, each local authority reported for Travellers living within their jurisdiction the number of families, their accommodation, and for those living on the roadside, the number of children residing with the family, the length of the family's stay at their present location, and the type and location of accommodation the family preferred. The method of actually collecting the information was determined by each authority. Health Board social workers, sanitation engineers, local authority administrators, and Gardai, or some combination of these, were involved. The National Council for Travelling People compiled the returns from counties and county boroughs into national totals. Some authorities, in particular County Cork, County Dublin and Dublin County Borough (the last two co-ordinating their efforts), adopted their own census forms and procedures.

The national censuses have been supplemented by a special 1977 Census in Co. Dublin, which in addition to the usual information, sought to collect data on age, sex, and occupation of all members of each family. These data were further compiled and analysed by Dempsey and Geary (1979) who also made some comparisons between the circumstances of Travellers in 1960/61 and 1977.

(b) The 1981 Census of Traveller Families

In 1981, the Travelling People Review Body was established jointly by the Minister for the Environment and the Minister for Health and Social Welfare, to review current policies and services for the Travelling People and to make

recommendations to improve the situation. (See the Report of the Travelling People Review Body, 1983.) The Review Body sought and the situation required a more complete and consistently derived Census; and the present authors, under the aegis of The Economic and Social Research Institute, became involved in developing and organising this Census. As in previous years, the responsibility for the actual collection of Census information rested with the local authorities. Therefore, the statistics presented herein are derived from the reports compiled by 33 county councils and corporations. In many cases, enumerators were social workers with considerable familiarity with the Traveller Families involved. This relationship provides a unique cross check on the accuracy of returns normally lacking in a census.

The role of The Economic and Social Research Institute was as follows. First, the census form used in the previous years was revised and adapted by the Institute to collect an expanded range of information on each family. (The census form is included as Appendix II.) Second, a revised set of procedures was developed to ensure consistency and conformity to Central Statistics Office (CSO) Census guidelines. Third, a standard set of instructions was developed and issued to all bodies participating in the census. Fourth, a briefing was held at the Institute for representatives of each local authority, with a special briefing held for those doing the Census in County Dublin. Fifth, the Institute provided general supervision and oversight for the conduct of the Census. Sixth and finally, the results were tabulated and compiled in the Survey Unit of the Institute, and statistical tables were developed. The results were provided to the Review Body in May, 1982.

In practical terms, the 1981 Census varied from previous practice in two important respects. First, it was carried out in the November to mid-December period, contrasting with the mid-October date of 1973-80. Second, as noted, CSO guidelines were adopted. This means that individuals or families were included only if they were found to be currently residing in the jurisdiction. It appears likely that in previous Censuses of Travellers, a standard census approach, in which enumerations are made only if the person is physically present on the census date, was not adhered to. Thus a family actually resident in, for example, England, would, in some local authorities, be included in census returns, if they maintained a "residence" in the locality. So the 1981 Census is consequently more conservative than those which preceded it, as it refers to persons rather than to accommodations. The 1981 Census presumably also lessened the possibilities for double counting. It was hoped that the new guidelines would be adhered to in future.

The 1981 Census's request for supplementary information on living conditions and family structure doubtlessly biased the results toward including families that were in their usual place of residence, had been residents for some time, and

were approachable in the view of the local personnel who asked the questions.

Therefore, the 1981 results are not directly comparable with results from previous years. In particular, the numbers should be expected to be somewhat lower than they would have been had previous methods been employed. With these qualifications, some comparisons have been drawn in the present paper.

In addition to the foregoing, it appears that in previous years, there were differences among local authorities in their definitions of what constitutes the Traveller population. An effort was made in the 1981 Census to standardise the definition. However, this question poses a serious methodological problem, which will be discussed further below.

As noted, much of the information collected in the 1981 Census was not gathered in previous censuses. This fact created a problem of interpretation. Without comparable data for another point in time, it is difficult to draw inferences about trends. Moreover, some kinds of demographic information, such as death rates, are hard to infer from a single observation.

For that reason, we urge that periodically, though not necessarily annually, the Census form (as well as procedures) employed in the 1981 Census of Traveller Families be used in future censuses. That would provide the authors and other scholars with valuable data for more accurately analysing and understanding the circumstances of the Travellers.

Another problem which arose in the 1981 Census was that, in spite of efforts to assure that uniform procedures were followed by enumerators in all counties, some basic information (including the numbers of family members) was not collected on 149 families. For this reason it is necessary to estimate the size of the Traveller population by assuming that those 149 families each has the average number of members found in the rest of the census families. We would be more confident in these estimates if the missing families were more or less randomly distributed across the country. Regrettably, they are not: they are almost all from County Dublin. Consistently less information is available on families in County Dublin than in other jurisdictions. For example, of 236 families for whom their preferred accommodation is not known, 175 were from County Dublin.

Since 1982, annual Censuses have been conducted using the forms and methods employed in 1971 through 1980. That methodology makes fewer administrative demands, but may not produce comparable results across local authorities. We urge that those responsible for the annual censuses reconsider the merits of the innovations introduced in the 1981 Census.

(c) Other Data Sources

Census returns are not the only source of descriptive data on the Irish Travelling People. A limited amount of statistical information has been gathered

and accumulated in the course of anthropological studies of the Traveller way of life. For example, Gmelch (1977), in his study of the impact of urbanisation on Travellers, supplemented the standard ethnographic methods with two surveys: (1) interviews with County Dublin families to collect basic demographic information on age at marriage, size of families, and marital residence; and (2) a questionnaire sent to the chairman of each of the then 70 Itinerant Settlement Committees "to elicit a nationwide picture of the Travellers' migration, material conditions, and settlement patterns". Crawford and Gmelch (1974) conducted 238 interviews over the 1970-1972 period, providing another source of basic demographic information. Given the overall paucity of information on Travellers and the difficulty of deriving reliable national demographic information, the results of these studies can provide valuable checks on the findings from the 1981 Census. Studies on specific geographical areas, such as Flynn's study of families in Co. Westmeath (1981; 1982) provide a further source of detail beyond the capacity of a census and a check on census estimates.

The task of drawing as accurate as possible a portrait of the Traveller population is facilitated by a variety of special studies undertaken to answer specific questions. For example, a study in June, 1980, sought information on school participation of children from Traveller families in County Dublin. Social workers and teachers co-operated in compiling a list of all families by area, and then listing for each family the numbers of children by age group, for boys and girls separately, and then checking other records to determine which children were attending school. This study, like others with similar purposes done in other parts of the country, is incomplete in its coverage. Yet when taken together, these studies, the anthropological surveys, the annual censuses, and the baseline provided by the *Report of the Commission on Itinerancy* (1963), yield a substantial accumulation of highly relevant evidence on the Traveller population.

The question which arises is how to assemble what is available into a meaningful whole. One strategy might be to put together a patchwork, drawing for each issue addressed upon the relevant piece or pieces of evidence. In our view, however, that would be unwise. The weakness of each component piece would only amplify the weaknesses of the other pieces. Our approach instead is to build around a single source, the 1981 Census of Traveller Families, using other material as often as possible to verify the reliability of what the Census found. In this manner, it is possible to draw some boundaries that indicate the margin for error that is present.

Methodological Problems Underlying Studies of Travelling People

Three basic problems bedevil any attempt to collect and interpret information on a group like the Irish Travelling People. One concerns the definition of the group's boundaries. A second concerns Irish Travellers resident outside the 26

counties of the Republic of Ireland. And a third problem, the most intractable of the three, is the potential for inaccuracy, both deliberate and unintentional, to be introduced in a survey of a highly mobile, poorly educated population that is often suspicious of strangers clasping forms and questionnaires.

No final definition is available to resolve the question of what families or persons should be regarded as Travelling People. Previous national censuses have tended to concentrate on families currently living on the roadside, and have collected only minimal (and less precise) information on families living in standard housing. That approach assumes the taking of a house to mark a clear break with the traditions (and community) of Traveller life; but evidence, however, suggests that many persons now residing on the roadside had previously lived in houses provided by local authorities. And what of the children of families housed, even for lengthy periods? If we regard them as members of the settled, rather than the Traveller, community, that may lead to incorrect inferences and predictions, unless the vast majority of these children, when they are grown and married, also settle in standard housing.

The problem is far deeper. Kinship networks and cultural tradition may resolve these questions for those within the group, and Travellers themselves may have little doubt as to who is and who is not one of them. But researchers are at a disadvantage. How much weight does one attach to the labels applied by the settled community? How much weight should be attached to a family's or individual's self-perception? In the end, we have had to rely primarily on the assessments made by our enumerators who are, as noted, often local authority social workers with considerable familiarity with Travellers. In the returns reported here, we include in most instances data on all Travellers enumerated, but also present separate tabulations for roadside Travellers.

The second problem is equally intractable if we attempt to quantify it by standard research procedures. An unknown, but possibly large and growing number of Irish Travellers reside in Britain. Some of these are resident only temporarily, as part of the pattern of migration. Others appear to be more permanently attached to British living sites. There are a few studies of Irish Travellers in England (e.g., Adams *et al.*, 1975; Acton, 1974; Gmelch and Gmelch, 1985), but the information is far more sketchy and uncertain than that on Ireland. It remains possible that whatever dynamics underlie the movement of Irish Travellers to and from Britain, and hitherto resulted in a pull towards Britain, may, as with the general pattern of Anglo-Irish migration, shift or already be shifting. This, together with the movement of Travellers across the border with the six counties of Northern Ireland, adds a substantial unknown, and possibly unknowable, dimension to any estimates of the size and composition of the Irish Travelling population within the 26 counties. The approach adopted here is to enumerate and report on the Travellers actually found in the Republic

of Ireland at the time of the census.

The third problem, that of bias through misinformation, was anticipated in the design of the forms and procedures used in the 1981 Census of Traveller Families. As Kearns (1978, p. 24) notes, the generic problem of surveying a nomadic subpopulation is particularly severe in the case of the Irish Travellers: "Much unreliable information orally given to census takers stems from deliberate untruths or faulty recollection. The matter is further exacerbated by local authorities who may intentionally diminish the number of itinerants in their district for whom they may later be required to make provision". This is more of a problem for establishing numbers of individuals than numbers of families (Kearns, 1978, p. 33). The number and ages of children are difficult to ascertain, for reasons of family size, limited numeracy, and the suspicion that strangers seeking such information are checking on school attendance by children or on entitlements to Children's Allowances or Social Welfare Dependents' Allowances.

The Census form did allow for some consistency checks on the information provided and wherever possible we encouraged the use by local authorities of census takers who had an established relationship of trust with Travellers. As noted earlier, it was also possible to compare our findings in some localities with more detailed studies undertaken by individuals who had such a relationship with resident Traveller families. Though problems of reliability doubtlessly remain, we are confident that our Census is the most comprehensive and reliable recent national estimate of the size and composition of the Traveller population. That is because of the design of the census and the quality controls applied on the receipt of census forms. Where further inquiries were not feasible to validate inconsistent or improbable responses, we can at least identify where the gaps occur and warn the reader of their presence. It is to the results of these endeavours that we now turn.

Summary

This chapter described the characteristics that distinguish the Travelling People as a social sub-group within Irish society. That description noted the basic shared identity constituted by an itinerant population living on the fringes of mainstream society, but noted the extent to which today it has expanded to various expressions based on a family's relationship to the larger society. The historical development of this population was traced from the active economic role once performed in rural Ireland to the economically dependent role as urban dwellers which Travellers increasingly occupy.

The factors influencing this transition and the implications of these "transitional processes" were outlined and critically assessed. It is pointed out that different responses to economic and social change may be associated with different assessments by Travellers of accommodation needs and preferences.

The chapter also provided the background to the 1981 Census of Traveller Families. This placed the Census in the context of other information sources. The main such sources are the earlier Censuses of 1944, 1952, 1956, 1960, 1961, the series of annual Censuses conducted since 1971, and a limited amount of statistical information that became available in the course of anthropological studies of the Traveller way of life. The requirements of the Travelling People Review Body for a more comprehensive information base was the primary reason that the Economic and Social Research Institute was involved in the 1981 Census. This chapter concluded with a general discussion of the methodological problems inherent to studies of Travelling people. The remainder of the report allows a more complete analysis of the findings from that Census.

Chapter 2

THE POPULATION OF TRAVELLERS, AGE COMPOSITION, AND FAMILY STRUCTURE

Introduction

This chapter presents our analysis of the demographic characteristics of the Traveller population enumerated in the 1981 Census. The number of families and the number of individuals in these families is noted first, followed by examination of the population's age structure, family size and family composition. The chapter concludes with an analysis of age at marriage and the pattern of family formation.

Enumerating the Traveller Population

The 1981 Census enumerated 2,432 Traveller families and an estimated 14,821 persons. Of these, 1,132 families (46.5 per cent of all families) with 5,946 persons (42.1 per cent of all Travellers) lived along the roadside. In many of the tables presented in this study, we report separately on total and roadside Travellers, the latter defined as families living in caravans or trailers on unauthorised sites. The 2,432 families included in the Census in a sense represent a minimum figure. The actual number of Traveller families at the time of the Census may be higher, owing to the difficulties of locating and enumerating roadside, itinerant populations. In addition, the Census omits individuals who are confined to institutions and those who are in foster homes. Cross-border and cross-channel migration mean that the numbers present in the Republic of Ireland may change markedly from those found in any one Census. That phenomenon will be treated in detail as part of the discussion of migration patterns in Chapter 3.

As noted in Chapter 1, information on family size was not collected for 149 families, mainly in Co. Dublin. This report concentrates on the 13,982 persons in 2,283 families for whom we have full information. If it is assumed that the 149 families on whom family size data are lacking are of the same average size as families for whom the data are available, the total number of persons in these

Table 2.1: *Numbers of Traveller families, 1960-1981, and numbers of persons, 1960, 1971, 1981*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Families</i>	<i>Persons</i>
1960	1,198	6,591
1961	1,036	
1971	1,302	7,778
1974	1,690	
1975	1,790	
1976	1,874	
1977	1,953	
1978	2,008	
1979	2,293	
1980	2,490	
1981*	2,432	14,821**
1982	2,849	
1983	2,858	
1984	2,996	
1985	2,928	

*1981 figures not comparable with other years: see text.

**includes 13,982 enumerated and 839 estimated: see text.

Sources: 1960, 1974-1980, *Report of the Travelling People Review Body* 1983; 1961, 1973: Geary and Dempsey; 1981, present Census; 1982-85, Department of Environment; 1971 Figures Gmelch, 1975, p. 257.

families would be 839. Adding the estimated 839 persons to the 13,982 persons yields the estimated total of 14,821 (Table 2.1). It is to be emphasised that while no better procedure is available, this method is based on an assumption, though it is recognised that the Co. Dublin families, for whom size was not reported, may differ in important respects from the rest of the Traveller population. For example, while Dublin Traveller families are slightly more likely to be in the early stages of the family cycle, the average number of children born per married woman in Dublin is identical with the average of 4.9 found nationally.

Table 2.1 compares the 1981 population numbers (families and persons) with previous and subsequent Censuses. The 2,432 families found in 1981 is less than the 2,490 reported in 1980. This apparent decline is almost certainly due to differences in methodology and timing; there is no reason whatever to suppose a decline in the actual number of Travellers has occurred. The 1981 figure is, in our opinion, more accurate, but not comparable with the 1980 and previous Census totals. It will be noted that the 1982 Census, using methods similar to those of 1980 and before, shows a large jump to 2,849 families; the increase was sustained in the reported 1983 figure of 2,858 families, though the 1985 enumeration represented a slight decline on the 1984 total of 2,996 families.

Table 2.1 shows 6,591 Travellers in 1960 and 14,821 in 1981. We should note the possibility that some proportion of the increase in the number of Travellers in the 1970s may be accounted for by Travellers moving south of the border from Northern Ireland because of the "Troubles". This factor is, however, unlikely to explain the general increase in the Traveller population throughout the period from 1961 to 1981. The implicit percentage annual increase of 3.9 per cent can only be accepted as an approximation, because of the different methodologies used in the two years. None the less, the increase is certainly very large. One has only to consider the consequences if the general population of the Republic of Ireland had more than doubled, as did the Traveller population, over the same 21-year time span.

Censuses in the intervening years enumerated families but not persons. The growth in numbers of families has been at a somewhat slower rate over the whole period than that of persons, implying an increase in average family size. However, the growth in the number of families since 1974 has been at a spectacular rate. Between 1974 and 1981, the number of reported families grew at an average annual rate of 5.3 per cent. Between 1974 and 1980, years for which the estimated numbers are more nearly comparable, the number of families grew at an average annual rate of 6.7 per cent. Presumably, the number of persons also grew at a similarly spectacular rate over the same time span. In light of apparent high mortality rates (discussed later), these rapid growth rates imply very high birth rates over the past decade.

Age Composition of the Traveller Population

The 1981 age structure of the Traveller population differs strikingly from that of the general Irish population. Nearly 40 per cent of the Traveller population is aged under 10 years, and well over half is aged under 15 years (see Table A.1). In the general population (1981 Census), approximately 20 per cent were aged under 10 years, and approximately 30 per cent were aged under 15 years, in an Irish population often itself described as unusually youthful among European nations. The differing age distributions are shown graphically in Figure 2.1. Note the broad base and narrow peak of the Traveller age pyramid, and the absence of such a tendency in the shape of the general population.

Table 2.2 compares the Traveller age distributions (showing the total and roadside separately) with the age distribution in the general population. At each age group, the ratio is given between the percentage of Travellers and percentage of the general population which falls within it. The differences are remarkable and extreme. The percentage of infant girls aged 0-4 years is twice as high among Travellers (1.8 for boys and 2.0 for girls) relative to the general population. The ratio falls with advancing age but remains positive with every age group

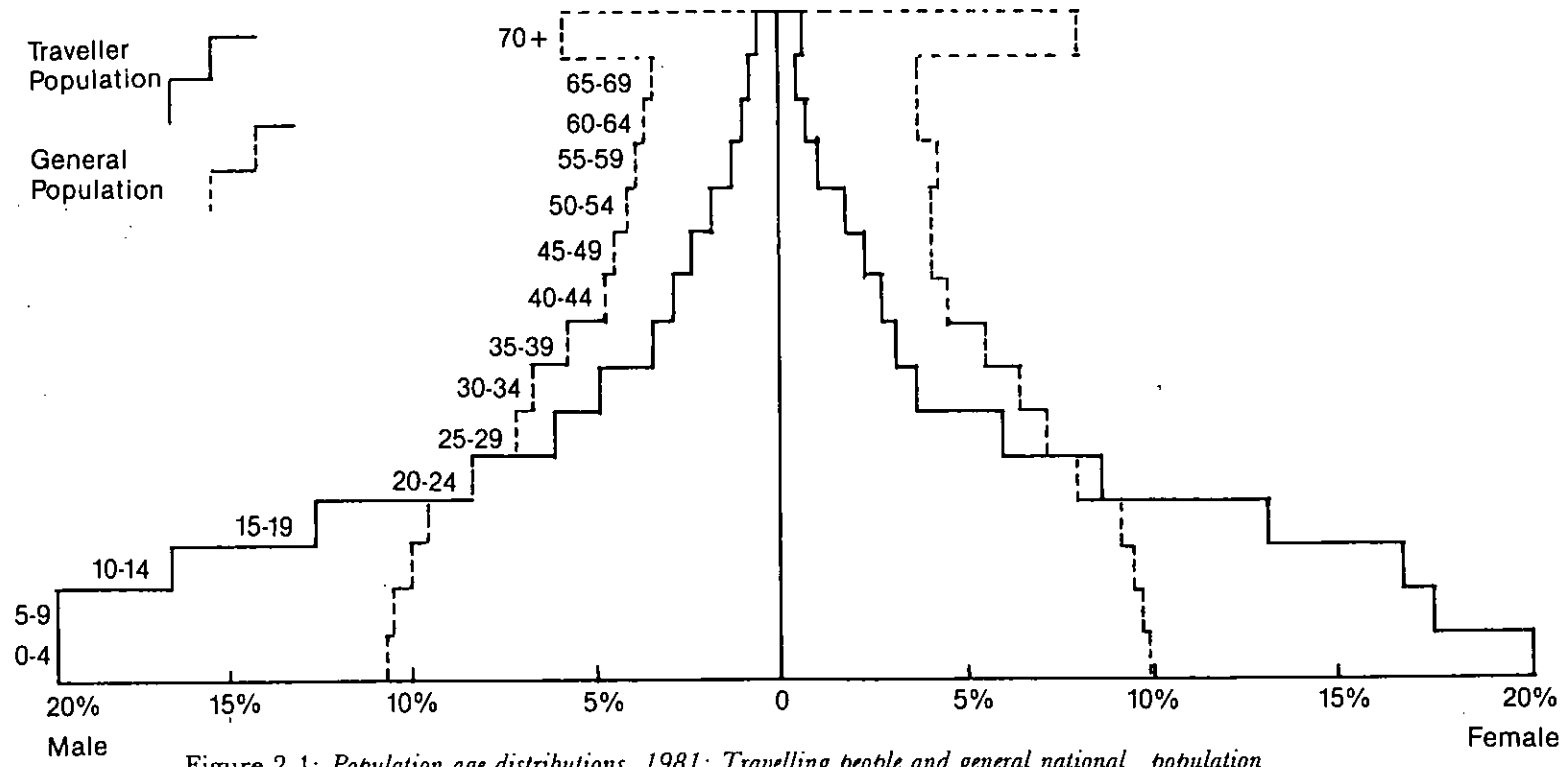


Figure 2.1: Population age distributions, 1981: Travelling people and general national population

Table 2.2: *The ratio between the proportion of Travellers and the proportion of the general population found in various age groups: 1981 comparisons by sex (Traveller age distribution shown for all Travellers and for roadside Travellers only)*

Age Group (years)	All Travellers		Roadside only	
	M	F	M	F
0-4	1.8	2.0	2.4	2.5
5-9	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.7
10-14	1.6	1.7	1.3	1.5
15-19	1.3	1.4	1.1	1.3
20-24	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.4
25-29	0.8	0.8	1.0	0.9
30-34	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
35-39	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.4
40-44	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5
45-49	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.4
50-54	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3
55-59	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1
60-64	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1
65-69	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2
70 +	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1

Sources: General Population, 1981 Census of Population; Travellers, 1981 Census of Traveller Families.

through 20-24 years. After that, it falls sharply, to 0.2 and lower with age group 55-59 and older. In other words, the proportion of Traveller women aged 55 and over is only one-fifth the size of the proportion constituted by all women aged over 55 in the general population. The differences among boys and men are only slightly less extreme than those between girls and women.

