THE 'NEW IRISH' IN AUSTRALIA

A WESTERN AUSTRALIAN PERSPECTIVE

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Bachelor of Arts (Honours)

A thesis submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Discipline of History,
University of Western Australia.

October 2002
ABSTRACT

This thesis is a contribution to the study of the Irish diaspora. Its focus is Irish immigrants to Western Australia who arrived between 1945 and 1995 thus becoming part of a group known as the 'new Irish', a term coined to distinguish them from their colonial antecedents. Patrick O'Farrell, writing in *The Irish in Australia*, has produced the only major analysis to date of the characteristics of the postwar Irish in Australia.

Using a Western Australian case study, primarily supported by evidence from interviews and a written survey, I critique O'Farrell's assertions about the new Irish and their relationship to Australian society. O'Farrell's contention that postwar Irish immigrants do not make 'that movement of heart and mind, away from Ireland, into Australia' is not borne out in the Perth context. The majority of the group of migrants studied were found to be settling well in Australia while retaining what they choose from their previous life in Ireland. They were not, as O'Farrell suggests, 'happy apart' from Australian society.

I use Donald Akenson's concept of viewing Irish emigration as going 'towards somewhere else' rather than just leaving Ireland, in an attempt to understand why modern emigrants choose Australia instead of the major emigrant destinations of Britain or the United States. The existence of a migration culture is examined and reinforced by evidence from the survey group. Like most writers exploring this concept, my focus was on graduate immigrants which was appropriate as, due in part to the changing needs of Australia as reflected in its migration program, a significant portion of the Irish immigrants of the late twentieth century were graduates.

An examination of Irish clubs in Perth reflected the differences between earlier and later postwar immigrants in addition to highlighting the challenge which multiculturalism presented to the Irish in Australia as their number and influence declined.

My conclusions challenge O'Farrell's ideas concerning lack of commitment by the new Irish and bring a Western Australian perspective to the debate. Additionally, the effect of multiculturalism on a long established non-English group in Australia is outlined. The findings of the thesis also add to the debate about Irish emigration through evidence which supports the existence of an Irish migration culture and through consideration of the role of destination as a way of studying the diaspora.
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Writing the acknowledgements is like writing the abstract – how can so much which needs to be said be condensed into a few hundred words? There are so many people who have assisted the completion of this thesis.

I would very much like to thank all the people who responded so generously to my survey and particularly those who offered to be interviewed. Their words brought the immigration experience vividly to life. Many others within the Irish community were also very generous with their time and expertise.

Special thanks must also go to my primary supervisor, Iain Brash, who has been exemplary in his supervisory role. He provided intellectual support, guidance, encouragement, patience and enthusiasm. I would also like to thank Jenny Gregory who worked with me at the beginning and the end of the thesis and whose ideas, guidance and encouragement were invaluable.

Friends have given great support and I would particularly like to thank Judy Skene, Criena Fitzgerald and Janine Gifford for their unstinting generosity with their talents which assisted the final draft to completion. I am indebted to other friends, both inside and outside of the university, who variously read and commented on drafts, allowed me to discuss my ideas with them, or always inquired how the project was going and expressed confidence that it would be completed.

I must acknowledge the unwavering support which I received from my family, both close and extended. Above all, I want to thank my husband Milan Chetkovich, my sister Ann Darbyshire, and my children Olivia and Alexander Chetkovich.

I dedicate this thesis to my parents, George and Elsie Butler, who made their long journey from Co. Westmeath to Western Australia such a worthwhile one.
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INTRODUCTION

The experience of the post Second World War Irish immigrants, the so-called 'new Irish', in Western Australia and how they respond to Australia is the focus of the thesis. Irish immigration to Australia resumed after 1945 having faltered during the early-to-mid twentieth century. Previously, in the nineteenth century, Irish immigrants in Australia played a very significant role as they comprised such a high percentage of the population in the developing colonies and nation. There was a dramatic difference in the numbers of Irish-born in the Australian population at the end of the twentieth century compared to one hundred years earlier. The Irish-born were the largest non-English group until 1921 when their numbers were exceeded by the Scots. The number of Irish-born peaked in 1891 and fell rapidly thereafter until a gradual increase began after the Second World War as shown below.

Table I: IRISH-BORN IN AUSTRALIA

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<td></td>
<td>212,633</td>
<td>227,698</td>
<td>105,033</td>
<td>78,652</td>
<td>44,813</td>
<td>55,175</td>
<td>67,360</td>
<td>70,037</td>
<td>74,498</td>
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After 1947, Western Australia had a higher proportion of Irish-born in its population than Australia as a whole or any other individual state. Irish in Western Australia in 1996 formed 0.72 per cent of the population compared to 0.4 per cent of the total Australian population.

1 Australia, however, was always a minority destination for Irish emigrants with usually less than ten per cent of emigrants going there. The highest rate of Irish emigration to Australasia was 11.4 per cent between 1871-1880. See Table 1.1.
3 ibid., p.17; Bureau of Immigration and Population Research, Community Profiles 1991 Census United Kingdom Born, Canberra, 1994, p.7; Bureau of Immigration and Population Research, Community Profiles 1991 Census Ireland Born, Canberra, 1995, p.6; and 1996 Census of Population and Housing, Birthplace of Individual by Sex – Persons (CC05), Counts of Persons by States
4 Extrapolated from Jupp and York, Birthplaces of the Australian People, p.55.
Since the 1970s and 1980s there has been a plethora of writing on Irish-Australian topics, but little research about the Irish in Western Australia or about postwar Irish migrants in any part of Australia. In 1986, the pre-eminent book on Irish-Australia, Patrick O'Farrell's *The Irish in Australia*, was first published. It was revised in 1993 and 2000. To the edition published in 1993, O'Farrell added a chapter entitled 'The New Irish' and with that term opened the Australian debate on what made these Irish 'new'. In 2000 he subsumed the original chapter into one entitled 'Being Irish in Australia'. These two chapters provide the major analysis to date on postwar Irish immigration but, in common with most recent research, they contain scant references to Western Australia.

O'Farrell's work introduced the imprecise term 'new Irish' to the discourse of Australian-Irish historiography. It is used both to denote Irish immigrants who arrived in Australia after the Second World War and to differentiate them from colonial Irish migrants or their descendants. It is a problematic and unsatisfactory collective expression which masks difference in experience among postwar immigrants. A close examination of the circumstances of Irish migrants reveals that only some of them are sufficiently different from earlier migrants to warrant the descriptor 'new'. There are various reasons to explain this difference, some emanating from changing circumstances in Ireland and some which are influenced by Australian conditions. These circumstances will be explored and analysed in the thesis. In the northern hemisphere, Irish, American and British writers generally mean migrants of the 1980s and 1990s, particularly graduates, when referring to the 'new Irish'. However, in spite of the inherent ambiguity of the term and in the absence of a more appropriate collective label or labels, the thesis examines the characteristics of the new Irish while remaining sensitive to the imprecision of the descriptor.

Although O'Farrell, particularly in the 2000 edition, is also ambiguous as to whom he includes among the new Irish, his assertions are largely critical of the entire postwar cohort of Irish migrants. He does, however, pay particular attention to those who arrived in the 1980s. He claims that the new Irish, however defined,

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5 See Chapter Two.
6 For recent exceptions regarding Western Australian research and publications, see Chapter Two.
are less committed to Australia than their nineteenth-century predecessors. He perceives that they continually look back to Ireland and cites this, and their mobility, as evidence for lack of commitment. The new Irish, he wrote, are not 'making that movement of the mind and heart, away from Ireland, into Australia'. A picture of a migrant group, detached from and critical of Australia, emerges from O'Farrell's work.

Apart from O'Farrell's writing, there is only one other significant piece of research which deals with post-1945 Irish migration to Australia although it was written too early to consider the immigrants of the 1980s and 1990s. Social geographer, James (Seamus) Grimes, wrote his 1979 PhD thesis at the University of New South Wales on 'Spatial Aspects of Irish Immigrant Friendship Patterns in Sydney' and he published several articles based on his research. The main focus of Grimes' thesis is the examination of patterns of Irish residence, friendship and employment networks in Sydney in the mid-to-late 1970s. Aspects of his findings provide a useful comparison with the Perth research.

O'Farrell's observations and conclusions about the new Irish raise many questions. The evidence presented in this thesis challenges claims made by him while simultaneously broadening the picture of the Irish in an increasingly culturally diverse Western Australia. Using the results of a written survey in conjunction with oral evidence gleaned from interviews with people who arrived in Western Australia from Ireland between 1945-1995, I critique O'Farrell's findings about the new Irish. As the immigrants of the 1980s and 1990s are the least researched of postwar Irish immigrants, I place particular emphasis on their circumstances. My work also adds an Australian perspective to research produced on this cohort, either as emigrants or immigrants, in the northern hemisphere. Changed immigration policies of the Australian government in the 1980s provide a further reason to focus on the last two decades of the twentieth century as the growing Australian preference for skilled and professional immigrants has ramifications for which Irish can come into the country.

Evidence from the survey participants in Western Australia is examined to test the proposition that the new Irish were not making a commitment to Australia. Did the characteristics of their circumstances which make them 'new' prevent

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them from adapting to their new country or did these characteristics actually facilitate, not hinder, their settling in Australia?

O'Farrell is wary of the effect of the high level of contact with Ireland which it is possible for the immigrants to sustain. The thesis charts the frequency of visits to Ireland made by the survey participants. Nearly all who have visited Ireland commented on how the visits affected them. A distinct pattern emerged from a detailed analysis of the responses which broadens the understanding of the migration experience of the potentially transitory modern migrant. There are implications from this analysis which are important to understanding the link between visits back to the country of origin and commitment to Australia.

The thesis also investigates whether commitment to both countries in certain ways is possible and whether loyalty to one precludes commitment to the other. What does David Fitzpatrick's phrase the 'duality of migration' mean in modern times? 10 Respondents were asked questions about that multi-faceted and shifting concept, home. The responses to questions which attempt to assess connection to either Australia or Ireland, such as attitudes to each country's national days or which sports the survey participants follow and support, produced unexpected results.

Can evidence for the contested idea of a migration culture, argued by some to exist in Ireland, be found in an Australian context? Ian Shuttleworth's analysis of the concept of a migration culture is explored to help to understand the predisposition to come to Perth demonstrated by the immigrants of this study.11 Those who argue for the existence of a migration culture present evidence to show that emigration is considered as a first, rather than a last, resort as a solution to various problems encountered with Irish life. The main argument is that the internationalisation of the Irish creates a self-perpetuating environment wherein contacts and information coming from abroad keeps emigration as a normal part of life and as a normal choice which may be taken to enhance career or lifestyle opportunities. Much of the research for the development of this idea has been focussed on graduates who are increasingly among the Irish emigrants. In my

thesis, I explore this concept with a particular focus on the immigrants of the 1980s and 1990s.

Should emigration be primarily considered as 'leaving Ireland' or is the concept of going 'towards somewhere else' of equal importance? This hypothesis was suggested by Donald Akenson in an effort to focus the Irish emigration debate away from victimhood and tragedy.\textsuperscript{12} As emigration to Australia has always been minor compared to the huge numbers of Irish who went to Britain or the United States, the question of destination is obviously very important in the Australian context. Akenson's idea, in conjunction with Shuttleworth's, provided a conceptual framework to use to examine why the immigrants studied came to Western Australia. The ideas also provide insights to help explain the nature of the migrants' experience in Western Australia.

Not all Irish immigrants join Irish clubs or organisations so what can be revealed by an examination of the purpose or popularity of such clubs? Are there significant temporal or other differences which the term 'new Irish' masks which can be understood through the changing fortunes and activities of the clubs? What were the issues at any given time during the postwar period which were of importance to the Irish community and how did clubs serve these needs? Did the development of multiculturalism as government policy since the mid-1970s have a positive or negative impact on the Irish?

The preceding questions suggest that there are three interconnecting themes in the thesis. The foremost of these is an examination of how the new Irish are settling in Western Australia and whether features of modern Irish migration militate against or reinforce commitment to Australia. O'Farrell's ideas, as presented in the only major work which covers the last part of the twentieth century, became the criteria against which to measure the evidence.

A second theme is concerned with the reasons for emigration from Ireland as they affect the immigrants who are the focus of the study. Evidence was sought to determine whether a migration culture said to have developed in Ireland affected migration to Australia. The concept of a migration culture is connected with Akenson's proposal that emigration discourse in Ireland should be reframed to consider that emigration is as much a move 'towards somewhere else' as it is to

just leaving Ireland. An analysis of the reasons given by the survey participants for leaving Ireland and the reasons stated for choosing Western Australia was informed by Shuttleworth's and Akenson's ideas. The two analytical frameworks also provide a way to understand the role of choice in the emigration of the new Irish.

The third and minor theme examines the public expression of postwar Irish identity in the form of organisations, clubs, and activities, and explores their popularity as a reflection of changing attitudes among the new Irish.

Structure of the thesis

Chapter One considers the discourse of Irish emigration and various explanations for its cause. The 'deeply-felt Irish sensitivity to the emigration problem' is discussed. Voices dissenting from the major discourse of 'exile' which stemmed from the need of the nationalist movement to blame all Irish ills, including emigration, on Britain are given some prominence. Akenson's idea of moving 'towards somewhere else' as a way to reconsider emigration is discussed. The significance of a migration culture in relation to the decision-making of the late twentieth-century immigrants to Western Australia is first examined in this chapter.

Chapter Two examines the position of the Irish in Australia and Western Australia from the convict beginnings of New South Wales to the 1990s and provides demographic information. Ireland's relationship with Britain is the canvas on which the earlier Irish picture in Australia is painted. The chapter analyses the effect of the changing relationships between Ireland, Australia and Britain on attitudes of, and towards, the Irish immigrants. Various ways of viewing the Irish in Australia, including the very ordinariness of most Irish, are examined to provide a historical context within which to consider the new Irish. The influence of the Irish on the developing Australian colonies and nation, that is, their 'founding and forming' role, is examined. This chapter considers the proposition whether, after the end of the Second World War, the Australian-Irish arguably were now subsumed within the 'Anglo-Celtic' population of Australia

and had lost their distinctiveness. The manner in which the needs of Australia influenced the changing characteristics of the postwar Irish immigrants, particularly after 1980, is outlined.

Chapter Three details the methodology used in the thesis and provides additional demographic information. There is a comparison of the measurable characteristics of the survey group with the total Irish-born population in Western Australia. The specific reasons why the survey group left Ireland are analysed and the idea of a migration culture is further developed. The chapter includes a case study which demonstrates the value of the survey and interview approach to gain information about this group of migrants.

Chapter Four examines information pertaining to Irish identity in Australia. Attitudes to Australian national days and sports are analysed to see if the immigrant group studied have adopted Australian tastes or if they maintain their Irish interests. Friendships with other Irish people in Australia, ideas of home, the level of deliberate attempts to pass on Irish culture or history and other potential indicators of identity are explored.

Chapter Five examines the effect of visits to Ireland on the immigrants and the changing pattern of visits to Ireland is outlined. Very few of the survey participants who migrated in the 1950s visited Ireland within a reasonably short time after arriving in Western Australia. The situation gradually changed over the decades as transport became faster, cheaper and more available. An analysis of the responses made regarding the effect of the trips is undertaken in this chapter. Is there a link between the ability to travel frequently and citizenship? How valuable is citizenship as an indicator of commitment?

Chapter Six applies the idea of a migration culture to the 'new' face of Irish emigration, the graduate migrant. The debate on whether graduate migration from Ireland brings anything new to emigration is discussed and an Australian perspective is introduced.

Chapter Seven looks at the microcosm of the Irish who form and join clubs and organisations and examines what is revealed about the needs or concerns of the postwar Irish. Is there any particular role for the Northern Irish apparent in club or organisational life?

In conclusion, the evidence from the thesis deepens the understanding of modern Irish immigrants in Australia and brings a Western Australian perspective to the debate about the new Irish. O'Farrell and Grimes have produced the only
major works to date which attempt the task of examining the experiences of the postwar Irish. This thesis addresses questions which have been raised by O'Farrell's work in particular and both adds to, and challenges, the emerging knowledge about postwar Irish immigrants.
CHAPTER ONE

TOWARDS SOMEWHERE ELSE: MIGRATION AND IRELAND

Emigration discourse and the making of a migration culture

The words ‘towards somewhere else’ are borrowed from Donald Akenson when he was suggesting that Irish emigration should be reconsidered as people moving towards somewhere else rather than just leaving Ireland.¹ This view allows for a positive construction of migration which, until very recent times, was not part of any discourse on the subject. It is a particularly apt idea to consider with regard to Irish migration to Australia, a country so far away and, in the nineteenth century, so difficult to travel to. People who choose Australia (and other remote destinations) as opposed to the United States or Britain, could be surmised to be going ‘towards somewhere else’ rather than just leaving Ireland. Akenson’s view is an uncommon one, but as it was put forward in an attempt to shift the emigration debate away from a mindset of tragedy and victimhood, it has the potential to open new ways of understanding the migrant experience.

Generally, in Ireland, ‘migration’ is understood as ‘emigration’ and is seen as a uniquely Irish phenomenon. There is a ‘deeply-felt Irish sensitivity to the emigration problem’² and consequently emigration is often treated as a tragic subject despite the reasonable assumption that most who did emigrate improved their lot in life. There are many competing discourses about the reasons for Irish emigration, with the most popular being English or British misrule, which in turn

¹ Donald Akenson, Keynote Address to ‘The Scattering: Ireland and the Irish Diaspora: A Comparative Perspective’, migration conference, University College Cork, 25 September 1997. Although generally, in this thesis ‘Ireland’ refers to the whole island, occasionally it may refer only to the 26 [southern] counties that now make up the Republic of Ireland. It will be clear from the context which meaning is intended. In other passages for greater clarity, the more specific terms are employed: Northern Ireland (1921-), the Irish Free State (1922-37), Éire (1937-48) and the Republic of Ireland (1949-). The expression ‘all Ireland’ is also used meaning both the Republic and Northern Ireland.

was linked to the rise of Irish nationalism in the nineteenth century. Historical revisionism, appearing from the late 1960s onwards, created controversy by questioning whether British misrule alone was to blame for all Ireland's ills. The debate about emigration was broadened to reveal a more complex picture. In order to create an historical background for the late twentieth-century Irish immigrants to Western Australia who are the primary focus of the thesis, this chapter examines some of the causes or explanations of emigration that have been proposed. As both Irish emigration and Irish immigration to Australia have long histories, to remove the recent immigrants from their collective past and the ideas which inform it, would be to present a flawed and ahistorical picture.

The sheer extent of Irish migration, regardless of its underlying causes, is such that it is mooted a 'migration culture' has developed which in itself has become a cause or an explanation for migration. Migration without 'adequate cause' can be facilitated by the 'extent of involvement in migration networks, previous migration experience, and a general public opinion “climate” of migration acceptance'. The culture manifests itself as a propensity for people to consider

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3 It is difficult in this thesis to decide on the usage of 'English' and 'British'. The following is my rationale. Wales was brought into the political and administrative system of England in 1536. The new entity became known as Britain. When Scotland joined the union in 1707, Great Britain was formed. The inclusion of Ireland in 1801 caused a name change to United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The formation of the Irish Free State in 1922 saw the name changed to United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. John Cannon (ed.), The Oxford Companion to British History, Oxford, 1997, pp.432, 351-2. The complexity of the changes and a consciousness of the turmoil which underpinned them caused some of the difficulty in usage as did the sheer unwieldiness of the long titles. In modern usage because 'Britain' is commonly used when Great Britain or even the United Kingdom is meant, I use 'Britain' or 'British' if referring to the political entity of which England is the dominant part; for example 'the British Empire' or the 'British government'. As the Irish specifically blame the English and England for prejudice against them, I have chosen to use 'England' or 'English' to reflect that view where appropriate. To compound the difficulty, many of the authors whose work I draw on are also ambiguous in their use of the terms.


6 National Economic and Social Council, Economic and Social Implications, p.131.
emigration as a solution to a variety of issues found to be unsatisfactory in Irish life. The issues bear no resemblance to the desperate circumstances of the bulk of the emigrants of the nineteenth century whose actions were integral in the creation of the culture. An enhanced lifestyle, a warmer climate and promotion possibilities for an already employed person are not propositions which we assume emigrants from earlier times would have been considering. The culture exists because of the internationalising effect created by previous and current migrations of other Irish people. It is constantly self-perpetuating through known contacts abroad providing information and by a critical mass of peers already living or working overseas or planning to go. The culture is different from a nineteenth-century assumption that many young people were ‘reared for emigration’ although there are some similarities. Fitzpatrick describes the ‘push for emigration’ as being as normal a part of nineteenth-century life as young people leaving home in modern urban life today. This normalisation of emigration is similar to the modern migration culture. What is dramatically different is that the ‘push’ factors of current times are likely to be much less imperative than those in the past. Additionally the action and consequences of migration have now existed for such a long time that the connections to places and ideas outside of Ireland are much stronger. Due to modern transport and easy communication, the links between those in Ireland and their friends, relatives or acquaintances overseas are more apparent. There is a nexus between an Irish migration culture and late twentieth-century migration to Australia.

That ‘Ireland has a contemporary profile wholly disproportionate to its geographical location, its population, and any influence in world affairs’ can be attributed to emigration. The profile developed from the interest generated in things Irish by the descendants of Irish emigrants who for centuries have left Ireland to settle in all English-speaking countries as well as the much smaller numbers (about one per cent of all emigration) who have settled in some non-English speaking locations. As a proportion of its population, there has been more emigration from Ireland than from any other European country and less

8 ibid.
propensity, especially in the nineteenth century, to return.\(^{11}\) By 1890, nearly 40 percent of all living people born in Ireland were resident overseas.\(^{12}\) At the end of the 1980s, Ireland was the only European Community country still experiencing 'significant net population loss through emigration'.\(^{13}\) The attention paid to Ireland is perhaps also due to its complex real and perceived historical relationship to Britain, a relationship which was responded to by the emigrants in the receiving countries of the diaspora. The situation of Northern Ireland and the British involvement there keeps the relationship contemporary in the eyes of the world, especially the United States. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Britain was a world power and the colonial master of its smaller neighbour. Irish emigrants, in addition to those from Britain, peopled the British Empire around the world. The complexity of the relationship with regard to emigration is that the British helped to equip the Irish with skills and provided a migration path for them but simultaneously created many of the conditions which caused the Irish to migrate.\(^{14}\) It is not possible to consider Ireland and its diaspora without reference to the British connection. This Irish/British nexus is valid for the situation in Ireland and for the situation of the Irish immigrants in the receiving countries.

Britain's effect on Ireland particularly in relation to the Famine of the late 1840s forms a central part of the emigration discourse. Akenson points out that the Famine did not cause the diaspora, but accelerated and confirmed it.\(^{15}\) Even an apparently new approach to studies of the diaspora on a scale not seen before does not stray very far from re-emphasising the position of the Famine as sacred and pivotal in emigration history.\(^{16}\) One entire volume in a series of six published in

\(^{11}\) ibid., pp.13-14. In the second half of the nineteenth century, estimates from the United States show that only six to ten per cent of Irish returned to Ireland compared with another Catholic group, the Italians, who had a return rate of an estimated 58 per cent.

\(^{12}\) ibid., pp.5-6.

\(^{13}\) National Economic and Social Council, *Economic and Social Implications*, p.62.

\(^{14}\) In the Australian context, the first major group of Irish were convicts so 'migration path' is something of a euphemism!

\(^{15}\) Akenson, *Irish Diaspora*, p.18. Deaths are believed to have been between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000. Dispersal overseas is estimated at 1,000,000 plus an unknown number to Britain. Figures or estimates of pre-Famine migration follow later in this chapter.

the 1990s on the Irish diaspora is devoted to the Famine years. Articles about the Famine also appear in the other five volumes of the series. The link between the Famine and the current popular term ‘diaspora’ is explored by Akenson, as is the word ‘exile’, another important and related term used in the discourse of Irish migration. Akenson examines the words from their earliest origins, where they are used in reference to Jewish populations. In a detailed analysis of particular events chronicled in the Old Testament, he concludes that the concept of ‘“exile” and “diaspora” formed as a result of an ideologically dictated judgement that the real story was not sufficiently lurid and was insufficiently simple’. He cautions that in terms of debate about Irish emigration, especially that which positions the Famine as central, the origin of the words is worthy of reflection when assessing the value of arguments advanced. John Docker, in examining his own roots, which are both Irish and Jewish, also cautions against the development of victimology in diasporic populations. Others, for example Breda Gray, write that the use of the word ‘diaspora’ naturalises emigration and depoliticises it. Former Irish President Mary Robinson popularised the term and used it to indicate diversity and as ‘embodying the multifaceted nature of native Irish identities’. She hoped that acceptance of multiple Irish identities overseas, as opposed to the idea that there is only one Irish identity, would be accepted domestically. President Mary McAleese used the term to mean she accepted diversity but was seeking cohesion of Irish both domestically and abroad.

Patrick O’Farrell writes that it was John Mitchel’s book, *The Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)*, 1860, which set the template for an ‘historical and imaginative understanding’ of the Irish Famine. Mitchel’s central thesis was that ‘the Almighty, indeed, sent the potato blight, but the English created the Famine’.

19 ibid., p.11.
23 ibid.
25 Quoted in ibid., p.1.
Mitchel grafted powerful political meaning onto the awful tragedy of the Famine. His book was read, not by the starving who experienced the Famine, but by ‘well-fed nationalists’ many of whom fled the country. They and their descendants, the overseas Irish, understood the Famine in this way. Kerby Miller in his seminal but controversial book, *Emigrants and Exiles*, states that the ‘grossly inequitable social system’ created by the British also exacerbated, even caused, the Famine although he makes the point that while food exported from Ireland during the Famine would not have compensated fully for the deficit created by the failure of the potato crop, it could have saved perhaps hundreds of thousands of lives. Cormac Ó Gráda is more ambivalent on this point. He writes that while a temporary embargo on grain exports in 1846 might have helped the food situation in Ireland, overall it made more sense to free imports than to prohibit exports.

Because of the links between the Famine and growing nationalism in Ireland in the second part of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth, it is easy to understand why emigration is also ‘attached’ so firmly to the Famine. As the nationalist movement resulted in the formation of the Irish Free State and later the Republic of Ireland, strong continuities of the nationalism/emigration dualism survived into the late twentieth century. Consequently, the Famine remains central to the debate about emigration from Ireland. As will be seen in Chapter Two, the Famine does not have such a direct link with the Irish in Australia as it does for the Irish in the United States, a country which is a very rich source of Famine literature.

Migration from Ireland was significant well before the huge acceleration which it received from the Famine. Early records are so patchy that only very rough calculations are possible. Referring to those who went to North America, Miller estimates that somewhere between 50,000 – 100,000 people left in the 1600s, and a further 350,000 – 550,000 left between 1700 and 1814. Excluding those who went to England, Scotland or Wales, emigration from Ireland (32 Counties) between 1825-30 was 129,182. This increased to 437,753 people for the period

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26 ibid., p.5.
28 Cormac Ó Gráda, *The Great Irish Famine*, London, 1989, p.61. Ó Gráda shows that in 1847 and 1848, there was a net gain in exports compared to imports, Table 2.3, p.62.
1831-40. The following table shows the numbers emigrating between 1825 and 1936. These figures do not include those travelling to Great Britain.

Table 1.1: EMIGRANTS FROM IRELAND (32 COUNTIES) TO COUNTRIES OTHER THAN BRITAIN: 1825-1936

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>% to USA</th>
<th>% to Canada</th>
<th>% to Australasia</th>
<th>% to other o/s countries</th>
<th>Total o/seas (excluding Great Britain)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1825-30</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>129,182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831-40</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>437,753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841-50</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1,298,394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851-60</td>
<td>81.4</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1,216,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861-70</td>
<td>84.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>818,582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-80</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>542,703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-90</td>
<td>85.3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>734,475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-1900</td>
<td>92.7</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>460,917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-10</td>
<td>86.3</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>485,461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-20</td>
<td>75.3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>229,239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-25</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>157,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-36</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>171,846</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To put this outflow into context and to show the depopulation effect, Table 1.2 shows the population of Ireland over the same period.

Table 1.2: POPULATION OF IRELAND (32 COUNTIES): 1821-1936/37

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>6,801,827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>7,767,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>8,175,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>6,552,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>5,798,967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>5,412,377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>5,174,836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>4,704,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>4,458,775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>4,390,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>4,228,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-37</td>
<td>4,248,165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30 Akenson, *Irish Diaspora*, adapted from Table II, p.56.
The data in Table 1.1 is described by Akenson as the best available but cannot be claimed as totally accurate. Analysis of various sources of data, considered in conjunction with known idiosyncratic methods of counting, led him to believe that the numbers of emigrants are seriously undercounted. For the second half of the nineteenth century, the undercounting could be by as much as 25 per cent. Ô Gráda examined the available figures for migration to Britain. He confidently asserts that the British figures were undercounted by as many as one million people between 1852 and 1910. Official figures compiled for the Irish Registrar General for the period show four million people emigrating to Britain. Ô Gráda considers that there were at least 4.5 million and more likely, 5 million. The British figures, taken in combination with the (probably undercounted) overseas figures listed in Table 1.1, show a huge outflow of people over a sustained period, with or without the Famine. The figures also show how apparently insignificant Irish emigration to Australia was compared to the United States, Britain or even Canada. The numbers, while insignificant to Ireland, are significant in Australia as will be shown later.

Miller’s thesis is that up to 1921 (partition into Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State), generally and individually, ‘emigration and nationalism epitomised the oftentimes tortuous Irish efforts to resolve the tensions between tradition and modernity’. The Catholic Church, at various levels of its hierarchy, supported the nationalist cause in Ireland perhaps as much for its own survival as for the intrinsic worth of the cause. Priests had worked with Daniel O’Connell and his Catholic Association by collecting the ‘Catholic Rent’. The Church was in a strong position as ‘from the early nineteenth century, discipline and organisation had been strengthened to cope with the inexorable rise in population’. Cardinal Cullen, the dominant figure in Irish Catholicism up to 1878, is reported to have worked tirelessly to keep Irish Catholicism as ‘a national Church while monitoring “nationalism” for signs of secular impropriety’. Miller claims that

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33 C. Ó Gráda, ‘A Note on Nineteenth-Century Irish Emigration Statistics’, *Population Studies*, vol.29, no.1, 1973, pp.147-8. Reasons for the undercounting are probably the complexities of dealing with seasonal migration, which would make the figures harder to sort out, and most likely, the fact that Ireland was part of the United Kingdom which meant these movements were internal and perhaps deemed less important.
34 Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, p.3.
36 ibid., p.296.
37 ibid., p.386.
the Irish Catholics had an image of the emigrant as exile to rationalise the material choices they were making to leave ‘Mother Ireland’, family and Church, and that the need to do this was ‘rooted deeply in Irish history and culture’ developed from rebellion, defeat and poverty, all of which were England’s fault. Family, the Catholic Church and nationalism welded communal ideas together in the face of enemies. To voluntarily leave this solidarity would be unthinkable; therefore all leaving had to be involuntary, hence, exile. There was enormous personal and emotional pressure put on emigrants to remain loyal to Ireland (nationalism) and to family (sending remittances). Understandably, the horror of the Famine lent all this even greater pathos. The ritual of the American Wake or similar ceremonies was common in the eighteenth century and persisted until the beginning of the twentieth century. The format of these wakes, which Miller feels were almost purposely designed to obscure the realities of emigration and to maximise the guilt, grief and duty, was the final reinforcement of the English-caused exile motif. If nationalism (Ireland), Church and family were to be all one, then the blame and the atrocities had to lie elsewhere, namely at the feet of the English administrators and an avaricious Ascendancy. This is an oversimplified albeit popular view, as part of the reality of post-Famine times was that many hardships endured during the Famine were inflicted by more affluent Catholics against poorer ones. These memories were easily suppressed when away from Ireland. All ills, including emigration, needed to be blamed on the English in order to support the nationalist cause. The merging of Gaelic, Irish and Catholic was to have significant consequences for the position of the Irish in Australia, especially during the end of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth.

The irony of the exile notion and the level of rhetoric spoken against emigration was that it masked the very useful purpose which emigration served both to individual families in Ireland and also to the nationalist cause. Jim Mac Laughlin examines core/periphery theory, further modified by world systems theory, as an explanation for emigration. This theory deserves some examination

38 Miller, Emigrants and Exiles, pp.7-10.
39 ibid., pp.489, 556-60.
40 ibid., p.288.
41 ibid., p.341.
42 Jim Mac Laughlin, ‘Emigration and the Construction of Nationalist Hegemony in Ireland: The Historical Background to “New Wave” Irish Emigration’, in Mac Laughlin, Location and Dislocation in Contemporary Irish Society, pp.5-35. Like Miller, Mac Laughlin uses ‘England’ and ‘English’ when ‘Britain’ or ‘British’ is probably the correct usage.
as it is also relevant to late-twentieth-century emigration, although not perhaps to the Australian situation. In the nineteenth-century context, Mac Laughlin shows how the internal structures of Ireland produced ‘surplus’ people. He explains that what he terms ‘indigenous rural capitalism’ produced commodities as well as surplus labour in some areas and so forced out people in addition to products. Large parts of Ireland formed the so-called periphery of this process and other rich agricultural areas became ‘core’ areas which benefited from the hardship in the periphery.43 In essence, poor, rural parts of Ireland were being exploited by other more affluent rural areas through farm consolidation and changes to farming practices and the commodities produced.44 These affluent areas themselves were then exploited by other core areas in the world economy, namely Britain and the United States.

Core/periphery theory helps explain where migrants go and why. Basically, in an international division of labour, under-developed peripheral countries (like Ireland) with limited economic functions serve the needs of ‘developed, diversified and dominant core economies’ (like the United States and Britain). The periphery is the reservoir of primary goods and cheap labour for manufacturing industries in the global core. This core also benefits from unequal trading relations and profitable investments in the periphery. The pattern is common in colonised countries but Ireland is different because it is a white, English-speaking, colonised country on the doorstep of its ex-colonial master and also close to the United States.45 This facilitates the likelihood and the ease of emigrants entering and being absorbed into these countries.46 Australia always received very few of the total Irish emigrants (see Table 1.1) although they formed a significant part of that country’s small population, and it is difficult to place Australia in a core/periphery explanatory context. Why nineteenth-century immigrants chose Australia over other destinations is beyond the scope of this thesis although the discovery of gold in Victoria and assisted passages are obvious

43 Mac Laughlin, ‘Emigration and the Construction of Nationalist Hegemony in Ireland’, p.9.
46 After the enactment of the Republic in 1948 (inaugurated in 1949), Britain did not relegate Iceland to a foreign status so Irish people continued to be entitled to live and work in Britain without visas.
issues. Some attempt is made in the following chapters to discover why late twentieth-century immigrants choose Australia – particularly Western Australia. Based on the nineteenth-century letters which he studied, Fitzpatrick wrote that 'emigration was, above all, an adventure'.47 An intangible 'sense of adventure' could still be a factor in going 'towards somewhere else' so far from Ireland as Australia. Despite the ameliorating effects of modern communication, Australia remains a long way from Ireland especially when compared to the relative proximity of Britain and the United States.

Applying core/periphery theory to the nineteenth-century context, Mac Laughlin makes the point that blaming all difficulties on English misrule masked class difference and the effect of post-Famine export-led rural capitalisation which generated huge surpluses of labour.48 The exploitation of the poor areas within Ireland by other Irish farmers, explains why emigration was not evenly spread over all sectors of the population although it was harnessed by the nationalists to evoke collective sympathy. Irish nation-builders, particularly the Catholic church, 'tended to Anglicise the causes of poverty ... [but] nationalised solutions'.49

Due to the social and political hiatus which developed after the Famine caused by the ensuing chaos and by the increasingly tenuous position of the Ascendancy class, substantial Catholic tenants and the Catholic middle-class established a position to dominate small farmers and the 'respectable poor'. These latter groups often regarded priests, teachers and other petty officials as their 'betters', thus conferring on them disproportionate moral and political influence. This influential group existed between the lower classes and the educated nation-building classes, while at the same time it was in their social and economic interests to have the very considerable problem of the excessive numbers of the poor solved. Large farm owners and tenants needed space to make viable farm units; therefore they needed fewer people on the land. Poor Relief was only available to those who owned nothing, which forced the freeing up of small holdings.

Akenson describes the main features of the family dynamics which led to changes in land ownership in the post-Famine decades. Briefly, only one child per generation inherited the family's main economic interest, usually a small farm.

48 Mac Laughlin, 'Emigration and the Construction of Nationalist Hegemony in Ireland', p.9.
49 ibid., p.21.
Farms were consolidated, not divided. J.J. Lee describes the Irish emphasis on inheritance patterns as 'a sluggish society clinging to the possessor principle'.\(^50\) The people who married (and it was a decreasing number; by 1911, over a quarter of men and women over 50 had never married) did so at an increasingly later age. There were also very high marital fertility rates.\(^51\) Thus, the young population was increasing at a time when farming opportunities were shrinking through consolidation of farms. As Ireland was under-industrialised, there was no place for the landless to go except to emigrate.\(^52\) It was not until the 1960s that the industrial workforce exceeded the agricultural for the first time.\(^53\) The nationalists made huge political capital out of emigration which they said benefited the Anglo/Irish while ignoring that it also benefited the 'indigenous elites'.\(^54\) Emigration was naturalised by the twentieth century. It continued to provide a hedge against sub-division of farms. Nationalism meant people and homeland, leaving those without land outside of the national process\(^55\) except through the exile motive which 'was a form of dispossession that retained – imaginatively – the claim to possession'.\(^56\)

Nationalism is linked to emigration which, while beneficial as a solution to the plight of landless poor both for their own and the country's (or arguably the propertied classes') sake, also had to be arrested, as a perception of nomadism could reduce Ireland's claims to sovereignty. In Europe generally since the late eighteenth century, all travelling people and gypsies were excluded from nationalist projects.\(^57\) In the nation-building years of the later nineteenth century in Ireland, the interests of a growing bourgeoisie of property owners had demonstrated 'the denigration of nomadism in bourgeois nationalist discourse'.\(^58\) Colonisation by Britain had changed the status of entire sections of the native Irish population with the result that many members of the settled population (that

\(^54\) Mac Laughlin, 'Emigration and the Construction of Nationalist Hegemony in Ireland', p.18.
\(^55\) ibid., p.21.
\(^58\) ibid., p.1.
is not just the Travellers) were very mobile. Materially there was a ‘very thin divide separating “settlers” from the “dispossessed” and “Travellers” in colonial Ireland’. In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, an estimated 20,000 to 38,000 seasonal migrants moved annually between Ireland and Britain to do unskilled harvesting work. While some of these were Travellers, most were not. In the construction of the nationalist Irish project, links being made to an early aristocratic Celtic society did not include a propensity to nomadism. Nationalism invokes ideas of a people connected to their land. Nomadism is outside this picture. The outcome for the very poorest of the poor, the Travellers, was the worst in that they still remain outside of Irish society. For the rural and urban poor, their lot was also to place them outside of Ireland physically by emigration. MacLaughlin and Lee puncture the vision of Irish blamelessness for emigration by pointing out that ‘their own’, not merely the English, caused them to take the choice to leave. The concept of choice is important because, as Akenson writes, this was not a forced emigration like convictism. Those who left made conscious decisions. The ‘truly poor, the near-starving’ did not have the resources to leave. Those who had some resources used them to go, not stay. The issue of how viable the nation was if migration was high, was raised again in the 1950s.

