

THE ROLE OF ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS  
IN REGIONAL PLANNING - A CASE STUDY

by

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B.A., University College, Dublin, 1969

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS

in the  
Department of Geography

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

MAY, 1973.

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## ABSTRACT

Decision-making in Irish public planning has normally been carried out with little or no popular involvement in the process. The need for much greater participation by those whom planning is designed to benefit, derives from, among other things, the resultant savings in public funds made possible by the expected reduction in the number and size of planning mistakes. It is contended that public planners have an erroneous estimation of the perceptive abilities, attitudes, and values of the general public, and hence their plans, being based on false premises, are liable to lead to great wastage of both time and money.

This contention is borne out by surveys done among school-leavers and members of the general workforce in the Southeast Planning Region of the Republic of Ireland. These surveys disclosed a very low level of awareness of the government's regional planning activities. They also showed that those inhabitants of the region living outside Waterford City, designated by the government as growth centre for the region, knew very little about that city, and invariably had a negative attitude towards it. In fact, the very

viability of a Southeast Planning Region, with Waterford City as its focus, is called into question.

The surveys provided much potentially useful information for regional planners. They pointed up the almost all-pervading influence which Dublin, the national capital, has on the minds of the country's youth. They indicated how differences of age, sex, and levels of education, awareness, and knowledge are likely to influence responses to regional planning measures.

The principal recommendations deriving from the research are that: (a) a concerted public education and publicity campaign is required if Waterford City is to succeed as a growth centre; (b) provision of adequate amenities and facilities in Waterford will be necessary in order to ensure that those attracted there will subsequently remain; and (c) a much more active approach to stemming the growth and influence of Dublin will be required if regional planning in Ireland is to be meaningful.

*"The primary point which all  
planning must needs keep in mind is  
that it is concerned with the destiny  
of people."*

*Jeremiah Newman  
(New Dimensions in Regional  
Planning: A Case Study of  
Ireland; Dublin: An Forus  
Forbartha, p. 125)*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Four persons in particular stand out, to whom I am greatly indebted, and without whom this thesis would have been well-nigh impossible: Dr. Guy P.F. Steed, who scarcely knew what he was letting himself in for when he undertook to act as my Chairman and Senior Supervisor, but who nevertheless applied himself assiduously to the task of keeping a wayward and frustrating student on an even keel and a straight course; for his constant and conscientious efforts on my behalf I am eternally grateful.

Seamus Fitzgerald, and his sister Marie, who so kindly gave generously of their time to assist me on my surveys. Sid Witiuk, who very kindly constructed a computer programme for my data, and looked after this rather technical end of the operation for me.

A thousand other acknowledgements need to be made: To Michael Eliot Hurst and Tim O'Riordan, who deigned to sit on my supervisory committee, and who so kindly and freely provided advice, help, and criticism.

To Jock Munro, who so kindly agreed to act as External Examiner of my thesis.

To Mary O'Donovan, Aidan Barron, Felix Shields and Tom Burke, who also gave me a helping hand during my surveys.

To the various school superiors and principals, and the various wielders of authority over employees, who accommodated my quest for knowledge.

To my parents, especially, for putting up with me during my research semester.

To the other members of my family, and friends, who did likewise.

To Paddy Duffy, a great friend and source of solace and advice.

To Bernard Curtin, who was unfortunate enough to be my room-mate, but who nevertheless always made himself available for providing discussion, advice, and criticism, a receptacle for the venting of my pent-up frustrations, and above all, friendship.

Especial gratitude is extended to Barbara Shankland, who not only did a marvellous typing job on a difficult thesis, but also provided help and friendship of an incomparable order. Words cannot fully express my eternal debt to Barbara, a true friend. To Angela Hamilton, whose supreme knowledge of the bureaucracy was no small help in guiding this thesis through a maze of red tape, my sincere thanks.

To the Simon Fraser University President's Research Grant Committee, without whose financial assistance, this study would have been impossible.

To the staff, academic and secretarial, and graduate students in the Department of Geography at Simon Fraser University who provided such a stimulating working milieu.

To all those not mentioned here, who helped in any way towards the formation of this thesis.

And finally, to the 815 persons, most of them unknown to me, who were so helpful in filling in my questionnaire.

All opinions expressed herein, and any mistakes which may have occurred, are, of course, the sole responsibility of the author.



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## INTRODUCTION

Roger Kasperson has advocated that the post-behavioural revolution in geography be relevance (1). However poorly this may reflect on the geographers of the past, it hopefully brands the present author as a revolutionary, since the prime aim of this study is to be socially relevant: in other words to provide assistance and, perhaps, guidelines to regional planners in their efforts to promote regional development. This is not to say that the behavioural approach has outlived its usefulness, and is now to be discarded; in fact the following study is essentially based on this approach. Behaviouralism has simply passed through the "law of the instrument" phase (2), and, like quantification, is now taking its proper place in the array of techniques and approaches available to the geographer. To the present author, it (behaviouralism) is not an end in itself, but merely a means towards the acquisition of knowledge which can be put to use in rectifying the "contemporary human predicament" (3) -- hopefully the ultimate end of all scientific enquiry in this new "revolutionary" era.

The nature of this study was inspired by a quotation from Niles M. Hansen, one of North America's new Angry Young men. He points out:

"In so far as regional economic policy is directed towards satisfying public preferences, it should seem obvious that one of the first tasks of policy-oriented research should be to formulate and test hypotheses concerning these preferences ... residents of lagging regions should be surveyed concerning their knowledge of and participation in programmes designed to stimulate their regions' growth, the degree to which lack of local employment opportunities inhibits participation in human resource development projects, and the degree of willingness to migrate if this were the only way to find employment for increased skill and training. We also need to know more about the distances that residents of lagging regions would go in commuting or permanently moving to growth centres ... Finally, residents of congested regions who have migrated from lagging regions should be surveyed to determine the extent to which, and conditions under which they would move to growth centres relatively close to lagging regions from which they emigrated if opportunities were open to them in the growth centres." (4)

The extent to which these simple and rather obvious assertions have been ignored by planners generally is surprising. Several studies have shown how, for instance, the attitudes of slum dwellers in Boston differed radically from what would-be benevolent urban planners thought they were, or should be (5), while Brookfield has indicated a similar state of affairs in a planning area of New Guinea (6). Some of the author's own students have pointed out the need for an approach along lines suggested by Hansen. Gary Yip writes,

"The A.T.T.A.C. (Association to Tackle Adverse Conditions) has investigated the problem of urban renewal for Strathcona (Vancouver), and has concluded that any urban renewal slated for the area is the direct result of a superficial external survey of the houses in the area, with no consideration being given to the type of person within"

Gerry McIlhargey sums it up:

"City planners are in the precarious position of needing to please everyone. Thus any view held by the people they are trying to please should be important to them, if only for providing a guideline to follow in their planning." (7)

This approach by planners, typical of the non-Maoist world (8), is epitomised in the Republic of Ireland, where, despite the fact that regional planning is beginning to reach a relatively advanced level of sophistication, there is a negligible amount of participation by the people being planned, in the planning process. This highly undesirable and potentially disastrous state of affairs has been pointed up by the Rev. Raymond Brady, speaking at the national conference of an Irish community organisation:

"It is inconsistent for the government to pay lip service to the ideal of participation by people, while at the same time making plans and programmes that ignored them. There is a clear tendency to regard regional development policies as merely the equalising of national production or facilitating of international financial objectives. To do this while glossing over the human element involved - people, workers, and families - will lead these plans to futility and failure. The very success of any development programme, local, regional, or national, is dependent on

the full participation of the people whose lives and livelihood are at stake." (9)

It was this author's objective to carry out an investigation which might give some indication of what the implications might be of a policy of non-consultation by those in charge of planning with the "pawns" of the planning "game". More specifically, this study is based on an attempt to find out what the inhabitants of one Irish planning region were aware of, and were thinking of, in the context of regional planning. Attitudes and perceptions thought to be relevant to the planning process, such as people's attitudes to their home areas and migration, and their perceptions of the region's growth centre, were sought, as well as the degree of knowledgeability concerning the government's planning activities.

Before going into an in-depth study of the results and implications of these enquiries, however, much background information needs to be filled in. The following three sections will be devoted to this purpose.

Section 2 will give a short resume of the rationale behind a growth-centre policy, both in general, and in relation to the particular case of Ireland; a brief introduction to Ireland, to set the study in perspective; and a description of the regional planning problem, as it has arisen in Ireland.



Section 3 will deal with the historical evolution of a growth centre policy in the Irish Republic.

Section 4 will explain further how and why the surveys which form the basis of the thesis were carried out, involving an expose of deficiencies in Irish planners' activities, an outline of the need for a behavioural approach, and an account of the actual field methods used in carrying out the surveys.

Section 5, then, will present the results obtained from the surveys, and Section 6 will discuss the conclusions and implications to be derived therefrom.

It should be pointed out that this paper is not a critique of growth centre policy; rather, it accepts that the Irish government has decided that such a policy is the best one for the purposes of Irish regional development, and attempts to suggest ways to make it as workable as possible.

References:

- (1) Discussion entitled, appropriately enough, "Post-behavioural Revolution in Geography," held at the University of British Columbia, March 4, 1971.
- (2) This "law" simply reflects the tendency of a person who has discovered a new technique to apply it to every problem he encounters. It is best represented by the child who, upon being given a new hammer, finds that everything he encounters needs pounding. See Kaplan, Abraham (1964), The Conduct of Inquiry: Methodology for Behavioural Science; San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., pp. 28-29.
- (3) Gouldner, Alvin W. (1964), "Anti-Minotaur: The Myth of a Value-Free Sociology," in Horowitz, Irving (ed.), The New Sociology; New York: Oxford U.P., p. 205.
- (4) Hansen, N.M. (Undated), Growth Centres and Regional Development: Some Preliminary Considerations; University of Kentucky, Discussion Paper No. 5, Mimeo, pp. 26, 27 and 41.
- (5) See, for example, Firey, W. (1945), "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables," Am. Soc. Rev., Vol. 10, pp. 140-148; Fried, M. and P. Gleicher (1961), "Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction in an Urban Slum," J.A.I.P., Vol. 27, pp. 305-316; Gans, H. (1962), The Urban Villagers, New York: The Free Press; Joyce, I.T. (1969), Subcultural Variations in Responses to the Urban Environment, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of Geography, Simon Fraser University, B.C.
- (6) Brookfield, H.C. (1969), "On the Environment as Perceived," Progress in Geography, Vol. 1, p. 74.
- (7) Both quotes are from papers presented in partial fulfilment of course requirements for Geography 325 - "Tertiary Activities" - at Simon Fraser University, Spring Semester, 1971. Gary Yip's quotation is from p. 16 of "The Association to Tackle Adverse Conditions," and Gerry McIlhargey's is from p. 1 of an untitled paper on community use of Vancouver's parks.

- (8) Mao Tse Tung has said: "We have always maintained that the revolution must rely on the masses of the people, on everybody's taking a hand, and have opposed relying merely on a few persons issuing orders." (Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse Tung, edited by S.R. Schram, New York: Bantam Books, 1967). For a review of the role of popular decision-making in Chinese economic development, see, for instance, Gurley, John G. (1971), "Capitalist and Maoist Economic Developments," Monthly Review, Vol. 22, No. 9, pp. 15-35; or Wheelwright, E.L. and McFarlane, D. (1970), The Chinese Road to Socialism, New York: Monthly Review Press.
- (9) As reported in The Irish Times, October 13, 1972, p. 5.

## BACKGROUND

(a) Growth Centre Theory

The concept of a growth centre, or growth area, or growth pole, or development pole, or development centre, or p<sup>o</sup>le de croissance, or whatever, was first formally introduced in the literature by Francois Perroux in 1950 (1), and developed further in 1955 (2). Perroux, however, was concerned with economic rather than geographical space, and with propulsive industries rather than propulsive places; it was left to his compatriot, Jacques Boudeville, to develop the concept in a geographical context (3). A rash of literature on the subject has appeared in recent years (4), so much so that Hansen has pointed out the great need for conceptual and semantic clarification (5). A number of reasons may be put forward to account for this popularity: (i) it must be admitted that the idea is inherently attractive (especially to the geographer!); (ii) there has been a great upsurge of interest in regional planning in recent years; and (iii) previous regional development policies have been very successful.

It is neither my intention nor purpose to enter upon a detailed analysis of growth centre theory here. Rather, I will let a brief definition and summary suffice. Growth centres can be defined from two separate angles. From a descriptive, observational point of view, a growth centre

may be regarded as a geographical concentration of economic activity, which is showing a tendency to expand at a distinctively faster rate than contiguous areas. From a planning policy perspective (which is the one with which we are presently concerned), a growth centre is a geographical point, generally an urban centre, into which industrial and allied investment is being deliberately channelled, normally by public authorities.

Gavin McCrone summarises:

"the assumptions underlying (the growth centre) idea are: first, that the cost in terms of public outlay would be less for a policy based on concentration; second, that owing to the external economies which would be generated, concentrated economic activity would be more efficient and therefore, more likely to grow; and third, because of the above factors, policy based on growth (centres) would be more likely to be successful in raising regional growth rates and, in the long run, in curing unemployment than a policy of diversification and dispersion." (6)

He elaborates slightly by stating that the case for a growth centre policy rests on two grounds:

"(i) that public expenditure to promote development, particularly on infrastructure, will be more effective if concentrated in certain clearly defined areas.  
(ii) that new industrial development is more likely to be successful and become self-generating if external economies are built up and related industrial processes established together. This involves some sort of geographical concentration." (7)

Within the context of purely economic development, these postulates seem perfectly reasonable and logical. In an Irish context, a third, more socially oriented, major potential advantage of growth centres has been identified by Buchanan et al (8). Historically, possibly the outstanding feature of Ireland's demography has been the continuous and large-scale migration of people from the poorer areas to, first, North America (until restrictions were imposed after the Great War), then Great Britain (there are no restrictions on movement of people between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland); and, more recently, Dublin as well. The great bulk of these migrants has consisted of young people, and invariably they migrate to the larger urban areas (Boston, Birmingham, Coventry, Liverpool, Glasgow, London, and Dublin are outstanding in this respect). The major attractions of these places are employment opportunities, anonymity, and social life.

Government policy is to reduce migration to the minimum, both in terms of numbers and spatial extent, and particularly to reduce the rapid burgeoning of Dublin (this will be more fully discussed later). There seems little hope of stopping the on-going drift of young persons from rural areas and small towns at source, so the only possible way of achieving government policy is to develop some key towns and cities around the country to the level

at which they can provide the aforementioned employment opportunities, anonymity, and social life to a degree sufficient to attract local would-be migrants.

This primarily social argument for growth centres also has its economic implications, in that it would prevent greater congestion in Dublin and the major British cities, a point which has already been made by Hansen in relation to France and the Appalachian region of the U.S. (9)

(b) Introduction to Ireland

Ireland covers an area of some 32,595 square miles and in 1966 had a population of 4,369,000 (10). The island is divided into four provinces - Munster, Leinster, Ulster, and Connacht - and 32 administrative counties; six of Ulster's nine counties make up the territory of Northern Ireland (Figure 1)\*. The remaining 26 constitute the Republic of Ireland, covering 27,136 square miles, and containing, in 1966, 2,884,000 people - a ratio of 106 per square mile. (From this point on, all references to "Ireland" refer to the 26 counties of the Republic only, unless the contrary is stated). Of this total, approximately 95% profess themselves to be Roman Catholics, and English is the spoken language of the vast majority.

The centre of the island consists of an extensive

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\* Figures 1, 2, 4-6, 8-13, 15 and 16 are taken from Buchanan's Regional Studies in Ireland, cited in the text.

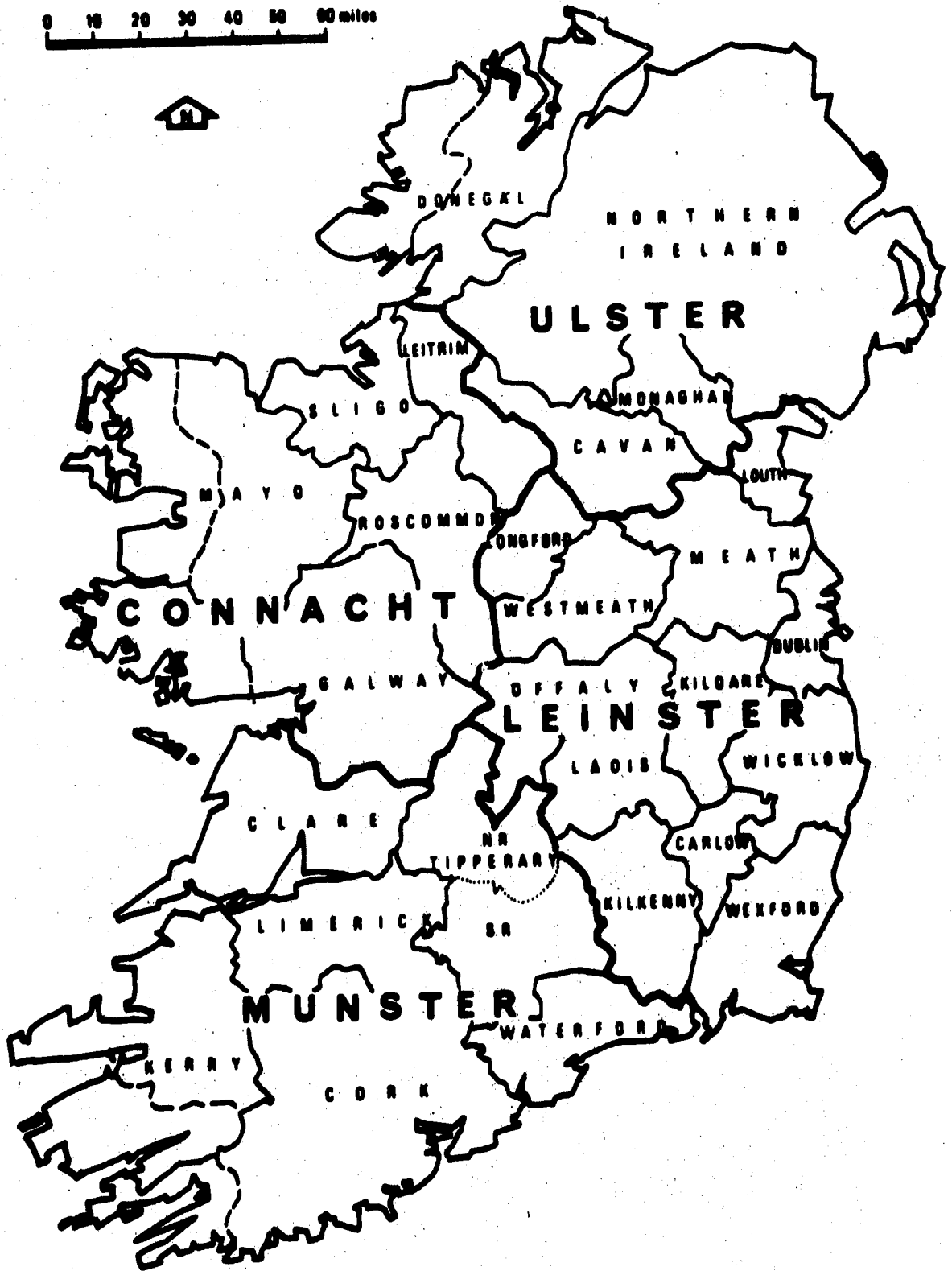


Fig. 1 Counties and Provinces



lowland, mainly on a limestone formation, largely suitable for agriculture, but interrupted at a number of places by extensive areas of flat peat bog. The uplands are confined for the most part to the coastal regions; the highest point is 3,414 feet above sea-level, and in fact only 0.5% of the country's land area lies above 500 feet (Figure 2).

The climate is equable, but there is frequent and irregular rain, which makes the ripening of grain crops rather hazardous. Agriculture - the country's principal industry, occupying 27½% of the work force in 1970 - therefore is based on dairying, beef-cattle and sheep. The island is not rich in mineral resources, except materials for such industries as cement-making, although valuable deposits of lead, zinc, and copper have been discovered recently. Manufacturing industry is therefore based mostly on processing of agricultural produce, and on light industry involving for the most part the adding of value to and re-export of imported materials. This sector employs 30% of the work force. In the tertiary sector, comprising 42½% of the work force, tourism is outstanding, and in fact is the country's second industry, contributing £100m (\$250m, U.S.) per annum to the national economy. G.N.P. stood at £1,400m (\$3,500m) in 1969, representing a per capita income of approximately £470 (\$1,175).

The island, dominated by Celtic tribes since prehistoric times, was entirely self-governing, despite

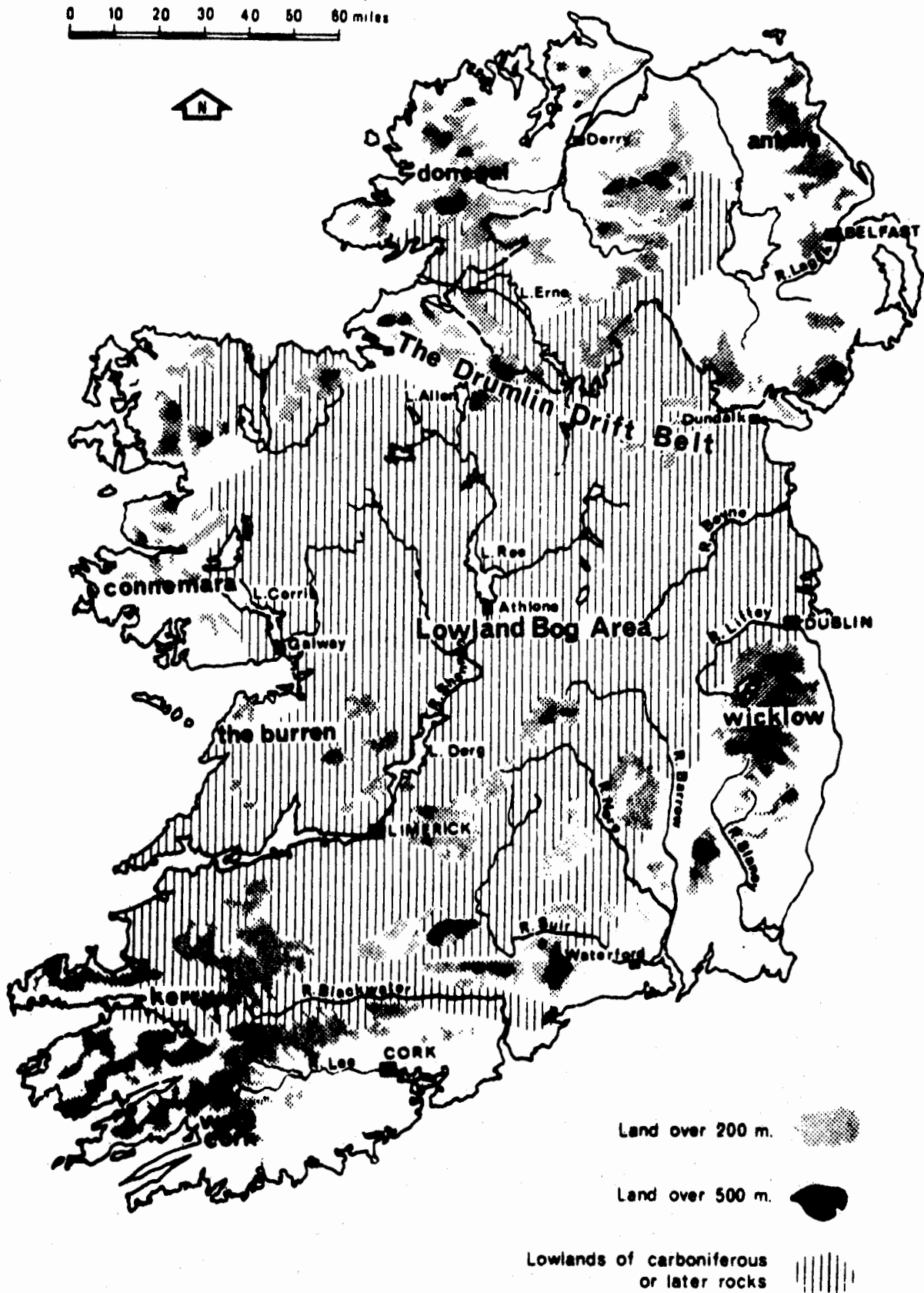


Fig. 2 Main physical characteristics

Viking incursions in the period 800-1000 A.D., until the first bands of Normans arrived in 1169. The whole country finally came under British rule in 1603, and in 1800 was made an integral (at least constitutionally!) part of the United Kingdom. In 1922, the 26 counties which now comprise the Republic were granted independence and Dominion status within the British Commonwealth, under the title, the Irish Free State, which was changed in 1949 to Eire, or the Republic of Ireland, when the country left the Commonwealth.

The population of Ireland, like that of most European countries, rose rapidly from about the middle of the eighteenth century. The disastrous famines of the 1840's, however, introduced a completely new trend which is without its like in the world. The population of the Republic fell continuously from 1841 to 1946, and again from 1951 to 1961, although it has risen somewhat in recent years. Except for the Famine years, in which an estimated million people died, this trend has been due to emigration. Emigration did not begin with the Famine - an estimated 500,000 left the island between 1821-1841 - but only after it did the rate of emigration exceed the natural rate of increase at home, thus causing an absolute decline of population. This trend will be further elaborated upon in part (c).

The Irish census recognises two definitions of the term "town": (i) an urban area of more than 1,500 persons, and (ii) any cluster of 20 or more occupied houses. In 1966, according to the first definition, 1,419,000 persons lived in towns, i.e. 49.2% of the population was truly "urban". According to the second definition, 1,205,132 persons - 41.8% of the population - were truly "rural", i.e. living apart from a cluster of at least 20 occupied houses. There thus exists a "twilight zone" involving some 260,000 who may be defined as either rural or urban, depending on one's personal predilections.

In any case, it can be seen that, by contrast with most other European countries, Ireland is not highly urbanised. Figure 3 gives a breakdown of the population by classes of town-size; the figure for Dublin is misleading; when Dun Laoghaire and various other autonomous boroughs and suburbs which form a part of the contiguously built-up area are included, the population of the metropolitan area approaches 800,000. Notice that whereas the country as a whole has a surfeit of males, the situation is the opposite for the five county boroughs, representing the five largest cities, with the discrepancy being particularly great for Dublin. This presents a major social problem.

Figures 4 and 5 throw further light on the distribution of population.

Other demographic characteristics include a relatively

Type of District	No. of Towns	Population	Percentage of Total Pop.
Dublin County Borough & Suburbs	1	650,153	22.3
Dun Laoghaire Borough & Suburbs	1	84,814	2.9
Cork County Borough & Suburbs	1	125,283	4.3
Limerick County Borough & Suburbs	1	58,082	2.0
Waterford County Borough	1	29,842	1.0
Other Towns:-			
10,000 Pop. and over	10	152,167	5.3
5-10,000	19	122,684	4.3
3-5,000	22	88,743	3.1
1,500-3,000	48	107,296	3.7
500-1,500	157	131,432	4.6
200-500	256	78,296	2.7
Less than 200	389	50,078	1.7
Country Districts	-	1,205,132	41.8
Total	906	2,884,002	100.0

Source: Census of Population, 1966: Dublin, The Stationery Office, Table VI, p.xvi.

Fig. 3 Distribution of Population by Type of District.

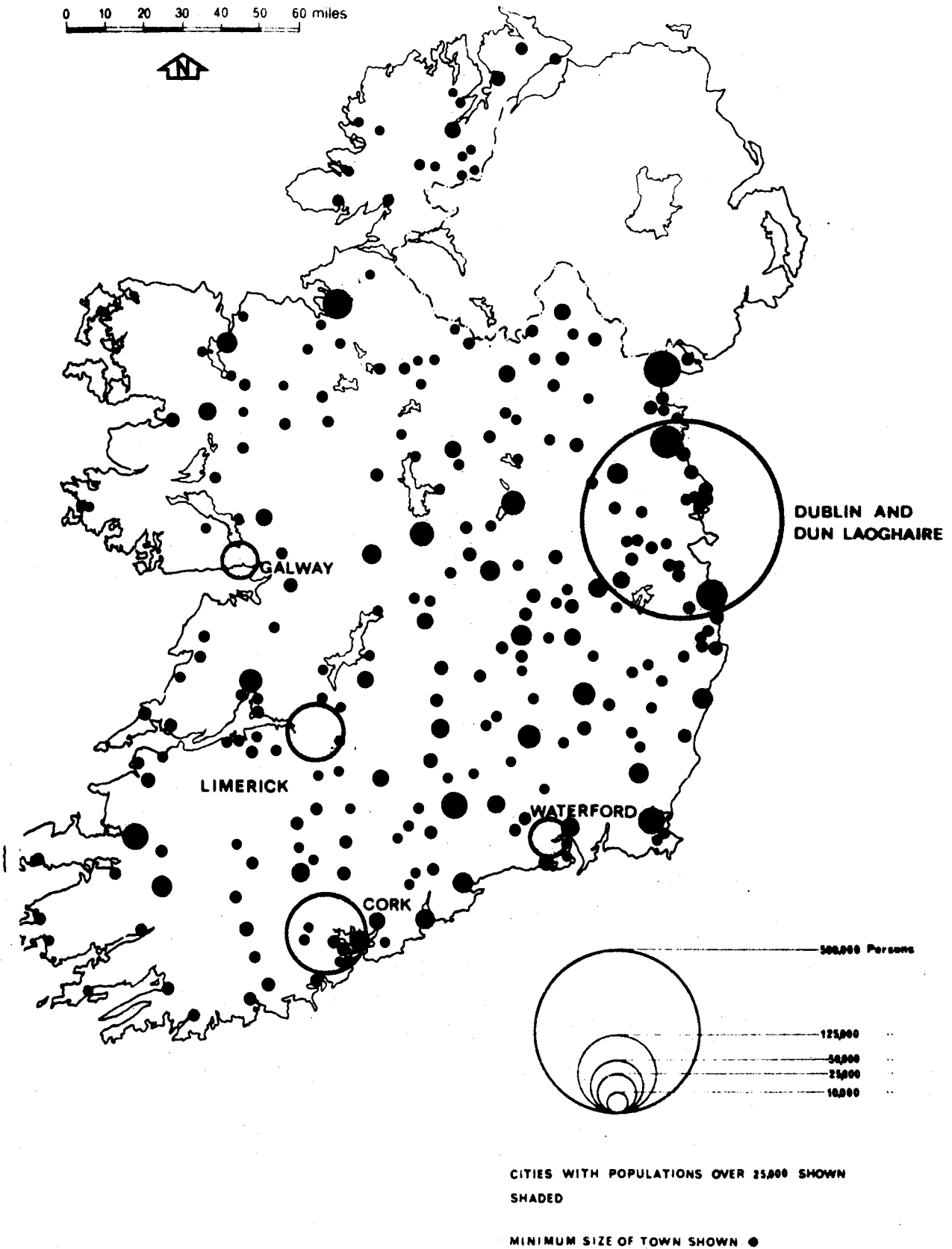
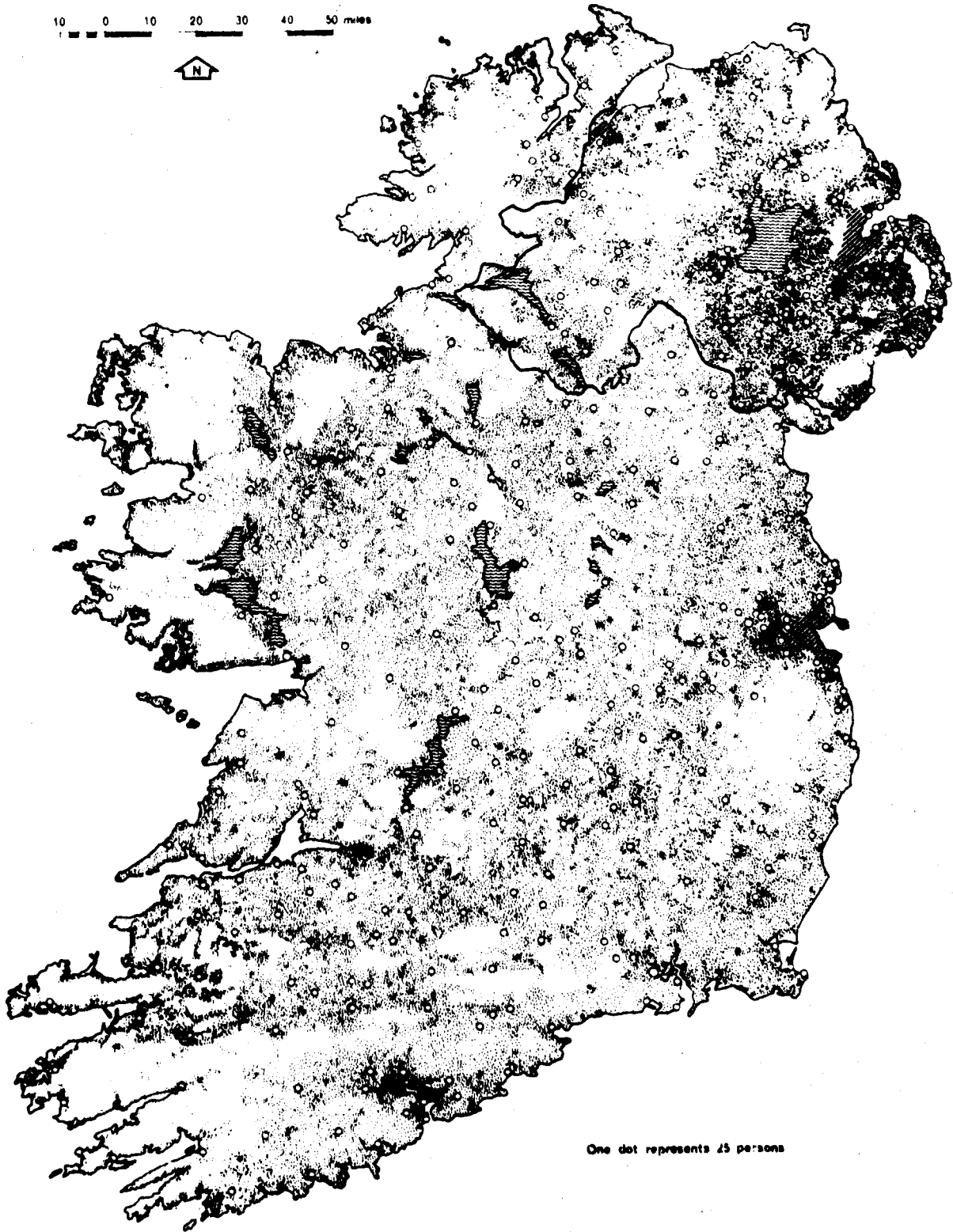


Fig. 4 Size of towns 1966



**Fig. 5 Rural population distribution**

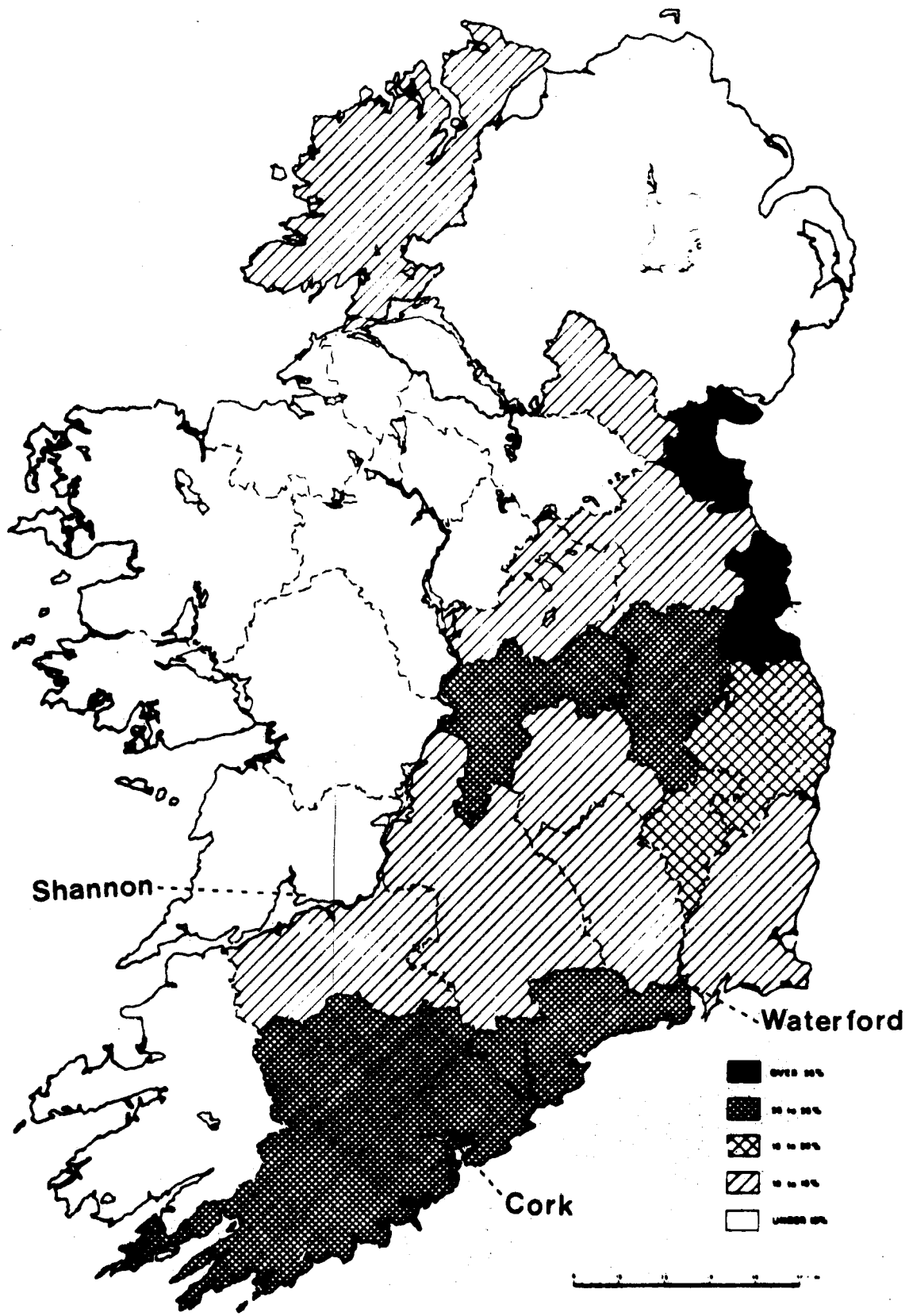
large proportion of the population in the dependent age groups (0-15, 65 and over), due mainly to emigration; a small proportion of marriages; and a high (though falling) average marriage age. High fertility among those who do get married gives a birth rate (number of births per 1,000 population) in line with other European countries.

