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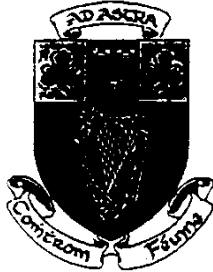
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North and South

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## RECENT TRENDS IN FERTILITY AND POPULATION IN IRELAND, NORTH AND SOUTH<sup>1</sup>

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## 0. INTRODUCTION:

Demographic trends in Ireland have long attracted the attention of researchers. This is in no small part due to the status of the Irish as outliers in the population history of Europe. For a century or more Ireland was remarkable for a combination of high emigration, high marital fertility, low non-marital fertility, and low nuptiality. The reluctance of many of the Irish, at least until recently, to participate in the European demographic transition is well known. For many decades high marital fertility compensated for a low marriage rate, so that Ireland's crude birth rate was unexceptional. But its enormous emigration rate has also made Ireland special. In the area that now constitutes the Republic of Ireland, emigration has accounted for much of the census-to-census fluctuation in the rate of population change since the mid-nineteenth century and was largely responsible for the decline in population there between the 1840s and early 1960s. A reduction in emigration was responsible for the subsequent population increase. Emigration, although significant, has been less important in Northern Ireland. Meanwhile, marital fertility has been declining both North and South, rapidly so in the recent past<sup>2</sup>.

Students of Irish population patterns have long noted the influence of religion and culture on demographic behaviour. Until very recently Ireland's low extra-marital and high marital fertility could plausibly be linked to its religiosity. The ongoing 'troubles' in Northern Ireland lend the religious dimension a somewhat macabre interest there, and the differences in the birth and migration rates of the Catholic and Protestant communities have political as well as demographic significance in the whole island. The Catholic share of Northern Ireland's population has been rising, giving rise to a variety of estimates and projections of the present and future confessional balance. Percentages and ratios which elsewhere would attract little general attention are never far from the surface in political discourse in Ireland. The reaction of one prominent loyalist politician - "Now they tell us they'll breed us out. I would say to them Protestants also breed" (Ian Paisley as quoted in the *Irish Times*, 11 June 1988) - tells its own tale. Academic discourse has usually been more tempered, though one respected academic long preoccupied with the issue has decried 'the fundamental demographic irritant of high Roman Catholic birth rates', and advocated the 'desirability to

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<sup>2</sup> For a review of past trends see Walsh [1970], Ó Gráda [1991], Kennedy [1993], and Ó Gráda and Walsh [1993].

bring Roman Catholic family size and rate of growth closer to the national European average' [Compton, 1976, p. 451; Compton, 1981b, p. 141]. Responses to the Northern Ireland census have been affected by the 'troubles', resulting in conflicting estimates of the population shares of Catholics and other denominations in the 1980s [Compton and Power, 1986; Eversley and Herr, 1985]. It has also been claimed, controversially, that their high fertility, rather than sectarian discrimination, has been responsible for the relative poverty and high unemployment rate of Northern Ireland's Catholic minority [Compton, 1981b].

The recent publication of 1991 census information for both Northern Ireland [DHSS, 1993] and the Republic of Ireland [CSO, 1992-94] offers a good opportunity for evaluating and comparing demographic behaviour in Ireland over the past few decades. Although the longer time lag involved in publishing details of the Republic's population by religion limits the comparison that can be made as of the time of writing, there are enough data available for a review of trends in denominational shares, fertility, and migration in the two Irelands.

#### (1) *DENOMINATIONAL SHARES*

In this section we document and compare trends in individual denominations' shares in the Republic and Northern Ireland, and in the island as a whole. The comparison is complicated by a shift in the response pattern, particularly in Northern Ireland, over the last few decades. Yet the most important features are well-known: the decline of the Protestant community in the South, and the growth of the Catholic share in the North. The following three graphs show the trend since 1861 in the Catholic share of the Republic of Ireland (Figure 1), Northern Ireland (Figure 2) and All Ireland (Figure 3). In each Figure we show the proportion of the total population declared "(Roman) Catholic" and, as the upper line, this proportion *plus* the proportion returned as "No Religion" and "Not Stated". We discuss the significance of these categories below.

[Figures 1 to 3 about here]

#### 1(a) *THE REPUBLIC: TRENDS OVER TIME*

Between 1911 and 1961 the population of the twenty-six counties declaring itself Roman Catholic in the Census fell by 5 per cent, but over the following thirty years it grew by 20.75 per cent - probably the

biggest increase recorded by an indigenous western European population over the period. Meanwhile, the non-Catholic population of the twenty-six counties has declined without interruption since 1911. In 1911 there were 250,000 adherents of the Church of Ireland, but by 1991 their number had fallen to 89,200.<sup>3</sup> Proportionately, the decline in the Presbyterian population has been even sharper, from 45,500 to 13,200. Some of the smaller denominations - Methodists and Jews, for example - have suffered even sharper declines. There has, however, been an increase in the numbers belonging to other denominations, especially since 1981. Table 1 summarises the returns of the 1991 Census and the trend between 1981 and 1991.

[Table 1 about here]

Because of the contrasting trends in the Catholic and Protestant populations, especially since 1961, the Protestant share in the total has fallen sharply. The share of the largest Protestant denomination - the Church of Ireland - fell from 8.0 per cent in 1911 to 2.5 per cent in 1991. The Presbyterian share fell from 1.5 to 0.4 per cent (see Figure 4). The declared Catholic share rose from 90.2 per cent in 1911 to a peak of 94.9 per cent in 1961. It fell after 1961 as the numbers returned in various small denominations, and as "No Religion" (*NONE*) and "Not Stated" (*NS*) increased rapidly. These categories were first identified separately in 1961. The proportion *NONE* has grown from virtually nil in 1961 to 1.9 per cent in 1991, and *NS* from 0.2 to 2.4 per cent. Although it is impossible to establish with certainty, it is likely that those returned in these categories in the Republic are predominantly of Catholic background.<sup>4</sup> If all in these two categories were regarded as Catholic, the Catholic share would have grown

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<sup>3</sup>Following the publication of the preliminary estimates from the 1991 Census of the distribution of the population by religious affiliation, the Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin, Dr Donald Caird, disputed the magnitude of the reported decline the Church of Ireland population (*Irish Times*, 19/4/1994). He claimed that many church members might have been returned simply as "Protestants", and assigned in the Census to "Other Stated Denominations". A more detailed breakdown of the returns was subsequently published by the Central Statistics Office, in which "Protestant" were aggregated with "Church of Ireland", as had been done in the 1981 Census. The data in the present paper are all based on the revised tabulations. Some uncertainty lingers, however, as Dr Caird has continued to doubt the extent of the reported decline in the Church of Ireland population, which he says does not accord with the experience of the clergy, especially in the Dublin region (*Irish Independent*, 2/5/1994).

<sup>4</sup>It is of interest to note that males outnumber females by about 2:1 among those returned as "none". On the other hand, there was a sizeable surplus of women over men in the Catholic population.

from 90.2 in 1911 to 95.1 in 1961 and 95.9 in 1991. The 'true' proportion Catholic in 1991 must therefore lie in the range 91.6 - 95.9.

[Figure 4 about here]

1(b) *REGIONAL PATTERNS IN THE REPUBLIC IN 1991*

The proportion returned as Catholic in 1991 varied from 96.7 per cent in Roscommon to 83.4 per cent in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown. In only six areas (Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown, Wicklow, Donegal, Cavan, Monaghan, and Dublin County Borough) was the proportion Catholic below 90 per cent. The Church of Ireland share was highest in Wicklow and Cavan (7.2 per cent), Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown (6.3 per cent), Donegal (4.8 per cent), Laois (4.7 per cent) and Carlow (4.4 per cent). It was less than one per cent in Mayo, Clare, Limerick County, Roscommon and Galway County. The Presbyterian population exceeded one per cent of the total only in Monaghan, Donegal and Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown. The geographical distribution of the two main Protestant denominations in the Republic is not very closely correlated - the linear correlation coefficient between the proportions Church of Ireland and Presbyterian was only +0.37.

The proportion of the population returned as "No Religion" was highest in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown (4.5), followed by Dublin County Borough (3.4), Galway County Borough (3.1) and Wicklow (3.1). At the other extreme, in 13 counties (Tipperary South, Leitrim, Wexford, Mayo, Carlow, Donegal, Tipperary North, Roscommon, Monaghan, Offaly, Cavan, Longford and Laois) this proportion was below one per cent. (In Longford and Laois it was only 0.5 per cent.) There was a tendency for the proportion declaring no religion to be highest in areas where the proportion returned as Catholic was relatively low. The correlation between the two proportions is -0.62. It can hardly be concluded, however, that those returned as "No Religion" are likely to be from non-Catholic backgrounds. Rather it is likely that secularised Catholics tend to live in the urban areas where the Protestant share has been historically high.

The proportion returned in other stated denominations (*OSD*) was highest in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown (3.2 per cent), Wicklow (2.3 per cent), Galway County Borough (2.1 per cent) and Dublin County Borough (1.9 per cent). The correlation between the proportions *OSD* and *NONE* was +0.93.

Finally, the proportion returned as "Not Stated" was fairly stable across regions. It was over three per cent in Dublin, Limerick and Sligo and less than 1.5 per cent in Offaly, Wicklow, Roscommon and

Laois. There was a small positive correlation between the proportions *NS* and *NONE*, +0.39, but it seems that this response was more a measure of lack of interest or poor enumeration than a declaration of lack of religion affiliation.