The high proportion of young people in the Traveller population is consistent with two explanations. A population growing rapidly due to natural increase will necessarily be very youthful, and, as will be seen, this is true of the Travellers. The second explanation is high mortality. A population with a high death rate and low average life expectancy will also exhibit a youthful age structure. Though insufficient data exist to estimate Traveller death rates and life expectancies, there is independent evidence which confirms the presence of high death rates (discussed later). Thus, both explanations apply in this case, though their relative importance cannot be stated with certainty.

The age structure of roadside Travellers is even more skewed (see Table A.2). One-fourth of roadside Travellers are aged under five, as compared with one-fifth of all Travellers: and the ratios decline with age more rapidly among roadside Travellers than among all Travellers. Whether, and to what extent, this is due

to higher birth and/or death rates among roadside Travellers, or to a tendency of older Travellers to leave the road in favour of standard housing, is not clear. The most striking difference is among infants aged 0-4. The roadside Traveller ratio for infants is about two and one-half times that of the general population, an extraordinary concentration in the youngest age group.

Only 5.5 per cent of Travellers, and 4.0 per cent of roadside Travellers were aged 50 and over, as compared with approximately 23.5 per cent of the national population (1981 Census). This points to a very high death rate among Travellers. Of the 13,120 Travellers whose 1981 age is known, only 210 (1.6 per cent) were aged 65 and over. It should be noted, however, that the process of settlement in standard housing was in operation even before the Commission on Itinerancy was established in 1960. Individuals who belonged to families housed some decades ago may no longer be identified as Travellers and therefore form part of the "missing" older age group.

A question in the Census inquired whether any family members had died during the preceding three years and, if so, the age at death of the deceased. In reply, 6.6 per cent of families reported a death in the family in that period (Table A.21). This figure is too low to be credited as reliable, and we do not use it to infer death rates. However, the distribution of reported ages at death is of interest (Table A.22). The reported data point to an extraordinary death rate among Traveller infants and children. Of the reported Travellers whose age at death is known, 14.2 per cent were aged under one year; 25.0 per cent were aged under 5 years; 31.8 per cent were aged under 10 years; and 35.9 per cent were aged under 15 years. By contrast, in the national population, in 1981, 2.3 per cent of persons who died were aged under one year; 2.8 per cent under 5 years; 3.1 per cent under 10 years; and 3.4 per cent under 15 years. Infant and child mortality among Travellers are clearly extremely high, and warrant urgent inquiry by the Departments of Health and Environment (*Report on Vital Statistics*, 1981, p. 21).

The Travellers' distinctive age structure is such that the proportion of the female population which is of child-bearing age is quite high, which means that population growth will almost certainly continue to be rapid for the foreseeable future. This is clear from the age distribution of married Traveller women, 75 per cent of whom are in the 15-44 year age group, far above the 58 per cent of women in the national population who are of child-bearing age (Review Body, 1983, Table 9.2).

It should be noted that there is a chance of error in estimating the age distribution. The probability of being included (or missed) in the census may vary with age. The probability, in particular, of being excluded because one is considered part of the larger, settled population almost certainly increases with age, and the probability of cross-border and cross-channel migration may also vary with age.

As Ennis (1984, p. 220) notes, we are today no more able than were the members of the Commission on Itinerancy to state with precision the extent of health problems experienced by Travellers or the consequent syndrome of high infant mortality and low life expectancies for those who survive into adulthood. The necessary cohort studies have not been undertaken. Some less ambitious studies, however, suggest the dimensions of the disadvantages and their causes. Deaths among Travellers are five times more likely than those among the general population to result from accidental or violent causes (Review Body, 1983, p. 92). The utilisation rate for ante-natal services by Traveller women falls substantially below the acceptable standard. Specifically, the standard criteria of a medical examination before the sixteenth week of pregnancy and six examinations before the birth were met for only six per cent of pregnancies of Traveller women who delivered in one of the Dublin Maternity hospitals during 1980 and 1981. That study, which was conducted by Dr. James Kiely, found that in 21 per cent of the cases, there had been no ante-natal care (Kiely, 1983, pp. 3-5). High rates of miscarriage, infant mortality, and disease are predictable and avoidable outcomes of such a low standard of care. Kiely concluded that 'the results of this study show an almost negligible uptake of an important preventive health service, a poor birth weight performance, high rate of neural tube defects and perinatal mortality. It confirms the view that Travellers' children suffer immeasurably greater as a result of the deprivation and disadvantage associated with their lives (Kiely, 1983, p. 5). That conclusion is supported by other public health research (see Carroll *et al.*, 1974 and Creedon *et al.*, 1975).

Family Size and Composition

Family size varied from one to nineteen persons, and averaged 6.1 persons (see Table A.5). The median family size was six, and the mode was four. By comparison, average family size in the national population was 4.3 (1981 Census of Population, Volume 3, Household Composition and Family Units, Table 1). Large families appear to be quite common among Travellers. Indeed 36 per cent of Travellers for whom family size data were available lived in families of ten or more persons; and among roadside Travellers the figure was 30 per cent.

Within Traveller households, 67.9 per cent of household members are sons and daughters, 16.4 per cent heads of households, and 13.4 per cent spouses, for a total of 97.7 per cent in the primary family group. Among roadside Travellers, the proportions are 64.5 per cent, 19.0 per cent, and 14.9 per cent, respectively, for a total of 98.4 per cent. Thus, Traveller families resemble in structure, if not in size, the conventional nuclear families of the larger, settled community (Table A.23).

Among 493 women ever married aged 45 and over, the average number of children ever born was 9.64, the median number of children ever born live was

Table 2.3: *Women ever married: average number of children ever born, living at home, deceased, and living away, by age group of mother, by Co. Dublin vs. Non-Co. Dublin residence, and by roadside vs. total travellers*

<i>Age of mother</i>	<i>Average Number of Children</i>			
	<i>Ever born</i>	<i>Living at home</i>	<i>Deceased</i>	<i>Living away</i>
15-19	0.75	0.71	0.02	0.02
20-24	2.29	2.19	0.07	0.04
25-29	4.66	4.43	0.17	0.06
30-34	7.11	6.44	0.25	0.15
35-39	8.38	7.60	0.44	0.41
40-44	9.78	7.14	0.80	1.87
45-49	9.94	5.74	0.77	3.52
50 +	9.51	2.28	1.42	5.85
<i>Residence</i>				
Co. Dublin	6.13	4.30	0.41	1.42
Non-Co. Dublin	6.48	4.35	0.53	1.64
<i>Total</i>	6.42	4.34	0.51	1.60
<i>Roadside only</i>	6.03	4.34	0.44	1.27

Note: Detail may not add to total because of rounding.

Source: Tables A.7-A.10, Appendix.

10, and 350 (71 per cent), had had 8 or more live births (see Table A.7). These are women whose childbearing years are, in general, over. Among women ever married aged 40-44, the median number of live births is also 10; among those aged 35-39 the median is 9. The propensity for large families combined with the larger number of women of childbearing age implies that the Traveller population will continue to grow rapidly, or possibly even rise more rapidly, in the future.

Table 2.3 gives average numbers of children ever born to all women ever married, by age group. The average reaches a peak near 10 children when the mothers reach age 40. Women outside of Dublin have more children, on average, than Co. Dublin mothers; and those living on the roadside have slightly fewer. Mothers aged 35-39 have the largest number of children living with them (7.6) and hence presumably the largest families.

Table 2.4 gives average numbers of children ever born to all women ever married, by year of birth of first child. Of 402 children reported as born in 1975-79 (Table A.11), 23 were reported deceased by 1981 (Table A.13), or 5.7 per cent. However, the age structure amongst Travellers suggests a higher child mortality rate even than these findings would imply.

Table 2.4: *Women ever married: average number of children ever born, by year of birth of first child*

<i>Year of birth of first child</i>	<i>Ever born</i>	<i>Living at home</i>	<i>Deceased</i>	<i>Living away</i>
Before 1940	11.1	0.7	2.1	8.3
1940-44	10.7	2.0	1.6	6.9
1945-49	10.6	3.6	1.2	5.8
1950-54	11.4	5.6	1.0	4.8
1955-59	10.6	7.1	0.9	2.7
1960-64	8.9	7.6	0.5	0.9
1965-69	7.6	7.1	0.3	0.2
1970-74	5.7	5.4	0.2	0.1
1975-79	2.9	2.9	0.1	0.0(a)
1980-81	1.2	1.2	0.0(a)	0.0(a)

Note: Detail may not add to total because of rounding.

(a) = Less than 0.05.

Source: Tables A.11-A.14.

Family size varies with type of housing. On average, families in standard housing had 7.1 members; those in chalets, 5.8; those in trailers or caravans on authorised sites, 5.0; and those on the roadside 5.6.

Age at Marriage

Travellers have long been known to marry at younger ages than the general population. However, the 1981 Census, while it shows early marriage, does not show marriage age as young as reported a decade ago by others. Gmelch (1975), perhaps the leading anthropological authority on the Travellers, stated:

In the past decade there has been a sharp decline in the age at which Travellers marry. In a demographic survey, data were compiled on 59 marriages that occurred before 1960. The mean age at marriage for this sample, nearly all of whom married in rural areas under traditional conditions, was 21.6 for males and 18.2 for females. Today the mean age at marriage is approximately two years earlier for both sexes, and it is not uncommon for Traveller parents in Dublin to make a "match" (arranged marriage) for their 14 to 15 year old daughters and 16 year old sons. Once a match is "drawn" or "thrown down", the wedding ceremony usually follows within a week or two, (p. 266).

The reference to Dublin occurs because Gmelch's field research for the article cited was in an encampment in Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin, in 1971 and 1972. Gmelch quotes a mother at this site as saying,

Years ago the girls would be 18 before they were married, but now they're gettin' married at 14 and 15. I think the parents do be glad to get rid of them. The little girls is goin' out of control ... (p. 267).

Gmelch describes the increase in Traveller teenage marriages as "dramatic". If that was indeed the case, the 1981 Census findings indicate that over the 1970s that was reversed.

While we did not collect data on age at marriage, we can examine marital status by age group (see Table A.3). We found no 14 or 15 year old wives whatever, and only two 15 year old husbands (of 178 males of that age enumerated in the Census). Only 2.7 per cent of 16 year old women and 18.1 per cent of 17 year old women were married: for men the equivalent figures were only 2.0 and 2.9 per cent, respectively. It was not until age 20 that a majority of women were married, and among men the age at which a majority were married was 22 years.

While these figures put Traveller marriage ages much later than previously reported, they are still much earlier than in the general population. In the national population, a majority of women were married at age 24, and a majority of men at 26 (Census of Population, 1981, Vol. II, p. 27). The age of marriage in the general population is decreasing: in this respect, Travellers and the rest of the community appear to be gradually converging.

Table 2.5: *Teenage marriages — Travellers, 1981 and general population 1979*

Age	Per cent ever married			
	Travellers		General population	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
15	1.12	0	0	0
16	2.03	2.66	0.1	0.2
17	2.89	18.08	0.17	0.95
18	13.33	25.33	0.76	3.45
19	21.49	45.04	2.10	7.70

Sources: General Population, *Census of Population, 1981, Vol. II*, p. 27; 1981 Census of Traveller Families (Table A.3).

Table 2.5 compares teenage marriages among Travellers with those in the general Irish population. Traveller data are from the 1981 Traveller Census; general population data are from the 1981 National Census. While teenage marriages among Travellers are less common than previously reported, they are far more frequent than in the general population. For example, seventeen-year old Traveller males are 17 times and females 19 times more likely to be married than seventeen-year olds in the general population.

Table 2.6: *Travellers and general population, per cent ever married by age group, 1981*

Age group (yrs.)	Travellers		General population	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
15-19	7.0	15.8	0.6	2.4
20-24	59.1	73.0	17.7	32.3
25-29	87.9	90.3	56.4	71.2
30-34	89.0	92.3	75.8	85.4
35-39	94.1	94.8	81.3	88.8
40-44	93.1	96.8	79.8	88.2
45-49	95.2	98.1	77.6	86.7
50-54	94.1	99.1	74.7	84.3
55-59	94.4	100.0	73.8	82.8
60-64	93.0	96.7	73.7	80.9
65-69	86.5	97.6	73.4	79.0
70 +	<u>98.0</u>	<u>96.9</u>	<u>74.2</u>	<u>75.8</u>
All ages 15 +	62.0	67.9	48.9	65.6
All ages 20 +	83.3	89.0	55.5	75.2

Source: General population, Census of Population 1981, Vol. II, Tables 1B and 1C; Travellers, present Census (Table A.3).

Table 2.6 compares the per cent ever married, by age group, of Travellers and the general population, both in 1981. Travellers of both sexes have a higher marriage rate than do persons in the general population. The figures for all ages (15+ and 20+) in Table 2.6 understate the difference, because of the high proportion of younger Travellers. Proportionately more Travellers in every age group are or have been married and the differences are typically large.

Marriage at an early age is both a distinctive social characteristic that anthropologists such as Gmelch attribute to Irish Travellers and a source of concern to authors of official reports. The concern stems from the possible discord in an arranged, youthful marriage and the high birth rate that follows from the longer period of fertility over the course of a marriage.

The 1981 Census of Traveller Families suggests that recent changes tend to reduce the importance of those concerns, as the age at marriage for Travellers is now typically not before the late teens and early twenties. The Commission on Itinerancy (1963, p. 89) identifies both the problem, as they saw it, and the explanation for the pattern observed in 1961: "Early marriage is often insisted upon by parents and while there was a traditional form of marriage ceremony peculiar to itinerants and often referred to as 'jumping the budget' the vast majority of present-day marriages have been solemnised in Church and others are usually solemnised in Church eventually".

One source of explanation for the infrequency of teenage marriage observed in the 1981 Census emerged from the changes which occurred during the 1970s in Church policy toward such marriages. Church marriages for 16-year olds, regardless of parental consent or wishes, are rarely granted. Two additional policy changes have tended to raise the average age at marriage among both Travellers and the settled population. First, six months' notice must be given before a marriage can take place if one or both parties are under 18 years old; the mandatory delay is three months for those older than 18. Since 1981, this policy has applied to all marriages nationally. Second, the Catholic Church has established pre-marriage courses that are compulsory for engaged couples outside of the Dublin area and strongly advised in the Dublin area, where the limited number of course spaces relative to the population make it impractical to make attendance compulsory. For Traveller couples, however, participation in a pre-marriage course is in practice nearly obligatory even in Dublin. The courses are arranged through Exchange House, which serves as the Parish for Travellers in Dublin. Courses involve weekly counselling sessions with a counselling couple, Catholic Marriage Advisory Council professionals, and the priests of the Parish.⁴

These Church policies obviously have direct consequences for the age of marriage among Travellers. A minimum age has been set, and this necessarily raises the Traveller age at marriage closer to the national norm. But the imposition of mandatory delays and courses means that an engagement now must stand the test of time and contact, and perhaps some couples will decide against marriage on the basis of that experience.⁵

Summary

The findings of the 1981 Census of Travellers, as reported in this chapter, can be summarised as follows. The population of Travellers is growing extremely rapidly, more than doubling in a two-decade period. Family numbers are growing nearly as rapidly as numbers of persons, but average family size is also growing. The age structure of Traveller families is radically different from that of the general population, with relatively large numbers of infants and children, and few older persons. This age structure is consistent with a high birth rate and a high infant and child death rate, and there is evidence of both. Roadside Travellers have an even more skewed age distribution.

⁴Fr Michael McCullough, Exchange House, Dublin 1, provided information on current Catholic Church policy.

⁵George Gmelch confirmed both the trend towards late marriage and the influence of the Church on that trend in interviews with Travellers during the Summer of 1984; Personal Communication, 20 September, 1984.

Data collected on deaths seem unreliable, at least with respect to total numbers, but the information on the age at death can be taken as indicative of certain patterns. This shows an extremely high fraction of all deaths to be among infants and children — one-fourth of all reported Traveller deaths in the last three years have been of children aged under five years at death. This is striking even in the context of the youthfulness of the Traveller population.

Family size is much larger among Travellers than the rest of the population. The typical Traveller mother has 10 children. Family structure is not unconventional, however. The typical Traveller household consists of mother, father, and sons and daughters, i.e., a nuclear family.

There are more marriages at every age amongst Travellers than is the case for the general population. This is particularly true at the younger ages, including those under 20 years. However, there are considerably fewer teenage marriages than has been reported in the past. The typical Traveller marries in his or her early twenties.

High rates of marriage, and average age at marriage for female Travellers that remains substantially below the national average and fertility rates that are substantially higher than in the general population, together with the overall youthfulness of the Travellers as a group, all indicate that the number of Travellers and of Traveller families will continue to grow very rapidly indeed. The Review Body (1983, p. 89) estimated that 500 children will be born to Traveller families each year. This is a minimum estimate.

Thus, in the 1980s we must reiterate the urgency expressed by the Commission on Itinerancy in the early 1960s. Demographic realities ensure that any delay in finding solutions will simply see the challenge we face increasing in size. Further, despite whatever progress has been made in the past 20 years, infant mortality and low life expectancies continue to set Travellers apart from the rest of the Irish population.

Chapter 3

LOCATION AND MIGRATION OF TRAVELLING PEOPLE

Introduction

The migration patterns followed by the Traveller population are described in this chapter. The distribution of Traveller families by county and inter-county movement are outlined first. This is followed by a discussion of Irish Travellers in Britain. The difficulties associated with any attempt to accurately estimate the numbers involved in cross-channel and cross-border flows are outlined here. Finally, the question of kinship is addressed with an analysis of Traveller surnames.

Distribution by County: Trends and Current Status

In June of 1961, an estimated 4.4 per cent of all Traveller families lived in County Dublin (Commission on Itinerancy, 1963, Appendix III). By 1981, this proportion had increased to 24 per cent. We noted in Chapter 1 that this represents a major shift, not only in location, but in terms of earning a livelihood, in style of life and, apparently, in the level of conflict with the larger, settled community.

As Table 3.1 indicates, the shift to Co. Dublin was associated with minor reductions in the shares of most counties rather than disproportionate reductions in only a few. Those whose shares fell the most over the two decade period were Tipperary, whose share declined by half, falling from eight per cent to four per cent; and Sligo, whose percentage share fell from three per cent to almost nil. Cork, Donegal, Galway, Kildare, Laois, Mayo and Kilkenny, each lost two percentage points in share. Over the same period of time, the total number of Traveller families more than doubled. Thus, most of the counties experiencing a fall in their share actually saw a rise in the actual numbers of Travellers. Only Kildare, Kilkenny, and Sligo had fewer Traveller families resident in 1981 than in 1961.

Galway has traditionally been home for a large proportion of Travellers. In 1961, more Traveller families lived there than in any other county. Galway has

Table 3.1: Number and percentage of families by county and percentage increase by county 1961, 1973, 1977 and 1981

	Number of families				Percentage in each county				1981 families as % of 1961	1981 share minus 1961 share (%)
	1961	1973	1977	1981	1961	1973	1977	1981		
Carlow	25	21	29	50	2%	1%	1%	2%	200	0
Cavan	16	10	16	17	2	1	1	1	106	-1
Clare	44	61	57	66	4	4	3	3	150	-1
Cork	87	78	130	141	8	6	7	6	162	-2
Donegal	41	27	48	48	4	2	3	2	117	-2
Dublin	46	313	341	581	4	21	17	24	1,263	+20
Galway	135	162	225	274	13	11	12	11	203	-2
Kerry	52	56	97	143	5	4	5	6	275	+1
Kildare	34	19	31	32	3	1	2	1	94	-2
Kilkenny	32	28	35	28	3	2	2	1	88	-2
Laois	26	16	25	28	3	1	1	1	108	-2
Leitrim	18	20	22	24	2	1	1	1	133	-1
Limerick	51	81	120	138	5	6	6	6	271	+1
Longford	24	23	66	73	2	2	3	3	304	+1
Louth	26	65	67	74	3	4	3	3	285	+1
Mayo	57	71	93	97	6	5	5	4	170	-2
Meath	22	17	86	88	2	1	4	4	400	+2
Monaghan	20	36	38	28	2	2	2	1	140	-1
Offaly	33	62	62	79	3	4	3	3	239	0
Roscommon	26	46	47	48	3	3	2	2	185	-1
Sligo	33	39	33	10	3	3	2	*	30	-3
Tipperary	84	71	72	97	8	5	4	4	115	-4
Waterford	10	11	27	40	1	1	1	2	400	+1
Westmeath	24	61	69	82	2	4	4	3	342	+1
Wexford	51	53	88	104	5	4	5	4	204	-1
Wicklow	19	14	29	42	2	1	1	2	221	0
Totals	1,036	1,461	1,953	2,432	100%	100%	100%	100%	235	0

Sources: 1961, Report of the Commission on Itinerary (1963) Stationery Office, Dublin; 1973, 1977, Census taken by Local Authorities 1973 and 1977 (unpublished), cited in Geary and Dempsey (1979). 1981 Census of Travellers, Appendix Table A.17.

Note: Details may not add to totals because of rounding. *Less than 0.5 per cent.

since been eclipsed by Dublin, but the county remains in second place, with 11 per cent. Galway has maintained a steady proportion of all Travellers over the two decades, though the actual number of families resident there has risen from 135 in 1961 (when Dublin was the residence of only 46 Traveller families) to 274 in 1981.

Migration has combined with local authority policies on housing provision to make the distribution of Travellers living on the roadside distinct from the overall pattern of Traveller migration. Among Traveller families living along the roadside, 27 per cent lived in County Dublin at the time of the 1981 Census, and nine per cent lived in County Galway. If one adds to these Tipperary and Meath (six per cent each), and Cork and Limerick (five per cent each), six counties account for the majority of roadside Travellers — 57.9 per cent (see Table A.16A). Those same counties were the place of residence of 54.3 per cent of all Traveller families.

Gmelch (1977) has described the growth of the Traveller population in Co. Dublin, and related movements elsewhere in Ireland, as a process of "urbanisation of an itinerant people". It is, however, a very different kind of urbanisation from the typical one. Travellers in Dublin and other urban counties live mainly on the outskirts of the built-up areas, and in new fringe areas such as Rathfarnham, Swords, Tallaght and the like. Urbanisation is typically associated with a reduction in family size. Though Traveller family size is somewhat smaller in Dublin than the average for the State, the difference is slight, and Travellers in several other, more rural, counties have even smaller average family sizes. Overall, there is no evident effect of urbanisation on basic demographic patterns among Irish Travellers.

Table 3.2 indicates that the largest average roadside Traveller families were in Cavan (7.2 persons) and Carlow and Leitrim (7.0); the smallest were Sligo (2.0), and in Waterford and Westmeath (3.9). Amongst all Travellers (roadside and settled), the largest families are in Sligo (8.0), Roscommon (6.9), Monaghan (6.8), and in Galway (6.8) whilst the smallest are in Kilkenny (4.7) and in Dublin and Waterford (4.9). Settled families have somewhat larger families than roadside Travellers, but this is attributable primarily to the fact that settled Traveller families are more likely to be at the middle stages of the family cycle.