(c) The Regional Problem

Regional planning presumes the existence of a regional problem, and many allusions have already been made to that which exists in Ireland. The Irish economy is a classic case of the Myrdal/Hirschman "centre/periphery" or "North/South" dichotomy (11), except in this case, the "centre" or "south" comprises the remainder of the country. There is no sharp transition; rather, the imbalance between east and west becomes greater as one moves farther west. This is reflected in Figure 6, in which the proportion of the labour force engaged in manufacturing activity is an excellent proxy for the level of economic development. Only in recent years have isolated islands of rapid expansion appeared in this sea of economic inferiority - principally Cork, Shannon, and Waterford (indicated in Figure 6) - the last two as a direct result of government action.

The emergence of regional economic imbalances in Ireland is a direct product of imperialism. Economic historians have more or less completely avoided the pre-Norman/English period of Irish history, but other historians





**Fig. 6 Percentage of labour force in manufacturing employment**

apparently have not noted any such imbalances, and would seem to have regarded the country as being generally prosperous during this period, as reflected by such references as, "Agriculture flourished to an exceptional degree in the centuries under review" (V12. 450-800 A.D.) (12) and "that very wealthy country" (Ireland) - a contemporary view (13). If one may forward the hypothesis that political power is derived from economic power, then it is significant that the areas which wielded power up to the coming of the Normans, and particularly in the immediate pre-Norman period (i.e. 1000-1169 A.D.) are precisely those which are least "developed" today. This corresponds very well with one of the hypotheses of the "metropolis-satellite" model of economic development which has been put forward by Frank (14).

The first seeds of economic exploitation were set by the Vikings, who first introduced an urban system in an island where, apart from monastic settlements (civitates), towns were entirely foreign. The Normans, and subsequently the English, used these towns to consolidate and expand political and economic exploitation. One of the Viking towns, Dublin, became the bastion of foreign rule, and even at times when British suzerainty was at its most tenuous, this town, and the area immediately about it - the Pale - remained faithful to the crown. It was to benefit greatly for its loyalty.

Dublin became the headquarters of the British administration; due to its excellent port and favourable position vis-a-vis Britain, it also became the focus of transportation; and as exploitation of Ireland proceeded apace, this meant great prosperity. During the 17th and 18th centuries, Dublin became one of the finest and most fashionable cities in a rapidly-growing empire; the landlords and gentry flocked thereto, to live a life of aristocratic and bourgeois decadence, while leaving their tenants to the mercies of rack-renting tax farmers.

A classic example of Frank's "metropolis-satellite" model, referred to above, emerged; whereas the country as a whole was being exploited by the world-metropolis, Britain, within the country, a national metropolis, Dublin, was performing similarly in relation to the rest of the island. The British, for both political and economic reasons, maintained a determined policy of preventing Ireland from developing economically: political, because the British constantly feared the rise of a Catholic power at their own backdoor which would readily ally itself with its fellow-Catholic powers on the continent; economic, because the British landlords and entrepreneurs did not want any unnecessary competition.

Thus the thriving Irish woollen industry was progressively crippled from the middle of the sixteenth century by a series of measures against the export of wool,

sheep, and wool products, and finally crushed by an Act of 1699, which prohibited the export of woollen goods altogether. The Navigation Acts of 1654 led to the complete demise of Irish shipping, and the Cattle Acts of 1663 and 1666, by providing a complete embargo on the importation of cattle, sheep, pigs, beef, pork, and bacon from Ireland into England, succeeded in one stroke in wiping out almost the entire Irish export trade (15). These measures had a permanently debilitating effect on the country's economic development. Only in the newly-Protestant North was the Industrial Revolution to have any effect; in the remainder of the country, the great mass of the people comprised a miserable peasantry, eking out some sort of existence under the extortionate rents of parasitic, absentee landlords living a life of ease either in Dublin or in London.

The distribution of population was strangely paradoxical; the poor-quality lands of the West were densely populated, whereas the rich Eastern areas were relatively empty. A number of reasons can be given for this. In the first place, the eastern sectors were much more exposed to a British policy of colonisation which was closely parallel to genocide. Those Irish who were not killed generally fled to comparative safety in the West. In the second place, the dry lands of the east were (and are) very suited to the raising of cattle, an

extensive operation which requires few labourers; those who were not wanted were naturally "encouraged" to leave. A third important factor was the attempted Cromwellian plantation: Cromwell wished to repay his soldiers by giving them tracts of Irish land; he accordingly confiscated all land east of the Shannon river for redistribution, and ordered the native Irish to move across the Shannon. Many complied.

This uneven and economically illogical population distribution was possible so long as the staple peasant diet, milk and potatoes, was capable of supporting the existing population. Despite heavy emigration, the population expanded rapidly from the mid-18th century, and the man-land balance was approaching crisis point when the potato crop partially collapsed in 1845, to be followed by complete collapses in 1846 and 1847, and another partial failure in 1848. The consequences were colossal; a population of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  millions in 1846 fell to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  millions in 1851 - one million died and one million emigrated (most of these died too, on board the miserable "Coffin" ships which carried them away). An in India later on in the century, this disaster occurred while wheat and cattle continued to be exported from Ireland to pay for the landlords' expensive entourages and social circuits (16).

Massive emigration continued after 1851 right up to the Great War, and continued at a lower level thereafter. Only

in two intercensal periods since 1846 -- 1946-1951 and 1961-1966 -- has the rate of natural increase exceeded the rate of emigration. Thus whereas what now constitutes the Republic had a population of 6,528,799 in 1841 -- 5,111,557 in 1851 -- it now has a mere 2,884,002 (17).

For some areas, the loss has been truly disastrous. In 1841, Longford County had 115,000 inhabitants; it now has less than 30,000 -- a loss of 74%; Clare had 286,000; it now has 74,000 - down 74% also; the drop in Leitrim has been 81% -- from 155,000 to 31,000; Donegal has gone from 300,000 to 100,000 (18). It might be suggested that this development was not disastrous, in that the migration of people reflects a movement back to equilibrium of a man/resources ratio which had gotten very much into disequilibrium. However, Archibald has shot this view down, claiming instead that such spatial mobility of labour has in fact a disequilibrating effect, through the negative multiplier effects of a loss of population in the source area, and the counteracting effects of a gain in population in the reception area (19). Certainly those who migrated improved their economic position invariably, but the country at large was at a loss, not only because of the narrowing of the market for goods and services, but also because of the fact that the emigration took with it the most productive sections of the work.

And on a more fundamental level, the loss was really disastrous, if one agrees with the view, as this author does, aptly expressed by Jean Gibson, that "wealth is not money. It is people." (20) As Mao says, "Of all things in the world, people are the most precious." (21)

There has, in fact, been a substantial drop in the emigration rate in recent years - from over 50,000 a year in the mid-1950's to less than 16,000 per annum in the mid-1960's. But internal migration continues unabated, and is even accelerating. Government policy in relation to the latter trend can be summed up in two words: "Stop Dublin!" During a general trend of rapid overall decline, Dublin's growth over the last century has been impressive -- from 373,000 in 1841 to 800,000 in 1966 (total metropolitan area). Its proportion of the country's total population has accordingly risen from 5.7% to 28%. Figure 7 reflects this trend: the vertical axis represents two separate measures; thus, the solid lines represent the population trend of both Dublin and the country as a whole in absolute figures between 1841 and 1966, while the broken line traces Dublin's proportion of the total population.

Despite this continuous and considerable movement of people, regional variations in levels of economic well-being are showing no tendency to disappear; in fact, the situation is deteriorating, as the incomes of industrial

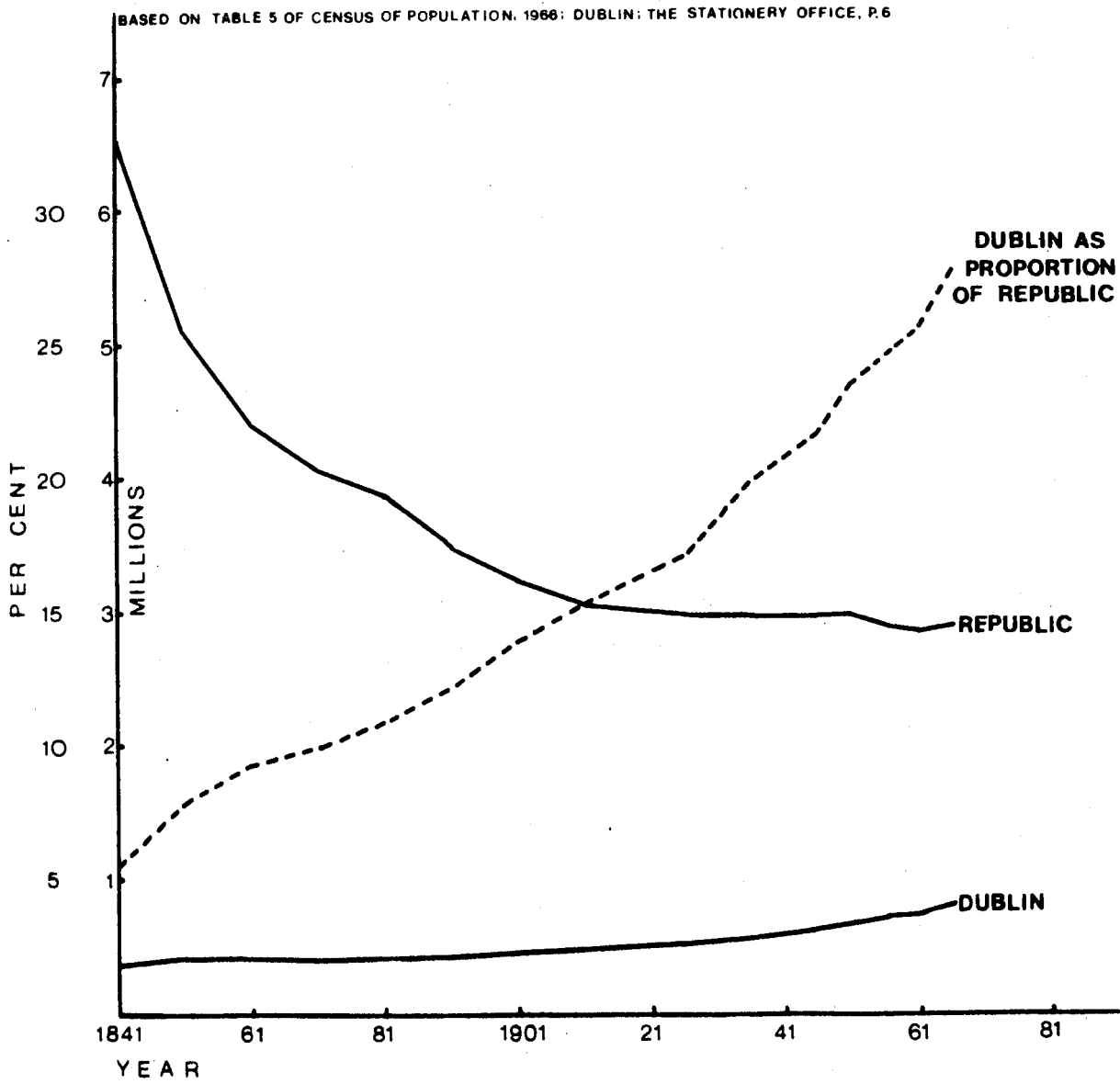


Fig. 7 Population Trends, 1841-1966



workers increase at a much faster rate than those of agriculturalists (industrial work has by far its greatest concentration in the Dublin area). Total earned income per head is currently about twice as high in the Dublin region as in the north-west (the worst-off area). Even when allowance is made for remittances from emigrants, social welfare payments, and agricultural grants, average per capita income is still 35% higher in Dublin (22).

This would appear to be an obvious example of the working of Myrdal's "cumulative causation" mechanism, whereby a region (in this case, the Dublin area), once it has gained some initial advantage over others, makes full use of the "Nothing succeeds like success" axiom, and continues to draw progressively away from the others (23).

Figures 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 give further indications of spatial variations in the Irish economy.

This then sets regional planning activities in perspective; the next section will examine how the Irish government has attempted, and is attempting to tackle this long-inherited regional problem.

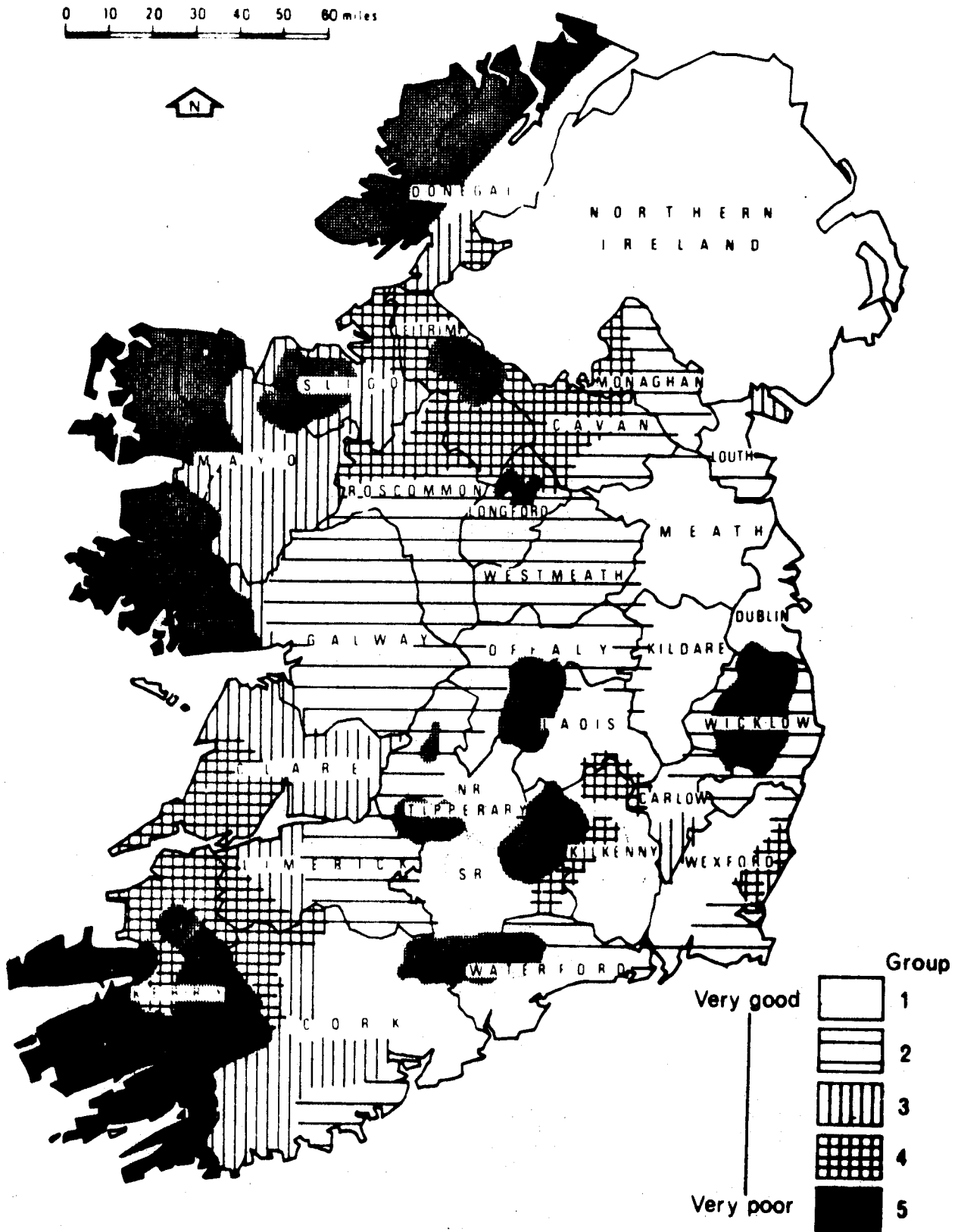


Fig. 8 Soil quality

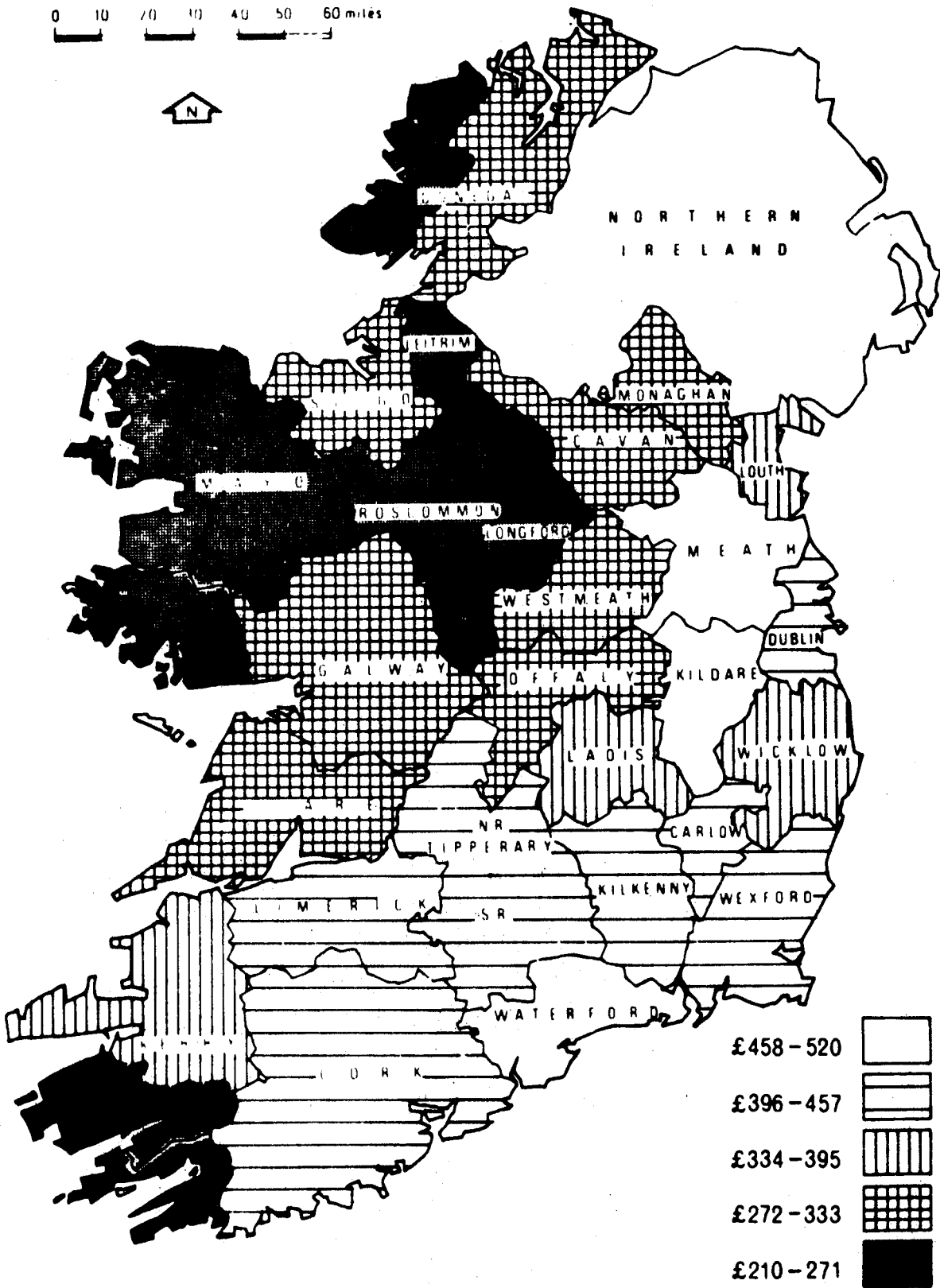


Fig. 9 Net income per male engaged in agriculture

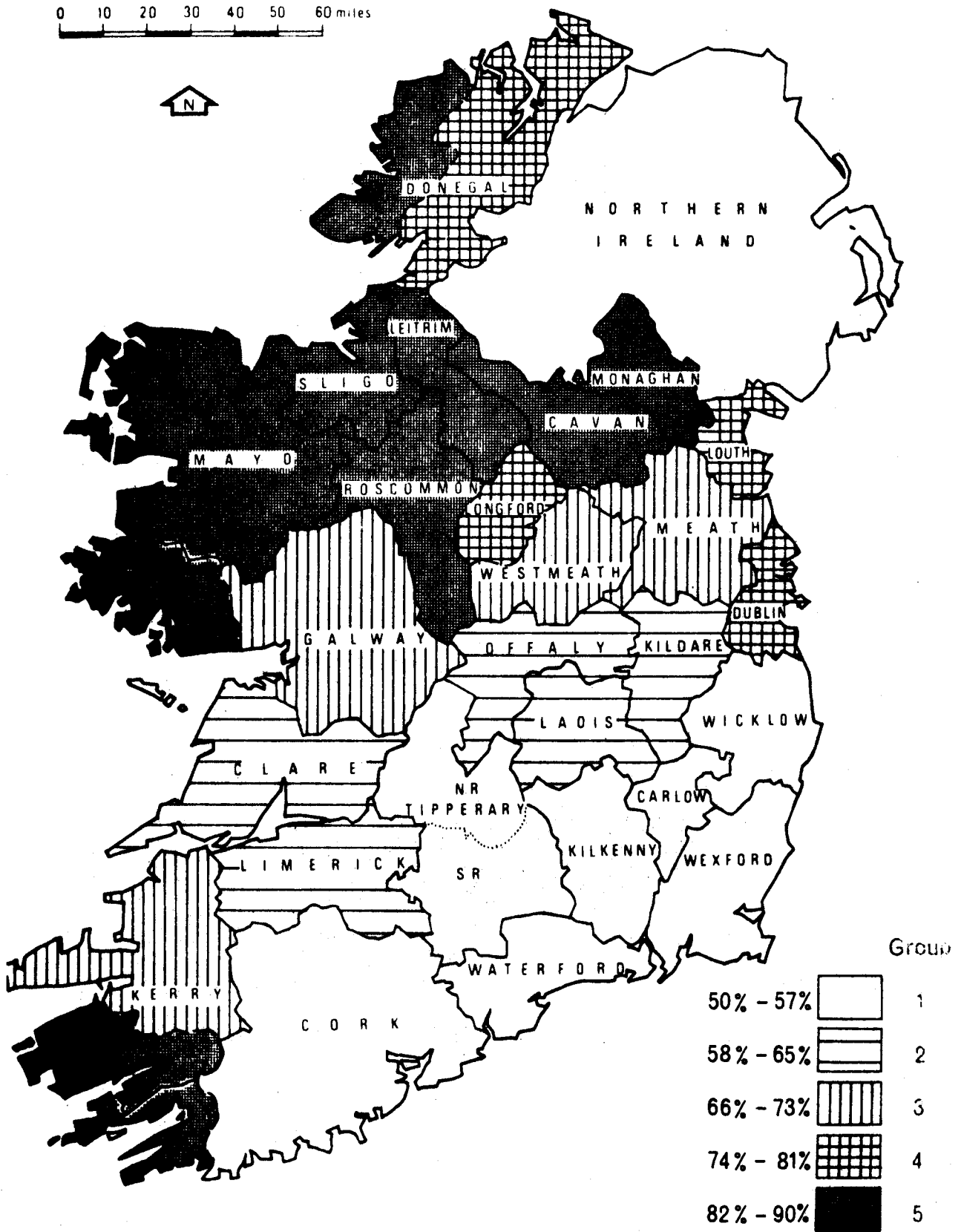
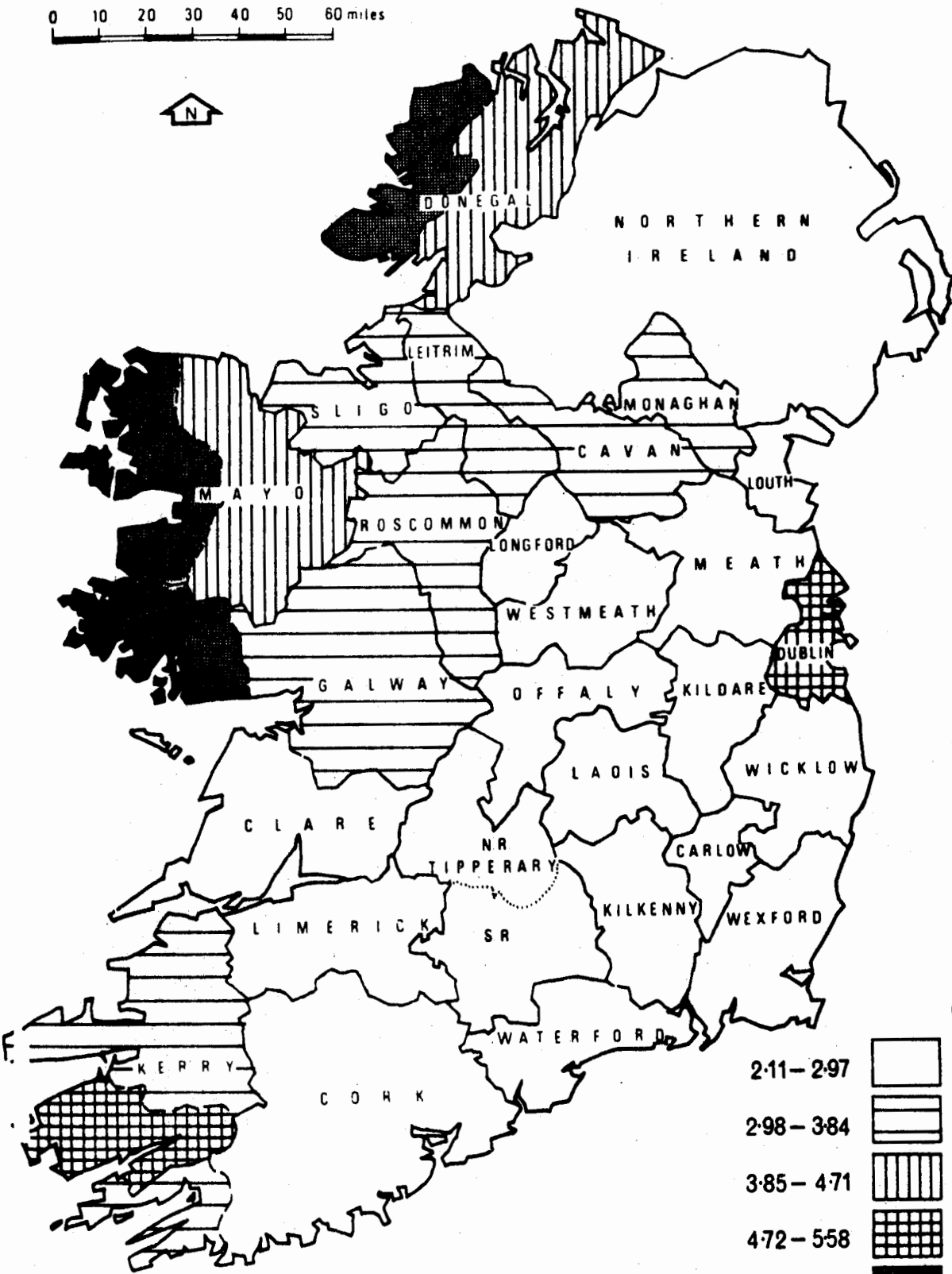


Fig. 10 Proportion of holdings under 50 acres

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 miles



Group	Range	Pattern
1	2.11 - 2.97	White
2	2.98 - 3.84	Horizontal lines
3	3.85 - 4.71	Vertical lines
4	4.72 - 5.58	Grid pattern
5	5.59 - 6.46	Solid black

Fig.11 Density of agricultural workers per 100 acres of agricultural land



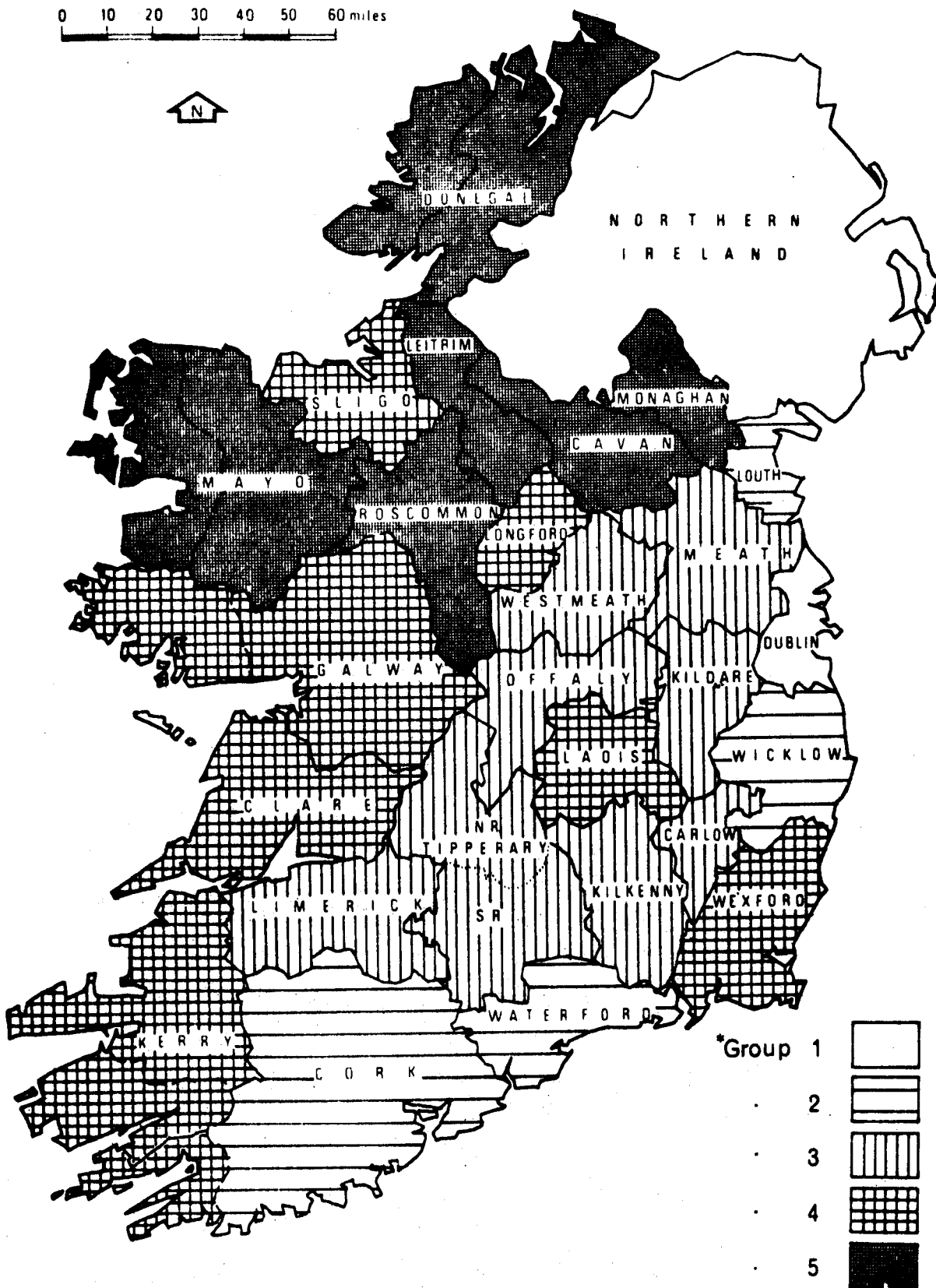


Fig. 13 Appraisal of the social and economic condition of counties

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## EVOLUTION OF AN IRISH GROWTH CENTRE POLICY

Public policy in relation to Irish economic development effectively began with the coming of independence in 1922; previous efforts by the imperialist administration were meagre, if not non-existent. The new government inherited a country dominated by a mass of peasant proprietors (courtesy of a series of land acts between 1881 and 1903), to whom the vagaries of a monetary-exchange economy had only recently permeated. It was decided that the policy to be followed should be one of emphasis on agricultural development, a policy which, although politically very feasible, was short-sighted to the point of obscurantism.