#### 1(c) *THE SOUTHERN BORDER COUNTIES*

In a north-south context, the trend in the religious mix of the counties contiguous to Northern Ireland (Louth, Cavan, Monaghan, Leitrim and Donegal) is of interest. Four of these counties suffered significant population losses between 1926 and 1971, the exception being County Louth. The Catholic population of the five counties fell by 22 per cent (from 357,273 to 279,080), but the Church of Ireland, Presbyterian and Methodist populations all lost more than half their 1926 totals. As a result, the Catholic share rose from 85.3 per cent to 89.9 per cent, while the share of the three main non-Catholic denominations fell by almost half (from 14.4 per cent in 1926 to 8.7 per cent in 1971). Between 1981 and 1991 the Catholic population of these counties rose by 0.1 per cent, whilst the Church of Ireland population declined by 8.3 per cent and the Presbyterian by 6.0 per cent.<sup>5</sup> As a consequence the Catholic share of the total rose from 92.8 in 1981 to 93.7 per cent to 1991.

#### 1(d) *REASONS FOR THE PROTESTANT DECLINE IN THE SOUTH*

Walsh (1970) attributed to the long-run decline in the Protestant population of the Republic to a number of unfavourable demographic characteristics - an aged population, high emigration rates, low fertility and the impact of "mixed marriages", in which children with one Protestant parent are raised as Catholics. His study focused on the period up to 1961. Proper updating must await more complete details of the 1991 Census, but the results for 1981 indicate some changes in the situation in the interim. The Protestant population continued to be elderly; in 1981 people aged 65 years and above accounted for 10.6 per cent of the Catholic population, but 17.4 per cent of all those professing other religions, while those aged 0-14 years were 30.8 per cent of the Catholic total, but only 21.7 per cent of people of other religions. However,

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<sup>5</sup>There was a 42.8 per cent increase in those returning "No religion" and a 16.1 per cent increase in the "Not stated" category, but, as we have seen, these categories remained relatively small in these counties.



comparing the data on marital fertility in the censuses suggests that much of the substantial gap between Catholics and others in fertility had been eliminated among those who married in the 1970s. Our measure of marital fertility in Table 2 below focuses on the average number of children per hundred women who had married when they were 20-4 years, after 5-9 years and 15-9 years of marriage.

[Table 2 about here]

Walsh [1970, pp. 16-9] showed that before 1961 Catholics were much more likely to emigrate than Protestants. Here too there are indications of a change in the 1960s and 1970s (see Table 3). In aggregate, Protestants were now slightly more likely to leave. While the Catholic age-cohort loss was still greater for the important 0-19 year group, Catholics aged 20 years or more were *less* likely to emigrate in these decades, and there was a net immigration of Catholics in the 20-9 year age-cohort. Whether this pattern continued when emigration rates rose again in the 1980s is a moot point. It is also not possible to document the influence of mixed marriages on the number of children raised as Protestants.

[Table 3 about here]

#### 2(a) *NORTHERN IRELAND:*

Having risen by nine per cent in 1926-51 and by eleven per cent in 1951-1971, Northern Ireland's population rose only marginally between 1971 and 1991, from 1,536,065 to 1,577,836. The change was quite uneven by region, however, ranging from -33 per cent in the Local Government District (LGD) of Belfast to +40.7 per cent in Lisburn. The rise has also been accompanied by a remarkable shift in the shares of the main religious denominations. Most notable here is the rise in the share of those *declaring themselves* Catholics from 31.4 per cent in 1971 to 38.4 per cent in 1991. However, since significant shares of the 7.3 per cent who refused to state their religion, and of the 3.7 per cent who declared they had no religion in

1991, seem to have been Catholics (see below), the true Catholic share had probably reached 42 or even 43 per cent by 1991. If so, the Catholic share is now higher than it has been at any time since the Great Famine, if not at some time in the eighteenth century. In 1861 it was 40.9 per cent in the six counties that would comprise Northern Ireland from 1921. The educational census of 1834 implies that it was 42 per cent in that year, but that must represent a peak or near-peak, since a traditionally higher Protestant emigration rate meant that the Catholic share was almost certainly rising for several decades before then (see Ó Gráda, 1994: Ch. 9). The increase in the Catholic share since 1961, although it has been rapid, is in line with the projection prepared by Walsh on the basis of the 1961 Census returns [Walsh, 1970, Table 13] but at the extreme upper end of that prepared by Compton and Boal [1970].

## 2 (b) RELIGION AND FERTILITY

In Table 4 total fertility (*TF*) is measured as the number of children aged 0-4 years per thousand women aged 15-44. By this measure<sup>6</sup> there has been a big drop in fertility in Northern Ireland since 1971. The drop was uneven across the twenty-six local government districts (LGDs), ranging from 18 per cent in Belfast to 41 per cent in Antrim. It was greatest in the western and northern regions. Our measure of marital fertility (*MF*) in Table 5 is the number of children aged 0-4 years per thousand married women aged 15-44. Since the numerator includes the (rising) number of births taking place outside wedlock, *MF* fails to capture the full extent of the decline in marital fertility. (From the perspective of future population growth, however, *TF* rather than *MF* is what matters.) Cross-tabulations by religion of births outside wedlock are unavailable; however, since there is no strong correlation between the proportion of births outside wedlock and the proportion Catholic, we believe that this measure of marital fertility is not biased by religious affiliation.<sup>7</sup> The drop in *MF*, our admittedly approximate yardstick of marital fertility, has been smaller than

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<sup>6</sup>This crude measure ignores the influence of age on women's fecundity, but a little experimentation suggested that differences in the age structure of women under 45 years across religions was small enough to ignore for the purpose at hand.

<sup>7</sup>The correlation between the Catholic share of the population and the proportion of illegitimate births in 1991 was -0.155.

that in *TF* and also more even across the province. The decline in *MF* ranged from one per cent in Belfast and 31 per cent in Magherafelt and Moyle. In 1991 *MF* ranged from 440 in North Down to 714 in Derry. It was highest in the west and south of Northern Ireland and in Belfast. The position of Belfast, an urban district nearly surrounded by districts with low *MF*, was anomalous, but is probably explained by the massive shift in the religious balance of its population between 1971 and 1991.

[Tables 4 and 5 about here]

Tables 4 and 5 show that Catholic fertility easily exceeded that of other denominations in both 1971 and 1991. Since 1971, Catholic fertility (*TF*) has dropped by 34.7 per cent, Presbyterian by 32.6 per cent, Church of Ireland by 28.6 per cent. The absolute Catholic lead has been reduced. The relative Catholic lead has also fallen, as may be seen from the following indices, where the Protestant (i.e. the average of the Church of Ireland and Presbyterian) index is set equal to 100. The drop in marital fertility is particularly notable.

	1971		1991	
	TF	MF	TF	MF
Catholic	144	173	136	142
Protestant	100	100	100	100

None the less, in 199 Catholic fertility remained significantly higher than Protestant.<sup>8</sup> This outcome is difficult to square with Compton and Coward's finding [1989: Table 4.2] that the Catholic/Protestant differential in intended completed family size was narrowing throughout the 1970s and had been eroded down to 18 per cent by 1982-3. Indeed it more in line with the finding of Compton [1981a], that the Catholic birth rate was fifty per cent higher than Protestant during the 1970s.

Although there was a general narrowing of the religious differential in fertility, only in a few districts - notably, in Ards, Carrick and North Down - has Catholic fertility asymptoted towards Protestant

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<sup>8</sup>The fertility of the sizeable minority who chose not to state their religion fell least, by 26 percent. Since a significant proportion of the latter was probably Catholics, this reinforces the point about the lack of convergence of the fertility rates of the two communities.

levels over the last two decades. In a few areas - Antrim, Lisburn and Moyle - the Catholic/Protestant differential actually widened over the period. In Lisburn, where Catholic fertility was already 154 per cent of Protestant in 1971, it increased to 163 per cent in 1991.<sup>9</sup> The decline in Catholic fertility was somewhat slower in the areas with highest fertility in 1971.<sup>10</sup> As a consequence, the relative dispersion of Catholic fertility increased: the coefficient of variation (the standard deviation as a per cent of the mean) rose from 8.3 in 1971 to 12.0 in 1991. In contrast, Protestant fertility became slightly somewhat less variable between areas. Another consequence was the emergence of a positive correlation between the share of Catholics in an LGD's population and the index of Catholic fertility. In 1971 there was no significant correlation between these two variables ( $r = +0.04$ ), but in 1991 the positive correlation was highly significant ( $r = +0.69$ ). Finally, it is interesting to note that the areas where Catholic fertility declined fastest were generally those where the Catholic share of the population rose least or (as in Ards, Carrick, Larne Newtownabbey and North Down) actually declined.<sup>11</sup> A tentative conclusion is that Catholic fertility has declined most rapidly in areas outside the traditional Catholic "ghettoes" where relatively small numbers have become assimilated with the Protestant majority. The variations of religion-specific fertility across regions illustrate the importance of influences of factors other than religion on demographic behaviour.

The increasing proportion of the population that refused to answer the question about religious affiliation has been a feature of the last three Northern Ireland census enumerations. Less than two per cent of respondents ignored the question on religion in 1961 (and much smaller per centages before then), but the proportions not stating their religion (*NS*) were 9.4 per cent in 1971, 18.5 per cent in 1981, and 7.3 per cent in 1991. In 1971, those who chose not to state their religion tended to live in Catholic areas; the correlation across districts between the proportions of the population that were Catholics and *NS* was +0.700. This had changed round by 1991, when the correlation was -0.730. The correlation between the sum of proportions *NS* and *NONE*, was even higher (-0.86). The correlation between *changes* in the proportions of Catholics

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<sup>9</sup>The anomalous behaviour of Lisburn in this and other regards may reflect the creation of a large, predominantly Catholic housing estate in the area during the period.

<sup>10</sup>The correlation between the ratio of Catholic fertility, 1991 over 1971, and the level in 1971 was -0.42.

<sup>11</sup>The correlation between the change in Catholic fertility, 1971-91, and the change in the Catholic share of the population, is  $r = +0.66$ .

and of *NS* between 1971 and 1991 was -0.822.