In the State as a whole, 47 per cent of Travellers included in the Census were living, either in standard housing or chalets (Table 3.3). "Standard housing" meant local authority housing in 93 per cent of the instances. "Chalet" is the term applied to temporary demountable but unwheeled housing. In the case of settled Travellers, 83 per cent lived in standard housing and only 17 per cent in chalets. The remaining 53 per cent of families lived either along the roadside, or on halting sites in trailers, caravans, barrel wagons, huts, or tents. Of these, the large majority (92 per cent) lived in trailers or caravans (see Tables A.17

Table 3.2: *Average family size, roadside only, and all Travellers, by county, 1981*

<i>County</i>	<i>Roadside</i>	<i>All travellers</i>
Carlow	7.0	6.7
Cavan	7.2	6.5
Clare	6.3	6.2
Cork	4.8	6.0
Donegal	6.1	6.6
Dublin	4.8	4.9
Galway	5.0	6.8
Kerry	5.2	5.8
Kildare	6.0	5.8
Kilkenny	4.2	4.7
Laois	5.7	5.2
Leitrim	7.0	6.3
Limerick	5.6	6.1
Longford	5.0	5.8
Louth	5.5	5.5
Mayo	5.5	6.5
Meath	5.6	6.1
Monaghan	6.2	6.8
Offaly	6.2	5.8
Roscommon	6.4	6.9
Sligo	2.0	8.0
Tipperary	5.6	5.8
Waterford	3.9	4.9
Westmeath	3.9	5.2
Wexford	4.8	6.1
Wicklow	5.6	5.9
Ireland	5.3	5.8

Source: Appendix Table A.16.

and A.17A). Of those families, only 13 per cent lived on serviced sites; the remaining 87 per cent actually lived along roadways or on vacant building sites, etc.

As Table 3.3 indicates, the percentages living in standard housing and in chalets, and living on serviced sites or along the roadside, varies considerably from county to county. County Dublin has the lowest percentage (17 per cent) of Travellers permanently housed in standard housing; but Dublin houses 16 per cent of its Traveller population in chalets, a type of accommodation now viewed as unsatisfactory (Review Body, 1983, p. 43). Hence, 33 per cent of Co. Dublin Travellers are settled – the sixth lowest proportion in the State, after Kildare (16 per cent), Laois (25 per cent), Tipperary (28 per cent), Wicklow

Table 3.3: Traveller families, type of housing, number and per cent distribution by county of residence

County	Standard house		Chalet		Serviced site		Roadside		Total No.
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	
Carlow	20	(40)	1	(2)	2	(4)	27	(54)	50
Cavan	5		2		0		10		17*
Clare	24	(36)	7	(11)	8	(12)	27	(41)	66
Cork	69	(49)	1	(1)	12	(8)	59	(42)	141
Donegal	18	(38)	5	(10)	5	(10)	20	(42)	48
Dublin	101	(17)	93	(16)	83	(14)	304	(52)	581
Galway	147	(54)	17	(6)	7	(2)	103	(38)	274
Kerry	96	(67)	3	(2)	8	(5)	36	(25)	143
Kildare	5	(16)	0	(0)	0	(0)	27	(84)	32
Kilkenny	8		2		1		17		28*
Laois	6		1		0		21		28*
Leitrim	14		6		3		1		24*
Limerick	61	(44)	0	(0)	19	(14)	58	(42)	138
Longford	25	(34)	9	(12)	8	(11)	31	(42)	73
Louth	25	(34)	20	(27)	0	(0)	29	(39)	74
Mayo	59	(61)	1	(1)	3	(3)	34	(35)	97
Meath	26	(30)	0	(0)	0	(0)	62	(70)	88
Monaghan	10		0		0		18		28*
Offaly	27	(34)	16	(20)	1	(1)	35	(44)	79
Roscommon	20	(42)	0	(0)	2	(4)	26	(54)	48
Sligo	8		0		0		2		10*
Tipperary	27	(28)	0	(0)	2	(2)	68	(70)	97
Waterford	16	(40)	0	(0)	0	(0)	24	(60)	40
Westmeath	35	(43)	4	(5)	4	(5)	39	(47)	82
Wexford	70	(67)	4	(4)	6	(6)	24	(23)	104
Wicklow	12	(29)	0	(0)	0	(0)	30	(71)	42
National	934	(38)	192	(8)	174	(7)	1,132	(47)	2,432

Source: Appendix Table A.6.

*Percentage not calculated because of small number of families in the county.

(29 per cent) and Meath (30 per cent). The counties with the largest fractions of resident Travellers permanently settled (in standard housing or chalets) are mainly western; Leitrim (83 per cent), Sligo (80 per cent), Wexford (71 per cent), Kerry (69 per cent), Louth (61 per cent), Mayo (62 per cent), and Galway (60 per cent).

Dublin and Limerick have the largest proportion (14 per cent) of Travellers on serviced sites. Nine counties have no Travellers living on serviced sites, and

presumably do not make such sites available to Travellers. Of these, the largest with respect to the numbers of roadside Travellers is Meath.

The counties with the largest proportions of Travellers living along the roadside, and which hence provide the fewest housing-related services to Travellers, were Kildare (84 per cent), Laois (75 per cent) and Meath and Tipperary (each 70 per cent).

It is fair to comment that, while these four counties were the worst in this respect, the general level of provision of housing services to Travellers seems extremely low throughout the State, and this undoubtedly contributes to the poor quality of life and indeed reduced lifespan of many Travellers. Living conditions are treated in the next chapter; policy suggestions for improving conditions for Travellers are made in Chapter 5.

Migration Patterns

Travellers were asked what county they lived in one year (12 months) prior to the current Census. Those who lived in a different county are reflected in Table 3.4. Travellers could have lived outside the 26 counties and have migrated to their 1981 residences from Northern Ireland to Britain. This is the principal reason why the totals reported in the first two columns are less than the totals reported in the second two columns (Travellers reported moving from counties are less than Travellers reported moving to counties). Of course, Travellers may also have left the State during the year, but as data were collected only on Travellers actually present at the time of the Census, this information was not available.

Not surprisingly, Travellers are an extremely mobile people. Table 3.4 shows that at least 311 and possibly as many as 467 Traveller families lived in a different county at the time of the 1981 Census from that in which they lived in 1980. (The reason for the range is that no data on the previous year's residence were reported for 156 Traveller families, including 114 currently resident in County Dublin.) Many of those who reported living in the same county in 1981 and one year previous may, of course, have moved out of the county and returned. Travellers are believed to move on regular routes or circuits, returning repeatedly to the same areas or even halts. Some may have moved within their counties of current residence. The residential moves shown in Table 3.4 are, therefore, only a fraction of those of Irish Travelling people. Table 3.4 shows that 80 to 90 per cent of the moves are made by the roadside Travellers.

Of 304 roadside Traveller families in County Dublin at the time of the 1981 Census, 171 were known to have been there one year previously (see Table A.29). The previous whereabouts of 81 families is not known. At least 52 families moved

Table 3.4: *Inter-county movement of Traveller families: Travellers resident in a county different from one year previous, by county*

	Number of Traveller families known to have moved:			
	From County		To County ^(a)	
	All Travellers	Roadside only	All Travellers	Roadside only
Carlow	10	8	13	12
Cavan	9	8	5	5
Clare	3	3	9-11	9-10
Cork	14	14	23-24	20-21
Donegal	4	3	1	1
Dublin	51	39	74-188	52-133
Galway	17	16	26-28	23-25
Kerry	7	7	6	6
Kildare	7	7	11-13	11
Kilkenny	3	3	7-12	12-17
Laois	3	3	4	4
Leitrim	3	1	7	1
Limerick	25	24	22-23	18-19
Longford	2	1	3-10	2- 7
Louth	6	5	11	11
Mayo	13	12	7	7
Meath	7	6	12-21	12-21
Monaghan	4	3	3- 5	3- 5
Offaly	14	14	4	4
Roscommon	4	4	7	6
Sligo	4	4	0- 2	0- 2
Tipperary	7	7	23-26	21-24
Waterford	4	4	8-13	8-13
Westmeath	4	4	13	11
Wexford	10	10	5- 6	4- 5
Wicklow	1	1	7	7
Totals	236	211	311-467	265-383

(a) Minimum and maximum numbers. See text.

Source: Appendix Tables A.28, A.29.

to County Dublin during the year. Of these, 17 moved from outside of the Republic of Ireland, seven each came from Galway and Limerick, and four from Cork. Looking at the process from another perspective, of 210 families in the Census known to have been resident in County Dublin one year prior to the Census, 171 were still there at the time of the Census, and 39 moved within the State. (Again, we have no knowledge of those who may have moved outside its boundaries.) Of these, nine moved to Cork.

A similar exercise can be performed for every other county. (Indeed, because Census returns were more complete for the counties other than Dublin, more is known about movements within and between the other counties.) For example, of 103 Traveller families (row total for Galway, Table A.29) known to be living along the roadside in County Galway in 1981, 78 were known to be there one year previously, and the whereabouts of two families is not known. This means that at least 25 families moved to Galway during the year. Of these, six moved from outside the State, five from Mayo and three from Dublin. Of 94 Traveller families (column total for Galway, Table A.29) known to be living in Galway a year prior to the Census, and living along the roadside anywhere within the State at the time of the 1981 Census, 78 still lived in Galway, seven lived in Dublin, and four lived in Meath.

Because Travellers move within as well as between counties, and may return to the same sites at times of Census after intervening moves elsewhere, the number of months on current sites may be a better index of Traveller mobility than intercounty moves. Table 3.5 reports on the number of months roadside, settled, and all Travellers had been on their current sites, for the whole state and for County Dublin (1981 residence) only. Table 3.5 shows that roadside Travellers are, as expected *very* much more mobile than settled Travellers. Of the former, nearly a third had been at their current sites for less than a month; more than half had been there for no more than two months; and 80 per cent had been there for no more than 12 months. Settled Travellers were by definition much less mobile; none the less, nearly one-fourth of such families had been at their present locations a year or less. The patterns for County Dublin were very similar, except that somewhat fewer had been at their 1981 locations for a month or less.

Irish Travellers in Britain

It was noted in Chapter 1 that a significant proportion of all Irish Travellers are resident in Great Britain at any given time. The migration patterns and intentions of that group obviously must be considered when devising policies for accommodation, education, or employment in this country. It is always possible that migration from Britain to Ireland will increase in the future. Such a return migration potentially invalidates any projections based on the 1981 Census itself, as a large flow of long-term returnees would increase the number of families for which policies must cater.

For present purposes, the main difficulty this poses is in terms of our estimation of the age distribution of Travellers and thus of the demand for particular services, such as living accommodation and educational placements. We would ideally need to have reliable estimates not only on the numbers of Irish Travellers but also for (a) the duration of residence in Great Britain, (b) the family cycle stages

Table 3.5: *Number of months on current site, all Traveller families and roadside only and settled only, all Ireland and County Dublin only, cumulative percentages*

	Republic of Ireland			County Dublin only		
	All Travellers	Roadside only	Settled only	All Travellers	Roadside only	Settled only
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Less than 1 month	16.0	31.3	3.4	14.8	27.2	3.2
Up to 1 month	22.9	43.8	5.5	24.0	42.7	6.4
Up to 2 months	28.5	54.0	7.2	29.6	51.3	9.3
Up to 3 months	32.4	60.2	9.2	35.4	59.9	12.5
Up to 4 months	34.2	63.0	10.2	36.7	62.1	12.9
Up to 5 months	35.0	64.2	10.6	37.1	62.5	13.3
Up to 6 months	40.0	70.3	14.6	44.8	72.0	19.3
Up to 7 months	40.6	71.0	15.2	45.2	74.4	19.7
Up to 8 months	41.9	72.4	16.4	45.8	72.8	20.5
Up to 9 months	43.4	74.0	17.7	47.5	74.1	22.5
Up to 10 months	43.8	74.3	18.3	47.9	74.5	22.9
Up to 11 months	44.4	74.9	18.9	47.9	74.5	22.9
Up to 12 months	49.9	80.3	24.5	52.7	79.2	27.9
Up to 18 months	53.0	82.9	28.1	54.8	81.4	29.8
Up to 24 months	60.3	88.0	37.2	62.5	90.0	36.7
Up to 30 months	61.5	88.5	39.0	63.5	91.7	37.1
Up to 36 months	66.4	91.8	45.1	66.2	94.7	39.5
Up to 48 months	71.6	93.8	53.0	70.2	96.0	46.1
Up to 72 months	80.8	96.4	67.6	79.4	97.7	62.3
Up to 120 months	92.5	98.4	87.4	91.9	99.5	85.5
More than 120 months	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Appendix Tables A.30, A.31.

that predominate among the Irish Travellers resident in Britain, and (c) the proportion of such residents who are unattached adults. Duration indicates the extent to which our Census estimates need to be increased to allow for the possibility of expansion in numbers through emigration. The family cycle composition affects the age distribution of the total Traveller population in so far as the British residents are disproportionately at stages in which families are expanding or "complete". Finally, if a significant number of unattached Traveller adults are resident in Britain this would affect our interpretation of the low average age of Travellers included in the 1981 Census. It is possible that age selective migration — that is, of adults whose children have all left the parental home — forms part, though only part, of the explanation for the small numbers in the over 55 age group among Travellers.

Two estimates, already cited in Chapter 1, establish the range within which the size of the Irish Traveller population in the UK may fall. Kearns (1978, p. 33) states that "it has been estimated that of the total British Travelling population of approximately 50,000 between 5,000 and 10,000 are Irish Travellers", with the source of the estimate being a *New Society* article published in 1974 (see Weightman, 1974). A 1980 estimate by Gmelch and Gmelch (1985, p. 287) is that there were some 800 nomadic Irish Traveller families, representing 5,200 individuals in Great Britain. This contrasts with the 1,132 roadside Traveller families identified in the 1981 Census of Irish Travellers as resident in the Republic. Also in the Republic in 1980, 2,490 families were enumerated by the National Council for Travelling People and 112 families were enumerated by the Northern Ireland Council for Travelling People (1981 figures from Chapter 2 of this report; 1980 figures are as cited in Gmelch and Gmelch, 1985).

It is reasonable to accept Kearns's estimate of between 5,000 and 10,000 individuals as the likely range with which we are concerned. The Gmelchs' research supports a minimum number of 5,000, as their estimate covered nomadic families only. There is an uncounted number of Irish Traveller families in standard housing experiencing varying degrees of integration within British society.

The history of emigration to Britain by Irish Travellers closely parallels that of the Irish generally, both in timing and causes; however, Travellers typically emigrated as families rather than as individuals. For our purposes, the most important parallel is that of timing. The flow from Ireland to Britain was heaviest in the 1950s and early 1960s but in the 1970s was reversed in favour of return migration to Ireland from Britain. Gmelch and Gmelch, (1985, pp. 292-295) suggest that the dominant change for Travellers has been the decline in the propensity to emigrate rather than a substantial flow of returnees: "at present there is little movement between the UK and Ireland except for short-term visits", (p. 295).

However, the population of Irish Travellers in Britain, most of whom apparently emigrated 20 to 30 years ago, consists mainly of families at the "complete" stages of the family cycle. The emigrant's children provide a pool of potential returning migrants. At present, there is no evidence that they are opting to return, but the balance of influences could still shift in favour of a preference for Ireland over Britain. It is a potential that has obvious implications for policy-makers in the Republic.

In making estimates from the Census of Traveller Families about the demand for accommodation or education, for example, we therefore need to consider both the *number* of Irish Travellers resident in the UK and their *propensity* to migrate to the Republic. The latter interest would be expressed as the migration effect from the UK — the extent to which the flow to the Republic exceeds that in the opposite direction.

The 1981 Census of Traveller Families included three questions relevant to the issue of the amount of cross-border migration. One question requested the place of birth of the household head. The results obtained indicate that a small but significant proportion of heads of households were born in Northern Ireland or Great Britain. Among Travellers generally, 80 heads of households included in the 1981 Census were born in the UK, which is 3.7 per cent of all household heads. United Kingdom born households heads are more common among families living on the roadside: 57 (5.7 per cent) had been born there. Responses to this question were available for 2,163 families overall, 997 of them roadside families.

A second relevant question inquired about the family's previous county of residence. In response, 191 families gave a location either in Northern Ireland or Great Britain, 8.7 per cent of the 2,190 families for whom information was obtained. Of the 1,019 roadside families who provided the information, 93 (9.1 per cent) gave a similar response.

Though indicative of substantial amounts of movement, the previous place of residence cited might refer to one month or ten years before. A more standardised measure of the extent of cross-border movement can be found in the responses given to the question of the county the family was resident in one year ago. The UK was the residence then of 72 families overall (3.4 per cent) and 54 roadside families (5.3 per cent). Of course, the Census data cannot be informative about the extent of migration flows in the opposite direction, to UK localities. It can, however, be taken as evidence that the movement of Traveller families from the UK to the Republic is sufficiently significant to justify an upward adjustment of Census-based estimates by a factor of at least five per cent when setting targets for service provision.

Kinship and Place of Residence: Evidence from Traveller Surnames

The Commission on Itinerancy (1963, Appendix XXXVIII) listed the number of families with surnames that were shared by nine or more Traveller families. Table 3.6 repeats that exercise on the basis of the 1981 Census of Traveller Families. As in 1960, McDonagh is the most common surname (92 families in 1960 and 235 in 1981). The rank order in terms of their frequency has changed somewhat for the other common surnames, but what emerges most clearly in both tabulations is the extraordinary concentration of surnames among Travellers. The five most common surnames (McDonagh, Ward, Connors, O'Brien, and Maugham — the same five in both years) represented one-third (33.2 per cent) of all families in 1981. If we add the next six most common surnames (Stokes, Joyce, Mongan, McCarthy, Reilly and O'Donoghue, the last with 49 families) we account for nearly one half of all Traveller families.

The main interest of this limited number of surnames is as a possible surrogate

Table 3.6: Surnames in the 1981 Census of Traveller families*

Most common surnames among Travellers. Names shown when the number of families with similar surnames was nine or more. Number of families covered 2,020 out of total 2,501.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Numbers</i>
McDonagh (224)	235	Cash	31
MacDonagh (11)		Lawrence (25)	
Ward	183	Lawerence (3)	30
Connors (163)	176	Laurence (2)	
Conners (2)		McGinley	28
Conors (1)		O'Leary	27
O'Connor (10)		Power	27
O'Brien (138)	142	Berry	25
Brien (4)		Corcoran	25
Maughan or Maugham	94	Doyle	24
Stokes	68	Wall	22
Joyce	62	Casey	18
Mangan (1)	59	McInerney	18
Mongan (57)		O'Donnell	17
McMongan (1)		McDonald	16
McCarthy (54)	55	Keenan	16
MacCarthy (1)		Daly	14
Reilly (33)	53	Gavin	14
Riley (3)		O'Sullivan (11)	
O'Reilly (17)		Sullivan (3)	14
O'Dono(g)hue (21)	49	Ryan	14
Dono(g)hue (28)		Moorehouse	14
Cawley (45)	48	Maguire	13
Cauley (3)		Flynn	12
Collins	45	Harty	12
O'Driscoll	44	Hutchinson	12
Sweeney	40	Hand	12
Quilligan	38	Donovan (11)	12
Nevin	36	O'Donovan (1)	
Coffey	35	Conroy	11
Delaney	32	Lynch	10
		Doherty	10
		Barrett	10
		Kerrigan	9
		Sherlock	9

*Table format replicates that of Appendix XXXVIII, Report of the Commission on Itinerancy (1963).

measure of kinship divisions among Travellers. Kinship ties will influence decisions and preferences on location, and migration patterns, and thus are relevant to questions of service provision.

Table 3.7 examines how the most common surnames are distributed among the eight health board regions. All but one of the 15 surnames represented have a substantial presence in the Eastern Health Board Area, though only one surname — Collins — has over half of its families in that area. The most significant geographical concentration is in the Western Health Board Area. Two-thirds of families with Sweeney and Ward as their surnames live there. However, one surname — O'Driscoll — is almost entirely borne by families in the Southern Region. Most of the others with that surname live within the South-East Health Board Area's boundaries.

Such geographical attachments may affect the propensity of families to migrate to Dublin or to other urban centres. Where one half or more of the families bearing a particular surname can still be found in one area in 1981, it is likely that some permanence should be assumed for that preference. More generally, an examination of the geographical distribution of kinship groups may provide a basis for understanding why some Travellers choose to settle and others choose or are forced to remain on the roadside. The present Census can only provide a broad indication of such patterns. But it highlights the importance of kinship ties in the lives of Irish Travellers, an importance which cannot be ignored.

Summary

Approximately one-fourth of all Irish Travelling people live in County Dublin: nearly one-eighth live in County Galway. Over half of the Travellers live in these two counties, plus Tipperary, Meath, Limerick and Cork. Recent years have seen a growth in population of Irish Travellers living on the fringes of urban areas, particularly in Dublin. The result of this process, which has been labelled the Traveller's version of "urbanisation", has been a change in the livelihoods and the lives of Travellers. There is no reason to believe the change has been, in general, an improvement.

Family size among roadside and settled Travellers seems to vary from county to county. The variations do not seem to reflect extent of urbanisation, though average family size in Dublin is less than the average for the state.

Nearly half (47 per cent) of the people called "Travellers" are settled, either in standard housing or in chalets. Of these people, 93 per cent live in local authority housing.