A change of government in 1932 ushered in a period of radical nationalism which coincided with the world economic crisis: this combination produced a new policy of infant-industry development behind a high tariff wall, designed to cater primarily for the needs of the home market. This involved a series of Control of Manufactures Acts, which

"were intended to secure that, as far as possible, Irish nationals would control and finance new manufacturing enterprises and would be protected against foreign industrialists who, in the absence of controls, would have been free to set up competing units here to capture the home market." (1)

This policy was reasonably successful in setting up a variety of small industries around the country, but because

of the small and declining market, these were never able to reach threshold-levels necessary to generate an industrial base which could maintain self-sustaining growth. The Economic War with Britain in the 1930's, and failure to cash in on the Second World War, meant that by 1948, when there was another change of government, the country was importing butter, a sure sign of economic malaise.

The new government effected a complete about-turn in industrial policy. In 1949, the Industrial Development Authority (I.D.A.) was instituted to promote the establishment of new industrial enterprises and to attract foreign capital. In 1952, An Foras Tionscal (A.F.T. - literally, "The Industrial Institute") was formed to administer a scheme of non-repayable grants for the establishment and development of industries in "designated areas" in the west of the country. This step was doubly significant: it introduced the grants system which has played such an important part in Irish industrial policy, and it marked the government's first formal "regional" policy. This latter arose from the fact that:

"There was ... general acceptance of the argument in the light of a trend towards concentrating industrial activity in Dublin, Cork, and the eastern part of the country, that it would be to the national advantage to have a more equitable distribution of industry throughout the country." (2)

Increasing emigration in the mid-1950's led to the Industrial Grants Act, 1956, which empowered the I.D.A. to give grants to new industrial projects located outside the "underdeveloped" areas. Tax concessions on profits derived from exports were introduced, and the I.D.A. was directed once again:

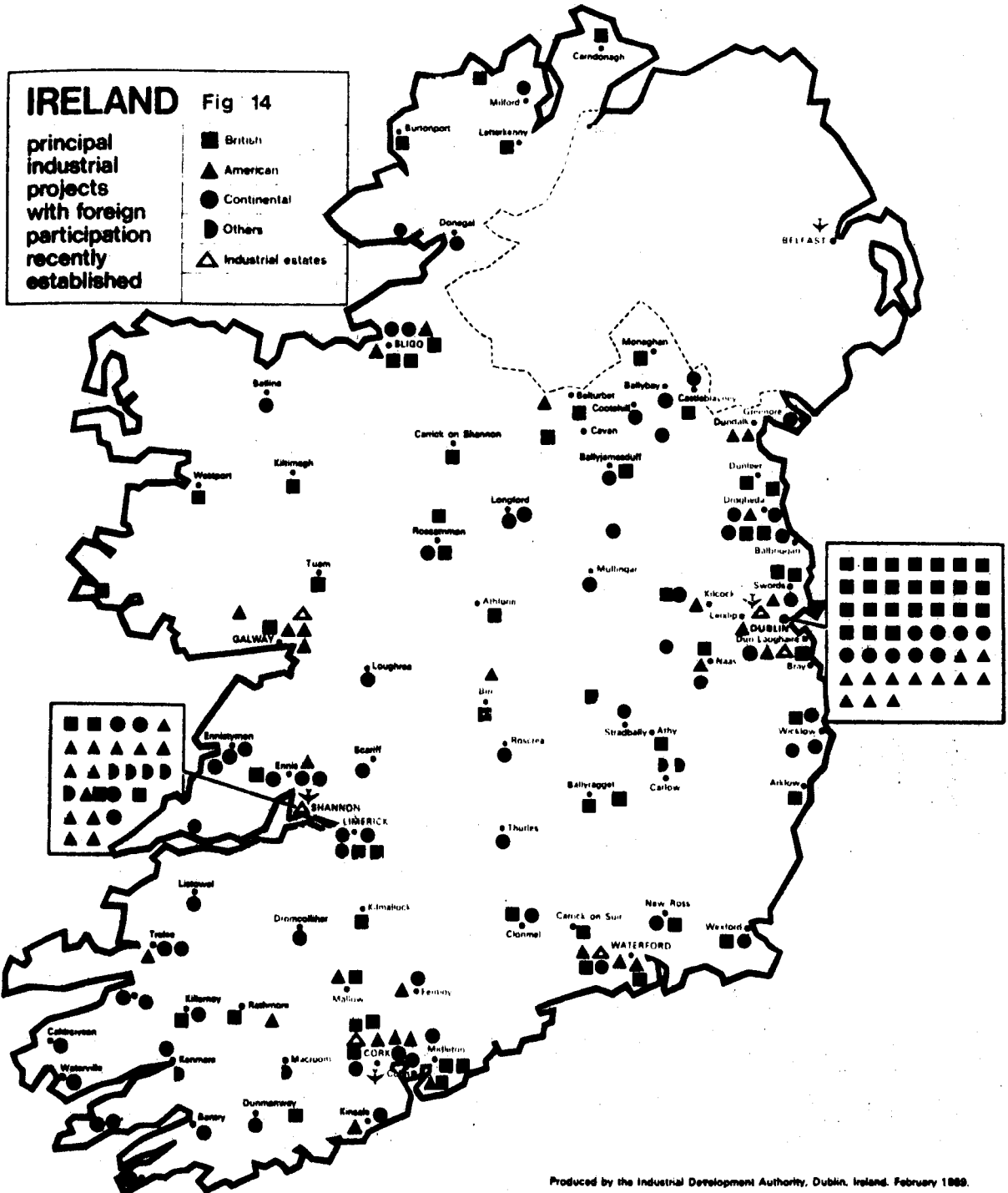
"to encourage as far as was practicable to do so the dispersal of industry throughout the country, so that areas away from the large population centres would secure industrial projects and share in the employment and other advantages resulting from industrial development." (3)

When the government's First Programme for Economic Expansion was introduced in 1959, the country was in a state of utter economic demoralisation. This document, more or less from its very existence, had a remarkable psychological impact on the private sector, out of all proportion to its inherent quality as a plan or policy outline (4). It emphasised the absolute necessity of expanding exports as the only way to long-run economic development, and expressed the great desirability of attracting a greater flow of foreign investment. Greater tax concessions were introduced, and restrictions on foreign enterprise were relaxed.

An important new departure was the inauguration of an industrial estate at Shannon Airport in 1959. The initial idea behind this venture, almost naive in nature, was that

the produce of the estate would be exported by air through the airport: there was a great fear that with the development of jet transport, the airport would be abandoned, and this was an attempt to keep it in operation. At any rate the estate rapidly developed as an industrial and community centre, and its success has had an important influence on the subsequent acceptance by the government of a growth centre policy (5).

Figure 14 gives an indication of the results of the government's efforts to attract foreign industry, up to 1968. While the tendency to agglomerate in certain centres, especially Dublin, is apparent, it can be seen that the attempt to spread plants throughout the country has met with a reasonable degree of success. (The shaded region refers to the "designated areas" mentioned above - the "official" "West" of Ireland). However, there were doubts concerning the opportunity costs of the government's policies. These were first articulated by the Committee on Industrial Organisation (C.I.O.) in 1963. While acknowledging that there was some economic argument for decentralisation of industry (e.g. underutilized resources, both human and physical) and that some firms found isolated locations to be either non-deleterious or even beneficial, the Committee nevertheless went on to state that:



"The question arises whether grants policy should encourage a wide dispersal of industries throughout the country or whether the emphasis should be on the industrial development of a number of centres selected as specially suitable for such development." (6)

The Committee provided its own answer:

"... we are satisfied ... that direction of industrial grants policy towards achieving a widespread dispersal of industry would in the circumstances facing us under free trade, be economically unjustifiable." (7)

The deficiencies of isolated locations - lack of technical services, education and training facilities, other social overhead capital, labour problems, etc., - were spelled out; a subsequent government-sponsored survey of grant-aided industry showed that there was an amount of dissatisfaction among industrialists arising from these deficiencies (8).

The advantages of industrial/urban centres were then listed, and the Committee concluded that:

"while in some circumstances the balance of advantage will lie with the small town, in free trade conditions most firms will be more likely to prosper when they can avail of the advantages which tend to be found in areas where there are concentrations of industry ... The ideal to be aimed at is a situation in which new enterprises do not have to be subsidized to go but rather are attracted to locations throughout the country. A move towards the ideal can be made by abolishing the present distinction between the Underdeveloped Areas and the rest of the country, by picking out a number of centres for major industrial development, by giving initially



special inducements to new enterprises to go to these centres, and by developing in these centres the ancillary services which themselves attract further industrial undertakings." (9)

Growth was expected to radiate from these centres to their hinterlands, so that all areas would benefit from such an approach. It was pointed out that the E.E.C. had adopted such a policy for its underdeveloped regions, and had in fact decided to establish an experimental development pole in southern Italy. This seems a particularly unfortunate example, for the Italian experiment has involved a scale, type, and line of action totally different from anything considered hitherto or envisaged for Ireland. At any rate, the report went on:

"If this process were repeated in Ireland, then the choice of a number of major centres, far from depriving the smaller towns and villages near them of their population and prospects of development, would create the most favourable conditions for economic growth in the surrounding areas. We have no doubt that this is the right general policy in our circumstances." (10)

One wonders where the development centres are to obtain the workers to facilitate their expansion, if the surrounding areas are not to lose any of their populations.

The government's reaction was to set up a Committee with the following terms of reference:

"To consider and report on -

- a. The probable effectiveness for this country of development centres and industrial estates in the

promotion of industrial development and the attraction of new industries; and

- b. Whether, in our circumstances, development centres and/or industrial estates are desirable having regard to the practical problems and costs involved; and, if the conclusions in regard to a. and b. so warrant, to indicate -
- c. Whether special facilities and inducements should be provided to attract firms to development centres and/or industrial estates and, if so, the estimated cost of providing such facilities and inducements;
- d. The criteria infrastructure facilities, availability of labour, etc., by reference to which cities or towns should be selected for designation as development centres and/or the location of industrial estates; and
- e. By way of example, one city or town which satisfies the criteria referred to at d. above." (11)

The activities of a previously established Working Party on Industrial Estates were incorporated in the new Committee. The Committee initially examined development centre policies in the various countries of Western Europe, but concluded that such comparisons were of little relevance to the Irish situation (12). For its own purposes, it insisted that any definition of "development" or "growth" centre should relate not only to economic, but also to social growth (13).

Having considered the cost factors - site, building, and

labour costs, training of workers, transport and communications, fuel and power, various external economies and industrial linkages, and social amenities - likely to pertain directly to the potential industrialist, the Committee concluded that:

"The significance of (these) considerations...would depend, in each particular case, on the nature of the industrial project and the personal assessment of the industrialists concerned. However, development centres would offer better prospects for the success of some projects and would be likely to appeal to some industrialists as a location for industrial operations. They would widen the range of facilities which Ireland is able to offer external industrialists and could be expected to result in the establishment in Ireland of projects which would not otherwise be established here. Development centres would also encourage the growth of existing forms in that they could avail of the facilities provided in the centres and would benefit from the general growth in business activity. We, accordingly, consider that development centres would be effective in the promotion of industrial development and the attraction of new industries." (14)

In a remarkably short section on infrastructure costs, the Committee seems concerned to point out that per unit infrastructure costs in development centres would be no more than elsewhere, and concludes that:

"infrastructure costs when averaged over the whole range of facilities which might require further expansion and investment would be unlikely to vary as between different towns to an extent which would warrant their being regarded as of primary importance in relation to the question of development centres." (15)

To this writer it would have appeared that the much more efficient usage of social overhead capital would be a major argument in favour of development centres: indeed McCrone uses this argument as one of the two stilts on which growth centre theory stands (16). Almost as a throwaway last sentence in its conclusion (17), the Committee observes: "A development centre programme would facilitate the planned utilization of the resources available for expenditure on infrastructure," and leaves it at that.

Like the C.I.O., the Committee considered that:

"development centres would act as a stimulus to regional growth because towns in the neighbourhood of development centres would benefit from the growth in business activity in the centres." (18)

It differed with the C.I.O. however, in the methods recommended for attracting industries to development centres. Whereas the latter recommended increased grants for industries locating in the centres, the former was of the opinion that:

"the provision of the necessary infrastructure and an industrial estate in conjunction with industrial grant facilities, should render a development centre sufficiently attractive to industrialists and we do not accordingly consider that the provision of special financial inducements to attract industrialists to development centres, over and above the existing grants and tax concessions would be warranted." (19)

Industrial estates - it was concluded that "estates with factories to rent would be effective in attracting new industries which would not otherwise come to Ireland," (20) - should be confined to development centres only. Finally, having considered the criteria to be taken into account in selecting development centres - size of town, labour availability, infrastructure facilities, availability of land, communications, and existing industrial base - the Committee, in accordance with its terms of reference, proposed Waterford City as a suitable development centre.

The government then asked its advisory body, The National Industrial Economic Council, for comments on the report. While advocating special treatment for the poorer northwestern counties, the Council had:

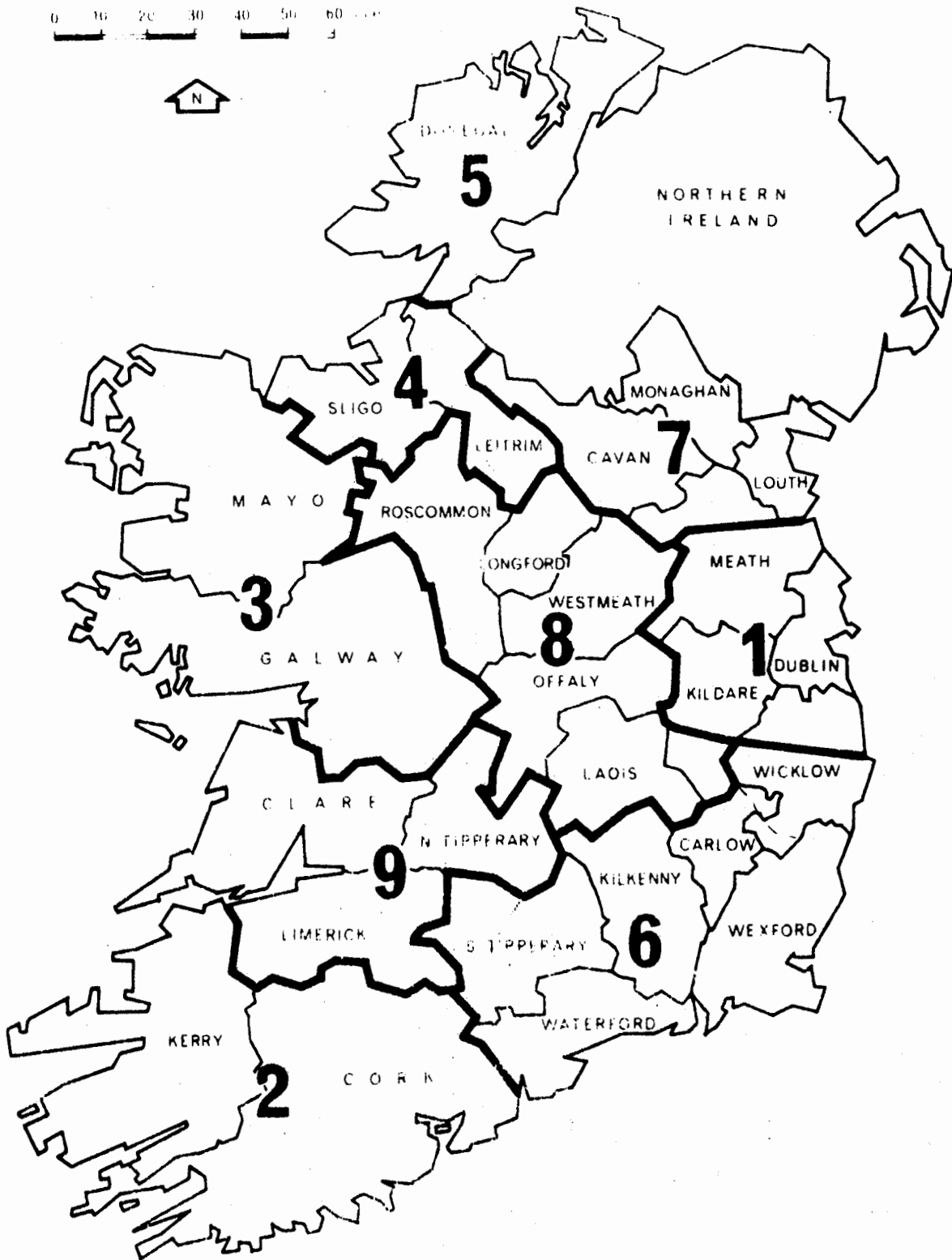
"no doubt that in the rest of the country the selection of a small number of centres for major development can make a greater contribution to regional and national expansion than any alternative policy." (21)

Observing that the survey which would be required in order to arrive at a nation-wide system of development centres would take some years, the Council advised the designation of both Waterford and Galway as growth centres forthwith, since it considered that these would be so designated in any case, and the establishment of industrial estates herein. The government complied with the Industrial Grants (Amendment) Act, 1966, which facilitated the

establishment of these estates; the administration thereof was entrusted to An Foras Tionscal (The Committee on Development Centres had recommended the institution of a new State company for this purpose). Work began on the estates in Waterford and Galway in the same year.

Meanwhile, the Minister for Local Government had divided the country into nine regions for planning purposes (Figure 15). Surveys were carried out in two of these regions, and plans were drawn up, based on the surveys (22). In the absence of a national policy for regional planning, such a step seems ludicrous. At any rate, in October, 1966, Colin Buchanan and Partners were commissioned to carry out surveys in the other seven regions and, in conjunction with those already carried out, to suggest national planning strategy. The resulting report, commonly known in Ireland as the Buchanan Report, was presented to the government in September, 1968, and released to the general public in May, 1969 (23).

The report involved an inventory of the country's resources and an appraisal of its counties and towns, and its position concerning transport, utilities and power; population forecasts and employment prospects under present trends; an outline of various possible planning strategies; the selection of that strategy which, within the bounds of feasibility, approached most closely to government social and economic policy; an outline of the requirements



**Fig.15 Present planning regions**

and implications of this strategy; and finally, a proposed programme for its implementation.

Basically, the proposed policy involves a hierarchy of growth centres (Figure 16). Dublin is to be allowed to grow "naturally": while there are to be no incentives to locate there, neither should there be deliberate restrictions on growth there. Two major national growth centres, Cork and Limerick/Shannon, are to be the subject of specific attention, in order to bring them to an order of size capable of competing to some degree with Dublin. Six regional growth centres, including Waterford and Galway, are to be developed, while in isolated parts, four local growth centres are to be given favourable treatment, particularly in the tertiary sector.

The writer has several reservations concerning this proposal. The selection of both Dundalk and Drogheda, so near to each other and to Dublin, as regional growth centres, seems totally unjustified; the proposal to expand Limerick-Shannon to a population of 175,000 (currently 60,000) in 20 years appears to be absurdly unrealistic; one feels that the government would do much better to cooperate with the Northern government in developing a very-much-depressed Derry (population 65,000) rather than invest in the hopelessly small Letterkenny (4,500); similarly, cross-border cooperation would undoubtedly serve the Monaghan-Cavan-Leitrim area better than a half-hearted attempt to develop Cavan (4,000).



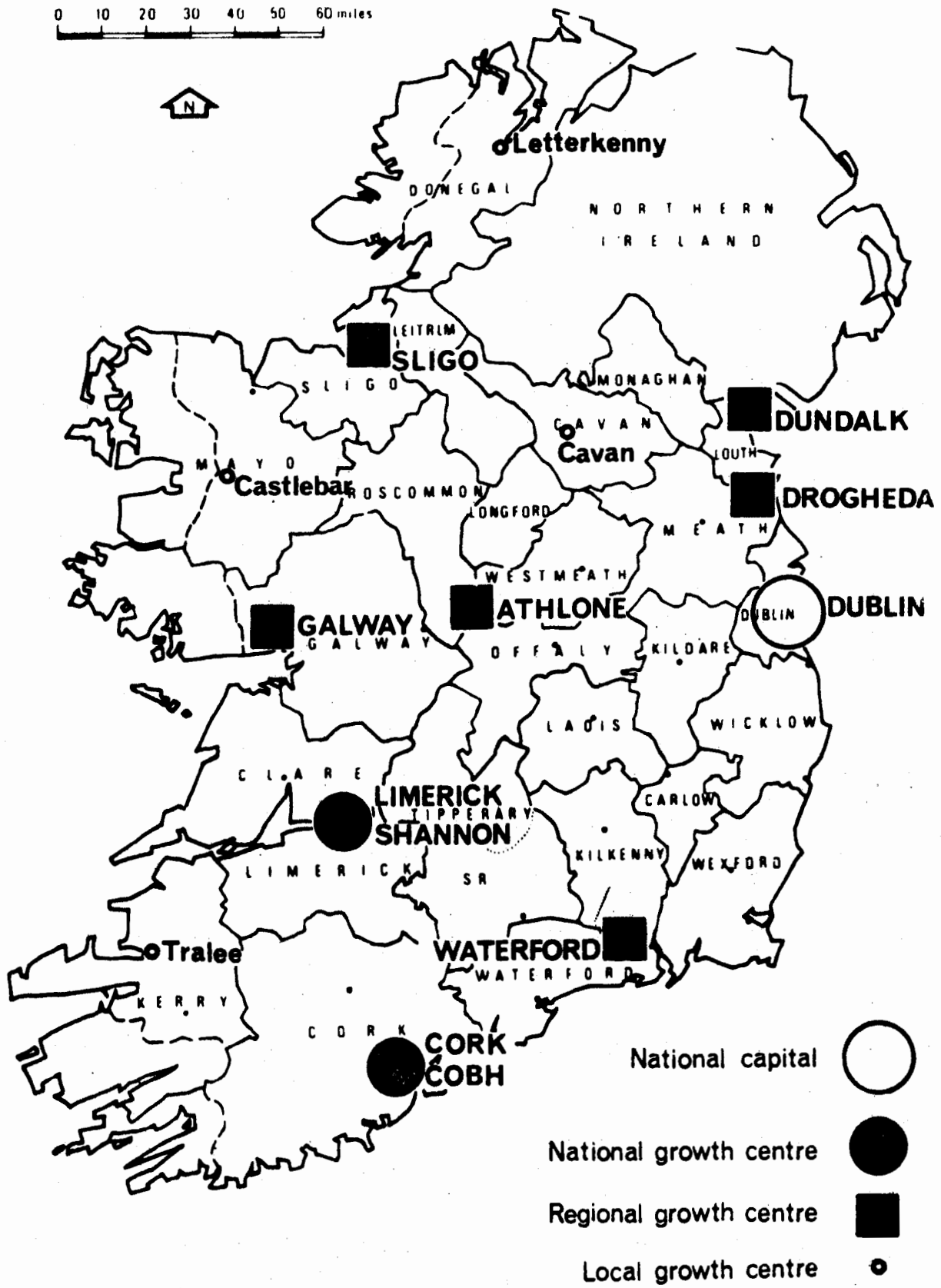


Fig. 16 Recommended policy for growth centres

Although it is now over 2½ years since the government received the report, it has yet to make a policy statement regarding it, despite the fact that Professor Buchanan has emphasised the necessity to get the plan under way as quickly as possible, if it is to have any chance of succeeding. Instead, the government has busied itself with organising governing bodies for the various regions, and has stated that an articulation of policy must wait until each region produces an inventory of its resources and potentialities. This is merely procrastination. Buchanan has already performed this task adequately. One suspects that because of the political difficulties obvious in Buchanan's plan (several of the reports discussed above alluded to this problem), the government has resorted to vacillation. Certainly, with the governing party's present state of disorganisation and disrepute, and with the threat of a general election constantly around the corner, major decisions liable to alienate large sections of the community are decidedly undesirable.

Nevertheless, with the almost unanimous support of the experts, a national growth centre policy seems inevitable. It also seems inevitable that such a policy will be entered upon without adequate preparation. Some of these inadequacies have been hinted at already; in the next section, they will be discussed more fully.

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- (19) Ibid., Par. 97, p. 29.
- (20) Ibid., Par. 62, p. 52.
- (21) National Industrial Economic Council (1965), Comments on Report of Committee on Development Centres and Industrial Estates; Dublin: The Stationery Office, Par. 3, p. 6.
- (22) Nathaniel Lichfield and Associates (1966), Report and Advisory Outline Plan for the Limerick Region; Dublin: The Stationery Office; Myles Wright (1967), Advisory Plan and Final Report for the Dublin Region; Dublin: The Stationery Office.
- (23) Buchanan et al., op. cit.

## THE CASE STUDY

(a) Purpose

It will appear obvious from the foregoing discussion that the writer holds several doubts and reservations concerning growth centre theory and policy, at least as presented in the Irish context. Yet another misgiving gave rise to the present study. It may be seen from a perusal of the various reports referred to in the previous section that there is very little treatment of the exact mechanics of growth centre development. Broad generalisations and vague phrases such as 'radiation of growth', 'a magnet of labour', 'population expansion' are the order of the day. The actual, down-to-earth details are presumably left to the ad-hoc decisions of bureaucrats, or else are to be ignored altogether.

A further major deficiency has been the patent failure of the government to involve the 'ordinary guy in the street' in the show. Joe Bloggs - or as he is known in Ireland, Sean Citizen - just hasn't been told what's going on. Where, as in this case, government policy envisages substantial population shifts and redirection of population flows, such a situation seems particularly out of order, and could foreseeably have disastrous effects on the whole policy.

The simple fact is, nobody has bothered to ask the

proposed pawns in the chess-game what they think of the whole affair: what their attitudes are, what they are aware and unaware of, how they perceive what is going on around them. The government, it would seem, appear to think that all that requires to be done is to create jobs in the growth centres, and people, guided by some magical homing device, will flock thereto from the outlying areas. This represents a view of the Irish as a 'collective economic man'. This particular individual, although finally being jettisoned by the academics, still apparently maintains his popularity among the planners, not only in Ireland, but, as suggested earlier (1), generally.

The assumption that man is omniscient, knows how best to apply this omniscience to serve his needs, and always acts as an optimist, has long held sway in economic theory. Although facilitating powerful inherent logic, this assumption made the applicability of the resultant models open to question, to say the least. Among geographers, the assault on the 'economic man' position has been led by Allan Pred (2). The fact is that not only is the amount of information available to any individual limited, but what does get through is distorted by attitudes, perceptive abilities, and personal dispositions. Analysis of this information is then again constrained by the physiological limitations of the brain, 'confusion worse confounded'. Finally, there is no reason to believe that the individual

attempts to pursue a line of action designed to maximize returns. There are a number of ways of looking at this. The idea of man being an optimiser appears somewhat more reasonable if one considers the maximisation of personal utility, tangible and intangible, rather than the maximisation of economic returns; however, it is the latter which has usually be assumed in the literature. Even the former is very much open to question: instead, it is asserted that 'Man seeks a course of action which is 'good enough', but not necessarily the best...' (3). Evidence for this contention, that man not only does not consciously strive for maximum economic returns, but that he behaves in a 'satisficing' manner - is not preoccupied with achieving maximum utility of whatever kind, but is prepared to make do with what is considered to be a satisfactory position - will be presented in due course.

To sum up:

"Economic behaviour is obviously not to be constrained by the...assumptions of Economics: it is influenced by habit and custom, institutions, technology, and political systems; by satisfaction in doing a job well, in achieving prestige or status, by adhering to the 'spirit' of the current business values system. In other words, economic behaviour cannot be explained in terms of consistent 'rational' behaviour, but must be related to human behaviour in general, as applied to the particular problems of the farmer, businessman, wholesaler, retailer, industrialist, and consumer. How else...can we explain periods of

economic recession in the landscape, the immobility of labour in such areas where workers may turn down better employment opportunities and better living conditions, preferring to stay in the community and occupations with which they are most familiar; or the reactions of retailers and industrialists to changes in the economic milieu. The explanation of such behaviour needs a much more subtle approach than the simplistic 'classical' economic postulates make possible."(4)

It is as a result of this realisation that the great contemporary popularity in the behavioural approach has been generated. Much has been written by geographers concerning the role of attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, values, etc., in shaping locational patterns (5). The general point made by these various contributions is that people do not react to objective reality (if such an entity exists), but their 'mental images' of this reality; the two rarely, if ever, coincide. Thus:

"Decisions that bring about economic activity are made within a perceived part of reality, set by such factors as the values systems. So man operates within a reality which he does not wholly perceive; what he sees, reacts in, reacts to, is something less than reality, a perceived environment set by needs, desires, learnt abilities, past experiences, and awareness." (6)

Watson excellently puts it in a nutshell:

"...man has the peculiar aptitude at being able to live by notions of reality which may be more real than the reality itself...actuality exists, of course, but people



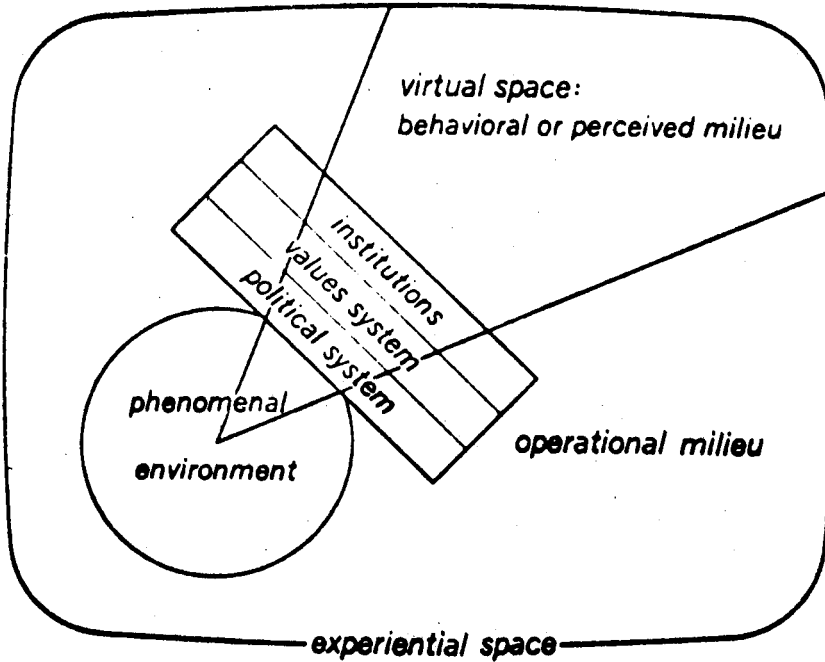
project what they hope can be done with it, thus seeing it as something different. A mental image of a place is built up or compounded of what men hope to find, what they look to find, how they set about finding, how findings are fitted into their existing framework of thought, and how those findings are then expressed: and this mental impression conditions what is in effect found...this often remains true even when the mental image is shown to be false, when it is in fact discovered to be an illusion. Thus illusions about the environment, or the potential of the environment, and the persistence of such illusions, are as significant to the geographer as the environment itself." (7)

Eliot Hurst's diagrams illustrate the processes at work (Figures 17, 18 and 19). Within 'experimental space' - the total real universe - is the 'phenomenal environment' -- that part of experimental space which comes within the ambit of man's activities. The individual relates to this phenomenal environment via the 'operational milieu' - the economy, culture, political system, technologic system, institutions, values system - and the 'black box' - mental processes and nervous system. Thus is produced one's 'virtual space' (the 'behavioural' or 'perceived' milieu) - the individual's own interpretation of reality, which becomes his parameter of action (8).

