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Fifty Years a-Growing: Economic History and Demography in the ESR

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Fifty Years a-Growing:

Economic History and Demography in the *ESR*[1]

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ABSTRACT: This paper surveys publications in the fields of economic history and demography in the *ESR* since 1969. Numbering sixty in all, they cover a broad chronological and thematic range. Some of these papers never attracted much notice, but stand as useful sources for future historians. A few have become classics.

Keywords: Ireland, economic history, demography, economics, sociology, religion

JEL classification: N, J11, J12, J13, J61, Z12

[1] Thanks to David Madden for advice and correcting several slips in a draft version. Remaining errors are mine.

Economic History and Demography

Over its half century the *ESR* has published sixty or so papers on topics in the fields of economic history and demography. They are listed chronologically from [1] to [60] at the end of this paper. Some have since been forgotten; several are still read and still resonate, and a few deserve to be called classics. Not that even the most familiar of them are widely known: according to *Google Scholar*, of the sixty papers in this category, over one in four had been cited fewer than five times by late May 2019. Some were very specialised and of their time. Others deserved more but were ignored, wasting their sweetness on the desert air. Even more galling is that the most cited paper of all [41] is listed on *Google Scholar* as a University of Stockholm discussion paper (Burda 1995). Most of the contributors were based in Ireland; they include economists, economic historians, geographers, and sociologists.

Taken as a whole, the papers cover a wide range and add to scholarly knowledge in these fields. In what follows, I survey those in economic history first, then the rest.

1 *Economic History*:

We begin with Louis Cullen's 1975 study [11] of Irish population trends in the seventeenth century. Insofar as official and church records are concerned that century is very much a statistical dark age. Although clues as to demographic trends are sparse, before Cullen's paper it was taken for granted that Ireland contained a population of only about 0.5 million c. 1600 AD. That would imply an eighteen-fold increase between

1600 and 1845! Juxtaposed against Kenneth Connell's well-known estimates of Irish population a century or so later—2.2 million in 1687, 2.8 million in 1712 (Connell 1950)—the figure for 1600 seemed implausibly low to Cullen, especially so since Ireland in the mid-17th century endured a cataclysm that combined plague, famine, and war. Combining subtle inference and the ingenious use of limited source material, Cullen made the case for estimates of about 1.4 million for 1600 and 1 million for 1500. His proposed adjustments have not been challenged, although nowadays they may seem a little on the high side given later research indicating that 1687 and 1712 Connell's totals were too high (Clarkson 1981; Daultrey, Dickson and Ó Gráda 1981).

The *ESR* played a pioneering role in publishing economics-oriented articles on aspects of the Great Irish Famine. These included three sophisticated exercises in quantitative economic history by the University of Ulster economist Pat McGregor. His [31] and [52] modelled how the blight-induced shift in farm production away from tillage and towards livestock impacted differentially on the main groups directly dependent on the sector: the laboring poor, capitalist farmers, family farmers, and landlords. To oversimplify in a sentence: the impact on labourers was catastrophic, but that on stronger farmers was mild as they could shift from a system of farming based on crops to one based on livestock; smaller farmers were badly affected but at least they had the funds to emigrate; while landlords suffered from the fall in demand for land. In [42] McGregor analyzed the money wages paid on the public works in 1846-47, arguing that that they were kept low as a screening device; but that meant too low because they did not anticipate or reflect increases in food prices. Ó Gráda [6] and Pádraig Lane [4] focused on the market for

land before and after the Famine, respectively; the former's interest being in the value of land and its output share on the eve of the crisis, and the latter's on how a free market for land operated in its immediate wake. Finally, Karl Whelan [48] invoked the new economic geography associated with Paul Krugman (1991) to explore how 'the combination of the Famine and developments in transportation and the demand for industrial products may have worked together to cause persistent depopulation and relative industrial decline'.