The remainder (53 per cent) live on halting sites. Of these families, only 13 per cent live on serviced sites. The vast majority — 92 per cent — live in caravans and trailers: the traditional barrel wagons and tents are becoming relics of the past. It is to be stressed that "serviced sites" is a term that covers a whole range

Table 3.7: *Distribution of Traveller surnames by Health Board area 1981 Census*

Surnames*	Eastern		Midland		Mid-West		North-East		North-West		South-East		Southern		Western		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
McDonagh	57	(24.3)	45	(19.1)	24	(10.2)	45	(19.1)	5	(2.1)	2	(0.9)	8	(3.4)	49	(20.9)	235	(100.0)
Ward	28	(15.3)	8	(4.4)	5	(2.7)	4	(2.2)	4	(2.2)	3	(1.6)	3	(1.6)	128	(69.9)	183	(100.0)
Connors	67	(38.1)	4	(2.3)	6	(3.4)	7	(4.0)	1	(0.6)	90	(51.1)	1	(0.6)	0	(0.0)	176	(100.0)
O'Brien	26	(18.3)	1	(0.7)	30	(21.1)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	6	(4.2)	79	(55.6)	0	(0.0)	142	(100.0)
Maughan	36	(38.3)	2	(2.1)	4	(4.3)	9	(9.6)	2	(2.1)	2	(2.1)	0	(0.0)	39	(41.5)	94	(100.0)
Stokes	18	(26.5)	19	(27.9)	2	(2.9)	4	(5.9)	16	(23.5)	3	(4.4)	3	(4.4)	3	(4.4)	68	(100.0)
Joyce	23	(37.1)	15	(24.2)	1	(1.6)	20	(32.3)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	3	(4.8)	62	(100.0)
Mongan	9	(15.3)	4	(6.8)	11	(18.6)	5	(8.5)	1	(1.7)	1	(1.7)	0	(0.0)	28	(47.5)	59	(100.0)
McCarthy	13	(23.6)	2	(3.6)	15	(27.3)	3	(5.5)	0	(0.0)	8	(14.5)	13	(23.6)	1	(1.8)	55	(100.0)
Reilly	13	(24.5)	3	(5.7)	5	(9.4)	4	(7.5)	6	(11.3)	12	(22.6)	4	(7.5)	6	(11.3)	53	(100.0)
Donoghue	8	(16.3)	7	(14.3)	11	(22.4)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	9	(18.4)	10	(20.4)	4	(8.2)	49	(100.0)
Cawley	13	(27.1)	0	(0.0)	8	(16.7)	13	(27.1)	1	(2.1)	4	(8.3)	0	(0.0)	9	(18.8)	48	(100.0)
Collins	25	(55.6)	4	(8.9)	0	(0.0)	3	(6.7)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	13	(28.9)	45	(100.0)
O'Driscoll	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	2	(4.5)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	3	(6.8)	39	(88.6)	0	(0.0)	44	(100.0)
Sweeney	8	(20.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	4	(10.0)	1	(2.5)	0	(0.0)	27	(67.5)	40	(100.0)

*For variations on each surname see Table 3.6.

of actual service provision. The main distinction is that the sites are "approved" by the local authorities.

Type of residence varies considerably from county to county. Only 16 per cent of Kildare Travellers are settled; 83 per cent of Leitrim Travellers are. For Travellers who are not settled, i.e., who live on halting sites, Meath and eight other counties have no serviced sites. The counties providing housing services (standard housing, chalets, or serviced sites) to the fewest of their Travellers are Kildare, Laois, Meath and Tipperary.

The census provides two types of information on Traveller mobility. One reports the counties Travellers lived in one year prior to the Census, as well as their current counties of residence. Of inter-county moves, 80-90 per cent were by roadside Travellers, but "settled" Travellers were also very mobile. Data from the Census permit one to see, for any county, where (within the state only) Travellers leaving the county went, and, whence (within or beyond the state) Travellers entering the county came.

The other type of information concerns how long (in months) Travellers have been on their present sites. These statistics show that the Travelling people really do deserve that name. Of roadside Travellers, nearly one-third had been at their present sites for less than a month; more than half had been there two months or less; and 80 per cent had been there a year or less.

The extent of emigration by Irish Travellers to Britain is apparently virtually nil. However, past emigration, primarily in the 1950s and early 1960s, established a substantial population of Irish Travellers resident in Great Britain. Even those emigrant families that remain nomadic apparently travel to Ireland almost solely for short visits; returned emigrants are rare. Uncertainty about the durability of that pattern requires that provision in the Republic for Travellers will need to take account of the possibility that some Travellers now resident outside the State will return to take up residence in Ireland at some time in the future.

Finally, we note the extent to which Travellers are geographically concentrated as kinship groups. Kinship ties cannot be ignored when making provisions for accommodation, whether in standard housing or on halting sites.

Chapter 4

LIVING CONDITIONS AND ACCOMMODATION PREFERENCES OF TRAVELLERS

Introduction

Our discussion thus far provides more than ample evidence of the harsh life experienced by most Irish Travellers. While the data collected from the 1981 Census, used in conjunction with other data available, can not sustain a precise estimate of average life expectancy at birth, or of death rates, it is clear from the evidence presented in Chapter 2 that Travellers live much shorter lives than do members of the general population, and particularly that there is a very high infant and child mortality rate among the Traveller population. No amount of romanticism about the freedom of the open road can gainsay the vital fact that Irish Travelling people pay for their style of life and their low status in Irish society with levels of illness and deprivation long since thought intolerable in European society generally.

We have also seen that the Traveller mother typically gives birth to and raises ten children. Their lives would be hard even without the rigours of life on the road, and without the problem of sanitation to which we will refer later in this chapter. Traveller mothers must bear the extra burden of high morbidity and mortality of their children. Of 149 Traveller mothers whose first child was born in the period of 1955-59, most of whose children would have been fully grown by 1981, 54 (or 36%) reported at least one child deceased at the time of the Census. (See appendix Table A.13). Of these, over half reported two or more children deceased, and more than one-fourth reported three or more deceased.

We have also seen that only 47 per cent of Travellers were settled in any form of permanent housing, and that of the remainder, only 13 per cent were living on serviced sites. Roadside Travellers are true itinerants: nearly a third of them had been at their present sites for less than a month: more than half had been there for no more than two months: and 80 per cent had been there for no more than a year.

Living Conditions

Most Irish people know from their own observation the squalid conditions of many unapproved halting sites. The 1981 Census adds further to this picture of Traveller living conditions. A series of questions concerning Traveller access to such facilities and services as running water, indoor toilets and electric power were included in the Census. Questions regarding the housing preferences of Travellers were also asked. In general, answers to factual questions were noted by our enumerators, who as stated in Chapter 1, were often social workers with familiarity with the Travellers. The results are presented in detail in Tables A.17, A.17A and A.24. A summary appears here, in Table 4.1, based on the four-fold distinction among Travellers resident in or on (a) standard housing, (b) chalets, (c) serviced sites, and (d) roadside land. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the housing preferences recorded by Travellers in the Census in 1981.

As can be seen in Table 4.1, nearly half of Traveller families do not have access to piped water. Of 1,142 families who do have piped water, 148 are limited to an outside supply (Table A.17). Regional (Health Board area) figures (Table A.24) indicate that the availability of piped water is fairly uniform across the State, except that more than 70 per cent have piped water in the North-West area, and nearly 70 per cent have piped water in the Southern area. The Eastern Health Board area presents the poorest picture: only 43 per cent have piped water supplies, and of these one-fourth must use outside supplies.

The figures on access to a hot water tap are, of course, still worse. Table 4.1 reports that 62 per cent of Travellers have no access to a hot water tap. There is some regional variability (Appendix Table A.24): in the North-West area 55 per cent of Travellers have access to hot water taps: while at the other extreme, in the Eastern Health Board area only 25 per cent do.

Table 4.1: *Summary of living conditions: all Travellers and Travellers living in different types of accommodation.*

<i>Per cent of families</i>	<i>All Travellers %</i>	<i>Standard Housing %</i>	<i>Chalet %</i>	<i>Serviced Site %</i>	<i>Roadside %</i>
With no piped water supply	48.1	2.2	2.7	22.3	96.1
With no use of hot water tap	61.6	13.4	26.7	99.4	99.8
With no fixed bath or shower	62.5	15.1	30.6	99.4	99.7
With no toilet facility	50.3	2.8	4.3	37.6	97.5
With no connection to public electrical supply	54.4	1.5	4.8	92.8	99.2

Access to a fixed bath or shower is dependent upon a piped water supply, and usually a hot water tap; hence figures concerning this sanitary amenity very closely echo, but are somewhat worse than, those on hot water. Half of the Traveller families have no access to toilet facilities of any kind (Table 4.1). This important fact affects the quality of Traveller life in many ways. Travellers of all ages lack elemental privacy. They live with monumental discomfort and inconvenience. The lack of sanitary facilities violates basic principles of public health.

Regional statistics on toilet facilities (Table A.24) show similar disparities to those found for water supplies and bathing facilities. The best situation prevails in the Southern Health Board area, where 66 per cent have the use of toilets; the worst prevails (again) in the Eastern area, where the proportion is only 38 per cent.

Statistics were collected on type of toilet facility; but as a review of the data (Appendix Tables A.17, A.17A, A.24) reveals, virtually everyone with access to a toilet uses a flush toilet (water closet).

Finally, data were collected on connection to a public electrical supply. As Table 4.1 reports, 54 per cent of Travellers lacked this modern convenience. This amenity was almost perfectly correlated with type of accommodation. Of 1,118 roadside Traveller families, only eight had access to public electric power; only 37 of 1,035 settled Traveller families did not (Table A.17).

Table 4.1 also reports on living conditions of roadside Travellers. Such appalling statistics speak for themselves. At a time in which people increasingly gauge living conditions by ownership of an automobile, use of a telephone, or the number of television sets, there exists an underclass in an otherwise modern and civilised European society which almost totally lacks piped water, bathing facilities, any kind of toilet, or electrical power.

Thus far, we have commented on the living conditions either of all Travellers or those living on the roadside in sites that are neither serviced nor approved. But Table 4.1 also indicates that the term "serviced site" is apparently largely a misnomer. We find that of families so resident 22.3 per cent have no piped water supply, 37.6 per cent lack toilet facilities, and nearly all are without a hot water tap or bath/shower facilities (99.4 per cent in each case). Nearly all families on serviced sites (92.8 per cent) lacked a connection to public electricity supplies.

A substantial proportion of Travellers living in chalets were also often without access to basic essential services: over one-quarter (26.7 per cent) had no hot water tap to use, 30.6 per cent lacked a bath or shower, and small percentages lacked toilet facilities (4.3 per cent) and electricity (4.8 per cent). The situation for families in standard housing is obviously more advantageous, but even there, such basic items as hot water were often unavailable to the residents.

In sum, the material deprivation experienced by Travellers is only slightly mitigated by their willingness to accept a serviced site and far from completely alleviated when they live in chalets or even standard housing.

The disparities in living conditions within any one type of housing is evident from Table 4.2 which looks in more detail at the type of water supply available to families. Of those living on serviced sites, just under an eighth had an inside water supply, 65.6 per cent had to use an outside supply for their water (most from public supplies, though 1.3 per cent of all families on serviced sites relied on an outside source of water not connected to the public system), and, as noted before, 22.3 per cent were without any source of piped water.

Table 4.2: *Proportion of families with supply of water living in the different housing categories.*

<i>Per cent of families</i>	<i>All travellers %</i>	<i>Standard housing %</i>	<i>Chalet %</i>	<i>Serviced site %</i>	<i>Roadside %</i>
With inside public water supply	43.8	94.0	92.0	12.1	0.8
With outside public water supply	6.4	1.0	4.8	64.3	2.1
With inside private water supply	1.0	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
With outside private water supply	0.6	0.0	0.5	1.3	1.1
With no piped water supply	48.1	2.2	2.7	22.3	96.1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

There is thus both clear evidence of deprivation on a massive scale and a clear need for standards that specify what a "serviced site" consists of. The "services" are in many cases, non-existent.

Housing Preference of Travellers

The Census also included a question on what kind of accommodation each family would prefer. Table 4.3 reports on the results, by current housing type. It will be seen that nearly 80 per cent (78.1%) of Traveller families stated a preference for standard housing — either a local authority or other house.

Of those currently living in standard housing, 99 per cent wanted to continue doing so. This appears to run counter to the oft-expressed view that a significant fraction of Travellers become discontented with settled life and long for the road again. This point will be explored further, below. Of those living on the roadside or serviced sites, approximately two-thirds preferred standard housing, indicating

Table 4.3: *Accommodation preference by current housing*

<i>Preferred accommodation</i>	<i>Standard housing</i>	<i>Current accommodation</i>			<i>Total</i>
		<i>Chalet</i>	<i>Serviced site</i>	<i>Roadside</i>	
Local authority house	753 93.1%	97 57.1%	93 63.3%	594 62.7%	1537 74.1%
Other house	48 5.9%	1 0.6%	1 0.7%	33 3.5%	83 4.0%
Chalet	1 0.1%	71 41.8%	17 11.6%	27 2.9%	116 5.6%
Trailer or caravan	7 0.9%	1 0.6%	35 23.8%	277 29.3%	320 15.4%
Barrel wagon	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	9 1.0%	9 0.4%
Hut	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	3 0.3%	3 0.1%
Tent	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	3 0.3%	3 0.1%
Other	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 0.7%	1 0.1%	2 0.1%
Total	809 100.0%	170 100.0%	147 100.0%	947 100.0%	2073 100.0%

a rather considerable backlog in demand for such housing. Altogether, the 1981 Census indicated an un-met demand of 784 housing units, to which there must be added whatever demand there is from the 121 families living in other than standard housing for whom we have no data on their preferred accommodation.

Table 4.4 indicates that about half of those living on the roadside, and just under 60 per cent of those living in chalets, had at some time applied for local authority housing. Again, this appears to indicate a substantial un-met demand for standard housing.

While some Travellers appear to prefer the traditional style of life associated with the road, it seems a reasonable assumption that their numbers are a function of the proportion of Travellers actually offered such accommodation. That is, were standard housing provided to all Travellers who sought it, it is likely that the numbers of those preferring trailers or caravans on approved sites or on the roadside would shrink dramatically.

A fraction of settled Travellers do sometimes leave for other types of housing, but the reasons are by no means clear. Some may simply prefer non-standard

Table 4.4: *Application for local authority housing by current accommodation.*

<i>Ever applied</i>	<i>Standard housing</i>	<i>Current accommodation</i>			<i>Total</i>
		<i>Chalet</i>	<i>Serviced site</i>	<i>Roadside</i>	
Yes	785 96.7%	101 58.7%	75 48.4%	499 50.4%	1460 68.6%
No	27 3.3%	71 41.3%	80 51.6%	491 49.6%	669 31.4%
Total	812 100.0%	172 100.0%	155 100.0%	990 100.0%	2129 100.0%

accommodation, but others may have to move from one location to another for personal or family reasons, and be unable to find standard housing in their new locations. The fact that 99 per cent of Travellers living in standard housing state a preference for that type of accommodation seems to support the latter explanation as being the dominant one.

Table 4.5 shows that of 1,051 families ever housed in local authority housing, 765 or 72.8 per cent are still in standard housing. However, this leaves a substantial group who have left local authority housing. One hundred and eighty five such families, or 17.6 per cent, are on the roadside, and if serviced sites are included, the number rises to 222, or 21.2 per cent. It will be noted, however, that the vast majority of those on the roadside — 797 of 982 families, or 81.2 per cent — have never been in standard housing.

Table 4.5: *Ever housed in local authority housing, by current housing*

<i>Ever housed</i>	<i>Standard housing</i>	<i>Current accommodation</i>			<i>Total</i>
		<i>Chalet</i>	<i>Serviced site</i>	<i>Roadside</i>	
Yes	765 72.8%	64 6.1%	37 3.5%	185 17.6%	1051 100.0%
No	47 4.4%	107 10.0%	118 11.0%	797 74.6%	1069 100.0%
Total	812 38.3%	171 8.1%	155 7.3%	982 46.3%	2120 100.0%

Table 4.6 reports on the preferred accommodation of the 185 families referred to above who previously lived in local authority housing, and who currently live in unserviced roadside sites, in trailers, caravans, wagons, huts, or tents.

Table 4.6: *Accommodation preference of Travellers currently residing on roadside (unserviced site) who previously resided in a local authority house*

<i>Preferred accommodation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Local authority house	121	65.4
Other house	11	5.9
Chalet	8	4.3
Trailer or caravan	37	20.0
Barrel wagon	3	1.6
Hut	1	0.5
Tent	1	0.5
Other or missing	3	1.6
Total	185	100.0

It will be seen that 65.4 per cent state a preference for another local authority house, and 71.3 per cent prefer standard housing of some sort. When chalets are included, more than 75 per cent prefer some type of fixed housing. Slightly fewer than one-fourth of Traveller families who left local authority housing and returned to the road seemed to prefer that form of accommodation.

Our conclusion is that the vast majority of Traveller families — those living in standard housing, those living on the roadside, and even those who have left standard housing for the road — prefer standard housing. We cannot attribute the large numbers of families still living in squalid and unhealthy conditions in camping sites and along the roadside primarily to values, customs, traditions of Travellers. Instead, the reason appears primarily to be the failure of local authorities to provide standard housing in the amounts required.

It is useful to bear in mind the cautionary methodological notes from Chapter 1 when interpreting these expressions of accommodation preference. In particular, we reiterate that information from roadside families was often incomplete, especially for the Co. Dublin area. In addition, we note the complication that the response given refers to the family surveyed. It may not, therefore, represent a consensus among family members but instead that of the main respondent. This is important given the wide range of ages typically found in Traveller households.

This point is relevant to an issue of considerable policy importance; the extent to which the children of Traveller families now in satisfactory accommodation are forced, on marriage, to adopt a roadside life due to pressures of overcrowding in the parental homes. The relatively young age at marriage and high fertility of Traveller women, compared to the settled population, has the practical consequences for Traveller households of the eldest daughters being married

and bearing children while the mother is still herself bearing children. The success of the policy of provision of standard housing for Travellers requires that, where they desire, the children of families so housed can obtain similar housing. We currently lack the information to assess the extent to which the growth in the "roadside" Traveller population is being fed by children born to families housed by local authorities.

Summary

Irish Travellers have deplorable living conditions. Evidence points to a high death rate, notably amongst infants and children, and a short life expectancy at birth. Mothers have very large families by Irish standards, and see many of their children die. Half of Irish Travellers live their lives along the roadside, almost all of them in trailers and caravans, on unapproved and unserviced sites.

Most Travellers have no access to piped water, hot water tap, fixed bath or shower, toilet facilities, or electrical supply. There are regional variations in the availability of these facilities. The North-West and Southern Health Board areas generally register the best performance in providing these facilities; the Eastern Health Board area generally has the worst.

Regional variation in these facilities concerns mainly settled Travellers. Virtually *no* Travelling people living along the roadside have access to any of these facilities. To the ordinary Irish person who observes their living conditions, the circumstances of roadside Travellers appear unacceptably primitive. The statistics cited in this chapter confirm these observations.

If we compare these statistics with those found for the general population in various censuses, it is clear that Irish Travellers today live in conditions based on standards of provision and availability that date back to the 1940s or earlier. The 1961 Census (Vol. VI, Tables 22.A, 25.A and 28.A) found that of residents in private dwellings, 17 per cent lacked a connection to public electricity supply, 35.1 per cent lacked access to toilet facilities, 43 per cent had no piped water supply, and two-thirds lacked access to hot water. For most of the population such conditions are now a memory; for Travellers they are a reality, adding to the problems of illness attached to an already harsh way of life.

Most Travellers who live in these deplorable conditions along the roadside do not do so by choice. Roadside Travellers, even including those who previously lived in local authority housing, state a preference for standard housing, and half have at some time applied for local authority housing. The main reason for the persistence of these conditions is the failure of local authorities to provide housing in the quantity needed and demanded.

Chapter 5

THE 1981 CENSUS OF TRAVELLER FAMILIES: CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

The 1981 Census of Travelling people was carried out under the direction of the authors in response to a request from the Travelling People Review Body. The Review Body was created in 1981 by the Minister for Health and the Minister for the Environment; its report was published in 1983. The Review Body examined all aspects of Traveller life: accommodation, education, health, income sources, relations to the larger society, etc. It made extensive recommendations on those areas, recommendations which were subsequently considered by a Task Force of Ministers of State and which ultimately led to a statement of Government Policy (July, 1984) and the appointment of a Committee to Monitor Implementation of Policy on Travelling People (whose first report was published in November 1985).

This study has concentrated on making available a more complete analysis of the findings of the 1981 Census of Traveller Families than was possible in the Review Body's Report. It has also sought to locate these findings within the context of other sources of information and the origins and current composition of the Traveller community. Given the deliberations of the Review Body, the Minister of State Task Force, and the Monitoring Committee in areas such as *schooling, health services, employment and social welfare*, we mainly confine ourselves here to conclusions and recommendations that follow from material covered by the Census.

These recommendations are built upon the one factor which can break the cycle of inhuman living conditions, high birth rates and an apparently short life span; the provision of *suitable and adequate* accommodation for the Traveller population. The link between accommodation, living conditions and health status cannot be ignored. The information on living conditions presented in this report is sufficiently detailed to allow conclusions to be drawn on the inevitable consequences for health status where access to running water and bathing facilities is limited or non-existent. While the health services will be required to deal with

the medical problems which arise as a result, the only long-term solution lies in the provision of accommodation which will be acceptable to the Traveller population. This chapter, therefore focuses on the accommodation problem from a number of perspectives based on the Census results and explores some of the policy options which might be applied. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the immediate consequences for the health of this population of not dealing with this problem.

The Accommodation Problem

Irish Travellers represent a sub-group that has twice been marginalised in the course of Irish history. Their origins can be traced to economic and population exigencies that forced families to abandon their homes and take to the road when demand for their skills became insufficient in their usual places of residence. By travelling in circuits, they were able to forge a symbiotic relationship with the settled population of rural areas. Travellers exchanged goods, labour and skills for money, other goods and camp sites. Travellers then had an accepted, even valued, niche in Irish society, however harsh the itinerant way of life (Walsh, 1971; Gmelch, 1975; Kearns, 1977, 1978).

The second marginalisation occurred in the 1960s and 1970s through general economic and social change in Irish society. Mass-produced consumer goods, improved transportation and communication services, and modern commercial practices restricted the Travellers' traditional role. Migration to urban areas or the outskirts of urban areas resulted. At the same time, those urban areas were expanding outwards through suburban development, bringing the two sets of new residents into potential conflict. Travellers and the settled community appear today to lack a mutually valued mode of contact. At best, Travellers are seen as worthy candidates for charity; at worst they are viewed as a threat to the orderly existence of the settled population.

The 1981 Census of Traveller Families reveals the main feature of change in the Traveller way of life, a large-scale urban presence, and the main feature of stability, high birth rates. The Travellers are caught in a classic vicious cycle. The more squalid and unsanitary their living conditions, the more despised and outcast they become. The more unpopular they are, the greater the community pressure not to provide them with serviced and approved halting sites or standard housing, and indeed the more pressure there is for them to be forced to move on. These pressures result, in short, in still more deplorable living conditions, and the cycle continues.

The provision of adequate and acceptable accommodation must be seen as the critical factor in breaking this vicious cycle. The evidence presented here shows that the authorities have failed for various reasons to discharge their

responsibilities in this area. We first review current policy towards providing accommodation for Travellers and then make some recommendations on how this policy can be made more effective in the future.

The Provision of Accommodation

As providers of information, the authors note the importance of kinship connections for Travellers (Chapter 3), the distinctive family size and age structure of Travellers (Chapter 2), and the urgency of remedial action. It must also be noted from the demographic analysis that the rate of family formation among Travellers means that the need for housing and other services will continue to grow very rapidly in the coming years. Our statistical review of the size of the population, the age distribution, mortality patterns and living conditions of the Travellers leads us to focus this discussion of accommodation problems on three related issues: (a) Traveller preferences, (b) local and national policy on the provision of accommodation and (c) community responsibilities.