Lowenthal has pointed out that:

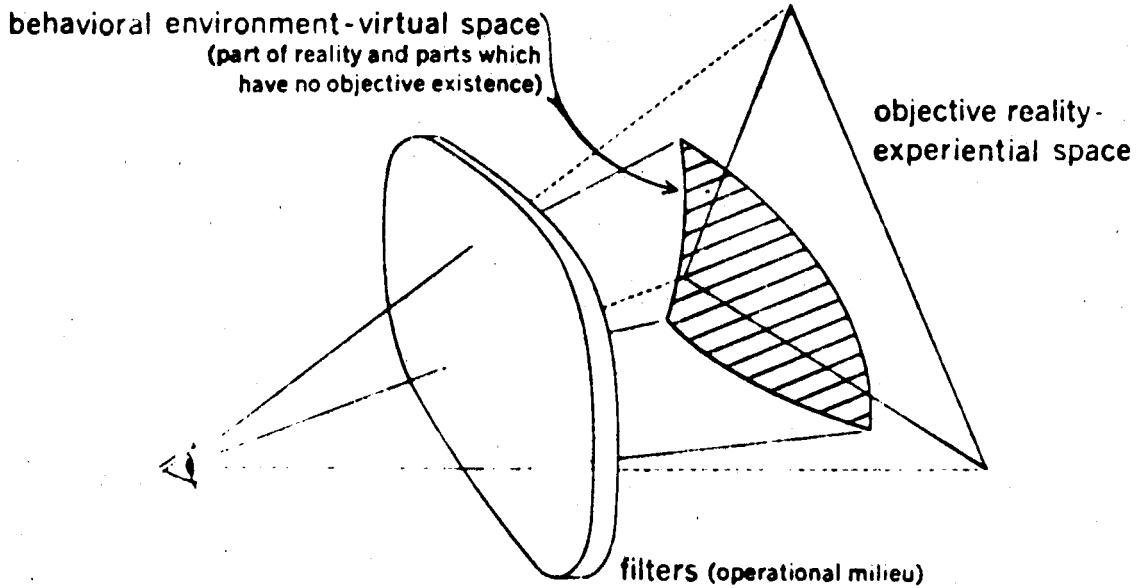
"Without a prior understanding of the bases of perception and behaviour, environmental planning and improvement are mere academic exercises, doomed to failure because unrelated to the terms in which people think and the goals they select." (9)

After Eliot Hurst (1969)



**Fig.17 Perception Processes (1)**

After Eliot Hurst (1969)



**Fig.18 Perception Processes (2)**

After Elliot Hurst (1969)

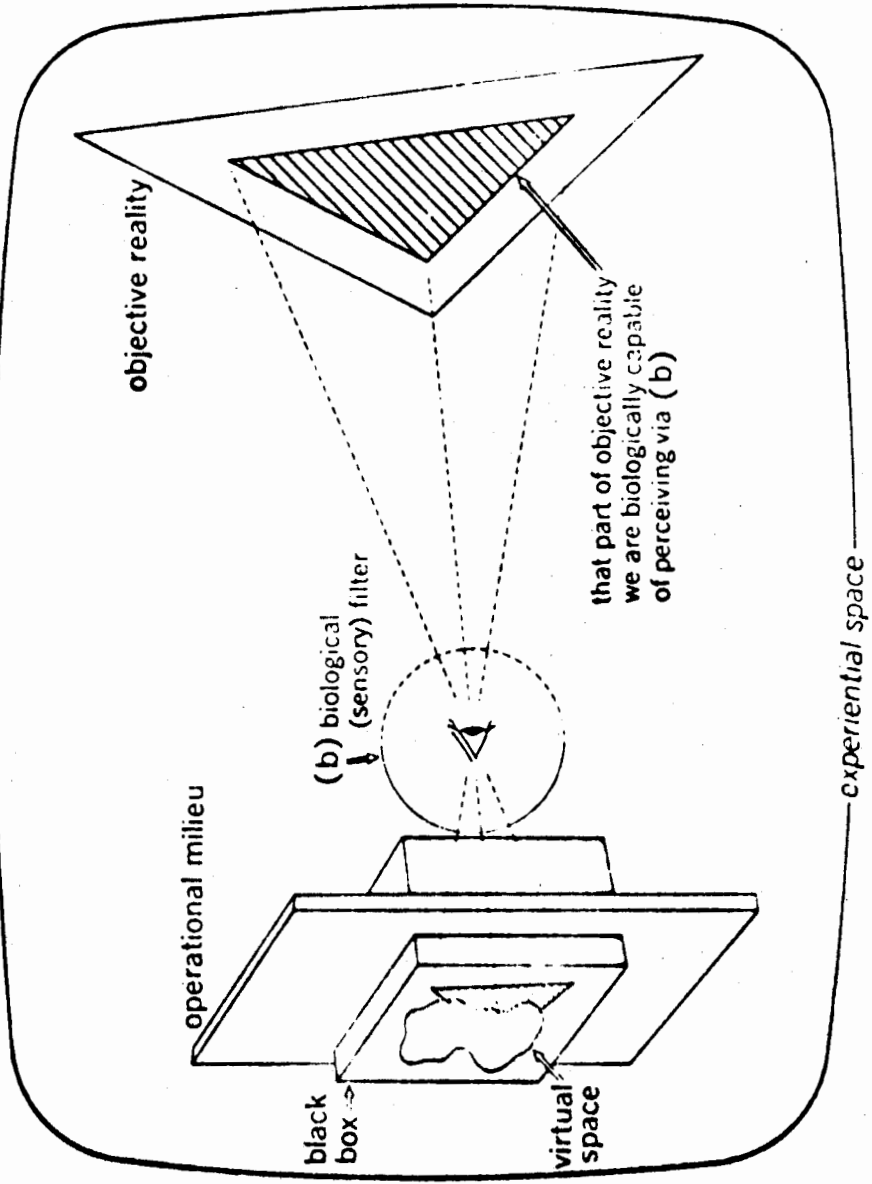


Fig. 19 Perception Processes (3)

While Lowenthal's main concern was environmental quality, his assertion is equally applicable to economic and regional planning. "We cannot pretend to understand man on the earth without some knowledge of what is in the mind of man." (10)

As already suggested,

"In the last few years, the importance of human psychology in ecological problems...has gained widespread recognition within human geography and planning. However, although a great deal of research has been generated, the focus, in general, has been upon the development of theory and procedures for testing it at the expense of actual testing itself." (11)

My purpose is to attempt to rectify this situation to some extent; to actually trespass upon 'the most fascinating terrae incognitae of all...those that lie within the minds and hearts of men" (12). It is hoped that the resultant information, "garnered from the spoken clues of the world inside people's heads" (13), will be of use not only to the academic theoreticians, but more importantly, for the moment, to the actual planners themselves.

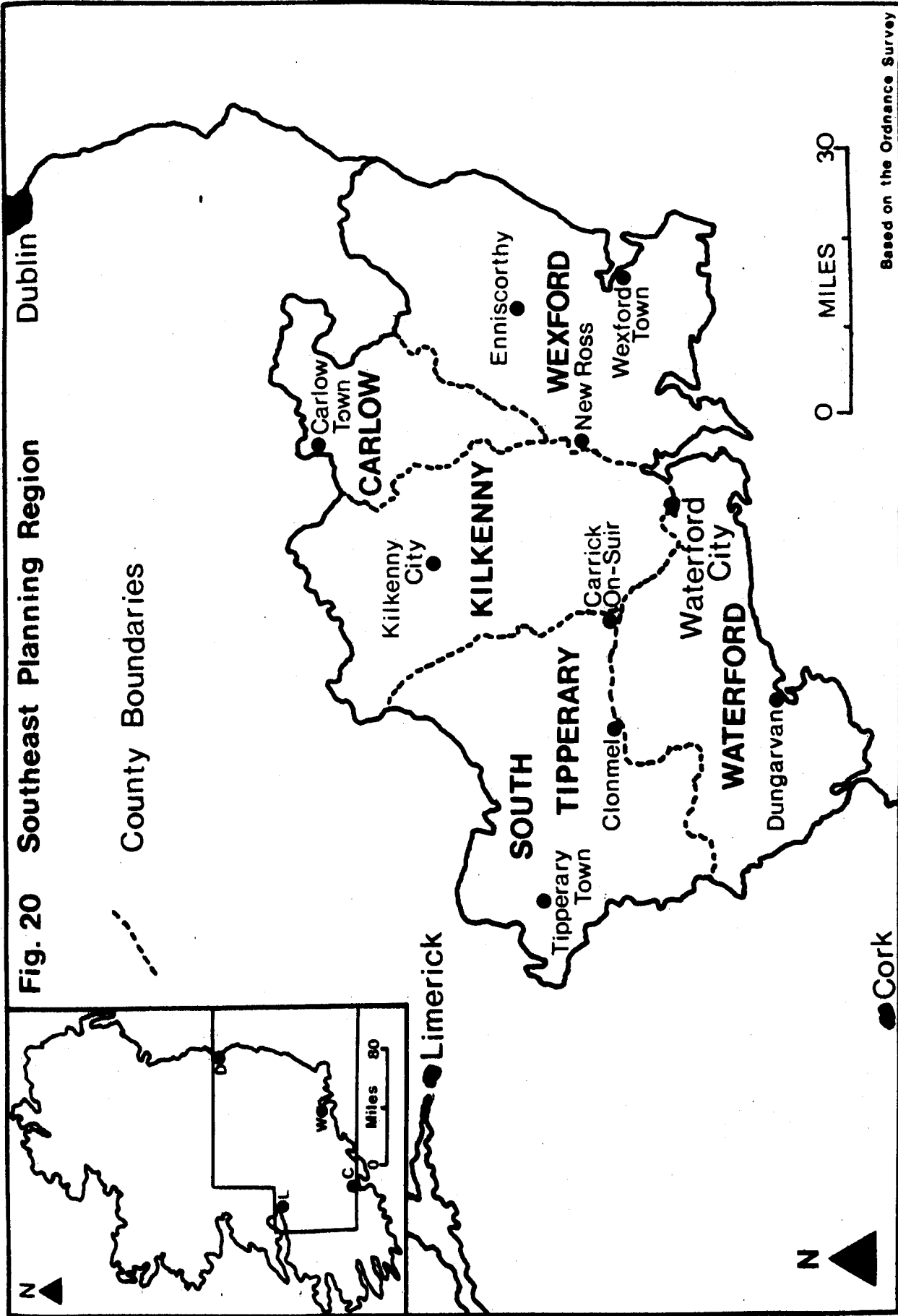
More specifically, my aim was to find out what people knew and were thinking, in one of Ireland's Planning Regions - the Southeast Planning Region. It is for this region that Waterford was designated a growth centre. Inhabited by 319,542 souls in 1966 (the population of Waterford, at the same time, was 29,842), it comprises

Counties Waterford, South Tipperary, Kilkenny, Carlow and Wexford, as well as Waterford County Borough (Waterford City) (Figure 20). Originally, it also included South County Wicklow, but this area was subsequently (and quite rightly) transferred to the Dublin Region.

The Western Planning Region, for which a growth centre - Galway - has also been designated, might equally well have been chosen for study: in fact, in view of the fact that its agricultural problem is much worse than that of the Southeast, it might have been a better choice. However, for a number of reasons, the Southeast Region was selected. In the first place there is much less contention about the make-up of this region than there is concerning the Western Region. Buchanan, for instance, would remove most of County Mayo from the latter (14). The Southeast seems a much more cohesive, 'natural' region, although, as will be pointed out presently, its precise boundaries are disputable. In the second place the distribution of the towns which formed the basis for the surveys, about Waterford seemed much more suitable than the case would have been for the Western Region.

In the third place, the author is much more familiar with the Southeast Region, a fact of undoubted importance. In the fourth place, during the time in which the surveys were carried out, the author was based in the Southeast Region, a fact of even more undoubted importance! Finally,

Fig. 20 Southeast Planning Region



Based on the Ordnance Survey

the manpower which was necessary (in terms of interviewers) for the carrying out of the surveys was much more forthcoming in the Southeast than it would have been in the West.

(b) Method

Three separate lines of attack were considered initially by the author. One of these quickly proved abortive. It was intended, in line with Hansen's last recommendation (15), to conduct a survey among emigrants from the Southeast who had moved to England, in order to find out such things as why they had left Ireland, their awareness of planning developments at home, and their preparedness to return to Ireland. Towards this end, a list of Irish organisations in England was obtained from the Department of Labour, and twelve of the most 'likely' of these were selected. Admittedly, this was likely to give a biased sample, but was seen as the only feasible way to carry out such a survey, given the time and resources at hand. In any case it was felt that, for planning purposes, the results of even such a biased survey would be useful.

An introductory-letter-cum-questionnaire was drawn up, and a sample sent to each of the selected organisations, along with a letter asking to have twenty (per organisation) of the questionnaires completed. Only four of the twelve had the courtesy to reply, and through these, only 24

questionnaires were completed.

The other two lines of approach proved somewhat more fruitful. The more important of these is thought to be the survey of school-leavers. Before outlining the survey technique, it is perhaps in order to provide an introduction to the Irish secondary or high school system. Irish secondary education is generally run by religious orders, and is segregated, with girls' schools in the charge of nuns, and boys' schools controlled by priests and Christian Brothers. There is quite an amount of competition between the orders, so that most towns of any substance have at least two girls' and two boys' schools under religious control. There is also a system of nondenominational, government-owned schools, run by lay teachers. These 'Vocational' schools have traditionally had a 'poor relation' status vis-a-vis the others, although their formal status has recently been made equivalent to the 'Secondary' schools. Whereas the latter have been normally academically-oriented the Vocational schools focus on technical subjects (woodwork, draughtsmanship, typing, commerce, etc.) (16).

In the Southeast Region, apart from Waterford City, there are nine towns which could be termed 'big' in an Irish context. There is a considerable gap between the least of this group, and the largest in the next level in the hierarchy'. These towns are listed in the following table (see Figure 20).



Town	Population (1966) (incl. environs)	Distance from Waterford (miles)
Dungarvan	5,380	30
Clonmel	11,457	30
Tipperary	4,507	54
Carrick-on-Suir	4,874	17
Kilkenny	12,020	30
Carlow	9,765	48
Enniscorthy	6,279	35
New Ross	4,568	15
Wexford	12,744	39

Since two of these towns, Carrick-on-Suir and New Ross were incorporated in a manpower survey of Waterford City, carried out in 1967 by the Department of Labour, they were excluded from the present study (17). In the other seven, it was decided to carry out a questionnaire survey in one Boys' Secondary, one Girls' Secondary, and one Vocational School. The boys' school in each case was a Christian Brothers' School (C.B.S.), for two principal reasons: (i) no other order had a school in each of the towns; by selecting all Christian Brothers' Schools, it was thought that inter-town comparisons would be better facilitated, since clientele, educational emphasis, and policy tend to be fairly standard for these schools throughout the country (the Christian Brothers are by far

the largest single teaching order in Ireland); (ii) all the Christian Brothers' Schools are day-schools, so that one could be sure that almost all the pupils were from the surrounding area. All the other Boys' schools, on the other hand, were boarding-cum-day schools.

No single order of nuns was represented in all seven towns, so the choice in each town was more or less arbitrary. All the girls' schools contained boarders; in this case, pupils from outside the Southeast Region were excluded from the survey. This caused a little disruption which was avoided in the case of boys' schools.

The survey was administered to the senior class in each school, and towards the end of May. Since the final school examinations are held in June it was felt that most of the members of the classes would have some idea of what they wanted to do with themselves upon leaving school. It might have been beneficial, especially for the purpose of making comparisons with the General Questionnaire (see below), to include pupils leaving school before reaching their final year in the survey, but this would have required organisation beyond the immediate compass of the author. The deficiency may be extenuated somewhat by the fact that since universal free secondary education was introduced six years ago, a much higher proportion of pupils are staying in school than was previously the case.

The questionnaires were filled in by the students themselves in class. Some terms were defined beforehand, but the pupils were only told the purpose of the questionnaire after the questionnaires were filled to reduce the possibility of bias. Because the audience was 'captive' it was possible to utilise a somewhat longer questionnaire than that used in the General Survey. A copy of the questionnaire used comprises Appendix A.

Some obstacles were encountered: The single girls' school in Tipperary Town refused to allow me to interview its pupils, while due to circumstances beyond my control, I was unable to survey a boys' school in Wexford. The responses from all three schools in Enniscorthy to my initial enquiries were so inhospitable that I decided to exclude this town from the survey altogether. The Superior of the selected girls' school in Clonmel accepted my questionnaires and said she would have them filled in for me (she refused to allow me near her pupils!) and send them on to me; I have still to hear from her. In all, 392 completed questionnaires were obtained. These were distributed as follows: Dungarvan (69), Clonmel (54), Tipperary (56), Kilkenny (84), Carlow (74), and Wexford (55).

The General Questionnaire Survey was less systematically administered. This survey was aimed at members of the work force, and again, the seven principal towns were used as bases. It was decided not to do a door-to-door survey,

as this would have excluded workers living outside the towns in question; instead, it was decided to interview workers in their work-places, or 'in the street'. The questionnaires were administered orally, which is probably less satisfactory than having the workers fill them in themselves, but which was the only feasible way at the time. The number of questionnaires administered in each town was made proportionate to the population of that town. A total of 423 returns were obtained, broken down as follows: Dungarvan (40), Clonmel (75), Tipperary (30), Kilkenny (84), Carlow (65), Wexford (89), Enniscorthy (40). Appendix B illustrates the questionnaire used.

It would have been desirable to administer a survey of farmers and farm workers, but this was impossible having regard to the time and resources at the author's disposal. The questionnaire returns were coded by the author and key-punched onto IBM computer cards by the key-punching staff of Simon Fraser University Computing Centre. A computer program was constructed by Mr. Sid Witiuk, and the data were processed by an IBM/360-50, according to a question-series designed by the author.

References:

- (1) Supra.
- (2) Pred, Allen (1967), Behaviour and Location; Lund: Gleerup.
- (3) Eliot Hurst, M.E. (1969), A Geography of Economic Behaviour; Belmont, California: Wadsworth, Preliminary Edition, p. 266.
- (4) Ibid., pp. 63-64.
- (5) See, for example, Ibid., pp. 113-276; Pred, op. cit.; Brookfield, op. cit.; Saarinen, T.F. (1969), Perception of Environment; Washington D.C.; Assoc. Am. Geog., Commission on College Geography, Resource Paper No. 5; Joyce, op. cit., pp. 1-25; Schiff, Myra R. (1970), Some Theoretical Aspects of Attitudes and Perceptions; Toronto: Natural Hazard Research Working Paper No. 5, Dept. of Geography, University of Toronto; Lowenthal, D. (1961), "Geography, Experience, and Imagination: Towards a Geographical Epistemology," A.A.A.G., Vol. 51, pp. 241-260; Idem, Ed. (1967), Environmental Perception and Behaviour; Chicago: University of Chicago, Dept. of Geography, Research Paper No. 109; Sorre, M. (1957), Recontres de la Géographie et de la Sociologie; Paris: Libraire Marcel Riviere et Cie.; Kirk, W. (1951), "Historical Geography and the Behavioural Environment," Ind. Geog. Jour.: Silver Jubilee Volume, pp. 152-160; Idem (1963), "Problems of Geography," Geography, Vol. XLVII, pp. 357-371; Gould, P. (1966), On Mental Maps; University of Michigan: Michigan Interuniversity Community of Mathematical Geographers; Discussion Paper No. 9; Wolpert, J. (1965), "Behavioural Aspects of the Decision to Migrate," P.P.R.S.A., Vol. 15, pp. 159-169.
- (6) Eliot Hurst, op. cit., pp. 153-154.
- (7) Watson, J.W. (1968), "The Role of Illusion in North American Geography: A Note on the Geography of North American Settlement," Can. Geog., Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 10; quoted in Eliot Hurst, op. cit., p. 145.
- (8) Eliot Hurst, op. cit., pp. 116-182. Hurst's diagrams are neither numbered or paginated.

- (9) Lowenthal, D., Environmental Perception and Behaviour,  
op. cit., p. 3.
- (10) Brookfield, op. cit., p. 75.
- (11) Joyce, op. cit., p. 7.
- (12) Wright, J.K. (1947), "Terra Incognita: The Place of  
Imagination in Geography," A.A.A.G., Vol. 35,  
p. 15.
- (13) Kates, R.W. (1967), "The Perception of Storm Hazard  
on the Shores of Megalopolis," in Lowenthal, D.,  
Environmental Perception and Behaviour, op. cit.,  
p. 67.
- (14) See Map 42 in Buchanan et al., op. cit.
- (15) Supra.
- (16) Moves are currently afoot to merge all existing schools  
into "Community" schools.
- (17) See Department of Labour (1969), Manpower in an  
Industrial Growth Centre; Dublin: The Stationery  
Office. Appendix D gives a resume of those  
sections of the survey of relevance to the present  
study. Appendix E compares the results of the  
present survey with those of a similar survey  
carried out recently in another part of Ireland.

## RESULTS

### (a) Introduction

This necessarily long section contains a presentation of, and commentary on, the findings of the two surveys. A general overview of these findings is reserved for the next section. The significance - or lack of it - of the various results was established by use of the chi-squared significance test. As is normal practice, significance is attributed only to cases where there is a 95% or more probability that detected differences did not occur by chance. Special mention is made of cases where the probability involved exceeded 99.9% (the finest measure available to the author).

Tests were normally carried out on all matrices of all dimensions, but usually only matrices of greater dimension than two by two were tabulated. To facilitate reading of the text, all tabulations, numbered according as they are referred to in the text, have been included in a separate Appendix C.

All percentages have been corrected to one decimal place; because of this, some arrays may not add to 100% precisely.

### (b) School-leavers' Questionnaire

(i) Overall Results: Of the 392 pupils surveyed, 246 (62.6%) were from Secondary Schools, and 146 (37.2%)

from Vocational; 202 (51.5%) were male, 190 (48.5%) female. Of the 246 Secondary pupils, 121 (49.2%) were male, and 125 (50.8%) female; the respective numbers for the 146 Vocational pupils were 81 (55.5%) and 65 (44.5%). The difference between both types of school as regards sex breakdown is not significant at the 5% level ( $\chi^2 = 1.45$ ,  $df = 1$ ).

This distribution seems reasonable: in 1964-65 (latest figures currently available), there were 46,713 males and 46,276 females registered in recognised Secondary schools in Ireland; in day courses at Vocational schools, there were registered 31,163 males and 18,983 females. This gives a total of 92,989 at Secondary Schools and 50,146 at Vocational schools. In Secondary schools 5,179 males and 5,414 females obtained the Leaving Certificate from the final examination; no figures were available for the Vocational school equivalent (1).

The great majority of pupils (92.1%) had their permanent homes between 30 and 60 miles from Waterford City; 5.9% lived less than 30 miles from the city, and 2.0% lived more than 60 miles away. Again, the great majority (89.0%) had always lived in their present home area. This is in marked contrast to Canada, where it is estimated that, on average, the equivalent of the entire urban population changes its address once every five years (2). This sedentariness might normally have strong



implications for regional planning, but, as indicated by previous sections, the Irish have traditionally shown a high degree of mobility once they reach a "movable" age, and the group of students at present under discussion showed a very high propensity to migrate, as will be shown later.

The students generally had a favourable impression concerning the economic position of their region: 116 (30.0%) thought it was making considerable economic progress; 226 (58.4%) said "Some progress"; 29 (7.5%) thought it to be making no progress, and 16 (4.1%) thought it to be declining. Five gave no reply. This should be encouraging to the extent that the tendency to "get out" is partially conditioned by one's impression of one's region's economic condition, although the students surveyed still displayed a great desire to leave the region altogether (below).

No one occupation was strongly favoured by the pupils: 44 (12.6%), mostly girls, intended becoming nurses or speech therapists (3); 72 (20.6%) said "Teacher"; 91 (26.1%) "Skilled Craftsman" or "Technician"; a mere 5 (1.4%) mentioned farmer/farm management, reflecting the popular unpopularity of that occupation; 51 (14.6%) intended taking up professional occupations (doctor, lawyer, etc.), 79 (22.6%) had their eyes on clerical jobs; and 7 (2.0%) mentioned other occupations. Interestingly,

no less than 43 (11.0%) did not know, did not reply, or, as in a couple of cases, gave such unhelpful replies as "Winetaster" and "Mine worker in Siberia". A more detailed breakdown of occupational preferences as between males and females, and Vocational and Secondary pupils, will be given in the following subsections.

The value of the returns to Question 9 ("Expected earnings in first job") was vitiated somewhat by the failure of the author to point out in some schools that what was required was weekly pay in the first job following any further education or training. This stipulation was designed for those, such as apprentices and nurses, who are paid while being trained. In their first job, 73 (20.5%) expected to get less than £10 (= \$25) per week; 136 (38.2%) expected £10 and over, up to, but not including, £15 (\$36); 80 (22.5%) expected £15-20 (\$36-48); 36 (10.1%) between £20 and £25 (\$60); only 31 (8.7%) expected over £25. One said he did not know, and 35 (8.9%) did not reply, which was to be expected, in the light of the returns for the previous question.

Since over half of those who replied gave an expected wage of less than £15, it might be suggested that it would be possible to attract many of them to Waterford with the offer of a well-paid job, since, in Ireland, a weekly wage of £15 could be by no stretch of the

imagination described as "well-paid". This presumes, of course, the efficacy of so base an incentive as money - a reasonable assumption, one imagines, in prerevolutionary society.

300 students (77.3%) thought there were advantages to living in a city; 88 (22.7%) thought not, and four did not express an opinion. This result is, of course, important in the context of a growth centre policy, but was totally to be expected in the light of experience. Four predominant types of advantage were put forward: "Social life/the chance of meeting people" was mentioned 190 times (29.4%); "Better and/or more amenities, facilities and services (including education)" 179 times (27.7%); "Better and/or more job opportunities" came up 144 times (22.3%); and "Convenience/General Proximity/ Nearness to things/Lack of travel problems" 111 times (17.2%). Anonymity, considered a major factor by Buchanan (supra), if it can be equated to a desire for freedom, tolerance, or a "mind-your-own-business" milieu, was only mentioned 5 times. Other advantages mentioned were "Better working conditions" (17 times = 2.6%), and "Good experience" mentioned once. The results are significant, in that factors relating to employment were by no means of paramount importance, something which should be noted with care by planners (see below).

It was thought that the order in which advantages were

expressed might perhaps be significant, although only 245 second and 103 third preferences were expressed. Table 1 (Appendix C) in which both items relating to employment have been merged, and the "Anonymity" and "Good Experience" items excluded, represents the ordering of preferences.

The "Social" and "Employment" factors show great stability, whereas the "Amenities" factor shows a definite trend towards increasing popularity with order of preference; the "Accessibility" factor, after an initial flourish, dropped to half its first-preference popularity in subsequent orders. The difference between classes was found to be statistically significant at the 1% level ( $\chi^2 = 19.52$ ,  $df = 3$ ).

A more valid procedure might be to examine the 103 individuals who expressed themselves three times, as in Table 2. The distribution of the total for this group and for all students was found to be not significantly different at even the 10% level ( $\chi^2 = 1.99$ ,  $df = 3$ ). Table 2 plays up the importance of the "Employment" factor somewhat, giving it equal standing with the "Accessibility" factor as the leading first preference choice. Nevertheless, factors other than employment were still given twice as much importance at this most important level. The standing of the "Accessibility" factor as essentially a "first preference" item, and that of the "Amenities" factor as a "second preference" item, are

given more emphasis here. The disparity within this group is even greater than that within Table 1, being significant at the 0.1% level ( $\chi^2 = 23.77$ ,  $df = 6$ ).

Some of the specific advantages attributed to city living were interesting. Five male students had their priorities right: "Rakes of women"; "The women and the crack"; "Opposite sex is handy"; "Wine, women, and song"; "Ease of acquiring necessary articles" (whose sale is illegal in Ireland). More interesting were the following: "Security of streets"; "Favourable cost of living"; and "Because of competition, the cost of living is cheaper", all reflecting blissful ignorance of actual conditions. The last opinion indicates brilliantly the power of capitalist economic theory to mislead.

Less than half (41.3%) of the students knew of the government-defined Southeast Planning Region; it is presumed that the 25 who did not reply did not know of it. Acceptance of Waterford City as the focus of the Region was by no means unanimous; 63.9% of those who expressed an opinion agreed; 135 were opposed, and 18 were non-committal. Of the 127 who gave reasons why Waterford should not be the focus of the region, two-thirds thought that its geographical position was not right. Other reasons given were: "Not suitable" (for reasons other than geographical situation) - 19; "Waterford already has enough" - 14; "Isn't a nice place" - 3; "Too dead" - 2;

two said that people should not have to go to Waterford for employment; and three used the space to express the opinion that the Tipperary Town area should not be in the region (the author agrees wholeheartedly). This latter point will be referred to again later.

The above reasons were normally accompanied by expressions of local chauvinism (e.g. "I think Kilkenny/Wexford/Clonmel would be better"). Two persons referred to an alleged pollution problem in Waterford (one of them said it was "terrible"); the author was unaware of any such problem. One eloquent female stated that Waterford "has not a rich hinterland, is not central, is lacking in social amenities, and in sources of capital"; the same person said that she knew Waterford slightly! Other observations included: "There are not enough industries in Waterford" (such a criterion therefore also excluding all other contenders as well); "It's a dead loss, social-wise and talent-wise"; "Lousy old city"; and "It has not got the same tourist advantages as Dublin has" (the relevance of the latter is not immediately apparent). Further unfavourable opinions of Waterford will be revealed in the discussion relating to Question 19 (Attitude to a job in Waterford City).

These returns raise once again the question of the political implications of implementing a growth policy. The selection of a town to be a growth centre is bound to be

unpopular among large sections of surrounding communities, not only because of matters of pride, but (probably principally) because of fears of being abandoned by the government. The following extract from an editorial in an Irish provincial newspaper illustrates the point well:

"Just what does a Western community have to do to get industry? Compare the record of local endeavour and initiative in Castlebar with what is happening in Galway [Castlebar (pop. 5,629) is in the planning region for which Galway has been designated growth centre]; Castlebar, and indeed other Mayo towns too, have done all in their power to meet the requirements Ministers and planners have demanded of them. There has been no failure of local community involvement here.

But Castlebar and Mayo still await industry; even a £32,000 request for a loan to service an industrial estate in Castlebar in partnership with a professional development agency is still awaiting sanction from the Government ... in the meantime industry has been packed into Galway on an artificial industrial estate by direct official directive [Notice how the attitude to industrial estates has been reversed within a few lines].

How much more practical it would be, in view of the social and economic needs of Western areas, to provide ready-made factories in rural towns, well-spaced enough to avoid competition in labour and each unit acting as a stabiliser of the local population and economy. The huge cost of developing the infra-structure of such artificial islands like Galway and Waterford would thus be avoided and policy, instead of becoming an agency of depression, would be an agency of promotion for our neglected areas.

...We have had the talk and the promises, the rosy expectations and the long-lingering exercises. Now we want the action, the action in freight subsidies, special tax concessions, backing for Flanagan's [Member of Parliament]

plans for a rural spread of industry, action to stop the bloat of Cork, Dublin, and the East Coast at our expense, action which will keep our young people with us as happy hostages for the future.

We are tired of a system that produces nothing but higher rates, higher taxation, higher unemployment in the West on a dwindling population base behind a facade of sham prosperity which is founded on the sacrifices of those who emigrated. We have no cause to feel that the Dublin planners will, of themselves, provide solutions to our local problems because they are so comfortably removed from the daily effects of such problems. It is a complacency we are going to have to shatter before it shatters us." (4)

Comments are reserved for the following section:

The students' knowledge of Waterford was not impressively great: only 25 (6.4%) said they knew it very well; 142 (36.5%) said "fairly well"; and 154 (39.6%) "slightly"; 68 (17.5%) did not know Waterford at all. There were three non-replies. Such a lack of knowledge has obvious implications for a growth-centre policy, which will be expanded upon later. Again, only 145 (37.0% of the total number of students, and 40.9% of those who expressed themselves) thought Waterford to be highly progressive, the category in which the author would put it; 153 (43.1% of respondents) said "Slowly advancing"; 51 (14.4%) said "Stagnant", and 6 (1.7%) "Declining". 37 (9.4%) were without an opinion.

The returns to Question 15 ("Social" image of Waterford) which, in view of the results of Question 10



(Advantages of living in city), might be considered to be more important, were somewhat more unfavourable to Waterford. Only 42 (11.8% of respondents) regarded it as "Very lively"; 196 (54.9%) replied "Fairly lively"; 87 (24.4%) "Dull"; and 32 (9.0%) "Dead". 35 (8.9%) did not reply. One individual wrote "no no" in the "Very lively" box, appropriately registering his opinion, while another, apparently not satisfied with the author's categorisation, inserted "Fucked up" and duly ticked it off!

Waterford's poor potential (and actual) drawing power within the region was further amplified by Question 16, in which less than one third (113 = 29.3%) of the students said that they knew that city best of the six listed. 38 (9.8%) said Cork (most of these being from the Westerly towns in the region); 61 (15.8%) - mostly from Tipperary and Clonmel - said Limerick; 6 (1.6%) Galway; 4 (1.0%) Athlone; and no less than 164 (42.5%) Dublin. There were 6 non-replies. The over-powering influence of Dublin within the country is well illustrated here. This, plus the general tendency to look outside the region for a city "to go to" must have great implications for regional planning. It is the author's opinion that most of those who replied "Dublin" to this question did not really know the city that well, and that this reply was more an indication of aspiration than of actuality. There is

certainly a considerable amount of prestige attached to "knowing Dublin well".

84 (21.6%) expressed a preference to living and working in the country; only 45 (11.6%) said a small town; 156 (40.1%) preferred a big town or small city, and 104 (26.7%) a big city. It is perhaps surprising that the "big city" alternative was not more popular; at any rate the seeming popularity of the big town/small city category must offer some encouragement to the proponents of a growth centre policy, which, in Ireland at any rate, will be concerned with the development of urban centres falling precisely into this category.

Two-thirds (254 = 65.6%) of the students who replied were thinking of leaving their home area; 133 gave a definite "No", and 5 were apparently undecided. Of those who gave a reason for thinking of leaving home (244), 101 (41.4%) gave various reasons connected with employment; 60 (24.6%) wanted further education and/or training; 38 (15.6%) were not pleased with their home area; 18 (7.4%) wanted to "broaden their horizons" generally; 16 (6.6%) wanted to specifically "improve themselves"; and 11 (4.5%) just wanted a change. It is difficult to decide on how to treat the 60 who were thinking of leaving to obtain further education and training, since not all of these would necessarily stay away. Experience, however, suggests that most of them would, in fact, do precisely that. The

employment factor stands out in the above breakdown, but this does not necessarily tend to contradict anything suggested previously; it is in deciding where to go that the other factors thought to be more influential ought to be decisive. One young lady reflected poorly on the manhood of her home area by giving the following reason for leaving: "No matrimonial prospects - the men drink too much!"

34 (13.4%) did not say where they were going to go; of the remainder, 115 (52.3%) said Dublin; a mere 8 (3.6%) said Waterford; 4 (1.8%) said elsewhere in the Southeast Region; 18 said Cork, 16 elsewhere in Ireland; 31 (14.1%) Great Britain; 5 North America; 11 elsewhere and 16 "Don't Know/Anywhere/Nowhere in particular". Thus, out of 254 potential migrants, twelve intended definitely to stay within the Southeast Region. The overpowering attraction of Dublin is again only too evident, while the traditional role of Great Britain as a recipient of Irish migrants is maintained. Of the 110 who gave reasons for wanting to go to Dublin, 48 (43.6%) said "Further education/training"; 29 (26.4%) gave employment reasons; 13 gave "Like to go there/Like it there/Familiar with the place/Where it's all at" type reasons; and only 8 specifically mentioned social life, which is interesting. One gent gave as his reasons for going to Dublin, "The women, chainies, and crack". The term "chainies" is obviously a colloquialism on whose

meaning we can only speculate. Interestingly, one particular individual who was leaving home because he was going to become a priest, said he intended going to Canada "on the missions", because "priests are needed there!" Canada's world image would seem to be deteriorating! The principal reason for going to Britain was employment (11 out of 25).