Several contributions {[9], [13], [14], [15], [24], [29]} focused on the economic history of the latter half of the nineteenth century. The most cited of these is Peter Gibbon and Michael D. Higgins' important sociological analysis of gombeenism. The etymology of the Irish word *gaimbín* is obscure, but the term *gombeen* appears frequently in the provincial press from the 1840s on. For example, just as the Great Famine was beginning to bite in Mayo in August 1846, a report in the *Connaught Telegraph* wrote of 'walking skeletons' on the public works who had not been paid for three weeks, and on whom 'the *gombeen* people had stopped their supplies'. A few years later a rapacious Roscommon woman who lent money 'on what is here called *gombeen*, charging 8s in the £1 for one year' was murdered by starving kinfolk. The earliest reference I have found to *gombeenmen* refers to traders who 'sell oats and meal to people on credit' (*Connaught Telegraph*, 5th May 1841).[2] The early gombeenmen, like William Carleton's Darby Skinadre, combined straightforward usury with meal-mongering on credit, but by the period described by Gibbon and Higgins they had in effect morphed into general retailers who exacted

[2] *Connaught Telegraph*, 12th August 1846; *Derry Journal*, 7 February 1849. The term features prominently in Henry Coulter's *The West of Ireland* (1862).

a premium on a wide range of goods sold on credit and expected loyalty in return for 'favours' rendered. How hefty that premium was and how much it was a reflection of the high administrative costs and default rates associated with such business is one of the issues raised by Liam Kennedy [14] in a feisty critique of [9].

In the west of Ireland, the heyday of the gombeenman stretched from the pre-famine era to the early twentieth century. Over time, as Gibbon and Higgins concede {[9]: 34}, increasing competition reduced his monopoly power. Yet there is a rather timeless quality to their analysis, which blended the career of Galway businessman-politician Martin McDonagh (1860-1934; see Uí Chionna 2016) with the then-recent anthropological research of John Messenger (on Inis Oirr) and Hugh Brody (on 'Inishkillane'), and 'interviews with local informants, and … prolonged personal observation'. Although Higgins (1985: 50) noted elsewhere that 'after the thirties' the gombeenman's remit was associated with providing 'services as much as debt-bondage', he nevertheless perceived 'a continuous thread that runs from the exploitation of famine to the exploitation of state bureaucratic complexity'.

Moneylending presupposes a commercialised economy, and Michael Cuddy and Chris Curtin [29] exploited the household budget data in the so-called Baseline Reports of the Congested Districts Board in the 1890s to show that smallholder agriculture in the west of Ireland at the time was heavily commercialised. Kennedy [14] used the same source in his critique of [9], arguing that the rate of interest implicit in the gaps between cash and credit prices in the Reports was hardly exorbitant, given the significant risks and administrative costs associated with such business. Indeed, the rather low rates inferred by Kennedy—less than 10

per cent in a quarter and under 15 per cent in more than half the districts investigated by the CDB—compare favourably to the interest charges on credit card overdrafts today, never mind the much higher rates cited for backward economies in Africa the 1950s and 1960s. The CDB rates are also generous compared to that charged by the Roscommon gombeenwoman mentioned above or that implicit in an example given by Coulter (1862: 196) from Mayo in the early 1860s.

Kennedy's other contribution [15] was also a critique, in this case of the late Emmet Larkin, historian of the Catholic Church in post-famine Ireland. Larkin (1967) had claimed that by siphoning off a significant percentage of people's income and allocating it to unproductive uses, the church retarded Irish economic growth. Kennedy, countering with the Keynesian-sounding claim that such expenditure added to aggregate demand in an underemployed economy, held that the church's role in this respect was 'a positive one'.

Two papers focus on the land question and the related Land War. Barbara Solow's contribution [22] offered a useful summary of her highly revisionist monograph (Solow 1971). In both works she linked economic efficiency to a 'legally sanctioned concept of property' entailing a free market in rented land, with the implication that using custom or coercion (as during the Land War) to resist the law hampered economic efficiency. The Land Act of 1881 put an end to market-determined rents, and replaced them by a settlement favourable to the tenants. Soon, however, the conflict between market and non-market outcomes would come to an end with peasant proprietorship. Orridge's [24] statistical analysis of support for the Land War across Irish counties argues that in its early stages (1879-81) it attracted mainly the poorest tenants in the west,

whereas by the mid-1880s it had turned into nationwide resistance to evictions.

Eoin O'Malley's well-known study of the decline of Irish industry during the nineteenth century [23] is another enduring classic. Dismissing traditional explanations of the decline of southern manufacturing in the South, O'Malley blamed the strong economic pull towards centralization associated with early industrialization. By implication, state intervention of some sort was a necessary, though not a sufficient, condition for backward economies to compete and catch up with early industrializers. Modern students of Irish economic history should read O'Malley in conjunction with Bielenberg's more detailed and somewhat more optimistic of nineteenth-century manufacturing (Bielenberg 2009). Brian Girvin's contribution [26] was one of the few to engage with Irish economic backwardness in a more recent era. Very much in line with Joseph Lee's *Modern Ireland: Lee's Politics and Society* (1989), Girvin argued that economic modernization before the Celtic Tiger was stymied by the 'dominance of traditional interests and attitudes'.