It is ironic that the strong emotional forces aroused by family and nationalism were responsible for many emigrants sending back to Ireland the remittances which in turn often kept small farms going. Seasonal workers and other emigrants contributed up to 20 per cent of cash income to poor families in the west and northwest of Ireland as late as the eve of the First World War. Miller points out that the disappearance of many young Irish coupled with their generous remittances (often used to finance others to emigrate) allowed those who remained in Ireland to enjoy a level of per capita income not generated from their own resources. Akenson concurs that remittances were common but that the situation is more complex than it appears. There were also remittances out of

59 ibid., p.11.
60 James E. Handley, The Irish in Modern Scotland, Cork, 1947, p.171, Table II.
61 Mac Laughlin, Travellers, pp.28-9.
62 Akenson, Irish Diaspora, p.37.
64 Miller, Emigrants and Exiles, p.362.
Ireland the fact of which has largely ‘slipped from the historical record’.\textsuperscript{65} Letters within my own family written in the 1930s from the United States contain many requests for financial assistance. Whether they were met or not is unknown but they illustrate the point.\textsuperscript{66}

The number of women leaving Ireland was a remarkable feature of Irish emigration. In most European emigration there were usually two males who left for every female, while Irish women emigrated in virtually equal, and occasionally higher, numbers to men. This remained true right through the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{67} Figures for the last half of the nineteenth century and up to 1986 are shown in Table 1.3. Fitzpatrick writes that while ‘push’ factors however defined were probably the same for both male and female emigrants, ‘pull’ factors tended to favour women.\textsuperscript{68} In the Australian case, a government preference for female immigrants meant that in the second half of the nineteenth century, in New South Wales and Victoria for instance, more Irish women than men arrived under the assisted passage schemes.\textsuperscript{69}

\textsuperscript{65} Akenson, \textit{Irish Diaspora}, p.77.
\textsuperscript{66} Original letters held by Mr Jim Butler, Tinode House, Streete, Rathowen, Co. Westmeath, Ireland.
\textsuperscript{68} Fitzpatrick, ‘The Unimportance of Gender’, p.160.
Chapter One: Towards Somewhere Else

Table 1.3: FEMALE PERCENTAGE OF ALL IRISH EMIGRANTS: 1852-1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>% Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1852-60</td>
<td>49.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861-70</td>
<td>45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-80</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-90</td>
<td>49.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-1900</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-10</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-20</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-36</td>
<td>56.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-46</td>
<td>39.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-51</td>
<td>57.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-61</td>
<td>46.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-71</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-81*</td>
<td>+44.1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-86</td>
<td>42.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Ireland experienced positive net migration in the 1970s.

The social and economic organisation of the second half of the nineteenth century in rural Ireland was as disadvantageous for women as it was for men. Women’s marriage prospects were determined by their participation in terms of the ‘match’ which involved a farmer arranging a ‘match’ for his inheriting son with a woman who could bring a dowry with her. This dowry was then used to assist the bridegroom’s siblings to leave and try to establish a life away from the farm. Lack of marriage or job prospects left women with poor lifestyle choices. Gerardine Meaney observes that Ireland being portrayed as Mother Ireland in nationalist rhetoric has not helped the position of women in Ireland. She believes that the images of a ‘suffering, self-sacrificing mother have promoted sexist stereotypes of Ireland’. This image obscures the role and lives of real women, and the female image of a weeping mother (either the flesh and blood mother of an emigrant or Ireland as Mother) needing to be rescued by men is not a strong

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70 Akenson, *Irish Diaspora*, p.166; Pauric Travers, “‘There was nothing for me there’: Irish Female Emigration, 1922-7” in O’Sullivan, *Irish Women and Irish Migration*, adapted from Table 7.1, p.148; and National Economic and Social Council, *Economic and Social Implications*, Table 3.1, p.68.

71 Akenson, *Irish Diaspora*, p.163.

one for women. According to this view, nationalists simultaneously ‘Anglicised and feminised the causes of large-scale emigration ... and proffered highly gendered, patriarchal solutions’. Women were not to be well served by these solutions or by the role set out for them in the Irish Free State and the subsequent Republic.

The emigration of the nineteenth century (and earlier periods) and the discussion of the centrality of the Famine in the discourse of emigration may seem remote from the mid-to-late twentieth century which is the focus of this thesis. The links are provided primarily through the relationship to nationalism and through the varying rationalisations of emigration which served to mask the structural causes of the continuing outflow of people. The location of blame for persistent emigration changed. British misrule, then the legacy of that misrule, were seen as the causes of emigration right up to the Second World War. A ‘blame the victim’ mentality was simultaneously developing which assumed that anyone wanting to leave Ireland, which had reinvented itself by the early twentieth century as ‘a simple, natural, warm, homogeneous society, a veritable miracle of human and Christian harmony’, must be deluded. J.J. Lee, like Mac Laughlin, points out that those who benefited from emigration, at least up until the 1960s, were the ‘more secure farming, business, bureaucratic and professional classes’ as emigration did not affect the whole population evenly. It continued to be the least skilled who left. In the 1980s, the official discourse changed and emigration began to be portrayed as opportunity, an ability to showcase all that is clever about Ireland. The core/periphery theory favoured by Mac Laughlin remained valid as an economic theory to explain why Ireland continued to supply emigrants to other countries, particularly the United States and Britain where the vast majority of Irish emigrants go. In the twentieth century Britain received more Irish emigrants than did any other country. As stated earlier, core/periphery theory is probably less valid for the Australian case.

Lee argues that post-partition Ireland developed to the 1960s in Eamon de Valera’s shadow and was formed by his values, which have been described as believing that family and small farms were very important and that the Irish state

73 Mac Laughlin, 'Emigration and the Construction of Nationalist Hegemony in Ireland', p.23.
76 ibid., p.374.
77 Gray, 'Unmasking Irishness', p.216.
encompassed both. He was an orphan and tried to build stable family life into the 1937 Constitution by attempting to stop women being forced out of the family home in order to have waged employment. Coming from a very poor urban background, he believed, erroneously, that small farmers epitomised independence. These twin values, combined with devout Catholicism, formed government policy up to 1959. De Valera 'yearned for a self-sufficient, bucolic, Gaelic utopia' but this vision excluded large towns and cities. Ireland of course was never a rural Arcadia, as is revealed by such indicators as the statistic that in 1946, only 5 per cent of farm dwellings had an indoor toilet and 80 per cent had no 'special facilities' at all. That was hardly idyllic.

Even after the formation of the Free State in 1922, economically Ireland was still tied to Britain by a unified currency and lack of other markets. Agricultural products continued to attract competitive prices there. There was virtually no industrial growth, and emigration continued to fill its established role by removing those who were not thriving or not needed economically in Ireland. The situation in the Free State deteriorated rapidly in the 1930s when the British retaliated by applying tariffs and quotas against de Valera when he reneged on payment of land annuities. Export prices and volumes collapsed while those of Northern Ireland were enhanced. After the Second World War, real income per capita in Northern Ireland increased to a level six times greater than that for southern Ireland. The response by the Free State to balance of payments difficulties was to cut public spending in 1952 and 1955. The effect was felt throughout the economy with unemployment growing particularly in the private sector. Building and construction jobs fell by 18,000 between 1955 and 1958. The unemployment figure was 78,000 in 1957 and would have been higher had

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78 J.J. Lee, Keynote Address to Tenth Irish-Australian Conference, La Trobe University, 1 October 1998.
79 '...by her life within the home, woman gives to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved ... The State shall, therefore, endeavour to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home', quoted in Travers, "There was nothing for me there", p.160.
80 Lee, Keynote Address.
82 Foster, Modern Ireland 1600-1972, p.538.
83 Fitzpatrick, 'Ireland Since 1870', p.218.
84 ibid., pp.219&225.
86 ibid. The numbers fell from 74,000 in 1955 to 56,000 in 1958.
many not emigrated. The low level of unemployment benefits was an indication that the government was unwilling and unable to fund a decent welfare system. The situation remained that the Irish poor still had to emigrate to survive.

Table 1.4: REPUBLIC OF IRELAND MIGRATION STATISTICS: 1926-1986 (all figures indicate a negative net migration apart from 1971-1981)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1926-36</td>
<td>166,750</td>
<td>187,110</td>
<td>353,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-46</td>
<td>121,920</td>
<td>140,770</td>
<td>262,690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-51</td>
<td>134,510</td>
<td>153,830</td>
<td>288,340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-61</td>
<td>408,770</td>
<td>456,770</td>
<td>865,540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-71</td>
<td>134,510</td>
<td>153,830</td>
<td>288,340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-81*</td>
<td>103,890</td>
<td>115,890</td>
<td>219,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-86</td>
<td>143,770</td>
<td>160,940</td>
<td>304,710</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The 1970s was a time of positive net migration.

Table 1.5: REPUBLIC OF IRELAND POPULATION: 1926-1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1,506,889</td>
<td>1,465,103</td>
<td>2,971,992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>1,520,454</td>
<td>1,447,966</td>
<td>2,968,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>1,494,877</td>
<td>1,460,230</td>
<td>2,955,107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1,506,597</td>
<td>1,453,996</td>
<td>2,959,593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1,462,928</td>
<td>1,435,336</td>
<td>2,898,264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1,416,549</td>
<td>1,401,792</td>
<td>2,818,341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1,449,032</td>
<td>1,434,970</td>
<td>2,884,002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1,495,760</td>
<td>1,482,488</td>
<td>2,978,248</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nineteenth-century pattern of (largely) unskilled Irish working in manufacturing, construction and personal service in the United States and Britain continued in the twentieth century and dramatically increased in the 1950s. Sean Lemass, Taoiseach (Prime Minister) in 1959, and his Department of Finance Secretary, T.K. Whitaker, sought to break from isolationist policies and engage...
Ireland differently in the international capitalist economy. The idea was to bring foreign manufacturing investment to Ireland through tax incentives and capital grants. For a time this helped to bring about improvement in the economy, reflected in the lower emigration of the 1960s which became net immigration in the 1970s. Further reforms which would have a bearing on late twentieth-century emigration, particularly to Australia, were the considerable investments in education at secondary and tertiary levels, made in the 1960s. These reforms, particularly those in the technological sector, paved the way for the graduate emigrants of the 1980s to emerge.

By the 1980s, economic problems had reappeared in Ireland. Richard Kearney reported that by 1988 one-third of the population was living below the poverty line, and 250,000 were unemployed, with up to 60 per cent unemployment in some housing estates in Dublin. Emigration had recommenced. A ‘dual economy’ emerged where poverty and unemployment were existing beside booming conditions. The explanation is that the multinational firms which invested in Ireland followed the usual pattern for such firms in what has come to be called the New International Division of Labour (NIDL). They locate their lower-skill, limited decision-making functions in the peripheral country and the high-level, high-remunerated jobs in the home or more advanced economies. The result is that although the agricultural (Ireland)/industrial (Britain, United States) link has waned, analysis in 1991 showed that Ireland has resumed its old role of being the dependent part of the ‘the dominant and dependent economies’ dichotomy.

A feature of emigration in the 1980s was that the proportion of graduates among the emigrants had risen markedly from previous times, although the novelty of this can obscure the fact that graduates were not near to forming the

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92 Breathnach and Jackson, ‘Ireland, Emigration and the New International Division of Labour’, pp.3-4.
93 For details of some of the reforms, see John Sheenen, ‘Education and Society in Ireland, 1945-70’, in Lee, Ireland 1945-70, pp.61-72.
94 Numbers of fulltime students in the technological sector grew from 850 in 1965 to over 6,000 in 1976, ibid., p.68.
96 National Economic and Social Council, Economic and Social Implications, p.54.
97 Hazelkorn, “‘We can’t all live on a small island’”, p.183.
98 Breathnach and Jackson, ‘Ireland, Emigration and the New International Division of Labour’ p.5.
majority of those who left Ireland. The years 1982–1991 showed a more mixed group of emigrants than was previously the case, although the traditional group of labourers with few or no qualifications was still strongly represented. In Britain, still the most common destination of most Irish migrants, 42 per cent of the Irish-born in the labour force were employed in the ‘manual and general labourers’ category, which compares with 29 per cent for the total British employed population and 33 per cent for the employed population of all ethnic minority groups. In 1982, 8.1 per cent of graduates were abroad nine months after graduating. By 1988, when migration generally had risen, the proportion of recent graduates living overseas had risen to 26.1 per cent. Interestingly, within the microcosm of the graduate group, a survey in the late 1980s showed that of Scottish (who like the Irish could be regarded as being in a peripheral region), English and Irish graduates, the Irish were much more likely to migrate. Ian Shuttleworth speculated that this was the result of non-economic factors which he attributed to a ‘migration culture’ comprised of personal contacts abroad and dissatisfaction with social as well as economic problems in Ireland. The Irish graduates in the study were shown to be much more ‘internationalised’ than the Scottish and English in the sense of having spent holidays abroad, having siblings abroad and showing much more awareness of overseas opportunities. Among the Irish respondents, 42 per cent said they were already thinking of emigrating while still at school, whereas for the Scottish and English groups that concept was meaningless. An important point from Shuttleworth’s study is to demonstrate the existence, importance and self-perpetuating nature of a ‘migration culture’. Those already overseas provide information, a critical mass of people are already away or planning to go, so for these young people, emigration is normalised.

Gerard Hanlon’s work complements that of Shuttleworth. He maintains that it is not unemployment or real economic need which motivates graduate emigrants, but rather career enhancement. This object is particularly marked for

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99 Ian Shuttleworth, ‘Graduate Emigration from Ireland: A Symptom of Peripherality?’, in King, Contemporary Irish Migration, p.83.
100 ibid., p.91.
101 ibid., pp.89-91.
102 Shuttleworth, ‘Graduate Emigration from Ireland’, p.83.
103 Hazelkern, “‘We can’t all live on a small island’”, p.180.
104 ibid., pp.89-91.
106 My italics.
accountants, engineers and computer graduates whose professions have been dominated by multinationals in Ireland since the 1970s. Hanlon maintains that these professionals are likely to emigrate in good or bad economic times. This is because their migrations are to enhance their status, not to gain employment. Level of choice is pivotal to the whole question of Irish migration. As Akenson pointed out, people have always made choices within the constraints of their lives. He makes a general observation that migrants do not replicate the home population. Those abroad might think that ‘the able and ambitious left’ while those remaining in Ireland may consider those who leave are ‘the restless and undisciplined’. This general idea may also apply to the graduate population. Hanlon is perhaps inadvertently elevating or certainly reinstating the notion of individual choice within a structural causal framework.

Another aspect of 1980s emigration is shown by the self-styled ‘New Irish’ in New York, most of whom are ‘illegals’, usually in this position by overstaying tourist or temporary worker visas. While about 70 per cent of emigrants in the 1980s went to Britain, others (and probably including some of the 70 per cent) went to the United States. The figure is estimated at 100,000. An interesting feature of the group which was surveyed for Linda Almeida’s research is that at least two-thirds of them were employed in Ireland before leaving and indicated that they were underemployed or dissatisfied at home rather than unemployed, findings which tally with the National Economic and Social Council (1991) research and with Hanlon’s findings, although Almeida’s group are not necessarily graduates. They report that cultural proximity to New York, both traditionally and via television, makes going there like moving from a small town to a big city. Neil Jordan, the Irish film maker who grew up in Dublin in the 1960s, reports that when he (with others) first went to the United States they ‘were struck by the fact that almost all the little artefacts of landscape we came across – highways, skyscrapers … were more familiar to us, thanks to the media of popular culture, than the typical landscape associated with Ireland – a crumbling castle, a green hill, a village church’. This has echoes of the

109 ibid., p.202; and National Economic and Social Council, *Economic and Social Implications* p.16.
110 Neil Jordan, ‘Imagining Otherwise’, in Kearney, *Across the Frontiers*, p.197. This is also shown in the 1993 film *Into The West* which tells of two Traveller boys who, inspired by old
'internationalism' of the young Irish as discussed by Shuttleworth. Almeida concluded that her survey group seem to be exploring a 'binational existence', wanting parts of both countries so unable to commit to either.\textsuperscript{111} Research among Irish immigrants to Western Australia which is detailed later in this thesis shows that this is the case for only a minority of the people surveyed in Perth in the 1990s.

While the economy and employment issues obviously play a dominant role in Irish emigration, they are not the whole story. Writing of the 1980s, Ellen Hazelkorn points out that many 'structurally developing' European countries such as Greece, Spain and Portugal share Ireland's economic situation but do not have significant emigration.\textsuperscript{112} She says the Irish situation is due to a 'culture of migration' which has economic roots.\textsuperscript{113} Although there is obviously some truth in this view it overlooks the importance of social reasons, especially for women, to leave Ireland. All of these explanatory theories have to be considered in the context of the relative ease with which the Irish, linked as they are to the English-speaking world through their historical and current relationship to Britain (and the United States), can avail themselves of emigration and can, in most cases, make a successful life for themselves.\textsuperscript{114}

Recent interest in gender studies has produced some work specifically on Irish female emigrants. Pauric Travers' research, which involved women who migrated in the 1940s to 1960s, shows that while most women respondents stated employment as the major factor in their decision to emigrate, most also cited other explanations such as lack of marriage prospects (low rate and late age), general dissatisfaction with their lot, poor social conditions and other similar issues.\textsuperscript{115} The nineteenth-century marriage pattern described earlier of late and low marriage rates, which persisted well into the twentieth century, is undoubtedly related to

\begin{flushright}
\textit{stories, head off in pursuit of a Celtic legend in the West of Ireland which however they imagine to be a US style cowboy west. Into the West, (director, Mike Newell, producers Harvey and Bob Weinstein), USA, UK and Ireland, 1993.}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{111} Almeida, "'And they still haven't found what they're looking for'", p.207.
\textsuperscript{112} Hazelkorn, "'We can't all live on a small island'"" p.193; and National Economic and Social Council, \textit{Economic and Social Implications}, p.10.
\textsuperscript{113} Hazelkorn, "'We can't all live on a small island'"" p.193.
\textsuperscript{114} Akenson points out the advantages which the Irish had as immigrants in the nineteenth century. Most could speak English, understood commercial practices, had adopted English cultural values and had basic ideas about the political process. \textit{Irish Diaspora}, pp.39-41. All these factors are of course much enhanced now.
\textsuperscript{115} Travers, "'There was nothing for me there'"", p.151.
\end{flushright}
female emigration. In 1936, one in four women remained unmarried as compared with one in eight in 1841. Even by the 1950s, one in four women and one in three men over 55 were unmarried. In the 1940s, the dowry system, although declining, was still common as was the reluctance to subdivide farms. From the 1930s and into the 1950s, the problems regarding rural marriages were obvious, even to de Valera who was so committed to rural life. He was keen on a dower house scheme to subsidise the building of a second house on a farm to allow the inheriting son to marry earlier. The scheme was defeated by the worry that it might lead to subdivision.

Many young people were caught up in the incongruity between official policy and what was apparently valued in Irish life, and the reality of their own lived existence. Officially women were valued and were ostensibly the cornerstone of the idealised Irish (Catholic) family, yet for a quarter of them as late as 1951, marrying and raising their own families was not a possibility. The figures would be higher if so many had not already chosen to emigrate. Irish women were 'rewarded' for their part in nation-building by having special provisions in de Valera's 1937 Constitution enshrining their place in the home and thus restricting their place in society. The Catholic values, the on-going nation building (or perhaps now, nation consolidation) and family ties were as much in evidence at that point and for decades to come as they were nearly 100 years beforehand. Their interacting combination still functioned to distort the reality of emigration. Referring to the 1920s and 1930s, Lee writes of the Catholic Church that its 'obsession with sex permitted a blind eye to be turned towards the social scars that disfigured the face of Ireland', scars which included emigration and the breakup of the families so (apparently) cherished in the ideology of the state. Lee comments that 'sanctity of property, unflinching materialism ... and defence of professional status' were not values the Church invented but it certainly appeared to endorse them at the expense of women, the poor and the disadvantaged.

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116 It is probably also related to male emigration but Travers does not discuss this.
117 Travers, "There was nothing for me there", p.152.
118 ibid., pp.155-6.
119 ibid., p.150.
120 Gertrude Gaffney writing in the Irish Independent, 7 May 1937, stated that de Valera 'has always been a reactionary where women are concerned. He dislikes and distrusts us as a sex, and his aim, ever since he came into office has been to put us in what he considers is our place, and to keep us there', cited in Travers, "There was nothing for me there", p.161.
121 Lee, Ireland 1912-1985, p.159.
122 ibid.
The high figures of female emigration allowed girls, afflicted by ‘the fickleness of the female personality’,\textsuperscript{123} to be blamed for emigrating. Increasingly, in the 1930s, the cinema with its seductive images was blamed for turning their heads. The level of female emigration was such that attention paid to that diverted attention from the continuing outflow of young men.\textsuperscript{124} In a parallel with the ‘exile’ mindframe, it was deemed unthinkable that any sensible person could turn their back on Ireland unless they were subjected to some external pressure. An illuminating example of the blinkered sexism prevalent in the Irish Free State is illustrated when the older men who comprised the church hierarchy and the Government were accusing young women of making brainless, whimsical decisions when in fact the girls were acting rationally. Lee writes that they ‘were flying from the fate staring at them from the wizened faces of their own mothers and unmarried aunts’.\textsuperscript{125} The Church’s obsession with sex allowed the focus on continuing women’s emigration after World War Two to be on the perceived threat to the emigrant’s sexual morality, not to reasons why they left.

A state which ostensibly cared for women did very little to demonstrate this. Family allowances were paid to fathers, not mothers.\textsuperscript{126} The plight of the mothers revealed in memoirs such as \textit{Angela’s Ashes} (1930s and 1940s), \textit{Are You Somebody?} and \textit{Bridge Across My Sorrows} (1950s and 1960s) shows the incredible hardship endured by mothers (and children) wholly dependent on unreliable husbands.\textsuperscript{127} More recent novels such as Roddy Doyle’s \textit{The Woman Who Walked Into Doors} illustrate how the prevailing discourse of happy Catholic homes with good mothers in them, trapped women for whom it was not a reality.\textsuperscript{128} Ireland of course does not have a monopoly on domestic or sexual violence but the dual patriarchy of Church and state combined in such a small society made it harder for these issues to be revealed or dealt with.\textsuperscript{129} A Supreme Court judgement in 1991 found that Article 41 of the Constitution designed to

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{123} ibid., p.376
\textsuperscript{124} ibid.
\textsuperscript{125} ibid.
\textsuperscript{126} It is unclear from this reference how long this persisted but it appears to be until the 1970s. Gemma Hussey, \textit{Ireland Today: Anatomy of a Changing State}, London, 1993, p.421.
\end{flushright}
keep women at home for the common good did not guarantee those women the right to have anything to do with the ownership of the house. Ironically, if they had worked (for money) towards paying off the house, they would have a much stronger legal position. The (un)importance of women is shown symbolically in the designated order of a huge procession which took four hours to move down O'Connell Street in Dublin as the finale of the Eucharistic Congress of 1932. A detailed list showed the parade was to be headed by a detachment of cavalry followed by 60,000 men by parish, followed by over 50 other groupings such as male Religious, the Dublin Corporation and various Harbour Boards. Then comes 'Distinguished and representative women', then 'female singers' and then, finally, 'Women'; last in the Church and state hierarchy.

In David Fitzpatrick's words, 'Victorianism had its last and least predictable efflorescence in the country whose political rhetoric was most Anglophobic'. In 1922, Prime Minister Cosgrave agreed that all legislation which had moral implications should be vetted by the Church. The state, initially under Cosgrave, acted to restrict sexual and cultural freedoms by, for instance, introducing film censorship in 1923 and banning contraceptives in 1935. The latter was not relaxed until 1979. The closeness of Church and state was enshrined in the 1937 Constitution where the Church, although not established formally, was named as having a 'special position' in Ireland. This was retained in the Constitution until 1972. Divorce was also banned by the 1937 Constitution and was not repealed until 1995. The Church's attitude to sex is well documented. Throughout the de Valera era, 'dancing was the moral equivalent of fornication ... zealous clergymen smashed dancing platforms ... and roared condemnations from the pulpit'. Such extreme behaviour had eased by the 1960s although 'dancehalls were regularly condemned ... but they could not be stopped'. Duffy writes of the dissatisfaction felt by ordinary migrants about the

130 Hussey, Ireland Today, pp.431-2.
132 Fitzpatrick, 'Ireland Since 1870', p.221.
133 ibid., p.223.
134 ibid., p.219.
135 Connolly, Oxford Companion to Irish History, p.151. Hussey writes that it was widely believed at the time that if the 1986 Divorce referendum had bipartisan support, it would have been easily passed. Hussey, Ireland Today, p.443.
137 ibid., p.193.
dominance of Catholicism. The Irish Free State is described as a place ‘where
dancing, cinema and courtship were strictly chaperoned by the mullahs of the
triumphalist church’.\textsuperscript{138}

More serious Church interference with the well-being of people, in this case,
women and children, was the ‘Mother and Child’ scheme of 1951. Dr Noel
Browne was Minister for Health and introduced a scheme proposing free
maternity care, and treatment for children up to 16 years old. The Catholic
bishops resolutely opposed the scheme as taking the right to children’s health out
of parent’s hands and because of a concern that sex education could be given to
women and girls which might lead to ‘birth limitation and abortion’. The
government would not support a scheme which the bishops objected to apparently
on the grounds of Catholic teaching, and Browne resigned.\textsuperscript{139} Sexual ignorance
led to much tragedy and obviously to unhappiness for many. William Trevor’s
novel, \textit{Felicia’s Journey}, illustrates this well.\textsuperscript{140} The \textit{Irish Times} reported in
March 1963, that six dead babies had been found in various parts of Dublin in the
preceding months.\textsuperscript{141} The (in)famous Ms X case of 1992 where a pregnant 14-
year-old was forbidden to travel to England for an abortion tore the country apart
and forced some small changes.\textsuperscript{142} The women who gave birth to the dead babies
or who had an unwelcome pregnancy may not be the ones who emigrated but their
situations illustrate some unattractive aspects of Irish life for women.\textsuperscript{143} There
does not seem to be similar research done regarding how Catholic sanctions
affected male emigrants.

Social conditions other than those related to sex were also very poor until
recent times for many Irish people, probably particularly for women who did not
have such easy escapes to the pub as did men. The same Dr Noel Browne of the
Mother and Child scheme recorded a harrowing description of ‘county homes’ for
the destitute in 1946. Nineteenth-century conditions prevailed where families
were totally split up and the physical conditions were dreadful.\textsuperscript{144} In 1938, 60 per

\textsuperscript{138} Duffy, ‘Writing Ireland’, p.80.
\textsuperscript{139} Murphy, \textit{Ireland in the Twentieth Century}, p.132.
\textsuperscript{141} Farmar, \textit{Ordinary Lives}, p.198.
\textsuperscript{143} The \textit{Cutting Edge} program, \textit{Convents of Shame}, shown on SBS, 23 May 2000, contained
interviews with women who had been incarcerated in Convents due to pregnancy or
‘delinquency’ and who did migrate to England as they perceived they had no life in Ireland.
\textsuperscript{144} Noel Browne, \textit{Against the Tide}, Dublin, 1986, pp.199-200 cited in Foster, \textit{Modern Ireland}
1600-1972, p.572.
cent of Dublin tenements and cottages were deemed unfit for human habitation.\textsuperscript{145} Although rural sanitary arrangements had improved since 1946 when 80 per cent of farm dwellings had ‘no special facilities’\textsuperscript{146}, even as late as 1961, the census recorded that there were ‘no fixed lavatory facilities whatsoever’ in at least half of the dwellings in the rural areas.\textsuperscript{147} Stringent book censorship was still in force in the 1960s when books such as Joseph Heller’s \textit{Catch 22} were banned. Health care was poor until improvements were brought about by the \textit{Health Act} of 1970. Tuberculosis, often a disease of the poor, was claiming 3,000 to 4,000 deaths annually in the late 1940s until efforts led by Dr Browne virtually eradicated it as a killer disease.\textsuperscript{148} The incidence of mental illness, particularly schizophrenia, is high, possibly the highest in the world but the reasons why are inconclusive.\textsuperscript{149} Many writers have articulated dissatisfaction with the dominance of the Church and the tyranny of the supposed virtues of frugal, rural life and the ‘social claustrophobia and oppressiveness’ of the countryside.\textsuperscript{150} They also write of the attractions and the vitality of cities, including those overseas.\textsuperscript{151} One wrote that he ‘almost hugged the sensation of release’ when he arrived in New York.\textsuperscript{152} It is the Church-in-the-state dominance in combination with the constraints of a small society which leads to the ‘rejection of Mother Ireland’ expressed by women emigrants in Gray’s research.\textsuperscript{153}

The focus of how to deal with the continuing fact of emigration from Ireland is subject to change but the underlying reality that it probably solves a lot of problems in Ireland has become constant. In the second half of the nineteenth century, it was harnessed to the nationalist project and could be blamed on the British. Mac Laughlin has shown how such a narrow analysis obscured class differences which were emerging in the wake of the Famine and which would continue to exist right through the twentieth century with some small changes emerging in the 1980s. Emigration should have ceased after 1921 or at least over the next few years as the new state settled down to the business of running itself.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{145} Foster, \textit{Modern Ireland 1600-1972}, p.538.
\item \textsuperscript{146} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{147} Farmar, \textit{Ordinary Lives}, p.151.
\item \textsuperscript{148} Murphy, \textit{Ireland in the Twentieth Century}, p.131.
\item \textsuperscript{149} Liam Greenslade, ‘White skin, white masks: psychological distress among the Irish in Britain’, in O’Sullivan, \textit{Irish in the New Communities}, pp.204-5.
\item \textsuperscript{150} Duffy, ‘Writing Ireland’, p.71.
\item \textsuperscript{151} ibid., pp.64-83.
\item \textsuperscript{152} Sean Ó Faoláin, \textit{Come Back to Erin}, London, 1940, p.122 quoted in ibid., p.80.
\item \textsuperscript{153} Gray, ‘Unmasking Irishness’, p.217.
\end{itemize}
That did not happen however, because, as previously, while emigration was generally publicly deplored, in 1924: 'It suited government policy...that emigration...was now soaring'.\textsuperscript{154} Akenson writes that record-keeping with regard to people departing from Ireland deteriorated after partition. He suggests that this may have been due at least in part to the Free State not wanting to know the full picture.\textsuperscript{155}

As the idea of the legacy of British misrule began to wear thin as an explanation of emigration, individuals were blamed for leaving Ireland. Women in particular were blamed for making apparently irrational decisions which were unacceptable in the face of the dominant Church/rural idyll discourse of de Valera's nationalist vision. The extra hardship inflicted on the Irish people by the land annuities decision of the 1930s could well be classified as 'Irish misrule'.\textsuperscript{156}

Part of its legacy was that a majority of people born in the 1930s, emigrated in the 1950s.\textsuperscript{157} The 1950s found official sources floundering for reasons and solutions to emigration. There was a tacit agreement that some, generally but not exclusively those with low qualifications, had to leave as had been the situation in the post-Famine and post-Partition years. The \textit{Irish Banking Review} commented 'all that can be done is being done' and 'it is better to allow the unemployed surplus to move to areas of rising demand than to condemn it to chronic unemployment'.\textsuperscript{158} That some must be sacrificed for the survival of the State was believed up to 1960. It has also been tacitly acknowledged through several periods, that the safety valve of emigration, comprising as it does the young, prevented real challenge to the government and the ruling elites from occurring.\textsuperscript{159}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{154} Murphy, \textit{Ireland in the Twentieth Century}, p.65.
\item \textsuperscript{155} Akenson, \textit{Irish Diaspora}, p.57.
\item \textsuperscript{156} In 1932, de Valera withheld annuities usually paid to the British government who refused to allow outside arbitration about the issue. A trade war ensued with 20 per cent duties being imposed by Britain on Irish livestock and livestock products. In retaliation, Ireland put duties on British coal. The duties imposed by the British had a considerable impact in Ireland as even by 1937, five years later, Britain still received more than 90 per cent of Irish exports most of which were agricultural. To protect the farmers, the Irish government introduced bounties and subsidies whose costs were borne by the Irish consumers. Agreement which resulted in the end of the economic war was reached in 1938. Lee, \textit{Ireland 1912-1985}, pp.178, 186, 187 & 214.
\item \textsuperscript{157} Garret FitzGerald cited in Fergal Tobin, \textit{The Best of Decades: Ireland in the Nineteen Sixties}, Dublin, 1984, p.156. In \textit{Ireland 1912-1985}, p.379, Lee has interpreted FitzGerald's words to mean that 80 per cent of those born in the 1930s emigrated in the 1950s. An examination of the census figures for the appropriate age groups indicate that 80 per cent appears overstated although the figure is definitely over 50 per cent. Vaughan and Fitzpatrick, \textit{Irish Historical Statistics}, extrapolated from (Table) 28 'Ages and Conjugal Status in the Republic of Ireland, 1926-71', pp.91-5.
\item \textsuperscript{158} Quoted in Lee, \textit{Ireland 1912-1985}, p.378.
\item \textsuperscript{159} ibid., p.374.
\end{itemize}
Economic changes implemented under Lemass addressed the problem for a time but gradually the old relationship between Ireland and overseas countries as one providing labour to the other re-emerged in a new form in the 1980s. This time, the discourse of causation was to triumphalise the ability of the increasingly well-educated Irish to move overseas.

The thrust of most of the work discussed is that emigration is a totally undesirable outcome for Irish people. Even those authors such as Mac Laughlin who are highly critical of nationalist and exile discourses to explain emigration, are not embracing the possibility that emigration can be a positive rather than a negative move for the migrants. *The National Economic and Social Council Report* stated in 1991 that there was ‘little doubt that emigration still causes immense personal distress and is one of the most painful features of Irish life’.\(^{160}\) It cites in evidence of this, national failure and loss and damage done to the young.\(^{161}\) Yet it does not provide ‘real’ evidence as it does in the rest of the report when dealing with matters economic or with the profile of emigrants. It also avoids the question of what would have happened to the nation or the young had they stayed in Ireland. The comments seem to refer primarily to negative experiences which are likely to be experienced by Irish in Britain but also refer to New World countries (in addition to the United States) where ‘special legal and other problems face the newly arrived Irish immigrant’.\(^{162}\) In the Australian context, unless the report is alluding to ‘illegals’ (over-staying short-term visa holders), it is difficult to understand what is meant. As the next chapter shows, migration restrictions to Australia since 1980 mean very few Irish immigrants who could be classified as vulnerable can settle in Australia.

Akenson, as mentioned earlier, is open to taking a positive view of emigration. O’Farrell is also positive about the migrant experience at least in its Australian form.\(^{163}\) I suggest it is not a co-incidence that these writers are not Irish and perhaps have not internalised the emigration-equals-failure discourse as those

\(^{160}\) National Economic and Social Council, *Economic and Social Implications*, p.258.

\(^{161}\) ibid.

\(^{162}\) ibid. In 2001, the Irish government established a ‘Task Force on Policy Regarding Emigrants’ whose aims were mainly to provide pre-emigration services, consider the needs of vulnerable immigrants (especially the young), and provide advice and encouragement to facilitate the return to Ireland of the vulnerable and the elderly. Letter to author from Consulate-General of Ireland in Western Australia, 18 March 2002.

closer to Ireland possibly have done. There is an enormous volume of writing about Ireland which comes out of the United States where most migrants of the nineteenth century 'exile' period went. The same negative attitudes could be seeping through. The experiences of Irish migrants in Britain often seem to be troubled, yet because of the previous relationship between Ireland and Britain and exacerbated by the ongoing ‘Troubles’ in Northern Ireland, this may well be a major, but special case. English misrule and its legacy form the dominant discourse on the causes of Irish emigration. English or British rule caused genuine grievance which was brought to a ghastly climax by the Famine. The English misrule discourse is reinforced by those supporting the nationalist cause, particularly the Catholic Church and the propertied or professional classes of any religion. That emigration persists long after the colonial and post-colonial decades highlights the need for other causes to be identified. A detailed analysis of structural causes using core/periphery theory exposes flaws in the English-misrule argument. Irish misrule, created both by economic mismanagement and because of close links with a repressive church from the foundation of the Irish Free State until the 1970s, provides further explanation as to why emigration persisted. Years and years of constant high emigration caused the development of a migration culture. The effect of this culture is a propensity for some Irish to consider emigration as a solution to a variety of circumstances found to be unsatisfactory in Irish life. Evidence of this migration culture can be observed in the Perth survey.