(a) Traveller Preferences

In contrast to the Commission on Itinerancy, the Review Body's membership included two members of the Traveller community. The Review Body's report (1983, p.44) urged that consultation with Travellers be a continuous part of the process of providing housing and other services. The Task Force of Ministers of State (1984, p.3) endorsed that recommendation specifically in the area of housing. The National Council for the Travelling People has served as a voice of Traveller interests since its establishment and the more recently established Minceir Misli provides a further avenue of communication.

The information on the accommodation preferences of Travellers presented in Chapter 4 leaves no doubt about the preferences for accommodation which exist among Travellers: almost two-thirds of families living on the roadside or on serviced sites said that they would prefer to live in standard housing. More than 80 per cent of families living on the roadside have never lived in settled housing and of those ever housed in local authority housing, approximately three of every four families continue to live in standard housing. More than 75 per cent of those families that were previously housed but currently live on the roadside indicated a preference for some type of fixed housing.

The inevitable conclusion is that the majority of families living in appalling conditions on the roadside are not there by choice. The estimate of an un-met demand for 784 housing units recorded in Chapter 4 must be seen as conservative because it does not take account of the accommodation preferences of the 121 families for whom no information is available.

Since the 1981 Census the range of accommodation options which may be made available to Travellers has increased. A positive innovation to emerge from

recent efforts is the encouragement of "group housing" first endorsed by the Review Body and then by the Task Force of Ministers of State. By late 1985, 82 families were housed in group housing schemes, over one-quarter of the places being made available in County Dublin.

Travellers are entitled to have their preferences taken into consideration with regard to the location of the houses and sites which may be made available. It is, moreover, obviously prudent to do so. While local authorities in Britain are required to provide caravan sites for Travellers under the Caravan Sites Act, 1966, the fact that the Travellers themselves are not routinely consulted about plans for the provision of sites frequently results in problems recruiting families to occupy sites that are made available. Considerable attention may be devoted to the views of house-dwellers in the vicinity of a proposed site while the absence of consultation with the Travellers may mean that the site is of little use to them because of inappropriate location, design or management arrangements (Adam *et al.*, 1975). The British experience highlights the importance of regular consultation with Travellers with regard to the location and design of accommodation intended for their use.

This point was strongly emphasised by the Monitoring Committee in a list of Recommendations on Halting Sites which was prepared for distribution to the Local Authorities in 1985. The Committee expressed concern about the low rate of occupancy of some recently developed halting sites and stressed the importance of consulting with Travellers and the professionals working with them to ensure that the location, structure and maintenance of sites takes account of Traveller traditions, preferences and fears.

(b) Local and National Policy

The system in 1981 for providing accommodation for Travellers can be described as one of local authority responsibility for direct provision (standard housing and serviced halting sites), with the central Government's role essentially limited to indicative statements of goals, on the one hand, and the payment of subsidies toward accommodation costs on the other. The policy of locating responsibility for the poor within the jurisdiction of local government has its roots in the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601. For almost four hundred years, this arrangement has held considerable appeal for administrators and policy makers charged with providing services for the poor in the English-speaking and English-influenced world. One of the most undesirable features of this seemingly attractive administrative arrangement is that it gives local governments an inherent incentive to minimise the numbers of poor people living within their jurisdictions. The motive is obvious: poor people contribute little to local government revenues, and they create a need for more, and more costly, services. Further, the poor and disadvantaged are often viewed as undesirable neighbours by the rest of

the community. This has led in some countries to the imposition of residence requirements (waiting periods) for eligibility for social welfare or housing benefits; restricting the numbers of persons who can avail of services; reducing, comparatively, the level or quality of benefit; or simply failing to provide needed services.

Two points should be emphasised regarding such inter-locality competition to hold down the numbers of poor residents. First, we should withhold our condemnation of the local officials who engage in such practices, and indeed of the residents who insist on them, and instead, reserve it for the system which induces it. Second, while some localities may indeed succeed in holding down poor populations in this way, it fails to reduce the total number of poor people in the society (short of driving them out of the country). These policies affect the location, not the numbers of poor people. On balance, efforts to limit the numbers of poor in a locality have the main consequence of adversely affecting, sometimes drastically, the living conditions of the poor.

The problem of accommodation for the Irish Travelling People would appear to be an example of this syndrome. Despite the availability of subsidies from the central Government towards the provision of accommodation for Travellers, the net effect of the incentives facing local authorities has been to discourage settlement by Travellers within their jurisdiction. An effective way of doing this is to keep the services provided to Travellers to an absolute minimum. The presence of Travellers tends to increase competition among disadvantaged groups for scarce resources such as social-work services, special education and training facilities, etc. The disadvantaged among the settled population will almost always win out over the Traveller population. The Travellers are a minority usually without ready access to the power and authority structures within the society in general. Discussing the relationship between Travellers and the law, the Review Body comments (p. 29):

Experiences of travellers in their dealings with the Garda Síochána and officials, in the past, engendered a distrust and a belief that they did not always receive fair treatment under the law. In view of the frequent involvement of travellers in former times in trespass, brawling and pilfering, but not organised crime, it was inevitable that some innocent members of the group would be subjected to investigation and questioning as suspects. In addition to these not infrequent contacts with the police as criminal suspects, they were sometimes summarily asked by the police to move on from a camp site. Reasons for the requests were not always given, or if they were, appeared trivial to the travellers. Having to move on because somebody in their neighbourhood did not like their presence and, especially, having to break camp under harsh weather conditions, tended to lower the Travellers' trust in the impartiality of the law.

The settled population also represent a much larger voting group, for both local authority and general elections. The view that the Travellers constitute an undesirable element is generally held by a larger and more vocal section of the community. The Review Body in their *Report* (p. 50), notes:

Many of the families are being moved constantly. Methods employed to move them have varied from forcible eviction by local residents to the digging of trenches around them, the erection of earthworks and the dumping of rubbish around their caravans on a regular basis. Many families are so intimidated by these actions, or by the repeated threats of 'officials' or residents, that they do not wait for formal eviction, but often move themselves to some other patch of wasteland, from which they will be yet again forced to move.

The evidence presented in this Report points very clearly to considerable variation among the local authorities in terms of the provisions they have made for the housing needs of Travellers. We found that some counties have provided standard housing for a significant proportion of their Traveller populations: Kerry and Wexford (67 per cent each) and Mayo (61 per cent). In contrast, such housing has been secured for just 17 per cent of Travellers resident in County Dublin. In part, but only in part; this is a problem of provision relative to the size and recency of the influx of Travellers into this area.

We have seen from Chapter 4 that accommodation for Travellers may take the form of a serviced site, chalet, standard housing or a makeshift dwelling on the roadside. Chalets and serviced sites have traditionally been considered as interim steps towards integration. The number of families in chalets on serviced sites has dropped from 195 in 1983 to 142 in 1985. Considering the comments of the Review Body about the unsatisfactory nature of this type of accommodation, this reduction in the number of families in chalets may be interpreted as a move away from the provision of this type of accommodation. While the number of families in houses increased by 17 per cent from 1983 to 1985 (1,193 families to 1,397 families), the number of families in chalets dropped by 27 per cent. Between standard housing and group housing, an additional 286 families were accommodated in 1985. Taking into account the reduction in the number of families in chalets, this represents a net increase of 233 housing units in 1985 over the 1983 figure. Over the same period the number of families living on the roadside decreased by 148 (from 1,278 to 1,130 families)⁶ though the number of families on the roadside actually increased by 23 from 1983 to

⁶A note of caution must again be sounded in making comparisons between the 1981 Census and subsequent censuses because of the differences in methodology. Statistics on number of families by type of accommodation are taken from unpublished results of the annual Censuses of Travellers, made available by the Department of the Environment.

1984. Together with providing accommodation for the present group of Traveller families, the rapid growth in the number of families is placing increasing pressure on the accommodation that is being provided. It is, therefore, difficult to envisage the 700+ housing units estimated previously to be in demand by Travellers being made available within a realistic time period if present policies are continued.

Given the will, however, more could have been done in recent years, particularly in the Dublin area, to accommodate more families. The problem of local politics, manifest in the apparent inability of some localities to select sites that can be allocated to Travellers, can also be seen to be a very important dimension in the approach to providing services to Travellers.

Having recognised the very serious drawbacks in the system of placing full responsibility for the provision of accommodation at the local authority level we must also recognise some positive aspects of this approach. Theoretically, provision of services at local level should be more responsive to immediate need and have due regard to local conditions. The development of a service delivery mechanism which is adaptable to the needs of individuals and localities is most desirable, provided that the incentives to restrict the population in need of care do not gain precedence over the fulfilment of the responsibility to provide adequate services.

As the provision of housing to the population in general is a local authority responsibility, locating the responsibility for accommodating Travellers within this framework should facilitate greater community integration and less fragmentation of effort with regard to service provision. Unfortunately, however, this has not often been the case. The migration of Traveller families from rural Ireland to the outskirts of major urban centres in the 1960s and 1970s coincided with local authority housing policies that relocated a large proportion of inner city working class families to the same areas. Bannon and his colleagues note (1981, p. 101), "the decision by the local authority to build massive one class estates on the outskirts of the city, initially to house people from the centre city, and more recently to accommodate second generation families moving from older local authority estates" which resulted in a situation where two of the most disadvantaged groups in Irish society — Travellers and lower-income working class families — were placed in conflict over the same rather meagre resources. The result of that decision, or set of decisions, has been to replicate much of the disadvantage experienced by the same families when resident in the inner city, particularly in terms of inadequate accommodation relative to family size and inadequate services (Bannon *et al.*, 1981, Section IV). To the extent that the new housing estates offered advantages associated with "suburban" living, however, they created expectations and standards that could not but be threatened by large-scale concentrations of Traveller families on nearby roadsides.

The current concentration of responsibility at the local level engages the local authority in a constant balancing act. While its obligations with regard to the provision of services to an obviously deprived section of the community, the Travellers, would suggest a particular line of action — to provide the accommodation needed, the settled members of the community often exert influences in the opposite direction, i.e., against the provision of services to Travellers in need. These trade-offs were considered by the Review Body. While recognising the positive response of a number of local authorities to the implementation of housing programmes for Traveller families, it must be noted, in some cases, "efforts to provide accommodation were thwarted by majority decisions of the elected bodies yielding to pressure and opposition from individuals, community groups or commercial and industrial interests" (p. 36).

The legal obligations of local authorities with regard to accommodating Travellers was also noted by the Review Body:

At the present time, local housing authorities throughout the country are empowered by law to provide dwellings for those in need, including Travellers. For reasons which have already been outlined, housing authorities in many areas have failed to carry out their full responsibility in this regard (p. 43).

That responsibility is currently as stipulated in the Housing Act, 1966, which consolidated the 50 or so pieces of legislation which had previously governed housing policy in Ireland. Local authorities in the 1966 Act were designated as "Housing Authorities". Each housing authority is bound by the Act to (a) assess the adequacy and availability of housing, (b) prepare a building programme, one of whose objectives is to provide accommodation for those unable to do so from their own resources, and (c) to prepare a scheme setting out priorities for allocation (Section 60). The Act states four "primary objectives" for the latter scheme:

- (1) The repair, closure or demolition of houses unfit for human habitation;
- (2) The elimination of overcrowding;
- (3) The provision of suitable housing for those in need and unable to provide for themselves; and
- (4) The provision of suitable housing for those suffering from tuberculosis.

The Supreme Court has noted that a local authority's "duty to prepare such a scheme would seem to involve a corresponding duty to operate such and in doing so have regard to the housing needs of those living in unsuitable or overcrowded conditions and those in need of housing and unable to provide for themselves (*McDonald v. Feely, Irish Law Reports 196 of 1980*)."

This leaves a two-fold ambiguity in the legal obligations of the State in respect

of housing. First, The Department of the Environment has the general responsibility for establishing national housing policy, but its role is supervisory. Under the 1966 Act, the task of providing accommodation has been delegated to local authorities. This remains the case despite the abolition of rates on domestic dwellings in 1977, the main source of direct local authority financing; since 1977 the bulk of funding for the 87 local authorities comes from general tax revenue. There is no mechanism by which national policy is necessarily reflected in the "schemes" devised by the various "housing authorities".⁷

The second ambiguity is inherent in the wording of the 1966 Act. This hinges on two key issues: priority and suitability. Experience suggests that the Act fails to provide sufficient guidance to local authorities in their allocation decisions. The Charter of Travellers' Rights (1984, pp. 17-18) notes that:

The true scheme of priorities as envisaged by the Housing Act, 1966, would put most travellers on the top of the housing lists, but this rarely happens. Furthermore lack of sensitivity to the needs of travellers in the provision of houses tends to be counter-productive, as travellers will not stay in unsuitable houses, and will be somewhat reluctant to try a house again.

This leaves open the possibility of recourse to the courts to challenge actions of local authorities in terms of Constitutional justice. As yet, no definitive precedent has been set in this area of law.

The living conditions of Travellers result from a combination of historical, social, economic, political and environmental factors. The fact remains, however, that the local authority framework has been unable, or unwilling, to provide satisfactorily the services which those Travellers now living on the roadside are entitled to receive. The issue now arises as to whether a revision in the lines of responsibility between the central and local government is required.

The centralisation of responsibility for accommodating Travellers is one option which would be expected to neutralise the pressures now facing local authorities to limit service provision. Co-ordination of facilities and resources at the national level would be improved under the control of a central authority. A number of arguments can, however, be raised against a complete shift to centralisation. As the provision of housing for the population in general is a local authority function, moving responsibility for Travellers to a central authority could be seen as another means of labelling the Travellers as a group apart and, as such, would be socially divisive. Also, a central authority might have limited knowledge of the local scene which could, in turn, result in a delay in responding to local issues.

⁷There are precedents, however, for a central government department exercising such authority, as in the case of Roinn na Gaeltachta's grants for housing construction and improvement in the Gaeltacht.

The option of imposing a statutory responsibility for the provision of accommodation on a central authority was considered by the Review Body. The recommendation which emerged, however, is as follows:

On balance, it has been decided that the primary responsibility to provide the housing needs of the Travellers should remain with the housing authorities, but this responsibility should be more clearly defined and provision made to ensure that it is carried out. Also, the necessary measures should be taken to ensure that local authorities fulfil their obligations to provide properly serviced sites for Travellers who desire a parking place for their caravan, or who are required to wait for the tenancy of a house (p. 44).

The statement of *Government Policy in Relation to Travelling People* (July, 1984), recorded acceptance of this Recommendation. The policy statement proceeds to elaborate on the implications of adopting this proposal.

Accordingly, the provision of houses for Travellers and the selection and provision of serviced sites will continue to be a function of the local authorities but with certain changes in the statutory and administrative arrangements to ensure that the programme can operate more effectively, especially in areas where progress to date has not been satisfactory. In particular, with a view to enabling city and county managers to take action in appropriate cases on their own initiative to provide accommodation, the City and County Management (Amendment) Act, 1955 will be amended to provide that the approval of the council members will not be required to carry out works which, in the opinion of the manager concerned, are urgent and necessary on health and safety grounds (p. 2).

The fact that the major legislative initiative announced is the expansion of the powers of city and county managers to provide accommodation where it is believed to be urgent on health and safety grounds implies that the current limitation on managers to act with the approval of the council members is the main impediment to the provision of adequate and appropriate accommodation. While this may be true in some cases, it is doubtful if this is the full explanation for the failure of those local authorities most at fault to deliver the services which they are empowered by law to provide.

From our review of the evidence presented in this report we propose that this recommendation should be taken a stage further. In particular, we recommend that a national policy be developed for the provision of standard housing, group housing and serviced sites for Travellers. Sufficient information is now available to make estimates, by locality, of targets that must be met within a specified time period. Such targets, and attempts to meet them, will require consultation

with those to be housed and local residents. The regional inequalities which are now evident in service provision can only be eliminated if area-based targets for housing and site provision are developed and monitored at the national level. The implementation of this policy can then be undertaken through the local authority framework. The accommodation targets should be developed in consultation with the local authorities on the basis of the number of Travellers requesting a house/site and the amount and type of accommodation which will be made available in the area within a specified time period. The present policy of providing subsidies to local authorities to offset the costs of accommodating Traveller families would continue. Most importantly, the task of monitoring the performance of each local authority *vis-à-vis* the accommodation targets established for the population requiring services would have to be undertaken at the national level. Agreement should also be reached on undertaking a major review of local authority performance after a particular time, say 10 years. If the local authority framework is still unable to provide the required services to the Traveller community, serious consideration should be given at that time to the relocation of responsibility for providing accommodation to Travellers from the local level to a central government department.

The Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 1985 proposes several steps towards implementing these recommendations. Section 9 requires local authorities to make an annual assessment to the Minister for the Environment of their need to provide housing for people whom they have reason to believe require, or are likely to require, accommodation which they cannot provide for themselves. This assessment is to take account of the needs of disadvantaged groups like the Travellers. Section 11 specifies that housing authorities shall develop schemes to determine priority for letting local authority dwellings so as to have regard to the needs of particular categories of persons, including Travellers. Undertaking assessments of housing needs can only be considered useful, however, if it is associated with a commitment to action, i.e., the provision of a target number of units of accommodation for defined population groups within the area over a specified time period. If targets are to have validity, performance must be monitored to ensure that service provision is adequate to meet the needs identified. The Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 1985, would therefore seem to be inadequate in the areas of implementation and control. Clear commitments from local authorities to provide accommodation in agreed quantities over time would seem to be the only way to ensure that the accommodation problems of the Travellers can be resolved within the foreseeable future.

Section 26 of this Bill seeks to amend the City and County Management (Amendment) Act, 1955, so that the manager can, in an emergency, take responsibility for having urgent and necessary works carried out to provide a

reasonable standard of accommodation where the need arises because of personal health, public health and safety considerations.⁸ Finally, Section 13 of the Bill will give statutory power to local authorities to provide, manage and control residential caravan sites for Travellers and to provide and maintain a range of support services. While this clarifies the powers and responsibilities of local authorities, it falls short of providing a statutory framework to ensure that these responsibilities are, in practice, fulfilled in an acceptable manner by local authorities.

Our conclusion with regard to improving the effectiveness of local and national policy on the provision of accommodation to Travellers can be summarised as follows: A policy of maintaining primary responsibility for Traveller accommodation within the housing authorities should be counterbalanced by national standards set within a central Government agency. That agency would have the task of monitoring first, the setting and, second, the implementation of area-based provision targets. This appears to be the most promising way to break the vicious cycle described at the start of this chapter. A full-scale review of such a system should be undertaken within ten years. If it has not proved effective, national level provision should be substituted for the current arrangements.

(c) Community Responsibility

It appears that official policy regarding Travellers retains the objective "to integrate the Travellers and settled community" (Department of Environment, 20 July 1984, p.1). However, the Review Body (1983, p. 56) clearly recognised that integration is not the sole overall goal of policy on Travellers:

An essential ingredient of accommodation and development programme is a recognition by all concerned that accommodation does not automatically mean integration and absorption. The traveller who so desires, must be permitted to follow his traditional lifestyle, including trading and temporary absence from his home. The decision as to when a traveller ceases to be regarded as a traveller is a matter of evolution or personal decision.

We have already noted that local authority policies have, however unintentionally, had the effect of placing Travellers in competition for space with other groups with solid claims for services and facilities which suit their needs. The standard of living experienced by most Travellers — young and old — is such as to make its improvement a matter of community responsibility, with community defined in the broadest sense. The burden cannot be limited

⁸As recommended in the "Statement of Government Policy in Relation to Travelling People" (July 1984).

to those families living in areas which are now the scene of large roadside encampments. Within the framework of Traveller preferences, local authority action, and national-level standards and monitoring, the responsibility of the community to Travellers must be met. That responsibility is both inherent in the Constitution and in Ireland's obligations to international bodies.

The settled population's responsibilities to the Travellers imply reciprocal obligations Travellers bear to the communities in which they live. Here, again, the issue of suitable and adequate accommodation for Travellers is crucial. The facilities offered to Travellers must be such as to permit a standard of living that will not intrude upon neighbours in the settled community. Research in Britain by Okely (1983), Sibley (1981) and others suggests that the selection of types of accommodation and their location is often based on inaccurate beliefs about Traveller preferences and lifestyles. The classifications used in this country for accommodation preferences may cause similar difficulties, ignoring the diversity of life-style followed or desired by Irish Travellers. If the provision of services, including accommodation, does not match that diversity, conflict between the settled community and Travellers may well be exacerbated by facilities that make it impossible for Travellers to meet their responsibilities towards their neighbours.

As the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe noted, (1969, p. 2):

... the lack of adequately equipped camping sites or houses, as well as work areas, for Gypsies and other travellers, and the lack of educational facilities and work opportunities has caused widespread friction between the travellers and the settled population.

Health Care Issues

While the Department of the Environment is responsible for overseeing the provision of accommodation, we have seen from the evidence presented in this report that a close relationship exists between living circumstances and health status.

The statement of policy for the Traveller population by the Government in *Building on Reality 1985-1987* (1984) indicates that "the Department of Health will exercise a particular responsibility to oversee the 'implementation' of the Government's programme of action to effect a substantial and immediate improvement in this situation" (p. 98). This is a recognition of the importance of co-ordinating and monitoring policy implementation at the national level for this particular group. But this still leaves responsibility at a national level fragmented between two departments: Health and Environment.

The World Health Organisation has identified eight essential elements of primary health care (cited in Levine, 1984, p. 40). Our review of the statistical

evidence from the 1981 Census of Traveller Families indicate how far below those standards provision for Irish Travellers currently falls. The eight elements are:

1. Education concerning prevailing health problems and methods of preventing and controlling them.
2. Promotion of food supply and proper nutrition.
3. Adequate supply of safe water and basic sanitation.
4. Maternal and child health, including family planning.
5. Immunisation against the major infectious diseases.
6. Prevention and control of locally endemic diseases.
7. Appropriate treatment of common diseases and injuries.
8. Provision of essential drugs.

The lifestyle of most Irish Travellers means that several of these essential elements are totally lacking — safe water and basic sanitation, for example, while others are inadequately met by current health-care provisions.

Whatever gains have been made by some segments of the Traveller community, the current level of provision of essential services — housing, education, training, health care, and employment — has not vastly improved the life chances of a substantial proportion of Traveller families. Those on the roadside and those living on approved, serviced sites or in chalets, dwell in conditions that are unacceptable by any basic standards of adequacy. The rate of family formation and the fertility of marriages among Travellers ensure that these issues will be more urgent with each successive year.

The apparent deficiencies in the health care available to Irish Travellers must be overcome as a matter of urgency. The mobile clinic set up on a pilot basis by the Eastern Health Board in 1985 may help to increase the uptake of ante-natal care among pregnant Traveller women and make more public health services available to Traveller children. However, the high infant mortality rates and the apparent high mortality rates for Travellers in the 50+ age group will demand action in all areas which have an effect on the individual's state of health. Chief amongst the deficiencies requiring attention will be the area of accommodation.