The students were not over-enthusiastic about the prospect of a job in Waterford; 103 (26.3%) said they would consider taking a job there if offered one; 101 (25.8%) said they wouldn't; 46 (11.7%) didn't know, and 142 (36.2%) answered "Depends". Everyone gave a response to this question. Thus, over half the students were prepared to commit themselves, despite the "give-away"/"Depends" category. Among the 89 persons who said why they would consider a job, the major factor was Waterford's proximity to home and easy accessibility, which was given 46 times (51.7%). Thus it would seem as though there is some scope for availing of Waterford's accessibility to the remainder of the region as a means of attracting migrants. Only 26 out of 89 reasons given could be taken as expressing a positive attitude towards Waterford, which lends further support to the contention that Waterford's image in its hinterland is not exactly world-shattering.

One loquacious young thing gave the following reason for answering "Yes" to this question: "It is near my own

home. I have cousins in Waterford City and I think the Waterford people are very friendly. It also has lots of entertainment. Good transport. I would have to travel home on bus to New Ross because the train coming is only a goods train which is a disadvantage". How does one categorise a reply like that?

17 persons did not say why they would not consider a job in Waterford; of the remaining 84, 51 (60.7%) gave a negative attitude towards Waterford as the reason, while 21 said that Waterford was inaccessible. The latter point excellently illustrates how different people can see the same thing completely differently; the former one once again points up the fact that Waterford's image is not the best.

Whereas few people were prepared to extol the virtues of Waterford among the previous "Yes" group, pungency was the order of the day here. Reasons given for not considering a Waterford job included: "I detest the place"; "Waterford is quite filthy"; "The city has a bad name because of the carry-on on the docks"; "Backward place"; "Too rough"; "THE PLACE IS DEAD" (written in big block letters); "To work in Waterford does not appeal to me"; "I think Waterford is a gloomy, damp, unattractive and unwelcoming city"; "I would not like to live in a small community like Waterford - people too noseey"; "Too industrialised"; "That city is washed up, played out";

"It's too big and dusty"; "It's a bum town"; "Conservative in fashion"; "I consider Waterford as a very rough area". Comment is superfluous. One gem, which would have done Mrs. Malaprop justice, was: "I don't like the colloquial attitude of Waterford people".

Perhaps the best way to sum up is to point out that of two students in Wexford, one gave his reason for considering a job in Waterford as the fact that there is a direct railroad from Waterford to Wexford, while the other gave his reason for not considering such a job as the fact that there is not a direct railroad between the two.

139 of the 142 persons who answered "Depends" expanded further; 102 of these (73.8%) said it depended simply on "the job", without mentioning money, opportunities, etc., only 27 base individuals gave the condition simply as "money". This lack of emphasis on money per se is interesting, and in marked contrast to those interviewed in the General Survey.

Of the 235 who answered "Yes" or "Depends" to Question 19 (Attitude to a job in Waterford) and who also answered part (1) of Question 20 (Attitude to moving to Waterford) 92 (39.2%) said they would be quite willing to move to Waterford to work; 70 (29.8%) said they would be hesitant; only 10 (4.3%) were not at all prepared, and 63 (26.8%) were not sure. Of 227 respondents, 62 (27.3%) were quite prepared to commute daily to Waterford to work,

54 (23.8%) were hesitant; 63 (27.8%) were not at all prepared, and 48 (2.12%) were not sure. One of the 63 who were not at all prepared wrote: "From where? Here? You must be nuts!"

The picture presented here is one of somewhat greater preparedness to move to Waterford, if need be, rather than commute thereto. The implication here is that public authorities might spend more on housing, etc., and less on improving access to Waterford, in the event of workers being attracted to the city from the surrounding region.

238 of the students (60.7%) had heard of the Industrial Estate in Waterford; knowledge about what the Estate involved was much less widespread, as indicated by the 182 (46.4%) who did not know whether or not they would like to work on the estate; 92 (23.4%) said they would and 118 (30.1%) said they would not. There would appear to be a need for dissemination of information concerning the estate.

These then have been the results of the individual questions, and will form the basis for the discussion on implications and recommendations in the next section; the following subsection involves a comparison between the results of different questions in an attempt to detect interrelationships, inconsistencies, consistencies, etc. This subsection will be followed by a comparison of the responses of males and females ((b)(iii)), and secondary

and vocational schools ((b) (iv)).

(ii) Interrelationships:

(1) Potential Mobility - Whether or not one had spent all of one's life in the same place, and one's image of one's region's economic position (Table 3, where the vertical axis refers to Q. (Question) 7 - Image of one's region's economic position - and the horizontal to Q. 18 - Consideration of Migration) seemed to have some slight bearing on potential mobility, but not significantly so. But whether or not one attributed advantages to city-living had a very strong bearing, the difference being significant at the 1% level ( $\chi^2 = 6.94$ ,  $df = 1$ ).

(2) Attitude to Employment in Waterford - Intended occupation had no significant effect ( $\chi^2 = 12.30$ ,  $df = 12$ ) on attitude to a job in Waterford (Table 4), although some tendencies were apparent (Teachers-to-be were least inclined to say "Yes" to the offer of a job in Waterford; with the Skilled/Technician group at the other extreme; Nurses and Professionals were most definite about not going; Nurses were also, along with Clerical workers, most uncertain; and Teachers were most inclined to attach conditions to their response).

Knowledge of Waterford City seemed to have a significant bearing on readiness to take a job (Table 5). The variation between groups was found to be significant at the 1% level ( $\chi^2 = 26.51$ ,  $df = 9$ ). Thus, while 40%



of those who knew Waterford "Very Well" were prepared to take a job there, only 13.24% of those who did not know it at all were of a similar frame of mind.

This result is not necessarily as truistic as it may first seem. Were Waterford a highly unattractive place, then it is possible that those having a good knowledge of it would be less likely to go there than those ignorant of the place. The implication is that if Waterford were a more publicised place, there would be a greater inclination to take a job there.

Buchanan would be pleased to know that whereas both economic (Table 6) and social (Table 7) image of Waterford had an effect on attitude to a job there, the latter relationship was much more significant (0.1% level;  $\chi^2 = 49.51$ ,  $df = 6$ ) than the former, which was only significant at the 10% level ( $\chi^2 = 11.87$ ,  $df = 6$ ).

Thus, the suggestion that social criteria should be accorded at least as much importance as economic in studying mobility tends to be borne out.

(3) Images of Waterford - The degree to which one "knew" Waterford had a significantly positive effect ( $\chi^2 = 14.37$ ,  $df = 6$ ) on one's economic image of the city (Table 8), but none at all on social image (Table 9). There seems to be a generally favourable image of Waterford (over 60% thought the city to be Very or Fairly Lively in all cases). Nevertheless, in all cases, a much higher percentage

thought Waterford to be "Highly Progressive" than "Very Lively", and if social rather than economic motivations are more important as regards mobility, as has just been suggested, then this result can have little comfort for Waterford and its planners.

(4) Industrial Estate - Table 10 provides good evidence of consistency among the replies: it correlates knowledge of Waterford with Knowledge of the Industrial Estate there. The highly significant ( $\chi^2 = 550.38$ ,  $df = 3$ ) variation is obvious. (Vertical axis is degree of knowledge of Waterford; horizontal is knowledge of industrial estate). Thus, whereas 88% of those who knew Waterford "Very Well" had heard of the estate, only 31% of those who knew Waterford least had.

Attitudes to a potential job on the Estate for the group of students as a whole was skewed very sharply by the group who intended taking up occupations in the "Skilled/Technician" category. Thus, whereas in Table 11, internal variation is very significant (at the 0.1% level;  $\chi^2 = 40.13$ ,  $df = 8$ ), there is no sign of a significant difference between the remaining classes after the Skilled/Technician group is removed ( $\chi^2 = 5.30$ ,  $df = 6$ ). Of course, it is to be expected that this group would show a highly favourable attitude towards working on the estate, but on the other hand, only a quarter of intending nurses and a third of intending teachers said "No" to this question, suggesting

a chronic lack of knowledge concerning what the estate is all about.

Finally, one further indication of consistency is the comparison of Q. 17 (Where one would like to live) and Q. 10 (Concerning advantages of living in a city). Those who thought they would prefer to live in a city had a significantly greater (at the 0.1% level,  $\chi^2 = 28.51$ ,  $df = 3$ ) tendency to attribute advantages to city-living, as shown in Table 12 (Vertical Q. 17, Horizontal Q. 10). Thus, while over 93% of those who thought they would prefer to live in a big city thought there were advantages in living in a city (one wonders at the peculiar mentality of the remaining 7%), nearly 40% of those with a preference for country-living thought there were no advantages whatsoever in living in a city.

(iii) Comparison of Male and Female Responses:

(1) Introduction - As an introduction, it should be noted that there were 121 male secondary pupils and 81 male vocational pupils; and 125 female secondary and 65 female vocational pupils. There is no significant variation in this distribution ( $\chi^2 = 1.48$ ,  $df = 1$ ), so that subsequent comparisons between male and female per se responses should not be affected by the type of school attended.

There was a significant variation in the relative numbers of males and females as between towns in Q. 4 (In what town is this school?) and more importantly in Q. 5

(What is the nearest town to your permanent home?). However, it is felt that this fact should not seriously prejudice any analysis of results from a male/female standpoint, since the bulk of the questions focussed on Waterford, whose central position tends to make the geographical position of any respondent within the South-east Region largely irrelevant. This is borne out by the fact that 97.03% of males, and 86.4% of females, lived between 30 and 60 miles from the city.

(2) Occupation - As could be anticipated, there was a highly significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 118.13$ ,  $df = 5$ ) between males and females as regards intended occupation (Table 13). As one would expect, the Nursing and Clerical categories weighed heavily in favour of females, with the Skilled/Technician and Professional categories leaning very much towards the males, with Teaching having a considerable overlap.

As stated earlier, the value of the response to Q. 9 (Expected first earnings) may have been vitiated by the possibility of confusion and ambiguity; in any case there was found to be a very significant ( $\chi^2 = 40.71$ ,  $df = 4$ ) difference between male and female responses as regards expected wages in first job (Table 14). This difference, of course, was based upon a generally higher level of expectation among men, a state of affairs not entirely unreasonable in view of the ridiculously low level of wages

normally paid to female Irish workers. Over half the female responses were in the ~~£~~10-15 a week group, and it can readily be stated that very few Irish women can earn in excess of this unless they are in a profession requiring University training.

The possibility of attracting workers to Waterford by offering higher wage rates can be ruled out due to Trade Unionism; nevertheless, the Irish female work force has been conspicuous for its lack of effective, if any, trade union organisation, which explains, to a large extent, the prevalence of low wage rates. It might be posited, therefore, that female workers could be drawn to Waterford by developing the trade union movement among female workers there. Whether the unequal application of justice involved is desirable, or whether firms would continue to set up if cheap female labour were to disappear, are other matters.

(3) Migration - There was little difference between female and male responses as regards advantages of living in a city:- 150 of each (representing 74.3% of males and 79.0% of females) acknowledged the existence of such advantages. Males and females were found to differ significantly as regards choice of advantages however (Table 15, in which classes are as in Table 1) in total, but not as regards order of selection of choices. Males generally gave more emphasis to employment factors (Class 2), which might be expected, while females' tendency to give greater importance

to Class 4 ("Accessibility") is also not surprising, since a common specific mention under this general heading was related to shopping considerations. Interestingly, as regards order of expression of choices, there was almost no difference between sexes concerning Class 2 in the first expression of advantages, but there were considerable differences as regards Class 1 ("Amenities") as well as Class 4 (Table 16). No reason is being proferred as to why the general availability of better and more amenities, facilities and services thought to exist in cities should spring more immediately to mind among males than among females. The differences between sexes in Table 16 only just failed to achieve significance at the 5% level (Actual  $\chi^2 = 7.78$ ;  $\chi^2$  needed for significance at the 5% level with  $df = 3$ , is 7.815).

In any case, the general conclusion from this section is that, in the event of a campaign to attract persons to growth centres, differing emphasis on the advantages of living in cities might well be used for the different sexes.

There was scarcely any sex differentiation as regards intention of leaving home (Table 17) so that the fact that males had a significantly (at the 1% level,  $\chi^2 = 16.80$ ,  $df = 6$ ) more pessimistic outlook on their region's economic disposition (Table 18) does not appear to have had a corresponding effect on migration intentions. It seems to have some tie-up, however, with reasons given by those who

intended migrating, where a significant male/female distinction ( $\chi^2 = 19.18$ ,  $df = 5$ ) appeared (Table 19), the males having a greater preoccupation with employment and "self-improvement" factors, and the females being much more orientated towards further education/training. There is nothing really surprising here - whereas a man can expect to earn a reasonable living without further education or training, a woman, as suggested previously, generally cannot.

There was also a significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 15.31$ ,  $df = 4$ ) between sexes as regards intended destination among those leaving home (Table 2). Females appeared to be singularly fixed on Dublin (the desire for further education/training should partially explain this) whereas males were somewhat more adventurous in their intentions. A possible implication here is that males are more footloose, and hence might be the more easily enticed to a desired location. There was no distinct difference as regards locational living preferences (Q. 17) between males and females (Table 21).

(4) Waterford City - Knowledge - or lack of it - both per se and in relation to other cities, was fairly evenly broken down between the sexes (Table 22 and Table 23, from which Limerick has been excluded, because of the skewing effect of the much greater proportion of males interviewed in Tipperary Town, over which Limerick has an overpowering influence), as were impressions of the City (Tables 24 and 25).

There was scarcely any intersex distinction as regards attitude to Waterford City's being the focus of the South-east Planning Region, of whose existence the females were significantly ( $\chi^2 = 6.56$ ,  $df = 1$ ) more aware. Of the 40% or so of both males and females who objected to Waterford's achievement of this status, a far higher proportion of females (76.8% against 53.5%) did so on the grounds of Waterford's supposed geographically unsuitable location; males, on the other hand, leaned more on non-suitability of a non-geographical nature.

The sexes differed significantly ( $\chi^2 = 15.69$ ,  $df = 3$ ) with respect to their attitudes to employment in Waterford (Q. 19). As Table 26 shows, males had a greater tendency to have a positive attitude, whereas females were more inclined to adopt a negative stance; females were also more undecided, while males were more inclined to attach strings to their attitude. Overall, it could be concluded that it should prove somewhat more easy to attract males to Waterford than the opposite sex.

An interesting feature emerges upon examining the reasons for having a positive attitude towards the prospect of a job in Waterford. Whereas only one third of the males gave proximity/easy access as a reason, over 80% of females did so. Males generally gave a wide variety of reasons, and over one quarter of them were swayed by a positive image of the city, a factor which affected less



than 10% of the females. The image of males being more adventurous than females, suggested above, is again evident here.

On the other hand, similar proportions of those males and females who gave a definite "No" to Q. 19 were repelled by their negative image of Waterford (55% of males, 51% females). Again, whereas the remainder of the males were divided among a variety of reasons, a large proportion of females (34%) was deterred by Waterford's lack of proximity/inaccessibility. There seems to be a definite factor here influencing the possibility of attracting female labour to Waterford; males are much more difficult to pin down, although, as suggested before, their apparent "footlooseness" could well be exploited.

There was little sex difference within the "Depends" class: 71½% of males and 76½% of females gave the type of job as the condition, and 22½% of males and 15½% of females were financially swayed.

There was an extraordinary, parallel sex breakdown as regards willingness to both move and commute to Waterford to take up employment there, as is evidenced by Tables 27 and 28. As has been pointed out before, the most noteworthy feature in this respect is the extent to which both males and females regard the idea of commuting to Waterford with much greater antipathy than the idea of moving there on a permanent basis.

(5) Industrial Estate - Nor was there any significant difference (at the 5% level,  $\chi^2 = 3.07$ ,  $df = 1$ ), as between sexes, regarding knowledge of the existence of the industrial estate in Waterford (Table 29), although females were marginally more ignorant in this respect (as one might possibly suspect). However, there was a highly significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 21.21$ ,  $df = 3$ ) as regards willingness to take a job on the estate - again, as one might expect (Table 30).

(iv) Breakdown by Type of School:

(1) General - Of 392 pupils interviewed, 246 (62.8%) attended secondary school, and 146 (37.2%) attended vocational school. Almost an identical proportion of each (89.4% of sec., and 88.4% of voc. pupils) had always lived in what was their home area at the time. There was no significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 2.17$ ,  $df = 3$ ) between them as regards image of their region (Q. 7), but there was a highly significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 80.43$ ,  $df = 5$ ), as should be expected, regarding intended occupation (Table 31). Only in the Clerical and Farming and Other classes was there any real overlap. Whereas there was a reasonably even spread of choices among secondary school students, the vocational students leaned heavily on the Skilled/Technician and Clerical classes, thereby reflecting the type of courses and possibly the type of pupil to be found in these schools.

There was also a hugely significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 72.48$ ,  $df = 4$ ) as regards initial expected earnings (Table 32). Vocational students had a much lower level of aspiration generally, but as pointed out before, the value of this result must be set against the fact that the author omitted to point out in some schools that what was wanted here was the earnings in the first job after qualification. Thus, intending apprentices, almost exclusively from vocational schools, who get paid buttons during apprenticeship, would have ticked off the "less than £10 class" class, whereas when fully qualified they could expect generally to earn at least as much as, if not more than, their secondary school brethren. Nevertheless, one might expect to find a lower aspirational level among vocational school students in any case, due to the lower level of education attained in these institutions, and the greater proportion of pupils found there who are simply passing the time.

(2) Waterford City - Although a greater proportion of the secondary students (44.7% as against 35.6%) knew of the Southeast Planning Region, the difference was not significant ( $\chi^2 = 3.13$ ,  $df = 1$ ). There was a significant difference, however ( $\chi^2 = 29.07$ ,  $df = 1$ ) when it came to agreeing to Waterford as the focus of this region. While over three quarters of vocational students agreed, barely one half of secondary students did likewise. This might

suggest a more questioning attitude among secondary students, which in turn might have some implications for planning purposes.

The fact that only 20 vocational pupils gave reasons why Waterford should not be the focus makes it more or less impossible to make comparisons on this basis.

Vocational pupils had a significantly ( $\chi^2 = 11.24$ ,  $df = 3$ ) inferior knowledge of Waterford (Table 33), and were significantly ( $\chi^2 = 19.80$ ,  $df = 2$ , and  $\chi^2 = 41.50$ ,  $df = 3$ , respectively) less critical of it, economically (Table 34) and socially (Table 35), which should have strong planning implications. There was no significant difference between type of pupil concerning the city known best of the list in Q. 16.

(3) Migration - There was hardly any differentiation as regards where one would like to live ( $\chi^2 = 1.15$ ,  $df = 3$ ), but a significantly greater proportion ( $\chi^2 = 4.13$ ,  $df = 1$ ) of secondary pupils thought there were advantages to living in a city. However, even if significant, the difference was not great (80.60% of secondary, 71.72% of vocational). Among those who thought there were advantages to living in a city, a significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 30.69$ ,  $df = 3$ ) between type of school emerged as regards what these advantages were (Table 36 where classes are as in Table 1).

Vocational pupils (almost predictably, one is tempted to add) gave a special prominence to employment considerations (Class 2), whereas secondary pupils were very strong on social factors (Class 3). This is an interesting finding, which may be of use to planners in trying to attract people to growth centres. It is much strengthened by an examination of the first choices given by the pupils concerning these advantages (Table 37). Here, the employment category is attributed much more importance than even in Table 36 by vocational students, while it is reduced to almost trivial significance by the others, with all other categories gaining at its expense. To the extent that first choices are most significant in that they are the first to consciously spring to mind (this need not always be the case), then there should be much food for planning thought here.

Second choices also produced a significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 17.05$ ,  $df = 3$ ), but this time the distributions were quite different (Table 38). The "Employment" category (Class 2) was still more important for vocational than for secondary pupils, and although Class 1 (Better and more amenities, facilities, and services) was now dominated also by vocations, the gap in Class 3 (Social life) actually widened in favour of secondary students.

It was only in the matter of third choices that the difference between the two sets of students ceased to be

significant ( $\chi^2 = 1.92$ ), and even here,  $n$  was too small (59 and 40 for secondary and vocational respectively) to give reliable results.

As regards potential mobility, the secondary students were very much ahead of their vocational counterparts: 75.20% of them were thinking of leaving home, as against 47.26% of the vocationalists. The difference is highly significant ( $\chi^2 = 31.91$ ,  $df = 1$ ). Among those who gave reasons for wishing to leave, there was also a significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 16.06$ ,  $df = 5$ ) as shown in Table 39, where classes are in the order given in Table 19. The principal differentiating elements were the vocational pupils' greater concern about employment (Class 1) and lesser concern about further education and training (Class 2). The greater potential mobility of secondary pupils is probably best highlighted by Class 6, which shows that eleven secondary, but no vocational, students wanted to move "just for a change".

The upshot of this section is that it should be much easier to get secondary students to migrate, but that a high proportion of each will move in any case. However, the potential mobility of secondary students is probably exaggerated, due to their domination of Class 2 above; thus, a high proportion of them will have to move, if they wish to get further education/training. In fact, if growth centres are to use employment opportunities only as an

attraction for potential migrants, then it would appear that vocational students would be the most likely to move to them.

As regards destination, there was found to be no significant difference (at the 5% level,  $\chi^2 = 7.96$ ,  $df = 4$ ) between type of pupil. As ever, the overpowering pull of Dublin was all-pervasive (58.33% for secondary, 46.15% for vocational).

(4) Employment in Waterford - On the question of considering a job in Waterford City, there was a significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 20.62$ ,  $df = 3$ ) v. Table 40.

The vocationalists were much less inclined to say "No", which adds strength to the conclusions of the previous section, and a little more inclined to give a definite "Yes". The overall conclusion from Table 40 is that a large majority of both types of student was not inclined to write off the possibility of a job in Waterford, but a greater effort would be needed to get the secondary student there.

Because of the small base numbers involved, it would be dangerous to break down the various categories of Table 40 into the reasons for giving those particular categories, by percentage. However, it might be worth noting: (a) that among the "Yeses", 61.1% of secondary students gave Waterford's proximity and accessibility as their reason, and only 37.1% of vocationalists (although this

difference is not significant,  $\chi^2 = 1.62$ ,  $df = 1$ ); (b) that among the "No's", 59.4% of secondary and only 20% of vocationalals put down some dislike for Waterford. Vocationalals would appear to like Waterford more: among the Yeses, 17.14% of these, against 9% of secondary students gave as their reason a liking for Waterford. This is borne out by the more favourable image vocationalals tended to have of Waterford, although an obviating factor will be the fact that vocationalals confessed to having inferior knowledge of Waterford (see above). However, if planners are to operate on the basis of subjective images rather than objective reality, then there can be little complaint about this - although the problem now, at least for vocationalals will not be to get them to Waterford, but to keep them there!); and (c) that a greater proportion of vocationalals (25% against 16%) gave "Money" as the proviso in the "Depends" category, the difference being made up by the greater proportion of secondary pupils (78.41% vs. 64.71%) who made the type of job the condition.

There was no significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 3.31$ ,  $df = 3$ ) as regards willingness to move to Waterford, but there was one ( $\chi^2 = 9.73$ ,  $df = 3$ ) re willingness to commute to work there. Secondary pupils were not only more certain of their opinion on this, but also were more against the idea.



Highly significant differences emerged concerning the questions on Waterford's industrial estate. Only 47.95% of vocationals had heard of it, compared with 68.29% of secondary pupils (a highly significant difference:  $\chi^2 = 16.09$ ,  $df = 1$ ). Nevertheless, the vocationals were much more prepared to work on the estate (38% against 15%), and the secondaries were even more prepared to do so (40.91% against 13.10%). As has been seen before, not only will secondary pupils be more choosy about the kind of job they will take, but they will also be less preoccupied by the immediate prospect of a job, so this result should not be surprising, and would probably still come out the same, if more of the vocationals had previously heard of the estate (in fact, the difference would probably be even greater).

(c) General Questionnaire

(i) Overall Results: Of the 423 persons interviewed, 329 (77.8%) were males, and 94 (22.2%) were females. This breakdown compares with a work-force breakdown of 73.7% - 26.3% for the state, and 76.5% - 23.5% for the Southeast Region (5). The age breakdown was as follows:

Under 18:	47	( 11.1%)
18 - 25 :	180	( 42.6%)
25-40 :	117	( 27.7%)
Over 40 :	79	( 18.7%)
Total :	<u>423</u>	( <u>100.0%</u> )

which seems a reasonable distribution. The vast majority of interviewees (79.0%) had always lived in their present home area (cf. 89.0% of students interviewed); however, as shown by the schools' survey, this need not necessarily indicate low migration potential.

As regards occupational category, by far the greatest group, 181 (42.8%) came under the "Unskilled" heading; 57 (13.5%) were clerical workers, 53 (12.5%) were "Semi-skilled"; (52 (12.3%) were skilled workers; 29 (6.9%) came under the "Professional and Management" classification; 22 (5.2%) were technicians; 18 (4.3%) were farmers. Thus there was a wide spectrum of occupational groups.

Nearly half (207 = 48.9%) lived less than a mile from their place of work; one third (141 = 33.3%) lived between one and three miles. A further 7 lived "on the job". The purpose of this question was based on the assumption that if workers were already used to travelling substantial distances to work, then the prospect of at least commuting to Waterford to a possible job there would not be over objectionable. However, the prospects of further exploit-

ing this line of thought were more or less knocked on the head by the fact, just observed, that over 80% of the interviewees lived less than three miles from their work. Nevertheless, this question will again be taken up in the next subsection.

A similar thought-process lay behind Q. 7, concerning the means one had of getting to work. It was thought that persons who had vehicular transport, especially cars, might be more willing to take a job in Waterford, than those who normally walked to work. Again, this will be discussed later. For the moment, it is worth noting that 174 (41.1%) walked to work; 109 (25.8%) used a car; 97 (22.9%) a bicycle; 16 (3.8%) either hitched or got a lift; 14 (3.3%) used a motorcycle; only 4 (0.9%) went by bus; and the remainder lived on the job.

Q. 8, concerning knowledge of the Southeast Planning Region, was dropped at an early stage of the survey, as it was found to be too unwieldy to administer orally, although the responses which were realised were almost exclusively negative. As regards Waterford's status of growth centre (Q. 9), there was a fairly even break between the knowledgeable (50.59%) and the ignorant (49.41%).

A significantly greater proportion of workers than of students ( $\chi^2 = 5.15$ ,  $df = 1$ ) had heard of the industrial estate in Waterford (68.3% against 60.7% for students). There was a fairly close parallel between the two sets of

interviewees concerning city known best from the list given (Q. 11), as shown in Table 41. Again, Dublin was much better known than Waterford, while Cork and Limerick also had substantial numbers of adherents.

The current group of interviewees knew Waterford slightly better than the students (Table 42), but still nearly half of them only knew the place slightly, or did not know it at all. There was a corresponding slight difference as regards economic image of the city (Table 43).

Aggregation of the replies to Q. 14 (employment situation in the various areas) is hardly of much use, since the position is likely to vary from area to area. Still, there was no common pessimism or optimism throughout the region, as shown by the following table:

Employment Situation:

Very Bad:	68 ( 16.5%)
Bad:	94 ( 22.8%)
Fair:	80 ( 19.4%)
Fairly good/Good:	112 ( 27.1%)
Very Good:	41 ( 9.9%)
Improving:	18 ( 4.4%)
Total:	<u>413 (100.0%)</u>

Only ten failed to have an opinion on this question. A more relevant breakdown by area is given in Table 44. The value of perception studies is highlighted by this table,

which shows how people living in the same area (and presumably for long periods of time in most cases) can have completely different ideas regarding that area's economic position. This cannot be seen as a function of one's own economic position, since all these people interviewed here were in employment at the time, although many may have disliked the jobs they did hold. There was not even a tendency towards unanimity in any town. Those which come out best would appear to be Carlow and Dungarvan, and possibly Kilkenny, with Tipperary, Enniscorthy, and Wexford bringing up the rear. If one attributed -2 points for each "Very Bad", and so on up to +2 for a "Very Good", with +½ for "Improving", weighted the total for each town by the number interviewed there, and multiplied the result by a hundred, then the resulting points table would be ordered thus: Carlow 33.3; Kilkenny 24.39; Clonmel 22.2; Dungarvan 21.1; Wexford -30.7; Enniscorthy -82.5; and Tipperary -106.7.

Pungancy and trenchancy were quite common among those who issued extreme responses, particularly those whose view was unfavourable. Some of the phrases used to describe the position of Tipperary, which came last in the above list, were "very bad indeed", "brutal", "awful", "diabolical", "drastic", and "terrible". With regard to Kilkenny, the following were used: "not hectic", "nil", "desperate", and "pathetic". Yet one individual thought

the position here was "great". Wexford's plight was deemed to be "hopeless", "rotten", "terrible" and "drastic"; Carlow's was also described as "drastic" and "hopeless", and the position in Enniscorthy was thought to be "pretty lousy", "dead loss", and "cat melodeon" - which presumably is the ultimate superlative (in a negative sense)! Perhaps the position can best be summed up by the following two replies in relation to Dungarvan: "great", "critical".

There was an astonishing lack of commitment concerning the employment situation in Waterford: no less than 315 (74.5%) either didn't know or gave no reply. This means, for instance, that at least some of those who considered Waterford to be highly progressive (Q. 13) still were not prepared to say that the employment situation there was good, which would appear to be the logically consistent thing to do. Such a lack of opinion must obviously have implications for growth centre policy.

Among those who did have an opinion, the result was generally favourable to Waterford (Table 45). Under the points system devised above, the city would get 67.6 higher than any of the other towns in the region.

The vast majority of those interviewed (347 = 82.03%) had little or no intention of leaving their area. This contrasts sharply with the students (65.6% of whom were considering leaving home), but should not, one supposes,

be very surprising. In the first place all those who were interviewed had jobs, and if unemployment is the principal determinant of migration, as many would suggest (6) then one would indeed expect to find this group of interviewees very immobile. In the second place, nearly half of those interviewed were over 25 years of age, and this seems to be the magic datum-line as regards migration. McGilvray referring to those who leave the state altogether, says that "it would appear that between 2/3 and 3/4 of male and female emigrants are under 25 years of age." (7) The Waterford Manpower Survey showed that, of those who had migrated from the city and since returned, 69% of the males and 72% of the females, had first moved when they were less than 25 (8). Dr. W.J. Smyth, of University College, Dublin, has suggested that, in general, females tend to migrate more before they are 20, and males more between the ages of 20 and 25 (9). Thus, one would expect at least that segment of the surveyed group which was over 25 years to be highly sedentary.

In the third place, one would expect, even among those under 25, a "die-hard" group which will never emigrate, whether the members of this group have a strong liking for their home area, a highly favourable socio-economic setting, an innate sedentariness, conservatism, or laziness, or an attendant obstacle, such as an immobile wife or other dependant, or whatever. The combination of these three

factors should have assured that there would be a high degree of immobility among those interviewed here. Whether or not this immobility is itself unmovable is a question which must, for the present, remain hypothetical. It is possible that, if the incentives offered were sufficient, the various obstacles to movement mentioned here could be overcome. However, planners might consider it more worth their while to concentrate on school-leavers, since these already have an a priori willingness to move.

Among those who were considering a move  $n(N)$  was sufficiently small (74) to make one wary of using percentages as regards the reasons for such consideration. The principal reasons given were: (a) an unsatisfactory employment situation, and/or a more favourable one elsewhere (20); (b) a general disliking of the home area, whether due to lack of facilities, amenities, or whatever (15); (c) a desire to improve oneself or make more money (9); and (d) a simple desire to change, to gain more experience, etc. (9). As regards where they wanted to go, Dublin, for once, was superseded -- by Great Britain (21 mentions against 14). These were easily the two most popular areas mentioned specifically. Waterford was only mentioned twice.

Only 35 of the total 423 interviewees (8.3%) gave a definite "Yes" when asked if they would consider taking a



Job in Waterford City, if offered one; 215 (50.8%) gave a definite "No" and only 163 (38.5%) resorted to the give-away "Depends" response. This distribution is rather different from the 26.3% - 25.8% - 36.2% breakdown for the students. Of the 29 "Yeses" who gave a reason for their choice, 8 referred to having friends or relatives in Waterford, 6 referred to employment opportunities, and 5 mentioned a familiarity with, or liking for the city. These were the principal reasons given.

Among the "No's" (185 out of 215 obliged with a reason) the principal factors were: (a) satisfaction with present position (90 = 48.7%); (b) distaste of some kind or other, for Waterford (36 = 19.5%); and (c) ties with present home (28 = 15.1%).

Three major determinants were also mentioned in the "Depends" category (all of these gave reasons): (a) 71 (43.6%) gave the condition as money (as against 19.4% of the students); (b) 51 (31.3%) said "the job" (73.4% for students); and (c) 23 others (14.1%) specifically said that the improvement would have to be fairly substantial to tempt them to change.

Finally, it is worth quoting the reason given by one gentleman for replying to this question with an emphatic "No": "I suggest you go to Waterford on a wet November day and look northwards from the South Quay area. And then you will understand my feelings."

(ii) Interrelationships: This subsection will, as was done in Section (2), compare the results of different questions.

As with students, there was no significant difference between those who had always lived in their current home area, and those who had not, as regards: (a) desire to leave that home area, and (b) attitude to a job in Waterford. Nor was willingness to take a job in Waterford significantly affected by either the distance one travelled to work or mode of travel to work.

There was a good degree of consistency between the replies to Questions 9 and 10 (Awareness of Waterford's growth centre status, and the Industrial Estate, respectively). Of the 289 who said they had heard of the industrial estate, 187 (64.7%) knew that Waterford was a growth centre; of the 134 who had not heard of the estate, only 27 (20.2%) knew of Waterford being a growth centre. The difference is hugely significant ( $\chi^2 = 72.71$ ,  $df = 1$ ). It is to be expected that more people would know of the estate, which is a physical entity, than of Waterford's growth centre status, which is much less tangible. It is almost extraordinary that so many did not know of the estate, such was the degree of publicity accorded it, especially in the local and national press.