Finally, Andy Bielenberg and Patrick O'Mahony [46] provided an estimate of Irish national income in 1907, derived largely from official estimates of agricultural output in 1908 and of industrial output in 1907. The total they proposed--£143 million—suggested that Irish economic performance between the Famine and the Great War was more impressive than previously thought, and comparative living standards in the early twentieth century, at two-thirds of the British level, higher in proportion. This study was one of the research outcomes of an informal collective convened by the late Kieran Kennedy, director of the Economic and Social Research Institute. The collective, which came to be known as the

Historical National Accounts Group, spawned several useful publications (see too Kennedy 1995; O'Connor and Henry 1996; O'Rourke 1998; Bielenberg 2010) and was the progenitor of the Irish Quantitative History Group, which is still going strong.

2 *Demographics:*

The broad outlines of post-Famine Irish demographic history are well known. In [30] Richard Breen used local data to show how, side-by-side with the familiar patterns of emigration, low marriage rates, and consequent population decline, there was room too for surprising deviations and contrasts in demographic patterns at micro level. His close demographic analysis of a small area in Kerry that he dubbed 'Carrigbeg', which contained 2,815 people in 1841, 1,375 in 1901, and only 852 in 1978, is an unduly neglected gem. Dividing 'Carrigbeg' into Upland and Lowland areas, Breen revealed strikingly different outcomes between the two, with the former being much slower to adopt 'post-Famine' demographic patterns than the latter. He attributed the contrast to a rise in the Upland area's population during the Famine—an unusual feature in itself—and to the differential impact of those patterns by socio-economic group, with non-farmers being first to adopt 'post-Famine' practices of low nuptiality and high emigration rates. The paper highlighted the importance of differences across localities and occupational groups.

The historical contributions include four by the late Brendan Walsh, spanning almost half a century and including his last published article {[1], [2], [12], [60]}. The first of these, dating from 1970, linked Ireland's curious age structure and both its high young and old dependency rates in

the 1960s to 'heavy and prolonged net emigration'. The second, published two years later, focused mainly on evolving trends in the fertility and nuptiality and predicted 'further significant reductions in fertility'. [60], which appeared after Walsh's death, focused on factors influencing life expectancy in Ireland since the 1870s. It identified two discontinuities in life expectancy, during the 1900s and in the wake of World War II, both of which it attributed to welfare reform. The earlier improvement was associated with the introduction of the Old Age Pension in 1909, which is likely to have produced both an increase in longevity and age exaggeration among claimants and would-be claimants (Ó Gráda 2002). The second followed increased spending on health and social welfare, including one of the most important social welfare initiatives of post-independence governments, the introduction of children's allowances in 1944 (Cousens 1999). The late John Coward's study [25] refers obliquely to that measure, which revealed a significant degree of births under-registration in previous years. It is these 'missing births' that are the focus of Coward's very useful demographic study. Unsurprisingly, under-recording was most serious in the less urbanized regions of Connacht and three-county Ulster.

2.1 Confessional Demography

[12] is just one Walsh's several studies spanning half a century that link religion and demographic behavior (e.g. Walsh 1968; Geary, Hughes and Walsh 1970; Ó Gráda and Walsh 1995; Fernihough et al. 2015). In this analysis of confessional demography between 1946 and 1961 Walsh attributed the decline in the Protestant population mainly to a high death

rate and a low birth rate, both in part reflections of an unbalanced age profile. In this period Protestants were far less emigration-prone than Catholics, in stark contrast to the situation during and in the wake of the War of Independence (Bielenberg 2013).