At first sight, this would seem to imply a radical change in the religious composition of those in the *NS* category in the interim. However, the relatively high fertility of the *NS* group revealed in Tables 3 and 4 for both 1971 and 1991 suggests that most of those who chose not to state their religion were 'Catholic' by background.<sup>12</sup> In most districts, *NS* fertility was as high as, or higher than, Catholic fertility. In 1991, the excess of *NS* fertility was very marked indeed. Moreover, the correlation between Catholic and *NS* fertility, both in 1971 and 1991, was higher than that between either Presbyterian or Church of Ireland and *NS* fertility (see Table 6).

[Table 6 about here]

In 1991, for the first time, respondents to the Northern Ireland census had the option of giving their religion as 'None'. The 3.7 per cent who did so lived mostly in heavily Protestant areas: the correlation between the proportions Catholic and *NONE* was -0.877, and that between the proportions *NS* and *NONE* +0.808. The proportion replying 'None' was highest (8.5 per cent) in North Down, where declared Catholics accounted for only 9 per cent of the population; it was lowest (less than one per cent) in heavily Catholic Dungannon, Strabane, and Magherafelt. The inference that most of those replying 'None' were or non-believers of Protestant stock would seem to follow. Yet this is not readily squared with the fertility data in Tables 3 and 4. The high *TF* and *MF* levels recorded by the population replying 'None' make it likely that a significant part of that population is Catholic 'in disguise'. That intriguing likelihood is surely strengthened by the cross-LGD pattern. In predominantly Catholic LGDs such as Strabane and Newry, low *TF* and *MF* levels for those answering 'None' suggest genuine 'atheists'; but the high *TF* rates for those answering 'None' in Antrim, Ards, or Ballymena are surely anomalous. Our tentative explanation is that in 1991 Catholics in heavily Protestant areas were more likely to refuse to declare their religion or disguise themselves as 'atheists'.

The high negative correlation between the proportion of the population reported as Catholic and the

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<sup>12</sup>Another possibility is that some parents, who return themselves as Protestants, do not state a religion for their young children, but this seems somewhat implausible.

proportion not stating their religion in 1991 should not be lightly dismissed. After all, Tables 4 and 5 show that Catholic fertility was not universally high, and fluctuated according to local area. Yet the fertility information reported in Tables 3 and 4 and correlations reported in Table 5 should not be dismissed out of hand either. That many of those living in predominantly Protestant areas who chose not to state their religion 'revealed' their Catholic background through their fertility is a plausible inference from these data.

Some further roundabout evidence about the share of Catholics in the *NS* group in 1991 is provided by the answers to the question on the Irish language. It seems fair to assume, at least for the sake of this argument, that few Protestants would profess in the census to know Irish. We therefore define *RATIO* as the ratio of the number claiming some knowledge of Irish in 1991 to the number of declared Catholics in 1991. We include as Irish speakers those who claimed either a reading, speaking, or writing knowledge of the language, and assume that those who failed to reply to the question knew no Irish.<sup>13</sup> For Northern Ireland as a whole *RATIO* is 0.234, implying that nearly one Catholic in four knew some Irish.<sup>14</sup> *RATIO* was highest in Dungannon (0.420), Armagh (0.317), Cookstown (0.296), Magherafelt (0.285), and Belfast (0.280), all (except Armagh) areas with a Catholic majority. It was lowest in Lisburn (0.147) and Strabane (0.160). A positive association between *RATIO* and Catholicity is to be expected, since facilities for learning and speaking Irish are likely to be better in areas with big Catholic populations. The correlation between *RATIO* and the recorded Catholic share across the twenty-six LGDs was 0.216. Alternatively, however, defining *RATIO2* as the ratio of Irish speakers to the share of declared Catholics plus *NS*, the correlation between *RATIO2* and the latter share becomes much higher +0.631.

The evidence seems quite strong, therefore, that even in 1991 those who refused to state their religion in the census were mostly of Catholic background. This would modify our conclusions about the changes in the Catholic share of the population of these areas.

Estimates of the true proportion of Catholics in Northern Ireland's population must remain approximate, since they turn on assessments about Catholic shares and *NS* and *NONE* categories. 38.4 per

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<sup>13</sup>Assuming the opposite - that refusal to answer the language question indicated some knowledge of Irish - implies implausibly high numbers of Irish speakers among Catholics in predominantly Protestant LGDs such as Castlereagh (0.468), North Down (0.456), Carrick (0.449) and Newtownabbey (0.385). Thus it is fair to suppose that most of those who did not answer the language question were Protestant.

<sup>14</sup>It is interesting to compare this with the corresponding ratio in the Republic, which was 31.1 per cent.

cent of the population declared themselves Catholics in the census (see Table 6). However, this constitutes 43.1 per cent of those declaring a religion in the census. If we assign fifty per cent of those in the *NS* and *NONE* categories to the Catholic proportion, the Catholic share becomes 43.9 per cent. However, FitzGerlad claims that 'the allocation to the Catholic community of almost half of those not declaring a religious affiliation is mistaken'<sup>15</sup>, whilst Jardine [1994], by allocating the proportions *NS* and *NONE* by religion in accordance with the proportions declaring for each denomination at Enumeration District level favours an estimate of 42.1 per cent Catholic, which he states is close to the estimate obtained from household interviews which have not encountered as high a non-response rate as the Census. On the basis of the evidence we cite above, we would argue for a somewhat higher proportion Catholic. Figures 2, 3 and 4 have been drawn to show upper and lower bounds for the Catholic share in Northern Ireland, the Republic and the whole island, based respectively on the assumptions that all or none of the *NS* and *NONE* are Catholics.

Comparisons of fertility within Protestant denominations did not prove interesting. Across Northern Ireland, in both 1971 and 1991, the fertility of Presbyterian women was slightly lower than that of Church of Ireland women. However, the gap was small. This accords with the findings of Compton and Coward [1989: 51-3] and, for an earlier period, Ó Gráda [1985].

### 2(c). RELIGION AND AGE

Figures 5 and 6 (based on Table 7) describe confessional loyalties by age-group in 1971 and 1991. Two points stand out. First, in both years the Catholic share tended to fall, and the share of Presbyterian, Church of Ireland, and 'Other' to rise, with age. This is a reflection of both differential migration patterns (see below) and the growing share of Catholics in Northern Ireland's population. In the case of children aged 0-4 years the proportions declaring for the various religious persuasions changed as follows between 1971 and 1991:

<i>Census</i>	<i>Cath</i>	<i>Presb</i>	<i>CofI</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>NS+None</i>
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<sup>15</sup>*Irish Times*, 27 November, 1993.

1971	38.3	22.0	19.1	8.8	11.8
1991	45.4	15.9	14.8	10.0	13.8

However, among those aged 65 years and over, the declared Catholic share was below thirty per cent in 1991; this was the only age-category in which Catholics did not form the single biggest religious grouping. Two decades earlier, Presbyterians outnumbered Catholics in all age groups at 40-44 years and over. Both tables imply that the declared Catholic population was, and is, considerably 'younger' than the rest; indeed, nearly half of it (47 per cent) was under 25 years in 1991, compared to 34-35 per cent of the Protestant population. The trend in the shares of *NS* and 'None' by age-group is consistent with the gradual drift away from formal religion affiliation observed elsewhere in the West. However, the marked bulge in both years in the *NS* category produced by those aged between 20 and 49 years probably reflects in part a determination not to reveal religious affiliation. Second, in 1991, though not in 1971, the Catholic share among 0-4 year-olds was less than among 5-9 year-olds. This may well indicate a disproportionate fall in Catholic fertility in the very recent past, auguring an eventual levelling-off in the Catholic share.

[Figures 5 & 6 about here]

#### 2(d). *MIGRATION AND RELIGION*

Though the Catholic share of Northern Ireland's population has been rising for a long time, until recently that rise was dampened by a higher Catholic net out migration rate [Walsh, 1970, pp. 16-8]. The surprisingly large Catholic population share in 1991 suggests that in recent times, this pattern may have been reversed. Unfortunately, the high non-response rate in the 1981 census and the high percentage of those who choose not to declare their religion rule out an analysis of migration by religion between the 1970s and the 1980s. Can an analysis of age-cohort depletion patterns by religion spanning the period 1971 to 1991 avoid some of the problems created by the high non-response rate in 1981? We first compare totals aged 0-19 years in 1971 with those aged 20-39 years in 1991, taking into account only those declaring one of the three main denominations in both years. The outcome (see Table 8, i-iii) suggests that Presbyterian and Church of Ireland net migration was almost double that of Catholics over the two decades. Age-cohort depletion among Protestants exceeded thirty per cent, while among Catholics the rate was 17.6 per cent.



However, a little experimentation suggests that this outcome is sensitive to the treatment of responses to the question on religion. Thus, for example, assuming that two-thirds of all *NS* and 'None' groups were Catholic in both 1971 and 1991 would imply a Catholic depletion rate of 15.5 per cent in 1971-1991 and a non-Catholic rate of 24.3 per cent (Table 8, iv-v). Alternatively assuming Catholic shares of two-thirds in 1971 and one-half in 1991 implies cohort depletion rates of 19.3 per cent for Catholics and 21.3 per cent for others (Table 8, vi-vii). Clearly, the outcome is quite sensitive to the assumptions made about those not declaring a religious affiliation. Nonetheless, there can be little doubt that Catholics were less likely to leave than others in the 1970s and 1980s.

Comparing out migration rates by religion before 1971 and in 1971-1991 is complicated by non-response and the reorganization of local government, which rules out regional disaggregation is impossible, except in the case of Fermanagh. However, in Northern Ireland as a whole the depletion rates of the 10-14 year cohort between 1951 and 1961 were 26.1 per cent for Catholics, 13.5 per cent for Presbyterians, and 14.6 per cent for members of the Church of Ireland. Assuming that all of the *NS* group in both 1951 and 1961 were Catholics would reduce the Catholic rate to 19.5 per cent, still well ahead of the rest. Comparing 1961 and 1971 in Fermanagh suggests depletion rates of 50.7 per cent for Catholics and 36.5 per cent for Church of Ireland, Presbyterian and Methodist combined. However, even here non-response is a problem: for example, assuming that all of the *NS* group were Catholic in both years would reduce the Catholic rate to 37.5 per cent.