While there is an understandable inclination to treat politicians’ representations of emigration as ‘opportunity’ with some scepticism, perhaps emigration, fed by the migration culture identified by some of the writers, has become a positive thing. As mentioned before, due to migration, Ireland attracts a great deal of attention for a very small place as Windsor points out. Most of its diaspora (with the likely exception of some in Britain), are probably content. In these days of good communications and reasonable travel costs and availability, being away is less final. Ex-President Robinson’s use of the diaspora and her embracing of all Irish-born and Irish-descended is perhaps facing the reality that Ireland may be better off to recognise that Irish and Irishness have spread beyond Ireland’s national boundaries due to its extraordinary migratory patterns. The Irish state has

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survived politically and economically, so equating emigration with the failure of the state and portraying it as tragedy, is, I suggest, an outmoded idea and blinds some commentators to the benefits of migration to the migrants. Nationalism is not always a very attractive proposition, so to have a people who have a culture of migration and strong networks in many countries and who are adaptable enough to thrive in other environments seems a very positive state of affairs. A small, virtually monocultural country like Ireland obviously cannot provide everything which people may want. As the Irish are arguably internationalised, I suggest that many do go 'towards somewhere else' rather than merely leave Ireland. For people to chose to go as far as Australia seems to me to validate this idea. For most late twentieth-century migrants fast transport and instant communication are affordable, so, as the lives of these migrants develop outside of Ireland, they can simultaneously retain strong and close connection with Ireland if they so choose. It is hard to sustain an exile mindset in such circumstances.
CHAPTER TWO

THE IRISH IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY

The historical significance of the Irish in Australia and the effect of post
World War Two immigration on the diminution of this significance

This chapter will examine the Irish in Australia and in Australian historiography. A major theme which will be demonstrated is that popular and official attitudes to the Irish in Australia were predicated on English values which in turn were influenced by the history and relationship of Britain with Ireland.¹ The rise of nationalism in Ireland was a cause for alarm to the British government and the impact was felt in Australia. It is important to consider the role or place of the Australian Irish during the evolution of colonial Australia from a place where loyalty to Britain and the empire was vital in the shaping and survival of the developing country,² to a late twentieth-century nation which could afford a degree of separation from Britain. The chapter considers post World War Two immigration and examines how the Irish fitted into this period, which was remarkable both for the rapid expansion of immigration and for the variety of countries from which the immigrants were drawn. The heterogeneous nature of postwar immigration is assumed to be in contrast with a homogeneous host society.³ This assumed homogeneity concealed the role which the Irish had played in the formation of Australian society. The Catholic Irish were an 'other' in the English, Protestant Australian colonies. There were also Chinese and various non-

¹ As indicated in footnote 3 in Chapter One, in modern usage because 'Britain' is commonly used when Great Britain or even the United Kingdom is meant, I use 'Britain' or 'British' if referring to the political entity of which England is the dominant part; for example 'the British Empire' or the 'British government'. As the Irish often refer to the English or England as the source of prejudice against them, I will use the same words even if British or Britain would be more correct. Many of the authors whose work I draw on are also ambiguous in their use of the terms.
English groups such as Germans in the colonies but the numbers of the Irish made them the largest minority group.

The demographics of the Irish in Australian are essential to any study. David Fitzpatrick, Richard Reid, Eric Richards and Donald Akenson are leading scholars addressing the basic demographic data and have explored sources both from Ireland and Australia. Problems of records, common to all historical writing, are also of concern to writers of Irish-Australian history. However, in this instance, Australia is better served than most countries due to the record keeping which was a feature of the assisted passage migration of the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Broadly speaking, the migration of the Irish started with those who arrived with other convicts, and with some free settlers up to the 1840s. Unlike the situation in the United States, the Famine of 1846-49 did not have an immediate direct effect on Irish-Australian migration. Irish immigration increased from 1850 until the 1890s and then tailed off markedly during the twentieth century. Interesting features of late-nineteenth-century Irish immigration to Australia were that the vast majority were young and single and that there were more women than men. As detailed in Chapter One, this was not an unusual pattern.

In referring to the Irish in Australia, authors generally use the term interchangeably to mean either Irish-born or Irish-derived. Akenson considers that anyone ‘who lived permanently within the social system that was the island of Ireland’ is Irish and anyone who answers ‘Irish’ to the question ‘what is your primary ethnic background?’ is also Irish. He qualifies this rather bland and undifferentiated definition by affirming that any study of Irish history in Ireland or abroad must consider sectarian divergence. O'Farrell also tackles the difficult question of defining who is Irish by pointing out that even Irish birth is not a firm criterion as some totally disassociate themselves from being Irish. Paradoxically,
he suggests, this identification away from Irish is also part of what it means to be Irish as being 'Irish' was not always seen as advantageous.\textsuperscript{8} It is difficult to attempt to quantify the numbers of Irish-born as colonial census characteristics are sketchy and there were no 'born in Ireland' listings prior to 1846.\textsuperscript{9} It is probably impossible to quantify Irish-derived. Recent calculations conclude that the Irish element constitutes about 20 per cent of the 'racial pool' of the Australian population.\textsuperscript{10} A similar calculation in 1900 would have shown the Irish element to be between one quarter and one third of the population.

Table 2.1: IRISH-BORN IN NEW SOUTH WALES, WESTERN AUSTRALIA AND AUSTRALIA: 1846-1901\textsuperscript{11}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>NSW</th>
<th>% of NSW population</th>
<th>WA</th>
<th>% of WA population</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>% of Aust. population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>47,547</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,406</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>54,829</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,569</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>62,943</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>69,192</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>2,975</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>212,633</td>
<td>9.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>75,051</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>3,499</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>227,698</td>
<td>7.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>59,945</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>9,862</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>184,470</td>
<td>4.89%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{8} Patrick O'Farrell, \textit{The Irish in Australia}, Kensington, 1\textsuperscript{st} published 1986, revised edition, 1993, pp.5-6. This book is hereafter referred to as O'Farrell, \textit{The Irish in Australia}, 1993. The book was republished as \textit{The Irish in Australia: 1788 to the present}, Sydney, 3\textsuperscript{rd} edition, 2000 which is hereafter referred to as O'Farrell, \textit{The Irish in Australia}, 2000.


\textsuperscript{10} Oliver MacDonagh, \textit{The Sharing of the Green}, St Leonards, NSW, 1996, p.xi. The figures were calculated by Dr Charles Price.

\textsuperscript{11} Jupp and York, \textit{Birthplaces of the Australian People}, p.17. Jupp and York indicate that prior to 1861, no two colonies held a census in the same year, p.1.
Table 2.2: IRISH-BORN: AUSTRALIA AND WESTERN AUSTRALIA 1911-1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>AUSTRALIA</th>
<th>WESTERN AUSTRALIA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NI</td>
<td>Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>9,503</td>
<td>38,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>13,158</td>
<td>37,057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>17,059</td>
<td>38,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>21,936</td>
<td>41,854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>19,995</td>
<td>47,365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>21,959</td>
<td>45,784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>25,844</td>
<td>44,193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>24,733</td>
<td>51,642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>23,027</td>
<td>51,471</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# 'Republic and Undefined' all counted as Republic.

* 1947 was the last year that Ireland was reported as one country. The census recording for Irish-born changes in 1954 with the introduction of three countries of birth for the Irish, namely Northern Ireland, Ireland (Republic

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of) and Ireland (undefined). This pattern continues up to and including 1971. The 1976 census lists Northern Ireland and ‘Eire (including Ireland undefined)’. On the censuses of 1981 and 1986, the categories shown were Northern Ireland and ‘Ireland (Republic of, which included Ireland undefined)’. As indicated in Table 2.2, I have followed the convention adopted in publications such as Community Profiles 1991 Census Ireland Born, and counted figures for Ireland (Republic of) and Ireland (undefined) as all being from the Republic. This is probably inaccurate as some in the ‘undefined’ group very likely are from Northern Ireland although it will be impossible to identify them. Some will have left Ireland before the formation of Northern Ireland in 1922 and some may consider their identity to be Irish, not Northern Irish, regardless of the political lines drawn on a map. In the Perth survey, when asked to self-identify, eight of twenty-four Northern Irish-born replied ‘Irish’, six replied ‘Irish-Australian’ and five responded ‘Northern Irish’. While the ambiguity of the census figures needs to be borne in mind, there is little which can be done to make the situation clearer.

As can be seen from these tables, the proportion of Irish-born as a percentage of the population, either by the states shown or in all of Australia, fell dramatically from the earliest census figures to the end of the nineteenth century and beyond. This would be expected for any migrant group as the numbers of Australian-born section of the population grew. By 1871, over half of the non-indigenous population was Australian-born. Since 1947, the actual numbers of Irish-born have increased Australia-wide although the total of Irish-born has not reached pre-Second World War figures. In Western Australia however, by 1986, the numbers of Irish-born were the highest ever recorded in the state. Additionally, the numbers of English-born grew much faster than the Irish-born thus reducing the potential influence of the Irish. In the hundred years, between 1891 and 1991, the proportion of Irish to English immigrants in the Australian population fell from about 1:2 to 1:12.

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14 Modes of recording the Irish-born changed again for the more recent censuses. It is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain separate figures for the Northern Irish-born.

15 Details of the survey form a major part of Chapter Three. The responses referred to were in answer to Q21a. There were other answers such as ‘Celtic’ and ‘Australian’ nominated by one or two people.

16 Ó'írtípatrick, ‘Irish Immigrants in Australia’, p.52.
Table 2.3: COMPARISON BETWEEN IRISH-BORN AND ENGLISH-BORN IN NEW SOUTH WALES, WESTERN AUSTRALIA AND AUSTRALIA: 1846-1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NSW Irish</th>
<th>NSW English</th>
<th>WA Irish</th>
<th>WA English</th>
<th>Australia Irish</th>
<th>Australia English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>47,547</td>
<td>57,349</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,406</td>
<td>5,348</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>54,829</td>
<td>84,152</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,569</td>
<td>7,167</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>62,943</td>
<td>87,334</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>69,192</td>
<td>107,574</td>
<td>2,975</td>
<td>6,761*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>75,051</td>
<td>149,232</td>
<td>3,499</td>
<td>9,634</td>
<td>227,698</td>
<td>458,716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>59,945</td>
<td>126,117</td>
<td>9,962</td>
<td>25,380</td>
<td>184,470</td>
<td>383,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>47,422</td>
<td>123,511</td>
<td>9,573</td>
<td>33,278</td>
<td>141,365</td>
<td>350,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>17,105</td>
<td>154,625</td>
<td>4,950</td>
<td>52,082</td>
<td>44,813</td>
<td>382,286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>21,373</td>
<td>266,092</td>
<td>7,879</td>
<td>126,925</td>
<td>63,790</td>
<td>842,032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>24,308</td>
<td>242,660</td>
<td>13,138</td>
<td>170,590</td>
<td>76,375</td>
<td>896,355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* includes Welsh

The Irish role in the ‘forming’ and the development of Australian identity is the central thesis of the pre-eminent book on Irish-Australia, Patrick O’Farrell’s *The Irish in Australia*. O’Farrell postulates that the society into which the Irish and all other post World War Two immigrants came had developed to its present form by a process of compromise and confrontation between majority and minority cultures in conflict; the Irish being the minority. He contends that the Irish, since first settlement, refused to accept their exclusion as outsiders, which the English-oriented majority wished to enforce. The result was that the social order of England was not able to be reproduced in the new country. According to O’Farrell, the openness of the Australian society is due to the Irish ‘determination to prise apart a society which threatened to become closed’. The leavening effect of the Irish occurred throughout the colonial period and up until the Second World

17 Jupp and York, *Birthplaces of the Australian People*, pp.11,17,46&55.
War. Millions of immigrants from many countries, including Ireland, arrived in Australia after this time to begin lives in a country where the people had been held together by a continuing, at times acrimonious, debate; a creative exchange to determine the style of their society predicated on the tension between the Irish and the English.  

For all O'Farrell and other historians may say (including myself), it is of course completely impossible to write of 'the Irish in Australia' as though all conform to the points being made. That said, there are generalities which can be examined. 

Historically, Australian attitudes to the Irish in Australia are very closely intertwined with the history of Ireland and particularly with its relationship to England although real knowledge of events in Ireland was probably scanty and Ireland, for many, was perceived 'as a general concept, as an idea, as a nation, as something distinct from actual experience'. The sanguineous insurrection in Ireland of 1798 occurred just ten years after the foundation of British settlement in Australia and a small number of men convicted for their part in the uprising were transported to New South Wales. The uprising by the United Irishmen in 1798 was no petty affair. It left an estimated 25,000 Irish rebels (many of them non-combatants) and some 1,600 soldiers dead and much of the countryside destroyed. In 1801, the Act of Union took effect to incorporate Ireland fully into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Catholics in Ireland comprised about 78 per cent of the population. They were still constrained to some extent by the remaining penal laws although the effects of those laws were not spread evenly across all Catholics. Emancipation of Catholics was not achieved until 1829. It is no wonder that against this background, the English authorities viewed the Irish in their midst with fear and alarm. 

Anxiety and prejudice masked the fact that the majority of the Irish convicts shared the criminal profile of their English fellow transportees and were no more

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21 ibid., pp.11-12. 
22 O'Farrell does not claim to be including all Irish, but in any work including this one, the people who are NOT written about remain invisible, and the impression can be formed that they are subsumed into the visible group. 
26 Thanks primarily to the efforts of Daniel O'Connell, the Great Liberator, a statue of whom stands in the grounds of St Patrick's Cathedral in Melbourne.
or less a threat to public order than were the English convicts. As few as 1.5 per cent of the Irish convicts were transported for political crimes and up to about 20 per cent are estimated to have been transported for what could be termed ‘protest crimes’ such as those against landlordism or poverty. The Irish convicts in general were conspicuous as they were mostly Catholic (about 90 per cent), came from rural backgrounds, and many spoke Gaelic among themselves. The perceived threat posed by the political minority was such that all the Irish were regarded with suspicion.27 It is not difficult to understand the apprehension of the authorities in what must have been a violent and difficult situation as they tried to establish a penal colony in such a strange and distant land. To maintain order was imperative. It is in this way that the story of the Irish in Australia began.

It is impossible to write of the Irish in Australia without acknowledging a major debt to O’Farrell’s work. The Irish in Australia, seminal text though it is, has been criticised as being more about the development of Australian society than about what happened to the Irish in Australia. Even its project of searching for and ‘finding’ a ‘creation myth’ is itself regarded as rather old-fashioned by some historians.28 O’Farrell has himself produced a grand meta-narrative acknowledging that his conclusion that the Irish were a dynamic force went ‘beyond what they wanted for themselves – to belong’.29 He has, as Bob Reece says, through this study of the Irish as a founding people, ‘chosen to fire a broadside at what he sees as the prevailing environmentalist, materialistic interpretation of Australian history’.30 Criticisms of the book include (from Chris McConville) the need for a more statistical approach, more local studies, and more attention to the second generation of Irish immigrants; (from Helen Bourke) the need for more comparative studies, both externally with other Irish groups and internally with other migrant groups, and for more emphasis on women; and (from Davis McCaughey), an examination of what European influences may have come to Australia through the Irish, and the influence of the narrowly defined term, ‘Anglo-Irish’, particularly in higher education.31 Although O’Farrell

31 A symposium was held at the Sixth Irish-Australian Conference in July 1990 to discuss The Irish in Australia in the presence of the author. It was published as ‘Patrick O’Farrell on the Irish in Australia: Helen Bourke, Davis McCaughey, Chris McConville, and Patrick O’Farrell’,
acknowledged a pluralist Irish population in Australia, he followed the tradition which he describes in his book of conflating Irish with Catholic. He wrote that this was not his intention but his thesis about the dynamic role of the Irish relies on it. He could have avoided the problem by naming his book ‘The Catholic Irish in Australia’ and the parts about the Protestants would have provided context in the same way they do now. Whatever criticisms can be Levelled at O’Farrell’s book and his guiding thesis, it is acknowledged world-wide as the most comprehensive work on the subject of the Irish in Australia yet produced.

Referring to writing about the Irish in Australia, Geoffrey Bolton points out that the early historians (most notably G.W. Rusden) were very anti-Irish in tone probably because of the perceived threat to stability and order. If the Irish were identified separately they were seen as a force for controversy and, until the first third of the twentieth century, were identified with the underdog and out of the mainstream. Exceptions to this view were provided by works emanating from within Irish-Australia that were celebratory of the Irish in a manner which suggests the need to defend or carve out their position. The most well-known of these are J.F. Hogan’s *The Irish in Australia* (1888) and P.S. Cleary’s *Australia’s Debt to the Irish Nation Builders* (1933). These books and the efforts of their authors are described as ‘a jumping on the traditional bandwagon, driven by the establishment, with the cry “the Irish are here too!”’ They are an attempt to write the Irish into ‘real history’, the history of the successful. Like the Irish in general, these works stayed on the periphery of acceptance.

In the 1960s, Manning Clark became the first major historian to mention the Irish when he made a case for the role of Catholicism in the formation of
Australia. Clark was considering the ‘three great and competing faiths...Enlightenment..., Protestantism...[and] Catholicism [which was] mediated for the most part through a specifically Irish character’. He concluded that the most important thing which the Irish brought to developing Australia was their ability to adapt and fit in. Bolton comments that although Clark ‘advanced the Irish to a leading role’ in Australian historiography, his view was not ‘entirely free of idiosyncrasy’. The quote Clark selected from a nineteenth-century source to describe the Irish was not very flattering and bears out the idiosyncratic view:

They were a people whose holy faith and family affections lent a charm to and softened the harshness of their lives in their wretched cabins and compensated them for their worldly privations. The wretchedness of their lives contributed to the extremes in their behaviour, to the creation of a type who one hour was dignified by every kind and noble sentiment only to be degraded the next by acts of the most brutal malevolence.

The view from the conservative side of Australian thought was similar. Sir Alexander Downer, Minister for Immigration in the Menzies government in the late 1950s and early 1960s, spoke of the Irish in this manner:

They imported easy manners, personal charm, affability, a robust attitude to life, an innate friendliness and kindness, much of which has become incorporated in the Australian personality. But they also carried with them...all their prejudices. It was the Irish more than any other sector of the Australian communities who voiced anti-British sentiments in the '80s and '90s. It was the Irish who became the chief radicals of the colonies. It was the Irish who flocked into politics and permeated the Labour Party in the early years of its growth...The Irish immigrants quickly became influential in other facets of national life. In the law, and literature, they produced distinguished figures. But outside national and state politics it was in religion that they emerged as one of the most powerful forces in the land. [Their] Catholicism [was at] times militant to an extent that aroused antagonisms and apprehensions from the Protestant majority.

38 Reece, 'Writing about the Irish', p.227.
39 Bolton, 'The Irish in Australian Historiography', p.17.
40 ibid., pp.17-18.
41 ibid., p.17.
43 The Influence of Immigration on Australia's National Character, The Sir Thomas Holland Memorial Lecture by Sir Alexander Downer, K.B.E., M.A., delivered to the Commonwealth Section of the Royal Society of Arts, 6 December 1966, p.5.
Downer's words carry echoes of traditional English-driven anti-Irish and anti-Catholic sentiment which was so strong at the beginning of white settlement.

Examination of the situation of the Irish in Australia has resulted in an efflorescence of writing, particularly in the last twenty years, much of it stemming from the biennial Irish-Australian conferences which have been held in both Ireland and Australia. There were some works before that such as T.J. Kiernan's work on convicts, *Irish Exiles in Australia* (1954) which is part of one strand of both Irish experience and Irish historiography (and sometimes myth) and Niall Brennan's *Dr Mannix* (1964) which is part of another genre of writing about the Irish in Australia – biography. The lack of early work is hardly surprising as it was not until the groundbreaking work of E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963) and other social or feminist historians in the 1960s and 1970s that histories of those other than the powerful or of the mainstream began to appear. The fact that Australia was experiencing new challenges due to its immigration program possibly also sparked interest in some of its older

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identifiable minority groups. An understanding of the Irish in the colonial period and the first decade or so of the twentieth century will clarify the changed circumstances in which late-twentieth-century Irish immigrants, and the descendants of the colonial Irish, find themselves in multicultural Australia. Detailed work on Irish individuals or communities has emerged and several major themes have attracted popular and academic attention.

Convicts and the rebel Irish ranging from the men of '98 to Ned Kelly, and if Downer's words tell us anything, to the Labor Party, are a popular Irish topic. Free immigrants, mostly assisted, who came in the period between the Great Famine and the end of the nineteenth century, form another area of interest. Irish women immigrants who came to Australia in numbers usually equal to men, which was a markedly different pattern from other migrant groups, are gaining more academic attention. The Anglo-Irish, generally Protestant, also attract attention. The Irish influence within the Catholic church and within Labor politics are other themes. Dr Mannix and his activism during the conscription debates and beyond lent particular emphasis to the latter points.

A deeply embedded idea about the Irish in Australia is the notion of the ephemeral 'Irish character' and its influence on the 'Australian character'. Popular belief about a stereotypical rebellious 'Irish character' is different from the sophisticated way in which O'Farrell has conceptualised the Irish as the major dynamic force leavening the mostly English mix. For instance, the deeds of Irish Catholics provide most of the folklore of rebellion in Australia; a rebelliousness which has been appropriated by many Australians 'in spite of (or perhaps because of) a remarkably conformist social reality'.45 The Irish as rebel is one of the most popular and enduring images of the Irish in Australia supported by a range of fiction including Peter Carey's Booker Prize winning and ironically named novel, True History of the Kelly Gang.46 In Western Australia, the exploits of John Boyle O'Reilly and the rescue of the Fenians have been the subject of books and performance.47 Nevertheless historians such as Donald Akenson and David

45 Reece, 'Writing about the Irish', p.230.
47 A.G. Evans, Fanatic Heart: A Life of John Boyle O'Reilly, 1844-1890, Nedlands, Western Australia, 1997; Keith Amos, The Fenians in Australia 1865-1880, Kensington, NSW, 1988; and 'Cashman's Diary', a musical written by Brendan Woods which was released as a CD in
Fitzpatrick point out that the vast majority of Irish immigrants acted in the same manner as the vast majority of most other immigrants: that is they stayed out of trouble, fitted in with the local mores and set about advantaging themselves in their new country.\(^{48}\) Akenson comments that ‘the Irish migrants were distinguished by their very ordinariness’.\(^{49}\) This is not the popular image of the Irish in colonial Australia which has survived into the twentieth century.

The stereotypical view of the Irish as rebellious had its roots in Australia in convictism. Referring to transportation to the Eastern States, O'Farrell states that about one-quarter of convicts were Irish-born.\(^{50}\) As the Irish made up about 30 per cent of the United Kingdom’s population at this time, the Irish were actually under-represented in the convict population.\(^{51}\) Most attention has been paid to the male convicts who, as stated earlier, apart from a very few political rebels shared the criminal profile of their English fellow transportees. Although only about 1.5 per cent were transported for political crimes and perhaps up to a further 20 per cent may have committed ‘protest crimes’, the ‘political’ or ‘protest’ categories of Irish convicts have dominated the image of early Irish involvement in the colonies. The perceived threat posed by the political minority was such that all the Irish were branded thus.\(^{52}\) In a manner typical of many who write about convicts, Robert Hughes in his popular book *The Fatal Shore* chose not to examine the majority case, but rather the romantic 20 per cent, further raising their profile.\(^{53}\) All empirical research indicates that, in general, Irish convicts were more likely to reform and to not commit crimes in the colonies than was the case for their fellow felons. This was also the case in Western Australia during the later period of convictism (1850-1868).\(^{54}\)

As stated earlier, the situation regarding numbers was different for the women convicts. The Irish-born made up over half those transported between 1788 and 1828.\(^{55}\) For Irish female convicts, as for the males, there were also stereotypes.
Chapter Two: The Irish in Australian Society

The most common was that of criminal whore but there was also the dangerous patriot, and more recently that of victimised female convict. In most cases, the colonial lives led by the Irish female convicts were contrary to these stereotypes. Some did commit colonial offences but they were few in number. Many created lives for themselves which would have been impossible to achieve for women of the poorer classes in Ireland. Portia Robinson's interpretation is just one of many dealing with female convicts, and with Irish in particular. Her approach is to use primary sources to debunk old images of the Irish female convicts, images on which much popular belief is based. No women convicts were transported to Western Australia.

Free Irish settlers arrived in the colonies concurrently with convicts in the later stages of transportation and by the middle of the nineteenth century most of the Irish-born were free immigrants. This concurrence may help to explain why convict rebel myths were grafted onto the Irish generally when, as all reputable historians point out, the majority of Irish were remarkably ordinary immigrants. As a counterpoint to the assumed Irish settler enthusiasm for the Ned Kelly stereotype, Fitzpatrick uses evidence from his close study of late-nineteenth-century immigrants' letters to conclude that 'the outlaw as a symbol of defiance had no appeal for Irish immigrants seeking a quiet life of moderate well-being'. Few Irish who came to Australia came directly because of the Famine. The gold rush to Victoria in the 1850s marked the beginning of forty years of conspicuous Irish immigration to Australia. Over a dozen assisted migration schemes administered by the various colonies were in operation from 1831 to the end of the nineteenth century although a few for specific groups continued beyond that time. There were both state assisted and private schemes. It is difficult to

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56 ibid., p.2
57 ibid., pp.5-6.
60 Akenson, Irish Diaspora, p.96.
quantify exactly what proportion of Irish immigrants were assisted but it is estimated that most were. The Irish used these assistance schemes more enthusiastically than other member countries of the United Kingdom as, from a country with 30 per cent of the United Kingdom's population, they made up 52 per cent of the assisted migrants.62 This was not to the liking of the colonial administrators who, in an effort to restrict the Irish, had devised the quota scheme. The need for labour was so great that, in the absence of enough people willing to migrate from the rest of the United Kingdom, the Irish were allowed to come.63 It was not just the colonial authorities who wished to restrict the number of Irish going to Australia as is illustrated by the following minute from James Stephen, Permanent Under-secretary at the Colonial Office in 1847:

In my opinion it would be a disastrous policy which should people our great Australian colonies with a population to which the British name, and the national churches of England and Scotland, are alike objects of hatred – to keep that quarter of the world as purely Protestant as may be is, in my mind, one of the highest interests of Great Britain and of mankind.64

Sixty years after the founding of the colony, the anti-Irish, anti-Catholic view was obviously still very strong.

Part of the nineteenth-century project of peopling Australia was to 'civilise' it by encouraging women to immigrate.65 The effect of a rough balance between Irish women and men in Australia contributed to the stability of the Irish settlers and enhanced their chances of being able to capitalise on whatever Australia had to offer.66 Most of the single women who migrated to Australia came to work in domestic service. The integration of single Irish women into Australia was not unproblematic. As most Irish came from rural backgrounds, they were unskilled in what was required in a middle-class household. Jokes about 'Bridget-the stupid servant', surfaced although the Irish were no worse than English girls from poor working-class backgrounds.67 Irish jokes in Victorian England were commonplace

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64 Colonial Office Minute, 22/1/47 on Lang to Hawes, 20/1/47, Colonial Office 201/391 cited in Hamilton, ‘“Tipperarifying the moral atmosphere”’, p.19.
and were a mainstay of the humour in *Punch*. They emphasised assumed English superiority and logic by contrasting them with assumed Irish inferiority and lack of logic.\(^68\) Some Australian employers recorded that the Irish domestics were hard workers and prepared to put up with more than the English might but most comments were derogatory: ‘no training in hygiene...displayed rough manners...indolent, incompetent and lacked respect and obedience’.\(^69\) Most writers agree that although the Irish women had to work extremely hard, domestic service allowed them to have a role in the economy and to have an independent living.\(^70\) There is evidence that some Irish women chose not to marry indicating that they wanted employment rather than marriage. Of Irish-born females who died in Victoria in 1891, 10 per cent had never married, which is interesting in a place where women were so outnumbered by men and marriage prospects were the assumed reason for emigration.\(^71\)

While many made a success of their emigration, the Irish, particularly the women, were disproportionately represented in prisons and mental institutions.\(^72\) All Irishwomen in Victoria faced anti-Irish prejudice, but particularly the poor. These difficulties undoubtedly contributed to the high crime rate.\(^73\) The experiences of Irish women immigrants are well summed up by the words ‘resistance, respectability and ruin’, with the majority aiming for and achieving respectability. Enough of them fell into the other categories, which were more likely to make them conspicuous both at the time and in the historical record and so over-emphasise that part of Irish experience at the expense of the ordinary and

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\(^{69}\) Chris McConville, ‘Catholics and Mobility in Melbourne and Sydney, 1861-1891’, in *Australia 1888*, no. 2, 1979, p.237 and Eric Richards and Ann Herraman, ‘“If she was to be hard up she would sooner be hard up in a strange land than where she would be known” : Irish women in colonial South Australia’, in McClaughlin, *Irish Women*, p.85.


\(^{72}\) Trevor McClaughlin, ‘“I was nowhere else” : casualties of colonisation in eastern Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century’, in McClaughlin, *Irish Women*, pp.142- 62.

everyday. Mark Finnane has done detailed work on how nineteenth-century police and criminal records were compiled, the prevailing attitudes as to what constituted crime and how this impacted on the Irish in particular. He cautions against drawing broadbrush conclusions about Irish criminality in Australia.

An explanation for the 'ordinariness' of the Irish migration experience, according to Fitzpatrick, lies in their large numbers which meant they could live without the need to cluster for self-defence. This in turn meant that they could avail themselves of whatever opportunities presented, such as moving to agricultural districts and taking up land, for which their rural backgrounds uniquely equipped them. The rural option applied particularly to men as women had better chances of employment in the cities. Both Fitzpatrick and Richards dispute the idea that the Irish were the 'marginal men' of Australian settlement as anti-Irish ideas in the colonies might suggest. Richards writes of the Irish 'that their main importance was as exemplars of the broad mechanisms of international migration in that great age of mobility'. The Catholic Irish, both men and women, formed a disproportionately large element of the working class and were not relieved of this position until the mid-twentieth century as no new waves of migrants came to replace them. MacDonagh however uses economic indicators to illustrate that the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Caledonian view of the Irish as being at the bottom of the heap has been over-stressed, and that relative to their counterparts in other countries they were not doing badly.

Conflation of 'Irish' with 'Catholic' has been a difficulty in articulating the Irish- Australian story from the earliest days of the colonies. For the most part, in the nineteenth century, the Irish in Australia have reflected the religious mix of Ireland; about 75 per cent Catholic, 15 per cent Anglican and 10 per cent Presbyterian. Fitzpatrick attributes much of the conflation of the terms to conscious efforts on the part of Catholic church leaders to fuse the Catholic and

75 Finnane, 'Irish and Crime', pp.77-98.
76 Fitzpatrick, 'Irish Immigrants in Australia', p.52.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid.; and Eric Richards, 'The Importance of Being Irish in Colonial South Australia', in O'Brien and Travers, *The Irish Immigrant Experience*, pp.94-5.
79 MacDonagh, Oliver, 'The Irish in Australia', in MacDonagh and Mandle, *Ireland and Irish- Australia*, pp.167-9.
Irish traditions and then to be the spokesperson for both. As was discussed in Chapter One, the Irish nationalist movement cultivated the Catholic-Gaelic Irish image. Protestants, precisely because they are not Catholic, are also assumed to be not-quite-Irish yet 10 per cent of the convicts are estimated to have been Protestant as were about 20 per cent of assisted migrants. An analysis of assisted migrants to New South Wales between 1848-1870 shows the occupational profile of Protestants to be virtually identical to that of Catholics. Police records at various locations in Queensland from 1871 to 1901 show from 12 to 20 per cent of Irish charged were Protestant, mainly Anglican. Analysis of immigrants’ letters of the nineteenth century shows some confirmation for Akenson’s thesis that there was little difference in mentalité between Protestants and Catholics.

In Australian historiography, Protestants are believed to be privileged Anglo-Irish (or perhaps Ulster-Scots more rarely) and virtually indistinguishable from the English. It is estimated that Anglo-Irish made up less than five per cent of all Irish coming to Australia prior to 1900, so clearly many Protestant Irish have escaped registry on the historical record as their experience appears to fall between that of their more conspicuous compatriots. Given their small numbers, the Anglo-Irish were very influential in the development of Australian (particularly Victorian) institutions such as law and education. Defined more by class than religion, they were different from the English upper class and, in general, tended to bring a liberal approach to their colonial pursuits. This is not the popular view. Redmond Barry is remembered for being the judge who sentenced Ned Kelly to

88 Forth, ‘“No petty people”’, pp.138-9; and O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 1993, pp.94-5.
hang, not as the lawyer who in the 1840s took no fee to represent aborigines charged with serious offences against white settlers.89

A unique link exists between a liberal Anglo-Irishman, Sir Richard Bourke (Governor of New South Wales 1831-1837) and one of the great achievements of the Irish-flavoured Catholic Church, religious education. Bourke tried to introduce the Irish National School system into New South Wales, which would have broken the stranglehold on the public purse for education held by the Anglicans. He was not personally responsible for its introduction but his Church Act of 1836 provided a more equitable distribution of funds to the various denominations.90 Finally introduced in 1848, National Schools and denominational schools co-existed until most were amalgamated into the Common Schools in 1862 which in turn led to the 1872 Act which provided ‘Free, Compulsory and Secular’ education.91 Catholic schools, with no state funding, stayed outside the system and the fact that they could maintain and fund this separate system, was a great source of Irish pride.92 Catholic education grew rapidly in the 1880s. O'Farrell attributes this growth, and the building of impressive churches as well as schools, more to a show of public visibility of success and prosperity on behalf of Irish Catholics than to devotion to religion or education (the latter could have been achieved free). Of the educational and building enterprises, he wrote ‘they unified, they affirmed, they impressed, they signalled arrival, and that in force’.93 This is confirmed by the evidence of Fitzpatrick’s analysis of letters where he found the Catholic correspondents liked the building program and that ‘Catholicism...was more often construed as a visible institution than as an abstract faith’.94 In contrast, Fitzpatrick found that the Irish Protestants tended to affirm their faith ‘in spiritual and moral terms’ and showed less enthusiasm than Catholics for ‘celebrations of church power’.95

The welding together of Irish and Catholic in the latter part of the nineteenth century, at a time when the nexus could be easing due to the continuing ‘Australianising’ of the colonies, was brought about by deliberate ‘Irish clerical

89 ibid., pp.136-7.
91 ibid., pp.107, 109-10.
94 Fitzpatrick, Oceans of Consolation, p. 554.
95 ibid., p.553.
imperialism' orchestrated to combat rising apathy rather than in response to a ‘widespread Irish piety’. Something similar was happening in Ireland where the Catholic Church was adopting a nationalist identity in order to maintain control over a secular form of nationalism which could challenge the authority of the church. In Australia the challenge of secularism came both from the influence of the Anglo-Protestant majority and the impulse of the Irish to be accepted. The arrival in 1913 of Dr Daniel Mannix as Archbishop in Melbourne brought about a fusion of all three elements – Catholicism, Irish nationalism and opposition to the Anglo-Protestant majority. The effects of this fusion were to be very strongly felt during and after the First World War. The Catholic Irish were open to Mannix’s leadership style as they were accustomed to the often strikingly forceful, assertive manner of the immigrant priests from All Hallows College in Dublin. In the nineteenth century, Ireland supplied Australia with nearly 2,000 priests chiefly from All Hallows. These priests dominated the Australian Catholic Church from the 1880s to the 1930s. In an Irish community which had no strong lay leaders, Irish clerics assumed the role of leadership. Religious teaching orders from Ireland reinforced the Irish influence within the Church and the Irish Catholic community. The Catholic Church also served as the social centre for Irish Catholics and as such minimised their contacts with others in the community. Business transactions were an exception. O’Farrell argues unconvincingly that the small communities in which many Catholics lived would always lack cohesion because other external forces such as politics, state interference and the formation of a variety of organisations would divide them. He believes Irish Catholics have been blamed unfairly for causing division in their communities.

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98 ibid.
99 ibid, p.148.
100 O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 1993, p.105; and Kevin Condon, ‘All Hallows College, Dublin’ in Kiernan, *Bicentenary Essays*, p.228. O’Farrell also writes that ‘All Hallows men, by and large, were disposed to be Irish nationalist and tended to be a little uncouth’, *Vanished Kingdoms*, p.98.
The power of the Catholic Church in Australia was able to be maintained both through support and control from Ireland. The Church exercised control of the Irish-Australian press and hence of opinion-making.\(^{103}\) Archbishop Moran in Sydney presided over the clerical takeover of the St Patrick's Day celebrations in 1896 where previously the church had no official role and Mass was not part of the official celebrations. In Melbourne this happened in 1908.\(^{104}\) The reinforcement of the cohesion of Irish and Catholic raised fears that the Irish were a formidable pressure group and dangerous to the public good.\(^{105}\) This was a new version of Irish threat: no longer that of armed insurrection as in the early years of white settlement but as a civic threat through political influence. The Irish did not act together, but a vocal minority, claiming to be *the* Irish created this impression.\(^{106}\) The cause of Home Rule for Ireland ignited interest in Australia and was only seen as a respectable cause after Gladstone's support for it.\(^{107}\) Home Rule was going to make Ireland more like Australia, free within the Empire, and so was acceptable to most Australians.\(^{108}\) Despite the respectability gained, Home Rule was always linked with Catholicism in Australia\(^{109}\) and became a vehicle for conflict. O'Farrell acutely summed up the relationship between Ireland and Australia from an Australian perspective in the early years of the twentieth century in this way:

Events and processes in Ireland and in Australia interacted and fed on each other, but Australian events had their own separate life and character: what happened coincidently in Ireland exacerbated the Australian situation and ensured that the language of conflict be Irish. But the questions at issue in Australia were Australian.\(^{110}\)

The 'events and processes' included the Home Rule issues and the 1916 uprising. Regardless of how these events were played out in Ireland, it was clear that Irish-Australia and its clerical leaders put their Australian interests before their Irish

\(^{103}\) ibid., p.108.

\(^{104}\) Williams, 'Moran, Mannix and St Patrick's Day', p.144. As will be seen in Chapter Seven, St Patrick's Day was returned to the secular realm in the late twentieth century.


\(^{106}\) ibid., p.113.

\(^{107}\) ibid., p.229.