Progress in the area of health care will largely be dependent on progress first in providing adequate and suitable accommodation. Standard houses can be, by and large, assumed to meet the basic standards for acceptable living conditions. However, there is clear evidence that this cannot be assumed for other forms of provision currently available. The Council of Europe has specified recommended minimum standards that should be applied to all forms of accommodation for Travellers. Recommendation 563 of the 21st Consultative Assembly (Council of Europe, 1969, pp. 2-3) offered a series of standards for

member states, of which Ireland is one, which should be met in providing services for Travellers. Two are of particular relevance to the accommodation-health care link:

- (ii) as a minimum measure, to promote actively the construction by the authorities concerned, for Gypsies and other travellers, of a sufficient number of caravan sites which should be provided with sanitary installations, electricity, telephones, community buildings, and fire precautions, as well as working areas, and should be situated near to schools and villages or towns;
- (iii) to ensure, wherever possible, that local authorities provide houses for travellers' families, especially in regions where climate conditions make caravans unsuitable for permanent residence.

We have already stated that research into the health problems encountered by Travellers, and particularly Traveller infants, is urgently needed. However, this is a clear instance where research and action should be combined. The programme of providing portable clinics should be expanded so that basic medical care facilities will be available to all large-scale concentrations of Travellers, and every effort made to encourage utilisation of those facilities. If research is to be done on the height, weight, medical histories, and growth rates of Traveller children, it should be based on records gathered in the course of action to ameliorate what we already know to be deplorable levels of care. Such research and health care provision should be extended to all age groups. This basic approach to research has been largely adopted in the current Medico-Social Research Board's "Travellers' Health Study", which is being funded by the Department of Health.

Conclusion

The central conclusion of this study is an inescapable one: the circumstances of the Irish Travelling people are intolerable. No humane and decent society, once made aware of such circumstances, could permit them to persist. The clear implication is that the system and structure of responsibility existing at the time of the 1981 Census of Traveller Families failed to provide an acceptable solution to the problems experienced by the most under-privileged population group within Irish society.

The lack of adequate information on the numbers, living conditions, and needs of Travelling people in Ireland is only a minor obstacle out of the many facing policy makers. Yet it is a basic difficulty, the resolution of which logically precedes successfully overcoming others that will require more resources and more determination. With the 1981 Census of Traveller Families a more complete

statistical portrait of the Traveller population — family size and composition, age structure, place of residence, migration patterns and similar information — has now become available. The 1981 Census of Traveller Families, conducted in November/December, expanded significantly on the range of information available about Irish Travellers. From this basis it is possible to develop a planned approach to the problems faced by Travellers and by their neighbours and to state clear targets for action. We recommend that the enumeration of Travellers undertaken by the Department of the Environment be periodically extended to replicate (and improve upon where possible) the methodology followed in the 1981 Census. Policy makers and politicians will therefore have the capability of conducting a more coherent approach on these issues. The main purpose of reporting the results of the 1981 Census may be summarised as follows:

1. A progress report updating the portrait of Traveller population as it was found in 1963, the year in which the Commission on Itinerancy reported.
2. To provide indicators of the priorities for action in responding to the problems of health care, education, settlement and tensions between the Traveller and the settled population.
3. Placing the statistical indicators within a frame of reference that describes the current socio-economic situation of Travellers and its origins in the recent past.

This report has not exhausted the full potential of the 1981 Census of Traveller Families as a source of information or as a focus for discussion of policy issues. Appendix I of the paper presents, in considerable detail, the findings from the Census. It is our hope that others will use this information as a resource. Notwithstanding certain limitations, we believe that the 1981 Census offers the most comprehensive portrait currently available on the Irish Travellers.

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APPENDIX I

*DETAILED TABLES FROM THE 1981 CENSUS OF
TRAVELLER FAMILIES*

Table A.1: *Number of Travelling people by age and sex*

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
0-4	1,288	19.4	1,320	20.3
5-9	1,281	19.4	1,139	17.5
10-14	1,086	16.4	1,100	16.9
15-19	820	12.4	852	13.0
20-24	539	8.1	561	8.6
25-29	397	6.0	383	5.9
30-34	282	4.4	248	3.8
35-39	204	3.1	212	3.3
40-44	188	2.8	189	2.9
45-49	146	2.2	156	2.4
50-54	119	1.8	116	1.9
55-59	90	1.3	74	1.1
60-64	59	0.9	61	0.9
65-69	52	0.8	42	0.7
70+	51	0.6	65	0.9
Total	6,602	100.00	6,518	100.0
<i>Summary:</i>		Male	6,602	
		Female	6,518	
		Age and or Sex not known	1,011	
		<i>Total Persons</i>	14,131	

Table A.2: *Number of Travelling people living on the roadside by age and sex*

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
0-4	707	24.8	697	25.1
5-9	544	19.0	474	17.0
10-14	372	13.0	394	14.2
15-19	302	10.6	324	11.7
20-24	273	9.6	315	11.3
25-29	210	7.4	179	6.4
30-34	124	4.3	111	4.0
35-39	83	2.9	69	2.5
40-44	75	2.6	67	2.4
45-49	52	1.8	48	1.7
50-54	45	1.6	42	1.5
55-59	28	1.0	14	0.5
60-64	13	0.5	11	0.4
65-69	10	0.4	20	0.7
70 +	18	0.6	16	0.6
Total	2,856	100.0	2,781	100.0

Missing: Age 303; Sex 133.

Table A.3: *Marital status of persons over 14, by sex and age/age group*

<i>Age</i>	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>	
	<i>Single</i>	<i>Married/ Widowed</i>	<i>Single</i>	<i>Married/ Widowed</i>
15	176	2	202	0
16	193	4	183	5
17	168	5	145	32
18	130	20	112	38
19	95	26	72	59
20	77	43	52	61
21	50	43	34	81
22	44	56	27	95
23	24	88	20	76
24	25	88	18	95
<hr/>				
<i>Age Group</i>				
15-19	762	57	714	134
20-24	220	318	151	408
25-29	48	349	37	345
30-34	31	250	19	229
35-39	12	192	11	201
40-44	13	175	6	183
45-49	7	138	2	154
50-54	7	112	1	115
55-59	5	84	0	73
60-64	4	53	2	59
65-69	7	45	1	41
70 +	1	50	2	62
<hr/>				
Totals	1,117	1,823	946	2,005

Table A.4: *Head of Household over 14, by sex and age/age group*

<i>Age</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
15	0	0
16	2	1
17	5	0
18	17	0
19	26	2
<hr/>		
<i>Age Group</i>		
15-19	50	3
20-24	299	21
25-29	347	20
30-34	249	11
35-39	192	21
40-44	178	19
45-49	143	27
50-54	114	30
55-59	88	32
60-64	57	17
65-69	51	15
70 +	48	44
<hr/>		
Totals	1,816	260

Table A.5: Traveller families, numbers of persons in household, by type of accommodation

No. in Household	Total	Standard House			Total	Trailer/ Caravan	Halting site			Total
		Local Authority	Other	Chalet			Barrel Wagon	Hut	Tent	
1	27	24	3	16	89	71	6	2	10	132
2	65	59	6	34	152	141	3	1	7	251
3	63	55	8	15	164	148	8	0	8	242
4	87	79	8	15	159	149	6	0	4	261
5	89	86	3	6	123	116	7	0	0	218
6	93	88	5	15	112	107	3	2	0	220
7	98	91	7	14	93	87	3	2	1	205
8	73	66	7	21	84	82	0	1	1	178
9	67	64	3	11	64	62	1	1	0	142
10	58	56	2	10	59	51	5	1	2	127
11	50	48	2	10	33	33	0	0	0	93
12	35	33	2	4	33	32	1	0	0	72
13	30	30	0	5	18	17	1	0	0	53
14	23	20	3	1	10	9	1	0	0	34
15	6	5	1	2	4	2	2	0	0	12
16	9	9	0	0	5	5	0	0	0	14
17	6	6	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	7
18	4	4	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	5
19	1	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	3
Totals	884	824	60	179	1,206	1,116	47	10	33	2,269

Table A.6: *Traveller families, number of persons in household, by county, by type of accommodation, and total households and total persons, by household size and county*

County	No. in Household	Standard House	Chalet	Serviced Site	Roadside	Total Households	Total Persons
Carlow	1	2	0	1	2	5	5
	2	3	0	0	2	5	10
	3	1	0	0	2	3	9
	4	1	0	0	1	2	8
	5	3	0	0	4	7	35
	6	3	0	0	1	4	24
	7	0	0	1	4	5	35
	8	1	0	0	3	4	32
	9	1	1	0	0	2	18
	10	1	0	0	3	4	40
	11	1	0	0	0	1	11
	12	0	0	0	1	1	12
	13	1	0	0	2	3	39
	14	2	0	0	2	4	56
Totals		20	1	2	27	50	334
Cavan	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	3	0	1	0	0	1	3
	4	0	0	0	3	3	12
	5	1	0	0	0	1	5
	6	1	0	0	2	3	18
	7	1	0	0	1	2	14
	8	2	0	0	1	3	24
	9	0	0	0	1	1	9
	10	0	0	0	1	1	10
	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
	12	0	0	0	0	0	0
	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
	14	0	0	0	1	1	14
Totals		5	2	0	10	17	110

Table A.6: *Contd. (2)*

County	No. in	Standard		Serviced		Total	Total
	Household	House	Chalet	Site	Roadside	Households	Persons
Clare	1	4	0	1	1	6	6
	2	0	2	0	1	3	6
	3	1	0	3	4	8	24
	4	3	0	3	6	12	48
	5	1	0	0	0	1	5
	6	4	1	0	2	7	42
	7	3	1	0	1	5	35
	8	1	1	0	2	4	32
	9	2	0	0	3	5	45
	10	1	1	1	1	4	40
	11	1	1	0	3	5	55
	12	0	0	0	0	0	0
	13	1	0	0	2	3	39
	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
	16	1	0	0	0	1	16
	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
	18	1	0	0	0	1	18
Totals		24	7	8	26	65	411
Cork	1	3	0	0	6	9	9
	2	4	0	0	7	11	22
	3	8	0	1	9	18	54
	4	9	0	2	13	24	96
	5	7	0	2	4	13	65
	6	1	0	1	7	9	54
	7	9	1	2	1	13	91
	8	2	0	4	7	13	104
	9	7	0	0	0	7	63
	10	6	0	0	3	9	90
	11	4	0	0	0	4	44
	12	2	0	0	0	2	24
	13	2	0	0	0	2	26
	14	1	0	0	1	2	28
	15	1	0	0	0	1	15
	16	1	0	0	1	2	32
	17	1	0	0	0	1	17
	18	1	0	0	0	1	18
Totals		69	1	12	59	141	852

Table A.6: *Contd. (3)*

<i>County</i>	<i>No. in Household</i>	<i>Standard House</i>	<i>Chalet</i>	<i>Serviced</i>		<i>Total Households</i>	<i>Total Persons</i>
				<i>Site</i>	<i>Roadside</i>		
Donegal	1	0	0	1	3	4	4
	2	0	1	0	4	5	10
	3	0	0	1	0	1	3
	4	1	1	0	1	3	12
	5	1	0	0	0	1	5
	6	2	0	0	0	3	30
	7	2	0	0	0	1	3
	8	3	0	0	1	2	6
	9	0	0	0	1	1	2
	10	2	0	0	0	1	3
	11	1	1	1	0	2	4
	12	1	1	1	1	2	5
	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
	14	2	0	0	0	0	2
Totals		15	4	5	20	44	313
Dublin	1	1	3	12	13	29	29
	2	4	15	8	20	47	94
	3	4	5	9	32	50	150
	4	2	8	11	21	42	168
	5	5	1	4	27	37	185
	6	7	8	7	27	49	294
	7	8	5	4	25	42	294
	8	3	11	5	11	30	240
	9	5	6	3	15	29	261
	10	7	7	3	14	31	310
	11	4	6	2	11	23	253
	12	1	2	2	5	10	120
	13	3	2	1	2	8	104
	14	0	1	0	5	6	84
	15	0	1	0	0	1	15
	16	2	0	0	0	1	3
	17	0	0	0	0	1	1
	18	0	0	0	1	0	1
	19	0	0	0	0	1	1
Totals		56	81	72	231	440	2,703

Table A.6: *Contd. (4)*

<i>County</i>	<i>No. in</i>	<i>Standard</i>	<i>Chalet</i>	<i>Serviced</i>	<i>Roadside</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>Household</i>	<i>House</i>		<i>Site</i>		<i>Households</i>	<i>Persons</i>
Galway	1	2	0	0	13	15	15
	2	9	2	2	21	34	68
	3	10	1	1	12	24	72
	4	14	1	0	9	24	96
	5	14	1	2	12	29	145
	6	9	0	1	3	13	78
	7	13	1	0	5	19	133
	8	15	5	0	7	27	216
	9	9	2	0	7	18	162
	10	11	1	0	6	18	180
	11	6	1	0	3	10	110
	12	12	0	0	4	16	192
	13	9	1	1	0	11	143
	14	7	0	0	0	7	98
	15	3	1	0	1	5	75
	16	2	0	0	0	2	32
	17	1	0	0	0	1	17
	18	1	0	0	0	1	18
Totals		147	17	7	103	274	1,850
Kerry	1	4	0	3	0	7	7
	2	7	0	2	2	11	22
	3	10	0	0	7	17	51
	4	12	0	0	8	20	80
	5	15	0	1	7	23	115
	6	10	1	1	2	14	84
	7	11	0	0	4	15	105
	8	6	0	0	2	8	64
	9	6	1	1	2	10	90
	10	3	0	0	0	3	30
	11	9	1	0	2	12	132
	12	0	0	0	0	0	0
	13	2	0	0	0	2	26
	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
	16	0	0	0	0	0	0
	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
	18	0	0	0	0	0	0
	19	1	0	0	0	1	19
Totals		96	3	8	36	143	825

Table A.6: *Contd. (5)*

<i>County</i>	<i>No. in Household</i>	<i>Standard House</i>	<i>Chalet</i>	<i>Serviced Site</i>	<i>Roadside</i>	<i>Total Households</i>	<i>Total Persons</i>
Kildare	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
	2	0	0	0	5	5	10
	3	0	0	0	2	2	6
	4	2	0	0	2	4	16
	5	1	0	0	1	2	10
	6	2	0	0	3	5	30
	7	0	0	0	3	3	21
	8	0	0	0	3	3	24
	9	0	0	0	1	1	9
	10	0	0	0	2	2	20
	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
	12	0	0	0	2	2	24
	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
	14	0	0	0	1	1	14
Totals		5	0	0	26	31	185
Kilkenny	1	0	1	0	2	3	3
	2	1	0	0	1	2	4
	3	1	0	0	1	2	6
	4	3	0	0	0	3	12
	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
	6	0	0	1	2	3	18
	7	0	1	0	2	3	21
	8	0	0	0	3	3	24
	9	2	0	0	1	3	27
	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
	12	1	0	0	0	1	12
Totals		8	2	1	12	23	127

Table A.6: *Contd. (6)*

<i>County</i>	<i>No. in Household</i>	<i>Standard House</i>	<i>Chalet</i>	<i>Serviced Site</i>	<i>Roadside</i>	<i>Total Households</i>	<i>Total Persons</i>
Laois	1	0	1	0	2	3	3
	2	0	0	0	1	1	2
	3	2	0	0	1	3	9
	4	1	0	0	4	5	20
	5	2	0	0	2	4	20
	6	1	0	0	4	5	30
	7	0	0	0	2	2	14
	8	0	0	0	1	1	8
	9	0	0	0	2	2	18
	10	0	0	0	1	1	10
	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
	12	0	0	0	1	1	12
Totals		6	1	0	21	28	146
Leitrim	1	1	2	0	0	3	3
	2	1	2	1	0	4	8
	3	0	2	1	0	3	9
	4	1	0	0	0	1	4
	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
	6	2	0	0	0	2	12
	7	2	0	0	1	3	21
	8	0	0	1	0	1	8
	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
	10	1	0	0	0	1	10
	11	2	0	0	0	2	22
	12	2	0	0	0	2	24
	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
	14	1	0	0	0	1	14
	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
	16	0	0	0	0	0	0
	17	1	0	0	0	1	17
Totals		14	6	3	1	24	152

Table A.6: *Contd. (7)*

<i>County</i>	<i>No. in Household</i>	<i>Standard House</i>	<i>Chalet</i>	<i>Serviced Site</i>	<i>Roadside</i>	<i>Total Households</i>	<i>Total Persons</i>
Limerick	1	3	0	3	1	7	7
	2	11	0	2	7	20	40
	3	3	0	2	11	16	48
	4	3	0	2	9	14	56
	5	4	0	1	7	12	60
	6	6	0	3	4	13	78
	7	5	0	2	4	11	77
	8	6	0	2	5	13	104
	9	5	0	0	2	7	63
	10	2	0	1	2	5	50
	11	1	0	0	1	2	22
	12	5	0	1	1	7	84
	13	3	0	0	1	4	52
	14	1	0	0	0	1	14
	15	1	0	0	0	1	15
	16	1	0	0	1	2	32
	17	1	0	0	0	1	17
	18	0	0	0	0	0	
	19	0	0	0	1	1	19
Totals		61	0	19	57	137	838
Longford	1	1	1	0	1	3	3
	2	1	0	2	4	7	14
	3	2	0	1	6	9	27
	4	0	2	0	6	8	32
	5	5	1	3	5	14	70
	6	3	1	0	2	6	36
	7	4	1	0	2	7	49
	8	1	2	1	0	4	32
	9	2	0	0	2	4	36
	10	2	0	0	1	3	30
	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
	12	1	0	0	1	2	24
	13	1	1	1	1	4	52
	14	1	0	0	0	1	14
Totals		24	9	8	31	72	419

Table A.6: *Contd. (8)*

<i>County</i>	<i>No. in Household</i>	<i>Standard House</i>	<i>Chalet</i>	<i>Serviced Site</i>	<i>Roadside</i>	<i>Total Households</i>	<i>Total Persons</i>
Louth	1	2	3	0	2	7	7
	2	4	3	0	4	11	22
	3	3	3	0	3	9	27
	4	2	2	0	6	10	40
	5	2	1	0	3	6	30
	6	2	2	0	3	7	42
	7	0	2	0	0	2	14
	8	2	2	0	3	7	56
	9	3	0	0	0	3	27
	10	2	0	0	1	3	30
	11	0	0	0	2	2	22
	12	2	1	0	1	4	48
	13	0	1	0	0	1	13
	14	1	0	0	0	1	14
	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
	16	0	0	0	1	1	16
Totals		25	20	0	29	74	408
Mayo	1	0	0	1	0	1	1
	2	6	1	0	4	11	22
	3	5	0	1	7	13	39
	4	8	0	0	5	13	52
	5	5	0	0	4	9	45
	6	5	0	0	2	7	42
	7	2	0	0	3	5	35
	8	4	0	1	4	9	72
	9	7	0	0	2	9	81
	10	3	0	0	1	4	40
	11	4	0	0	0	4	44
	12	5	0	0	2	7	84
	13	2	0	0	0	2	26
	14	1	0	0	0	1	14
	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
	16	0	0	0	0	0	0
	17	1	0	0	0	1	17
	18	1	0	0	0	1	18
Totals		59	1	3	34	97	632

Table A.6: *Contd. (9)*

<i>County</i>	<i>No. in Household</i>	<i>Standard House</i>	<i>Chalet</i>	<i>Serviced Site</i>	<i>Roadside</i>	<i>Total Households</i>	<i>Total Persons</i>
Meath	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
	2	1	0	0	13	14	28
	3	1	0	0	7	8	24
	4	3	0	0	6	9	36
	5	6	0	0	8	14	70
	6	2	0	0	5	7	42
	7	1	0	0	5	6	42
	8	3	0	0	3	6	48
	9	2	0	0	8	10	90
	10	2	0	0	2	4	40
	11	1	0	0	0	1	11
	12	0	0	0	0	0	0
	13	2	0	0	3	5	65
	14	1	0	0	1	2	28
	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
	16	1	0	0	0	1	16
Totals		26	0	0	62	88	541
Monaghan	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
	3	0	0	0	1	1	3
	4	1	0	0	3	4	16
	5	1	0	0	1	2	10
	6	2	0	0	1	3	18
	7	2	0	0	1	3	21
	8	0	0	0	2	2	16
	9	0	0	0	3	3	27
	10	2	0	0	2	4	40
	11	2	0	0	0	2	22
	12	0	0	0	0	0	0
	13	0	0	0	1	1	13
Totals		10	0	0	16	26	187

Table A.6: *Contd. (10)*

<i>County</i>	<i>No. in Household</i>	<i>Standard House</i>	<i>Chalet</i>	<i>Serviced Site</i>	<i>Roadside</i>	<i>Total Households</i>	<i>Total Persons</i>
Offaly	1	0	3	0	1	4	4
	2	2	5	0	4	11	22
	3	3	2	0	3	8	24
	4	1	0	0	5	6	24
	5	0	2	1	7	10	50
	6	4	2	0	2	8	48
	7	7	1	0	3	11	77
	8	4	0	0	1	5	40
	9	4	1	0	1	6	54
	10	0	0	0	1	1	10
	11	2	0	0	2	4	44
	12	0	0	0	4	4	48
	13	0	0	0	1	1	13
Totals		27	16	1	35	79	458
Roscommon	1	0	0	1	2	3	3
	2	1	0	0	2	3	6
	3	2	0	0	3	5	15
	4	0	0	0	3	3	12
	5	3	0	0	1	4	20
	6	3	0	0	1	4	24
	7	2	0	0	5	7	49
	8	2	0	0	1	3	24
	9	2	0	1	1	4	36
	10	0	0	0	4	4	40
	11	1	0	0	1	2	22
	12	0	0	0	1	1	12
	13	1	0	0	1	2	26
	14	3	0	0	0	3	42
Totals		20	0	2	26	48	331

Table A.6: *Contd. (11)*

<i>County</i>	<i>No. in Household</i>	<i>Standard House</i>	<i>Chalet</i>	<i>Serviced Site</i>	<i>Roadside</i>	<i>Total Households</i>	<i>Total Persons</i>
Sligo	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
	2	0	0	0	2	2	4
	3	1	0	0	0	1	3
	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
	9	1	0	0	0	1	9
	10	1	0	0	0	1	10
	11	1	0	0	0	1	11
	12	0	0	0	0	0	0
	13	1	0	0	0	1	13
	14	1	0	0	0	1	14
	15	1	0	0	0	1	15
Totals		8	0	0	2	10	80
Tipperary	1	2	0	0	4	6	6
	2	1	0	1	6	8	16
	3	1	0	0	9	10	30
	4	2	0	1	11	14	56
	5	4	0	0	6	10	50
	6	4	0	0	12	16	96
	7	3	0	0	4	7	49
	8	3	0	0	1	4	32
	9	1	0	0	2	3	27
	10	3	0	0	4	7	70
	11	0	0	0	1	1	11
	12	0	0	0	1	1	12
	13	0	0	0	1	1	13
	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
	15	0	0	0	3	3	45
	16	1	0	0	1	2	32
	17	1	0	0	0	1	17
Totals		26	0	2	66	94	562