What support does breaking down the data by region lend to the claims of regional polarization reported in the press? Church of Ireland and Presbyterian migration rates were relatively high in those LGDs, such as Derry and Moyle, where Catholics were most numerous in 1971, and Catholic migration was high from predominantly Protestant LGDs such as Larne, Newtownabbey, and Carrick, although this latter finding should be interpreted cautiously in view of the probable understatement of Catholics in these areas (see above). Moreover, there was little overall correlation between the declared Catholic share in 1971 and Catholic cohort depletion across LGDs ( $r = +0.02$ ), and a negative correlation between alternative estimates of Catholic share including *NS* and *NS* and 'None' and cohort depletion ( $r = -0.50$  and  $-0.38$ ). The correlations between declared Catholic and Church of Ireland and between declared Catholic and Presbyterian cohort depletion rates ( $+0.15$  and  $+0.45$ ) were lower than that between the rates for members of

Church of Ireland and Presbyterians (+0.56).

The shift after 1971 in migration rates may suggest an improvement in the relative status of Northern Ireland Catholics. Comparing correlation coefficients between two proxies for wellbeing - car ownership per household and housing quality (see Tables 8a and 8b) - and the Catholic proportion of the population in 1971 and 1991 fails to support to such a hypothesis. A high proportion of Catholics is associated with relatively low scores on these indices of living standards.<sup>16</sup> But a more rigorous analysis is called for.

Comparing census data on unemployment in 1971 and 1991 shows some evidence of relative improvement. Unemployment rates rose substantially for all denominations between these dates, but in 1971 those who declared themselves Catholics were 2.5 times as likely to be out of work as members of all other denominations, while in 1991 the proportion was 2.1. In both years Presbyterians were least likely to be unemployed; the *NS* group had unemployment rates approaching Catholic levels.

*Unemployment by Religion in 1971 and 1991*

Year	All		Cath		Presb		CofI		NS	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1971	10.3	4.7	17.3	7.0	5.7	3.3	8.2	4.1	13.4	6.1
1991	19.0	10.8	28.4	14.5	10.9	6.9	15.7	9.5	21.3	13.3

y

Unemployment rates are also available by religion from household surveys. These reveal a male Catholic unemployment rate of 25.7 per cent compared with an unemployment rate among the rest of the population of only 10.3 per cent. Refined analysis of these data suggests that about half the differential can be accounted for in terms of differences in personal characteristics, such as education, skill levels or work experience, between Catholic men and others. The remainder of the differential is attributable to the effect of religion [Murphy, 1994].

<sup>16</sup>The correlation between the proportion Catholic and the number of room per capita was -0.85 in 1971 and -0.89 in 1991; that between the proportion Catholic and cars per head -0.19 in 1971 and -0.25 in 1991.



[Table 9 about here]

## 2(f) FERTILITY TRENDS NORTH AND SOUTH

Since 1971 both marital and total fertility have dropped rapidly throughout most of the Republic of Ireland (see Table 10). In seventeen out of twenty-six counties the decline in *TF* between 1971 and 1991 exceeded 35 per cent. The decline was subject to some considerable regional variation, being smallest in south Ulster and north Connacht. By 1991 fertility was lowest in Dublin, Munster, Galway, Sligo, Westmeath, Wicklow, and Louth. The less urbanized counties had higher fertility, and the low overall fertility of the county boroughs is a notable feature. In 1991 Irish fertility was lowest of all in suburban and largely middle-class Dun Laoghaire, an area with a significant proportion of Protestants and people of no religious affiliation, but it was also low in the socially mixed but mainly Catholic cities of Dublin, Cork and Limerick - lower in fact than in Ards or North Down - the areas with the lowest fertility in Northern Ireland.

Lesthaege [1977] revealed a close link between culture and fertility patterns: the language frontier between Walloons and Flemings might be inferred from a map of marital or overall fertility levels in the late nineteenth century. Can the same be said of Ireland? Detailed comparisons controlling for social class showed that a marked Catholic/Protestant differential existed on both sides of the Irish political border in 1961 [Walsh, 1970]. Our discussion of Catholic/Protestant differentials in Northern Ireland shows that in all 26 LGAs of Northern Ireland, Catholic fertility exceeded Protestant, and although the differential declined between 1971 and 1991 it remained significant.

Is there also a differential reflecting the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic? Has their minority status made the fertility of northern Catholics differ from that of their southern co-religionists? Walsh [1970] and Coward [1981] found a Northern Ireland effect in earlier data, after controlling for religion and social class. More up-to-date comparisons are necessarily less refined, as data for 1991 on Catholic fertility south of the border are lacking, but suggestive none the less. In 1991 *TF* was lower in the Republic than in Northern Ireland, and considerably lower than Northern Ireland Catholic *TF* [compare Coward,

1980]. Table 11 compares the three Ulster counties in the Republic and Leitrim with six adjoining local government districts in Northern Ireland. Comparing northern Catholic fertility and that of the whole population of Ulster south of the border suggests a 'border effect', as may be seen from the following average *T*Fs:

	1971	1991
Four northern counties of the Republic (total population)	513	379
Six southern LGDs of Northern Ireland (Catholics only)	575	398
Northern excess	12%	5%

This comparison is biased in favour of a lower figure in the North by the fact that the northern regions included are more 'urban' than the southern, so any reported northern differential should understate the true contrast. However, the southern counties include a significant proportion of Protestants, better represented here than elsewhere in the Republic, so the Catholic fertility would be higher than the overall rate. If these two biases are roughly offsetting, the higher level of fertility in the North may indeed reflect a genuine border effect, which is markedly less in 1991 than it was in 1971.<sup>17</sup>

It is also true that overall fertility levels in Cavan, Monaghan, Donegal, and Leitrim in 1991 seem to have had more in common with Tyrone and Fermanagh than they had with, say, Munster. Again, the decline in fertility between 1971 and 1991 was lower in both south Ulster (on both sides of the border) and in north Connacht than in the rest of the island. Comparing Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland as a whole may be somewhat misleading, then. Rather than attributing the relatively high Catholic fertility north of the border to the border itself, it may be part of a more general north-south gradient in the whole island.

### 3. CONCLUSION

<sup>17</sup>We should not forget, however, yet another problem is the exclusion of the 'not stated' from the northern figures. This group had high fertility and probably should be merged with the Catholics for the purposes of our analysis.

Compton and Coward [1989: 201-5], following Lesthaeghe [1983], equate human fertility decline with 'modernization'. In the context of the 'troubles' the terminology may be insensitive; but Compton and Coward's inquiries, based both on census and survey data, certainly show that Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland differ in their attitudes to family size, as indeed our data show their behaviour differs. Controlling for region or socio-economic background fails to erode the fertility gap that they find between Catholics and Protestants, and Catholic religiosity or 'culture' remains the best explanation for the gap [also Walsh, 1970]. Indeed Northern Irish Catholics differ not only from Northern Irish Protestants in their enthusiasm for family limitation, but also from Dutch Catholics or American Catholics and, to some extent at least, from southern Irish Catholics!

Compton has repeatedly argued that Catholic fertility would gradually asymptote towards a Protestant 'norm', and the Catholic share of Northern Ireland's population would accordingly stabilize at a level far below fifty per cent. The drop in Catholic fertility predicted by Compton and others over the past two decades has indeed taken place. Less expected, perhaps, has been the sharp drop in the marital fertility of other denominations. A 'national and European average' [Compton, 1981b: 141] has proven to be somewhat of a moving target. In 1990 the *TFR* was 130 in Spain and Italy, 180 in France and Britain, and 220 in the Republic [Sporton, 1993: 51]. In northern Ireland we saw that the gap in the fertility rate between Catholics and other denominations, though declining, remains large. Migration patterns have also shifted the demographic balance in favour of Catholics.

The future trend in these differentials, which are the crucial determinant of the balance between Catholics and Protestants in the Province, is uncertain. Catholic fertility in Northern Ireland is likely to continue to decline, especially in view of the fact that it is now significantly higher than Catholic fertility in the Republic of Ireland. However, Protestant fertility is also relatively high, compared with Britain or with (predominantly Catholic!) southern European countries. It is possible that the birth rate in both communities will continue to fall, but that the Catholic rate will continue to lag behind the Protestant, as happened during the 1980s. With regard to differential migration, we should bear in mind that the high emigration of Catholics in the immediate post-war decades was facilitated by the existence of full employment and abundant opportunities for unskilled and unqualified workers in Britain. Conditions have changed now and it

is the better educated who face better prospects abroad. This will tend to encourage Protestants to emigrate more than Catholics. Added to this is the possibility that vigorous enforcement of equal employment legislation, leading to a constriction of the employment opportunities for Protestants, and pessimism about the constitutional status of Northern Ireland would result in a relatively high rate of Protestant emigration. Taking all these considerations together, there is a prospect of further significant increases in the proportion of the Northern Ireland population that is of Catholic background. By the end of the century, the difference in birth rates is likely to be a relatively minor influence, whilst differential migration could be an important factor. The proportion preferring not to state a religious affiliation is likely to remain at least as high as the 11 per cent that were recorded in 1991, and how these respondents are regarded will remain crucial.

Looking at the population of the island as a whole, the Catholic share is likely to remain in the region of 75 per cent, while the proportion that it would be reasonable to regard as of Catholic background will be higher, perhaps in the region of 80 per cent.

Table 1: Republic of Ireland.	Change in Numbers, 1981-1991 (%)	Share in Total Population	
		1981	1991
Roman Catholic	+0.7	93.1	91.6
Church of Ireland	-6.5	2.8	2.5
Presbyterian	-7.5	0.4	0.4
Other stated denominations	+141.8	0.5	1.3
No Religion	+67.5	1.1	1.9
Not Stated	+17.5	2.1	2.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>+2.4</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 2: Republic of Ireland: NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER 100 WOMEN  
BY MARRIAGE DURATION, 1961-1981 (FOR WOMEN WHO MARRIED AT 20-24 YEARS)**

(b) 5-9 Years

(c) 15-9 Years

Year	Cath	CofI	OR	Cath	CofI	OR
1961	307	223	230	510	308	357
1971	285	226	221	498	324	332
1981	237	209	211	409	303	307

Note: OR is defined as 'Presbyterian' in 1961 and 'Other Religions' in 1971 and 1981.