A much higher proportion of those who had heard of the estate thought Waterford to be highly progressive, than those who had not heard of the estate (Table 46).

The distributional difference is highly significant ( $\chi^2 = 24.56$ ,  $df = 3$ ). If one can accept that Waterford is in fact "highly progressive", as this author has suggested, then the results here suggest a general ignorance of Waterford on the part of those who answered "No". This is further borne out by the fact that 17.9% of the latter ventured no opinion on Waterford's economic disposition as against a mere 3.5% of the "Yeses".

The image of Waterford among those who said they knew that city better than any of the others in Q. 11 was much more favourable than that of the others (Table 47). The difference is highly significant ( $\chi^2 = 21.60$ ,  $df = 3$ ). This shows a high degree of consistency and is further strengthened by the observation that whereas only 1.4% of those who knew Waterford best of the six cities named in Q. 11 failed to give an impression of that city in Q. 13, 13.0% of the others failed in this respect. But whereas a significantly higher ( $\chi^2 = 24.96$ ,  $df = 1$ ) proportion of the latter failed to respond to Q. 15 (82.1%), the fact still is that 59.7% of those who purported to know Waterford best, still could not give an opinion of that town's employment situation. Similarly, 51.9% of those who purported to know Waterford very well (Q. 12) were in similar straits. Even more astonishing, 64.6% of those who considered Waterford to be highly progressive were nonetheless unprepared to comment on its unemployment

situation. There is an obvious contradiction here and one which might interest sociologists or psychologists. One possible explanation is that the question of Waterford's general economic disposition, being a somewhat intangible, nebulous, general proposition, is on a different mental dimension or plane from the more immediate, more focusable employment situation, and that as a result, those interviewed here were unable immediately to make a logical connection between the two.

Of those who did reply to Q. 15, there was hardly any difference in response between those who knew Waterford best (Q. 11) and those who didn't - exactly 50% of the latter, and 51.7% of the former, thought the employment situation in Waterford to be fairly good or good, easily the mode category. On the other hand, only 36% of those who knew Waterford very well named this category, against 55.4% of the remainder. This difference, however, is not significant ( $\chi^2 = 2.90$ ,  $df = 1$ ) at the 5% level.

There was a significant difference between those who knew Waterford best, and those who did not (Q. 11) as regards attitude to a possible job in Waterford ( $\chi^2 = 7.64$ ,  $df = 2$ ), the latter having a more negative attitude than the former. Degree to which one knew Waterford (Q. 12) did not produce any significant differences in this respect, on the other hand ( $\chi^2 = 7.80$ ,  $df = 6$ ). Nor did image of Waterford (Q. 13) ( $\chi^2 = 4.17$ ,  $df = 3$ ). The

fact that knowledge and image of Waterford have no strong bearing on one's preparedness to take a job there is not necessarily an inconsistency, but rather may indicate that other, more potent, factors determined the response to Q. 17 (Attitude to a job in Waterford).

There seemed to be some connection between image of one's own area, and one's potential mobility. For instance, 35.3% of those who thought the employment situation in their area was very bad were thinking of leaving, as against only 14.1% of the remainder. This difference is significant ( $\chi^2 = 17.77$ ,  $df = 1$ ). They also seemed to be slightly more amenable to the idea of a job in Waterford (Table 48), but this time the difference was not significant ( $\chi^2 = 2.41$ ,  $df = 2$ ). Overall, there seemed to be an inverse relationship between the favourability of one's view of the employment situation in one's area, and one's tendency to leave (Table 49). If one wished to quantify behaviour, one might suggest that those who thought that the employment situation in their area was very good were 6.92 times (12.67/1.83 in Table 49) more sedentary than those who thought it was very bad!

There was no such overall striking relationship between image of one's own area (Q. 14) and attitude to a job in Waterford (Q. 17) - Table 50; nevertheless, those who answered in most favourable fashion to Q. 14 had a much greater tendency to say "No" to Q. 17, which can be

considered as consistent (in Tables 49 and 50 the category "Improving" is, for the sake of exposition, deemed to be between "Fair", and "Fairly Good").

There was some relationship between potential mobility (Q. 16) and attitude to a job in Waterford (Q. 17) i.e. those who replied in the affirmative when asked if they were thinking of leaving their area had a more favourable attitude to a job in Waterford (Table 51). The difference was just significant at the 5% level ( $\chi^2 = 5.99$ ,  $df = 2$ ).

The sex breakdown of those who were thinking of leaving home was almost identical to that of the remainder (75.5% males - 24.3% females against 78.2% - 21.8%), but the age structure was very different indeed ( $\chi^2 = 43.06$ ,  $df = 3$ ). As Table 52 shows, nearly all of those (86½%) who were thinking of leaving were under 25 years of age. It is almost gratifying to be able to make this observation, which is the one we should expect on an a priori basis. The implication for planners, from this, is that publicity, which is obviously required, concerning growth centres, need not simply be confined to school leavers, but should be aimed at young people in general.

Trying to unravel the differences in occupational structure between those who were thinking of leaving and the rest, is a difficult task, although the differences are significant ( $\chi^2 = 27.98$ ,  $df = 2$ ). We can see from

Table 53 (categories will be explained below) that neither the "Unskilled" category (1) nor its opposite in the employment spectrum, "Professional/Management" (5) differ very much here. "Semiskilled" workers are more mobile (2), as are "Clerical" (4), and "Apprentices" (6), while the "Skilled/Technician" (3) and "Supervisor/Foreman" (7) classes are more sedentary. The total sedentariness of the latter is not surprising, in view of its nature. This class comprises older men who generally have worked up "from the floor", who have spent quite a while in the present place of work, and who are now in what the Irish would call, a "cushy" position. Their incentive to change at this stage is likely to be very low indeed. One might have thought that if any, the "Unskilled" category would show a significantly greater tendency to move, but this is obviously not the case.

(iii) Comparison of Male and Female Responses:

To conclude this section, some comparisons between the responses of males and females will be made. Females were historically less mobile than males (85.1% of them had always lived in their present home area as against 76.1% of the males), but not significantly so ( $\chi^2 = 2.75$ ,  $df = 1$ ). Occupationally, they were concentrated in the "Unskilled" (41.5%), and "Clerical" (39.4%) categories and had no representatives whatever in the "Skilled" (15.8% of males),

"Professional/Management" (6.1%), and "Foreman/Supervisors" (5.5%) categories, which should provide some material for the protagonists of Women's Lib!

Females were more ignorant regarding knowledge of Waterford's growth centre status (25.5% of them knew of this, against 57.8% of males). The intersex difference is significant in both cases ( $\chi^2 = 30.37$ , and  $9.44$  respectively, with  $df = 1$ ). This position is hardly surprising, having regard to the status and role of women in Irish society: they just aren't interested in things like this.

There was also a significant difference ( $\chi^2 = 7.99$ ,  $df = 3$ ) as regards city known best, this being accounted for mostly by the fact that more males named Waterford (38.0% against 22.0%) and more females Dublin (57.1% against 44.2%). This was testified to by the fact that males in general knew Waterford significantly ( $\chi^2 = 12.43$ ,  $df = 3$ ) better than females, as per Table 54. However, no significant difference emerged concerning image of Waterford's degree of progress (or lack of it) ( $\chi^2 = 3.06$ ,  $df = 3$ ). Nor was there any significance ( $\chi^2 = 3.49$ ,  $df = 5$ ) in whatever differences there were concerning image of one's own area's employment situation.

A significantly larger ( $\chi^2 = 12.16$ ,  $df = 1$ ) proportion of women (88.3% against 70.5%) failed to reply on the question of Waterford's employment situation. So few women did reply that it is impossible to make any



comparison in this respect.

There was hardly any intersex distinction as regards intention to leave home, but there was a significant one ( $\chi^2 = 14.02$ ,  $df = 2$ ) as regards attitude to employment in Waterford. As Table 55 shows, this distinction is primarily accounted for by a more definite negative reaction on the part of females to the idea.

References:

- (1) Ireland, Central Statistics Office, Statistical Abstract of Ireland (1966), Dublin: The Stationery Office, pp. 247-248.
- (2) Simmons, James and Robert (1969), Urban Canada; Copp Clark, p. 145.
- (3) Several girls in different towns said they wanted to become speech therapists. The author is at a loss to explain the seemingly unwarranted popularity of this profession, unless perhaps it was subjected to some publicity campaign (the author is unaware of any.)
- (4) From The Western People, as quoted in The Irish Times, March 30, 1970.
- (5) Based on data from Ireland, Central Statistics Office, The Census of Population of Ireland 1966: Vol. III (Industries) (1968), Dublin: The Stationery Office, p. 63.
- (6) Beaujeu-Garnier has suggested that "In studies of migration the accent has generally been placed on the incentive provided by dissatisfaction with one's economic lot, and indeed most writers would regard this as the essential motivation," V. Beaujeu-Garnier, J. (1966), Geography of Population; London: Longmans, Green & Co., p. 212. With regard to Ireland for instance, Jackson has opined that "In part this (i.e. the pattern of selection of emigrants) may depend, in almost every case, on the lack of employment opportunities at home..." V. Jackson, J.A. (1967), Report on the Skibbereen Social Survey; Dublin: Human Sciences, Committee, p. 13.
- (7) McGilvray, James (1969), Irish Economic Statistics; Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, p. 19.
- (8) Ireland, Department of Labour, Manpower in an Industrial Growth Centre (1969), Dublin, Tables 10.56 and 11.54.
- (9) Personal communication to the author.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Much of this final section will already have been hinted at, if not directly recorded. Its main purpose, therefore, will be collation and further extension.

A few initial general comments may be useful. The surveys undoubtedly brought to light many valuable observations. Obviously, one must be on one's guard against putting complete faith in survey results, but equally obviously, some of the results of the surveys carried out here were so striking as to merit the utmost attention of anybody seriously concerned with Irish regional planning. In addition, so many relationships, differences, etc., proved to be statistically significant, that they deserve the serious consideration of the powers-that-be in the planning sphere. Consistency, a crucial test of survey results, appeared to be at a fairly high level, except, perhaps, for the one perplexing paradox discussed above, viz., the failure of so many people who thought Waterford to be highly progressive to register an opinion on its employment situation.

One striking overall observation was the small number of significant differences between the responses of males and females. On the other hand, quite a number of such differences appeared between Secondary and Vocational students in the schools' survey. Differences between the

General and Schools' Surveys were not very profuse, the most obvious one being the high potential mobility of those surveyed in the latter and the low potential mobility of those surveyed in the former.

The main conclusion from what has gone before is that Niles Hanses' observations (supra) are absolutely correct. In other words, the "parameter of action" (1) of Irish planners has been far too narrow, being confined more or less to the realms of physical and economic planning. This is a result of, and in turn has determined, the fact that Irish planners have tended to be architects, engineers, or economists, or else bureaucrats, who are not traditionally noted for their imagination. There has been little or no appreciation of the valuable - perhaps crucial - contribution which could be made by sociologists, social psychologists, or social geographers. Newman has expounded in admirable fashion on this narrowness of perspective:

"...all planning - including economic and physical planning - is social planning from a certain point of view. This is because it concerns the development of human communities: planning of any kind is quite impossible to irrational beings. And what I would like to stress...is that the fact that there is a human, a social, side to all planning, as distinct from the physical and economic side, is of considerable importance in the Ireland of today." (2)

This basic deficiency is but one aspect of an apparently general lack of application on the part of Irish planners.

These can use as an excuse that the government has not yet formulated an articulate, co-ordinated regional planning policy. The supposed - and the author's own - reasons for this have been discussed earlier. Political considerations and government ineptitude (3) are the principal of these reasons. Popular resentment to a growth centre policy has already been alluded to. Frank Kilfeather has spoken of how "the report has been strongly criticised from one end of the country to the other" (4). In the same article, Kilfeather has suggested that the Government, if and when it does announce its intended regional policy (and the theme of the article was that the Government was making some rumblings in this direction) will attempt to dilute Buchanan's proposals. If it does, then it seems that the growth centre idea will head nowhere fast.

Buchanan himself has expressed himself on the subject:

"We appreciate that some of our recommendations will be difficult to carry out. Such a programme of construction, such a scale of public spending, such a reorganisation of planning machinery, are bound to present problems. Probably even more difficult than the physical changes will be changes in attitudes and policies when new approaches are needed, most conspicuously in accepting the principle of selectivity in development. For our central finding is that the development of some places must deliberately be given priority over that of others if the greatest overall benefits are to be achieved. It would be fatally easy to water down these priorities until they lose their intended impact

and fail in their intended purpose.

We are, however, convinced that the opportunities are so much more significant than the obstacles that a bold new approach will be amply rewarded by results...We believe that a regional strategy on the sort of lines we suggest offers a good chance, perhaps the only chance, of bringing about soon the day when Ireland can offer to all its people the prospect of finding fulfilment for their hopes and needs within their native land." (5)

There would seem to be a need, therefore, for (a) the government to commit itself to a growth centre policy either fully or not at all; otherwise there could be a great waste of public money and time; (b) planners to take their planning more seriously, lest the whole thing breaks down from an overdose of half-heartedness; and (c) for planners to broaden their perspective to take in at least the mental disposition of those being planned. Sufficient evidence has, I think, been produced in the preceding pages to prove how vitally important this disposition is likely to be in terms of planning. It can be seen to be made up of a number of factors - levels of awareness and knowledge, attitudes and intentions are possibly the most important. These are all very much interrelated, of course. The discussion following immediately will seek to show how the mental disposition of those surveyed by the author is likely to affect regional planning.

One glaring indictment of public planning is that those

being planned are not very aware of the planning activities that are being carried out. Thus, only 41.3% of the students surveyed knew that the government had created a Southeast Planning Region (for reasons already stated, the workers were not asked this question, except for an initial few, nearly all of whom were quite ignorant in this respect). Similarly, only half the workers knew that Waterford had been designated as a growth centre (the students were not asked this question). Higher proportions of each (61% of students, 68% of workers) had heard of the industrial estate which is being developed in Waterford, but the students, at least, did not seem to know much about it.

A second observation which should perturb planners, and of which they are presumably unaware, is the apparently poor knowledge of Waterford among those living in the surrounding region. Thus, although Waterford is easily the biggest urban centre in the region, people tend to know bigger cities outside the region better. In fact, only 29% of students and 35% of workers said they knew Waterford best of the six urban areas given; this is hardly satisfactory for a city which is supposed to be the hub and focus of an entire region. The overbearing influence of Dublin was evident in the replies to this question, with both Cork and Limerick also figuring significantly, which suggests that as one ventures any distance from the centre of the region, the influence of external cities quickly becomes overpowering.

For instance, 72% of students and 83% of workers in Tipperary indicated that they knew Limerick best; 84% of students and 81½% of workers in Carlow named Dublin as the city known best to them; the proportions for Wexford were 74% and 59½% respectively; for Kilkenny, 53% and 45%; Enniscorthy (included in the General Survey) expressed a 67½% proclivity towards Dublin; Dungarvan, the town nearest to Cork, had 25% of its students and 22½% of its workers knowing that city best. The close correspondence of student and worker responses in all cases eliminates the possibility of chance factors influencing these results.

There is obviously a strong distance decay function in operation concerning the degree of which Dublin was known best among those surveyed, as shown by the following table, in which the right-hand column refers to the percentage of students and workers interviewed in each town who said they knew Dublin best of the list given, and distances refer to shortest main road mileages. There is a very strong negative correlation between the two columns ( $r = -0.95$ ), and this was found to be significantly different from zero (i.e. did not arise from chance). Such a finding cannot be considered reliable, however, because of the small number of observations (7). One notices particularly the rapid drop in the percentage for the last three towns in the table; this is hardly due to the existence of a "magic" threshold level of 100 miles in Irish distance perceptions;



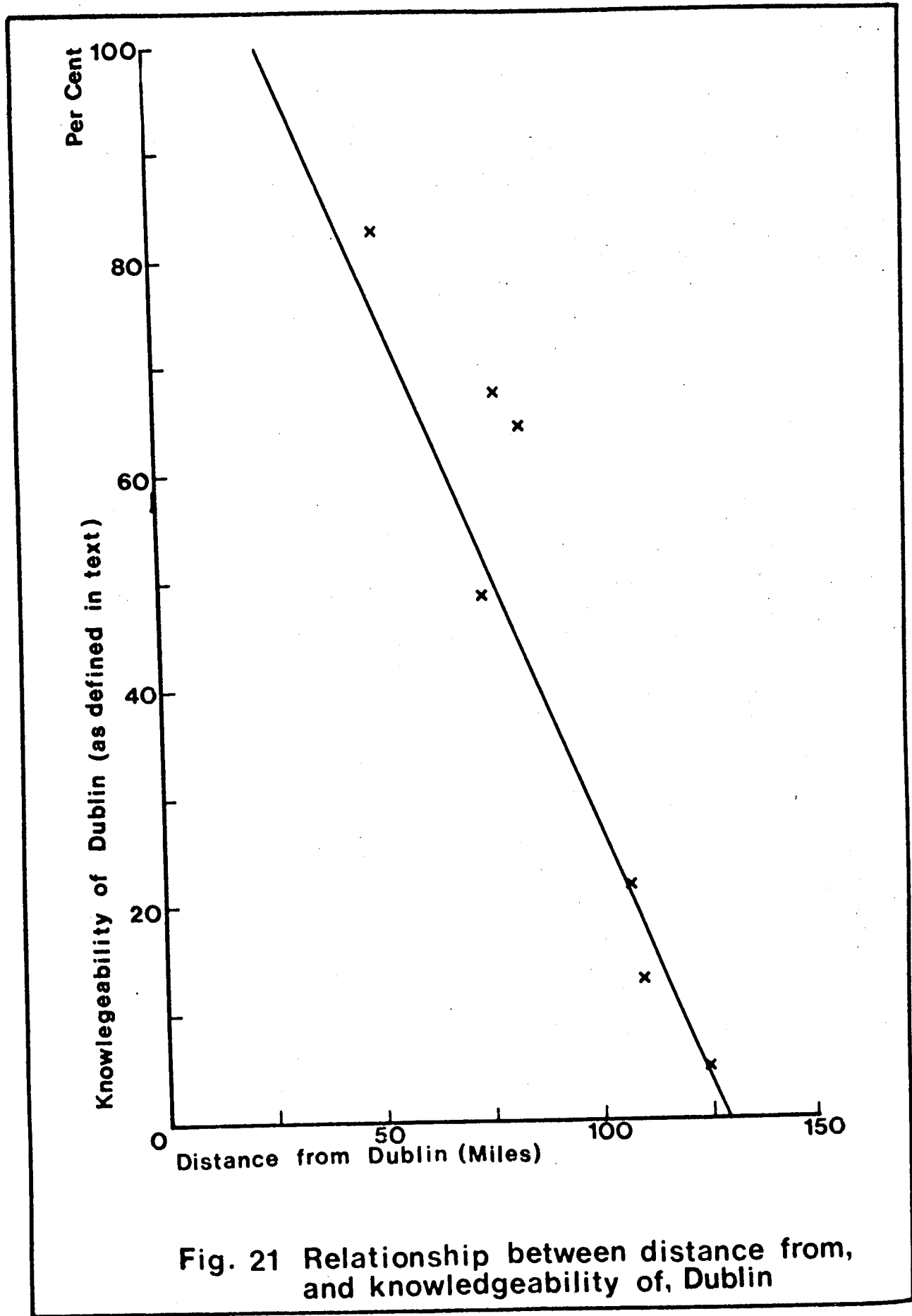


Fig. 21 Relationship between distance from, and knowledgeability of, Dublin

<u>Town</u>	<u>Distance from Dublin</u>	<u>%</u>
Carlow	51	82.7
Kilkenny	75	48.2
Enniscorthy	77	67.5
Wexford	84	64.6
Clonmel	107	21.7
Tipperary	110	12.8
Dungarvan	125	4.6

in the case of Tipperary, the overpowering influence of Limerick is the explanatory factor; Dungarvan is the only town in the table which has Waterford directly between it and Dublin (and, in fact, named Waterford in this question to a far greater extent - both students and workers - than anywhere else); Clonmel, besides Dublin, also had strong lobbies for Waterford, Limerick, and even Cork, a function perhaps of its geographical location.

Figure 21 illustrates the relation between distance from Dublin and "knowledgeability" of Dublin (as defined in the context of the current discussion). A tentative "best-fit" line has been inserted, but with no confidence limits, due to statistical unreliability.

The degree to which Waterford was given as a response to this question, and distance from Waterford, are compared in the following table. Again, there is an obvious negative

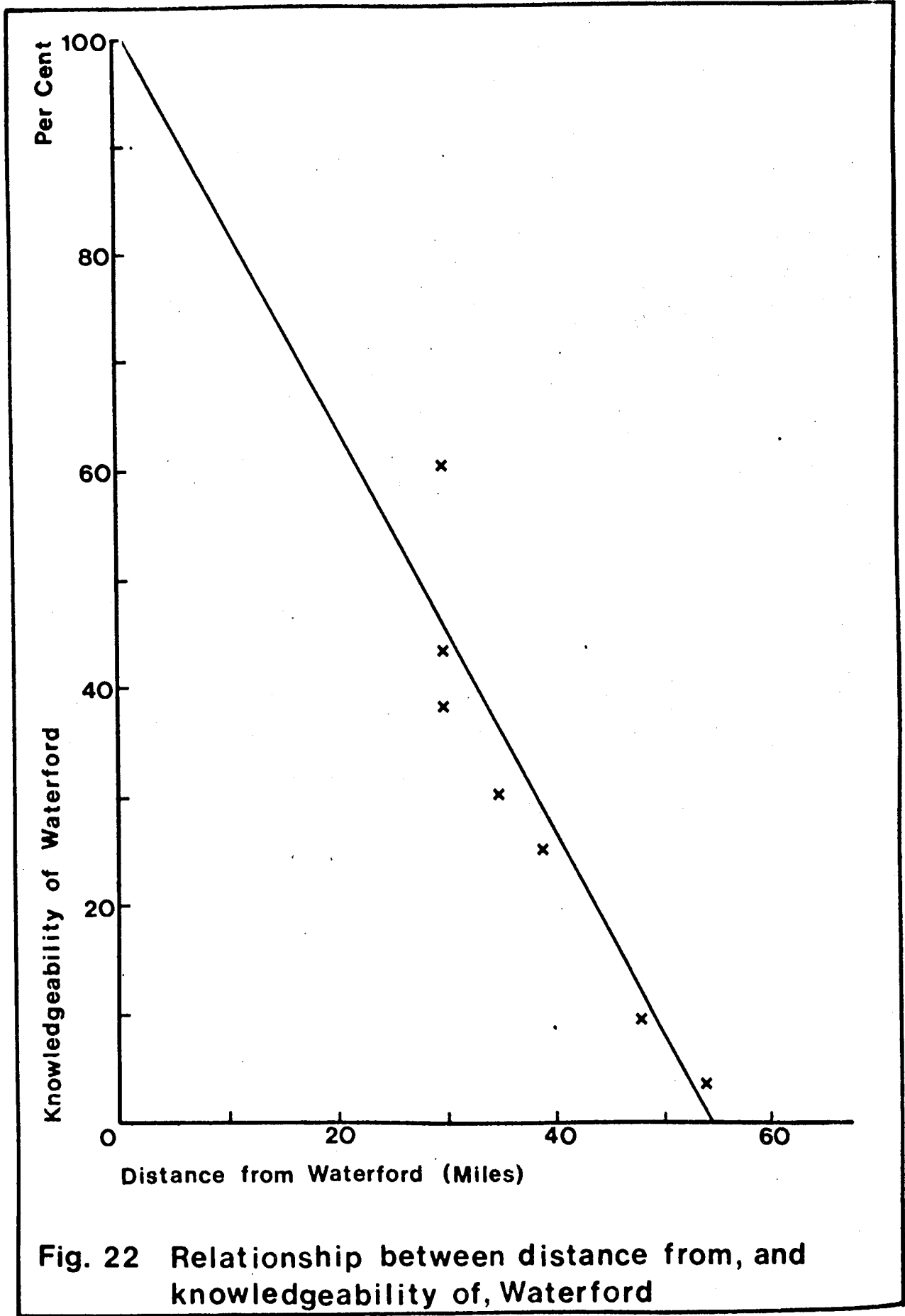


Fig. 22 Relationship between distance from, and knowledgeability of, Waterford

<u>Town</u>	<u>Distance from Waterford</u>	<u>%</u>
Dungarvan	30	60.6
Clonmel	30	43.4
Kilkenny	30	38.1
Enniscorthy	35	30.0
Wexford	39	25.0
Carlow	48	9.4
Tipperary	54	3.5

correlation, and in fact,  $r$  this time was found to be  $-0.92$ . This is also significantly different from zero. Figure 22 represents the relationship, on the same lines as specified for Figure 21. Nevertheless, the relationship is not strictly linear, in that there is an obvious sharp increase in the distance decay function after, say, 40 miles, so that those in Carlow and Tipperary have very little identification with their regional capital. In fact, several respondents in both these areas specifically brought up this point, suggesting strongly that they should not be in the Southeast Region. Whatever about Carlow, which is equidistant from Dublin and Waterford (and hence much more influenced by the far larger national capital), there is an obvious case for excluding Tipperary (only 25 miles, on a direct, uninterrupted route from Limerick, but with 54 miles, and the Comeragh massif between itself and Waterford) from the region. Of course, it can be pointed out that in

only one town (Dungarvan) did an overall majority know Waterford best of the six cities, but whereas a publicity or propaganda campaign (of which more later) could be expected to have some results with regard to the first five towns listed in the above table, it appears that Carlow and Tipperary regard themselves as being irretrievably isolated from Waterford. Here, the use of county boundaries as a basis for delineating Ireland's planning regions must be called into question. These boundaries have some validity (they explain, for one thing, the apparently close bond between Dungarvan and Waterford, to a large extent), but their usefulness can be seen to be limited: Clonmel has a strong relationship with Waterford, Tipperary has virtually none. In their desire to facilitate administrative frameworks the planners would seem to have taken too much for granted.

Comparing Waterford with other cities was one thing; focussing on it specifically yielded even more depressing results. Thus, only 6½% of students and 12¼% of workers indicated that they knew Waterford very well; over half of each only knew Waterford slightly, if at all. How Waterford is to attract people who are almost ignorant of it is a question to which planners will have to face up. In addition, only 12% of students regarded Waterford as being a very lively place, which, since it has been shown that the students tend to place greater emphasis on this kind of

factor than on economic factors in the migration decision-making process, only adds to the problem.

At least there was little negative perception of Waterford's economic outlook, although the bulk of respondents plumped for the conservative, safe, "slowly advancing" tag. Only about one third were prepared to grant the city a "highly progressive" status, the only one likely to set the adrenalin boiling. The author, of course, thinks Waterford is deserving of this status, and Plates 3-16 are used to lend objectivity to this judgement.

Again, only one quarter of the students and a mere 8% of the workers were prepared to definitely consider an offered job in Waterford. And out of a total of 328 students and workers who were thinking of leaving home, no more than ten were thinking of moving to Waterford. Among the students, the main reason for rejecting the possibility of a job in Waterford was simply a negative attitude towards the city; this was not so evident among the workers, but assumes a much greater significance when one remembers that the students were far more potentially mobile in the first place. And among those who were definitely prepared to consider a Waterford job, the principal reason for doing so among the much more important student group was proximity/accessibility rather than a positive image of the city.

Finally, three-quarters of the workers interviewed did

not have the slightest idea of what the employment situation was like in Waterford.

The outlook for Waterford as a growth centre would therefore appear bleak. The place is not well known in the surrounding region, its societal and economic images are not great, and it is not very much liked. In addition, there was strong indication of resentment against Waterford because it had been designated a growth centre (shades again of the political implications of a growth centre policy, frequently referred to before). Nevertheless, there were some grounds for hope. In the first place, a very high degree of potential mobility was revealed, at least among the younger age groups, so there is a flow of migrants which can be focussed upon for growth centre purposes. Secondly, the students showed a general preference for the prospect of living in a big town/small city. How does one reconcile this with the apparent huge influence of Dublin? One possible reason is that people would ideally prefer to live in the smaller order of city, but realise that the employment, facilities, amenities, etc., which they desire can only be had in the capital. If this is so, then here is an obvious cue for planning activity, to wit, the provision of such employment, amenities, etc., in growth centres, or if they already exist, the publicising of this throughout the surrounding region. Thirdly, there was a general acknowledgement that there were advantages to

living in a city, so Waterford can at least be satisfied on this count. Incidentally, those who did not think there were advantages to living in a city, accordingly tended to shy away from the prospect of living in one, so one thing planners could do for a start is publicise the advantages (presuming they exist) of city-living.

Fourthly, and more specifically, there was strong indication that the more one knew Waterford, the better one's image of it economically. This stands to reason; it would be difficult to spend any length of time in Waterford without being struck by the rapid development taking place there. Accordingly, it was found that the degree to which one knew Waterford had a significant bearing on one's readiness to take a job there. One's economic, but more especially, social image of Waterford were also found to have a significant bearing in this respect. There was a strong relationship between knowledge of Waterford and of the industrial estate there; knowledge of the estate was in turn found to have a strong bearing on economic image of the city; and, as just pointed out, economic image had a significant bearing on attitude to the city as a workplace. Finally, it was found among the workers, at least, that those who were thinking of leaving home had a more favourable attitude to a Waterford job, which provides some encouragement.

Thus, it seems that the planners could prevent a lot



of future headaches for themselves if they were to carry out a concerted publicity campaign on behalf of Waterford throughout the Southeast Region. Such a campaign would be designed to get people to know Waterford better, to make them more aware of its presence, as it were, to publicise the rapid developments which are currently taking place there, and especially the development of the industrial estate. Such a campaign would certainly be directed in the first place at the schools, since schoolchildren showed a high potential mobility, and anyway, the school system would provide a handy framework for such a campaign. However, young people in general, including those outside the school system, have indicated this high potential mobility, and ways should be devised for getting at the latter. One way of doing this might be through youth clubs and other such organisations. It might be suggested that there is little point in devoting much energy in the direction of the older age-groups of society, owing to their apparently almost total immobility. The campaign in the schools could be associated with organised tours of Waterford city, so people can see at first hand what is going on there. It is suggested that first-hand experience is of vital importance in the formation of attitudes. In view of the great difficulties and problems which have been proposed it seems certain that no less than a dedicated, sustained, 100% effort in this direction can save the growth centre policy,

at least as far as Waterford is concerned.

There is one problem which not even publicity will solve (except perhaps deceitful propaganda). It was found that there was no significant link between degree to which one knew Waterford and social image of Waterford. In other words, Waterford's image in this respect was as poor among those who purported to know Waterford well as it was among the others. The author would seek to corroborate this view; socially, Waterford is a "dead loss", as one respondent aptly put it. This is bound to be very important, since the young respondents (with whom we are now most concerned) attach such a high value to this aspect. So here is another avenue on which our planners will have to do much work. How they should go about it is perhaps outside the scope of this work.

Another area in which planners should be forewarned is their possible conception of the determinants of mobility. It has been suggested (see especially Ref. 6 to Section 5) that economic factors have been too readily accepted as the prime determinants of mobility. Yet the evidence here suggests otherwise. There were several indications of this:

(a) the low wage aspirations which the students seemed to have in any case (although it has already been emphasised that, because of surveying defects, too much faith cannot be put in the responses in this particular case);

(b) the fact that factors relating to employment

constituted only 22% of total responses concerning the naming of advantages to living in a city, and only 25% of first preferences;

(c) the reluctance of students to mention money specifically when asked their condition for considering a job in Waterford;

(d) the fact that less than half (41%) of those students who were thinking of leaving home gave economic factors as their reason for doing so; and

(e) the fact that there was no correlation between students' perception of their region's economic disposition and their desire to leave home. Some might say that the students were naive, and even romantic, in this respect, and that they would soon develop "realism"; however, if this is their mental temper at the time of deciding to emigrate, then it is what is important.

There was strong indication that one's order of priorities does change once the sheltered existence of a school-going life is left behind. Thus, those of the General Survey who were thinking of migrating (most of these were under 25) were shown to be significantly affected by their perception of the local employment position, and economic considerations figured prominently in their reasons for wanting to leave. And the word "money" was named shamelessly far more often by this group, in giving the condition for considering a Waterford job.

In designing the questionnaires used, the author thought it to be a logical proposition, from an a priori standpoint, that people who had never migrated before would be less inclined to migrate in the future than those who had experience of previous migration. In the event, no such correlation was unearthed, but it is interesting to note that Geary and Hughes found the exactly opposite trend in Irish migration (6); thus, persons who have never previously moved have historically had a higher potential mobility.

Some general guidelines have been offered to planners in the preceding pages; some specific hints also suggested themselves from the survey results. Some of these are:

(i) There was no distinction as between intended occupations (students) concerning attitude to a job in Waterford. The only real distinction isolated in this sphere was that those who wished to take up posts in the Skilled/Technician category had a very positive attitude towards working on Waterford's industrial estate. This (hopefully) is not surprising, and shows that at least some dissemination of information has taken place; in fact, the only really useful function of this question was to point out just how little people knew of the estate.

(ii) There was some evidence that some occupations (workers' survey) were more mobile than others, viz., semiskilled, clerical, and apprentice. It may be worth noting that the unskilled category showed indifference in

this regard.

(iii) Differences between male and female responses were neither as prevalent nor as significant as one might have expected.

(iv) The women workers were more ignorant of Waterford's growth centre status and industrial estate; named Dublin more often, and Waterford less so, of the six cities offered; knew Waterford less well; ventured fewer opinions (relatively) on Waterford's employment situation; and presumably as a result of all this, were less inclined towards a job there. Thus, it would appear that, in the event of the recommended publicity campaign, women workers would be in need of more attention than their male counterparts.

(v) Female students revealed lower wage expectations than males; this indicates a realistic acceptance of the fact that women in Ireland are badly discriminated against as regards job remuneration. It has already been pointed out that the application of spatially differentiated wages/salaries rates as a sop for developing growth centres can be ruled out due to trade union organisation. Since the amount of such organisation among female labour is generally pretty dismal, it could be posited that such labour could be got to the centres via such differentials. The ethics of such a line of action is another matter.

(vi) Female students had a different order of priorities concerning advantages of living in a city, putting a special emphasis on such things as shopping facilities. This suggests yet another differential emphasis in any publicity/propaganda campaign which may be put into effect.