Table A.6: *Contd. (12)*

<i>County</i>	<i>No. in Household</i>	<i>Standard House</i>	<i>Serviced</i>			<i>Total Households</i>	<i>Total Persons</i>
			<i>Chalet</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Roadside</i>		
Waterford	1	0	0	0	4	4	4
	2	3	0	0	7	10	20
	3	1	0	0	2	3	9
	4	2	0	0	3	5	20
	5	0	0	0	3	3	15
	6	2	0	0	1	3	18
	7	2	0	0	0	2	14
	8	1	0	0	2	3	24
	9	2	0	0	1	3	27
	10	1	0	0	0	1	10
	11	1	0	0	0	1	11
	12	0	0	0	1	1	12
	13	1	0	0	0	1	13
Totals		16	0	0	24	40	197
Westmeath	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
	2	2	1	2	9	14	28
	3	0	0	1	10	11	33
	4	4	1	0	9	14	56
	5	2	0	0	3	5	25
	6	6	0	1	3	10	60
	7	10	1	0	1	12	84
	8	7	0	0	1	8	64
	9	1	0	0	0	1	9
	10	1	1	0	2	4	40
	11	1	0	0	0	1	11
	12	1	0	0	0	1	12
Totals		35	4	4	39	82	423

Table A.6: *Contd. (13)*

<i>County</i>	<i>No. in Household</i>	<i>Standard House</i>	<i>Chalet</i>	<i>Serviced Site</i>	<i>Roadside</i>	<i>Total Households</i>	<i>Total Persons</i>
Wexford	1	1	1	2	2	6	6
	2	3	2	0	6	11	22
	3	3	1	0	5	9	27
	4	10	0	1	0	11	44
	5	7	0	0	2	9	45
	6	10	0	0	3	13	78
	7	9	0	0	1	10	70
	8	7	0	0	1	8	64
	9	5	0	2	2	9	81
	10	5	0	0	0	5	50
	11	6	0	1	0	7	77
	12	2	0	0	2	4	48
	13	1	0	0	0	1	13
	14	1	0	0	0	1	14
Totals		70	4	6	24	104	639
Wicklow	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
	2	1	0	0	1	2	4
	3	1	0	0	7	8	24
	4	2	0	0	5	7	28
	5	0	0	0	2	2	10
	6	2	0	0	2	4	24
	7	2	0	0	5	7	49
	8	0	0	0	3	3	24
	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
	10	2	0	0	2	4	40
	11	2	0	0	2	4	44
Totals		12	0	0	30	42	248
Republic of Ireland		884	179	163	1,047	2,273	13,971

Table A.7: No. of children born live to all women ever married, by age group of mother, by Co. Dublin vs. non-Co. Dublin residence and total Travellers vs. roadside

Number of Children	Age Not Known	Number of Mothers by Age Group									Mothers by Residence*		Mothers, Total	Mothers, Roadside Only
		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50+	Co. Dublin	Non-Co. Dublin			
0	5	58	44	4	6	10	3	4	11	27	118	145	94	
1	4	50	90	22	5	5	5	2	5	31	157	188	117	
2	3	20	117	36	6	1	1	2	8	25	169	194	119	
3	2	2	77	42	11	7	3	5	12	36	125	161	94	
4	8	0	38	59	18	9	6	8	9	30	125	155	82	
5	3	0	22	60	21	13	21	9	12	33	127	160	71	
6	6	0	11	53	25	13	13	8	15	13	131	144	70	
7	5	0	5	32	31	24	14	8	25	24	113	144	57	
8	11	0	1	23	29	15	9	11	27	22	104	126	51	
9	5	0	0	11	24	24	8	13	33	17	101	118	31	
10	2	0	0	1	21	14	15	13	21	17	70	87	28	
11	8	0	0	1	15	19	13	11	28	17	78	95	29	
12	2	0	0	0	7	13	17	15	32	10	76	86	35	
13	2	0	0	0	2	12	11	8	19	13	41	54	19	
14	2	0	0	0	2	7	13	7	19	6	44	50	15	
15	1	0	0	0	3	7	9	6	23	7	42	49	21	
16	4	0	0	0	1	1	5	7	18	4	32	36	12	
17	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	3	9	3	18	21	11	
18	1	0	0	0	0	1	6	6	5	1	18	19	6	
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	3	0	7	7	2	
20	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	2	5	7	5	
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	3	4	1	
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	2	1	
Totals	74	130	405	344	227	198	181	151	342	339	1,706	2,052	971	

*Based on seven fewer cases than national total.

Table A.8: Nos. of children in Table A. 7 now living in household, by age group of mother, by Co. Dublin vs. non-Co. Dublin residence, and by roadside vs. total Travellers

Number of Children	Age Not Known ^a	Number of Mothers by Age Group								Mothers by Residence ^a		Mothers, Total	Mothers, Roadside Only
		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50+	Co. Dublin	Non-Co. Dublin		
1	7	53	97	23	7	6	6	9	63	50	221	271	147
2	7	16	117	41	8	6	9	14	51	37	232	269	143
3	4	2	75	45	12	3	11	12	28	31	161	192	106
4	8	0	44	65	20	9	15	11	25	37	160	197	92
5	4	0	15	66	22	15	21	24	18	31	154	185	82
6	11	0	11	51	28	25	16	19	29	30	160	190	79
7	0	0	2	22	32	25	20	18	8	20	107	127	51
8	9	0	0	18	28	17	20	19	8	24	95	119	56
9	5	0	0	9	31	21	8	6	4	16	68	84	25
10	7	0	0	1	13	21	16	7	3	10	58	68	30
11	2	0	0	0	12	19	12	1	2	7	41	48	17
12	0	0	0	0	4	13	10	5	1	5	28	33	12
13	0	0	0	0	1	2	4	2	0	0	9	9	3
14	1	0	0	0	1	5	3	0	0	1	9	10	4
15	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	0	1	5	6	1
16	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	3	5	0
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	2	3	2
Totals	66	71	361	341	222	190	177	148	240	301	1,513	1,816	850

^aBased on two fewer cases than national total.

Table A.9: Nos. of children in Table A. 7 now deceased, by age group of mother, by Co. Dublin vs. non-Co. Dublin residence, and by total Travellers vs. roadside

Number of Children	Age Not Known	Number of Mothers by Age Group								Mothers by Residence		Mothers, Total	Mothers, Roadside Only
		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50+	Co. Dublin	Non-Co. Dublin		
1	6	1	15	36	31	23	26	23	69	39	191	230	89
2	1	1	3	12	11	17	18	19	41	22	101	123	45
3	1	0	1	0	1	3	9	4	23	3	39	42	20
4	3	0	0	1	1	4	4	2	15	2	28	30	13
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	9	3	10	4
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	9	2	11	5
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	3	1
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	5	0	7	2
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	3	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	2	3	1
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	1
Totals	11	2	19	49	44	48	64	52	181	72	398	470	181

Table A.14: *Women ever married, by number of children living away, and year of birth of first child*

Year of Birth	Number of Children																	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7+	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16+
<i>Married, no Children</i>	158	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Before 1940	1	0	5	2	6	7	8	14	73	11	11	11	9	5	7	3	1	1
1940-44	1	3	1	3	6	3	9	8	34	10	2	7	4	2	0	0	1	0
1945-49	1	7	11	7	6	9	5	15	48	16	8	3	3	2	0	0	0	0
1950-54	3	5	15	18	27	17	15	10	30	8	8	2	1	0	1	0	0	0
1955-59	18	29	28	30	21	10	7	5	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960-64	118	64	28	11	2	0	2	0	3	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
1965-69	208	11	6	2	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1970-74	289	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1975-79	393	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1980-81	158	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table A.15: *Women ever married: year of birth of first child, by present age of mother*

Year of Birth	Age of Mother							
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50+
<i>Married, no Children</i>	58	44	5	6	10	3	3	14
Before 1940	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	101
1940-44	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	55
1945-49	0	0	0	1	1	1	11	75
1950-54	0	0	0	0	0	13	67	43
1955-59	0	0	0	0	8	71	42	21
1960-64	0	0	1	21	99	67	14	10
1965-69	0	1	15	111	63	18	7	4
1970-74	0	27	192	67	10	5	1	0
1975-79	19	240	112	14	1	0	0	0
1980-81	51	89	14	4	0	0	0	0

Table A.16: *Travelling people: numbers of persons and families, by County of residence, roadside and total, 1981**

<i>County</i>	<i>Roadside</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Families</i>	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Families</i>	<i>Persons</i>
Carlow	27	190	50	334
Cavan	10	72	17	110
Clare	27	171	66	412
Cork	59	284	141	852
Donegal	20	121	48	317
Dublin	304	1,470	581	2,844
Galway	103	515	274	1,850
Kerry	36	188	143	825
Kildare	27	161	32	186
Kilkenny	17	71	28	132
Laois	21	119	28	146
Leitrim	1	7	24	152
Limerick	58	322	138	840
Longford	31	155	73	420
Louth	29	160	74	408
Mayo	34	186	97	632
Meath	62	346	88	541
Monaghan	18	112	28	189
Offaly	35	216	79	458
Roscommon	26	166	48	331
Sligo	2	4	10	80
Tipperary	68	382	97	565
Waterford	24	94	40	197
Westmeath	39	153	82	423
Wexford	24	114	104	639
Wicklow	30	167	42	248
Totals	1,132	5,946	2,432	14,131

*Where household size was not known, it is assigned one person.

Table A.16A: *Travelling people: persons and families, per cent distribution, by County of residence, roadside and total*

County	Roadside		Total	
	Families	Persons	Families	Persons
Carlow	2.4	3.2	2.1	2.4
Cavan	0.9	1.2	0.7	0.8
Clare	2.4	2.9	2.7	2.9
Cork	5.2	4.8	5.8	6.0
Donegal	1.8	2.0	2.0	2.2
Dublin	26.9	24.7	23.9	20.1
Galway	9.1	8.6	11.3	13.1
Kerry	3.2	3.2	5.9	5.8
Kildare	2.4	2.7	1.3	1.3
Kilkenny	1.5	1.2	1.2	0.9
Laois	1.9	2.0	1.2	1.0
Leitrim	0.1	0.1	1.0	1.1
Limerick	5.2	5.5	5.7	5.9
Longford	2.7	2.6	3.0	3.0
Louth	2.6	2.7	3.0	2.9
Mayo	3.0	3.1	4.0	4.5
Meath	5.5	5.8	3.6	3.8
Monaghan	1.6	1.9	1.2	1.3
Offaly	3.1	3.6	3.2	3.2
Roscommon	2.3	2.8	2.0	2.3
Sligo	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.6
Tipperary	6.0	6.5	4.0	4.0
Waterford	2.1	1.6	1.6	1.4
Westmeath	3.4	2.6	3.4	3.0
Wexford	2.1	1.9	4.3	4.5
Wicklow	2.7	2.8	1.7	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Detail may not add to 100.0% because of rounding.

Table A.17: *Living conditions: number of roadside Travellers, persons and families, and total numbers of Travellers, Co. Dublin vs. non-Co. Dublin residence by: type of accommodation; approved vs. unapproved site; type of site; type of water supply; use of hot water tap; bathing facilities; toilet facilities; and electrical supply*

<i>Living Conditions:</i>	<i>Roadside Only</i>		<i>All Traveller Families</i>		
	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Families</i>	<i>County Dublin</i>	<i>Non-Co. Dublin</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Type of Accommodation</i>					
Local authority house	—	—	15	761	776
Other house	—	—	0	59	59
Chalet	—	—	78	98	176
Trailer or Caravan	5,491	1,029	266	800	1,066
Barrel wagon	264	49	6	39	45
Hut	57	10	1	8	9
Tent	99	33	4	25	29
Totals	5,911	1,121	370	1,790	2,160
<i>Approved Site</i>					
Approved	11	3	67	81	148
Unapproved	5,886	1,115	210	778	988
Totals	5,897	1,118	277	859	1,136
<i>Type of Site</i>					
Roadway	5,140	959	132	736	868
Private ground	671	146	73	62	135
Serviced site	59	10	72	52	124
Totals	5,870	1,115	277	850	1,127
<i>Type of Water Supply</i>					
Inside, public	53	8	104	867	971
Outside, public	120	22	57	76	133
Inside, private	0	0	0	23	23
Outside, private	45	11	2	13	15
No piped supply	5,704	1,080	207	809	1,016
Totals	5,922	1,121	370	1,788	2,158

Table A.17 (cont'd)

<i>Living Conditions:</i>	<i>Roadside Only</i>		<i>All Traveller Families</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Families</i>	<i>County Dublin</i>	<i>Non-Co. Dublin</i>	
<i>Use of Hot Water Tap</i>					
Yes	11	2	74	780	854
No	5,915	1,120	296	1,009	1,305
Totals	5,926	1,122	370	1,789	2,158
<i>Toilet Facility</i>					
Flush toilet	110	17	147	927	1,074
Chemical closet	3	1	0	7	7
Dry closet	28	8	0	14	14
None	5,793	1,097	223	843	1,066
Totals	5,934	1,123	370	1,791	2,161
<i>Inside Toilet?</i>					
No toilet	5,793	1,097	223	843	1,066
Yes	46	10	99	878	967
No	79	14	58	68	126
Totals	5,918	1,121	380	1,789	2,159
<i>Is Toilet Shared with Another Household?</i>					
No toilet	5,793	1,097	223	843	1,066
Yes	33	5	21	51	72
No	92	19	126	894	1,020
Totals	5,918	1,121	370	1,788	2,158
<i>Connection to Public Electricity Supply?</i>					
Yes	32	8	92	914	1,006
No	5,886	1,110	275	872	1,147
Totals	5,918	1,118	367	1,786	2,153

Table A.17A: *Living conditions, per cent distribution: roadside Travelling persons and families, and all Traveller families, Co. Dublin vs. non-Co. Dublin residence by: type of accommodation; approved vs. unapproved site; type of site; type of water supply; use of hot water tap; bathing facilities; toilet facilities; and electrical supply*

<i>Living Conditions:</i>	<i>Roadside Only</i>		<i>All Traveller Families</i>		
	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Families</i>	<i>County Dublin</i>	<i>Non-Co. Dublin</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Type of Accommodation</i>					
Local authority house	—	—	4.1	42.5	35.9
Other house	—	—	0.0	3.3	2.7
Chalet	—	—	21.1	5.5	8.1
Trailer or caravan	92.9	91.8	71.9	44.7	49.4
Barrel wagon	4.5	4.4	1.6	2.2	2.1
Hut	1.0	0.9	0.2	0.4	0.4
Tent	1.7	2.9	1.1	1.4	1.3
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Approved Site</i>					
Approved	0.2	0.3	24.2	9.4	13.0
Unapproved	99.8	99.7	75.8	90.6	87.0
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Type of Site</i>					
Roadway	87.6	86.0	47.7	86.6	77.0
Private ground	11.4	13.0	26.3	7.3	12.0
Serviced site	1.0	1.0	26.0	6.1	11.0
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Type of Water Supply</i>					
Inside, public	0.9	0.7	28.1	48.5	45.0
Outside, public	2.0	2.0	15.4	4.3	6.2
Inside, private	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	1.1
Outside, private	0.8	1.0	0.5	0.7	0.7
No piped supply	96.3	96.3	56.0	45.2	47.1
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A.17 (cont'd)

<i>Use of Hot Water Tap</i>					
Yes	0.2	0.2	20.0	43.6	39.6
No	99.8	99.8	80.0	56.4	60.4
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Use of Fixed Bath or Shower</i>					
Yes	0.2	0.3	18.9	42.7	38.6
No	99.8	99.7	81.1	57.3	61.4
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Toilet Facility</i>					
Flush toilet	1.9	1.5	39.7	51.7	49.7
Chemical closet	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.3
Dry closet	0.5	0.7	0.0	0.9	0.6
None	97.6	97.7	60.3	47.1	49.3
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Inside Toilet?</i>					
No toilet	97.9	97.9	58.7	47.1	49.4
Yes	0.8	0.9	26.1	49.1	44.8
No	1.3	1.2	15.3	3.8	5.8
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Is Toilet Shared with Another Household?</i>					
No toilet	97.9	97.9	60.3	47.1	49.4
Yes	0.6	0.4	5.7	2.9	3.3
No	1.6	1.7	34.0	50.0	47.3
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Connection to Public Electricity Supply?</i>					
Yes	0.5	0.7	25.1	51.2	46.7
No	99.5	99.3	74.9	48.8	53.3
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Detail may not add to 100.0% because of rounding.

Source: Table 17.

Table A. 18: *Roadside Travellers: numbers of persons and families, with per cent distribution, by months on present site, and months in county*

<i>No. of Months</i>	<i>Present Site</i>		<i>Present County</i>	
	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Families</i>	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Families</i>
	<i>Numbers</i>			
Less than 1 month	1,807	327	620	122
1 month	817	131	276	40
2 months	563	107	241	46
3 months	384	65	149	23
4 months	141	29	37	7
5 months	65	13	76	17
6 months	342	64	216	34
7-12 months	559	104	297	52
13-18 months	138	27	158	20
19-24 months	294	53	290	46
25 + months	707	126	3,369	614
Totals	5,817	1,046	5,729	1,021
	<i>Per cent Distribution</i>			
Less than 1 month	31.1	31.3	10.8	11.9
1 month	14.0	12.5	4.8	3.9
2 months	9.7	10.2	4.2	4.5
3 months	6.6	6.2	2.6	2.3
4 months	2.4	2.8	0.6	0.7
5 months	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.7
6 months	5.9	6.1	3.8	3.3
7-12 months	9.7	10.0	5.2	5.1
13-18 months	2.3	2.6	2.8	2.0
19-24 months	5.1	5.1	5.1	4.5
25 + months	12.2	12.0	58.8	60.1
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Detail of per cent distribution may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Table A.19: *Roadside Travellers: numbers of families with per cent distribution by months on present site, and months in present county — Co. Dublin vs. non-Co. Dublin residence*

<i>No. of Months</i>	<i>Present Site</i>		<i>Present County</i>	
	<i>Co. Dublin</i>	<i>Non-Co. Dublin</i>	<i>Co. Dublin</i>	<i>Non-Co. Dublin</i>
	<i>Numbers</i>			
Less than 1 month	55	253	13	100
1 month	33	88	6	31
2 months	18	82	3	38
3 months	17	45	4	18
4 months	5	24	2	5
5 months	1	12	2	14
6 months	20	38	11	18
7-12 months	16	83	7	42
13-18 months	5	22	5	15
19-24 months	16	32	8	34
25 + months	23	103	144	461
Totals	209	782	205	776
	<i>Per cent Distribution</i>			
Less than 1 month	26.3	32.4	6.3	12.9
1 month	15.8	11.3	2.9	4.0
2 months	8.6	10.5	1.5	4.9
3 months	8.1	5.8	2.0	2.3
4 months	2.4	3.1	1.0	0.6
5 months	0.5	1.5	1.0	1.8
6 months	9.5	4.9	5.4	2.3
7-12 months	7.7	10.6	3.4	5.4
13-18 months	2.4	2.8	2.4	1.9
19-24 months	7.7	4.1	3.9	4.4
25 + months	11.0	13.2	70.2	59.4
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Detail of per cent distribution may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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Table A.20: All Traveller families: numbers with per cent distribution by months on present site, and months in present county — Co. Dublin vs. non-Co. Dublin residence.

No. of Months Numbers	Present Site		County	
	Co. Dublin	Non-Co. Dublin	Co. Dublin	Non-Co. Dublin
	<i>Numbers</i>			
Less than 1 month	63	288	16	107
1 month	40	107	8	35
2 months	25	97	4	41
3 months	24	61	6	21
4 months	6	35	3	5
5 months	2	16	3	15
6 months	32	74	14	23
7-12 months	35	183	15	53
13-18 months	9	62	8	21
19-24 months	29	130	16	54
25 + months	102	728	268	1,405
Totals	367	1,781	361	1,780
	<i>Per cent Distribution</i>			
Less than 1 month	17.2	16.2	4.4	6.0
1 month	10.9	6.0	2.2	2.0
2 months	6.8	5.4	1.1	2.3
3 months	6.5	3.5	1.7	1.2
4 months	1.6	2.0	0.8	0.3
5 months	0.5	0.9	0.8	0.8
6 months	8.7	4.2	3.9	1.3
7-12 months	9.5	10.3	4.2	3.0
13-18 months	2.5	3.5	2.2	1.2
19-24 months	7.9	7.3	4.4	3.0
25 + months	27.8	40.9	74.2	78.9
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Detail of per cent distribution may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Table A.21: *Deaths: any death(s) in family in past three years, by Co. Dublin vs. non-Co. Dublin. (Current family residence number and per cent, excluding unavailable)*

<i>Any Deaths</i>	<i>Total</i>		<i>Co. Dublin</i>		<i>Non-Co. Dublin</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Yes	141	6.6	33	9.5	108	6.0
No	1,994	93.4	314	90.5	1,680	94.0
Not known	297	—	—	—	—	—
Total	2,432	100.0	347	100.0	1,788	100.0

Table A.22: *Age at death of Travellers reported to have died within past three years*

<i>Age at Death</i>	<i>Number of Persons</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Under 1 year	21	14.2
1-4	16	10.8
5-9	10	6.8
10-14	6	4.1
15-19	9	6.1
20-24	5	3.4
25-29	2	1.4
30-39	8	5.4
40-49	9	6.1
50-59	26	17.6
60-69	14	9.5
70 +	22	14.9
Total with age	148	100.0
Age Unknown	6	
Total Deaths Reported	154	

Table A.23: Travellers, roadside and all, by relationship to head of household — numbers and per cent distribution

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Roadside Only</i>		<i>All Travellers</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Self (head of household)	1,132	19.0	2,163	16.4
Spouse	883	14.9	1,773	13.4
Father or Mother	8	0.1	33	0.2
Father- or Mother-in-law	1	(a)	3	(a)
Son, Daughter	3,838	64.5	8,974	67.9
Son- Daughter-in-law	6	0.1	21	0.2
Brother or Sister	20	0.3	49	0.4
Brother- Sister-in-law	10	0.2	22	0.2
Aunt or Uncle	1	(a)	2	(a)
Grandparents	0	0.0	1	(a)
Niece or Nephew	11	0.2	30	0.2
Cousin or other Relative	27	0.5	133	1.0
Unrelated	3	0.1	3	(a)
Unknown	6	0.1	1	(a)
Total	5,946	100.0	13,208	100.0

(a) Greater than 0, less than 0.05%

Details of per cent distributed may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Table A.24: *Living conditions: per cent distribution of families, by region (Health Board area); type of accommodation; approved vs. unapproved site; type of site; type of water supply; use of hot water tap; bathing facilities; toilet facilities; and electrical supply.*

<i>Living Conditions</i>	<i>Region</i>							
	<i>Eastern</i>	<i>Midland</i>	<i>Mid-West</i>	<i>North-East</i>	<i>North-West</i>	<i>South-East</i>	<i>Southern</i>	<i>Western</i>
<i>Type of Accommodation</i>								
Local authority house	18.2	32.1	38.1	30.4	46.3	37.5	54.8	52.4
Other house	0.0	3.4	1.2	1.4	2.4	9.5	3.5	1.7
Chalet	14.4	11.5	2.8	10.6	13.4	2.5	1.4	4.3
Trailer or caravan	64.1	50.8	50.6	57.0	36.6	40.4	38.2	39.0
Barrel wagon	1.7	1.1	3.2	0.0	0.0	7.6	1.4	0.5
Hut	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.4	0.0
Tent	0.9	0.8	3.6	0.5	1.2	1.5	0.4	2.2
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Approved Site?</i>								
Approved	19.1	6.7	19.9	0.0	25.8	6.5	18.4	5.3
Unapproved	80.9	93.3	80.1	100.0	74.2	93.5	81.6	94.7
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Type of Site</i>								
Roadside	56.8	91.1	77.0	93.3	89.3	89.6	77.2	86.0
Private ground	22.8	3.7	5.9	6.7	3.6	8.9	9.6	10.5
Serviced site	20.4	5.2	17.0	0.0	7.1	1.5	13.2	3.5
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table A.24 (cont'd)

<i>Toilet Facility</i>								
Flush toilet	38.0	48.5	47.4	42.5	52.4	47.8	65.5	56.3
Chemical closet	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	4.9	0.0	0.0	0.2
Dry closet	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	2.6	0.4	0.7
None	61.6	50.8	52.6	57.5	41.5	49.6	34.2	42.7
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Inside Toilet?</i>								
No toilet	61.7	50.8	52.8	57.5	41.5	49.5	34.5	42.8
Yes	27.6	43.9	39.0	41.1	58.5	49.1	57.7	55.5
No	10.7	5.3	8.1	1.4	0.0	1.5	7.8	1.7
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Is Toilet Shared With Another Household?</i>								
No toilet	61.6	50.8	52.8	57.5	41.5	49.6	34.5	42.8
Yes	3.8	3.1	8.1	0.5	1.2	1.5	4.3	1.0
No	34.6	46.2	39.0	42.0	57.3	48.9	61.2	56.2
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Connection to Public Electricity Supply?</i>								
Yes	28.8	45.4	42.3	42.0	58.5	48.9	62.6	58.2
No	71.2	54.6	57.7	58.0	41.5	51.1	37.4	41.8
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Details may not add to 100.0% because of rounding.