Separate data for presbyterians are available only for 1961.

**Table 3: Republic of Ireland. AGE-COHORT DEPLETION 1961-1981 (in percentages)**

Age-cohort	Catholics	Cofl/Presb/Methodists
10-14	- 24.3	- 18.1
15-19	- 20.7	- 17.7
20-24	+ 2.2	- 7.2
25-29	+ 2.3	- 4.3
30-34	- 4.1	- 9.0
35-39	- 12.0	- 13.8
40-44	- 19.7	- 20.6
10-44	- 13.1	- 13.8

**Table 4: Northern Ireland: OVERALL FERTILITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND, 1971 and 1991**

Area	1971					1991					
	All	Cath	Pres	Cofl	NS	All	Cath	Pres	Cofl	NS	None
Antrim	583	683	518	542	701	347	398	253	308	477	456
Ards	472	629	429	432	619	325	322	300	304	422	403
Armagh	538	628	486	444	648	399	422	365	353	534	333
B'mena	532	675	481	516	724	343	383	308	361	422	487
B'money	544	722	429	550	765	379	463	308	382	461	376
Banbridge	498	591	423	492	662	365	413	323	335	470	437
Belfast	462	581	355	398	592	362	405	260	323	472	344
Carrick	576	772	494	557	708	356	354	305	355	428	420
C'reagh	465	612	432	436	652	316	385	260	290	447	361
Coleraine	520	627	466	502	643	345	373	315	320	512	382
Cookstown	590	656	508	554	668	433	463	336	397	550	488
Craigavon	557	710	443	471	659	384	432	286	318	539	448
Derry	642	717	461	506	738	434	447	336	393	560	401
Down	578	652	437	492	689	407	441	325	312	482	438
Dungannon	564	624	536	466	676	420	445	343	363	620	359
Fermanagh	535	588	395	479	592	401	423	316	358	538	416
Larne	546	718	471	501	646	337	344	312	318	412	471
Limavady	660	743	531	560	837	410	430	333	396	439	448
Lisburn	536	737	474	487	734	379	488	298	309	439	448
M'felt	629	700	504	511	777	423	458	301	370	601	390
Moyle	591	646	526	592	571	404	439	318	341	476	359
Newry	627	665	502	508	684	424	430	378	323	532	316
N'abbey	506	700	447	451	634	328	392	267	303	484	389
N Down	479	607	456	430	655	301	285	269	297	394	370
Omagh	616	673	564	499	662	413	423	350	389	511	477
Strabane	638	697	546	575	701	410	435	362	331	468	218
NI	530	649	442	461	653	375	424	298	329	480	392

Note: Overall fertility is defined as the number of children aged 0-4 per thousand women aged 15-44 years.



**Table 5: Northern Ireland: 'MARITAL FERTILITY' IN NORTHERN IRELAND, 1971 and 1991**

Area	1971							1991						
	(a) Fertility							(b) Population Share (%)						
	All	All	Cath	Pres	Cofl	NS	None	Cath	NS	Cath	NS	None		
Antrim	888	664	793	495	598	848	857	25.2	8.7	31.7	9.0	4.5		
Ards	727	572	628	527	530	712	728	14.0	6.4	11.3	8.8	6.0		
Armagh	935	735	824	631	642	890	647	39.5	8.5	45.4	5.9	1.6		
B'mena	854	634	785	558	645	751	921	15.4	5.8	18.3	6.9	3.3		
B'money	922	697	884	552	703	846	681	26.3	6.2	30.2	6.2	.2		
Banbridge	837	655	795	569	607	772	696	25.2	6.7	27.6	8.1	2.8		
Belfast	824	798	919	567	687	990	837	28.1	10.9	39.0	8.2	5.3		
Carrick	806	628	683	519	615	702	808	14.0	7.6	6.9	7.9	7.6		
C'reagh	685	600	650	506	580	791	720	8.6	7.5	9.4	8.8	6.2		
Coleraine	887	682	799	596	649	915	846	21.2	6.3	22.4	7.0	4.2		
Cookstown	1048	781	867	590	700	946	733	40.6	10.9	53.4	5.3	1.2		
Craigavon	885	715	828	535	601	887	871	33.7	.8	40.1	7.3	2.6		
Derry	1107	843	892	597	706	1058	975	57.3	10.9	69.5	.5	1.4		
Down	982	736	820	552	572	800	752	46.4	11.0	56.0	8.0	2.9		
Dungannon	1002	774	848	609	646	1081	647	41.7	11.9	55.7	5.2	0.8		
Fermanagh	1015	741	799	560	647	947	755	47.5	8.6	54.9	4.7	1.4		
Larne	836	648	743	577	587	813	885	24.4	6.5	22.1	8.6	4.4		
Limavady	1106	748	823	583	672	898	1245	44.3	10.2	51.7	.3	1.7		
Lisburn	783	678	875	517	569	754	897	14.6	7.2	26.9	7.4	.8		
M'felt	1140	796	891	565	664	1019	641	43.8	13.5	58.9	5.4	0.9		
Moyle	1117	779	851	596	668	880	793	41.4	8.7	52.2	6.6	1.7		
Newry	1135	798	822	679	616	953	638	62.7	11.5	71.8	7.2	1.1		
N'abbey	708	595	681	501	576	787	725	15.3	8.1	13.0	9.2	6.0		
N Down	701	547	555	484	546	665	706	10.1	8.7	9.0	9.0	8.5		
Omagh	1112	779	812	641	684	992	851	52.7	11.6	64.3	4.7	1.2		
Strabane	1140	781	849	644	608	1000	353	50.6	8.5	61.8	4.0	.8		
-----								31.4	9.4	38.4	7.3	.7		
NI (1971)	882	1225	700	718	922	-	-							
NI (1991)	714	839	551	621	864	793	-							

Note: 'Marital fertility' is defined as the number of children aged 0-4 per thousand married women aged 15-44 years. In 1971 NS includes 'Others and Non-Styled'.

**Table 5a: Northern Ireland: TF and MF in 1971 and 1991 (Cofl = 100)**

	Cath	Presb	Cofl	NS
TF, 1971	141	96	100	142
TF, 1991	129	91	100	146
MF, 1971	171	97	100	128
MF, 1991	135	97	100	128

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**Table 5b: Northern Ireland: FERTILITY CORRELATION MATRICES**


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A. *TF* 1991:

	CATH	NS	PRESB	CofI
CATH	1.00			
NS	0.59	1.00		
PRESB	0.40	0.39	1.00	
CofI	0.49	0.43	0.53	1.00

B. *MF* 1991:

	CATH	NS	PRESB	CofI
CATH	1.00			
NS	0.72	1.00		
PRESB	0.54	0.69	1.00	
CofI	0.72	0.69	0.52	1.00

C. *TF* 1971:

	CATH	NS	PRESB	CofI
CATH	1.00			
NS	0.67	1.00		
PRESB	0.42	0.36	1.00	
CofI	0.56	0.43	0.62	1.00

D. *Change in TF, 1971-91:*

	CATH	NS	PRESB	CofI
CATH	1.00			
NS	0.62	1.00		
PRESB	0.39	0.25	1.00	
CofI	0.31	0.32	0.44	1.00

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**Table 6: Northern Ireland: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION BY AGE-GROUP, 1971 and 1991**

Age	(a) 1971					(b) 1991					
	Cath	Presb	CofI	Other	NS	Cath	Presb	CofI	Other	NS	None
0-4	38.27	22.00	19.13	8.76	11.84	45.45	15.90	14.84	9.98	9.54	4.29
5-9	37.89	22.69	19.64	9.02	10.76	47.03	16.65	14.69	10.05	8.34	3.24
10-4	37.51	23.26	20.35	9.04	9.84	46.72	17.78	14.97	10.17	7.40	2.96
15-9	36.48	24.22	20.65	9.21	9.44	44.21	19.12	15.98	10.60	6.62	3.47
20-4	32.16	24.95	21.60	10.25	11.04	40.70	19.80	16.89	11.75	6.75	4.11
25-9	29.23	26.60	21.83	10.97	11.37	39.02	19.50	16.97	11.62	7.96	4.93
30-4	28.75	27.07	22.38	11.18	10.62	38.23	19.95	16.92	11.37	8.26	5.27
35-9	28.65	27.63	23.08	11.00	9.64	37.33	20.45	17.06	11.46	8.03	5.67
40-4	27.92	28.59	23.70	10.99	8.80	35.35	21.80	17.90	12.03	7.64	5.28
45-9	26.96	29.64	24.10	11.01	8.29	33.29	23.81	19.31	12.57	6.95	4.07
50-4	27.41	30.25	23.25	11.25	7.84	32.80	24.71	20.15	12.43	6.44	3.47
55-9	25.94	30.64	24.06	12.00	7.36	32.44	25.47	20.79	12.19	6.13	2.98
60-4	25.03	31.50	24.49	12.20	6.78	30.97	26.76	21.59	12.33	5.93	2.42
65+	25.00	32.15	24.40	12.53	5.92	28.47	29.03	21.84	13.43	5.60	1.63