\(^{108}\) ibid., p.290.

\(^{109}\) ibid., p.231.

\(^{110}\) ibid., p.252.
ones. The questions referred to in the quotation were concerned with the place of Catholics in Australian society where a major issue was the lack of state aid for Catholic schools. The nexus of Irish and Catholic, particularly as embodied by Mannix, was hard to break ensuring indeed that the 'language of conflict be Irish'.

Reaction to the Easter Rising of 1916 and the subsequent executions grew in Irish-Australia but it is an anachronistic myth to make a causal link between Irish Catholic opposition to conscription and the events of 1916 in Ireland. O'Farrell maintains that the Irish Catholic opposition to conscription was an action against authoritarian rule by dominant forces who had never really accepted them. Anti-conscription sentiment was not just the stance of Irish Catholics led by Mannix, as the numbers needed to defeat the referenda attest. Mannix arrived in Melbourne at a time when Irish and Catholic were as one in the public eye and when momentous political events were unfolding. His view was that Ireland was 'both warning and inspiration' in the sense that Australia must never be subject to tyranny such as he considered Ireland was and simultaneously that Ireland represented the underdog situation of the Irish in Australia. Following in the aggressive style of leadership characteristic of previous Irish clerics, he was firmly placed to polarise public opinion about both the Irish and their now inseparable twin, Catholicism.

The defeat of the two conscription bills and Mannix's stance, again reinforced the Irish in the role of public menace but also more firmly entrenched them in the now split Labor Party. They had some real political power. Their involvement with Labor politics and Mannix's continuing influence were to have spectacular results with the splitting of the Labor Party again in 1954 and the emergence of the Democratic Labor Party. When the First World War had ended, events in Ireland could be viewed without Australian domestic distraction. The Irish Catholics began to take pride in the 1916 rising and the potential for real freedom for Ireland but by the early 1920s there was little to attract Irish-Australians to Ireland which was now split violently by republican issues which were generally

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111 O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 1993, pp.252-3; and Ian Chambers, "'I'm Australian and speak as such": The Perth Irish community's responses to events in Ireland, 1900-1914", in Reece, *The Irish in Western Australia*, pp.117-34.
113 ibid., pp.270-1.
114 ibid., p.271.
115 ibid., p.6.
not supported in Australia. Mannix’s leadership continued to polarise society. The divisions wrought in the war left a legacy of divisiveness on religious and political lines. Children at Catholic schools celebrated St Patrick’s Day while those at Protestant or at state schools observed Empire Day. Ideas and debate were stifled by ‘Protestant wowsersism and repression and Catholic puritanism and anti-intellectualism’, both of which, ironically, were ensuring that nothing undermined ‘the “healthy” Australian way of life’. Independent opinion was discouraged. Sectarian divisions were strengthened and some organisations and businesses exclusively employed either Catholics or Protestants. A consequence of the ill will of sectarian feeling in Australia after the war, was that the Australian government was unwilling to help resettle ex-Royal Irish Constabulary veterans in this country for fear of domestic repercussions.

Nearly all of this chapter relates to the south-east of Australia, Sydney and Melbourne in particular, as this is the state of the historiography. Western Australia is all but absent. A recent volume of Studies in Western Australian History entitled The Irish in Western Australia goes some way to remedy this yet at the same time highlights how little is known. Anne Partlon questions whether the ‘founding and forming people’ theory is valid for Western Australia as there were proportionately fewer Irish in the nineteenth-century population than in the eastern colonies. How many dynamic Irish are needed to exert an influence? And which ones are dynamic if Akenson and Fitzpatrick are right and the majority are extraordinarily ordinary? Partlon points out that there has been no major Irish flash point in Western Australia like the Eureka Stockade to excite the imagination. There was the escape of six Fenian convicts from Fremantle in 1876 on the American whaler Catalpa which is nothing like as well known nor is it regarded as the progenitor of any significant movement. Irish activists on the Kalgoorlie goldfields have escaped the attention of O’Farrell and most historians, as have most Irish clerics. Western Australia may be an exceptional case due to

116 ibid., p.290-1.
118 ibid., p.193.
119 ibid., p.189-90.
121 Reece, The Irish in Western Australia.
the lateness of the Irish arrival to that state. In Danny Cusack’s study of Senator Patrick Lynch, Cusack elaborates on the ambivalence of some Western Australian Catholic Irish, who, he believes, were less likely be connected to the Labor Party than their counterparts in the eastern states.\textsuperscript{123} To be interesting (and because of the records they leave), the process of writing history seems to require that untypical characters such as Ned Kelly, Peter Lalor and Archbishop Mannix receive the focus and then have their characteristics ascribed to the rest. Is the lack of such characters a reason why Western Australian Irish are off the historiographical map or is it just a feature of parochial eastern states writers?

The small numbers of non-indigenous people in Western Australia in the colonial period and the relatively small numbers and late arrival of the Irish are likely to be a reason why Western Australian Irish have been neglected historiographically. Nonetheless the Irish did not go unnoticed for, although they comprised less than 10 per cent of the approximately 10,000 convicts transported to Western Australia between 1850-1868, they were sufficient for the observation to be made that ‘convictism imported the Irish problem to Western Australia’\textsuperscript{124} C.T. Stannage’s critique of ‘The Pioneer Myth’, a tradition within which class distinction is obscured and historical change is diminished, highlighted a Western Australian approach to historical writing which was not likely to encourage writing about dissent or discord.\textsuperscript{125} Paul Hasluck underlined this approach when he commented on those families who were in Western Australia prior to 1890, which of course includes the convict and immediate post-convict period. He wrote of the Western Australian Historical Society that ‘we knew and kept each other’s secrets...we paid no attention at all to any skeletons that happened to be stowed away in old cupboards’.\textsuperscript{126} Perhaps that self-protective attitude may have been part of the reason that a history of the Irish in colonial and early twentieth-century Western Australia remains to be written.\textsuperscript{127}

\textsuperscript{124} Paul Hasluck, \textit{Mucking About: An Autobiography}, 1\textsuperscript{st} published Carlton 1977, new edition, Nedlands, Western Australia, 1994, p.169 – the convicts were all male; and C.T. Stannage, \textit{The People of Perth: A Social History of Western Australia’s Capital City}, Perth, 1979, p.96.
\textsuperscript{126} Hasluck, \textit{Mucking About}, p.161.
\textsuperscript{127} Anne Partlon is compiling a bibliography of Irish sources in Western Australia which it is anticipated will be published by the Centre for Irish Studies, Murdoch University, Perth.
As Table 2.2 shows, the numbers of Irish as a proportion of the Western Australian population in the twentieth century were increasing slightly as numbers for Australia decreased. Overall the figures for the Irish-born in Australia in 1947 compared to the 1921 figures – 44,813 down from 105,033 – give an indication of the shrinking of the influence of the Irish-born in Australia.\textsuperscript{128} The old Irish-Australia was atrophying. Moreover, half of those of Irish birth in 1947 were over 60.\textsuperscript{129} The links to events in Ireland such as Home Rule and the Easter Rising were gone. The declaration of the Republic of Ireland in 1949 and its consequent leaving of the Commonwealth were difficult for Irish-Australians to understand.\textsuperscript{130} The tie between the Irish-Australians and the relationship between Britain and Ireland as a causal factor in Australian affairs was effectively gone.

Apart from O’Farrell’s observations, there has been little study of the Irish who have come to Australia since 1945. There are very few works which deal with Irish migration to Australia after 1945, and virtually none which focus on Western Australia. Social geographer, James (Seamus) Grimes, wrote his 1979 PhD thesis at the University of New South Wales on ‘Spatial Aspects of Irish Immigrant Friendship Patterns in Sydney’ and he published several articles based on his research.\textsuperscript{131} The main focus of Grimes’ thesis is the examination of patterns of Irish residence, friendship and employment networks in Sydney in the mid-to-late 1970s. He employed a survey and interview approach. Many of the participants were involved in the ‘traditional’ areas of Irish employment such as underground cable laying and building. All would have entered Australia before the more stringent immigration provisions brought into force in the early 1980s. An anti-Irish reaction to the violence in Northern Ireland surfaced in the 1970s and

\textsuperscript{128} Table 2.2 shows there was a gradual increase since the Second World War but for Australia as a whole, the numbers of Irish-born never exceeded pre-war figures. Western Australia was different as, by the 1980s and 1990s, there were now numerically more Irish-born resident there than ever before. However, the proportion compared to the rest of the population and to some other migrant groups was small.
\textsuperscript{130} ibid.
As the numbers of Irish decreased and as their ‘threat’ faded, so they also faded from historiography. Compared to the non-English speaking postwar immigrants who were arriving in their thousands, the Irish faded from prominence as an ‘other’.

Post World War Two, and after the declaration of Ireland as a Republic, lack of enthusiasm for things Irish persisted in the Liberal-Country Party government. A letter to the *Irish Times* in 1951 reports that Australia, while raising the status of the Dublin Legation to an Embassy, cut the amount of funds available to run it. In April 1953, the first Australian Ambassador, D.P. McGuire, was appointed but in July the government announced it was having diplomatic difficulty with the title ‘President of Ireland’ as that implied all Ireland. The Minister for External Affairs, R.G. Casey, issued a press release in January 1954 to say the appointment could not go ahead as it would embarrass the Queen. Arrangements were in place for the United Kingdom and Canada to transcend this difficulty but it was not until 1964 that a form of words could be agreed on to solve the problem for Australia. The perceived unpopularity of close relations with Ireland are shown in a file note of a conversation between an official of the Department of External Affairs and the Irish Chargé d’Affaires Dr MacWhite in January 1964. Dr MacWhite said he assumed that the issue of the ambassadors could now be dealt with in Australia since the Australian federal election was over and it would no longer be an election issue. An Australian ambassador to Ireland was finally appointed in January 1965.

With regard to Irish immigration to Australia, the ten pound scheme available to residents of the United Kingdom was not extended to the Irish until the 1960s. Up until then (apart from those who had served in the British Forces), from 1948 to 1959 a subsidy of 30 pounds per adult and pro rata for children was available. This was increased to approximately 71 pounds per adult and pro rata for children.

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133 National Archives of Australia (hereafter NAA), Series A1838/274, Item 21/1/3/4/Pt 1, *Irish Times* 16 March 1951.
137 NAA, Series A1838/385, Item 21/1/3/4 Pt 2.
138 NAA, Series A1838/274, Item 21/1/3/4/Pt 1, Record of conversation.
under the provisions of the General Assisted Passage Scheme (GAPS). Those from Ireland resident in the United Kingdom for six months could apply under the ten pound scheme. It does not appear that Australia was as keen to attract Irish as it was British migrants but factors to do with financial arrangements with the Irish government may have been an issue. Ireland was depressed economically in the 1950s and was concerned at the high rates of emigration. It appears unlikely that its government would pay to assist people to leave thus drawing attention to its inability to provide for them in Ireland.

Although suspicion and prejudice against Irish and Catholics remained, the divisive influence of old Irish-Australia was declining in importance by the end of the Second World War. Some factors which influenced this were the aging of the Irish-born in Australia, the slowing of immigration in the inter-war years and a war effort unmarred by the conscription debates of the First World War. A tangible enemy, Japan, had attacked the Australian mainland exposing the vulnerability of Australia and precipitating a move away from Britain and to some extent towards the United States due to the course of the war and the roles each had played in Australia’s defence. This realignment of Australia’s strategic interests was most important for the Irish. Proof that the Irish were not external to establishment Anglo-Protestant Australia was that they were not defined as ‘alien’ in the 1948 Nationality and Citizenship Act. Alastair Davidson writes that ‘a nation’s understanding of itself is revealed by the categories of people it regards as foreign, alien and “other”’. As the Irish were so well established in Australia it would have been remarkable if they were to be treated as ‘alien’ but the act can be seen as a tangible indicator of inclusiveness. The gradual unfolding of an increasing distance from Britain, politically and economically, over the decades following the Second World War is a major factor in the re-appraisal of the Irish in Australia both in historiography and in public acceptance.

Another important theme is the effect of the huge influx of immigrants from over 100 countries who arrived in Australia in the postwar decades. Not only did the Irish make up but a tiny portion of this group, many of the immigrants were also so different by way of culture and language (and later, by race or colour) that the Irish were ‘closer’ to the British-Australian stock. The declining influence of

140 NAA, Series A1838/385, Item 21/1/3/4 Pt 2.
religion was another barrier cleared away between the Irish and the Anglo-Australians (see Tables 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8). The process of Australia becoming less British and the waning importance of religious difference had its effect on the understanding of the Irish in Australia especially in popular culture. Two other points which affected the Irish (and other immigrants) were the varying understandings of citizenship which evolved in the postwar period and the changing needs of the Australian government which are reflected in its selection criteria for migrants.

As was illustrated earlier by Australia's attitude over the question of exchanging ambassadors for Ireland and Australia, the Menzies-led Liberal-Country Party government was not enthusiastic about Ireland.\textsuperscript{142} It was Labor's Dr Evatt, when he was Deputy Prime Minister in 1948, who led the successful debate that Ireland should not be treated as a foreign country even though it had left the Commonwealth.\textsuperscript{143} Partly influenced by this decision, Britain also decided not to treat Ireland as a foreign country.\textsuperscript{144} These two anomalies meant that Irish citizens were admitted to Australia under the same provisions and conditions as British subjects.\textsuperscript{145} As mentioned earlier, Irish citizens coming directly from Ireland, were not assisted as generously as those from the United Kingdom and there was no Ireland-specific immigration agreement as there was with Britain, Malta, the Netherlands or Italy for example.\textsuperscript{146}

The postwar immigration program was planned primarily to bolster the defence capability of the country. Other reasons were to address a decline in the birthrate which if unchecked could lead to deaths outstripping births, and a postwar labour shortage. It appears that Irish were neither sought nor rejected as immigrants. The plan was that 'for every foreign migrant there would be ten people from the United Kingdom'.\textsuperscript{147} The inability to fill the quota of immigrants on a 1:10 ratio was an unplanned rupture in the strong links between Britain and Australia. As

\textsuperscript{142} Liberal-Country Party Coalition 1949-1972. Robert Menzies (later Sir) was Prime Minister from 1949-1966.

\textsuperscript{143} Kevin B. Nowlan, 'Historical Overview', in Grimes and Ó Tuathaigh, \textit{Irish-Australian Connection}, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{144} John A. Murphy, \textit{Ireland in the Twentieth Century}, Dublin, 1975, p.127.

\textsuperscript{145} NAA, Series A1838/385, Item 21/1/3/4 Part 2, 'Migration from Ireland'.


\textsuperscript{147} Arthur Calwell, first Minister for Immigration, speaking in the late 1940s and quoted in R.T. Appleyard, 'Immigration and National Development', in \textit{Australia's Immigration Policy}, p.17.
more and more people came from countries other than Britain, so the gap widened a little more. As early as 1953, obvious signs of a diminishing role for Britain in Australian affairs were emerging as some members of the Liberal-Country Party coalition were perturbed that Britain had been excluded from the ANZUS treaty. In 1973, under the Royal Style and Titles Act, formal reference to the Queen was changed to read specifically 'Queen of Australia' and reference to the United Kingdom was eliminated. The Order of Australia awards superseded Imperial honours in 1975. Advance Australia Fair was introduced as the national anthem by the Whitlam government and survived attempts by the Fraser government to re-instate God Save the Queen.

In 1973, British subjects lost their favoured status as potential citizens when all migrants were deemed able to become citizens after three years of residence. Prior to that, non-British subject immigrants could only apply after five years residence in Australia. In 1975, changes were introduced which compelled all British and Irish citizens wishing to enter Australia to have visas even if permanent residents of Australia. This had not previously been required. In 1976, visa arrangements, including those for the previously privileged British subject group (which included the Irish), were again tightened. Now those permanently resident in Australia but not Australian citizens were required to have their passports endorsed to show their residency status. If they remained out of the country for over three years, they would have to re-immigrate in order to return. British assisted passage to Australia finished in 1983. The residency requirements for citizenship were to change again in 1984 to being resident for two years in the previous five including one year in the immediately preceding two years. Also in 1984, the privilege which had been extended to all British subjects wherein they could vote and take up public service jobs for example

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149 ibid., p.131.
150 ibid., p.142.
151 ibid., pp.143-4. The Whitlam Labor government was in power from 1972-1975.
152 DILGEA, Australia and Immigration 1788-1988, p.57.
155 ibid., p.61.
157 DILGEA, Australia and Immigration 1788-1988, p.79.
without becoming an Australian citizen, was withdrawn for new immigrants in this category.\textsuperscript{158} In 1994 another change occurred which was of particular interest to some Irish immigrants; the citizenship oath was changed from allegiance to the monarch to pledging allegiance to Australia and the Australian people.\textsuperscript{159}

The important point about all these changes was that Australia was gradually distancing herself from privileging Britain over other countries and from privileging British immigrants ahead of others. Over the postwar decades, this created a different lens through which Irish in Australia could be viewed. Simultaneously and ironically, the Irish, having British subject status, became administratively indistinguishable from the British. What was assumed true for the Anglo-Irish of the nineteenth century was now assumed true for all Irish in Australia. As will be shown later in this thesis, this is rather illusory. The postwar Irish, influenced by their Irish background and by the way they were received in Australia because of the strong historical and cultural legacy of the Irish in Australia, provide an interesting portrait of a modern immigrant group. The Australian-born Irish join with the recent immigrants to present a revitalised perhaps even reconstructed picture of Irish-Australia as is shown in Chapter Seven.

Most of the focus, writing and reports on postwar immigration have been on non-British migrants and as such are outside the scope of this thesis.\textsuperscript{160} While people from England remain the most numerous migrant group, what is of interest is how dramatically the Irish have been outstripped by other nationalities in Australia and in Western Australia.

\textsuperscript{158} Stephen Castles, William Foster, Robyn Iredale and Glenn Withers, \textit{Immigration and Australia: Myths and Realities}, St Leonards, NSW, 1998, p.111.

\textsuperscript{159} ibid., p.112.

\textsuperscript{160} A major exception is the work of R.T. Appleyard on British migrants. For example, see \textit{British Emigration to Australia}, Canberra, 1964; \textit{Socio-economic Determinants of Assisted Emigration from the United Kingdom to Australia}, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1976; and with Alison Ray and Allan Segal, \textit{The Ten Pound Immigrants}, London, 1988.
Chapter Two: The Irish in Australian Society

Table 2.4: COMPARISON OF NUMBERS OF IMMIGRANTS RESIDENT IN AUSTRALIA FROM IRELAND AND OTHER SELECTED COUNTRIES OR REGIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Ireland</td>
<td>141,365</td>
<td>47,673</td>
<td>50,215</td>
<td>63,790</td>
<td>67,743</td>
<td>76,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>350,250</td>
<td>478,411</td>
<td>556,478</td>
<td>842,032</td>
<td>889,124</td>
<td>896,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>33,381</td>
<td>65,422</td>
<td>109,315</td>
<td>110,811</td>
<td>110,758</td>
<td>114,915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>6,719</td>
<td>119,897</td>
<td>228,296</td>
<td>289,476</td>
<td>275,883</td>
<td>254,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>745</td>
<td>52,035</td>
<td>102,083</td>
<td>99,295</td>
<td>96,044</td>
<td>95,818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>93,083</td>
<td>123,634</td>
<td>132,811</td>
<td>159,292</td>
<td>151,629</td>
<td>156,638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>41,096</td>
<td>122,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>12,318</td>
<td>14,487</td>
<td>15,898</td>
<td>23,096</td>
<td>24,110</td>
<td>27,956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23,126</td>
<td>49,776</td>
<td>129,816</td>
<td>149,335</td>
<td>161,076</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Immigration from the other countries shown all increased between 1911 and 1954 whereas that from Ireland was reduced by nearly two-thirds. By 1991 the numbers were still only about half what they had been in 1911. Although immigrants from Wales were never as numerous as those from Ireland, they are included in this table to illustrate the steady increase in numbers of those from Britain in contrast to Ireland.

Table 2.5: COMPARISON OF NUMBERS OF IMMIGRANTS RESIDENT IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA FROM IRELAND AND OTHER SELECTED COUNTRIES OR REGIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Ireland</td>
<td>9,573</td>
<td>5,398</td>
<td>5,019</td>
<td>7,879</td>
<td>9,051</td>
<td>13,138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>33,278</td>
<td>63,322</td>
<td>63,754</td>
<td>126,925</td>
<td>152,560</td>
<td>170,590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>2,036</td>
<td>5,361</td>
<td>5,583</td>
<td>7,076</td>
<td>8,122</td>
<td>10,162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>2,361</td>
<td>17,295</td>
<td>25,249</td>
<td>30,541</td>
<td>29,213</td>
<td>26,871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>8,490</td>
<td>11,163</td>
<td>11,276</td>
<td>11,279</td>
<td>11,749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>7,013</td>
<td>13,185</td>
<td>12,744</td>
<td>18,918</td>
<td>20,430</td>
<td>25,363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,778</td>
<td>8,215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>1,342</td>
<td>1,909</td>
<td>1,848</td>
<td>3,295</td>
<td>4,106</td>
<td>5,518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4,584</td>
<td>5,876</td>
<td>10,159</td>
<td>11,018</td>
<td>12,642</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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161 Jupp and York, Birthplaces of the Australian People, pp.46,51,55,57,61,69,78,79&80.
162 ibid.
Chapter Two: The Irish in Australian Society

The drop in the numbers of Irish in Western Australia between 1911 and 1954 was not so great as for Australia as a whole. Also different from the Australian pattern is the fact that the 1991 numbers are considerably higher than those for 1911. In 1991, 9.4 per cent of the Australian population was resident in Western Australia yet about 19 per cent of all English and Welsh in Australia have settled in Western Australia. The rates for the Irish and the Scottish are about 16 per cent.\(^{163}\) The other countries shown have a smaller percentage of immigrants who have settled in Western Australia. Since 1961, there have been proportionately more Irish in Western Australia compared to its total population than has been the case for any other state.

The Irish are no longer the large minority group who made their mark on colonial Australia. An effect of this overshadowing has been experienced in the Catholic Church. Compared to the 2,000 Irish priests who came from Ireland in the nineteenth century (mostly in the latter part), only 13 missionary priests came from All Hallows College Dublin in the second half of the twentieth century; the last one arriving in 1976.\(^{164}\) With regard to religion, attitudes gradually changed as Australia became less interested in formal adherence to religion but at the same time the Catholic proportion of the population increased thus reducing the dominance of Anglicanism.

Table 2.6: AUSTRALIANS BY RELIGION: %\(^{165}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>C of E</th>
<th>Presbyterian</th>
<th>Methodist</th>
<th>Other Christian</th>
<th>Non-Christian</th>
<th>Indef. or not stated</th>
<th>No religion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>4.3*</td>
<td>8.2*</td>
<td>10.4*</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^*\)The formation of the Uniting Church in 1977 which encompassed Methodists, Congregationalists and most Presbyterians makes it impossible to compare census figures accurately. This applies to Tables 2.6 and 2.7.

\(^{163}\) Calculated from Jupp and York, *Birthplaces of the Australian People*, p.33 and Tables 2.4 and 2.5 (above).

\(^{164}\) Figure advised in 1997 by Tim McCormack, All Hallows College, Dublin.

Chapter Two: The Irish in Australian Society

Table 2.7: WESTERN AUSTRALIANS BY RELIGION: %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>C of E</th>
<th>Presbyterian</th>
<th>Methodist</th>
<th>Other Christian</th>
<th>Non-Christian</th>
<th>Indef. or not stated</th>
<th>No religion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>3.0*</td>
<td>5.9*</td>
<td>8.6*</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The words ‘Defender of the Faith’ (referring to the Church of England) in relation to the mode of description of the Queen were dropped in 1973. The Bill to alter this was easily passed and then Labor Prime Minister Whitlam later made the comment that ‘perhaps people no longer worried about defending or offending the Church of England’. This was in contrast to a campaign twenty years earlier when Anglican bishops were concerned by the dropping of FD (Fidei Defensor) from the coinage minted to celebrate the new queen. The Irish dominance of the Catholic Church was waning. During the 1930s, the number of Australian-trained priests overtook Irish-trained. Many of the postwar immigrants were European Catholics who brought with them a different style of Catholicism. Cultural ‘takeovers’ of parishes occurred.

Table 2.8: COMPARISON OF IRISH AND OTHER CATHOLIC IMMIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA: 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Population in Australia</th>
<th>% Catholic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>254,000</td>
<td>93.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>73,700</td>
<td>84.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>68,900</td>
<td>75.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>53,800</td>
<td>92.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland (Republic)</td>
<td>52,400</td>
<td>73.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

168 ibid., p.132.
169 ibid.
172 Australia in Profile, Census of Population and Housing, 6 August 1991, Canberra, Catalogue no. 2821.0, Table 2.2, p.15 and Table 2.17, p.29. The population figures are rounded.
The image of the Irish as 'other' due to their Catholicism was blunted as Catholicism became less Irish and as prejudice against Catholics waned.

A major component of the postwar experience for Irish immigrants was the changing needs of the Australian government and how they selected whom they wished to admit to Australia. In 1946, 'essential workers for Australian industry' was the top priority listed for assisted British migrants so it can be assumed that this criterion applied to all migrants.\(^{173}\) Although in the first ten years of postwar immigration skilled tradesmen were preferred, by the late 1950s almost anyone who could pass the medical test was accepted.\(^{174}\) The early postwar Irish immigrants had a high male ratio with a sizeable proportion working in the 'Building and Transport' category.\(^{175}\) Of Republic-born males in 1954, 32.5 per cent worked in 'Building and Transport' compared with 19 per cent of Australian-born males.\(^{176}\) Immigrants from rural areas were still prominent among those who came to Australia but those from urban working-class backgrounds were soon more numerous.\(^{177}\)

In 1978, a new system of migrant selection was announced known as NUMAS (Numerical Multifactor Assessment System), which was part of a preventative strategy against disadvantage being experienced by immigrants and stemmed from the *Galbally Report*. Factors weighted in this system were family ties to Australia, occupational skills, knowledge of English, literacy in the mother tongue and prospects of successful settlement.\(^{178}\) Loss of British settlers by return migration was of concern (Irish are included with those from the United Kingdom),\(^{179}\) but there was greater concern about the social disadvantage of many non-British immigrants. The *Galbally Report* published in 1978 contained the results of an inquiry into the post-migration services and programs available to immigrants. The report mainly addressed disadvantage observable in non-British (Irish are assumed to be British in this context) immigrants, mainly non-English speakers.\(^{180}\) In 1982, the original NUMAS scheme was replaced. Announcing it,

\(^{173}\) NAA, Series A436/1, Item 48/5/51, Department of Immigration memorandum 20 August 1946.
\(^{175}\) Grimes, "Postwar Irish Immigrants in Australia: The Sydney Experience", p.141. In 1954, the male to female ratio was 132:100.
\(^{176}\) ibid.
\(^{179}\) For a review of the literature about settler loss see Graeme Hugo, *The Economic Implications of Emigration From Australia*, Adelaide, 1994, Chapter 4.
the Immigration Minister said 'the migrant Australia needs today must demonstrate a capacity to reach self-reliance as soon as possible after arrival'.181 In 1987 Dr Stephen Fitzgerald was asked to chair a committee to examine all pertinent matters relating to Australian immigration.182 The resulting Fitzgerald Report (1988) stressed the economic benefits of skilled immigrants of working age.183 O'Farrell has criticised this approach with regard to whom it attracts from Ireland stating that those with qualifications and skills were more 'prone to resentment of their situation' than those with 'lower levels of employment status' who were no longer welcome in Australia.184

There is a little movement within the migration program with regards to who is eligible and what numbers are required in each category according to what is perceived necessary or desirable by Australia, but the broad categories are the Humanitarian Program and the Migration (Non-Humanitarian) Program. It is from within the latter that most Irish immigrants come. In 1997, of the 115 points prerequisite for outright acceptance, 50-70 could be earned from qualifications in combination with work experience; up to 20 for English proficiency and up to 30 for being at the young end of a 18-49 age scale.185 Clearly, Irish (and British) migrants arriving under this scheme and its predecessors since 1978 are an entirely different group from their nineteenth-century labourer and domestic predecessors. Due to the greater investment in education in Ireland since the 1960s and the Irish migrants’ proficiency in English, they are better placed in relation to the bulk of migrants in Australia and also to the total Australian population. In 1991, 17.6 per cent of Irish-born (Republic only) had post-secondary qualifications compared with 12.8 per cent for the total Australian population.186 Skilled or basic vocational qualifications were held by 17.4 per cent of the Irish-born population compared with 16.6 per cent of migrants from the main English-speaking countries and 11.9 per cent of migrants from non-English speaking countries. The percentage of people in this category for the Australia-born population was 13.9 per cent.187

182 ibid., p.88.
183 Castles, Foster et al, Immigration and Australia, p.56.
185 Castles, Foster et al, Immigration and Australia, p.11.
187 ibid., p.20.
Chapter Two: The Irish in Australian Society

The concept of citizenship in Australia was framed within a British world view. Australian citizenship was brought into being by the 1948 Nationality and Citizenship Act and enacted in 1949. This act defined who was an alien in Australia; "Alien" means a person who is not a British subject, an Irish citizen, or a protected person. Davidson interprets this to mean that the image of an Australian after World War Two was that of an Anglo-Celt, not just Anglo-Protestant. Davidson acknowledges that the Irish fought a 'bitter battle' against homogenisation but feels it was lost. He attributes the subsuming of the Irish into 'Anglo-Celt' to the virtual disappearance of Gaelic as a spoken language in Australia within a generation in the nineteenth century. Language, apart from skin colour, is what Davidson considers 'the most distinctive marker of difference'. Its loss is therefore an indicator of a culture absorbed by another, although religion still functioned as a divider. It is within this mindset that he uses the term Anglo-Celt in discussing notions of citizenship. He qualifies his assertion that an homogenisation of the Irish with the English had successfully occurred in Australia by saying that it was achieved in too short a time and it left Australian identity 'weak and contradictory'. The weakness was caused by official adherence to British traditions which sit uneasily with weak but persistent republican ideas drawn partially from the Celtic component of the Anglo-Celt amalgam. 'Irishness' received a boost during the period of the Hawke and Keating governments (1983-1996) when the 'new nationalism' they espoused took its historical roots from the anti-British Celtic tradition in Australia; particularly harking back to the establishment of the ALP. To this image was married tolerance to newcomers in current times.

Whatever political opportunism may have been part of the retrieval of Irish historical roots, it was also an indication that the growing confidence and stability of Australia as an independent nation has facilitated a re-examination of its past. In historical matters, the re-examination of the past has led to a polarisation

188 Lucas, The Welsh, Irish, Scots and English in Australia, p.56.
189 Davidson, From Subject to Citizen, p.45.
190 ibid., p.46.
191 ibid., p.49.
192 ibid., pp.49&82.
193 Davidson acknowledges A-M. Jordens' use of the term. She is the author of several books and articles on Australian citizenship including Alien to Citizen: Settling migrants in Australia 1945-75, St Leonards, NSW, 1997.
194 Davidson, From Subject to Citizen, p.49.
195 ibid., p.140.
between those who consider exposing an unattractive side of triumphalist white history as black-armband history and those who consider that such matters have to be faced. Another aspect of the re-visiting of the past from a secure viewpoint is that convict or poor origins can be valorised or perhaps even romanticised. The current goodwill which surrounds the Irish in Australia owes something to this trend.

Race-based exclusion was the norm at Federation and was barely different when Australian citizenship was introduced nearly 50 years later. Formally the basis of citizenship in Australia was *ius soli* (where anyone can become a citizen by living in a country) but unofficially it was *ius sanguinis* (based on blood belonging). That Irish were included in the *ius sanguinis* concept of citizenship had several effects. In one sense, it meant that the Irish were more acceptable to establishment Australia as they were not ‘alien’. The converse of that is that they lost their distinctiveness, a process exacerbated by their small numbers. As both the British and the Irish who were lumped together by British subject status, were moved out of a privileged position by the growing emergence of multiculturalism and the consequent changing rules of citizenship, the Irish-born as well as the British had their position diminished in Australia. Multiculturalism and the civic changes it forced, have been credited with providing the impetus for much of the interest in Irish-Australian history. O’Farrell wrote: ‘I see our culture, our Catholic and our Irish culture...as being very much in danger in this country’. He went on to say that ‘recent migrants are entitled to themselves and their culture, and good luck to them but we are entitled to ours’. Multiculturalism and the problems or virtues of it and how non-British immigrants (and those of the second generation) fare in Australia, are the dominant preoccupations of the literature of postwar immigration. The Irish, as their numbers and their acceptance into the *ius sanguinis* ‘family’ of Australia would suggest, are virtual non-players in the postwar Australian world. Their historical importance has been revived or perhaps

196 ibid., p.82.
created, to provide characteristics which can be appropriated by current Australians struggling in the face of multiculturalism.

Yet to dismiss the Irish-born as irrelevant because of their low numbers relative to other specific immigrant groups or to immigrants in total, is to render a great injustice to the experiences of the 70,000+ Irish migrants in Australia and the approximately 13,000 in Western Australia. Undeniably the role of the Irish since World War Two is quite different from the colonial and early-twentieth-century experience. It would be inappropriate to apply O'Farrell's theory that the Irish were the dynamic force in the development of Australian society to the Irish immigrants of the second half of the twentieth century. As Partlon has suggested, it may even be inappropriate to apply it to Western Australia at any time.

The rest of this thesis examines in detail aspects of the individual and collective life of some modern Irish immigrants. Their experiences in Australia will have been shaped by the attitudes to Irish in Australia, by Australian attitudes to other migrants in the community, by immigration requirements and by administrative procedures which include regulations and privileges associated with citizenship. These modern immigrants are not as different from the receiving country and its norms as the Irish once were. They are privileged by their education and the ability to speak English. Unlike the situation of their colonial antecedents, language, religion, rural backgrounds and manual occupations are no longer indicators of difference. Importantly, assumptions about Irish attitudes and potential (sometimes actual) antipathy to the fading star of Britain as mother country to Australia are no longer important.
CHAPTER THREE

THE NEW IRISH

Leaving Ireland: Profile of survey group and methodological approach

The term ‘new Irish’ entered the lexicon of Australian Irish historiography at the end of the twentieth century. It is vague, it groups together a wide variety of immigrants who arrived in Australia after the Second World War and sometimes is extended to include short-term travellers to Australia. No group of immigrants is homogeneous and naming them by chronological period will not make them so, but there are broad differences which can be discerned in this group of Irish-born which may distinguish many or perhaps just some of them from the Irish who preceded them to Australia. This thesis aims to draw out some of these differences and interpret what the findings reveal about the position of the Irish in Australia.

A survey and interview approach is employed, in conjunction with other sources.\footnote{A copy of the survey is attached as Appendix 1.} The need for the survey is set out in this chapter as is the methodological approach. The characteristics of the survey group are compared with the broad picture of the total Irish-born (Republic only) in Western Australia. A summary of some of the demographic indicators are discussed to provide a base for the following chapters which focus on specific aspects of modern Irish immigration to Australia. The immigrants’ reasons for leaving Ireland are examined within the framework of a migration culture posited to exist in Ireland. The chapter concludes with a brief case study which illustrates both the effect of the migration culture and the unique insights which oral evidence can bring to history. It also reminds the reader that migration studies are always dealing with real people and their lives, not just statistics or theories.

In the 1993 and 2000 editions of The Irish in Australia, the arguably deliberately polemic writer Patrick O’Farrell is largely critical of the postwar
cohort of Irish migrants, particularly those who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s.² Yet the sources listed in the further reading section pertaining to ‘The New Irish’ chapter in the 1993 edition (he uses neither footnotes nor endnotes) do not appear to contain material which justifies his broad statements. The 2000 edition has a reduced bibliography so there still does not appear to be substantial evidence to support some of his conclusions. This thesis attempts to test some of O’Farrell’s assertions while simultaneously broadening the picture of the Irish in an increasingly culturally diverse Western Australia.

O’Farrell claimed that the so-called new Irish were less committed to Australia than their nineteenth-century predecessors.³ He cites continual trips back to Ireland as evidence of this lack of commitment. Although he acknowledges that short-term travellers on work visas affect the rate of people returning to Ireland, in 1993 he questioned whether, with so much coming and going, any of the postwar Irish could really be called migrants at all. By 2000 he had dropped this idea and conceded that some of the mobile Irish could in fact be termed migrants.⁴ He muses that the well-educated migrants stood out with the ‘colour, largeness and self-confident stridency of the new Irish psyche’ implying that all the postwar migrants fitted this profile.⁵ Irish described in this manner seem to fit the profile of the new Irish emigrant whom members of the Irish government praise in the ‘migration as opportunity’ discourse discussed in Chapter One. O’Farrell states that the ‘new Irish’ are not ‘making that movement of the mind and heart, away from Ireland, into Australia’.⁶ In 1993, he questioned ‘were the Irish without religion really Irish’ while speculating that a secular Ireland may be ‘a jarring untenable contradiction’.⁷ By 2000 he had moved in his thinking to state that a new invention of the ‘Irish self’ was possible ‘within the proved capacity of Irish ingenuity’, pointing out that after all, ““traditional” Catholic Ireland was a post-

Famine invention’. He is now therefore allowing for the possibility of an Irish secular identity or at least an identity not irrevocably welded to religion. He also argues that since the Second World War it has been easier for new Irish arriving in Australia to feel comfortable in their Australian surroundings as ‘their ancestors had helped to build a sympathetic congenial environment which was disposed to welcome them’. Conversely, the possibility also existed for Irish who came to Australia by way of Britain, to be alienated by a perceived ‘Britishness’ in Australian society.