(vii) Male students were found to be more affected by employment considerations in relation to the intention of migrating. This could be partially put down to the fact that women probably expect to get married very shortly in any case, and in a country where a very low proportion of married women work, tend therefore to think more about non-economic desiderata.

(viii) Women were found to be more intent on getting to Dublin, and hence were less favourable towards Waterford. It would appear to be easier therefore to attract males to Waterford. To suppose, however, that once the men were got to go there, the women would inevitably follow, would be highly fallacious: women have shown a remarkable independence of mind as regards migration in Ireland, usually leaving at an earlier age than their male counterparts, as suggested earlier. This female preoccupation with Dublin reflects a definite historical trend. In 1961, there were 83,000 female immigrants in Dublin as against 57,000 male (7). In the period 1946-61, average annual immigration into Dublin was 376 females and 163 males in the 15-19 age group, 398

females and 198 males in the 20-24 age group, and 312 females and 160 males in the 25-29 age group, giving a total of 1,086 females and 521 males in the 15-29 group (8).

It is amazing that this trend continues, in view of the constant heavy female surplus in the Dublin metropolitan area (it amounted to 44,000 in 1966 (9)). This produces great social problems, and it would appear that those who lose out in the rat race leave Dublin again, as indicated by Geary's and Hughes' findings that whereas male immigration into Dublin is appreciable at all ages, female immigration more or less ceases at age 34, and that at ages 35-54, substantial numbers emigrate, "many perhaps to their county of birth" (10).

(ix) Those women who were prepared to consider a job in Waterford were invariably swayed by its proximity/accessibility, while those who had a negative attitude conversely were deterred by its lack of proximity/accessibility. Again, there would be some room for a differential treatment of women in this respect, in the event of a publicity campaign.

(x) Males were found to be more prepared to work on Waterford's industrial estate, but one is loathe to put any store in this differentiation, such was the chronic lack of knowledge generally concerning what the estate was all about.

(xi) There was a decided difference right down the line between the responses of those who were attending secondary

schools (Secs) as against vocational schools (Vocs), and this fact should be of great bearing in the planning of any publicity campaign.

(xii) For a start, there was a big Secs/Vocs cleavage concerning the type of occupation one intended to pursue, as might be expected, with the Vocs inclining heavily towards the Skilled/Technician and Clerical categories.

(xiii) The Vocs had lower aspirations concerning the remuneration they hoped for in their initial employment, a position which might be biased by the fact that they would also tend more to take up apprenticeships, but which is still what might be expected on a priori grounds.

(xiv) The Vocs displayed an inferior knowledge of Waterford, but nevertheless were less critical of it, both economically and socially.

(xv) The Secs were found to be more acknowledging than Vocs of the advantages of living in a city. The latter were more inclined to play up the economic advantages, whereas the former were stronger on those of a social nature.

(xvi) As can be seen, the Vocs were somewhat uninterested in matters exogenous to their immediate environment; this was confirmed by their significantly lower potential mobility. Those Vocs who did intend migrating placed a greater emphasis on employment considerations than did the Secs.



(xvii) Vocs seemed to be more interested in a job in Waterford, and were less opposed to the idea of commuting there if such a job should materialise. On this question of commuting versus moving to Waterford, the students in general seemed to be better disposed towards the latter. On this basis, it might be suggested that funds bracketed for expenditure on building up Waterford as a growth centre might better be spent on providing amenities and facilities, than in improving access to the city.

(xviii) Secs appeared more knowledgeable of the existence of the industrial estate (one might have expected it to be the other way round) but, as might be expected, were less disposed to work on it.

(xix) One common thread throughout the comparison between the Secs and Vocs was that the former were consistently more questioning, critical, and demanding, than the latter. One is almost loathe to concede that any degree of questioning is encouraged (even allowed) in Irish secondary schools, but to the extent that it is, one might readily expect this observation, since the Secs get a deeper, more intensive, and higher level education generally (as indicated earlier, this distinction can be expected to more or less disappear in the future, as the courses in both types of school are brought more and more into alignment with one another), and probably also include the more intelligent of society's offspring.

If one will forgive the "1984" undertones, the upshot of all this is that the Secs are less gullible, and hence less likely to be affected by any sort of publicity campaign, a fact that planners might be well advised to bear in mind.

(xx) Finally, there is one overbearing problem casting its shadow over all, to wit, the spectre of Dublin. This is a problem which probably can only be adequately dealt with on a national rather than a regional scale. Gillman has demonstrated that "In any study of Migration in Ireland, Dublin occupies a unique position. Almost 400,000 people born within the State were enumerated as living in other than the county of birth in 1961, and 35% of these were living in Dublin" (11). These latter migrants comprised a quarter of Dublin's population in 1961 (12).

The relative importance of immigration to Dublin would appear to be increasing rapidly. Thus, whereas in 1946-61, "Only 8% of migrants born in the State (excluding Dublin) went to Dublin, the remaining 92% going abroad", because of the dramatic fall in emigration between 1961 and 1966, Geary and Hughes "infer that there has been a substantial increase in internal migration since 1961", and "assume that...immigration from elsewhere (to Dublin) has considerably increased" (13).

In view of the fact that the emigration rate has

dropped still further in the period 1966-71 (standing at 13.4 per thousand population in 1951-56, and 14.8 per thousand in 1956-61, it dropped dramatically to 5.7 in 1961-66, and still further to 4.2 in 1966-71 (14)), it may be assumed that migration to Dublin has attained a still higher significance in the last half-decade. This can be reflected in the fact that over half the student would-be migrants named Dublin as their intended destination.

The degree to which the "Dublin image" has permeated the entire country may be gauged from the fact that whereas Geary and Hughes found that distance from Dublin was "overwhelmingly significant" in determining the extent of migration thereto (15), this author found that distance from Dublin had no significant bearing on the degree to which Dublin was named by both students and workers as intended destination on migration ( $r = -0.74$ ,  $n = 7$ ).

How does one combat this compelling force? Well, in the first place, whereas Buchanan has recommended that no direct restrictions be placed on the future growth of Dublin, it might be suggested, in the light of the above, that some such action is necessary if the growth centre concept is to come to fruition. A second possibility is the decentralisation of government departments. This is stated government policy, but is taking quite a while to come into effect, although the idea was resurrected again recently (it is usually used as an election ploy). When one considers that

one quarter of the Republic's work force is employed, directly and indirectly, by the State, the significance of such action can perhaps be appreciated better.

Nevertheless, the success of a growth centre policy will probably ultimately depend on the degree to which the planners can make these centres worthy alternatives, in their own right, to the attractions of Dublin. Such a task will involve a lot of work, much more than our planners have been traditionally attuned to, but only through maximum effort will there ever be any hope for the government's much-loved growth centre policy.

To sum up, it would appear that:

1. Studies of perceptions, attitudes, and intentions are of vital relevance to regional planning activities, as per original hypothesis;

2. The state of such perceptions, attitudes, and intentions in the Southeast Planning Region of Ireland is not healthy for the future of a growth centre policy, at least as far as Waterford City is concerned;

3. Only a maximum, concerted, and comprehensive effort on the part of planning officials, including an intensive public education programme, a massive publicity campaign, and some associated infrastructural developments in Waterford itself, can possibly make the growth centre idea a viable, realisable, entity;

4. Such an effort must take into account the differing mental dispositions as between workers and students; males and females; and primarily, vocational and secondary school students; and

5. Even still, it will be extremely difficult to break down the overpowering hold Dublin has on the minds of the people of Ireland.

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- (1) Ryan, W.J.L. (1965), Price Theory; London: Macmillan and Co., p. 329. The term was first used by Ragnar Frisch, in Monopoly-Polyopoly - The Concepts of Force in the Economy (Translated by W. Beckerman, International Economic Papers, No. 1); cited in Ryan, p. 327.
- (2) Newman, Jeremiah (1967), New Dimensions in Regional Planning: A Case Study of Ireland; Dublin: An Foras Forbartha, p. 35.
- (3) Value judgements concerning the ability of governments are, of course, a matter of personal opinion. It is this author's contention, however, that any thinking individual with experience of Irish politics will come to a similar conclusion. Backbencher, Ireland's leading political commentator, has pronounced that the current one is "the worst government this country has ever had - bar none." ("Inside Politics," The Irish Times, January 29, 1972, p. 12).
- (4) Report, The Irish Times, March 16, 1972, p. 9. Kilfeather is Local Government Correspondent to the Irish Times.
- (5) Regional Development in Ireland: A Summary; Dublin: An Foras Forbartha, 1969, pars. 101 and 102.
- (6) Geary, R.C., and J.G. Hughes, Internal Migration in Ireland; Economic and Social Research Unit Paper No. 54, May 1970, Table 18 (p. 31) and Chart 2 (p. 32).
- (7) Ibid., p. 8.
- (8) Ibid., Table 3, p. 12.
- (9) Ireland, Central Statistics Office (1967), Census of Population of Ireland, 1966; Dublin: The Stationery Office, Table 5, p. 6.
- (10) Geary and Hughes, op. cit., p. 14.
- (11) Gillman, C.J., "County migration: An alternative approach," Appendix in Ibid., p. 72.
- (12) Geary and Hughes, p. 8.

- (13) Ibid., pp. 16, 63 and 66.
- (14) Ireland, Central Statistics Office (1971), Census of Population of Ireland, 1971: Preliminary Report; Dublin: The Stationery Office, Table G, p. 12.
- (15) Geary and Hughes, op. cit., p. 21.

APPENDIX A: SCHOOLS QUESTIONNAIRE

Simon Fraser University  
British Columbia, Canada.

SURVEY OF MANPOWER IN SOUTH-EAST IRELAND. SCHOOLS  
QUESTIONNAIRE.

N.B. In the following questionnaire the Southeast Region  
is defined as Counties Carlow, Kilkenny, South  
Tipperary, Waterford and Wexford.

1. What type of school is this?  
Secondary.....Vocational.....
2. Male .....Female .....
3. Age .....years.
4. In what town is this school? .....
5. What is the nearest town to your permanent home?  
.....
6. Have you always lived in your present home area?  
Yes .....No .....
7. Do you have the impression that you are living in a  
region which is making:
  - (a) considerable economic progress .....
  - (b) some progress .....
  - (c) no progress .....
  - (d) declining .....
8. What occupation do you intend to pursue after you  
finish your education?  
.....
9. How much money per week do you hope to earn in your  
first job?  
.....



10. Do you think there are advantages in living in a city?

Yes .....No.....

If yes, what are the principal advantages you can think of?

1. ....

2. ....

3. ....

11. Do you know that the government has defined a Southeast Region, comprising Counties Carlow, Kilkenny, South Tipperary, Waterford and Wexford, to coordinate economy development?

Yes .....No.....

12. Would you agree to Waterford City being the focus of this region?

Yes .....No.....

If No, why not? .....

.....

13. Do you know Waterford City

(a) Very well.....(b) Fairly well .....

(c) Slightly.....(d) Not at all .....

14. How do you regard Waterford City?

(a) Highly progressive .....

(b) Slowly advancing .....

(c) Stagnant .....

(d) Declining .....

15. Would you describe Waterford City as:

(a) Very "lively" .....(b) Fairly "lively".....

(c) "Dull" .....(d) "Dead" .....

16. Which of the following cities do you know best?

Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Galway, Dublin, Athlone.

.....

17. If you had complete freedom of choice, would you prefer to live and work in:

(a) the country..... (b) a small town.....

(c) a big town or small city .....

(d) a big city .....

18. Are you thinking of leaving your present home area?

Yes ..... No .....

If yes, (a) Why? .....

(b) Where are you thinking of going? .....

(c) Why there? .....

19. If someone offered you a job in Waterford City, would you consider taking it?

Yes.....

Reason .....

No .....

Don't Know .....

Depends ..... On what? .....

20. If you answered 'Yes' or 'Depends' to the last question:

(1) How willing would you be to move to Waterford City to work?

(a) Quite prepared.....(b) Hesitant.....

(c) Not at all prepared .....

(d) Not sure .....

(2) How willing would you be to commute daily to Waterford City to work:

- (a) Quite prepared.....(b) Hesitant.....
- (c) Not at all prepared .....
- (d) Not sure .....

21. Have you heard of the Industrial Estate which is being built in Waterford City?

Yes ..... No .....

22. Do you think you would like to work on the Industrial Estate?

Yes .....No ..... Don't Know.....

APPENDIX B: GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Simon Fraser University  
British Columbia, Canada.

STUDY OF THE SOUTHEAST PLANNING REGION OF IRELAND.

- 1. Male ..... Female .....
- 2. Age ..... years.
- 3. Town .....
- 4. Have you always lived in this area?  
Yes ..... No .....
- 5. What is your present occupation? .....
- 6. How far do you live from your present place of work?  
..... miles
- 7. How do you get to work? .....
- 8. Did you know that the government has defined a Southeast  
Planning Region, consisting of Counties Carlow, Kilkenny,  
South Tipperary, Waterford, and Wexford, to co-ordinate  
economic development?  
Yes ..... No .....
- 9. Did you know that the government has named Waterford  
City as a growth centre, into which industry is to be  
concentrated as much as possible?  
Yes ..... No .....
- 10. Have you heard of the industrial estate which is being  
built in Waterford City?  
Yes ..... No .....
- 11. Which of the following cities do you know best?  
Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Galway, Athlone, Dublin  
.....

12. How well do you know Waterford City?

Very well ..... Fairly well .....

Slightly ..... Not at all .....

13. Would you regard Waterford City as being:

Highly progressive .....

Slowly advancing .....

Stagnant .....

Declining .....

14. Generally speaking, what do you think of the employment situation in this area?

.....

15. Do you have any opinions regarding the employment situation in Waterford City?

.....

16. Are you thinking of leaving this area?

Yes ..... No/Not seriously .....

If yes, (a) Why? .....

(b) Where are you thinking of going?

.....

(c) Why there? .....

17. If someone offered you a job in Waterford City, would you consider taking it?

Yes ..... Reason .....

No ..... Don't know .....

Depends ..... On what? .....

TABLE 1: Advantages of Living in a City: All Respondents

	Class				Total					
	1	2	3	4						
1st Pref.	66	22.1% *	74	24.8%	91	30.4%	68	22.7%	299	100.0%
2nd Pref.	74	30.2%	65	26.5%	73	29.8%	31	12.7%	245	100.0%
3rd Pref.	39	37.9%	22	21.4%	26	25.2%	12	11.7%	103	100.0%
Total	179	27.7%	161	24.9%	190	29.4%	111	17.2%	647	100.0%

\* Percentages may not add to 100.00 because of the excluded items.

Where 1 = Better and more amenities, facilities, and services (incl. education); i.e. the "Amenities" factor.

2 = Better and more job opportunities; better working conditions; i.e. the "Employment" factor.

3 = Social life, chance of meeting people; i.e. the "Social" factor.

4 = Convenience/General proximity/nearness to things/no travel problems; i.e. the "Accessibility" factor.

TABLE 2: Advantages of Living in a City: Respondents who gave three replies

	Class (as in Table 1)				Total					
	1	2	3	4						
1st Pref.	15	14.6% *	32	31.1%	24	23.3%	32	31.1%	103	100.0%
2nd Pref.	30	29.1%	27	26.2%	28	27.2%	16	15.5%	103	100.0%
3rd Pref.	39	37.9%	22	21.4%	26	25.2%	12	11.7%	103	100.0%
Total	84	27.2%	81	26.2%	78	25.2%	60	19.4%	309	100.0%

\* Percentages may not add up to 100.00 because of the excluded items

TABLE 3\*: Image of Region

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Reply</u>	<u>Total</u>
Considerable economic progress	69 60.5%	45 39.5%	2 1.7%	116
Some progress	147 65.9%	76 34.1%	3 1.3%	226
No progress/ Declining	34 75.6%	11 24.4%	-	45
Total	250 64.5%	132 35.6%	5 1.3%	387

\* In all tables, unless otherwise stated, percentages relating to "No Reply (N.R.) and or "Don't Know" (D.K.) cells refer to the total possible number of respondents; percentages in other cells refer to the actual number of replies.



TABLE 4: Attitude to Employment in Waterford by Intended Occupation

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>D.K.</u>	<u>Depends</u>	<u>Total</u>
Nursing*	11 25.0%	14 31.8%	7 15.9%	12 27.3%	44 100.0%
Teaching	14 19.4%	16 22.2%	8 11.1%	34 42.2%	72 100.0%
Skilled/ Technician	27 29.7%	20 22.0%	8 8.8%	36 39.6%	91 100.0
Professional	13 25.5%	16 31.4%	4 7.8%	18 35.3%	51 100.0
Clerical	22 27.9%	18 22.8%	14 17.7%	25 34.7%	79 100.0
Total	87 25.8%	84 24.9%	41 12.2%	125 37.1%	337 100.0

\* Plus Speech Therapists

TABLE 5: Attitude to Employment in Waterford by Knowledge of Waterford

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>D.K.</u>	<u>Depends</u>	<u>Total</u>
Very well	10 40.0%	6 24.0%	1 4.0%	8 32.0%	25 100.0%
Fairly well	47 33.1%	43 30.3%	8 5.6%	44 31.0%	142 100.0%
Slightly	36 23.4%	31 20.1%	23 14.9%	64 41.6%	154 100.0%
Not at all	9 13.2%	19 27.9%	14 20.6%	26 38.2%	68 100.0%
Total	102 26.2%	99 25.5%	46 11.8%	142 36.5%	389 100.0%

TABLE 6: Attitude to Employment in Waterford by "Economic" Image of Waterford

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>D.K.</u>	<u>Depends</u>	<u>Total</u>
Highly Progressive	52 35.9%	30 20.7%	16 11.0%	47 32.4%	145 100.0%
Slowly Advancing	35 22.9%	36 23.5%	18 11.8%	64 41.8%	153 100.0%
Stagnant/Declining	11 19.3%	20 35.1%	7 12.3%	19 33.3%	57 100.0%
Total	98 27.6%	86 24.2%	41 11.6%	130 36.6%	355 100.0%

TABLE 7: Attitude to Employment in Waterford by "Social" Image of Waterford

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>D.K.</u>	<u>Depends</u>	<u>Total</u>
Very Lively	17 40.5%	10 23.8%	2 4.8%	13 31.0%	42 100.0%
Fairly Lively	58 29.6%	29 14.8%	39 19.9%	70 35.7%	70 100.0%
Dull/Dead	22 18.5%	48 40.3%	2 1.7%	47 39.5%	119 100.0%
Total	97 27.2%	87 24.4%	43 12.0%	130 36.4%	357 100.0%

TABLE 8: "Economic" Image of Waterford by Knowledge of Waterford

	<u>Highly Progressive</u>	<u>Slowly Advancing</u>	<u>Stagnant/Declining</u>	<u>Total</u>
Very Well	13 52.0%	7 28.0%	5 20.0%	25 100.0%
Fairly Well	68 49.6%	49 35.8%	20 14.6%	137 100.0%
Slightly	49 33.1%	77 52.0%	22 14.9%	148 100.0%
Not At All	15 33.3%	19 42.2%	11 24.4%	45 100.0%
Total	145 40.9%	152 42.8%	58 16.3%	335 100.0%

TABLE 9: "Social" Image of Waterford by Knowledge of Waterford

	<u>Very Lively</u>	<u>Fairly Lively</u>	<u>Dull</u>	<u>Dead</u>	<u>Total</u>
Very Well	5 20.8%	11 45.8%	5 20.8%	3 12.5%	24 100.0%
Fairly Well	20 14.4%	70 50.4%	35 25.2%	14 10.1%	139 100.0%
Slightly	8 5.4%	90 61.2%	39 26.5%	10 6.8%	147 100.0%
Not At All	9 20.0%	24 53.3%	7 15.6%	5 11.1%	45 100.0%
Total	42 11.8%	195 54.9%	86 24.2%	32 9.0%	355 100.0%

TABLE 10: Knowledge of Industrial Estate by Knowledge of Waterford

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No/D.K.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Very Well	22 88.0%	3 12.0%	25 100.0%
Fairly Well	109 76.8%	33 23.2%	142 100.0%
Slightly	83 53.9%	71 46.1%	154 100.0%
Not At All	21 30.9%	47 69.1%	68 100.0%
Total	235 60.4%	154 39.6%	389 100.0%

TABLE 11: Attitude to Employment on Industrial Estate by Intended Occupation

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>D.K.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Nursing	8 18.2%	12 27.3%	24 54.6%	44 100.0%
Teaching	7 9.7%	27 37.5%	38 52.8%	72 100.0%
Skilled/Technician	42 46.2%	23 25.3%	26 28.6%	91 100.0%
Professional	7 13.7%	19 37.3%	25 49.0%	51 100.0%
Clerical	16 20.3%	21 26.6%	42 46.7%	79 100.0%
Total	80 23.7%	102 303.3%	155 46.0%	337 100.0%

TABLE 12: Acknowledgement of Advantages of City-Living by Locational Living Preferences

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>
Country	52 62.7%	31 37.4%	83 100.0%
Small Town	29 65.9%	15 34.1%	44 100.0%
Big Town/Small City	120 77.4%	5 22.6%	155 100.0%
Big City	97 93.3%	7 6.7%	104 100.0%
Total	298 77.2%	88 22.8%	386 100.0%

TABLE 13: Intended Occupations

	<u>Nursing, Speech Therapy</u>	<u>Teaching</u>	<u>Skilled/ Technician</u>	<u>Profess- ional</u>	<u>Clerical</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	2 1.2%	27 15.7%	75 42.6%	41 23.8%	20 11.6%	7 4.1%	172 100.0%
Females	42 23.6%	45 25.3%	16 9.0%	10 5.6%	59 33.2%	5 2.8%	178 100.0%
Total	44 12.6%	72 20.6%	91 26.0%	51 14.6%	79 22.6%	12 3.4%	350 100.0%

TABLE 14: Expected First Weekly Earnings

	<u>10</u>	<u>10-15</u>	<u>15-20</u>	<u>20-25</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	41 23.2%	46 26.0%	39 22.0%	22 12.4%	29 16.4%	177 100.0%
Females	32 17.9%	90 50.3%	41 22.9%	14 7.8%	2 1.1%	179 100.0%
Total	73 20.5%	136 38.2%	80 22.5%	36 10.1%	31 8.7%	356 100.0%

TABLE 15: Advantages of Living in a City (Classes as in Table 1)

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>Total</u>					
Males	88	30.1%	85	29.1%	81	27.7%	38	13.0%	292	100.0%
Females	91	26.1%	76	21.8%	109	31.2%	73	20.9%	349	100.0%
Total	179	27.8%	161	25.1%	190	29.6%	111	17.3%	641	100.0%

TABLE 16: First-Choice Advantages of Living in a City (Classes as in Table 1)

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>Total</u>					
Males	41	27.5%	38	25.5%	44	29.5%	26	17.5%	149	100.0%
Females	25	16.7%	36	24.0%	47	31.3%	42	28.0%	150	100.0%
Total	66	22.1%	74	24.8%	91	30.4%	68	22.7%	299	100.0%

TABLE 17: Q. 18(i) "Are you thinking of leaving your home area?"

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>D.K./N.R.</u>	<u>Total</u>				
Males	128	63.4%	71	35.2%	3	1.5%	202	100.0%
Females	126	65.6%	62	32.3%	2	1.0%	190	100.0%
Total	254	64.8%	133	33.9%	5	1.3%	392	100.0%

TABLE 18: Impression of Region's Economic Disposition

	<u>Considerable Economic Progress</u>	<u>Some Progress</u>	<u>No Progress</u>	<u>Declining</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	62 31.0%	103 51.5%	21 10.5%	14 7.0%	200 100.0%
Females	54 28.9%	123 65.8%	8 4.3%	2 1.1%	187 100.0%
Total	116 30.0%	226 58.4%	29 7.5%	16 4.1%	387 100.0%

TABLE 19: Reasons for Thinking of Leaving Home

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	62 49.2%	16 12.7%	19 15.1%	9 7.1%	14 11.1%	6 4.8%	126 100.0%
Females	39 33.1%	44 37.3%	19 16.1%	9 7.6%	2 1.7%	5 4.2%	118 100.0%
Total	101 41.4%	60 24.6%	38 15.6%	18 7.4%	16 6.6%	11 4.5%	244 100.0%

Classes: 1. Employment Reasons

2. Further education/training

3. Dissatisfaction with home area

4. "Horizon-broadening"

5. Self-improvement (specifically)

6. "For a change"



TABLE 20: Intended Destination Upon Migrating

	<u>Waterford</u>	<u>Dublin</u>	<u>Elsewhere in Ireland</u>	<u>G.B.</u>	<u>Elsewhere/ Abroad</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	6 6.2%	40 41.2%	22 22.7%	19 19.6%	10 10.3%	97 100.0%
Females	2 1.8%	75 67.6%	16 14.4%	12 10.8%	6 5.4%	111 100.0%
Total	8 4.8%	115 55.3%	38 18.3%	31 14.9%	16 7.7%	208 100.0%

TABLE 21: Locational Living Preferences

	<u>"The Country"</u>	<u>Small Town</u>	<u>Big Town/ Small City</u>	<u>Big City</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	37 18.4%	27 13.4%	82 40.8%	55 27.4%	201 100.0%
Females	47 25.0%	18 9.6%	74 39.4%	49 26.1%	188 100.0%
Total	84 21.6%	45 11.6%	156 40.1%	104 26.7%	389 100.0%

TABLE 22: Q. 13 "How well do you know Waterford City?"

	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>Fairly Well</u>	<u>Slightly</u>	<u>Not at all</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	11 5.5%	72 35.6%	81 40.1%	38 18.8%	202 100.0%
Females	14 7.5%	70 37.4%	73 39.0%	30 16.0%	187 100.0%
Total	25 6.4%	142 36.5%	154 39.6%	68 17.5%	389 100.0%

TABLE 23: Q. 16 "Which of the following cities do you know best?"

	<u>Cork</u>	<u>Waterford</u>	<u>Dublin</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	20 13.5%	56 37.8%	72 48.7%	148 100.0%
Females	18 10.8%	57 34.1%	92 55.1%	167 100.0%
Total	38 12.1%	113 35.9%	164 52.1%	315 100.0%

TABLE 24: Impression of Waterford City

	<u>Highly Progressive</u>	<u>Slowly Advancing</u>	<u>Declining/ Stagnant</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	69 35.9%	94 49.0%	29 15.1%	192 100.0%
Females	76 46.6%	59 36.2%	28 17.2%	163 100.0%
Total	145 40.9%	153 43.1%	57 16.1%	355 100.0%

TABLE 25: Impression of Waterford City

	<u>Very Lively</u>	<u>Fairly Lively</u>	<u>Dull</u>	<u>Dead</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	27 14.1%	105 54.7%	44 22.9%	16 8.3%	192 100.0%
Females	15 9.1%	91 55.2%	43 26.1%	16 9.7%	165 100.0%
Total	42 11.8%	196 54.9%	87 24.4%	32 9.0%	357 100.0%

TABLE 26: Q. 19 "If someone offered you a job in Waterford City, would you consider taking it?"

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>D.K.</u>	<u>Depends</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	63 31.2%	40 19.8%	17 8.4%	82 40.6%	202 100.0%
Females	40 21.1%	61 32.1%	29 15.3%	60 31.6%	190 100.0%
Total	103 26.3%	101 25.8%	46 11.7%	142 36.2%	392 100.0%

TABLE 27: Willingness to Move to Waterford City to Work

	<u>Quite Prepared</u>	<u>Hesitant</u>	<u>Not at all Prepared</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	57 40.4%	43 30.5%	5 3.6%	36 25.5%	141 100.0%
Females	35 37.2%	27 28.7%	5 5.3%	27 28.7%	94 100.0%
Total	92 39.2%	70 29.8%	10 4.3%	63 26.8%	235 100.0%

TABLE 28: Willingness to Commute to Waterford to Work

	<u>Quite Prepared</u>	<u>Hesitant</u>	<u>Not at all Prepared</u>	<u>Not sure</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	38 27.1%	35 25.0%	36 25.7%	31 22.1%	140 100.0%
Females	24 27.6%	19 21.8%	27 31.0%	17 19.5%	87 100.0%
Total	62 27.3%	54 23.8%	63 27.8%	48 21.2%	227 100.0%

TABLE 29: Knowledge of Existence of Industrial Estate

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	114 57.3%	85 42.7%	199 100.0%
Females	124 66.0%	64 34.0%	188 100.0%
Total	238 61.5%	149 38.5%	387 100.0%

TABLE 30: Q. 22 "Do you think you would like to work on the Industrial Estate?"

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>D.K.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Males	66 33.0%	48 24.0%	86 43.0%	200 100.0%
Females	26 13.9%	70 37.4%	91 48.7%	187 100.0%
Total	92 23.8%	118 30.5%	177 45.2%	387 100.0%

TABLE 31: Intended Occupation

	<u>Medical, Nursing, Speech Therapy</u>	<u>Teaching</u>	<u>Skilled/ Tech.</u>	<u>Profess.</u>	<u>Clerical</u>	<u>Farming &amp; Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Sec.	33 15.2%	60 27.7%	28 12.9%	44 20.3%	44 20.3%	8 3.7%	217 100.0%
Voc.	11 8.3%	12 9.1%	63 47.7%	7 5.3%	35 26.5%	4 3.0%	132 100.0%
Total	44 12.6%	72 20.6%	91 26.1%	51 14.6%	79 22.6%	12 3.4%	349 100.0%

TABLE 32: Expected First Weekly Earnings

	<u>10</u>	<u>10-15</u>	<u>15-20</u>	<u>20-25</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>Total</u>
Sec.	14 6.4%	93 42.5%	60 27.4%	28 12.8%	24 11.0%	219 100.0%
Voc.	59 43.1%	43 31.4%	20 14.6%	8 5.8%	6 4.4%	137 100.0%
Total	73 20.5%	136 38.2%	80 22.5%	36 10.1%	30 8.4%	356 100.0%

TABLE 33: Knowledge of Waterford

	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>Fairly Well</u>	<u>Slightly</u>	<u>Not at all</u>	<u>Total</u>
Sec.	18 7.4%	102 41.8%	89 36.5%	35 14.3%	244 100.0%
Voc.	7 4.8%	40 27.6%	65 44.8%	33 22.8%	145 100.0%
Total	25 6.4%	142 36.5%	154 39.6%	68 17.5%	389 100.0%

TABLE 34: "Economic" Image of Waterford

	<u>Highly Progressive</u>	<u>Slowly Advancing</u>	<u>Stagnant/ Declining</u>	<u>Total</u>
Sec.	71 32.6%	101 46.3%	46 21.1%	218 100.0%
Voc.	74 54.0%	52 38.0%	11 8.0%	137 100.0%
Total	145 40.9%	153 43.1%	57 16.1%	355 100.0%

TABLE 35: "Social" Image of Waterford

	<u>Very Lively</u>	<u>Fairly Lively</u>	<u>Dull</u>	<u>Dead</u>	<u>Total</u>
Sec.	14 6.3%	108 48.9%	73 33.0%	26 11.8%	221 100.0%
Voc.	28 20.6%	88 64.7%	14 10.3%	6 4.4%	136 100.0%
Total	42 11.8%	196 54.9%	87 24.4%	32 9.0%	357 100.0%

TABLE 36: Advantages of Living in a City (Classes as in Table 1)

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>Total</u>
Sec.	124 30.4%	80 19.6%	146 35.8%	58 14.2%	408 100.0%
Voc.	55 25.2%	81 37.2%	44 20.2%	38 17.4%	218 100.0%
Total	179 28.6%	161 25.7%	190 30.4%	96 15.3%	626 100.0%

TABLE 37: First-Choice Advantages of Living in a City (Classes as in Table 1)

Sec.	55 28.1%	25 12.8%	72 36.7%	44 22.5%	196 100.0%
Voc.	11 10.7%	49 47.6%	19 18.5%	24 23.3%	103 100.0%
Total	66 22.1%	74 24.8%	91 30.4%	68 22.7%	299 100.0%

TABLE 38: Second-Choice Advantages of Living in a City

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>Total</u>					
Sec.	46	30.1%	40	26.7%	61	39.9%	6	3.9%	153	100.0%
Voc.	28	37.3%	25	33.3%	12	16.0%	10	13.3%	75	100.0%
Total	74	32.5%	65	28.5%	73	32.0%	16	7.0%	228	100.0%

TABLE 39: Reasons for Wanting to Leave Home (Classes as in Table 19)

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>Total</u>							
Sec.	66	37.3%	52	29.4%	25	14.1%	14	7.9%	9	5.1%	11	6.2%	177	100.0%
Voc.	35	52.2%	8	11.9%	13	19.4%	4	6.0%	7	10.5%	0	0.0%	67	100.0%
Total	101	41.4%	60	24.6%	38	15.6%	18	7.4%	16	6.6%	11	4.5%	244	100.0%

TABLE 40: Q. 19 "If someone offered you a job in Waterford, would you consider taking it?"

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>D.K.</u>	<u>Depends</u>	<u>Total</u>					
Sec.	61	24.8%	78	31.7%	18	7.3%	89	36.2%	246	100.0%
Voc.	42	28.8%	23	15.8%	28	19.2%	53	36.3%	146	100.0%
Total	103	26.3%	101	25.8%	46	11.7%	142	36.2%	392	100.0%

TABLE 41: Q. 11 "Which of the following cities do you know best?"

	<u>Waterford</u>	<u>Dublin</u>	<u>Cork</u>	<u>Limerick</u>	<u>Galway</u>	<u>Athlone</u>	<u>Total</u>
Workers	144 34.5%	196 47.0%	30 7.2%	39 9.4%	7 1.7%	1 0.2%	417 100.0%
Students	113 29.3%	164 42.5%	38 9.8%	61 15.8%	6 1.6%	4 1.0%	386 100.0%

TABLE 42: Q. 12 "How well do you know Waterford City?"