**Table 7: Northern Ireland: COHORT DEPLETION RATES BY RELIGION  
1971-1991**

	(percentages)						
	Recorded			Alt 1		Alt 2	
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(vii)
Area	Cath	Presb	Cofl	Cath	Other	Cath	Other
Armagh	+ 11.3	- 19.2	- 20.3	+ 21.2	- 2.6	+ 14.0	+ 1.6
Belfast	- 26.6	- 4.7	+ 18.0	+ 17.2	+ 18.7	+ 2.3	+ 23.2
Down	- 15.7	- 23.3	- 24.3	- 17.6	- 15.6	- 19.8	- 13.4
Dublin	- 7.9	- 18.9	- 10.3	+ 6.1	- 9.1	- 1.6	- 6.8
Fermanagh	- 18.8	- 26.4	- 26.1	- 15.2	- 20.1	- 18.7	- 18.2
Lisburn	- 12.1	- 11.6	- 13.4	- 2.3	- 3.2	- 8.2	+ 0.0
Londonderry	- 36.3	- 58.9	- 56.7	- 35.2	- 51.8	- 38.6	- 49.2
Magherry	- 59.7	- 81.2	- 12.3	- 19.6	- 0.4	- 32.0	+ 3.2
Monaghan	- 10.3	- 44.3	- 34.8	+ 19.1	- 30.3	+ 4.2	- 27.6
North Down	- 21.4	- 25.6	- 22.6	- 8.5	- 16.7	- 14.8	- 14.1
North Antrim	- 1.6	- 33.7	- 30.1	- 9.0	- 26.6	- 10.9	- 24.6
North Londonderry	- 13.5	- 25.9	- 26.6	- 11.0	- 18.6	- 14.4	- 15.7
North West Down	- 14.7	- 35.2	- 40.4	- 18.8	- 33.5	- 20.1	- 30.3
North West Antrim	- 0.9	- 12.2	- 29.9	- 2.1	- 14.7	- 5.2	- 10.1
North West Londonderry	- 10.3	- 39.8	- 39.0	- 18.9	- 37.1	- 20.5	- 35.4
North West Fermanagh	- 19.6	- 33.9	- 30.2	- 22.2	- 27.7	- 23.7	- 25.7
North West Tyrone	- 42.8	- 30.3	- 24.8	- 30.1	- 21.7	- 35.2	- 19.0
North Tyrone	- 5.9	- 15.6	+ 0.2	- 8.7	- 8.5	- 11.3	- 5.3
North West Belfast	+ 81.3	- 11.9	- 7.9	+ 87.3	+ 2.7	+ 75.4	+ 6.5
North West Londonderry	- 1.1	- 37.1	- 36.6	- 10.5	- 31.0	- 12.3	- 28.9
North West Tyrone	- 18.2	- 42.4	- 41.4	- 19.5	- 38.6	- 21.7	- 36.4
North West Londonderry	- 15.4	- 36.7	- 43.6	- 18.0	- 30.2	- 19.7	- 25.7
North West Tyrone	- 38.3	- 23.0	- 24.6	- 13.0	- 15.0	- 22.8	- 11.7
North West Londonderry	- 15.9	+ 2.2	- 10.7	+ 35.6	+ 11.1	+ 16.0	+ 16.2
North West Tyrone	- 10.0	- 31.8	- 33.9	- 16.2	- 28.0	- 17.7	- 25.5
North West Londonderry	- 20.7	- 39.5	- 44.9	- 24.0	- 39.8	- 25.1	- 38.2
NI	- 17.6	- 31.1	- 32.2	- 15.5	- 24.3	- 19.3	- 21.3

Note: The cohort depletion rates are measured using (Total aged 20-39 in 1991 - Total aged 0-19 in 1971)/(Total aged 0-19 in 1971). Alternative 1 assumes that two-thirds of *NS* and *None* were Catholics in 1971 and 1991. Alternative 2 assumes that two thirds were Catholics in 1971 and one-half in 1991.

**Table 8: Northern Ireland: (a) ROOMS PER CAPITA, (b) CAR OWNERSHIP PER 1,000 HOUSEHOLDS, 1971-1991 AND (c) UNEMPLOYMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND, 1981-1991**

Area	(a)		(b)		(c)	
	1971	1991	1971	1981	1981	1991
Antrim	1.38	1.85	792	974	14.1	12.1
Ards	1.59	1.98	731	1030	11.0	9.1
Armagh	1.36	1.77	773	1043	16.7	15.4
B'mena	1.48	1.96	793	1003	12.1	11.0
B'money	1.30	1.81	836	994	17.6	15.6
Banbridge	1.40	1.86	739	1062	14.0	10.8
Belfast	1.54	2.04	435	592	18.2	20.3
Carrick	1.55	2.04	653	922	14.6	11.1
C'reagh	1.54	2.09	786	988	8.3	8.3
Coleraine	1.50	2.05	730	891	16.8	15.0
Cookstown	1.26	1.70	784	1013	26.2	20.5
Craigavon	1.42	1.85	660	870	17.0	14.5
Derry	1.17	1.61	530	690	24.1	23.7
Down	1.35	1.81	729	1025	13.9	12.6
Dungannon	1.27	1.61	743	1000	23.4	19.8
Fermanagh	1.34	1.81	713	974	19.3	18.2
Larne	1.57	1.72	649	888	14.7	13.6
Limavady	1.13	1.62	714	902	23.1	20.3
Lisburn	1.53	1.92	807	988	11.6	12.1
M'felt	1.18	1.63	756	1027	22.3	17.3
Moyle	1.35	1.81	714	854	23.8	21.5
Newry	1.23	1.66	641	910	26.9	21.8
N'abbey	1.50	1.97	696	909	11.3	10.9
N Down	1.83	2.17	797	1049	7.3	7.6
Omagh	1.23	1.71	713	958	19.6	18.5
Strabane	1.16	1.63	636	826	27.9	25.0
NI	1.44	1.88	635	876	16.7	15.7

Source: NI Census of Population 1971: Summary Tables (HMSO, 1975)

Table 9: FERTILITY IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND, 1971 and 1991

County	1971 (TF)	1991 (TF)	1971 (MF)	1986 (MF)	1991 (MF)
Carlow	673	382	1248	869	
Dublin	515	302	1037		
Kildare	645	378	1195	808	
Kilkenny	625	404	1242	851	
Laois	673	426	1280	936	
Longford	636	417	1285	922	
Louth	621	370	1167	829	
Meath	651	389	1231	833	
Offaly	664	407	1243	876	
Westmeath	622	356	1227	883	
Wexford	658	394	1226	854	
Wicklow	603	370	1094	791	
Clare	605	377	1187	851	
Cork	588	349	1209		
Kerry	576	361	1227	880	
Limerick	600	351	1182		
Tipp NR	610	374	1192	870	
Tipp SR	619	390	1221	876	
Waterford	656	361	1145		
Galway	588	380	1271	898	
Leitrim	583	425	1233	945	
Mayo	585	417	1298	953	
Roscommon	596	413	1221	921	
Sligo	568	355	1197	883	
Cavan	611	447	1252	953	
Donegal	617	416	1323	939	
Monaghan	599	419	1222	930	
Total	581	352	1152	814	700
Dublin City	446	252	1006	822	
D Laoire	466	282	957	681	
Cork City	565	284	1106	803	
Lmrk City	580	311	1123	784	
W'ford City	584	332	1082	762	

Note: MF and TF as defined in Tables 1 and 2. In 1986 'D Laoire' is Dún Laoire/Rathdown. The blanks in the 1986 column are due to lack of comparable data for the principal cities in 1986.

**Table 10: Northern Ireland: FERTILITY CHANGE IN BORDER AREAS, 1971-1991**

Area	Overall Fertility (TF)			Marital Fertility (MF)		
	1971	1991	Change (%)	1971	1986/91	Change (%)
(a) Total population:						
Cavan	611	497	-26.8	1252	953	-23.9(*)
Donegal	617	416	-32.6	1323	939	-29.2(*)
Monaghan	599	419	-30.1	1222	930	-23.9(*)
Leitrim	583	425	-27.1	1233	945	-23.4(*)
Dungannon	564	420	-25.5	1002	774	-22.8
Fermanagh	535	401	-25.0	1015	741	-27.0
Newry	627	424	-32.4	1135	798	-29.7
Magh'felt	629	423	-32.8	1140	796	-30.2
Cookstown	590	433	-26.6	1048	781	-25.5
Strabane	638	410	-35.7	1140	781	-31.5
(b) Catholics only:						
Dungannon	624	445	-28.7	-	848	-
Fermanagh	588	423	-28.1	-	799	-
Newry	666	430	-35.4	-	822	-
Magh'felt	700	458	-34.6	-	891	-
Cookstown	656	463	-29.4	-	867	-
Strabane	697	435	-37.6	-	849	-

Notes: (\*) refers to 1971-86 only. The fertility measures are explained in the text. The Catholics include only those declaring themselves such.