As there seemed little evidence to support these conclusions, I designed my survey and interview questions to test some of these assertions as well as to gain as much information as possible to give a picture economically, politically and socially of the people who completed it. Oral history and survey material, in common with all historical sources, have their strengths and weaknesses. The degree to which they are representative is one issue but that is a problem with all sources. Occasional individual lives can be detailed from the past using a variety of sources but this does not ensure that the few who have left traceable records are representative of their contemporaries. In dealing with a national or ethnic group such as the Irish, if people do not choose to interact with Irish networks, they are difficult to find and identity as Irish. Although some people, quite possibly the majority of any given ethnic group, may well be left out of the historical record, this does not diminish the value of researching and recording the significance of the ones who can be found. The individuals surveyed or interviewed for this thesis are not claimed to be representative of all Irish-born people in Western Australia, but issues arising from an examination of their experiences and attitudes may provide new frameworks within which to view the Irish in Australia. The particular experiences of individuals, especially if their experiences are shared by others in the group, can suggest new themes and insights which can broaden the general picture. These experiences and attitudes may only be accessible through

9 ibid., p.316.
10 ibid., p.322.
11 I would like to thank Associate Professor Rob Donovan who was then at the Graduate School of Management at the University of Western Australia and principal of Donovan Research, Marketing Consultants, for his suggestions regarding layout and general advice on how to make the survey user-friendly.
oral history or by directly asking for information through a survey. A detailed explanation of the selection process for the participants forms part of this chapter.

Accuracy of oral evidence or memory is another issue to consider. Oral evidence can be seen as constructed from an unconscious combining of current experience with an interpretation of memories of previous experience. Alistair Thomson writes that ‘migrants are constantly developing life stories to articulate, explain and even justify their migration’ yet these explanatory narratives can be reflective and revelatory. Recollections, either consciously or unconsciously, may have been prioritised and ordered over the years. Richard White observed, when writing a book about his mother, that a cross-checking of her stories against other sources revealed that ‘nothing...happened exactly the way she remembers’. Awareness that memory is not exact does not weaken its potential to provide insights impossible to gain from other sources. David Fitzpatrick points out the tension which is always present when trying to mesh the particular (individual stories) with the general (statistical aggregates), yet both are necessary to the historical record. He comments that even using contemporary records (nineteenth-century migrants’ letters), his attempts to uncover motivations and attitudes were fraught with the difficulty of gleaning the ‘truth’ of what people chose to write while also being aware that inevitably there were gaps. The oral historian needs to be aware of the same issues and treat the oral evidence, supplemented where feasible with other evidence, in a careful and analytical way as would be expected with the use of any source. An oral methodology (and the survey is included in this methodology) exposes values and attitudes which cannot be found in

15 David Fitzpatrick, Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia, Melbourne, 1995, p.5.
16 ibid, p.viii.
17 There are now many published discussions of the merits and uses of oral history. Paul Thompson, The Voice of the Past: Oral History (1978) Oxford, 1988 is a well-known text. Oral history is gaining more recognition within immigration studies in Australia as was evidenced by the 2001 workshop in the Visible Immigrants series held at the Australian National University, December 2001 which was entitled ‘Speaking to Immigrants: Oral Testimony and the History of Australian Immigration’.
traditional histories or in profiles of prominent Irish-born people in Australia. As detailed later in Chapter Four, an enthusiasm for cricket was one such unexpected finding. Although a small issue, it goes against the grain of accepted ‘knowledge’ of the Irish-born and allows for a reframing and a shift in focus. Oral evidence adds an immediacy to the historical record. It is contemporary history, and the words of the people who are its subject, understood in the context of the time and place when they were said or written, make a great contribution to knowledge and ideas.

The four-section survey used to gather data comprised 61 questions some of which have more than one part. Some questions were multiple choice, some in a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ format and some required longer answers. A copy of the survey document is included as Appendix I.18

The first section of the survey is THE LEAVING, which deals with the issues of how and why a person left Ireland. What county were they from and had they lived in a city, town, village or farm? Had they come to Australia after a period of time in another country, particularly Britain? Were they financially assisted to immigrate? What were their intentions with regard to staying in Australia? How did their families react to their emigration? The rationale of the section was to gain a picture of the person and their circumstances and intentions prior to them having any experience of living in Australia.

The second section is BEING IRISH IN AUSTRALIA. As the name suggests, this section attempts to gain some insight into their experiences as migrants and how they reacted to their new country. The objective was to gauge their degree of commitment or attachment to Australian life. It is the largest section of the survey. Questions include whether or not they had become Australian citizens and why? How do they think of themselves regarding nationality; are they still Irish or has that concept changed to perhaps Irish-Australian? Do they make a conscious effort to pass on Irish culture or history to their children? Where is home now? Do they visit Ireland and does this have an effect on their view of where home is? Reactions were sought to Irish jokes, perceived Irishness or Britishness of Australia, level of interest in Australian sports and national days and level of

18 Questions or responses from the survey are referred to in the footnotes by number. For example, Q5 or Q8a.
participation in Irish organisations and interaction with other Irish here. What were their initial impressions of Australians and Australia? Have they changed?

The third section is MAINTAINING THE IRISH CONNECTION, which is perhaps the converse of the previous section. How frequently, in what manner and with whom do they keep in touch in Ireland? Do they buy or read Irish papers? Do they intend to return to Ireland to live and why?

The fourth section is FAMILY AND PERSONAL PROFILE which sought information on age, gender, income, occupation, religion, voting choice and educational standard.

Procedure

Surveys were sent to people from the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland selected as described below. The surveys were accompanied by an explanatory letter, a reply-paid envelope and a separate form, which people were asked to complete with their contact details if they were prepared to be interviewed. The surveys were not marked in any way which would allow them to be identified when they were returned (unless of course people chose to fill in the interview form). The question of how to distribute the survey was difficult, constrained mostly by cost (paper, envelopes, photocopying, initial postage and reply-paid postage) and the impossibility of contacting all 12,838 Irish-born in Western Australia even if unlimited funds had been available.19 James (Seamus) Grimes, when investigating the spatial aspects of friendship patterns of mainly non-professional Irish immigrants in Sydney in the 1970s, also used a non-random survey.20 He found most of his survey participants through distributing brief questionaries at Irish social occasions, concerts, dances and Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) sports days.21 His work was also a little early to include the so-called ‘New Irish’ profiled by O’Farrell. As this ‘New Irish’ group was the least chronicled and in some ways the easiest to access through specific organisations who were happy to assist with the survey distribution, they became

the primary (but not exclusive) focus for the Perth survey. Most of the surveys were sent out in June 1997 and were distributed in the following fashion:

- The Irish Australian Business Association Incorporated (IABA) posted 135 out with their organisation’s newsletter. This association was formed in 1985 and has the joint aims of increasing business networks and social contacts. To some extent, it had its genesis in the Irish Club (the club formed to accommodate the earlier post Second World War immigrants), but it came to be perceived as a group of white collar professionals rather than as one including people whose businesses lay in trade areas.  

- The Australian-Irish Heritage Association of Western Australia Incorporated (AIHA) posted 250 with their quarterly publication. This association which was formed in 1994, grew out of the W.B. Yeats Society, which was founded in 1982 to highlight Irish cultural achievements as a way of counteracting the ‘Irish as stupid’ stereotype resented by many well-educated Irish immigrants. Its major aim is to highlight the achievements of the Irish in Australia.

- Of the 385 distributed through the above organisations, approximately 125 would have been received by members who were not Irish-born. They were asked, if possible, to pass the survey to someone to whom it would be applicable.

- Forty were sent to people whose names were given to me by others or who responded to a request broadcast on the ABC 720 radio ‘Grapevine’ program. This program was designed to provide a link between people in its audience who had goods or services to give away or who sought information on a variety of issues.

- Fifteen were sent to people known to the author.

Of all the surveys posted, 300 are estimated to have been received by people who were postwar migrants from Ireland. There were 116 replies representing a


23 ibid., p.74.
return rate of 38.7%. As participants were not required to indicate how they received the survey, there is no way to know exactly where specific replies came from.24 As 36 per cent (42 people) indicated that they did not belong to clubs, this could be taken as an indication that the surveys went beyond the clubs’ mailing lists.25 No reminders were sent. Out of the 116 replies, 77 people offered to be interviewed if required.

The returned surveys have a coded number where N or R indicates that the person comes from either Northern Ireland or the Republic; the next two digits are the year of arrival; F or M indicates gender and the last digit is a consecutive number in a decadal group for either Northern Ireland or for the Republic. For example, R59M3 would indicate the person was from the Republic, came to Australia in 1959, was a male and was the third survey processed for the Republic for the 1950s. The 1940s and the 1990s are only partial decades as the actual arrival date range was 1946 to 1995. Replies are coded accurately but the 1940s are grouped with the 1950s and the 1990s are grouped with the 1980s for analytical purposes. The interview consent forms which contain identifying material are given the same number as the survey form for the same person.

In July 2000, a second letter accompanied by two forms was sent to all those who had offered to be interviewed. This letter was to request more specific information regarding visiting Ireland, as the importance of this practice had emerged as a distinctive feature in the analysis of the survey and interview material. Recipients were also asked to provide information about the incidence of the migration of family members as the importance of a migration culture was also emerging as a theme and more information was warranted on that topic.26 Fifty-five replies were received, 42 from migrants from the Republic and 13 from Northern Irish immigrants.

24 Grimes reported that he also was unable to discern which replies came from which distribution point. Grimes, ‘Spatial Aspects’, p.140.
25 See Table 7.1.
Interviews

Thirty-two interviews were conducted. The broad outline of the questions asked of interviewees appears as Appendix II. In selecting interviewees, an attempt was made to achieve a gender balance; to include both Protestant and Catholic; university educated and non-university educated; rural and urban backgrounds and to encompass a range of incomes. A decadal view was also used where at least one person from the Republic and Northern Ireland from each of the four decades under consideration was interviewed (with the exception of the 1950s from Northern Ireland). Whether they intended to stay in Australia, to return permanently to Ireland or were still undecided was also part of the interviewee selection process. Although 77 people offered to be interviewed, it was difficult to achieve the balance sought. As the major focus of the study was on the immigrants of the 1980s and 1990s and as they formed the bulk of the offers, over half of the interviewees were drawn from that arrival period.

The questions were designed to draw out opinions and attitudes and followed the same themes as the survey questions. Interviewees were asked to elaborate on their decision to come to Australia; how their family and friends had reacted; why they had chosen Australia and not England or somewhere else. They were asked about how they felt on arrival, how they obtained employment and their reaction to Australian conditions and how that changed over time. Background details were sought such as schooling, knowledge of Irish history and about any personal or family stories relating to any of the great dramas of that history, and of Gaelic and its importance to them. Being Irish in Australia was also explored. How do they fit in with Australian history? Do they see themselves as part of a continuing tradition of Irish migration which was so prevalent in the nineteenth century? Ideas of identity were pursued.
The profile of those interviewed is as follows:

Table 3.1: PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEES: REPUBLIC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Family Income</th>
<th>Return Intention</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R54M6</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>$30,000-49,000</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R57M4</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>$20,000-29,000</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R58F1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>Under $20,000</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R63M15</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>$70,000+</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R67F9</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>$20,000-29,000</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R69M1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>$50,000-69,000</td>
<td>Return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R70M15</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>$70,000+</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R70F13</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>$30,000-49,000</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R79F3</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>$50,000-69,000</td>
<td>Return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R79M1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>$70,000+</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R80M33</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>#Ex-Catholic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>$70,000+</td>
<td>Stay</td>
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<tr>
<td>R81F32</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R82F31</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>$70,000+</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R82M30</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Ex-Catholic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>$50,000-69,000</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R84M21</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>$50,000-69,000</td>
<td>Stay</td>
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<tr>
<td>R85M20</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>$70,000+</td>
<td>Stay</td>
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<tr>
<td>R86F18</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Ex-Catholic</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>$30,000-49,000</td>
<td>Stay</td>
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<tr>
<td>R86M16</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>$70,000+</td>
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<td>R87F14</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Ex-Catholic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Stay</td>
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<tr>
<td>R88F34</td>
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<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>R88M5</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>$70,000+</td>
<td>Stay</td>
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<td>R88M12</td>
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<td>$70,000+</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
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<tr>
<td>R88M13</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>$70,000+</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R89F4</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>#Ex-Catholic</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>$70,000+</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R89F3</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>$30,000-49,000</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
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<tr>
<td>R91M9</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>$70,000+</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R95F8(a)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>$70,000+</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# These two were raised as Catholics but now describe their religion as Christian, not Catholic.
Table 3.2: PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEES: NORTHERN IRELAND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Family Income</th>
<th>Return Intention</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950s</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>N68M2</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>*No religion</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>$50,000-69,000</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N68F1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>*No religion</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>$50,000-69,000</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N71F3</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>+ or - $50,000</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N88M1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>$70,000+</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N93F1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>*No religion</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>$70,000+</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These three are of Protestant background but have eschewed formal religion. The two from the 1960s still say they have religious faith.

A dilemma for the oral historian occurs when taking private histories and presenting them within an academic discourse, as the conclusions of the historian may not mesh with those of any individual participant. This potential difficulty is unavoidable and can only partly be resolved by the employment of ethical practice when inviting the interviewees to participate in the study. To this end, the interviews have all been transcribed verbatim and copies of the tapes and transcripts offered to the interviewees. Signed permission to use the material has been obtained. One of the interviewees wanted to use a pseudonym and another only wished to have her first name used. Their wishes have been respected. Interviewees will be informed when the project is completed. In the thesis, when names are not required, references are by the coded number. Tapes and transcripts are in the possession of the author.

Before examining the survey procedure in detail, it will be useful to be aware of the numbers of Irish-born in Western Australia and of the growth in their numbers, particularly in the late 1980s, as this group of immigrants are of major

27 Skene, 'Engendering Local Authority', p.51.
28 There is one exception to a full transcription. One interviewee included much extraneous material which, although interesting, was not relevant to the thesis. His tape has been summarised in writing.
29 See Table 2.2 in Chapter Two.
interest in the thesis. Why Perth was chosen as a destination is also interesting and stands in some contrast to the core/periphery argument outlined in Chapter One.

The number of Irish-born in Western Australia as a percentage of the total Irish-born in Australia has been increasing steadily since 1961. In that year, the Irish-born in Western Australia constituted 9.9 per cent of the total Irish-born in Australia. For the Republic-born, 10.9 per cent were in Western Australia and for the Northern Irish-born, 7.4 per cent. By 1996, the Irish-born in Western Australia constituted 17.22 per cent of the total Irish-born in Australia with 18.2 per cent being from the Republic and 14.9 per cent from Northern Ireland. The largest percentage increase occurred between the 1986 and 1991 censuses when the numbers went up by 3 per cent.

Western Australia had a booming economy and a reputation as a state of entrepreneurs in the 1980s which may have attracted some immigrants. The international publicity of the America’s Cup win in 1983 and its defence in Fremantle in 1986 could have been a factor. The people who were interviewed who arrived in the 1980s were asked why they chose to come to Western Australia. One woman commented that she and her family very much enjoyed water sports and Perth seemed ideal for this pursuit. Additionally, her husband read that ‘the world’s most stress-free executives live in Perth’, which was very attractive for him. Eight out of 19 gave answers indicating that they liked the smallness of Perth. A man from Northern Ireland thought Perth was a ‘relatively small city in global terms but a city none-the-less’. This is an intriguing idea. Allan Findlay, when writing about international migration of professionals, reported that a part of the analysis to explain the movement of such migrants was that they were attracted to ‘world cities’ meaning places like London, New York, Paris and Tokyo. He quotes J. Beaverstock who wrote ‘the attractiveness of

30 Calculated using figures from Table 2.2.
33 ibid.
34 George Allingham interviewed by author, 2000, transcript, p.3.Tape and transcript held by author.
working and living in a world city ... is strengthened by the possibility of higher wages and by the cultural facilities and amenities offered by them'.

The Perth survey suggests a variation on this theme: that some people wanted to come to a small city in a developed country and were attracted by its 'facilities and amenities'. Further reinforcing this idea, another participant reported that she perceived Perth (and Western Australia) as being a large place with a small population and therefore attractive as it was assumed it would be uncrowded.

Five came here after originally immigrating to Sydney. Reasons for leaving Sydney were that it was 'very big and fast' or too busy and the people were unfriendly. Again, the small city idea attracted them. A Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA) reported that 'lifestyle and climate' were significant to immigrants choosing to come to Western Australia and this is reflected in the Perth survey. Property prices, cheaper in Perth, influenced two people to leave Sydney and relocate in Western Australia. Another person, coming from London, rejected Sydney as a destination as she felt she would just be exchanging one big city for another. Three people came here because their (then future) spouses were here, two had siblings in Western Australia and the remaining four came for specific job or study reasons. Another finding of the LSIA was that over 80 per cent reported that the residential location of other family in Australia influenced their choice to immigrate to the same place. It is not possible to tell definitely whether any of the factors specific to the 1980s mentioned earlier had any effect on people's thinking. It is possible that a subtle influence was felt as people were unable to say specifically why they chose Perth rather than Adelaide or Brisbane as an alternative to Sydney or as a first choice destination.

36 J. Beaverstock, 'A New International Division of Professional and Managerial Labour', Department of Geography, University of Loughborough Occasional Paper 17, quoted in Findlay, 'Skilled Transients', p.518.
37 Kitty Walsh interviewed by author, 1997, transcript, p.3. Tape and transcript held by author.
39 'Mary' interviewed by author, 1997, transcript, pp.5&6. Tape and transcript held by author.
40 J. Murphy, Initial Location Decisions of Immigrants, Canberra, 1997 cited in Stephen Castles, William Foster, Robyn Iredale and Glenn Withers, Immigration and Australia: Myths and Realities, St Leonards, 1998, pp.43-44.
41 ibid., p.43.
Survey analysis

In total, 116 people returned the survey, 91 from the Republic and 25 from Northern Ireland. Not everyone responded to every question so the base figure may vary from question to question. Information and analysis of specific questions form the bulk of the thesis. A small amount of the information which was collected in the survey such as what schools children were sent to, was not utilised in the thesis as the material was not relevant to the major themes which emerged. The following is a summary of the profile of the survey participants which in turn is followed by analysis of some of the important features.

SURVEY PROFILE SUMMARY (ALL IRELAND)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of years in Australia</th>
<th>per cent</th>
<th>numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 10 years</td>
<td>20 per cent</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29 years</td>
<td>28 per cent</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39 years</td>
<td>28 per cent</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-51 years</td>
<td>10 per cent</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(116)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>59 per cent</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>41 per cent</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(116)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age on arrival in Australia</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 20 years old</td>
<td>5 per cent</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29 years old</td>
<td>53 per cent</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39 years old</td>
<td>28 per cent</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49 years old</td>
<td>12 per cent</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-69 years old</td>
<td>2 per cent</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(116)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Where from in Ireland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>(Total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Religion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>(Total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other protestant/Christian</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Married

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>(Total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Occupational category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>(Total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional – includes teachers/nurses</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical/service/small business</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trades</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer/semi-skilled</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Citizenship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizenship</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>(Total)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australian citizen</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Australian citizen</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter Three: The New Irish

The survey data has been collated by decade and gender with separate totals available for the Republic, Northern Ireland, and All Ireland.\(^{42}\) After considering the effect of other circumstances such as evolving Australian immigration requirements, Irish improvements in education from the 1960s onwards and technological changes in transport and telecommunications, it became apparent that a notional line could be drawn between those migrants arriving prior to 1980 and those arriving in 1980 and after. The changes in the social fabric of Irish society, particularly the weakening of the authority of the Catholic Church, meant that the migrants of the 1980s came from a somewhat different social milieu than the earlier immigrants. Ireland’s traditional rural, close-knit cultural norms documented in publications such as *The Irish Countryman* lingered in some form or another into the mid-to-late twentieth century.\(^{43}\) Change was occurring and traditions of communal life which involved more privacy and personal autonomy were developing strongly by the 1980s,\(^{44}\) although Grimes when using material from 1972 notes that although the social organisation of rural communities was changing there was still strong attachment to traditional ways.\(^{45}\) Grimes’ work was predicated on the assumption that remnants of these traditional patterns were likely to be observable in the Irish immigrants to Sydney who were the focus of his 1970s study.\(^{46}\)

By the 1980s, it is debatable whether any traditional patterns were meaningful to the lives of the urban, educated Irish. Val Colic-Peisker’s study of Croatian migrants provides another case study about postwar migration to Western Australia and similarities with the Irish situation can be identified.\(^{47}\) Peisker describes the immigrants of the 1980s as being different from those of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s primarily because of their having ‘urban skills’ and a better ‘cultural kit’.\(^{48}\) Croatian immigrants of the 1980s had been exposed to

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\(^{42}\) As noted earlier, the range of arrival dates of respondents stretches from 1945 to 1995. As there were very few responses from the 1940s and 1990s and because they are partial decades only, these responses have been included in the 1950s and 1980s respectively.


\(^{46}\) Ibid., p.56.


\(^{48}\) Ibid., p.276.
westernisation or globalisation. Although differences of culture, language and politics make Croatia and Ireland very different emigrant countries, rural (or rural-influenced) and urban attitudes and the way a rural or urban background can affect life and adjustment in a new country are common to both. The numbers of respondents in the survey, particularly those from the Republic, were roughly equal if split at 1980 which facilitated the decision to treat all the pre-1980s respondents as one group and the 1980s respondents as another. As a consequence, unless it appears meaningful to differentiate between the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, data about these decades will be aggregated.

Table 3.3: ARRIVAL DATES OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>REPUBLIC</th>
<th>NORTHERN IRELAND</th>
<th>ALL IRELAND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950s</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50s/60s/70s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considering the figures from the Republic, Table 3.4 shows that the survey group has significantly more men than women who arrived in the decades of the 1950s and 1960s than in the later decades. As more Irish men than women migrated to Australia in those decades, this reflects the profile of the wider Irish population in Western Australia.

49 ibid., p.270.
50 Q1; Q4; and Q48.
Table 3.4: ARRIVAL DATES OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS SPLIT AT 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arrival dates</th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>Republic %</th>
<th>Northern Ireland</th>
<th>Northern Ireland %</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945-79</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>53.8%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-95</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>46.2%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>91</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Over all, 56 per cent (65 people) arrived before 1980 and 44 per cent (51 people) arrived that year or later.

Place of origin in Ireland is a significant differential of the survey group. The majority, approximately 70 per cent, came from a city or town. Historically, the pattern of rural life in Ireland has been identified as having made it difficult for immigrants to adapt to life in a new country, especially urban life. Kerby Miller's American study, *Emigrants and Exiles*, is predicated on this idea. In Australia, the participants in Grimes' study in the 1970s had left Ireland when traditional rural-based kinship patterns and their urban equivalent had considerable influence on Irish society. Social change in Ireland since Grimes' study, which could be expressed as Ireland becoming more modern, is significant in explaining differences between the two study groups. It also, in addition to changes in migrant intake with regard to skills and qualifications dictated by the Australian Government, differentiates the participants of the Perth survey from previous studies of Irish in Australia.

A detailed examination of the Perth survey confirms that coming from a rural background is more prevalent among those who migrated in the 1950s (who make up 14 per cent of the whole group) than among those who came in subsequent decades. In the 1950s group, 62.5 per cent came from villages or farms and 37.5 per cent from cities or towns. In the later decades many more migrants originated from urban than from rural areas. Of the survey participants arriving in the 1960s (21 per cent of total group), 1970s (also 21 per cent of total group) and 1980s (remaining 44 per cent of total group), the percentage from villages or farms is

---

52 Q1.
only 25 per cent with 75 per cent leaving from cities and towns. The central findings are that approximately 70 per cent of the total group came from a city or town and there is little difference between places of origin for men and women. Some had already migrated internally from rural areas to cities within Ireland, especially Dublin, and indicated that this was so on their survey form. It is possible that the rural figures are overstated as some participants may have interpreted the question ‘which best describes where you came from in Ireland?’ as being where they were born or grew up rather than where they were living when they chose to come to Australia. In Australia in 1981, 73 per cent of Irish-born were living in cities so the background of the survey participants is similar to the residential pattern of Irish-Australians.

Table 3.5: SURVEY PARTICIPANTS BY RELIGION: %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other protestant &amp; Christian (undefined)</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using religion as a determinant, an approximate comparison between the Irish in Ireland and Northern Ireland and the total Irish-born in Australia or Western Australia is interesting as it shows that the proportions belonging to the major religious groups are different from the host countries. It is not possible to make an exact comparison as the census dates do not tally exactly. As Table 3.6 (a-c) shows, with regard to the Republic, there are proportionately more Protestants in Australia (and to a lesser extent, Western Australia) than is the case for the Irish in Ireland. Comparing the 1946 Irish figures to the 1954 Western Australian figures shows 5.3 per cent of the Irish in the Republic to be Protestant compared with 25.9 per cent in Western Australia. In 1961 the figures were 4.4 per cent in the

55 Q5.
56 Q5: ‘Which best describes where you came from in Ireland?’ There were four choices: city, town, village and farm and they were asked to tick one. They were not provided with a yardstick as to what constituted a town as opposed to a village.
57 BIPR, Community Profiles 1991 Census Ireland Born, p.5.
58 Q55.
Republic compared to 24.65 per cent in Western Australia. By 1991, the gap was much narrower; 4.2 per cent Protestant in the Republic and 10.1 per cent in Western Australia. The Catholic proportion of the Republic-born Irish in Western Australia had risen over the same period from 66.2 per cent of the Irish-born in 1954 to 77.2 per cent in 1991. Table 3.6 (a-c) shows that the percentage of Catholics among the postwar Irish has increased significantly between 1961 and 1991.59 Tables 2.6 and 2.7 in Chapter Two show that the number of Catholics in the Australian population has increased proportionately as well as actually since the Second World War. In Western Australia, the number of Irish-born people reporting 'no religion' rose from 0.4 per cent in 1954 to 6 per cent in 1991.

Table 3.6(a): RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION of the RESIDENTS OF IRELAND AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND OF THE IRISH-BORN IN AUSTRALIA AND WESTERN AUSTRALIA: %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>REPUBLIC 1946</th>
<th>N. IRELAND 1951</th>
<th>AUSTRALIA 1954</th>
<th>W. AUSTRALIA 1954</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Rep %</td>
<td>NI %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Christian*</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Christian</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undefined</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reply</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>Non option</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* includes other Protestant

59 A very interesting fact emerged from census analysis by religion of Irish-born in Australia. According to the 1954 census, only 52 per cent of Irish-born (all Ireland) in Australia were Catholic and the 1961 census shows that the figure had dropped to 49.8 per cent. By 1991, the figures for Republic-only Catholics had risen but as the Northern Ireland figures were not freely available from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, a full comparison was not made. What is startling about the 1954 and 1961 figures is that Oliver MacDonagh in The Sharing of the Green, St Leonards, 1995, p.xiv states that the nineteenth-century Irish population in Australia was roughly 75 per cent Catholic and 25 per cent Protestant. If MacDonagh's figures are correct, then a subtle and hidden 'Protestantisation' of the Irish-born in Australia has occurred and has passed unremarked. It was beyond the scope of this thesis to pursue the issue and examine other sources of figures but it certainly suggests that the stereotype of Irish and Catholic may be as exaggerated in Australia (at least for a certain time) as it is in the United States.

Table 3.6(b) RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION - 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>94.9</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>63.16</td>
<td>13.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6.79</td>
<td>32.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Christian*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.82</td>
<td>18.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Christian</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undefined</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reply</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9.17</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>.7#</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* includes other Protestant

# This is the first time the categories of 'no religion' and 'not stated' were included on the census. Ó Gráda and Walsh contend that 'it is likely that those returned in these categories in the Republic are predominantly of Catholic background'.

Table 3.6(c) RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION - 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>73.9</td>
<td>77.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Christian*</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Christian</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undefined</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reply</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* includes other Protestant

# figures for Northern Ireland not available

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62 Australian Bureau of Statistics quoted $190 in 2002 to provide these figures as they are subsumed within the United Kingdom figures so I did not obtain them.
Table 3.7: CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS: %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly to six monthly</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annually</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than annually</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 3.8: CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS BY RELIGION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>8 (53 %)*</td>
<td>28 (41 %)*</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly to six monthly</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annually</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than annually</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7 (54 %)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Percentage of total of own religious and country’s group.

The interesting findings are that the survey participants from the Republic, both Catholic and Protestant, are more diligent about attending church than the immigrants from the North. Although the figures are very small, considering the two extremes of ‘weekly’ and ‘never’, Protestants from Northern Ireland are the least likely of any in the total group to attend church whereas Protestants from the Republic are the most likely. The next most regular weekly attenders are Catholics from the Republic. If frequent attendance is widened to weekly up to six-monthly, and infrequent is annual or less, then 67 per cent of Republic Protestants and 60 per cent of Republic Catholics fall into the frequent category. Only 38 per cent of Northern Irish Protestants and 55 per cent of Catholics are frequent church goers.

Attendance rates are lower than for Ireland although rapid change is occurring there. Figures for Catholic weekly attendance at mass in Ireland were about 85 per

---

63 Q56. From the Republic, there were 83 people and from Northern Ireland there were 24 who nominated their religion and their attendance.
64 ibid.
cent in 1990 but had fallen to 61 per cent by 1998.65 Falling church attendance rates and a decline in the authority of established churches are not unusual in western countries. O'Farrell comments that Ireland, in common with the rest of the Catholic world, is searching for a new way to accommodate spiritual life with secular and state realities.66 McDonagh echoes this in stating that the Catholic Church was ill-prepared to face and deal with the modernisation which was taking place in Ireland from the 1960s onwards.67

Most of the survey participants when they came to Australia were aged between 20 and 29 as the following table shows.

Table 3.9: AGE OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS AT TIME OF ARRIVAL IN AUSTRALIA68

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Under 20</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>Over 60</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a difference in age at arrival between those who arrived in the 1980s and those arriving earlier, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. Those arriving in the 1980s, especially from the Republic were a little older than the norm for the whole group. There were only three out of 42 arrivals of the 1980s from the Republic who arrived aged between 20-24. Fifteen were aged between 25 and 29 and ten were aged between 30 and 34 with a further six aged between 35 and 39. This means 43 per cent of the 1980s arrivals from the Republic were in their 20s but 60 per cent were aged between 25 and 34. This increases to 74 per cent if those who came in their late 30s are included. For those who arrived in the 1960s and 1970s, there were more who arrived aged in their early 20s than their late 20s and less again who were over 29. A possible explanation for this difference could be the preference Australia expressed for skilled migrants in the 1980s which would deter the young unskilled, who were the immigrants of previous eras. Within the Australian government's (Non-Humanitarian) Program which covers most of the Irish immigrants, of the 115 points required for outright acceptance, 50-70 could

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67 McDonagh, 'Faith and the Cure of Poetry', p.321.
68 Q47.
be earned from qualifications in combination with work experience.\textsuperscript{69} To have gained work experience as well as completing post-secondary qualifications necessarily means the immigrants are at least well into their twenties. The arrival of skilled migrants is also consistent with the idea of an educated workforce seeking to leave Ireland to advance careers as opposed to merely becoming employed. This idea is explored further in Chapter Six.

Most of the survey group are married; only 16 per cent indicating that they were not married at the time of the survey. This includes those who have never married as well as those who are divorced. A little over a fifth are married to Australian-born partners (21 per cent), 46 per cent have Irish-born partners and 17 per cent have partners who were born elsewhere: often but not exclusively, in England.\textsuperscript{70} Twenty per cent have no children. Of the total group, 39 per cent have all their children born in Australia, 20 per cent have all their children born in Ireland, 13 per cent have some children who are Irish-born and some who are Australian-born while the remaining 8 per cent have children born in another country or a combination of another country and Australia or Ireland. The 1980s group are again different from the other decades. Possibly due to their older age at migration, when they may already have started families, they have proportionately fewer Australian-born children only and more Irish only or both Irish and Australian children. This could also be because they are still in their child-bearing years and may not have completed their families. There are also proportionately more people of the 1980s group who have no children which could be explained by the same reason.\textsuperscript{71}

The survey group are clearly white collar workers with 39 per cent in professional or para-professional jobs. The largest occupational grouping is clerical, service or small business who constitute 44 per cent of the respondents. In the wider Irish-born population (Republic only), 57 per cent in total comprise these categories.\textsuperscript{72} As the survey was primarily distributed through two Irish clubs whose membership is likely to be drawn from people working in professions or

\textsuperscript{69} This was the breakdown of points as at 1997. See Castles, Foster et al, \textit{Immigration and Australia: Myths and Realities}, p.11.

\textsuperscript{70} Q16a.

\textsuperscript{71} Q17; and Q53.

\textsuperscript{72} BIPR, \textit{Community Profiles 1991 Census Ireland Born}, Table 10, p.25.
businesses, the white-collar bias is understandable. It is also an intention of the thesis to focus primarily on this group about whom little is known.

Republic only: comparison of survey participants' characteristics with census figures

A comparison follows, for the Republic only, of various demographic details of the survey group and the broad population of the Irish-born in Western Australia. As all but six of the survey participants arrived in Western Australia before 1991, most of the demographic details will be related to the census of that year with occasional references to the census of 1996.

From an examination of the majority group in the study, those from the Republic, it can be seen that the survey and interview group are not a perfect statistical match with the full complement of Irish-born in Western Australia as at the 1991 Census.73 While the non-random nature of the survey is the main reason why the total statistical picture and the survey group are only partially matched, there are other reasons for divergence. The base figures are potentially different as the survey deals only with people who came to WA post-1945 whereas the census includes those Irish-born who came to Australia pre-1945. There are no children in the survey group, unlike the census. None of the survey group are in the 15-24 age group, and although many of this group in the census figures may be students, many others will be in the workforce, which will skew the income and qualification figures. There may also be some effect on citizenship and other categories.

In spite of the above differences, there are many areas of convergence between the survey group and the Irish-born population as a whole. Two of these are the place of origin of the immigrants and whether or not they came directly from Ireland to Australia. Postwar Irish coming to Australia were more likely to be from urban backgrounds than were their predecessors.74 As discussed earlier, the survey shows 70 per cent of the group came from urban backgrounds (city; 44.44 per cent and towns; 25.56 per cent) and 30 per cent came from rural areas (villages; 11.11 per cent or farms; 18.89 per cent). Of those who arrived in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, 36.7 per cent came via the United Kingdom or another

73 A full statistical profile of migrants from the Irish Republic is published in BIPR, Community Profiles, 1991 Census Ireland Born.
74 ibid., p.5.
Chapter Three: The New Irish

country. The percentage coming after spending some time in the United Kingdom is much higher in this group than in the later arrivals. Of that 36.7 per cent of the pre-1980s group who did not migrate directly from Ireland to Australia, 94.4 per cent came via the United Kingdom with only 5.6 per cent coming by way of another country. This is different from the pattern of the 1980s migrants. In reference to the 1981-86 arrivals as recorded in the census, some 'reached Australia after spending some years in Britain and some evidence suggests that a significant number of Irish had worked in the Middle East, Canada or Europe before trying their luck in Australia'.\textsuperscript{75} This is reflected in the survey with 47.6 per cent of the immigrants who came in the 1980s and 1990s having come by way of the United Kingdom or a variety of other countries including South Africa, United States of America, Iraq, Nigeria, China, New Zealand and more generally, Asia, Europe, Africa and 'all over the world'.\textsuperscript{76} Of that 47.6 per cent, half came directly from the United Kingdom and the other half came via another country.\textsuperscript{77} Some of the latter group had also lived in the United Kingdom at some stage.

Arrival dates of those in the survey and the broader group of the census show a close correlation. From the census, it can be seen that 54.6 per cent of the total Irish-born from the Republic in Western Australia arrived before 1981 and 45.4 per cent arrived in 1981 or later.\textsuperscript{78} In the survey group, 53.8 per cent arrived before 1981 (49 people) and 46.2 per cent (42 people) arrived in 1981 or later.\textsuperscript{79} Interestingly, the total Australian figures for the Irish-born are different from the Western Australian figures, showing that 66.3 per cent arrived before 1981 and only 33.8 per cent arrived in 1981 or later. This is not surprising when considered in conjunction with the fact that Western Australia received the second highest numbers (next to NSW) of the 1986-91 intake of Irish-born.\textsuperscript{80} It is significant that of the top 20 Local Government Areas (LGAs) in Australia where Irish-born comprise at least 0.5 per cent of the population, nine are in Western Australia. Wanneroo and Stirling have the largest actual numbers of Irish-born of these 20 LGAs.\textsuperscript{81} That these are not the highest proportionally is probably attributable to

\textsuperscript{75} ibid.
\textsuperscript{76} Q7.
\textsuperscript{77} Q6b.
\textsuperscript{78} BIPR, Community Profiles 1991 Census Ireland Born, Table 5, p.15.
\textsuperscript{79} Q1.
\textsuperscript{80} BIPR, Community Profiles 1991 Census Ireland Born, Table 5, p.15.
\textsuperscript{81} ibid., Table 2B, p.9.
the very large populations in these LGAs. Unfortunately, apart from those interviewed, it is not possible to correlate the addresses of the survey respondents with LGAs.

A comparison of the ages of survey participants and the Irish-born population as a whole presents a mixed picture. There are differences within smaller breakdowns of the figures, but these are not particularly significant as overall most (those in the survey and those in the census) fall into the 25 to 54 age group. A detailed breakdown based on the figures for Western Australia is as follows:

Table 3.10: REPUBLIC ONLY: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS COMPARED TO DISTRIBUTION WITHIN 1991 CENSUS OF IRISH-BORN IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Cns</th>
<th>Srvy</th>
<th>Cns</th>
<th>Srvy</th>
<th>Cns</th>
<th>Srvy</th>
<th>Cns</th>
<th>Srvy</th>
<th>Cns</th>
<th>Srvy</th>
<th>Cns</th>
<th>Srvy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-24</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As there are no people under 25 in the survey group, below is the data adjusted to take those under 25 out of the total census population in 1991.

Table 3.11: REPUBLIC ONLY: AGE OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS COMPARED WITH 1991 CENSUS OF IRISH-BORN IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA (with census figures adjusted to remove under 25 year olds)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Cns</th>
<th>Srvy</th>
<th>Cns</th>
<th>Srvy</th>
<th>Cns</th>
<th>Srvy</th>
<th>Cns</th>
<th>Srvy</th>
<th>Cns</th>
<th>Srvy</th>
<th>Cns</th>
<th>Srvy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This comparison shows the survey to have too few men in the 25-34 age group and too many men and women in the 35-44 age group. There are too few women in the 55-64 group and too few over 65s, especially women. Overall, the differences are not particularly significant as about 71 per cent of the census population and 75 per cent of survey participants fall into the 25-54 group.