Several other papers discuss confessional demography {[3], [32], [47]}. In [12] In [12] Walsh added evidence that a significant proportion of Protestants married in Catholic churches, and the issue of mixed marriages features prominently in several papers. The *Ne Temere* papal decree of 1907 in effect bound non-Catholic parties in interfaith marriages to Catholic canon law, including the obligation to raise their children as Catholics. The decree had an almost immediate impact in Belfast when a Catholic priest informed a happily married couple that their marriage was invalid, since it had not been solemnized in a Catholic church. The plight of Mrs. Agnes McCann, a Presbyterian, angered non-Catholic and liberal public opinion [32], and *Ne Temere* was subsequently blamed for increasing sectarian tensions and deterring interfaith marriages. Insofar as such marriages occurred, the decree was blamed for the decline in Protestant numbers in the South. However, it turns out that some of the patterns so heavily criticized in the wake of *Ne Temere* had been established in Ireland long before it (Fernihough *et al*. 2015). O'Leary [47] identifies an upsurge in mixed marriages among couples marrying in the 1960s, reaching 32 per cent in the 1957-1961 brides' birth cohort, and reflecting, perhaps, a trend towards a 'more tolerant attitude to inter-church marriage' (O'Connor 2019: 245). Mixed marriages also featured in H. W. Robinson's analysis of the Church of Ireland population of the diocese of Ardfert in 1971 [3]. There, as apparently elsewhere, the brides in mixed marriages were much more likely to be Catholic (compare

Fernihough *et al*. 2015). Mention of Kathleen O'Higgins' study of the social group homogamy characterizing Irish marriages [28] may not be out of place here, although in this case the jell was class rather than religion. O'Higgins' study of assortative mating in the 1970s would repay comparison with the much more detailed results of Lunn and Fahey (2011) for the 2000s.

M. P. A. McCourt's 1973 study of the impact of religious affiliation on farming in an area of south Kildare [5] returned a refreshingly negative result. Allowing for the larger size of Protestant farms, he set out to see whether farm management differed by religion in terms of land quality, efficiency, and how farmland was used. Finding no evidence to support the hypothesis that it differed, he concluded that 'differences in farm use were explained far more satisfactorily by size of farm than by religion.'

2.2 Migration and Geography

The *ESR* has published steadily on aspects of migration; and [55] is about immigration. Several papers {[4], [19], [21], [27], [39], [54]} tackled the issue of measuring migration from Ireland to the UK. That was never easy given the very soft border between the two, and also posed a challenge to estimating short-term movements in population between censuses. Brendan Whelan and Gary Keogh [18] explained how the electoral register offered an alternative guide to inter-census population estimation. Gerry Keenan's [20] state-of-the-art model of that migration found that while his estimates had strong explanatory power the underlying coefficients were unstable and had poor predictive power. Interestingly, migration estimates derived from the electoral register *à la*

Whelan and Keogh [18] performed better in Keenan's modelling than the 'official' estimates of the Central Statistics Office.

Bryan Fanning's thoughtful paper on Irish immigration [55] and Gerard Keogh's analysis of asylum-seeking in Europe [57], both referring to the 2000s, and George and Sharon Gmelch's [33] study of traveler migration to Britain in the 1980s [33] and James Wickham's of the emigration of Irish professionals in the 1990s, all reflected new patterns in the history of Irish migration. Finally, Mary McCarthy and Thomas McCarthy [36] analyzed the economics of migration within Europe from the perspective of work by Usher (1977). Migration flows within Europe today are far bigger and more controversial than when [36] appeared. Usher, inspired by internal migration within Canada, showed that in the presence of publicly-owned capital in receiving and sending regions, migration could result in externalities affecting the residents of both areas. McCarthy and McCarthy, following Usher, proposed a system of 'equalization payments' to make good such inefficiencies, though they did not dwell on how such a system might be implemented in practice.

Two geography papers from the 1980s addressed policy issues of the day. Joseph Brady and Tony Parker's analysis of the 1981 census [34] pointed to the highly segmented geography of family status in Dublin at the time, while Kevin Hourihan [25] showed how immigration intensified the lopsided character of Irish urbanisation. Desmond Norton [35] applied a methodology associated with ESRI economists Terry Baker and Micheal Ross (1975) to estimate employment relationships between Irish counties between the 1870s and the 1960s, and found that while in the early decades 'the share of induced sector employment in total employment … show[ed] a direct positive relationship with the proportion

of autonomous sector employment which was non-agricultural in nature'. While doubting the applicability of the Baker-Ross methodology to developed economies, Norton concluded that it might prove useful for regional analyses in less developed economies. That was not to be.