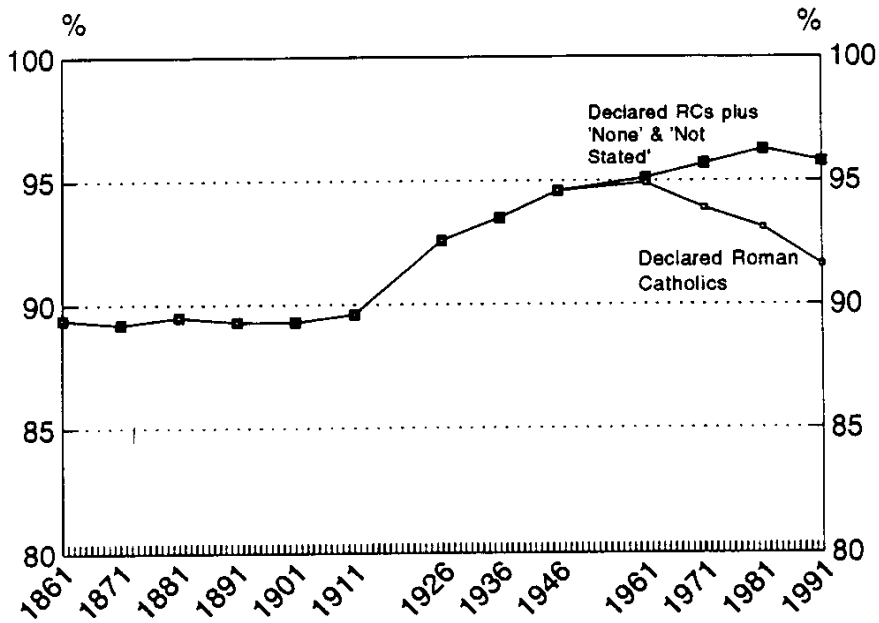
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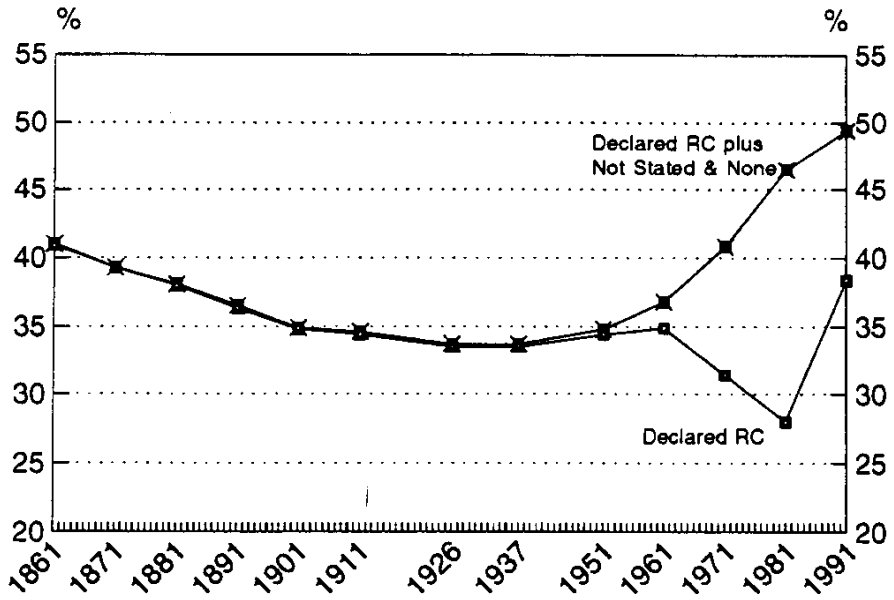


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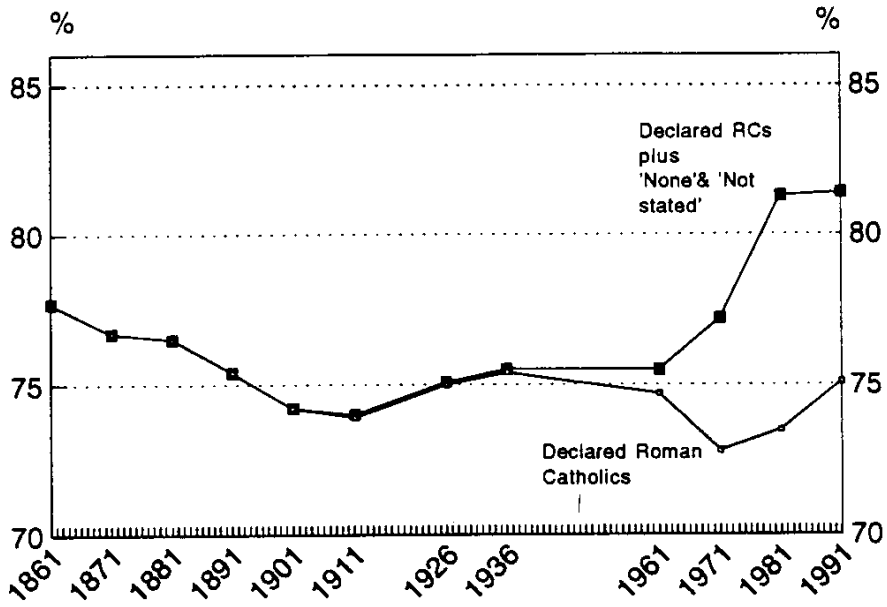
**Figure 1. Republic of Ireland: Distribution of Population**  
Census Years



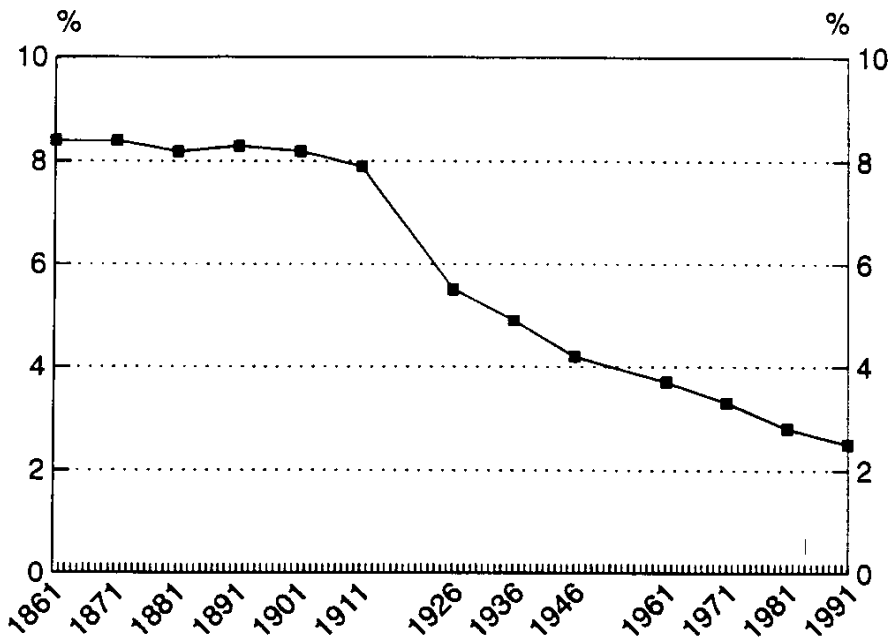
**Figure 2: Northern Ireland: Distribution of Population Census Years**



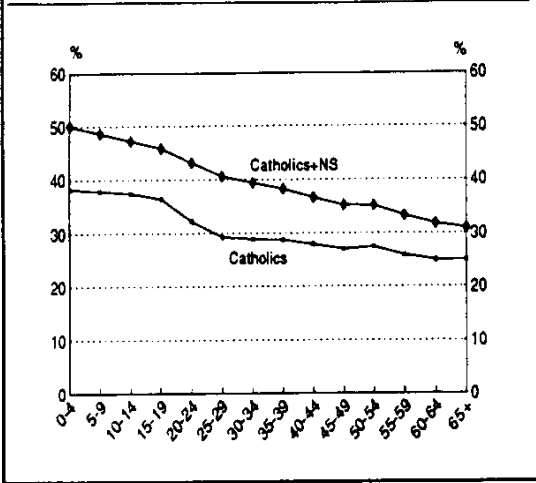
**Figure 3: All Ireland: Distribution of Population**  
Census Years



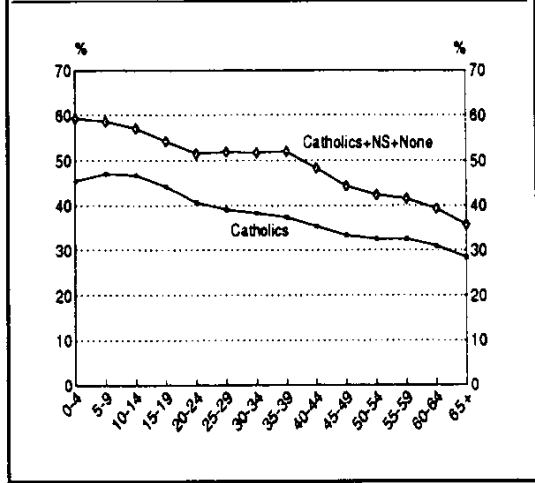
**Figure 4: Republic of Ireland: Share of Church of Ireland in Total Population**  
Census Years