---

82 ibid., p.11; and Q47.
83 Extrapolated from ibid.
Two areas where there is a divergence between the survey group and the total Irish-born population in Western Australia are gender and citizenship. A comparison by gender shows that the Perth survey has a male bias which was also the case for Grimes' reconnaissance survey. For Western Australia, 49.8 per cent of the Irish-born population are males and 50.2 per cent are females. In the survey group, males comprise 65 per cent and females 35 per cent. This difference has attempted to be offset by a gender balance in the interviewees.

Australian citizenship rates are also higher among the survey participants than in the general Irish-born population. Attitudes to citizenship are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five. As a high proportion of those in the survey arrived in the 1980s and 1990s, by which time it had become necessary to be an Australian citizen in order to vote and in order to be sure of re-entry to Australia, this may have skewed the figure. Those who arrived in the earlier postwar decades were granted British subject status and did not have to become a citizen to vote. Subsequent changes to citizenship requirements detailed in Chapter Two could affect the actions of those later arrivees of the survey group. The comments of the survey group support this argument although the figures of the census do not. A possible explanation is that short-term travellers, especially those under 25, who can come to Australia for up to a year, obviously will not be citizens but will appear in the census figures. As there are neither under-25s nor short-term travellers in the survey group, the rate of citizenship will tend to be higher in the survey, although the absence of the two groups mentioned is unlikely to explain the disparity fully.

Table 3.12: REPUBLIC ONLY: COMPARISION OF CITIZENSHIP RATES OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS AND 1991 CENSUS REPUBLIC BORN – AUSTRALIA AND WESTERN AUSTRALIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Citizenship</th>
<th>1991 Census All Aust</th>
<th>1991 Census WA</th>
<th>Survey As at 1991</th>
<th>Survey As at 1997</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>45.6%</td>
<td>49.6%</td>
<td>63.73%</td>
<td>85.71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (including Irish)</td>
<td>54.4%</td>
<td>50.4%</td>
<td>36.27%</td>
<td>14.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

84 Grimes, 'Spatial Aspects', p.140. Grimes' reconnaissance survey of 619 people comprises 63 per cent males and 37 per cent females.
85 BPR, Community Profiles 1991 Census Ireland Born, Table 6, p.17; and Q15a; Q15b.
Another area of major divergence is the level of post-secondary education qualifications of the survey group. The survey contains a much higher proportion of people with post-secondary qualifications than are found in the total Irish-born population. Two factors apart from the non-random nature of the survey could explain why this is so. One is the effect of the fact that there are no people aged 0 to 24 in the survey group which makes the base figure for the census data more diverse than that of the survey group. As the majority of the 0 to 24s will be too young to have gained a post-secondary qualification, this will make the percentage of those in the census group with post-secondary qualifications smaller. Also, because 40 per cent of the survey group arrived post-1980, and because of the changing nature of Irish emigration and Australia’s changing requirements and subsequent immigration policies, there is more likelihood of them having a tertiary qualification than those who arrived earlier. The survey, like the census figures in Community Profiles, shows that the percentage of women with qualifications is higher than for men.

Table 3.13: REPUBLIC ONLY: COMPARISON OF IRISH-BORN IN AUSTRALIA AND SURVEY GROUP WITH POST-SECONDARY QUALIFICATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1991 Census</th>
<th>Survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males (as a % of males)</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females (as a % of females)</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
<td>53.12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total group</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>47.25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within the survey group, those who arrived before 1980 are less likely to have a qualification than those in the post-1980 group although all figures are higher than the total Irish-born group.

Table 3.14: PERCENTAGE OF SURVEY GROUP WITH POST-SECONDARY QUALIFICATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Group</th>
<th>Pre-1980</th>
<th>1980 onwards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males (as a % of males)</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females (as a % of females)</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
<td>58.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total group</td>
<td>34.19%</td>
<td>61.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

86 ibid, Table 8, p.21; and Q58b.
87 Q58b.
With regard to a comparison by religion, the number of Catholics is too low and the number of Anglican people is too high to fit the total census profile. The small number in the sample is significant here. Overall, although the number of non-Catholics is inflated, the Catholic proportion of the survey population still form a clear majority as two-thirds of the survey group are Catholic. The total Irish-born population of Western Australia shows just over three-quarters of the Irish-born population to be Catholic.

Table 3.15: REPUBLIC ONLY: RELIGION OF IRISH-BORN IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA: %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>1991 Census</th>
<th>Survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Income for the survey group participants is higher than that of the total Irish-born. For several reasons, it is very difficult to compare the survey group with the census figures. Firstly, the people in the census stated their incomes in 1991 while the people in the survey gave their income as at 1997. Secondly, the 15 to 24 age group is not represented in the survey but their incomes are taken into account in the census. The aged are also under-represented in the survey. As both of these groups are likely to have lower incomes than the bulk of the working population, this will have the effect of making the census figures lower. Thirdly, the survey has a male bias which will have the effect of inflating the average income of the participants. Fourthly, apparently it is common for people to overstate their income in questionnaires. This may or may not be true when people fill out census forms. Even with these qualifications, it is obvious that the survey group has much higher income than the total of the Irish-born. Roughly 62 per cent of the total group have incomes in the $0 to $25,000 bracket compared to about 21

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88 BIPR, Community Profiles 1991 Census Ireland Born, Table 14, p.35; Q55.
89 Advice received from Associate Professor Rob Donovan.
per cent of the survey group. About 29 per cent of the total group have incomes in excess of $25,000 whereas about 75 per cent of the survey group fall into this category.

In summary, the survey group does not exactly represent the total profile of Irish-born from the Republic as at the most appropriate census, 1991, but it has major areas of convergence or at least where the differences are not significant. These are that the Irish-born of the survey group came from residential backgrounds similar to those of the wider population shown in the census. Many also came to Australia by way of other countries, particularly the United Kingdom. The two groups were similar with regards to the percentage who arrived both before and after 1981. Differences in the ages of the two groups are not significant nor is the difference in the proportion belonging to the major religions. Gender distribution is an area where the two groups diverge a little with men being rather over-represented in the survey group. Citizenship figures reveal that the survey group are more likely than the wider Irish-born population to have adopted Australian citizenship. The survey participants are generally better educated than the Irish-born population in general and are likely to be earning more money. The survey does not purport to be truly representative because it is non-random. As it is primarily attempting to profile the ‘new Irish’, those who came to Australia in very different circumstances from the vast majority of their predecessors, it is focussing on a group within a group. That it fits so well with most basic demographic characteristics of the wider Irish-born population is a strength.

The immigrants comprising the survey group are faring better than the bulk of their fellow Irish-born in Australia if education and income are used as indicators and the total population of Irish-born is more successful than the total Australian population in terms of income, qualifications and employment. The survey group, particularly those who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s have been shown to be employed, largely well-educated, financially comfortable, and to have a high proportion of Australian citizenship. As will be shown, they visit Ireland frequently and some have not yet decided to stay permanently in Australia. The

90 BIPR, *Community Profiles 1991 Census Ireland Born*, Figure 8, p.20, Figure 16, p.30 and Figure 10, p.22. No employment comparison was shown for the survey group and the total
majority consider both Ireland and Australia as ‘home’ and some only count Ireland as ‘home’. The concept of home and the responses of the survey group are discussed in Chapter Five. The element of choice rather than necessity which characterises the movements of many of these late twentieth-century immigrants places them in a different mould from their predecessors. Why do they leave Ireland and how do they settle in Australia?

**Leaving Ireland**

Ian Shuttleworth uses the phrase ‘migration culture’ to describe the propensity of the Irish to emigrate in current times. Emigration has long been a feature of Irish life as outlined in Chapter One. The Perth survey and subsequent interviews with Irish migrants to Western Australia reinforce the idea of a migration culture. While economic and employment issues were still very important reasons, less tangible answers such as ‘challenge’ and ‘opportunity’ were given by many of the respondents. The reactions of the immigrants’ families to their decision to emigrate was that most either approved of the decision (43 per cent) or did not express an opinion for or against the decision (34 per cent). Although nearly all the survey group were employed at the time when they decided to leave Ireland, only 18 per cent of their families were surprised by their decision to emigrate. While people gave specific or generic reasons for their migration to Australia, these reasons when viewed collectively present a picture of people for whom the choice to migrate is automatically considered as a solution to problems or to help satisfy ambition. This does not mean that the decision to emigrate is an insignificant one. It is still a momentous step and obviously has the potential to be very stressful. While families may not have been surprised, and generally supported the emigrants’ decisions to leave, survey participants advised that sadness was the predominant response of their families (46 per cent).

---

*Irish-born of the 1991 census as all survey participants were employed or choosing not to be in the workforce. This was unlikely to be the case for the wider Irish-born population.*

91 Ian Shuttleworth, ‘Graduate Emigration From Ireland’, p.89.

92 Q13.

93 Q14.


95 Q14.
Shuttleworth observed that a component part of the migration culture of the Irish is the number of personal contacts abroad.\textsuperscript{96} The following tables show the number of other family members of interviewees who emigrated from Ireland but not necessarily to Australia. Some people were conscious of the effect of family migration on their decision. A young man migrating in 1970 observed; ‘family has ongoing history in Australia. I was influenced by returning members of extended family’.\textsuperscript{97} A 1980s immigrant who accompanied her husband to Western Australia remarked that her ‘husband’s family are all over the world’ and that he has no family remaining in Ireland since his mother has joined them in Western Australia.\textsuperscript{98} I consider that the figures in the tables are likely to be understated as they rely on each individual’s ability to recall specific information. It is reasonable to assume that consultation with other family members and more time to consider the question would prompt more memories.

\textsuperscript{96} Shuttleworth, ‘Graduate Emigration From Ireland’, p.91.
\textsuperscript{97} R70M15.
\textsuperscript{98} Geraldine Taylor interviewed by author, 1998, transcript p.8. Tape and transcript held by author.
Table 3.16: CLOSE RELATIVES OF (SOME) SURVEY PARTICIPANTS WHO EMIGRATED FROM IRELAND TO ANY OTHER COUNTRY
(not necessarily to Australia)

# = sibling or parent, * = other family member who could be aunt, uncle, cousin or grandparent for instance.

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99 Data was compiled from responses to letters sent to all who offered to be interviewed. Fifty-five people responded.
100 This man’s father had emigrated to the United States but returned to Ireland to take over the family farm on the death of his own father. The eldest son who would normally inherit chose instead to go to the United States and gave up the farm in return for his brother taking on the responsibilities for the elderly relatives who the farm had to support.
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## Chapter Three: The New Irish

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TABLE 3.17: SUMMARY OF EMIGRATION OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS' RELATIVES

Columns headed 1850-1899 to 1990s are periods when respondents' relatives emigrated. The unbracketed figures in these columns show the number of relatives the participants could recall leaving Ireland. The figures in brackets show the number of respondents who recorded anyone leaving Ireland in the given time period.

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<td>Arrival date in Australia</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>10 (3)</td>
<td>15 (4)</td>
<td>9 (5)</td>
<td>7 (4)</td>
<td>4 (3)</td>
<td>17 (7)</td>
<td>9 (6)</td>
<td>4 (3)</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-59</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4 (3)</td>
<td>27 (10)</td>
<td>8 (5)</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>8 (of 10)</td>
<td>14 (3)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18 (6)</td>
<td>8 (5)</td>
<td>6 (2)</td>
<td>5 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18 (6)</td>
<td>12 (5)</td>
<td>18 (9)</td>
<td>3 (3)</td>
<td>12 (8)</td>
<td>38 (14)</td>
<td>14 (8)</td>
<td>15 (9)</td>
<td>24 (10)</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>53 (of 55)</td>
<td>32 (10)</td>
<td>48 (14)</td>
<td>32 (15)</td>
<td>19 (12)</td>
<td>30 (18)</td>
<td>100 (37)</td>
<td>60 (27)</td>
<td>30 (20)</td>
<td>41 (20)</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As Table 3.17 shows, of 55 respondents, 53 provided some record of the emigration of relatives. One person had no relatives leave that he could recall and the other provided no dates so her information could not be used. This table shows the total number of relatives recalled as leaving Ireland in the nominated time periods. Between the 53 respondents, they recalled 410 family members who had emigrated from Ireland since the mid-nineteenth century. The place of the 1950s in the importance of the migration culture is confirmed by 70 per cent recording some family member migrating then. Of the 410 relatives, 100 left in the 1950s. Fifty one per cent of the survey participants recall some family member emigrating in the 1960s when 60 out of the 410 left Ireland. Just under 50 per cent knew of relatives who left between 1850 and 1919 virtually all of whom would have emigrated before the respondents were born. This is testament to the social memory which feeds the migration culture. Of the 410, nearly a quarter were parents or siblings of the respondents so the experience of leaving Ireland very closely touched the survey participants.

The contribution of this data to the idea of a migration culture is further understated as it only includes family members but excludes friends, neighbours and general acquaintances. The latter groups are also very influential as Shuttleworth’s work suggests and as is shown in the responses from the survey group. A woman tells that her fiancé declared at Christmas 1966 “We’re going to Australia” and that was probably influenced by Elsie Butler’s visit – I think it had been the previous October or November’.\textsuperscript{101} Another person reported that ‘a personal friend who had previously emigrated to Western Australia wrote me excellent reports of his new lifestyle in Perth and particularly in work related prospects in my own trade qualifications’.\textsuperscript{102} The influence of those overseas is also shown by the comments that ‘friends and peers leaving for overseas destinations gave me “itchy feet”’\textsuperscript{103} and ‘discussions with classmates one Friday night after a particularly boring lecture’ made another person restless.\textsuperscript{104} I suggest that the ‘normality’ of emigration is underscored by the data in the Table 3.16 as all but one person had family members who were emigrants. The effect of a

\textsuperscript{101} Marjorie Smith interviewed by author, 1998, transcript, p.2. Tape and transcript held by author. Elsie Butler was a neighbour and family friend who had moved to Western Australia in 1958.
\textsuperscript{102} N52M5.
\textsuperscript{103} R69M4.
\textsuperscript{104} R72M9.
migration culture is to create an ambience within which migration is unexceptional. As Table 3.17 shows, it is obviously not a deterministic concept such that people definitely leave for the sole reason that others choose to do so. Rather it has the effect of migration becoming a solution when other circumstances are unsatisfactory although not catastrophic.

John Jackson points out the methodological difficulties when trying to determine motivation for emigration from the migrants themselves. If asked before an intended migration, there is no guarantee that the person will follow through with their plans. If asked later, as in the Perth survey, people may rationalise their decisions. Either way, Jackson believes that an assumption must be made that the motives are apparent to the migrant and that ‘the “stated” motives are the “real” ones’. In an effort to find out why the survey respondents left Ireland, they were asked to answer survey question Q8a: ‘Why did you decide to leave Ireland? If a reason is not listed, please write it in.’ (see Appendix I for the detail of how the question was set out.) The following table shows the responses. Only first, second and third choices were taken into account when collating the responses.

Table 3.18: ALL IRELAND - REASONS TO LEAVE IN DESCENDING ORDER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To respond to an opportunity</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To take up a challenge</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic situation unsatisfactory</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job prospects no good</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate uncomfortable</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To join family</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious situation unsatisfactory</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To accompany family</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political situation unsatisfactory</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health (self-nominated reason)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhappy with IRA activity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common for family members to emigrate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhappy with Unionist activity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Although the question requested that multiple responses be prioritised by number, not all respondents did this. The numbers for any individual unprioritised response were small (six was the highest) and reflected the prioritised choices so they have been added to the table. The unprioritised responses were mainly from the 1950s immigrants.

Q8a.

107 The option should have been phrased ‘unhappy with Loyalist activity’ rather than ‘Unionist’ activity.
As can be seen, the most frequently occurring response was ‘to respond to an opportunity’ followed by ‘to take up a challenge’ then ‘economic situation unsatisfactory’. Next was ‘job prospects not good’, with ‘climate uncomfortable’ the fifth most compelling reason to leave. The responses for all Ireland reflect those of the Republic. There are some differences in the Northern Ireland responses. These are that opportunity (11) and challenge (10) remain the most common reasons but the third most common response (9) was equally indicated as ‘unhappy with religious situation’ and ‘accompanying family’. ‘Unhappy with political situation’ and ‘poor job prospects’ were fourth (7). Unhappiness with IRA activity was the fifth reason (5) then followed by climate, economic situation and joining family (4). There was one response for ‘unhappy with Unionist activity’ and one for ‘health’.

The positive connotation of the top two responses can be read as an indication of a readiness and willingness to migrate rather than the feeling that people were forced out. These positive responses could also be read as solutions to the problems of economic and job difficulties should respondents prefer to answer positively rather than negatively. ‘Taking up an opportunity’ could be another way to express seeking or going to a better job or career. Even if that was the case, challenge and opportunity were more frequently mentioned (105) than were economic and job difficulties (76). As challenge and opportunity are easy-to-choose generic answers, they were deliberately placed last in the question to avoid a ‘donkey vote’ effect. As mentioned in Chapter One, Donald Akenson has suggested a reconsideration of how Irish emigration is positioned. He suggests it be regarded as ‘towards somewhere else’ rather than ‘away from Ireland’ and that this repositioning is necessary because the ‘tragic tale’ of migration smothers objective thought. The survey respondents, coming as they are from a migration culture, seem to support Akenson’s notion. As will be illustrated in Chapter Four, leaving Ireland was not a major tragedy for the great majority of these migrants nor have they lost their ‘Irishness’. Rather they have gained from the experience in ways wider than economic. Very few of the survey group were unemployed

when they left Ireland. Migration presented a viable solution either to somewhat dreary rather than drastic problems, or genuinely was a challenge or opportunity to do something different. The migration culture facilitates the ability to seek out and accept these challenges.

A brief case study of the move to Western Australia in 1958 of George and Elsie Butler illustrates both the influence of a migration culture and the value of oral evidence in migration studies. The Butlers were a Protestant farming couple from Co. Westmeath with three school-age children. They were considering moving to another part of Ireland as the intense closeness of Irish rural life, particularly of extended family, was becoming stifling to them. Duffy writes that this is a theme taken up by several Irish writers, that is ‘to escape the suffocating grip of the fields and family in the countryside’. In 1957, a boycott of Protestants occurred in Co. Wexford after a Protestant woman who was married to a Catholic man, left with her two children after refusing to send the children to the Catholic school. The Butlers, by this time already in their late thirties and well-established farmers, became aware for the first time of the potential of the difficulties between Catholics and Protestants to affect them personally although they had no connection with anyone in Wexford. They decided to move to Australia as both had relatives there, two of whom were in Western Australia and who spoke well of it. The boycott was resolved within a few months but the Butlers continued with their intention to migrate.

The effect of the migration culture on their decision is three-fold. Firstly, both had relatives abroad who could inform and encourage. Secondly, between them, they had many relatives who had emigrated, mainly aunts, uncles and some siblings, so migration was not unusual in their families. Thirdly, they were not in difficult economic circumstances nor were they really under any threat socially.

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110 This story is told in more detail in Jean Chetkovich, ‘Not For Economic Gain: Elsie Butler in Western Australia’, in Bob Reece (ed.) The Irish in Western Australia, Studies in Western Australian History, no.20, Nedlands, Western Australia, 2000, pp.151-167.


112 Hubert Butler’s, ‘Boycott Village (1958)’, in Hubert Butler, Independent Spirit: Essays, New York, 1996 is a discursive essay about the boycott in which Butler is particularly critical of the historical role of the Church of Ireland and its complicity in allowing the Catholic church to gain such dominance. Hubert Butler is no known relative of G. and E. Butler. There has also been a film made about the incident entitled A Love Divided (director, Sydney McCartney, producers Alan Moloney and Tim Palmer), Ireland, 1999.
The possibility of emigration as a desirable option was to the fore even though it was an expensive and emotional one. George indicated on his survey that they went to respond to opportunity and to take up a challenge although the threshold event was the boycott (combined with other dissatisfactions with Irish life). They left so much to risk going to the other side of the world that it lends credence to their desire for change and their belief that it was indeed going to be a good opportunity. As they left Ireland during a peak time of emigration blamed on acute economic depression, it could very reasonably be assumed that was also the reason for their emigration as was the case for so many others. Use of the survey and subsequent interviews instead showed an aspect of emigration influenced by social and cultural factors which would be difficult to uncover otherwise. Further discussion of the influence of a migration culture on the new Irish, particularly professional immigrants, is discussed in Chapter Six.

The new Irish, however defined, are a body of people about whom little is known. That they, or certainly the later arrivals among them, may be quite different from previous generations of Irish immigrants to Australia is fairly obvious due to the huge social and economic changes in Ireland in the mid-to-late twentieth century. The debate about who the new Irish are and what their perceived differences from earlier Irish immigrants might mean in an Australian context, was instigated by O'Farrell in the 1993 and 2000 editions of The Irish in Australia. The detailed work of the Perth survey and interviews, and the picture emerging from them challenges some of O'Farrell’s ideas. The demographic base outlined in this chapter establishes who in Western Australia is part of this group of new Irish. The oral evidence and survey approach provide insights into the migration experience and the motivation for it. The idea of a migration culture is important as an underlying context within which, it is argued, modern Irish emigration to Australia takes place. This chapter dealt with people’s nominated reasons for leaving Ireland (and why some of them chose Perth) and how those reasons can be seen to support a migration culture as explanation of why people emigrate. It gave a particular insight, accessible through the medium of oral evidence, into one couple’s experience; an experience which also can be seen to show the influence of a migration culture. The oral evidence and survey approach
informs much of this thesis and serves to place the new Irish more securely into Australian historiography.
CHAPTER FOUR

NEW IRISH BECOME NEW AUSTRALIANS

Home, identity, belonging: Analysis of attitudinal changes of immigrants

In what ways, if any, can commitment to a new country be measured? At what point, if such a point exists, has an immigrant become 'an Australian', whatever that means? Is that nomenclature necessary in order for a person to be a happy and productive resident or perhaps a citizen of Australia? Is identity bounded by national and geographic borders? The idea of identity is a vast topic, complex and multi-layered, of which geography and nation form only two parts. In a famous example from Irish-Australian history, Albert Dryer had never set foot in Ireland yet 'Ireland was the dedication and the driving force of his life'. This type of cultural identification, where a person or a group of people chooses to identify with something away from their lived experience, is the antithesis of what most of the survey participants are doing in Western Australia. The chapter explores the multiple identities of the Irish in Western Australia as revealed by the survey and interview participants. Through an examination of various aspects of their attitudes and interests, it will be shown that, in common with David Fitzpatrick's and Donald Akenson's assertions about the nineteenth-century Irish immigrants, the late twentieth-century immigrants are remarkably ordinary. Transnational or binational are terms which have emerged to describe late twentieth-century

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migrants. Implicit in those terms is the notion that if people can be so described, then they are unlikely to settle and become ‘Australian’. The chapter places particular emphasis on the idea of simultaneously being of two countries and argues that this duality does not preclude commitment to the new country.

Patrick O’Farrell, in the only major recent work dealing with late twentieth-century Irish immigration to Australia, takes the view that the new Irish are ‘permanent sojourners’ and do not integrate as did the nineteenth-century Irish, albeit that that integration was sometimes slow and reluctant. As mentioned in Chapter Three, he claims the new Irish are distinguished from the old by ‘that failure to make that movement of the mind and heart, away from Ireland, into Australia’. His definition of new Irish is unclear. In one instance, he defines ‘old Irish Australia’ as being ‘that of pre-1960s immigrants’, so presumably ‘new Irish Australia’ is composed of migrants arriving post-1960. However, later, the new Irish are mentioned as arriving in a ‘trickle from 1947’ and as having among them in increasing numbers, visitors and short-term workers. It is difficult to know if the holidaying or short-term visa workers are conflated with the immigrants. For instance, in one paragraph O’Farrell writes that the new Irish ‘sojourners, visitors, casuals, hived off and happy inhabitants of their own particular division of multiculture ... were far distant in character, outlook, mission from those whose Ireland predated 1916-1921’. Quite possibly all the modern arrivals of whatever category are different from those of 100 years ago but to refer to them collectively as ‘sojourners, visitors and casuals’ disguises the fact that among them are genuine settlers.

4 The terms are used by many writers about migration. For Loretta Baldassar, ‘transnational’ is defined as ‘the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement’; their two homelands are part of the same social field which can mean neither place is unambiguously ‘home’. Baldassar, Visits Home: Migration Experiences between Italy and Australia, Melbourne, 2000, pp.6-8. Linda Dowling Almeida uses ‘binational’ to describe the state of the New Irish in New York needing something from both Ireland and the United States but ‘refusing or unable to commit themselves to one or the other’. Almeida, ‘And they still haven’t found what they’re looking for:’ A survey of the New Irish in New York city’, in Patrick O’Sullivan (ed.), Patterns of Migration, The Irish World Wide, History, Heritage, Identity, vol.1, Leicester, London and New York, 1992, p.207.

5 Patrick O’Farrell uses ‘sojourners’ as a synonym for ‘visitors’ and ‘casuals’ to indicate impermanence when he is referring to late twentieth-century Irish immigrants to Australia. See O’Farrell, Vanished Kingdoms: Irish in Australia and New Zealand, Kensington, NSW, 1990, p.xxv which is quoted in O’Farrell, The Irish in Australia, 2000, p.318&321.


7 ibid., p.311.

8 ibid., p.313.

This thesis is not concerned with tourists and short-term visitors, who are by definition transitory and would not be expected or allowed to settle or integrate into Australian society in any meaningful way. It is concerned with those who have ostensibly come to be permanent residents. While the ability to move on to another country or back to Ireland is, at least in theory, a characteristic of voluntary modern migration from Ireland even for these would-be permanent residents, the state of being part of two countries has always been a feature of any migration experience. The 'duality created by migration', once mainly emotional and cultural, may now have a physical dimension and as such be more challenging to deal with.

The survey included questions designed to reveal indicators of identity and where people position themselves in relation to Ireland and Australia. Participants were asked how they describe themselves in terms of their nationality and where their images of home lay. They were asked which sports they follow and which country's national days were of interest or importance to them. There were some questions regarding the deliberate passing on of culture and history and others to ascertain the degree to which Irish migrants keep contact with Ireland. Another group of questions sought information about the level of interaction between the Irish-born in Western Australia. The following examination of the responses to these and other questions, supplemented by information from the interviews, will analyse the level of integration of this group into Australian society.

Richard Kearney wrote:

The discovery that one is always something of an outsider or misfit – at home as well as abroad – grants a certain liberty to rediscover and recreate what is most valuable in one’s tradition.11

A dinner held in July 2001 at the Celtic Club of Western Australia to mark the awarding of life membership of the Australian-Irish Heritage Association (AIHA) to Joe and Zena O’Sullivan provided an interesting vignette of the attitudes of the modern Irish immigrant and the metamorphosis of aspects of culture when transplanted into another country.12 Whether the participants regarded themselves

12 Chapter Seven deals in more detail with Irish organisations in Western Australia including the Celtic Club and the Australian-Irish Heritage Association.
as outsiders is not known but the ceremony was to honour both the life members and the organisation which was rediscovering or recreating what was seen as valid about Irish culture and heritage in Australia. At least 90 percent of the 50 people in attendance were Irish-born from both Northern Ireland and the Republic. There were many speeches and the wit and verbal eloquence often attributed to the Irish were in evidence. Senator Jim McKiernan, who came to Western Australia from Ireland in 1969, was one of the speakers. He spoke of the qualities of the new life-members as was to be expected and of the importance of the AIHA in keeping alive the contribution of the Irish, past and present, to Australia. He also spoke in sincere terms of the worth of Australia and what it offers to migrants. There were audible murmurings of agreement around the room. No-one spoke of Ireland and there were no toasts to either country. Songs were called for from particular individuals and they were sung unaccompanied as is common in Ireland. Mary-Attracta Connolly, a local opera singer and Australian-born daughter of stalwarts of the Irish Club, sang ‘Danny Boy’ which drew tears to every eye. Two Catholic men from Northern Ireland in company with an Irish-derived man from Coventry amused the gathering by singing the popular Orange song ‘The Sash’ and dedicating it to a Protestant man from Belfast who was present. The whole occasion seems to epitomise the way the modern Irish make their mark.

The event was present-centred, pro-Australian yet with the distinctiveness of Irish-Australia at its core and its point was to recognise services to that heritage. There was no overt looking back to Ireland yet the style of presentation was distinctively Irish. The banter about Orangemen appeared to be ruffling no feathers and there was a feeling that those present could choose which parts of their culture to keep and which parts to discard. As Kearney indicated, ‘certain liberties’ could be taken. The same feeling was there about Australian culture. There was a confidence about being Irish, any variety of Irish, without the need to refer back to Ireland for validation.

It is probably a fair point to make that this confidence is due to education, working in professional jobs and the easy acceptance of the Irish in Australia in the late twentieth century as discussed earlier in Chapter Two. The decreasing importance of religion in Australia also narrows the gap between what was Protestant, Anglo-Australia and Catholic Celtic Ireland. The postwar influx of immigrants, who are more markedly different from Anglo-Australia than are the
Irish, removes the burden from the Irish of being perceived as ‘other’. O’Farrell makes the point that in the absence of ‘old social hierarchies and structures’ people select parts of the culture which suit them but he muses over which parts will be selected. Unlike the positive manifestation of this practice which was observable at the Celtic Club, O’Farrell contends that the ‘new Irish’ find themselves at odds with mainstream Australia and believe that Australia should emulate modern Ireland. He states they find Australia to be in a ‘1960s time-warp’ and, among other criticisms, that new Irish believe Australians are ‘addicted to outmoded fooleries such as Anzac Day and the monarchy’. It is unclear exactly where O’Farrell’s evidence for these statements comes from but it is certainly eastern states, mainly Sydney, based. The Sydney-produced paper, *Irish Echo*, appears to be a major source. Just over a quarter of the Perth survey respondents indicated that they are regular readers of the *Irish Echo*. The evidence from that survey appears to contradict much of what O’Farrell implies or states explicitly.

Unlike highly visible ethnic groups such as Greeks and Italians, the Irish in Australia have only rarely been residentially concentrated. James (Seamus) Grimes’ charting of residential patterns of Irish-born in Sydney and his analysis of their friendship patterns is the major work on the subject. Unlike Grimes, this thesis does not seek a spatial analysis of the Irish-born but attempts to explore how the people in the survey are connected to other Irish in Western Australia and how much contact they have with family and friends in Ireland. Many will be shown to have family scattered all over the world.

When asked to estimate what number of their friends in Australia are of Irish origin the most common response (60 per cent) was ‘some’. ‘Few’, 17 per cent and ‘most’, 15 per cent were the next most frequent responses. Six per cent

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14 *ibid.*, pp.312-13.
15 *ibid.*, p.312.
reported that they had none or virtually no friends who were Irish and 3 per cent said that all or nearly all their friends were Irish.\textsuperscript{19} During the interviews, people were again asked about friendship. About a third did not intend to seek out Irish friends and gave answers such as: ‘my belief is if you move to a country you should try to become part of that country as much as possible’ and ‘[I] made a very real point of not seeking out just an Irish peer group [as I had] a purposeful intention to actually assimilate’.\textsuperscript{20} One man could not see the point of moving to the other side of the world in order to become part of a ‘mini-Ireland’; another wanted to avoid the narrow experience of being in an Irish enclave.\textsuperscript{21} Only a few consciously sought Irish friends illustrated by: [we] ‘tended to seek out our own’.\textsuperscript{22} The interviewees had Irish friends and were happy to have people they could chat to about familiar things but most commented that they wanted to have other friends as well. Several pointed out that their non-Irish friends were, like them, not locals but Polish, English or Scottish.\textsuperscript{23} Not needing or choosing to join up with other Irish is another manifestation of the element of choice involved with recent Irish migration to Perth. Ireland can be left behind. As all those interviewed and most of those surveyed had some Irish friends, Ireland or things Irish are not being shunned either.

Business contacts showed a lesser degree of interaction with other Irish. The question was not applicable to 36 per cent of the group. There were 74 people (61 from the Republic and 13 from Northern Ireland) for whom it was applicable. ‘Some’ or ‘few’ were the most common responses for the group for whom it was applicable being 34 and 35 per cent respectively. Twenty seven per cent had no or virtually no business contacts with other Irish, with 3 per cent indicating that most of their business contacts were with other Irish people. There were some small differences between responses from the Republic and Northern Irish as shown in the following tables.

\textsuperscript{19} Q32a. All percentages in this chapter are rounded. Questions or responses from the survey are referred to in the footnotes by number.
\textsuperscript{22} George Allingham interviewed by author, 2000, transcript p.14. Tape and transcript held by author.
\textsuperscript{23} Presumably most people's friends were Australian but as the question was inquiring about Irish friends not Australian friends, this was not specifically stated unless some chose to do so.
Table 4.1: SURVEY PARTICIPANTS' FRIENDS WHO ARE IRISH: % (114 people)\textsuperscript{24}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & Republic & N. Ireland & All Ireland \\
\hline
All/nearly all & 1% & 8% & 3% \\
Most & 17% & 8% & 15% \\
Some & 61% & 56% & 60% \\
Few & 15% & 24% & 17% \\
None/virtually none & 7% & 4% & 6% \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Table 4.2: SURVEY PARTICIPANTS' BUSINESS CONTACTS WHO ARE IRISH: % (applicable to 74 people)\textsuperscript{25}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & Republic & N. Ireland & All Ireland \\
\hline
All/nearly all & 3% & - & 3% \\
Most & - & 8% & 1% \\
Some & 38% & 15% & 34% \\
Few & 36% & 31% & 35% \\
None/virtually none & 23% & 46% & 27% \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

These findings differ markedly from Grimes’ work in Sydney in the 1970s where he found that in the group he interviewed, 76 per cent of their friends were Irish. For the recently arrived ‘who were more involved with ethnic activities’, the proportion of their friends went up to as high as 85 per cent.\textsuperscript{26} There are several explanations for this difference. All the answers in both surveys are self reflexive so it is not possible to be sure exactly what people understand by the question nor is it possible to be sure people estimate accurately. That alone would not explain the difference. There are other more likely explanations related to class and the 20 year gap between the surveys. More than half of Grimes’ sample was garnered at Irish events such as dances and Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) and a further 30 per cent from Irish friends of friends.\textsuperscript{27} The GAA emphasis may also explain its bias (relative to the total numbers of Irish-born in Sydney) towards young males.\textsuperscript{28} The temporal setting, taken in conjunction with this difference in information gathering, is significant. Grimes points out that many of his group

\textsuperscript{24} Q32a.
\textsuperscript{25} Q33a.
\textsuperscript{26} Grimes, ‘Spatial Aspects’, p.359.
\textsuperscript{27} ibid., p.140.
\textsuperscript{28} ibid., pp.140-1.
were from rural backgrounds and that socialising followed an Irish rural pattern, evidence of which Grimes noticed at the GAA games.²⁹ By contrast, 70 per cent of those who completed the Perth survey were from urban backgrounds.³⁰ Forty-seven per cent of Grimes’ sample were employed as tradesmen, semi-skilled workers and labourers compared to 13 per cent employed in these categories in the Perth sample.³¹ The largest occupational category in the Perth survey was clerical/ white collar which accounted for 52 per cent, while nurses and teachers represented 13 per cent and the remaining 24 per cent were professionals such as doctors, accountants and engineers. Significant in Grimes’ work was the then prevalent practice of newly arrived Irish gaining employment from Irish firms involved with building and navvy ing. This meant that the Irish were interdependent. Working together and drinking together forged friendships.³²

Table 4.3 shows that, in the Perth survey, friends were primarily made by meeting people through relatives and existing friends. Meeting through work was significantly less important. Grimes also outlines differences between Irish social mores, particularly relating to moral issues of divorce and abortion which made many of the newly arrived Irish happier to stay with their own.³³ Seventy-five per cent of his group left Ireland in 1971 or earlier, with the remaining 25 per cent leaving in 1972.³⁴ The vast social changes in Ireland had not occurred in a widespread way by the time Grimes’ survey participants had left Ireland, particularly not in rural settings, so the social milieu into which they came was quite different from that which they left. Although over 40 per cent of participants in the Perth survey also left Ireland before 1972, they have been in Australia for a much longer period and many have had numerous visits to view the ‘new’ Ireland personally.³⁵ This temporal difference makes them a different group. A survey in Perth of the same type of sample as Grimes detailed in the 1970s may have had similar outcomes to Grimes although the smallness of the city would likely have mitigated the alienating effects experienced in Sydney.

²⁹ ibid., p.138.
³⁰ Q5.
³¹ Q57b.
³³ ibid., p.194.
³⁴ ibid., p.144.
³⁵ See Tables 5.7 - 5.10.
In order to see how connected people were by family to Australia, participants in the Perth survey were asked the place of residence of their parents (or last place of residence if deceased) and siblings and whether they have extended family living in Western Australia or any other part of Australia. The vast majority of their parents live in the immigrants' country of origin with only very few living in Australia as Table 4.4 shows.

Table 4.4: CURRENT OR LAST COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE OF MOTHERS (116 responses) AND FATHERS (113 responses) of SURVEY PARTICIPANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country of origin</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.5: COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE OF SIBLINGS of SURVEY PARTICIPANTS (numbers, not percentages – total of 106 replies)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin only</th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country of origin + one other country (not Aust)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country of origin + more than one other country (not Aust)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Countries other than original and Aust</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country of origin + Aust</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country of origin + Aust + other country</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aust + other country (not original country)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aust only</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of replies</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, only four out of 106 immigrants (4 per cent) have all their siblings resident in Australia and only eleven (10 per cent) have any of their siblings resident in Australia. The most frequently occurring situation is some siblings in the country of origin and some elsewhere (apart from Australia). This accounts for 50 per cent of the group. The impact of migration for these people can be observed in that 68 per cent reported that at least some of their siblings live out of Ireland. In addition to their parents and siblings (and children), about one quarter of the survey had extended family living in Western Australia and less than 20 per cent had extended family somewhere else in Australia.