Table A.25: *Per cent distribution of families, by region (Health Board area), months at present location.*

<i>No. of Months</i>	<i>Region</i>							
	<i>Eastern</i>	<i>Midland</i>	<i>Mid-West</i>	<i>North-East</i>	<i>North-West</i>	<i>South-East</i>	<i>Southern</i>	<i>Western</i>
Less than 1 month	15.6	19.3	18.3	24.5	15.9	21.9	9.6	9.7
1 month	8.5	5.0	7.1	7.4	3.7	9.9	4.6	5.6
2 months	6.2	4.6	7.5	7.4	3.7	8.0	2.5	4.4
3 months	6.9	2.3	3.8	2.0	4.9	4.7	2.5	2.2
4 months	1.6	1.9	0.8	3.9	0.0	1.5	1.4	2.2
5 months	0.4	0.8	1.7	0.5	0.0	0.4	2.8	0.0
6 months	7.8	2.3	2.9	2.0	2.4	1.1	6.4	7.7
7-12 months	8.7	9.7	13.4	6.9	9.7	7.7	11.4	11.7
13-18 months	2.0	5.1	4.6	3.4	3.6	1.1	4.3	2.9
19-24 months	6.9	8.5	6.7	6.9	8.5	7.3	7.1	7.5
25 +	35.8	40.6	33.2	35.5	47.5	36.6	47.9	45.9
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Detail of per cent distribution may not add to 100.0% because of rounding.

Table A.26: *Per cent distribution of families by region (Health Board Area), by months in present county.*

<i>No. of Months</i>	<i>Region</i>							
	<i>Eastern</i>	<i>Midland</i>	<i>Mid-West</i>	<i>North-East</i>	<i>North-West</i>	<i>South-East</i>	<i>Southern</i>	<i>Western</i>
Less than 1 month	6.0	7.7	6.2	10.8	7.4	9.7	3.2	1.7
1 month	1.8	1.5	1.7	3.0	2.5	3.3	0.4	2.9
2 months	2.4	1.2	1.2	2.0	0.0	7.4	0.7	1.7
3 months	2.4	0.0	0.8	1.0	1.2	2.6	0.7	0.7
4 months	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.7	0.4	0.0
5 months	0.7	0.4	1.7	0.5	1.2	0.0	1.4	1.2
6 months	3.5	1.5	2.5	0.0	0.0	1.1	3.2	1.0
7-12 months	4.1	0.8	4.1	2.5	2.4	4.5	4.0	2.5
13-18 months	1.7	0.0	0.8	1.5	3.7	1.5	2.2	0.7
19-24 months	4.4	1.2	2.1	2.0	2.5	5.2	4.6	3.2
25 + months	71.8	85.8	78.6	76.5	78.8	64.0	79.3	84.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Detail may not add to 100.0% because of rounding.

Table A.27: *Per cent of numbers of persons in household by region (Health Board area).*

Number of Persons	Region								
	Eastern	Midland	Mid-West	North-East	North-West	South-East	Southern	Western	Ireland
1	6.0	4.2	6.6	4.9	10.3	7.8	5.6	4.5	5.8
2	10.5	12.6	11.5	12.2	14.1	11.5	7.7	11.5	11.1
3	11.7	11.9	12.3	9.3	6.4	7.8	12.3	10.0	10.7
4	10.3	12.6	12.8	12.7	5.1	11.1	15.5	9.5	11.5
5	8.0	12.6	6.2	11.2	1.3	10.0	12.7	10.0	9.6
6	11.3	11.1	11.5	9.8	9.0	11.5	8.1	5.7	9.7
7	10.1	12.3	7.4	6.3	7.7	9.3	9.9	7.4	9.0
8	7.0	6.9	7.8	8.8	9.0	7.4	7.4	9.3	7.8
9	5.8	5.0	5.8	8.3	3.8	6.7	6.0	7.4	6.3
10	7.2	3.4	5.3	5.9	6.4	4.8	4.2	6.2	5.6
11	5.3	1.9	2.9	2.4	9.0	3.7	5.6	3.8	4.1
12	2.3	3.1	3.3	2.0	9.0	2.6	0.7	5.7	3.2
13	1.6	1.9	3.3	3.4	1.3	1.9	1.4	3.6	2.3
14	1.4	0.4	0.4	2.0	5.1	1.9	0.7	2.6	1.5
15	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.0	1.3	1.1	0.4	1.2	0.5
16	0.6	0.0	1.2	1.0	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.6
17	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.0	1.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.3
18	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.5	0.2
19	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.1
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Detail may not add to 100.0% because of rounding.

Table A.28: *Inter-county migration, all travellers: county of residence one year ago, by current county of residence*

Current County	Previous County									
	Not Known	Carlow	Cavan	Clare	Cork	Donegal	Dublin	Galway	Kerry	Kildare
Carlow	0	37	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1
Cavan	0	0	12	0	0	0	3	1	0	0
Clare	2	0	0	55	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cork	1	0	0	1	117	0	11	0	0	0
Donegal	0	0	0	0	0	47	0	0	0	0
Dublin	114	0	3	0	4	2	393	8	1	2
Galway	2	0	0	0	2	1	4	246	0	0
Kerry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	137	0
Kildare	2	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	19
Kilkenny	5	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	2
Laois	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Leitrim	0	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	0	0
Limerick	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	2	0
Longford	7	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Louth	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
Mayo	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	0
Meath	9	0	1	0	0	1	0	4	0	1
Monaghan	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Offaly	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Roscommon	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0
Sligo	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tipperary	3	2	0	1	4	0	4	0	0	0
Waterford	5	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
Westmeath	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
Wexford	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wicklow	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total families resident one year ago	155	47	21	58	131	51	444	263	144	26
Total current resident families (row totals)	—	50	17	66	141	48	581	274	143	32

Table A.28 (Contd.)

Current County	Previous County									
	Kilkenny	Laois	Leitrim	Limerick	Longford	Louth	Mayo	Meath	Monaghan	Offaly
Carlow	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cavan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Clare	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	0	0	2
Cork	0	0	0	4	0	1	1	0	0	1
Donegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dublin	0	0	2	7	1	1	2	3	3	0
Galway	0	0	1	0	0	1	5	0	1	2
Kerry	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kildare	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Kilkenny	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laois	0	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leitrim	0	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Limerick	0	0	0	115	0	1	0	0	0	2
Longford	0	0	0	0	63	0	0	0	0	0
Louth	0	0	0	3	0	63	0	1	0	0
Mayo	0	0	0	0	0	0	90	0	0	0
Meath	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	67	0	3
Monaghan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	0
Offaly	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	75
Roscommon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sligo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tipperary	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1
Waterford	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Westmeath	0	0	0	5	1	1	0	0	0	1
Wexford	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wicklow	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total families resident one year ago	19	27	20	140	65	69	103	74	27	89
Total current resident families (row totals)	28	28	24	138	73	74	97	88	28	79

Table A.28 (Contd.)

Current County	Previous County								Total
	Roscommon	Sligo	Tipperary	Waterford	Westmeath	Wexford	Wicklow	Other	
Carlow	0	0	3	0	0	3	1	1	50
Cavan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
Clare	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	66
Cork	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	141
Donegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	48
Dublin	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	32	581
Galway	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	274
Kerry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	143
Kildare	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	32
Kilkenny	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	28
Laois	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	28
Leitrim	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
Limerick	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	11	138
Longford	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	73
Louth	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	74
Mayo	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	97
Meath	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	88
Monaghan	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	28
Offaly	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	79
Roscommon	41	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	48
Sligo	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Tipperary	0	0	71	1	0	0	0	5	97
Waterford	1	0	0	27	0	2	0	0	40
Westmeath	0	0	0	0	69	0	0	0	82
Wexford	0	0	1	0	0	98	0	0	104
Wicklow	0	0	0	0	0	4	35	2	42
Total families resident one year ago	45	12	78	31	73	108	36	75	2,432
Total current resident families (row totals)	48	10	97	40	82	104	42	—	2,432

Table A.29: *Inter-County migration of Roadside Travellers; county of residence one year ago, by current county of residence*

Current County	Previous County									
	Not Known	Carlow	Cavan	Clare	Cork	Donegal	Dublin	Galway	Kerry	Kildare
Carlow	0	15	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1
Cavan	0	0	5	0	0	0	3	1	0	0
Clare	1	0	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cork	1	0	0	1	38	0	9	0	0	0
Donegal	0	0	0	0	0	19	0	0	0	0
Dublin	81	0	3	0	4	1	171	7	1	2
Galway	2	0	0	0	2	1	3	78	0	0
Kerry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	0
Kildare	0	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	16
Kilkenny	5	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	2
Laois	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Leitrim	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Limerick	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	2	0
Longford	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Louth	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
Mayo	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	0
Meath	9	0	1	0	0	1	0	4	0	1
Monaghan	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Offaly	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Roscommon	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0
Sligo	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tipperary	3	1	0	1	4	0	4	0	0	0
Waterford	5	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
Westmeath	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
Wexford	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wicklow	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total families resident one year ago	118	23	13	20	52	22	210	94	37	23
Total current resident families (row totals)	—	27	10	27	59	20	304	103	36	27

Table A29 (Contd.)

Current County	Previous County									
	Kilkenny	Laois	Leitrim	Limerick	Longford	Louth	Mayo	Meath	Monaghan	Offaly
Carlow	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cavan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Clare	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	0	0	2
Cork	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	1
Donegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dublin	0	0	0	7	0	1	2	2	2	0
Galway	0	0	1	0	0	1	5	0	1	2
Kerry	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kildare	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Kilkenny	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laois	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leitrim	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Limerick	0	0	0	39	0	0	0	0	0	2
Longford	0	0	0	0	24	0	0	0	0	0
Louth	0	0	0	3	0	18	0	1	0	0
Mayo	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	0	0	0
Meath	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	41	0	3
Monaghan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	0
Offaly	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31
Roscommon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sligo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tipperary	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1
Waterford	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Westmeath	0	0	0	4	1	1	0	0	0	1
Wexford	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wicklow	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total families resident one year ago	8	20	1	63	25	23	39	47	16	45
Total current resident families (row totals)	17	21	1	58	31	29	34	62	18	35

Table A.29 (Contd.)

Current County	Previous County								Total
	Roscommon	Sligo	Tipperary	Waterford	Westmeath	Wexford	Wicklow	Other	
Carlow	0	0	3	0	0	3	1	1	27
Cavan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Clare	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	27
Cork	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	59
Donegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20
Dublin	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	17	304
Galway	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	103
Kerry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	36
Kildare	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	27
Kilkenny	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	17
Laois	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	21
Leitrim	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Limerick	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	8	58
Longford	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	31
Louth	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	29
Mayo	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	34
Meath	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	62
Monaghan	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	18
Offaly	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	35
Roscommon	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	26
Sligo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Tipperary	0	0	44	1	0	0	0	4	68
Waterford	1	0	0	11	0	2	0	0	24
Westmeath	0	0	0	0	28	0	0	0	39
Wexford	0	0	1	0	0	19	0	0	24
Wicklow	0	0	0	0	0	4	23	2	30
Total families resident one year ago	24	4	51	15	32	29	24	54	1,132
Total current resident families (row totals)	26	2	68	24	39	24	30	—	1,132

Table A.30: Number of months on current site, all Travellers, number of families; by county

County	Un- known	Less than																			More than 120	Total	
		1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13- 18	19- 24	25- 30	31- 36	37- 48	49- 72			73- 120
Carlow	0	12	7	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	4	1	1	0	5	5	3	3	0	50
Cavan	1	2	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	3	0	17
Clare	2	19	5	3	3	2	0	1	0	3	1	3	0	2	4	6	1	1	0	5	5	0	66
Cork	2	13	6	3	5	3	7	13	1	7	3	2	2	8	7	6	1	5	7	10	19	11	141
Donegal	0	4	1	3	3	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	6	0	4	3	4	10	1	48
Dublin	101	71	44	27	28	6	2	37	2	3	8	2	0	23	10	37	5	13	19	44	60	39	581
Galway	5	23	16	13	3	4	0	31	2	5	6	1	1	14	3	25	8	23	14	19	33	25	274
Kerry	0	14	7	4	2	1	1	5	1	2	2	0	0	4	5	14	0	4	14	17	25	21	143
Kildare	2	9	0	7	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	3	0	32
Kilkenny	0	6	6	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	6	2	28
Laois	0	10	3	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	28
Leitrim	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	2	0	2	7	1	24
Limerick	3	21	6	13	5	0	3	4	1	1	0	0	1	10	7	8	0	4	9	12	19	11	138
Longford	2	15	4	1	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	7	0	10	0	4	3	5	8	8	73
Louth	0	9	0	5	2	4	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	5	2	8	4	2	6	12	3	8	74
Mayo	0	14	6	5	3	5	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	3	9	2	2	3	9	7	7	16	97
Meath	0	32	13	7	1	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	5	1	4	4	1	7	3	1	88
Monaghan	2	7	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	0	1	2	3	28
Offaly	1	13	6	3	0	0	1	3	0	2	2	0	1	4	2	5	0	6	5	18	5	2	79
Roscommon	1	3	1	0	3	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	8	0	4	0	4	4	7	6	4	48
Sligo	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	10
Tipperary	3	25	11	5	1	1	2	2	3	3	0	0	0	8	1	7	0	3	3	7	4	8	97
Waterford	0	12	1	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	4	0	0	3	2	1	6	40
Westmeath	0	12	0	7	2	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	3	3	6	7	0	6	4	5	14	8	82
Wexford	1	9	8	9	8	2	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	3	0	9	0	6	5	18	22	0	104
Wicklow	0	6	3	0	4	2	0	6	0	0	3	0	0	5	1	0	0	7	1	4	0	0	42
Total	126	370	158	129	90	41	18	115	14	30	34	10	13	127	72	168	28	112	119	211	270	177	2,432
Per Cent	5.2	15.2	6.5	5.3	3.7	1.7	0.7	4.7	0.6	1.2	1.4	0.4	0.5	5.2	3.0	6.9	1.2	4.6	4.9	8.7	11.1	7.3	100.0

APPENDIX II

INSTRUCTIONS AND CENSUS FORMS: 1981 CENSUS OF TRAVELLER FAMILIES

INSTRUCTIONS FOR 1981 CENSUS OF TRAVELLING FAMILIES

The 1981 Census uses a different form than previous years and adds some new questions. We hope that the following instructions will make clear how the form is to be used. Please contact Mrs Colbert-Stanley at the ESRI Survey Unit (phone 01-760115) if questions arise while taking the census.

First, some definitions that should be used by all local authorities:

1. A *Traveller* is included in the Census irrespective of the number of years in which he/she or their family have been settled in a house.
2. A *household* consists of a single person or a group of persons who regularly share a dwelling and usually have at least one meal per day in common. There need not be a marriage or blood relationship between the members of a household. A traveller who is institutionalised (e.g. in a nursing home) should be treated as an individual living on his or her own. A form is filled out for each household.
3. The *head of household or family* is designated in the following way. In the ordinary family situation (man, wife, and offspring) the procedure should be to select the husband. If other generations are present (man, wife and a married child and family) the oldest husband or individual with offspring in the household should be used as the household head. If no children of any member of the household are present, then select the oldest individual.

The first page of the census form is headed "Census of Travelling Families". Questions on accommodation and facilities can be answered on the basis of your own information and assessment. Please only ask if necessary. Also, please mark answers clearly on the form and avoid writing in the column to the right of the page, which will be used in the Survey Unit in processing the completed forms.

In answering questions on the length of time on the present site and in the county, please use the lines provided, using weeks and/or years as appropriate, and avoid writing in the boxes to the right of the page.

Similarly, please use the lines provided for writing in the counties of previous residence, of residence one year ago, and of origin. Please do not write in the boxes to the right of the page, which will be used to code the information in the Survey Unit.

When inquiring about persons normally living with the family (household) who died, please use the rest of the page for information if more than two persons have died. The age of the deceased should be entered in the boxes provided.

The obverse page is the actual census of individuals. Please fill in the Christian name, age, sex, relationship to head of household, and marital status, for all members of the household, beginning with the person designated as the head of household. Spaces for up to 22 persons are provided. If more spaces are required, please use another form, being careful to note that the form is a continuation. Boxes are provided for filling in age, sex and marital status. Individuals who are married, but separated from their spouse should be coded as "3" for marital status. Lines are provided for writing in long hand the name and relationship to head of household of each person.

On the right hand of the page, spaces are provided for five questions to be asked of *all* women in the household who are or ever were married. These questions refer only to the woman's own children. The boxes should be used to record the number of children born live, including in that number any who have since died. The year of birth of the first child born live should be entered in the next column. In the three columns that follow, the number of children still living with their mother, the number who died since birth, and the number now regularly living away from the household should be entered. The total still living with their mother, the number who died and the number living away from home should equal the total of all children ever born live to the woman.

PLEASE RETURN THE FIRST TWO FORMS YOU COMPLETE TO THE ESRI SURVEY UNIT, GIVING A PHONE NUMBER WHERE YOU CAN BE CONTACTED.

CENSUS OF TRAVELLING FAMILIES: CONFIDENTIAL 1,2 - 01

I.D.

--	--	--	--

 Location _____ COUNTY _____ 3

--	--

 6

Surname of Head of Household _____ 7 8

Wife's Maiden Name _____

Type of Accommodation:

- Local Authority House ...1 Other Standard House ...2
- Chalet...3 Trailer/Caravan ...4 Barrel Wagon ...5 Hut ...6 Tent ...7

Type of Site:

- Approved ...1 Unapproved ...2 10
- On Roadside ...1 On Private Ground ...2 On Serviced Site ... 3 11

Water Supply:

- Water tap, inside the dwelling, connected to public main.....1 12
- Water tap, outside the dwelling *only*, connected to public main.....2
- Water tap, inside the dwelling, connected to private source3
- Water tap, outside the dwelling *only*, connected to private source4
- No piped water supply5
- Has the household the use of a hot water tap? Yes ...1 No ...2 13
- Has the household the use of a fixed bath or shower? Yes ...1 No ...2 14

Sanitary Facilities:

- flush toilet ...1 chemical closet ...2 dry closet ...3 no toilet or closet ...4 15
- Is the toilet or closet inside the dwelling? Yes ...1 No ...2 16
- Is the toilet or closet shared with another household? Yes ...1 No ...2 17

Electricity Supply:

- Is the household connected to the public electricity supply? Yes ...1 No ...2

Family History:

- How long has the family been on the present site? _____ weeks

--	--	--

 19-21
- How long has the family been in this county? _____ weeks

--	--	--

 22-24
- What was their previous county of residence? _____

--	--	--

 25-26
- In what county was the family living one year ago? _____

--	--	--

 27-28
- In what county was the head of household born? _____

--	--	--

 29-30
- What kind of accommodation would the family prefer? Type _____ 31
- Location _____

--	--

 32-33

Has the family ever applied to a local authority for housing? Yes ...1 No ...2 34

Was the family ever housed by a local authority? Yes ...1 No ...2 35

Did anyone normally living with the family die within the past three years? Yes ...1 No ...2 36

If yes: a. age at death:

--	--

 years sex: male ...1 female ...2 37-39
 b. age at death:

--	--

 years sex: male ...1 female ...2 40-42

Total number in household

43	44
----	----

Marital Status

(1 = Married

IF A WOMAN WHO WAS EVER MARRIED

Name	Age (years)	Sex (m = 1, f = 2)	Relationship to Head	Marital Status		No. of Children Ever Born Live	Year of Birth of First Child	No. of Children in this Household	No. of Children Deceased	No. of Children Living Away
				1 = Married	2 = single, 3 = widow, etc.					

02 Head of Family							19													
03 Spouse of Head							19													
04							19													
05							19													
06							19													
07							19													
08							19													
09							19													
10							19													
11							19													
12							19													
13							19													
14							19													
15							19													
16							19													
17							19													
18							19													
19							19													
20							19													
21							19													
22							19													
23							19													

FOR OFFICE USE:

1, 2 = card see above

3-6 = ID (Dup.)

7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21

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