2.3 Fertility and Mortality

In the second most cited paper on our list, economists David Bloom and David Canning [51] linked the growth of the Celtic Tiger to the legalization of contraception in 1980, which, they claimed, resulted in a sharp fall in both fertility and the dependency rate. They predicted that the fall in the dependency rate would not persist, however, given that the share of the working-age population was projected to peak in 2005 'and to decline quickly thereafter'. And sure enough, having risen from 26.6 per cent in 1961 to its peak of 55.5 per cent in 2005, that rate has declined since to 50.7 per cent in 2011 and 47.3 per cent in 2016. Future trends in the dependency rate in Ireland are likely to a function of immigration rates, on which [49] and [51] were silent.

Sociologist Tony Fahey [49] stressed, instead, the limits of Irish fertility decline, especially given the high cost of child care, and predicted that fertility was more likely to 'hover closer to American levels than to fall to the more sluggish levels found in most of Europe'. That was in 2001. Trends since reveal a more complex outcome: Ireland's total fertility rate (or TFR)[3] was 1.81 in 2017, much closer to the United States' 1.77 than

[3] TFR is the average number of children born to a woman over her lifetime if [a] her age-specific fertility during her childbearing years were the population average and [b] she survived through all her reproductive years.

Italy's 1.34 and Germany's 1.57—but almost identical to the United Kingdom's and Denmark's 1.79 and lower than France's 1.92! While [49] and [51] were about prediction, Ó Gráda [53] described the demography of Ireland's small and mainly immigrant Jewish community of a century ago, which combined low infant mortality and high marital fertility.

Brian Nolan [38], Eamon O'Shea [50], and Richard Layte and Anne Nolan [59] focused on socio-economic mortality differentials, and uncovered a significant, if unsurprising, gap between professional and blue-collar males. O'Shea's effort at examining changes in the socioeconomic differentials during the 1980s was stymied by increases in the residual 'unknown' category, and ended with a plea for more precise coding of occupation on death registration forms. Armed with better quality standardized data Layte and Nolan sought to find out whether the well-documented drop in mortality between the 1980s and 2000s was equally shared across socio-economic groups. Their findings point to an increasing differential between those at the top—the white-collar employer/managerial/professional group—and the rest over that period.

3 Concluding Remarks:

Some papers do not fit comfortably in the divisions imposed above. Some were very much of their time. In 1980 Tom Inglis's study of Irish student religiosity in the 1960s [17], based on a measure devised by Glock and Stark (1965), may have read like a sociological study of contemporary mores, but it now reads more like a historical document. The same applies to the 1974 study of the family by Fogarty *et al*. [7]. Paul Bew and Christopher Norton [16] sought to explain why the non-sectarian Belfast

outdoor relief riots of 1932 were followed three years later by virulently sectarian rioting in the same city in 1935.

It seems fair to say that the *ESR* has produced a bountiful harvest of research in the fields surveyed here. As an Irish journal should, it provided a welcome home for research by local scholars on a wide range of domestic issues. Besides the sixty or so within economic history and demography surveyed here, the *ESR* also occasionally published contributions by well-known international scholars, linked to academic visits to Ireland. [40], [41] and [45] began as keynote addresses to conferences of the Irish Economic Association, and [22] as the 1980 Finlay lecture in University College Dublin. It is to be regretted that the custom of publishing such lectures in the *ESR* has not yielded more fruit. One assumes—indeed, one knows—that this was not for want of trying. *Ach sin scéal eile.*

The Sixty ESR Studies:

No.	Year	Author	Title
1	1970	Walsh, BM	Empirical study of age structure of Irish population
2	1972	Walsh, BM	Irelands demographic transformation, 1958-70
3	1972	Robinson, HW	Study of church of Ireland population of Ardfert, Co Kerry, 1971
4	1972	Lane, PG	Encumbered estates court, Ireland, 1848-1849
5	1973	McCourt, MPA	Exploratory comparative study of Catholic and Protestant farmers in the Republic of Ireland
6	1974	Ó Gráda, C	Agricultural head rents, pre-famine and post-famine
7	1974	Fogarty, MP, R Rapoport, and R Rapoport	Men and women - next frontiers
8	1974	Johnson, N	Migration patterns in Dublin county borough
9	1974	Gibbon, P and MD Higgins	Patronage, tradition and modernisation – the case of Irish gombeenman
10	1975	Lyons, PM	Estate duty wealth estimates and the mortality multiplier
11	1975	Cullen, LM	Population trends in seventeenth-century Ireland
12	1975	Walsh, BM	Trends in the religious composition of population in the Republic of Ireland 1946-71
13	1977	Gibbon, P and MD Higgins	The Irish gombeenman - re-incarnation or rehabilitation
14	1977	Kennedy, L	A sceptical view on the reincarnation of the Irish gombeenman
15	1978	Kennedy, L	The Roman Catholic Church and economic growth in 19th-century Ireland
16	1979	Bew, P and C Norton	The unionist state and the outdoor relief riots of 1932
17	1980	Inglis, TF	Dimensions of Irish students religiosity
18	1980	Whelan, BJ and G Keogh	The use of the Irish electoral register for population estimation
19	1980	Hughes, JG	What went wrong with Ireland's recent post-censal population estimates