Table 4.6: EXTENDED FAMILY OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS IN AUSTRALIA (not including parents, siblings or children)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>20 (22%)</td>
<td>10 (40%)</td>
<td>30 (26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia (not WA)</td>
<td>15 (16%)</td>
<td>5 (20%)</td>
<td>20 (17%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is evidence of chain migration as a quarter of the group (30 people) have actively assisted either friends or family to come to Western Australia. The most common form of assistance was to provide accommodation on arrival. Advice and information on a variety of issues was provided. Assistance with finding jobs

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38 Q51.
39 Q54.
through contacts was the next most frequent method of help. A greater number of people, 44 (38 per cent) especially encouraged friends or family to emigrate but not all offered assistance. The encouragement and/or assistance was spread across immigrants from all decades. The influence of those abroad has already been discussed because of the role it plays in the maintenance of a migration culture in Ireland. The figures in this paragraph refer to conscious efforts made by particular people to encourage others to join them in Western Australia. Knowledge of their presence here, the contacts they have in Ireland and the information which they disseminate, may in themselves, encourage others to emigrate.

It can be seen from the Tables 4.1 to 4.6 that while some of the immigrants have extended family in Western Australia or other parts of Australia, most are separated from their relatives but are connected through friendships and to a much lesser extent, through business contacts, to other Irish in Western Australia. The figures for friendship show that over 90 per cent have at least some Irish friends (with ‘some’ being the most frequently occurring category), while only three per cent mix exclusively with other Irish. These friendship patterns indicate that the vast majority of this group of Irish-born include many non-Irish as friends. They are not forming cultural enclaves but are happy to be both Irish and something more than just Irish.

Clubs and organisations are another indicator of collective life of the immigrant Irish. Irish clubs and organisations in Perth are discussed in Chapter Seven. Within the survey group, 36 per cent indicate that they do not belong to any Irish organisations. This is surprisingly high as a primary method of distribution of the survey was through two associations. As indicated in Chapter Three, some of the surveys would have been received by non-Irish-born who were asked to pass them on to someone Irish-born if they could. There is no way of knowing the exact source of the replies or how any participant received their form. In any case, the degree of club membership in the survey group is much higher than would be the case for all Irish-born in Western Australia due to the impossibility of selecting a truly random sample for the survey. Comments from the survey regarding club membership echo the comments made regarding friendships. Those happy to join clubs do so for social reasons, to sample Irish

40 Q25a; and Q25b.
41 Q31a.
culture and atmosphere, to learn more about Irish history, to have fun, to network and to meet other Irish people. Those who do not join make comments ranging from general lack of interest to a preference to meet people from other nationalities. Some worry that clubs could be fronts for the IRA and some reject the style of clubs. A comment to illustrate the latter was made by a couple who arrived in 1989: ‘on a trip to Blarney Castle pub on our first night out in WA we found the atmosphere to be stage-Irish and totally different to the Ireland we had just left behind — very off-putting’. As with the friendship patterns, the impression gained from the survey group, is that being part of a club is not essential to being able to have an Irish identity in Western Australia but is an enrichment for those who choose to do so.

Other ways in which this group attempt to retain ‘Irishness’ is through the level of effort they make to pass on what they consider Irish culture and history to their children or grandchildren. The following tables show the answers given to these questions.

Table 4.7: PERCENTAGE OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS WHO ATTEMPT TO PASS ON CULTURE TO CHILDREN/GRANDCHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8: PERCENTAGE OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS WHO ATTEMPT TO TEACH IRISH HISTORY TO CHILDREN/GRANDCHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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42 R80F2; and Q31c. As indicated in Chapter Three, the returned surveys have a coded number where N or R indicates that the person comes from either Northern Ireland or the Republic; the next two digits are the year of arrival; F or M indicates gender and the last digit is a consecutive number in a decadal group for either Northern Ireland or for the Republic.

43 Q22. Question was not applicable to all.

44 Q23. Question was not applicable to all.
There are more who say they attempt to pass on culture than who say they attempt to pass on history and less propensity to do either from the Northern Irish immigrants, particularly history. An analysis of the comments made regarding culture (and not all commented in addition to ticking a box) showed that the most popular method was by storytelling. It was mentioned by 32 of the 68 people who chose to pass on culture and included personal family stories and stories from Irish history. There is a consistency with this figure and the history question as everyone who commented about ‘history’ as a means of passing on culture, also indicated in the history question that they attempted to teach their children Irish history. Both men and women participated in the story-telling activity with slightly more women involved. Interestingly, the stories told by the people from Northern Ireland were all nominated as personal stories, not history. The next most frequently occurring response, 28 out of 68, was passing on culture through music. If music was combined with dance, the number who chose this method would increase to 38 out of 68. Literature, 23 out of 68, was the third most popular response. A very late-twentieth century method of exposure to Irish culture for the children of immigrants was shown where 14 out of 68 people nominated visits to Ireland as their preferred method. Exposing children to learning Gaelic or Irish was the fifth most popular response, equalled by films and plays. Of the nine people who stated that language was important as culture, eight came to Western Australia in the 1980s or 1990s, the remaining person came in 1979.

Although the numbers involved who mentioned the Irish language are small, it is worth considering why they are all later immigrants. The idea of Gaelic language being an important medium of cultural identification for the later immigrants is probably explicable through factors in both Ireland and Australia. In the Irish setting, there is a cultural revival, in some ways similar to the Gaelic revival of the late-nineteenth century which was so important in resistance to British rule. The late twentieth-century version has been postulated as a resistance

45 There are two living Gaelic languages – Irish Gaelic and Scots Gaelic (Manx Gaelic is no longer a living language). In Ireland, Irish Gaelic is commonly known as An Ghaeilge (with some dialectical variations) within the language and is referred to in English as ‘Irish’. It is not spoken of as ‘Gaelic’ but, in countries where Irish people migrate to, the two words – Gaelic and Irish - are used to denote the language because non-Irish people do not have a knowledge of ‘Irish’ being a separate language from English. While remaining mindful of the nuances of difference, I use the words interchangeably as this reflects Australian understanding of the terms.
to 'pervasive Anglo-American commercial influences'.\(^{46}\) John Ardagh reports that there is a polarisation in Ireland today between the majority who are not interested in having Irish taught through the schools and 'an eager minority who take Irish seriously'.\(^{47}\) There has been an increase in popularity in schools which teach all subjects through Irish (up from 0.58 per cent in 1972 to 2.31 per cent in 1994) and sending children there has become something of a status symbol for some parents. Others probably enrol their children because the schools are new and are better resourced.\(^{48}\)

The enthusiasm for Irish may well be the prerogative of the educated (which would include the Australian immigrants of this survey) for whom Irish is a link to a romantic, 'authentic' past as was the cultural revival or perhaps cultural reinvention, at the end of the nineteenth century.\(^{49}\) Ardagh points out the irony of the urban intellectuals of Galway where all the signs in the University are in Irish and where Gaelic is taught, attending summer schools in the nearby Gaeltacht to absorb the culture from authentic Irish-speaking locals; locals who, if given the choice between economic success and cultural purity, may well choose the former.\(^{50}\) This romantic attitude to the Irish language seems similar to the imperatives which now make it fashionable to claim convict ancestors in Australia. It is a sign of confidence where one's position is sufficiently respectable that no taint of backwardness or disadvantage will ensue from such an admission. It allows a person to authenticate themselves as part of a tradition.

It can be argued that the need to boost or enrich one's Irish identity in Australia is a response to multiculturalism where the Irish are no longer a distinctive group having become part of the mainstream Anglo-Celtic population. Non-English speaking postwar immigrants have their languages as part of their identity.\(^{51}\) Irish-derived Australians are also seeking to reclaim Gaelic to make a link to their 'Irishness'. Irish classes have a very small popularity in Australia but are integral to some who are seeking to enhance their Irish identity. In a parallel fashion, in

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\(^{47}\) ibid., p.294.

\(^{48}\) ibid.


\(^{50}\) Ardagh, *Ireland and the Irish*, p.297.

\(^{51}\) Táin (*The Australian Irish Network*), is a magazine published in Melbourne which places considerable importance on the Irish language stating in an Editorial that 'the loss of language ... annihilates a people's belief in themselves and makes them want to identify with other
Ireland itself, the opening up to Europe may well inspire a language revival to 'compete' for distinctiveness with other European cultures which are, among other factors, differentiated by language from each other. It could also be that in the wake of the decrease in influence of Catholicism as 'national cement', Gaelic assumes more significance in what it means to be Irish. O'Farrell also wonders about changing Irish identity as the twin pillars of Catholicism and nationalism diminish in importance.\(^5\) Being part of the European Union, the change in the status of the Catholic Church, the growth of the all-Irish schools, the affluence (for some) brought about by the Celtic tiger economy, or the luxury of searching for a romantic past were not issues for immigrants who came to Australia up to the mid-1970s. The events nominated were influences on the recent immigrants of the 1980s and 1990s and could explain why they consider it important to teach Irish to their children.

Many Irish-born in Australia would have the ability to speak some Irish as all were taught at school.\(^5\) Attitudes to Irish varied among the interviewees. The way it was taught in Ireland and the fact that it was compulsory to pass it in order to pass the final school certificate and to gain university entrance caused most of the people interviewed to have unhappy memories. There were many comments such as 'it was very much beaten into you' and 'it became a trial all the time and no matter how good you were at other subjects, if you failed Irish you failed your exams'.\(^5\) Of those interviewed, it is regarded as important by only five of the 17 people from the Republic who came here post-1980 while most of the others, 

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5\(^\) Irish has been a compulsory subject in Irish primary schools since 1922. All secondary schools have had to offer it since 1927 and it became a compulsory subject to study in 1932. From 1928, Irish had to be passed to pass the Intermediate Certificate overall and from 1934, the same regulation applied to the Leaving Certificate. Since 1973, these regulations were relaxed but schools still had to offer Irish and students still had to study it. With regard to university, the National University of Ireland was established in 1908, and in 1913, after bitter and acrimonious debate, Irish became a compulsory subject for matriculation for all Irish-born candidates regardless of a candidate's area of study. This situation still prevails although there is some leeway which can be negotiated in some cases. Trinity College never had the compulsory Irish rule but requires English and another language (which could be Irish) for matriculation. The Catholic hierarchy did not lift the ban on Catholics attending Trinity until 1970. Tom A. O'Donoghue, *The Catholic Church and the Secondary School Curriculum in Ireland 1922-1962*, New York, 1999, pp.65-86.

although not regarding a mastery of Irish as essential to their sense of being Irish, regret that their experience with Gaelic was an unhappy one.

It is clear from the answers and the comments which support them, that nearly three-quarters of the immigrants surveyed claimed that they made some sort of attempt to pass Irish culture on to their children or grandchildren. This is mainly through stories (personal and historical), music and by way of the literature of Ireland. History was a less popular pursuit although nearly half reported that they made some attempt to acquaint their children with their understanding of the history of Ireland. The 1980s cohort are the strongest in both categories. This may be simply because their children are probably younger than the others in the group so anything to do with children will be more to the forefront. It could also be that as they have only recently left Ireland they are more inclined to stay attached to the familiarity of the culture and the history. If so, that would support O’Farrell’s ideas of not moving emotionally away from Ireland. Conversely, the longer they are in Australia, the less concerned they are with such matters as Australia takes on greater importance. The general rise in the popularity of Irish activities, particularly dance since the Riverdance phenomenon, has led to a plethora of opportunities for children to become involved. There were seven Irish dancing schools in Perth in 1992 and the National Championships were held in Perth in 1998 with 600 dancers involved.\(^{55}\) Australia-wide, half-a-million tickets to Riverdance were sold and the Embassy of Ireland in Canberra reported an increase of Irish dancing associations registered with them from three in 1992 to 40 in 2001.\(^{56}\)

In another question regarding attitudes to the next generation, the group was asked if they would prefer their children/grandchildren to marry someone with Irish connections. Of those who responded, 74 per cent said they had no preference either way, 24 per cent would prefer Irish partners for their children and two per cent preferred they did not marry Irish partners. That three-quarters are apparently happy for their children to marry outside an Irish circle again confirms that the Irish-born in Western Australia in the main do not function in an ethnic enclave. Conversely, one quarter wishing to keep marriages within the


\(^{56}\) Address to the Celtic Club in Melbourne by the first secretary of the Embassy of Ireland in Canberra, Ciarán Byrne, on 15 February 2002 and reprinted in Táin (The Australian Irish Network), no.18, April-May 2002, p.30.
same cultural group is an indication that to remain culturally distinct is important for some. The desire to have their children marry someone Irish was more pronounced in the people from the Republic with only eight per cent of people from Northern Ireland taking that option as against 28 per cent from the Republic. With the exception of the 1950s group who showed less inclination for an Irish match, the preference was fairly evenly spread across all decades. The children of those who migrated in the 1950s are probably married by now so the question is less relevant to them. This question was not asked of Grimes’ survey group but it could be surmised that there would be more preference for marriage to stay within the Irish community. Grimes reports that the differences between Ireland and Australia, particularly to do with divorce and contraception and to some extent abortion, made some of his informants wary of marrying out of their social group.\textsuperscript{57} Contraceptive devices were only legalised in the Republic for private use in 1974 and for sale in 1979.\textsuperscript{58} Also in the Republic, a referendum to allow divorce was defeated in 1986 but finally passed in 1995.\textsuperscript{59} In combination with the attenuation of the influence of the Catholic Church and the growing level of education of the migrants, the value systems of Ireland and Australia are less different for the immigrants than they once were.

As a way of assessing how comfortable immigrants feel in their receiving country, it is interesting to examine how the group regard Australians and how they consider Australians regard them. People were asked to recall how Australians reacted to them when first realising they were from Ireland or were a migrant. O’Farrell wrote that the postwar Irish were lucky because ‘their ancestors had helped to build a sympathetic, congenial environment which was disposed to welcome them’.\textsuperscript{60} It certainly seemed to be the case. ‘Friendly’ was the single most frequently occurring response accounting for 32 out of 100 responses. This perception of Australians by migrants is apparently not confined to Irish immigrants. That immigrants generally seem to find Australian people friendly is indicated by a 1995 survey conducted by the Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research where it was found that ‘friendly people’

\textsuperscript{57} Grimes, ‘Spatial Aspects’, p.194.
\textsuperscript{59} ibid., p.151.
\textsuperscript{60} O’Farrell, \textit{The Irish in Australia}, 2000, p.316.
was the most frequent response to ‘things most liked about Australia’. In the
Perth survey, there were 27 other positive responses which did not specifically use
the word ‘friendly’. Comments included; ‘in general well received’, ‘generally the
Australians I have come across seem to like the Irish’, ‘favourable – no sign of
British bias occasionally experienced in the UK’ and ‘happy – they appear to like
the Irish’.

Fourteen people reported remarks about their accent as the initial reaction from
Australians which they remember. Thirteen recall that Australians establish their
own Irish connections when realising they are speaking to someone from Ireland.
Typically this is along the lines of; ‘they usually tell me what part of Ireland their
ancestors are from’ or ‘most have Irish connections however far back’ and ‘they
often tell you about their grandparents or other relatives’. Given that Australia is
in a sense the most Irish country outside of Ireland in the world, this ability or
propensity of Australians to link to people or places Irish is hardly surprising.
According to Dr Charles Price’s calculations, if the racial pool of Australia was to
be averaged out, those with Irish blood would constitute about 20 per cent of the
population. In the course of research for this thesis, it appears that as the Irish
popularity in Australia grows, so does the number of Irish descended people! In
comments about the opening of the Centre for Irish Studies at Murdoch University
in 1998, the Fogra reported that ‘one-third of all Australians can claim some Irish
ancestry’. By 2001, the number had apparently again increased with Irish
Embassy spokesman, Pat Bourne being quoted as saying that ‘about 40 per cent of
Australians have at least some Irish ancestry’. The latter comments are
unsupported by evidence but are indicative of the perceived popularity of the Irish
which in turn supports the comments of the immigrants of the survey that they
received a friendly welcome.

This degree of acceptance is reflected in a world-wide survey of Irish
immigrants in 1993 where it is reported that the Irish are generally well received

61 ‘Survey Shows Immigrants like Australia’, BIMPR (Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and
62 R57M4; R70F13; R84M24; R84F25; and Q38.
63 N88F7; R70F17; R69M3; and Q38.
64 Dr Price is cited in Oliver MacDonagh, The Sharing of the Green, Sydney, 1996, p.xi.
65 Fogra, a bulletin of the Australian-Irish Heritage Association and the Irish Heritage
Scholarship Foundation, November 1998, p.3.
66 Irish Scene, Western Australia, vol. 3, no. 6, July-August 2001, p.4.
and a ‘positive “bias” towards the Irish exists’.\textsuperscript{67} Participants from Australia and New Zealand made up 7.7 per cent of the group. The bulk were from North America (54.3 per cent), Continental Europe (20.8 per cent) and the United Kingdom (14.5 per cent). Like many in the Perth survey, participants in ‘The Irish Mind Abroad’ survey are of higher socio-economic status and ‘who, primarily, chose to leave [Ireland] rather than having been forced to for economic reasons’.\textsuperscript{68} Their responses regarding whether or not their experience abroad was a happy one elicited an 84 per cent positive response. Eighty-three per cent of them believe that attitudes towards them were influenced by their nationality and that this was overwhelmingly positive.\textsuperscript{69} As is possible in the Perth survey, the authors point out that the elite nature of the sample could be masking instances of anti-Irish discrimination.\textsuperscript{70}

In the Perth survey, there were very few comments which could not be viewed as positive to some degree regarding Australian reactions to the newcomers. Three reported no reaction at all and eleven commented on reactions to do with Irish jokes or being made fun of. A man who arrived in the 1960s reported that the reaction to him ‘used to be one of amusement – now they love to hear my accent’.\textsuperscript{71} A woman who also arrived in the 1960s commented that ‘some make fun of you in a friendly way’.\textsuperscript{72} Being responded to with Irish jokes met with mixed reaction. ‘They offload their “Irish” jokes on you’ was one response; ‘tell a bloody Irish joke!’ was another.\textsuperscript{73} A 1980s arrival reported that the Australian response to him as an Irish immigrant was to tell ‘Irish jokes – Xenophobic putdowns’ yet another arrivee had a different point of view and found Australians ‘always willing to share an Irish joke which makes both comfortable’.\textsuperscript{74} ‘The Irish Mind Abroad’ survey found anti-Irish jokes based on the stereotype of the ‘dim-witted, drunken and aggressive Irishman’ to be a source of concern to a minority

\textsuperscript{67} Hugh Garavan, Dr Michael Doherty and Dr Aiden Moran, ‘The Irish Mind Abroad: The Experiences and Attitudes of the Irish Diaspora’, in \textit{The Irish Journal of Psychology}, 1994, 15 (2 & 3), p.308. The survey was distributed by e-mail to the readers of an electronic weekly newsletter from Galway called the \textit{Irish Emigrant}. The distribution was 1,435 but the authors believe that it went more widely than that. Valid responses were received from 438 people.

\textsuperscript{68} Garavan, Doherty and Moran, ‘The Irish Mind’, p.303.

\textsuperscript{69} ibid., p.307.

\textsuperscript{70} ibid., p.308.

\textsuperscript{71} R63M15; and Q38.

\textsuperscript{72} R69F2; and Q38.

\textsuperscript{73} N81F4; N68M2; and Q38.

\textsuperscript{74} R88M12; R79M1; and Q38.
of the surveyed group.\textsuperscript{75} That response is consistent with attitudes to Irish jokes in general by participants in the Perth survey. Amusement or bemusement was the response of 65 per cent of the group. Irritation, exasperation or anger accounted for 29 per cent of the responses with the remainder not caring one way or another.\textsuperscript{76} Chapter Seven contains further analysis of the effect of Irish jokes on the Irish in Perth.

Only 25 people responded to a question asking if they perceived that Australian attitudes to them had changed over the time they had been in Australia. Twenty-one of these were positive with only four dissenters whose answers were, in summary, that Australians were no longer interested in whether or not they were Irish. Two people, one who arrived in the 1950s and one in the 1960s thought there was less religious bigotry in Australia in recent times. Six considered Ireland was more popular now, a view well borne out in the literature, and 13 considered Ireland was now taken more seriously. Seven of this latter group were migrated in the 1980s.

Within that framework of acceptance, the Irish immigrants were asked their initial reactions to Australia and Australians and if their impressions changed over time. Forty-six people responded to the question about their reaction to Australia, the place.\textsuperscript{77} One found the climate harsh and three immediately disliked it. Twenty-seven made generally approving comments such as ‘good’ and ‘great’. Those who said it was ‘huge’ and a place of opportunity (13) all arrived in the 1950s and 1960s. Their responses perhaps echo the contrast between the closed society of Ireland and the paucity of economic opportunities and the wide open spaces, physically and metaphorically, of Western Australia. This is summed up by the comment of one immigrant of the 1950s; ‘there was the feeling you could say what you liked and do what you liked and go where you liked and you had openings everywhere’.\textsuperscript{78}

Their impressions of Australians were as would be expected, virtually a mirror image of how Australians reacted to them although slightly less positive. ‘Friendly’ or ‘good’ were the most common positive descriptions accounting for

\textsuperscript{75} Garavan, Doherty and Moran, ‘The Irish Mind’, p.308.
\textsuperscript{76} Q30.
\textsuperscript{77} Q40a.
\textsuperscript{78} Jean Chetkovich, ‘Not For Economic Gain: Elsie Butler in Western Australia’, in Bob Reece (ed.),\textit{The Irish in Western Australia,} Studies in Western Australian History, no.20, Nedlands, Western Australia, 2000, p.151.
50 out of 83 responses. 'Laid back' or 'humorous' drew 10 responses and 'cosmopolitan' was used by one person. Of the 22 negative responses, 'loud', 'brash' or 'rude' were noted by thirteen people and 'insular' by nine. Six of the latter had arrived in the 1980s. Only 27 people offered comments regarding whether their opinion of Australia/Australians had altered during their time in Western Australia. Sixteen were positive, stating it had improved or that they now felt at home. The eleven who liked it less felt that in particular Australia had become more racist.\textsuperscript{79} Some comments were: 'they are even worse in their attitudes to immigrants'; 'they are more racist than first impressions' and 'saddened by current immigration debate and anti-Asian/Aboriginal feeling'.\textsuperscript{80} Some refer to racism in regard to Aborigines and it may be that they are now understanding parts of Australian society not visible to them before, as much as they are observing that Australia has changed.

Overall, the impressions of Australians and the reception received from Australians provided a reasonable base for these immigrants to establish their new lives in Western Australia. Some experienced a tenuous but welcoming connection by Australians eager to demonstrate a link to Ireland. As a counterpoint to the 'Irishness' possibly to be found in Australia, O'Farrell has suggested that, as many Irish make their way to Australia via Britain, their potentially negative experiences there could make it harder for them to fit into a residually British-influenced Australian society.\textsuperscript{81} He postulates that Australia remaining a Commonwealth country with the Queen as head of state, could be alienating for Irish people.\textsuperscript{82} Survey participants were asked to comment whether they perceived either Irish or British influences in Western Australia and how, if at all, they were affected by what they found.

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\textsuperscript{79} Q40b.
\textsuperscript{80} R88M2; R83M27; and R87F14.
\textsuperscript{81} O'Farrell, \textit{The Irish in Australia}, 2000, p.322.
\textsuperscript{82} ibid., pp.322-3.
Table 4.9: PERCENTAGE OF SURVEY GROUP WHO PERCEIVED EVIDENCE OF IRISH INFLUENCES IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY (116 respondents)\textsuperscript{83}

<table>
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<th>Republic</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not really</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were 87 comments made about Irishness being observable in Western Australia. Some respondents volunteered several instances. The most frequent way the immigrants perceived what they took to be Irish influences in Australia was what could be collectively described as attitudinal or personality traits. These encompassed sharing a similar sense of humour, that they saw Australians as being relaxed, being irreverent and occasionally, being rebellious. They consider that these traits are also to be found among the Irish and so feel comfortable among Australians. Meeting many people with Irish backgrounds, recognising Irish melodies in Australian bush music, recognising Gaelic football in Australian Rules football, and seeing and hearing Irish place or personal names were other influences perceived. There were only six mentions of familiarity experienced through religion. There was an awareness of Irish achievements such as those of C.Y. O’Connor and Paddy Hannan. Others observed that Irish influences seemed to be embedded in Australian history and politics. It is hardly surprising that the structure of politics should be familiar as both countries inherited British modes of politics despite the fact that Ireland is a republic. Roy Foster describes the use of the Irish language in the twentieth century as ‘a kind of green spray paint’ to conceal institutions such as parliament and the post office which were embarrassingly similar to the British ones from which they evolved.\textsuperscript{84} Some of what was being seen by Irish immigrants as Irish ironically stemmed from Ireland’s and Australia’s shared British heritage. All of the familiar elements observed by the immigrants are very valuable in facilitating their ability to settle comfortably into Western Australia.

By way of contrast, Val Colic-Peisker concluded that migrants from Croatia who came to Western Australia in the 1950s and 1960s ‘experienced the

\textsuperscript{83} Q28.
Australian environment as too different from their communities of origin to be able to fit in comfortably’. In addition to the obvious barrier of language, they came from a country with an ‘entirely different institutional and ideological structure’. The migrants of her study came from rural backgrounds and shared the unsettling effect of adjusting to urban modes of life identified as a problem for some Irish in Grimes’ study. While similarity of language and background institutions are no guarantee of a happy and successful migration experience as evidenced in Catherine Ward’s work on homesickness among female migrants from the United Kingdom and Ireland, the postwar Irish, especially those who arrived in the later decades, were uniquely well placed to prosper in Western Australia.

Table 4.10: PERCENTAGE OF SURVEY GROUP WHO PERCEIVED EVIDENCE OF BRITISHNESS IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY (116 respondents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No opinion</th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Far fewer people observed what they understood as British being evident in Western Australia and there were only 25 comments. Most noted the monarchy and the residual links to empire such as high interest in cricket. A level of formality within the society was ascribed to the British. Five people who reported feeling patronised because they were Irish attributed this to the British. As was observed in ‘The Irish Mind Abroad’ survey, it is sometimes hard to tell if antipathy is specifically anti-Irish or just anti-migrant; however in that survey, when anti-Irish reaction was experienced, 79 per cent of instances took place in England although Australia was also mentioned. In ‘The Irish Mind Abroad’, a backlash against the situation in Northern Ireland was felt to be the cause of the

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86 ibid., p.276.
88 Q29.
problem but there was nothing mentioned about that by any of the respondents in the Perth survey. There was no evidence from the Perth survey to support O'Farrell's musings about adverse effects carried forward from Britain either directly by residence there or indirectly through historical antipathy. This is neither to prove or disprove his idea, for it is likely that in the wide spectrum of Irish who come to Australia some will feel out of place due to British influences. The material from the Perth survey with its particular demographic is not a fertile ground on which to develop this speculation.

As just mentioned, one of the respondents in commenting on perceived Britishness, noted cricket as an example of Britishness.\textsuperscript{90} He might be surprised to know that 68 people in the survey, 45 of whom are from the Republic, nominated cricket as a sport which they follow.\textsuperscript{91} Akenson advised when searching for the Irish in a country, not to look in the 'obvious' places such as the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) but look instead to where everyone else is.\textsuperscript{92} An analysis of the answers regarding sports supported in Australia and Ireland is a good way to judge where the interests and loyalties of these Irish-Australians are placed.

Table 4.11: SURVEY PARTICIPANTS' PREFERENCE TO FOLLOW SPORT PLAYED IN IRELAND OR AUSTRALIA (115 responses – numbers not percentages)\textsuperscript{93}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Ireland</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Australia</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equally both</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are 84 people who indicate they follow sport with 58 per cent of them indicating that they prefer to follow sport in Australia. A further 33 per cent show interest in sport played in both countries and a minority 8 per cent prefer only Irish based sport. No one who arrived in the 1950s or 1960s follows sport in

\textsuperscript{90} Cricket is of course an English, not a British game, but the question in the survey used the word British not English.

\textsuperscript{91} Cricket or sports generally may well be overlooked sources when considering the integration of immigrants to Australia. One small example is that the Mt Lawley under-15 district team for the 1999-2000 season had the following playing list: Wegasani, Kriskovich, Dimatrovski, Chetkovich, Pavisich, Brzezinski, Samakowatis, Pierluigi in addition to Bland, Minchin, Evans and Walton!

\textsuperscript{92} Donald Akenson, Keynote Address to 'The Scattering, Ireland and the Irish Diaspora: A Comparative Perspective', migration conference, University College Cork, 25 September, 1997.

\textsuperscript{93} Q35c.
Ireland in preference to Australia, two out of 19 from the 1970s do, as do five out of 42 who arrived in the 1980s. For those from the Republic, the preference to follow both equally is strongest in the most recently arrived group, the 1980s where 31 per cent chose this option. The preference for Australian sport, both games and teams or individuals, was stronger among those who arrived in the earlier decades. By the 1970s group, those who supported just Irish or both were equal to those supporting only Australian. For the 1980s cohort, Irish only was chosen by five people, both by 13 and Australian only by 15. Although for the later arrivals there is still strong interest in Irish sport, Australian sport is more popular. These findings are a good indicator of the dual loyalties of immigrants yet also show a marked tendency towards Australia, a tendency which appears to be deepened by time.

Within an Australian context, people were also asked to choose which sports they follow from a given list. More than one choice was allowed and other sports could be added. The following table shows the outcome.

Table 4.12 : AUSTRALIAN SPORTING COMPETITIONS FOLLOWED BY SURVEY PARTICIPANTS (93 respondents – numbers, not percentages. Sports chosen by only one or two people are not listed)\(^{94}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australian Rules Football</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cricket</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rugby Union</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennis</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soccer</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAA (football/hurling)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rugby League</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basketball</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golf</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results of this inquiry would appear to add substance to Akenson’s observation regarding where the Irish are likely to be found within a host population. As such they can also be read as an indicator of the level to which this group of Irish are sharing interests with the mainstream of the Australian population.

\(^{94}\) Q35a.
Chapter Four: New Irish Become New Australians

The figures pertaining to the GAA are especially interesting. O’Farrell notes that the new Irish were very involved with Gaelic sports, much more so than previous generations of Irish in Australia. He states that entirely Irish sports grounds are to be found in the outer suburbs of Australian cities.95 This is not the case in Perth.96 All games are played at Collier Park, a public sports field, which is owned by the City of South Perth. Due to O’Farrell’s ambiguous use of ‘new Irish’, it is not clear exactly who he considers have an involvement with GAA. As has been discussed earlier, the immigrants of the 1960s and 1970s are likely to have more in common with the immigrants of the 1950s than they do with those of the 1980s and 1990s. The background of the GAA in Western Australia and the state of the organisation in the late 1990s suggests that the migrants of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s were all instrumental in its formation and development. GAA formally started in Western Australia in 1969 and the Australian GAA was formed in 1974.97

The GAA in Western Australia is predominantly a mix of Irish tourists here on work visas (travellers) and second generation Irish-Australians.98 About 400 people are involved including players, coaches, club officials and supporters.99 Clubs such as Greenwood Gaelic Football Club state that they are proud of their ‘very multicultural club’ and over the years have had ‘Italian, American, English, Finnish, Kiwi, Asian and Irish players’.100 The Morley Gaelic Football Club also ‘prides itself on having a large “mix” of Irish and non-Irish club members’.101 Southern Districts Gaelic Football Club was founded in 1982 by three young Australians and its first team was nearly all Australian-born.102 Thornlie Shamrocks Gaelic Football Club also ‘prides itself in having players from many countries and from all walks of life’.103 Mazenod Gaelic Football Club includes many players who also play Australian rules football.104 This evidence from the

96 Conversation with Sean O’Casey, President of the GAA in Western Australia, 11 March 2002.
97 Tom Kearns interviewed by Catherine Hall, 1994. Tape held by interviewer. Tom Kearns was the inaugural president of the Australian GAA.
98 Conversation with Peter Carolan, vice-president of the GAA in Western Australia, 7 May 2002.
99 ibid.
101 ibid., p.15.
102 ibid., p.19.
103 ibid., p.21.
104 ibid., p.14.
clubs themselves suggests that the GAA is more connected to the earlier group of postwar immigrants and to multicultural Australia than it is to the new more educated and professional group of Irish immigrants of the 1980s and 1990s. While clubs strive to 'truly promote the Irish sporting culture here in Perth', this activity cannot be claimed as evidence of the Irish-born wishing to be exclusive, or of overtly looking back to Ireland, or of rejecting Australian activities.

It is reasonable to suppose that a purpose the GAA served when it was established in Western Australia was as a bridge between new immigrants and Irish-Australians who could help them adjust to their new environment. A quarter of a century after its establishment, it probably serves this purpose for the young Irish travellers but it could now be argued that while it is obviously Irish or Irish-Australian, it is an open organisation happy to accept anyone who likes to play the game and enjoy the 'craic'. The similarities between Gaelic football and Australian rules and the links of latter years where Australia and Ireland compete playing a hybrid game have shown that Gaelic football is a game which is likely to appeal in parts of Australia (such as Western Australia) where Australian rules is the major football code. In the 1990s, minor (junior) teams and women’s teams were added. There are currently six men’s teams and five women’s teams in Perth. The popularity of the women’s game has been credited by several of the clubs with revitalising the game. As Australian rules organisations provide very little opportunity for girls or women to play, the GAA may well have capitalised on a gap which had nothing to do with ethnicity. One women’s team, Greenwood, draws most of its players from ex-Perth College girls. From the evidence of the survey participants that very few of them follow GAA and considering how the clubs describe themselves, the GAA is probably a good example of how integrated the Irish and their sports are in Western Australia rather than an

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105 ibid., p.15.
106 ibid., p.9.
107 GAA of WA 2002 Fixtures Card.
109 Carolan, conversation. Perth College is a private Anglican girls' school. Jane Padgett, one of the ex-Perth College girls in the team, reported that she and her sister were introduced to the game by physical education teachers at school who were players and had taught the game to the students generally. The teachers in turn had learned about Gaelic football from a friend at university. Jane plays it for the enjoyment and satisfaction of participating in a fast, skilled game. The 2002 Australasian Women’s team includes four girls with Perth College, but no Irish, connections.
example of a segregated Ireland-oriented organisation as is implied by O’Farrell’s comments.

Other indicators of where a person’s heart or intrinsic loyalties could lie are in their support or otherwise of the national days of a country. O’Farrell writes that the new Irish believe that Australia is old fashioned and that its people are ‘addicted to outmoded fooleries such as Anzac Day’.

Two questions in the Perth survey related to national days. The participants were asked which of Irish or Australian national days were more important to them and, if Australian days were important, how long had they been in Australia before this change occurred. The answers were as follows:

Table 4.13: NATIONAL DAYS: IMPORTANCE OF IRISH AND AUSTRALIAN TO SURVEY PARTICIPANTS: % (115 responses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aust more important</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both equally important</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither important</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish more important</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.14: NATIONAL DAYS: NUMBER OF YEARS IN AUSTRALIA BEFORE AUSTRALIAN BECAME SIGNIFICANT TO SURVEY RESPONDENTS: % (114 responses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No interest</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 – 5 years</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 – 15 years</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 + years</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are some inconsistencies between the two sets of answers but broadly, about a fifth to a quarter of the respondents have no interest in national days of either country. This may or may not be typical of migrants but as there are no figures to compare this outcome against either for Australians in general, migrants in general or the Irish in Ireland or elsewhere, no inference can be drawn from the

111 Q36c; and Q36b.
112 Q36b.
113 Q36a.
figure. Between a quarter and a third consider Australian days more important. Over a third spread their loyalties to both countries therefore about two-thirds of the whole group have embraced Australian national days to some extent. Roughly a sixth still consider Irish days to be more significant to them. Predictably, St Patrick’s Day was mentioned as important by the 25 per cent who chose to comment. Chapter Seven deals with the celebration of St Patrick’s Day in Perth in the postwar period. Of the people who consider Irish days to be more significant, all came from the Republic and the greatest percentage of them came to Western Australia in the 1980s. As a measure of loyalty to either country, these figures indicate that Australia is favoured but Ireland is by no means discarded. As ‘both equally important’ attracted most responses, they also show that the immigrants can have a dual loyalty. The transition to considering Australian national days important appears to occur quite quickly with over half reporting that they developed an interest within five years.

Interviewees were asked to consider how they fitted into Australian history and how they regard or respond to Anzac Day. A woman who came in the 1950s said that ‘when we were younger we used to go to the Anzac parade – I felt part of it – accepted’. Observation of the Australian ritual of Anzac Day was, for her, a way of participating in something important to (fellow) Australians. A woman who came in the 1980s said that ‘I go up to King’s Park every year and I feel it’s important to be there at the dawn service and I want my [Australian-born] son to be part of that’. She is personally anti-war but feels Anzac Day is ‘an essential part of the identity here’.