	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>Fairly Well</u>	<u>Slightly</u>	<u>Not at all</u>	<u>Total</u>
Workers	52 12.3%	175 41.5%	131 31.0%	64 15.2%	422 100.0%
Students	25 6.4%	142 36.5%	154 39.6%	68 17.5%	389 100.0%

TABLE 43: "Economic" Image of Waterford City

	<u>Highly Progressive</u>	<u>Slowly Advancing</u>	<u>Stagnant</u>	<u>Declining</u>	<u>Total</u>
Workers	147 37.8%	207 53.2%	26 6.7%	9 2.3%	389 100.0%
Students	145 37.0%	153 43.1%	51 14.4%	6 1.7%	355 100.0%



TABLE 44: Employment Situation

	<u>Very Bad</u>	<u>Bad</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Fairly Good/ Good</u>	<u>Very Good</u>	<u>Improving</u>	<u>Total</u>
Dungarvan	5	3	9	12	3	6	38
Clonmel	10	12	13	26	11	-	72
Tipperary	15	6	5	4	-	-	30
Kilkenny	7	17	17	25	12	4	82
Carlow	7	8	13	27	8	-	63
Wexford	14	30	15	15	6	8	88
Enniscorthy	10	18	8	3	1	-	40

TABLE 45: Impressions of Waterford's Employment Situation

	<u>Very Bad</u>	<u>Fairly Bad</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Fairly Good/ Good</u>	<u>Very Good</u>	<u>Improving</u>	<u>Total</u>						
2	1.9%	13	12.0%	10	9.3%	55	50.9%	14	13.0%	14	13.0%	108	100.0%

TABLE 46: "Economic" Impression of Waterford,  
as between those who had and had not  
heard of the Industrial Estate

	<u>Highly Progressive</u>	<u>Slowly Advancing</u>	<u>Stagnant</u>	<u>Declining</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	116 41.6%	150 53.8%	10 3.6%	3 1.1%	279 100.0%
No	31 28.2%	57 51.8%	16 14.6%	6 5.5%	110 100.0%
Total	147 37.8%	207 53.2%	26 6.7%	9 2.3%	389 100.0%

TABLE 47: "Economic" Impression of Waterford

	<u>Highly Progressive</u>	<u>Slowly Advancing</u>	<u>Stagnant</u>	<u>Declining</u>	<u>Total</u>
Those who knew Waterford best	74 52.1%	60 42.3%	6 4.2%	2 1.4%	142 100.0%
Others	73 29.6%	147 59.5%	20 8.1%	7 2.8%	247 100.0%
Total	147 37.8%	208 53.2%	26 6.7%	9 2.3%	389 100.0%

TABLE 48: Attitude to a Job in Waterford,  
In Relation to Attitude to Job  
Situation

<u>Q. 14:</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Depends</u>	<u>Total</u>
Very Bad	9 12.3%	33 48.5%	26 38.2%	68 100.0%
Others	26 7.5%	182 52.8%	137 39.7%	345 100.0%
Total	35 8.5%	215 52.1%	163 39.5%	413 100.0%

TABLE 49: Q. 16 "Are you thinking of leaving this area?"

<u>Q. 14:</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No/Yes</u>
Very Bad	35.3%	64.7%	1.83
Bad	18.3%	81.7%	4.47
Fair	15.0%	85.0%	5.67
Improving	11.1%	88.9%	8.00
Fairly Good/Good	10.8%	89.2%	8.25
Very Good	7.3%	92.7%	12.67
Total	17.0%	83.0%	4.87

TABLE 50: Q. 17 "Attitude to a Job in Waterford"

<u>Q. 14:</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Depends</u>	<u>Total</u>
Very Bad	9 13.2%	33 48.5%	26 38.2%	68 100.0%
Bad	4 4.4%	42 45.7%	46 50.0%	92 100.0%
Fair	7 9.0%	36 46.2%	35 44.9%	78 100.0%
Improving	3 17.7%	6 35.3%	8 47.1%	17 100.0%
Fairly Good/Good	9 8.4%	65 60.8%	33 30.8%	107 100.0%
Very Good	2 4.9%	26 63.4%	13 31.7%	41 100.0%
Total	34 8.4%	208 51.6%	161 40.0%	403 100.0%

TABLE 51: Attitude to a Job in Waterford Against Intention of Leaving Home

<u>Q. 16:</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Depends</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	14 19.2%	26 35.6%	33 42.1%	73 100.0%
No	21 6.2%	188 55.5%	130 38.4%	339 100.0%
Total	35 8.5%	214 51.9%	163 39.6%	412 100.0%

TABLE 52: Migration Intention by Age Group

Q. 16:	Age 18	18-25	25-40	40	Total
Yes	18	46 62.2%	6 8.1%	4 5.4%	74 100.0%
No	29	134 38.4%	111 31.8%	75 21.5%	349 100.0%
Total	47	180 42.6%	147 34.8%	79 18.7%	423 100.0%

TABLE 53: Migration Intentions by Occupational Category\*

Q. 16:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Yes	30	16	4	14	5	5	0	74
	40.5%	21.6%	5.4%	18.9%	6.8%	6.8%	0.0%	100.0%
No	151	37	69	42	24	4	18	345
	43.8%	10.7%	20.0%	12.2%	7.0%	1.2%	5.2%	100.0%
Total	181	53	73	56	29	9	18	419
	43.2%	12.7%	17.4%	13.4%	7.0%	2.2%	4.3%	100.0%

\* Categories explained in text

## APPENDIX D: WATERFORD MANPOWER SURVEY

In late 1967, a team of sociologists, under the direction of the Department of Labour, carried out an extensive survey of Waterford City and its surrounding districts, in order:

- "(a) to provide information on the manpower position in Waterford County Borough...
- (b) to provide a basis for an estimate of the probable pattern of development of the local manpower supply, having regard to the known requirements of existing firms for 4 to 5 years ahead;
- (c) to identify the relevant sociological factors likely to influence the local manpower situation." (1)

Surveys were carried out among Employers, Adult Workers, Young Workers, The Unemployed, Housewives, workers living in what was defined as Waterford's Catchment Area, having a radius of 15 miles from Waterford City and including the towns of Carrick-on-Suir and New Ross, and School Leavers. Although the latter two categories are of most immediate relevance, elements of some of the others which were thought to be of interest are also included in the following discussion.

#### 1. School Leavers

This survey was carried out on a sample of all those schoolgoers in Waterford City and its Catchment Area who had reached the school-leaving age (14 years) and hence could be regarded as potential school leavers. It was divided into four categories - Primary Schools; Secondary School

Intermediate Cycle; Secondary School Leaving Certificate Cycle; and Vocational Schools. There is no direct comparability with the surveys carried out here, because (a) both the Leaving Certificate Cycle and the Vocational School surveys contained students not in their final years, and (b) even those students who were in their final year were interviewed before Christmas, whereas those students involved here were interviewed in late May, when the leaving of school was imminent, and therefore future plans would be presumably much more concrete. Nevertheless, some interesting and informative comparisons can still be made.

(a) Primary Schools: The number of persons still in primary school who have reached school-leaving age can never be great; hence, only 65 boys and 87 girls were interviewed in this category. The majority of these (68% of boys, 58% of girls) definitely intended going to secondary or vocational school, and a further 9% of boys and 15% of girls girls did not know whether they would or not. Thus one can expect that any future post-school plans held by this group could only be rather tentative, at most.

Nevertheless, only 15% of the boys and 21% of the girls did not have an idea what their expected first job would be. The expected location of this first job is given in Table A.

TABLE A

	<u>Waterford City</u>	<u>Catchment Area</u>	<u>Dublin</u>	<u>Elsewhere in Ireland</u>	<u>G.B.</u>	<u>Else- where</u>	<u>D.K./ N.R.</u>
Boys	54%	23%	-	5%	5%	-	14%
Girls	59%	9%	8%	2%	3%	3%	15%



Over two-thirds of those interviewed intended remaining in the Waterford Area (including the Catchment Area), in marked contrast to the secondary school pupils, but akin to the vocational pupils, as will be seen. The preference of girls for Dublin, a constant phenomenon throughout the four categories of school-leavers, though not as great as suggested in the surveys in the adjoining text, can be detected here. Another common factor, the relative insignificance of Great Britain as a proposed destination, definitely indicating changed times, is also in evidence here.

All those interviewed were asked separately the expected location of their first job, and whether they intended to migrate within five years. The answers need not necessarily be expected to coincide, but nevertheless in fact should be expected to provide some test of consistency. Thus, 77% of the boys in this category had said that they expected their first job to be located in the Waterford area, and 81% of them did not intend migrating within 5 years. The correspondence was even closer for girls, at 68% and 69% respectively.

As regards the industrial estate, 66% of boys and 56% of girls had heard of it; 25% of boys and 15% of girls thought they would like to work on it, 32% and 24% respectively, thought they would not, and 43% and 61% respectively either didn't know or gave no reply. These orders of magnitude are rather akin to those found in the

adjoining text.

(b) Secondary School, Intermediate Cycle: The sample here consisted of 647 boys and 837 girls. There was no question in the survey asking them how long they intended remaining on in school, but the fact that 43% of the boys and 42% of the girls did not know what they were going to do on leaving school suggests that for a large proportion of them, leaving school was not an immediate prospect. On the other hand, only 16% of boys and 17% of girls did not know what their intended first job would be. The occupational categories used by the survey were not directly parallel to those used by this author, but a crude correspondence was possible, and is outlined in Table B, in which the comparison is with the Secondary School section of this author's survey.

As can be seen, there is a fair parallel between the two surveys, although the more interesting comparisons will involve the vocational and leaving certificate categories, which will be seen anon.

The expected location of first job shows a sharp swing away from the Waterford area, as compared with the Primary School group (Table C). Thus, for instance, whereas 77% of the Primary boys intended their first job to be in the Waterford area, only 34% of the boys currently under consideration had similar intentions. The desire to migrate seemingly increases as one advances in

TABLE B

	<u>Nursing, etc.</u>	<u>Teaching/ Professional</u>	<u>Skilled</u>	<u>Clerical</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>n</u>
WMS*	12.9%	35.8%	9.8%	25.6%	15.9%	1,231
TAS**	15.2%	47.9%	12.9%	20.3%	3.7%	217

\* Waterford Manpower Survey      \*\* This Author's Survey

TABLE C

	<u>Waterford City</u>	<u>Catchment Area</u>	<u>Dublin</u>	<u>Elsewhere in Ireland</u>	<u>G.B.</u>	<u>Else- where</u>	<u>D.K./ N.R.</u>
Boys	25%	9%	13%	23%	6%	6%	19%
Girls	31%	5%	20%	13%	6%	5%	19%

secondary school, but not in vocational school, as will be seen. Dublin now figures much more prominently, with the girls again showing a greater inclination in this direction, but Great Britain still remains rather insignificant. Interestingly, a greater proportion of the current category either didn't know or gave no reply than their primary school counterparts.

The much greater prominence of the "Elsewhere in Ireland" category arises to a great extent, one imagines, from those pupils in the schools surveyed who did not normally live in the Waterford area. The survey did not apparently make any distinction in this area, unlike this author's investigation.

An astonishingly low level of aspiration concerning expected wage from first job was displayed by those interviewed. For a start, 46% of the girls and 34% of the boys either didn't know or gave no reply. Of the remainder, no less than 59% of the boys expected less than £10 per week from their first job (as against a mere 6.4% for secondary pupils in this author's survey). The WMS (Waterford Manpower Survey) questionnaire, like this author's, failed to specify whether or not "first job" meant after apprenticeship or other qualification had been completed.

As regards migration, 54% (boys) and 63% (girls) said they intended doing so within the next five years. Dublin

was given by 35% (girls) and 30% (boys) as intended destination, which is much more in accordance with TAS (This Author's Survey), in which 44.4% of those students who intended migrating gave the national capital as their destination (there was no significant difference in responses as between secondary and vocational pupils in TAS). The distribution of intended destinations is given in Table D.

A fair degree of correspondence between WMS and TAS is obvious, the greater importance of "Elsewhere in Ireland" in WMS again being probably explained by the fact that a goodly number of those surveyed actually lived "Elsewhere in Ireland".

Very large proportions (87% of boys, 75% of girls) had heard of the industrial estate, but over half of both boys and girls thought they would not like to work on it; in fact, only 14% (boys) and 9% (girls) thought they would, the remainder either not knowing or giving no reply. These figures are not overly different from the secondary school responses in TAS.

(c) Secondary School, Leaving Cycle: This sample comprised 410 boys and 558 girls, 28% and 31% of whom, respectively, did not know what they were going to do on leaving school, which is very high, not only per se, but in relation to the 11.8% for the same category in TAS. The breakdown of those who did know is given in Table E,

TABLE D

	<u>Waterford Area*</u>	<u>Dublin</u>	<u>Elsewhere in Ireland</u>	<u>G.B.</u>	<u>Elsewhere</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
Boys	3%	30%	35%	12%	11%	10%
Girls	5%	35%	24%	13%	12%	11%
TAS**	3%	44.4%	14.7%	12%	6.2%	19.7%

\* Includes Waterford City and its Catchment Area.

\*\* Not directly parallel, due to differential sampling, but roughly so.

TABLE E

	<u>Nursing, etc.</u>	<u>Teaching/ Professional</u>	<u>Skilled</u>	<u>Clerical</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>n</u>
WMS	13.9%	49.4%	3.2%	25.2%	8.3%	841
TAS	15.2%	47.9%	12.9%	20.3%	3.7%	217

bearing in mind the reservations mentioned in (c).

A remarkable degree of similarity is apparent, the discrepancy in the "Skilled" category possibly being partially accounted for by the fact that the "Technician" category was also included under this heading in TAS, but most likely comes under the "Teaching/Professional" heading in WMS. A readjustment here would only make the two distributions more parallel than ever.

Dublin has assumed much more importance, more or less at the expense of the Waterford area; in other words, migration potential has increased with level of education (Table F). The other categories have remained generally static on aggregate, except the Don't Know/No reply group, which has actually increased its significance, which is a little astonishing.

There is a comprehensive breakdown of reasons for choosing these locations. Far and away the main reason for choosing Waterford, among both boys and girls, is simply that it is the home area. The next reason in importance, though much less significant, is the good employment situation there. Easily the main reason for boys choosing Dublin is the good employment situation, but this reason, though important, is easily surpassed among girls by the better training facilities there. Girls also said they liked the place twice as much as boys. There was no outstanding reason among girls for choosing "Elsewhere in

TABLE F

	<u>Waterford Area</u>	<u>Dublin</u>	<u>Elsewhere in Ireland</u>	<u>G.B.</u>	<u>Elsewhere</u>	<u>D.K./N.R.</u>
Boys	20%	20%	19%	8%	9%	23%
Girls	26%	24%	19%	5%	4%	22%



Ireland", but there was among boys, viz. "job requires it". The good employment situation was boys' main attraction to Great Britain, but better training facilities served this function for girls. The gaining of experience assumed some prominence in the "Elsewhere" group, although generally overshadowed by "Good Employment Situation".

Unbelievably, almost 50% of the boys interviewed here who expressed an opinion, expected to have a weekly wage of less than £10 in their first job; this inordinately low level of aspiration the author finds it impossible to comment upon. No less than 23% (boys) and 34% (girls) had no idea of what their first wage would be.

The high migration potential suggested above is confirmed by the fact that 75% (boys) and 77% (girls) expressed an intention of migrating within five years. This is almost exactly identical to the figure in TAS. Intended destinations are given in Table G. Dublin has more or less the same degree of attraction as it had for the Intermediate pupils, though still somewhat less than for TAS. The number of "Don't Knows" is much closer to the TAS level. In fact, there is quite an amount of similarity between the results of the two surveys, although it is impossible to say how strongly Waterford figures as a destination among those from outside the Waterford area, since they were counted along with the remainder, and one can only speculate as to their relative strength.

TABLE G

	<u>Waterford Area</u>	<u>Dublin</u>	<u>Elsewhere in Ireland</u>	<u>G.B.</u>	<u>Elsewhere</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
Boys	2%	31%	27%	18%	14%	15%
Girls	2%	34%	25%	10%	12%	17%
TAS	3%	44.4%	14.7%	12%	6.2%	19.7%

Ninety per cent (boys) and 80% (girls) had heard of the industrial estate, which level of knowledge was a good deal higher than was found in TAS (68% for all secondary pupils). Nevertheless, reaction to the idea of working on the estate was almost identical in both surveys, the No's amounting to 47% (boys) and 44% (girls) in WMS, and 41% in TAS, with the Yeses numbering 16% (boys) and 15% (girls) in WMS, and 15% in TAS. The remainder - the uncertain people - constitute a rather large proportion even in WMS, suggesting that even in the Waterford area, information concerning the estate has not been circulated to its fullest potential.

(d) Vocational Schools: Only 157 girls were interviewed in this section, as against 451 boys. Of the latter, 16%, and of the former, 22%, did not know what they were going to do after leaving school, a level which is far below that found for both secondary schools. Table H lists the expected first jobs named by this group.

Comparisons between the surveys is not so close this time, although the Skilled category stands out easily in both, and Clerical is also very much to the fore. The discrepancy is due, to a great extent to the much higher proportions in TAS who aspired to Nursing and Professional occupations, while a large proportion of the WMS respondents were looking forward to nothing better than a factory job, which accounts for the greater part of the "Other"

TABLE H

	<u>Nursing, etc.</u>	<u>Teaching/ Professional</u>	<u>Skilled</u>	<u>Clerical</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>n</u>
WMS	4.5%	1.5%	57.1%	13.6%	23.3%	536
TAS	8.3%	14.4%	47.7%	26.5%	3.0%	132

category.

The intended location of first job shows a heavy swing back in favour of Waterford (Table I). Dublin pales into insignificance although girls still show a marginally greater preference for it. The rate of uncertainty is also lower than for secondary pupils. One third of both boys and girls expected their first wage to be under £ 4 a week, which is an amazingly low level of expectancy, and only 4% of boys and 1% of girls expected more than £ 10. This is pitiful.

As would have been expected from TAS, vocational students had a much lower migration potential, with only 24% (boys) and 35% (girls) expecting to move out within five years (cf. 47% in TAS). The greater tendency of girls to migrate is common among all four categories of student, and indeed was also the case (although only marginally so) in TAS. Proposed destinations are given in Table J.

There are quite significant differences between the surveys: for a start, the WMS students were much more definite about where they wanted to go; Great Britain easily replaces Dublin as the principal destination, and it would seem that quite a large proportion of those from outside the Waterford area who intended migrating had Waterford in mind as their destination.

Again, as with TAS, a lower proportion of vocational students than secondary students had heard of the industrial

TABLE I

	<u>Waterford Area</u>	<u>Dublin</u>	<u>Elsewhere in Ireland</u>	<u>G.B.</u>	<u>Elsewhere</u>	<u>D.K./N.R.</u>
Boys	77%	3%	4%	4%	2%	10%
Girls	67%	4%	6%	3%	-	18%

TABLE J

	<u>Waterford Area</u>	<u>Dublin</u>	<u>Elsewhere in Ireland</u>	<u>G.B.</u>	<u>Elsewhere</u>	<u>D.K./N.R.</u>
Boys	13%	13%	19%	35%	15%	7%
Girls	7%	29%	16%	31%	8%	9%
TAS	3%	44.4%	14.7%	12%	6.2%	19.7%

estate (78% boys, 55% girls), though the level of ignorance was not as great as in TAS (where only 48% of all vocational students had heard of the estate). As regards preparedness to work on the estate, 31% (boys) and 18% (girls) said Yes (38% for TAS), 22% (boys) and 21% (girls) said No (13% for TAS), and 47% (boys), 61% (girls) didn't know (49% for TAS). As with TAS, there was quite a discrepancy between Vocational and Secondary students as regards the response to this question.

The overall picture for the Vocational students, then, is one of much greater connectivity with the local scene. This trend was observed by the author in his own survey, and arises not only from the fact that secondary students tend more towards occupations which will require migration, but also because vocational schools make a much greater effort to find employment for their students once they leave school.

In conclusion, then, the author found no fundamental deviation from his own findings in the Waterford Manpower Survey. The parallel between the Leaving Certificate Secondary pupils was found to be particularly close. The divergences in the Vocational school groups could possibly arise in part from the fact that the WMS survey was administered to all vocational students who had reached school-leaving age, whereas this author confined his survey to those vocational students who expected to be leaving school within a month of the survey's completion. The one

item causing consternation to the author is the rather incredibly low wage expectancy of all the students surveyed - so low in fact that one is compelled to surmise that there must have been some mistake somewhere.

Although principally interested in the Schools section of the WMS, the author found some of the other results to be of interest, and a brief rundown on these follows.

## 2. Male Adult Workers

The sample for this survey was drawn from the Electoral Register, and was confined to workers between the ages of 21 and 55 who earned ~~£~~ 20 a week and less. Workers on the industrial estate, professional and self-employed people were excluded. A total of 152 was interviewed.

The sample was relatively poorly educated, and consequently the majority of them were factory workers of no skill. Their image of the employment situation in Waterford was generally positive, although not enthusiastically so. Thus 14% thought it was very good, 18% good, 31% alright/fair, 7% improving and 4% good for some people/industries; 24% deemed it to be unsatisfactory, and only 1% didn't give any opinion, which is a far cry from the mass ignorance of those living in the surrounding region. Of course, at the time the survey was carried out - late 1967 - the impact of Waterford's being named a growth



centre had not yet really begun to have its effect, and it is probable that had the same people been interviewed in the Summer of 1970, when this author carried out his work, they would have had a much more favourable attitude to the city's employment position. On the other hand, Waterford's employment situation is nevertheless still susceptible to short-term changes, and the city has had its share of the factory closures and redundancies which struck the economy in general in 1971. Waterford is still sufficiently small to be rocked by the closure of one large factory.

A remarkably high proportion - 42% - of those interviewed had previously worked outside the state (unfortunately, this survey seemed to equate migration with emigration). Nevertheless only 11% of them were currently considering leaving. Unfortunately there was no age breakdown for the latter. The level of education among those who had previously migrated was found to be much inferior to those who had not. The fact that those who tend to migrate out of Ireland to England are normally poorly educated is already well-documented, as is the fact that those who migrate to Dublin tend to be well-educated, although this distinction is probably becoming less sharp in recent years, as the pace of migration to Dublin accelerates, and the level of emigration declines. Gillman says:

"We know that much of the male migration to Dublin is selective educationally as commercial, finance, and insurance

companies, and the civil service all require certain educational standards, and that emigration to England takes a large proportion of the less well educated." (2)

Hutchinson, investigating social status in Dublin, points out that:

"educational level is closely associated with social status in Ireland as elsewhere." (3)

and frequently makes reference to the selectivity, in terms of education, of Irish migration:

"...recent economic development in Dublin has raised average social status: in Britain it has reduced it. Dublin has offered to the four highest social status categories new opportunities far in excess, proportionally, of their equivalents in Britain. On the other hand, there has been a greater expansion at the unskilled and semi-skilled level in Britain than in Dublin. The tendencies do much to explain the character of Irish migration to Britain, which has a preference for semi-skilled and unskilled occupations, and a below-average level of educational attainment." (4)

The sample had a very favourable attitude to the industrial estate, with 68% willing to work on it, 28% unwilling, and only 4% uncertain. The low level of uncertainty suggests a number of things, such as that levels of awareness of one's surroundings increase with age, or more likely, that there are various non-overlapping channels for the dissemination of various types of information, so that members of the working force are more likely

to become aware of factors affecting employment than others.

### 3. Female Adult Workers

The sample here was also taken from the Electoral Register, was confined to those aged between 21 and 55, and again, excluded industrial estate workers, the self-employed, and professionals. Forty-seven per cent of the 139 interviewed were under 31 years, giving a youthful age structure, and 74% were either unmarried or widowed. This sample was much better educated than its male counterpart, and had a somewhat better image of Waterford's employment situation, with 19% describing it as very good, 20% as good, 16% alright/fair, 9% improving, 7% selectively good, 20% bad, and 8% uncertain. The sample had a record of very low job mobility, was extremely satisfied with their present job positions, had a low migration record (only 15% had previously worked outside the state), and accordingly, only 6% were considering leaving Waterford. Again, those who had previously migrated displayed a poorer educational record than the others. The low migration potential confirms the observation made in the text that female migrants move more before they are 21 than after.

Less than half the sample had a positive attitude towards employment on the industrial estate, more than half were negative, and just 1% didn't know.

#### 4. The Young Workers

A "Young Worker" was defined as someone born between January 1, 1947, and August 1, 1948, and employed in Waterford firms of more than 20 workers. The sample covered 284 males, 283 females. It had a pretty high level of education, and 50% of the males were skilled workers. Migration had never been considered by 51% of the males and 63% of the females; 21% and 17% respectively were currently considering migrating. There was no distinctive variation between occupational categories as regards intention to migrate.

Over half of each sex's would-be migrants intended migrating to the U.K., which is a rather high proportion - much higher than found among schoolgoers, which might be put down to the possibility that school-leavers who intend staying in Ireland migrate immediately upon leaving school, whereas potential emigrants try their hand locally before eventually pulling out.

The proportion of would-be migrants who intended remaining in Ireland stood at 15% for males and 27% for females, but there was no allowance for a regional breakdown in the questionnaire used. The reasons given by males for wanting to leave were principally as follows: No opportunities in Ireland 31%; Not content 28%; Want to travel 26%; Better wages 15%. The breakdown for females was: Not content 24%; Want to travel 22%; No opportunities

16%; and a variety of minor reasons. A significantly higher proportion of those males who thought there was no future in Waterford for young people intended migrating ( $df = 2, \chi^2 = 6.49$ ), indicating consistency, but no such significant difference could be found for females. Seventy-nine per cent of the males and 70% of the females thought there was a future in Waterford for young people, with 9% and 5% respectively, unable to give an opinion.

#### 5. The Catchment Area

The sample here was of all non-retired adults living within 15 miles of Waterford, and involved 206 males and 205 females, of whom the former were principally employees (43%) and farmers (29%), and the latter were housewives (62%) and employees (17%). There was a fairly even age breakdown, so that only 20% (males) and 22% (females) were less than 31 years. Only 15% of males and 17% of females had ever worked outside the Catchment Area. The sample was surprisingly (I would think) well-educated. Only 15 males (7%) and 9 females (4%) were considering migrating outside the Catchment Area. Of those who were not already working in Waterford (12% of the males and 5% of the females already were), 52% (males) and 24% (females) said they would consider working in Waterford city. Much of the discrepancy is undoubtedly attributable to the fact that most of the females were married and would not consider a job anywhere. Nevertheless, this breakdown is almost

exactly parallel to the findings in the author's General Survey, if one merges the "Depends" and the "Yes" categories, which the WMS appears to have done. Thus, in the General Survey, 53% of males and 32% of females (a significant difference) were prepared to entertain the idea of a job in Waterford.

Interestingly, only 11% of the males and 10% of the females who said they would consider a job in Waterford were under 26 years old.

Of those who gave a definite "Yes" to this question, 38% of males and 37% of females gave financial reasons, 38% of males said the employment situation was better in Waterford, and 26% of females just wanted a change. These were the principal reasons given.

The vast majority of males whose positive response was made conditional gave wages as the condition, a factor which was not even mentioned once by the females, who tended anyway not to make any conditions at all.

The overall impression from the foregoing is that those who live closest to the Waterford "scene" tend to have what this author would consider a more realistic conception of the city's economic future. However, even this is not sufficient to prevent a high proportion of young people from wishing to get out. This conclusion is certainly no palliative for the general observation made in the text that Waterford's potential as a growth centre is not the best.

References:

- (1) Ireland, Department of Labour (1969), Manpower in an Industrial Growth Centre - A Survey in Waterford (Summary); Dublin: The Stationery Office, p. 13. The main report, under the same title, was published in two volumes.
- (2) Gillman, C.J., "County Migration: An Alternative Approach," Appendix to Geary, R.C., and J.G. Hughes, Internal Migration in Ireland, Ec. and Soc. Res. Inst., Paper No. 54; Dublin: May, 1970, p. 73.
- (3) Hutchinson, Bertram, Social Status and Inter-Generational Social Mobility in Dublin, Ec. and Soc. Res. Inst., Paper No. 48; Dublin; October, 1969, pp. 8-9.
- (4) Ibid., p. 33. See also pp. 7 and 32.

## APPENDIX E: RURAL EXODUS

The bulk of the present text had been written when the author became aware of a major in-depth study of Irish migration carried out by Dr. Damian Hannan (1). Using a very comprehensive (unnecessarily so, in this author's opinion) questionnaire, Dr. Hannan attempted to isolate the major factors related to migration tendencies among young people in a selected area of Co. Caran. The survey was confined to those between 13 and 19 years of age, and was divided up as follows: Leaving Certificate Cycle, Caran Town (126); Leaving Certificate Cycle, Elsewhere (29); Second and Third Year Vocational, Caran Town (74); Do., elsewhere (26); All others who had graduated from primary schools in 1962/3 and working in 1965 (250). The total surveyed (the survey was undertaken in 1965) was thus 505. Just a half of those surveyed (those in school) then are directly comparable with this author's sample. The total numbers involved are quite different: Hannan has substituted depth for this author's breadth. Another major difference is perspective: this author's survey was framed from a growth-centre point of view, and was principally concerned with establishing the actual numbers of potential migrants (more or less irrespective of why they were migrating), the possibility of attracting them to a desired destination, and the factors involved in selecting a destination. Hannan was less interested in destination than in the actual factors generating, or hindering



migration. Nevertheless, some useful comparisons can still be made in this area.

Hannan's work is, however, much more useful at two other levels. In the first place, he surveyed those young people, substantial in number, who had dropped out of school without receiving any appreciable secondary education, but who could nevertheless still be considered ripe for migration. It was impossible for this author to consider this group, and it will be interesting to see how their intended behaviour compares with that of the others in the survey.

In the second place, Hannan - and this is probably his major contribution - carried out a following survey three years after his initial work, and the comparison of intended and actual behaviour is bound to have great implications for this author's survey.

Hannan's major conclusion regarding migration motives was that inability to realise occupational and income aspirations locally was by far the strongest force favouring migration. A long way behind in importance was general dissatisfaction with the local community. Work obligations within the family (usually connected with farming activity) was found to have some effect in stemming potential migration, but not a powerful one. Of perhaps great interest, in view of the findings in the adjoining text, is the fact that local social provisions proved to have an

effect on potential migration not worth considering.

The message, therefore, is that economic considerations are of prime importance as far as migration is concerned, and that people would prefer not to move if their economic aspirations could be fulfilled locally. In other words, migration is not the result of a positive attraction towards outside locations, but rather a negative attitude to the local scene. This seems to contradict this author's suggestion that probably the greatest factor influencing Irish migration at the present time is the powerful attraction of Dublin as a place to go to. It has been pointed out earlier that the influence of Dublin in this respect has increased very rapidly over the last decade, but it is still very doubtful whether the five-year gap between Hannan's and this author's surveys can fully explain the anomaly unearthed here.

Quantitatively, Hannan found that 72% of those who were considering migration (who, incidentally, comprised 76% of all respondents - an extremely high level, ten percentage points above this author's figure for school-leavers) said they would remain in the home community, provided that they could achieve their occupational and income aspirations there.

Hannan reflects TAS in finding that occupational aspiration had no effect on migration intentions, but that level of education had such an effect, although in all

cases, the intention of migrating was still extremely high (In Hannan, 88% of secondary and 79% of vocational pupils were considering migrating, as against 75% and 47% respectively, in TAS, while in Hannan, 62% of the primary educated were in this frame of mind, against only 19% in WMS - although in the latter case, direct comparability is admittedly impossible).

The "diehard" element among potential migrants also increased with level of education: 41% of secondary educated potential migrants, 23% of vocational, and 11% of primary said they would not stay put even if their occupational and income aspirations could be fulfilled at home. This is despite the fact that feelings of frustration concerning occupational and income aspirations also increased with education. This is probably because the better-educated of the respondents also showed a concern for social provision in their responses. The fact that secondary pupils place greater emphasis on this factor has already been a feature of TAS. This factor was also found to be considered more by females than males in both Hannan and TAS. A major assumption guiding Hannan's research, viz., that occupational prestige was the major factor in migration was, however, found to be more or less unfounded. Hannan, on the other hand, has probably hit the nail very finely on the head when he attributes the rapid destruction of traditional values by the intrusion of exogenous cultural

values a major role in explaining the pattern assumed by migration.

Hannan coincided very much with TAS in finding that sex differentials in responses were not very much in evidence, except among those with a farming background, an item not studied by this author, but that differentials between secondary and vocational students were quite marked.

Perhaps the most gratifying aspect of Hannan's work was the establishment of a close affinity between the patterns of intended behaviour and actual subsequent behaviour. Of the total of 505 who were interviewed in 1965, 446 were actually from within the study community. Of the latter, a random sample of 63% (281) was selected for the follow-up survey carried out in 1968, and 269 of these were contacted.

There was only one major deviation from the intended, viz., those with a primary education only proved far more migratory than expected. A second significant departure was the lower-than-intended mobility of the vocational students. Hannan puts these divergences down simply to increasing maturation in the three years between the surveys. "With these exceptions," states Hannan, "the other findings on actual migration differentials - sex, remoteness, and social class, etc., - confirmed previous findings." (2)

One crucial consideration in the migration "scene", emphasised by Hannan, is the role of information and acquaintance systems in deciding migration destinations. This consideration has fundamental implications for regional planning in general. Hannan points out that:

"The migration of the poorly educated, and of those moving into manual and service jobs, generally takes place within the context of informal networks of friends and family who have previously migrated."

It is these people who are of the greater importance in a growth centre policy, rather than the much more footloose better-educated young people. Hannan goes on:

"Knowledge of job opportunities flows through these informal contacts. Direct aid in arranging accommodation and job finding, and in smoothing the way generally for the new migrant is given by his family and friends who have previously migrated."

Dundalk and Drogheda are the nearest of Buchanan's growth centres to Hannan's study area (Drogheda is 40 miles from Caran), and he asks:

"How could young people become aware of opportunities in Drogheda or Dundalk if they had no friends there? How could they find a job there if they had no friends to help them with information, advice, and influence? How could they adjust to life there if these towns are as 'foreign' to them as Cork or Galway - the other side of the country - and far less familiar to them than Birmingham or London, where they have so many friends?"

Recognising that existing "'migration systems' have a built-in inertia which is difficult to upset", and that the wage differentials necessary to break down these systems are impossibly great, Hannan suggests other possible ways of overcoming this problem:

"Through personal recruitment of labour, through the arrangement and subsidisation of transport or accommodation, through employing a number of friends or acquaintances in the same factory, through the conscious use of local community, clique or friendship group networks to recruit labour, and through other such personal and adjustment methods, it should be possible to establish an initial pool of labour. Once such a pool or colony of local labour is established in a new centre, it is likely to be self-recruiting afterwards if the labour force is satisfied with the employment offered." (3)

The direct relevance to this author's study is obvious.

References:

- (1) Hannan, Damian (1970), Rural Exodus; London: Geoffrey Chapman.
- (2) Ibid., p. 236.
- (3) Ibid., pp. 256-257.