20	1981	Keenan, JG	Irish migration, all or nothing resolved
21	1981	Hughes, JG	The relationship between alternative population and migration series - a comment
22	1981	Solow, B	A new look at the Irish land question
23	1981	O'Malley, E	The decline of Irish industry in the 19th-century
24	1981	Orridge, AW	Who supported the Land War - an aggregate-data analysis of Irish agrarian discontent, 1879-1882
25	1982	Coward, J	Birth under-registration in the Republic of Ireland during the 20th-century
26	1982	Hourihan, K	In-migration to Irish cities and towns, 1970-71
27	1982	Kirwan, FX	Recent Anglo-Irish migration - the evidence of the British-labour-force surveys
28	1982	O'Higgins, K	Social group homogamy in marriage in Ireland
29	1983	Cuddy, M and C Curtin	Commercialization in the west of Ireland agriculture in the 1890s
30	1984	Breen, R	Population trends in late 19th and early 20th-century Ireland - a local study
31	1984	McGregor, Pat	The impact of the blight upon the pre-famine rural economy in Ireland
32	1985	Lee, RM	Intermarriage, conflict and social control in Ireland - the decree *'Ne Temere'*
33	1985	Gmelch, G and SB Gmelch	The cross-channel migration of Irish travellers
34	1986	Brady, JE and AJ Parker	The sociodemographic spatial structure of Dublin in 1981
35	1988	Norton, DAG	Employment relationships in Irish counties 1881-1971
36	1989	McCarthy, MR and TG McCarthy	Irish migration: the search for the efficiency and equity basis of a European regional policy
37	1989	Geary, PT	Irish migration: the search for the efficiency and equity basis of a European regional policy: a comment
38	1990	Nolan, B	Socio-economic mortality differentials in Ireland
39	1992	Forsythe, FP and VK Borooah	The nature of migration between Northern Ireland and Great Britain: a preliminary analysis based on the labour force surveys, 1986-88
40	1993	Crafts, NFR	Adjusting from war to peace in 1940s Britain

41	1995	Burda, MC	Migration and the option value of waiting
42	1995	McGregor, P	The Great Famine: a simple general equilibrium model
43	1997	Thorpe, D	Regulating late modern childrearing in Ireland
44	1998	Wickham, J	The golden geese fly the internet: some research issues in the migration of Irish professionals
45	1998	Findlay, R	A plea for trade theory in economic history
46	1998	Bielenberg, A and P O'Mahony	An expenditure estimate of Irish national income in 1907
47	1999	O'Leary, R	Change in the rate and pattern of religious intermarriage in the Republic of Ireland
48	1999	Whelan, K	Economic geography and the long-run effects of the Great Irish Famine
49	2001	Fahey, T	Trends in Irish fertility rates in comparative perspective
50	2002	O'Shea, E	Measuring trends in male mortality by socio-economic group in Ireland: a note on the quality of the data
51	2003	Bloom, DE and D Canning	Contraception and the Celtic Tiger
52	2004	McGregor, P	Insufficient for the support of a family? `wages on the public works during the Great Irish Famine
53	2006	Ó Gráda, C	Dublin Jewish demography a century ago
54	2008	Barrett, A and E Kelly	How reliable is the Quarterly National Household Survey for migration research?
55	2010	Fanning, B	From developmental Ireland to migration nation: immigration and shifting rules of belonging in the Republic of Ireland
56	2010	Girvin, B	Before the Celtic Tiger: change without modernisation in Ireland 1959-1989
57	2013	Keogh G	Modelling Asylum Migration Pull-Force Factors in the EU-15
58	2014	Nwakeze, NM	The Nexus Between Macroeconomics and Demographics: Implications for Sustainable Development
59	2016	Richard L and A Nolan	Socio-economic Differentials in Male Mortality in Ireland 1984-2008
60	2017	Walsh, BM	Life Expectancy in Ireland since the 1870s

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