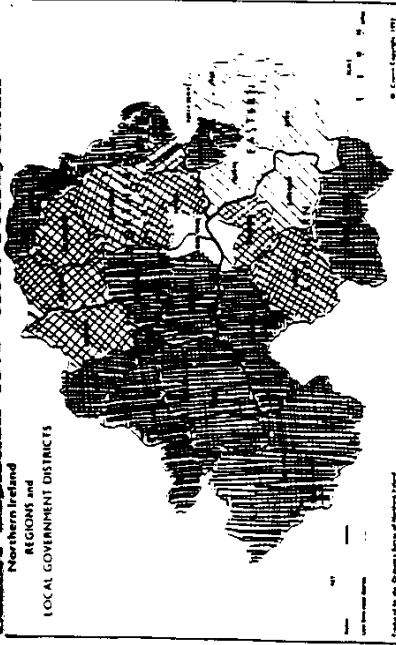


**Figure 5: Northern Ireland: Religious Affiliation by Age, 1971**  
percentage of total population

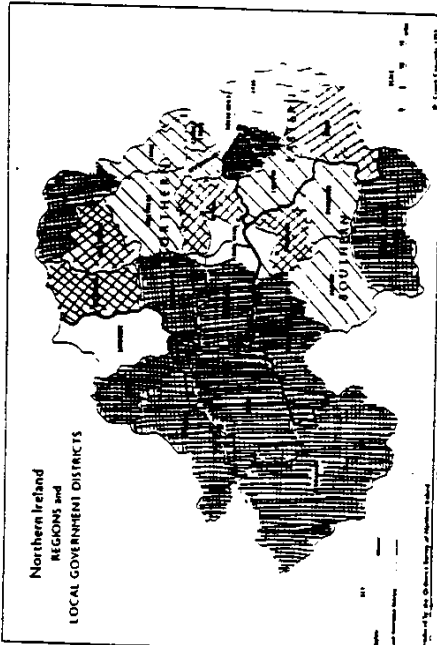


**Figure 6: Northern Ireland: Religious Affiliation by Age, 1991**  
percentage of total population

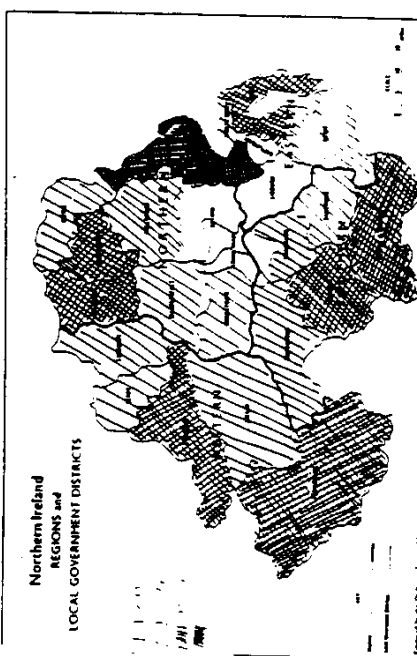




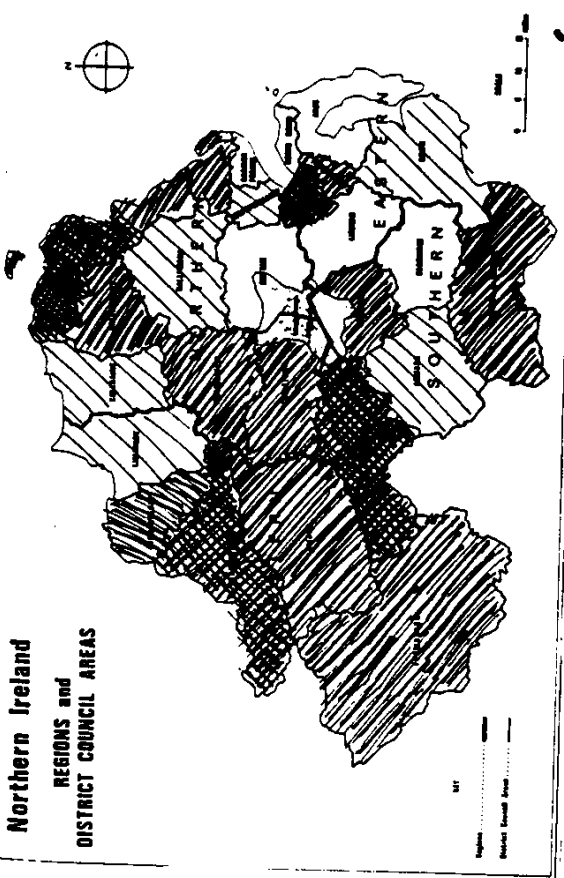
% Cohort Depletion 1971 - 1991: Church of Ireland



% Cohort Depletion 1971 - 1991: Catholics

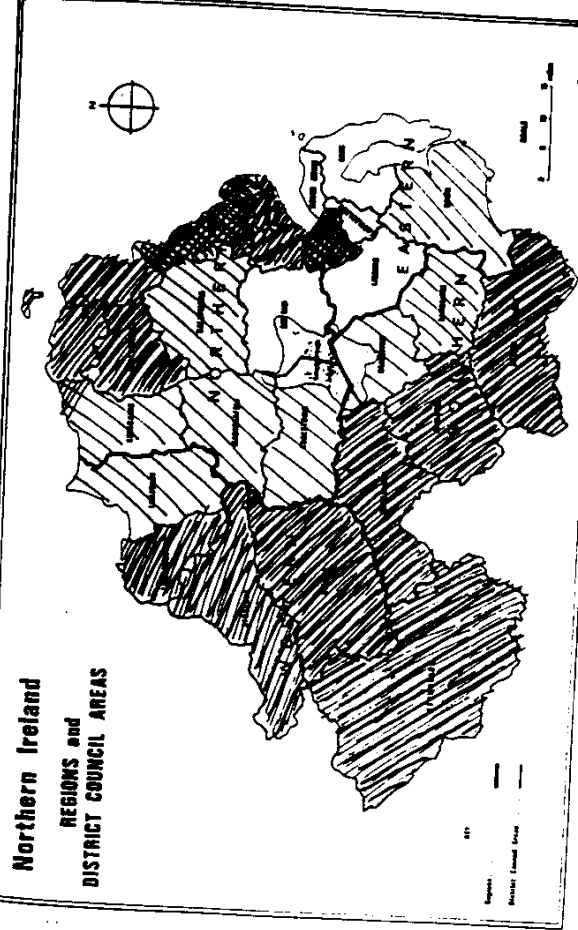


Northern Ireland  
REGIONS and  
DISTRICT COUNCIL AREAS

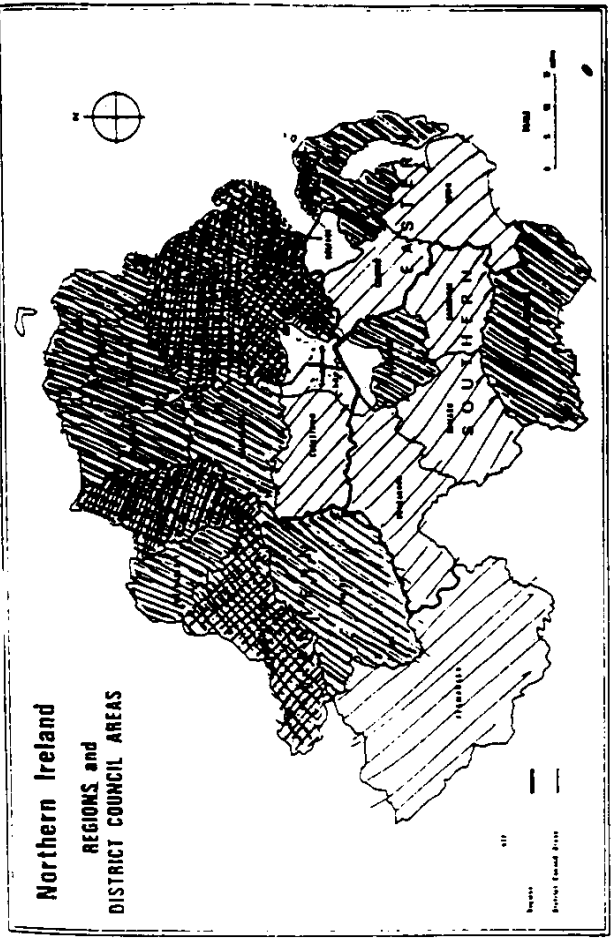
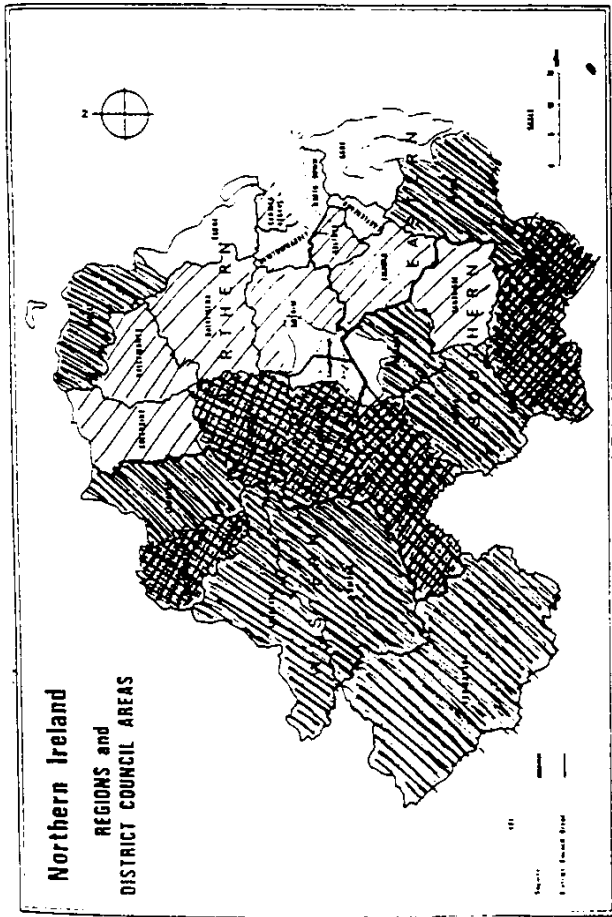


ALT 2: Catholic

Northern Ireland  
REGIONS and  
DISTRICT COUNCIL AREAS

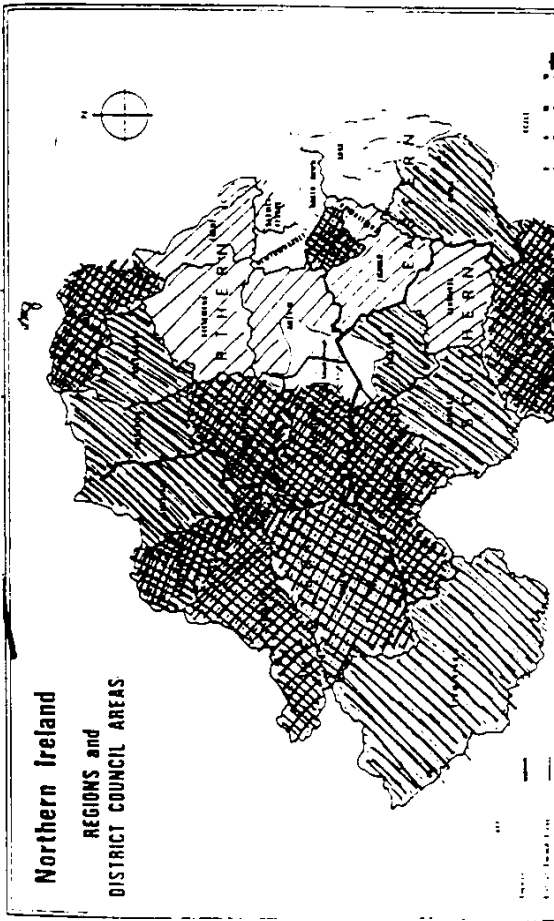


Source: Table 8



Source: Tables 4 and 5

Marital Fertility 1991



% Change in Marital Fertility 1971-1991