Given the official lack of interest in the war service of the Irish in both world wars, it is perhaps remarkable that the Irish who were interviewed were so interested in Anzac Day. In World War One, the Irish volunteered in numbers very similar to the Australians and suffered similar losses. For one man, a Catholic from Northern Ireland, Anzac Day has provided an opportunity to join others in ‘mourning the loss of a generation of young men’ as that was the

114 Q36b.
115 Elsie Butler interviewed by author, 1997, transcript, p.15. Tape and transcript held by author.
117 In the First World War, nearly 250,000 Irish volunteered and about 50,000 were killed. Australian volunteers numbered 300,000 with about 60,000 killed. The populations of the two countries were similar, about 4.5 million each. Kevin Myers, ‘Foreword’, in David Robertson, Deeds Not Words, Multyfarnham, Co. Westmeath, 1998, p.ix; and Peter Cochrane, Australians at War, Sydney, 2001, p.81.
preserve of the Protestants where he came from in Derry.\(^{118}\) It is for him a unique way to commemorate some of his original country's suppressed history through Australian history and the common link of the First World War. Brian Walker confirms that in Northern Ireland, the observation of Armistice Day was mainly by Protestants. Additionally, the deaths of soldiers in World War One came to be regarded and presented as a 'blood sacrifice for the union' which was alienating to many Catholics.\(^{119}\) A Catholic man from the Republic expressed similar sentiments to the Derry man. He felt a 'certain sadness that nationalist Ireland had in a sense abandoned the Irish people who died in the First World War'.\(^{120}\) He bought his first poppy for Armistice Day in 1996 as in Ireland he felt there was such a strong sanction against doing so that 'nobody [Catholic] would dare to do it because it would identify you as being English or pro-British'.\(^{121}\) He would have been unable to purchase a poppy from a street-seller in the 1970s as Armistice Day commemorations in the Republic were stopped in 1970 due to dangers posed by reactions to the 'troubles' in Northern Ireland.\(^{122}\) Commemorations were confined to a service at St Patrick's Cathedral (Protestant) in Dublin and it was not until the early 1980s that the government participated by sending a minister and some senior army officers.\(^{123}\) A major change was marked in 1998 when the Irish President joined Queen Elizabeth II and the King of Belgium in Belgium where a new monument has been built which records that thousands of Irish, both unionist and nationalist, fought and died together in World War One.\(^{124}\)

There were the same numbers of positive, participatory reactions to Anzac Day as there were of those who had no criticism of the Anzac Day rituals but who felt apart from them. Different again were two interviewees irritated by Australian ignorance of the Irish involvement with Gallipoli.\(^{125}\) Another man considers himself very much part of present Australia but does not feel it is reasonable to appropriate Australian history by celebrating Anzac Day. He also feels it is questionable whether the treatment of the Australian troops warrants

\(^{118}\) Allingham interview, 2000, transcript, p.9.


\(^{120}\) Dermot Roden interviewed by author, 1998, transcript, p. 4. Tape and transcript held by author.

\(^{121}\) ibid.

\(^{122}\) Walker, *Dancing to History's Tune*, p.103.

\(^{123}\) ibid., p.104.

\(^{124}\) *Irish Emigrant*, no. 615, 16 November 1998.

\(^{125}\) Bob Carter interviewed by author, 1998, transcript, pp.4-5. Tape and transcript held by author.

'celebration'. In the same vein, a 1980s' immigrant commented that 'I abhor Anzac Day' citing that the battle was a farce and that the British used the Australians and New Zealanders. Only one of the interviewees echoed the criticism reported by O'Farrell from the *Irish Echo*, which described the Anzac Day celebrations of 1990 as 'disturbingly obsessive'. She feels 'there is a huge degree of jingoism here' and that this is exemplified by Anzac Day.

The ability to give expression to some culturally suppressed Irish history, a willingness to participate in an important Australian cultural ritual, to respect but to be apart from the same ritual formed the majority of the responses (24 out of 30). Of the remaining six, three were anti-war, two were irritated by Australians' insularity regarding Gallipoli and one was critical of the whole process. The majority of these answers and the degree of empathy or respect shown by most respondents does not support the O'Farrell's assertion that new Irish consider Anzac Day to be an 'outmoded foolery'.

Other ways which the Irish-born retain an interest in their country of origin is by reading Irish publications produced either in Ireland or in Australia. Irish-Australian publications are read or bought by nearly half of the respondents. Some of these are newsletters or publications of clubs. As stated earlier, just over a quarter buy the Sydney-produced *Irish Echo*. Asked whether they read or buy Irish-produced papers, 42 per cent reported that they did (48 per cent of those from the Republic and 21 per cent from Northern Ireland). There were some people from all decades who read or bought Irish or Irish-Australian publications. The highest frequency (60 per cent) of interest in Irish or Irish-Australian publications was found among people who arrived in the 1980s from the Republic. Where information was supplied regarding which paper or publication was read or bought, the *Irish Times*, often via the Internet, was a common answer, which reveals a high incidence of interest in Irish affairs. The effect of the ease of access via the Internet for those who use it may be a factor as virtually

127 Frank Egan interviewed by author, 1998, transcript, p.4. Tape and transcript held by author.
129 Sarah Jane Murphy interviewed by author, 1998, transcript, p.6.Tape and transcript held by author.
130 Q34.
131 Q43.
no effort or expense is required to acquire the paper if a computer is already in use.

Personal contact maintained with Ireland is high and frequent as would be expected. Less than 1 per cent say they have no contact at all. Close family is the group most often contacted (42 per cent), then friends (30 per cent) then extended family (19 per cent) with 8 per cent reporting they keep in touch with business acquaintances. Respondents could indicate that they communicated with more than one category of people. Telephone was the favourite method to keep in touch and was nominated by 65 per cent as their first preference and by 30 per cent as their second. Mail was the next most popular method favoured by 30 per cent as their primary means and by 59 per cent as their secondary mode. Fax and e-mail shared the remaining 5 per cent of the primary choices. It is likely that e-mail has increased in use since the survey was taken in 1997. Making contact monthly was the most common response and 45 per cent nominated that this was their pattern. Weekly contact was marginally more common than three monthly being 20 and 19 per cent respectively.

A pattern can be seen across the decades in the group from the Republic where the longer they have been away from Ireland, the longer the interval between communications. Twenty-seven per cent of those who arrived in the 1980s have weekly contact compared to only 10 per cent of those who arrived in the 1950s. Apart from anything to do with feeling less need to communicate as a life develops elsewhere, most of the 1950s group (70 per cent) prefer to write letters compared to 23 per cent who choose this option from the 1980s group. This is obviously a slower mode of communication than the telephone which is preferred by 73 per cent of the 1980s group and only 10 per cent of the 1950s group. Letter-writing habits, formed early in their time in Australia when international calls were a luxury, likely persist. As people age and die, there will also be a decreasing number of friends, siblings and very significantly, parents left in Ireland with whom to correspond. All Ireland figures regarding whether the frequency of contact has changed over the years, show that 46 per cent consider that it has stayed the same, 33 per cent that it has lessened and 21 per cent that it has increased. Those who came from the Republic in the 1980s and who generally

\[132\] Q41a
\[133\] Q41b
\[134\] Q41c
show more indicators of attachment to Ireland, surprisingly report that for 37 per cent of them, contact has become less frequent. This is compared to 21 per cent in the 1970s group, 28 per cent for the 1960s group and 50 per cent for the 1950s. The number and the effects of visits back to Ireland may explain this reduction for the 1980s group as discussed in the next chapter.

This chapter so far has attempted to examine ways to gauge whether Irish immigrants of the post Second World War decades, especially those who arrived after 1980, are committing themselves to Australia or whether they really ‘remain’ in Ireland. Does their way of ‘being’ in Australia need a name such as Irish-Australian? Do they have a hybrid identity and hence need a hybrid name? People were asked both in the survey and in the interviews, how they regard themselves in terms of putting a name to their identity.\textsuperscript{135} Nine options were given plus an invitation to write in another description if desired. The responses were:

Table 4.15: PREFERRED WAY OF SELF-REFERRAL REGARDING IDENTITY FOR SURVEY GROUP (numbers not %)\textsuperscript{136}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish-Australian</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian-Irish</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Irish</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celtic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>84</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other options offered but not chosen were Gaelic, Anglo-Irish and British.

‘Irish’ was obviously the most popular choice with 56 per cent of people choosing that description. Irish-Australian followed by Australian-Irish were the next most popular, collectively accounting for nearly a third of the group. When people were interviewed (see below) this phrase did not occur so it looks as though it may be a phrase acceptable as an alternative to ‘Irish’ when they wish to imply that they are something either more, or different, from the Irish in Ireland. The five people who nominated ‘Northern Irish’ were all Protestants but there were six other Protestants in the Northern Ireland group who chose something else, mainly

\textsuperscript{135} Q21a.
\textsuperscript{136} Q21a.
'Irish'. In the interviews, people were asked to comment on how they would describe themselves and if they would give a different answer if they were in a third country, neither Ireland nor Australia.

The information gained from twenty seven interviews is similar to the aggregated survey figures in that the most frequent answer was 'Irish' (13). What is interesting is that the term 'Irish-Australian' was not used by any of the interviewees to describe themselves. Some mention that they suppose they could be called Irish-Australian but did not choose to use the term themselves. The second most frequent response (7) was 'Irish' qualified in some way such as 'I'm Irish but I live in Australia' or 'Irish ... very happy to be living in Australia'.

'Australian' qualified by noting they were Irish-born accounted for a further six responses. Only one person said he was Australian commenting that this had to be the most accurate term 'by every reason [he] can come up with'. Referring to his potential Irish appellation he commented 'the other [Irish]is the past though a very happy past you like to hang on to'.

Five commented that their accent made it impossible for them to say with any credibility that they were Australian. One man said he would say he was Australian but people would look at him quizzically causing him to say 'well, I wasn't born there'. Another 1980s immigrant said: 'obviously if an Australian asks me in Australia “where are you from”, if I would answer ‘Australia’, they’d say “Oh yeah?”'. These comments were said in humorous tones as were those made by the other three who reported being kept Irish by their accents regardless of what they might consider themselves. In discussing her own migration to Western Australia from Croatia, Colic-Peisker uses the phrase 'audible badge of identity' to describe the effect of being identified as 'non-Australian' as soon as she speaks. It is a very apt phrase to apply to these Irish immigrants. Peisker also muses on the possible effect of the 'judgemental gaze of others'. The impression from the interviewees was that being identified as Irish was not a problem for them due to the high degree of acceptance of the Irish in Australia.

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141 Colic-Peisker, 'Croatians in Western Australia', p.2.
142 ibid., p.3.
especially since the late 1980s. It appeared that it was not an important indicator of status and was not something which they dwelt on. They took their Irishness for granted, as unexceptional. A sense of needing to band together and be bolstered by a collective identity was not apparent. By contrast, Peisker makes the point that for the usually unskilled, non-English speaking Croatian migrants of the 1950s and 1960s the need for ‘ethnic belonging’ was strong to compensate for their rather low status within Australia.\(^{143}\) The cohort of Croatians (voluntary immigrants, not refugees) who came to Western Australia post-1980 were, like the Irish, more likely to be urban, educated professionals. As a consequence and because they could speak English, they were better equipped to cope in Western Australia and did not choose ethnicity as a focus of identity to assist their successful survival here.\(^{144}\)

A consequence of their ‘audible badge of identity’ for some of the Protestant Irish from the Republic who were interviewed was the assumption that they were Catholic. Two Protestant migrants of the 1950s reported that this was not something which they had anticipated in Australia as they were unaware that Catholics had always been the majority of the Irish migrants to that country.\(^{145}\) As a consequence of the legacy of religious and political differences left behind in Ireland, they never engaged in conversation which might bring up Irish issues and avoided mixing with Irish people just because they were Irish. The Australian perception that Irish meant Catholic and therefore excluded them, created a type of identity vacuum which they were quite happy to inhabit. Two Protestants, a man and a woman, who arrived in the 1960s had similar experiences. The man reported that the senior partner in his work could not accept the fact that he was a Protestant from the Republic and always introduced him as a Northern-Irish Protestant.\(^{146}\) The woman reported that she was upset at first to find that she was

\(^{143}\) ibid., p.243.

\(^{144}\) ibid., p.244.

\(^{145}\) George and Elsie Butler interviewed by author in 1999. Tape held by author. Colonial figures indicate about 75% of the Irish population of Australia was Catholic. Oliver MacDonagh, *The Sharing of the Green*, St Leonards, NSW, 1996, p.xiv. The *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1954*, Nos 14, 20 and 21 - Birthplaces of the Population: Western Australia, figures for Ireland (Republic of) and Ireland (undefined)-generally assumed to also be the Republic-show that 66% of Irish-born in Western Australia were Catholics. An expanded version of the story of these two migrants can be found in Jean Chetkovich, ‘Not For Economic Gain’, pp.151-67.

\(^{146}\) Ed Pigott interviewed by author, 1998, transcript, p.11. Tape and transcript held by author.
taken for Catholic. She was sorry she reacted to that way. It is likely that as she was coming to terms with living in a new country she did not want to appear to be wrongly typecast, particularly because of the importance of such differentiation in the Ireland of her early years.

For the total group of the survey and particularly those who were interviewed, what they call themselves does not appear to be significant as a means of gauging commitment either to Ireland or to Australia. That 56 per cent say they are Irish and only six per cent say they are Australian is meaningless when considered against the fact that 79 per cent intend to stay permanently in Australia and only 4 per cent intend to return with 17 per cent still undecided. Australian citizenship has been adopted by 86 per cent of the survey group. What it does seem to indicate is that the term ‘Irish-Australian’ is a term favoured by those who wish to describe and categorise Irish immigrants and does not have a great deal of meaning for those so described.

The duality of migration is well illustrated by an analysis of where the survey participants nominate their images of home to be as the following table shows.

Table 4.16: SURVEY PARTICIPANTS: LOCATION OF IMAGES OF HOME (numbers not % - 109 responses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both places</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A large majority of 73 per cent nominated that images of home were located in both countries. This is clearly not an indication that the majority of the group are looking to Ireland but rather that they are firmly ‘at home’ in both countries. Combined with the 5 per cent for whom all home images are located in Australia, over three-quarters of the survey group include images of Australia as part of their definition of home. Some of the often eloquently expressed responses show a fusion of both countries in their wording. An example of this conflation of images is: ‘the Irish “mist” where it rains all day for nothing in the rain gauge’ which was

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148 Q15a.
149 Q26a.
written by a woman who lives in the wheatbelt of Western Australia where rain gauges are a feature of everyday life.\textsuperscript{150} This is hardly the case in Ireland. A man who came to Western Australia in 1950 wrote: ‘I love green Ireland. I now live in Quinns Rock on a duplex block on a corner. I have the greenest lawn in Quinns Rock’.\textsuperscript{151} Quinns Rock is a northern coastal suburb of Perth with a sandy soil and where the prevailing colours are yellow and fairly drab green when compared to the rich greens of Ireland. Really green lawn is only produced with considerable attention and watering. The hybrid Irish-Australian imagery is obvious in these examples.

Some of the images indicate that home is contemporary in both places. Examples are: ‘playing golf on a fine “soft” Irish spring morning; conversation in a good Irish pub – the smell of barbeques at sundown in the Australian summer vineyard in the southwest of WA’ and the ‘smell of native bushland in Australia – smell of rain and dampness in Ireland’.\textsuperscript{152} Others show that Irish images are of the past where Australian images are more contemporary: ‘Ireland – long summer evenings; the greenness of the countryside; games played in the streets as a boy; four years as an evacuee during the war with a man who I idolised and had a wonderful effect on the rest of my life. Australia - the night skies especially in Kalgoorlie; the friendship of the average Australian; the wonderful weather and the general feeling of well-being that permeates the place’.\textsuperscript{153} ‘Lough Oughter in Cavan where I spent childhood holidays with aunt and uncle ... the great Karri forests of Pemberton’ again reflects that the Irish images are in or of the past.\textsuperscript{154} There are many more colourful, affectionate and evocative examples which could be quoted. They all reinforce the idea that people can, on some level, be quite comfortable with more than one notional location of home. The analysis of the survey group’s intentions to return to Ireland indicate that most will not do so. In the next chapter it will be shown that even some of those who say they wish to go back to Ireland or remain undecided appear unlikely to return. With this in mind, it can be seen that to hold a familiar, comforting or attractive image of Ireland in one’s mind or heart does not preclude absorption into and commitment to Australian society.

\textsuperscript{150} R67F9; and Q26b.  
\textsuperscript{151} R50M9; and Q26b.  
\textsuperscript{152} R82M30; R69F12; and Q26b.  
\textsuperscript{153} N58M2; and Q26b.  
\textsuperscript{154} R63M15; and Q26b.
The participants in the Perth survey have indicated that 79 per cent intend to remain in Western Australia, 17 per cent are undecided and 4 per cent would like to return to Ireland. Within this framework an analysis of several aspects of their lives show that they retain strong links to Ireland. The vast majority have regular contact with family or friends in Ireland. Some still follow sport played in Ireland, and current affairs from Irish sources. Irish national days retain an importance, and images of Ireland as ‘home’ linger on. They are closely connected to other Irish in Australia through chain migration, some family, friends of Irish origin and clubs.

While Irish and Irish-Australian connections are firm and important, other indicators of commitment, of ‘movement of the mind and heart, away from Ireland, into Australia’\(^{155}\) are strongly Australian. Interest in Australian national days has overtaken interest in Irish days or encompasses both. Anzac Day has been embraced by many and is respected by most who were asked specifically about it. In sports, although GAA in some form is available, it does not have a large following with only about 400 people out of an Irish-born population of 13,000 taking an active interest.\(^{156}\) It has been shown that not all the 400 are Irish migrants or even second-generation Irish. Gaelic football, while obviously an imported game which has strong Irish involvement, it a game enjoyed by Irish and non-Irish alike. There is nothing to suggest that it is an Irish enclave. As Akenson perceptively suggested, the Irish will be found where the majority of the receiving population are also to be found. That cricket and Australian rules football were the most followed sports illustrates the value of his approach. Cricket in particular is hardly a traditional Irish game. Archbishop Croke of Cashel, the first patron of the GAA when it was founded in Ireland in 1884, described cricket as a ‘foreign and fantastic field-sport’ which GAA members were forbidden to play.\(^{157}\) The survey group gave the impression they were at ease with being Irish in Australia and as such did not have to ‘recreate’ Ireland in order to be at home. Preferred cultural norms could be chosen and others left behind as the function at the Celtic Club showed. Friendships were forged with other Irish and with Australians from many backgrounds. That the Irish mainly met their Irish friends though relatives or by way of other friends, shows the existence of some networks although the Irish are


\(^{156}\) See Table 2.2.

not residentially clustered. The new Irish of this survey are retaining what they wish of their Irishness while simultaneously becoming some variety of the many varieties of Australian. The evidence of this chapter does not support O'Farrell's idea that the new Irish are 'happy apart'\textsuperscript{158}.

\textsuperscript{158} O'Farrell, \textit{The Irish in Australia}, 2000, p.321.
CHAPTER FIVE

DISCONNECTION AND RECONNECTION

The effects of visits to Ireland on commitment to Australia and on citizenship

Chapter four considered what it meant to be Irish in Australia at the end of the twentieth century. Ideas of home were discussed as was identity in the sense of whether people consider themselves to be 'Irish' or 'Australian' or something else. Developments in international travel, namely the availability of flight and the relatively affordable costs of fares have improved the opportunity for migrants (and their Irish-based families) to make visits and to travel between Ireland and Australia. The central issue of this chapter is to examine how these opportunities have influenced the Irish immigrants' attitude to permanent settlement in or commitment to Australia. Attitudes and actions regarding citizenship will be considered as part of this question. It might be expected that the potentially transient lifestyle of many recent migrants and the apparent ease of returning to Ireland or of moving between the two countries would undermine a heartfelt commitment to Australia. The principal finding of this chapter is that this is not the case for the majority of participants in the Perth survey.

Patrick O’Farrell has questioned the commitment of postwar Irish migrants to Australia saying that people came with ‘a ticket home in their heads if not in their pockets’.1 He suggests they remain ‘essentially Irish, an identity sustained by the devices of modern technology...[including] ease of travel’.2 Rina Huber writing in 1977 about Italian immigrants to Australia, observed that people wanted to return at least once to Italy for their own peace of mind.3 She reports that after a

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Chapter Five: Disconnection and Reconnection

visit of ‘between four and twelve months at home, the visitors found they no longer felt at ease...and realised they had more in common with their settled compatriots in Sydney’. Whatever the motivation for returning to their place of origin, the functional effect of visiting and then coming back to Australia was ‘that it fostered greater satisfaction and identification with Australia’. Loretta Baldassar in her work on migrants from San Fior entitled ‘Visits to the Shrine’, points out that Huber was writing in the 1970s and did not anticipate the continuation of visits which for many immigrants increased in the 1980s and 1990s, instead assuming that one visit would be all that was undertaken. As a consequence, Huber did not consider the effect of frequent trips. Baldassar cites several other works which have dealt with return visits by Italian immigrants. All, including her own work, report the experience as being ‘bitter-sweet’ and that ‘readapting to life back in Italy was not automatic’.

A major difference between the Irish immigrants of the Perth survey and the Italian immigrants discussed above is that few, if any of the Italians, when leaving Italy, regarded their immigration as permanent. Rather it was viewed as a ‘temporary period of hard labour overseas’ and most cited the ‘pursuit of financial gain and economic security’ as their main reason to migrate. As will be shown in Table 5.1, nearly half of the Irish immigrants in the survey indicated that they always intended to stay in Australia. Less than a quarter intended to return to Ireland and the rest were undecided. The Italians came from village backgrounds and most of the Irish were from urban backgrounds rather than rural, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary could be assumed to have weaker ties to family land (which in the Italian case may still be owned by the immigrants) and to familial obligations. Additionally, their ability to speak English was unlikely

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4 ibid.
5 ibid.
6 Loretta Baldassar, ‘Visits to the Shrine: A study of migration as transnational interaction between the San Fiorese in Western Australia and Northern Italy’, PhD Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Western Australia, 1994, p.57. Baldassar is a pioneer in the study of the significance of return visits for migrants to Australia. Her focus is on Italian migrants.
9 Thompson in ibid., p.58.
10 The attitudes of Irish and other immigrants to Western Australia regarding the care of parents or other kin who remain in the country of origin is the subject of a current study being jointly conducted by the University of Western Australia and Murdoch University. Raelene Wilding from the Department of Anthropology, University of Western Australia is researching the
to make Australia as ‘foreign’ to them as it was to non-English speaking immigrants, especially if poorly educated. Baldassar’s own focus on return visits is located within the context of assumed repatriation. She explores questions of moral obligation and visits as atonement for non-permanent return. She also examines visits as part of the migration process and for their value in helping to renew the migrant’s identity as San Fiorese while simultaneously ensuring that they remain interrelated with the townspeople of the area which they left. The Perth survey was not seeking to examine these questions but to test if the ability to visit Ireland and the frequent visits made by many of the group contributed to any lack of commitment to Australia.

A further interesting point of difference regarding visits in relation to the experiences of the Italian immigrants of Baldassar’s study and the Irish immigrants of the Perth survey is the effect of family and friends coming to Australia to visit. Baldassar reports that very few San Fiorese in Perth had received visits from relatives from home. A source of dissatisfaction to the Perth San Fiorese was the ignorant and negative attitude held about Australia by the San Fiorese in Italy, caused partly by the relatives’ refusal to visit. The few who do visit from Italy are usually favourably impressed by what they see in Perth. By contrast, many of the Irish respondents reported that both family and friends do come and visit. It is probable that many Irish immigrants receive such visits as there are a large number of short-term visits made by people from the UK and Ireland to Australia. For example, in 1993 the UK was the third largest source of visitors to Australia (behind Japan and New Zealand). Over 40 per cent of British visitors to Australia come to visit relatives compared with less than 18 per cent of total visitors coming for that reason. Separate figures are not provided for Ireland but it could be assumed the same case applies to them. It is reasonable

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11 Baldassar, ‘Visits to the Shrine’, p.iii.
12 Loretta Baldassar, Visits Home: Migration experiences between Italy and Australia, Melbourne, 2001, p.240.
13 ibid., p.328.
14 ibid., p.240.
16 ibid., p.66.
to conclude that the ability to have loved ones visiting the migrants in Australia would also lessen homesickness in the same manner that travelling to Ireland does. It is not the focus of this thesis but the effect of people visiting from the country of origin, and by so doing, in some way validating the migrant’s decision to leave, highlights the potential for yet another way in which transnational visiting and the importance of place can be analysed.

As stated above, virtually all the Italian immigrants studied always intended to return permanently to their villages of origin. For the Irish immigrants in the survey, by their stated intentions, this was not the case. There may be some difficulties with recalling intentions from 10, 20, 30, 40 or more years ago. As John Jackson wrote, while we have to accept what people say are their ‘real’ reasons, they may be rationalising decisions which they took years ago. It may also be for the immigrants who came in the 1950s, 1960s and to some extent the 1970s, before the availability of cheaper, faster travel, that they indicated they intended to return as a way of keeping their options open, of keeping control of their lives, despite the unlikelihood that they really would go back. This idea of returning is perhaps similar to the ‘ideology of return’ evident among the Italian immigrants or the ‘myth of return’ wherein the idea of return orients the lives and desires of those who choose to foster it. Although the majority of the Italian immigrants did not realise this aspiration, many more from Southern Europe do return permanently to their country of origin than those from the United Kingdom/Ireland. Graeme Hugo shows that in 1989, one in four Greek-born Australians, one in nine Yugoslav-born Australians and one in 18 Italian-born Australians receive their pension overseas — presumably in their country of origin — compared to one in 50 UK/Irish-born Australians.

As could be inferred from these repatriation figures, the survey responses from the Irish migrants are different from the Italian example as Baldassar describes it. Among the Irish respondents, only a minority of people nominated that at the time of immigration, their intention was to return to Ireland eventually. Most indicated that they always intended to stay permanently in Australia, which might be

19 Baldassar, ‘Visits to the Shrine’, p.58.
20 Hugo, ‘Migration Between Australia and Britain’, p.56.
21 ibid. All pensions, not just old-age, are included in the figures.
regarded simply as a rationalisation to match the fact that they did actually stay. However as Jackson indicated, it is not possible to be wholly sure of how to understand such responses, so in the absence of evidence to the contrary, answers should be accepted at face value. The respondents provided copious information on their survey forms and during interviews, much of it about emotional issues and some of it stating that mistakes had been made. The information and the way in which it was given seems to indicate a willingness to be frank and that they were not trying to present their lives and decisions taken as unfailingly successful. It is unreasonable to assume that people chose to lie or deliberately mislead. Bearing in mind the possible constraints raised, the aggregated figures should be regarded as people's best effort to supply a truthful answer to the question seeking to establish their initial intentions with regard to their immigration. A further indicator that their answers are accurate is that many have changed their intentions with regard to staying so they are not making everything 'fit'.

The effects of visiting Ireland after some time spent in Western Australia were an interesting and significant feature of the survey and challenges claims made about the destabilising effect of the greater ease of making trips to Ireland. As previously stated, O'Farrell believes that the 'new Irish', the Irish immigrants to Australia of the last 50 years, are not making 'that movement of heart and mind, away from Ireland, into Australia'. He postulates that this is due in part to their ability to travel to Ireland. Twenty-five of the people who were interviewed were asked if they considered that the relative ease of travelling to Ireland was a help or a hindrance to settling in Australia. Fifteen considered that it was a great advantage to settling, mainly because it would be possible to respond to a crisis quickly (and many of them had). In the late twentieth century, it was also possible to attend family events such as weddings. This immediacy of travel contrasts with the situation in 1966 when a berth on a boat to England (with further time again to Ireland) had to be booked 12 months in advance. With regard to costs, in 1957, a tourist class round-the-world airfare cost the equivalent of $1142 when the

23 ibid., p.313.
24 Reginald Appleyard, Alison Ray and Allan Segal, *The Ten Pound Immigrants*, London, 1988, p.114. Other anecdotal evidence suggests bookings may have been more readily available than Appleyard, Ray and Segal report although there was always a delay of several months.
average male weekly earnings were the equivalent of $35. In 2002, an economy class round-the-world airfare cost $2300 when average weekly male earnings were $922 (November 2001). Therefore, in 1957 it took nearly 33 weeks' work to pay for the flight cost of $1142, whereas in 2002 it took only two and a half weeks' work to pay for the equivalent fare. Another view of the cost reduction of airfares is to say that 33 weeks' work in 2002 is equivalent to $30,426 which would fund 13 trips. It is easy to see why the costs of travel were prohibitive.

Other opinions given in answer to the question ranged from those who found the experience 'very unsettling' and those who were ambivalent to one person who considers it neither easy nor cheap to visit or return to Ireland. There was the suggestion of a very interesting idea from two of the people who considered it to be unsettling. They were both immigrants of the 1950s and were not able to avail themselves of visits to Ireland until much later in their time in Australia than is the case for the more recent immigrants. They both imagined that ease of return would have allowed people to give in to homesickness and to have given up on Australia. Their imagined response to ease of travel contrasts with the real experience of other, more recent immigrants who knew that they could go if they wanted to. The more recent immigrants report that knowing they had a 'loophole', 'knowing you have that "out"', for them meant that they could weather, rather than succumb to, the bursts of homesickness. The numbers are too small for the effect on homesickness to be confidently assumed to be true and it probably could not be tested anyway but it does challenge assumptions made regarding the effect of the ability to leave. Paradoxically, it appears from the interviewees that the relative ease of leaving Australia makes it easier to stay in Australia.

Two obvious points need to be made here. Firstly, a survey like this cannot factor in those who have already returned to Ireland; they are simply not here to be surveyed. Some return migration has been found to be a normal, not an

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25 Airline advertisement for Cooks World Travel in The Record, 21 March 1957. The amount was 571 pounds and three shillings; and Official Year Book of Western Australia 1957, Perth 1958, p.315. The average weekly earnings per employed male unit was 17 pounds and 19 shillings.


27 R82F31; and R81F32. As indicated in Chapter Three, the returned surveys have a coded number where N or R indicates that the person comes from either Northern Ireland or the Republic; the next two digits are the year of arrival; F or M indicates gender and the last digit is a consecutive number in a decadal group for either Northern Ireland or for the Republic.
abnormal, outcome of migration and occurs for a variety of reasons. Secondly, referring to immigrants from Ireland and the United Kingdom who arrived in the later decades of the twentieth century, Hugo states that most migrants who choose to return will do so within their first five years in Australia. Those who came here prior to 1980 and still remain are more likely to have made the decision to stay permanently; in other words, pre-1980s immigrants will have already voted with their feet, making the earlier group in the survey potentially less volatile in its intentions than the 1980s cohort. In contrast to Hugo’s five year period within which return migration is most likely to occur, earlier studies have shown that United Kingdom migrants who came to Australia in the late 1950s and early 1960s were most likely to return within the first two years. The main reasons cited were family-related problems or homesickness. From the evidence in this chapter, it is possible that the difficulty or the inability to make visits home very likely had an influence on early decisions to leave Australia.

The intention of many of the survey participants with regard to staying in Australia changed over time. The following table shows their intentions when they first came to Australia.

Table 5.1: INTENTIONS OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS AT TIME OF EMIGRATION (as recalled in 1997)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intention at time of emigration</th>
<th>Northern Ireland</th>
<th>Northern Ireland %</th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>Republic %</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Return</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stay</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows that slightly over half (54%) either intended to return or were keeping their options open, an indication of the flexible and voluntary nature of modern emigration from Ireland to Australia. It also supports the idea of a

28 Hugo, ‘Migration Between Australia and Britain’, p.74.
29 Ibid., p.53.
30 Graeme Hugo, The Economic Implications of Emigration From Australia, Canberra, 1994, p.30.
31 Q12.
migration culture where to move to another country (or countries) even to live part of one’s life is normal. More particularly, this semi-permanent migration is very much a feature of modern emigration from Ireland due to Ireland’s place in the international labour market as discussed in Chapter One. As MacLaughlin and others have pointed out, Ireland is still providing international labour. The difference of course for the individuals participating in this international labour market in the late-twentieth century compared to migrants of earlier times, is that due to cheaper, quicker transportation, the possibility exists for them to return when they are either tired of being abroad or have achieved their aims or career goals. Regardless of their intentions on emigration, the circumstances of their new country impact on migrants and may change their desire or their ability to return to Ireland. Changes in Ireland in their absence will also have an effect.

Table 5.2: SURVEY PARTICIPANTS’ INTENTIONS AT TIME OF EMIGRATION

Pre-1980 and 1980s (as recalled in 1997)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intention</th>
<th>Pre-1980</th>
<th>Pre-1980 %</th>
<th>1980s</th>
<th>1980s %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Return</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stay</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the time of their migration, there were more in the earlier group who considered that they would return to Ireland than there were in the later group, probably because they wished to keep their options open, particularly in the face of the strong likelihood that they would not achieve their aim. There may have been some denial of reality, some wishful thinking, apparent in the expressed intention to return. The numbers of those intending to stay are broadly similar for the two groups but there is a higher proportion in the ‘undecided’ category among the later arrivals. The apparent ease of being able to return to Ireland could tempt

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34 Q12. Questions or responses from the survey are referred to in the footnotes by number.
more recent emigrants to come and see what Australia was like and then decide whether to stay. For some, as a detailed examination of the survey responses will show, this 'apparent ease of return' was to prove illusory.

There was a change of intention over time for many of these migrants. When asked their current intentions with regard to returning to Ireland, the numbers in each category had changed.\textsuperscript{35} As would be expected, there is greater volatility in the 1980s group.

Table 5.3: 1997: SURVEY PARTICIPANTS' INTENTION REGARDING PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN AUSTRALIA \textsuperscript{36}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Current Intention</th>
<th>Northern Ireland</th>
<th>Northern Ireland %</th>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>Republic %</th>
<th>All Ireland</th>
<th>All Ireland %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Return</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stay</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After a period of residence in Australia, nearly four fifths (79 per cent) now intend to stay permanently with just over one fifth (21 per cent) intending to return or still undecided. This contrasts with 46 per cent intending to stay permanently at the time of their emigration and 54 per cent intending to return or undecided.

Table 5.4: 1997: INTENTION REGARDING PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN AUSTRALIA \textsuperscript{37}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intention</th>
<th>Pre 1980</th>
<th>Pre 1980%</th>
<th>1980s</th>
<th>1980s%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Return</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stay</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{35} Survey was distributed in 1997 so 'current' means as at 1997.
\textsuperscript{36} Q46.
\textsuperscript{37} ibid.
Table 5.4 shows illustrates the volatility still present in the 1980s group where 31 per cent remain undecided about staying in Australia compared to only six per cent of the pre-1980s group.

Table 5.5: 1997: SURVEY PARTICIPANTS’ INTENTION REGARDING PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN AUSTRALIA: BY GENDER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Permanent Intention</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>% Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>% Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Return</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stay</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>69</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is some evidence of gender difference regarding staying in Australia after the experience of living here. The women are slightly more keen to return to Ireland or at least remain undecided about returning than the men. This is consistent with research that Hugo cites which suggests that more female than male immigrants return to their country of origin. Appleyard also noted the gender difference with regard to returning. It has been postulated that women, for reasons to do with maternal–infant attachment and placing greater importance on sharing and intimacy, may find migration more difficult than men. Guilt at leaving family and causing them distress may affect women more than men. One interviewee, in Australia for 30 years, began to cry when asked how her family reacted when she told them she was intending to come to Australia: ‘My dad was just horrified and it wasn’t until my last visit that he really forgave me for coming to Australia’. A man who was interviewed said his wife was from a very close family and for this reason she was not keen to come to Australia. She wanted to stay for a set period of time and only settled when she knew she could go back to visit. The ability to return at short notice was particularly important.

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38 ibid.
39 Hugo, ‘Migration Between Australia and Britain’, p.77.
42 ibid., p.88.
43 Marjorie Smith interviewed by author 1998, transcript p.3. Tape and transcript held by author.
Chapter Five: Disconnection and Reconnection

when her mother had a stroke and she went to Ireland to care for her.\textsuperscript{44} At the time of emigration, more men than women expressed the intention that they were likely to stay in Australia. The percentage of women and men undecided had decreased overall during the stay in Australia but more women than men remained undecided.

Only eight of the 116 people in the survey have not visited Ireland since coming to Western Australia, as Table 5.6 shows. They offered various reasons why they had not made the trip. Four indicated lack of money, of which a variation is the comment of one man who arrived in 1958, ‘when I had the urge to do it I didn’t have the money and as I get older I find the desire to go lessens’.\textsuperscript{45} Another man is too nervous to go as he thinks it might totally unsettle him as he struggles to make his migrant experience worthwhile.\textsuperscript{46} The death of parents and no further desire to go or the lack of opportunity accounted for the remaining two people who have not visited.

Table 5.6: NUMBER OF SURVEY PARTICIPANTS WHO HAVE VISITED IRELAND SINCE EMIGRATING\textsuperscript{47}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visited Ireland</th>
<th>Pre-1980s</th>
<th>Pre-1980s</th>
<th>Pre-1980s</th>
<th>1980s</th>
<th>1980s</th>
<th>1980s</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The frequency of visits is not known for all. To show the pattern and rate of recurrence of visits to Ireland, Tables A.1 to A.8 were compiled using information provided by some of the people who offered to be interviewed (see Appendix III). The visiting patterns of 54 people are shown as not all could be contacted. There is a partial summary shown in Table 5.7.

The most remarkable, but not unexpected finding, is how the pattern of visiting Ireland varies markedly between the 1950s immigrants and the 1980s immigrants. No-one who migrated in the 1950s had visited Ireland after having been in Australia for less than five years and two never visited at all. By the time nine

\textsuperscript{44} Jim Murphy interviewed by author 1998, transcript p.2 and subsequent conversation 7 September 1998. Tape and transcript held by author.

\textsuperscript{45} N58M2.

\textsuperscript{46} Mick Roberts, interviewed by author, 1998, transcript p.17. Tape and transcript held by author.

\textsuperscript{47} Q2/a.
years had elapsed, two people (out of 12) had visited. They made one trip each. Altogether, by 1999 the 10 immigrants of the 1950s who did visit Ireland had made 42 trips between them spread over nearly fifty years. The 1980s immigrants showed a quite different pattern. Thirteen out of 18 had visited Ireland after having been in Australia less than five years and by nine years residence all 18 had visited. Between them in those first nine years they made 56 visits. In contrast to the 1950s immigrants, altogether they made 87 visits over 20 years. Between the 1950s and the 1980s, the number of individuals travelling and the frequency of their visits increased as is illustrated by the visiting patterns of the immigrants of the 1960s and 1970s (see Tables A.2, A.3, A.6 and A.7).

The people who came in the 1950s began to avail themselves of the opportunity to visit Ireland more frequently after they had been in Australia for 20 or more years (see Tables A.1 and A.5). The 1970s saw the beginning of cheaper and more available air travel which of course facilitated visits to Ireland. In examining this group of 54 immigrants, it can be seen that in the decade of the 1950s, only one trip was taken to Ireland from a group of 12 immigrants. There was a very small increase in the frequency of trips in the 1960s when four were made from a pool of 36 people. By the 1970s, there were 35 trips taken from 36 people. The frequency was increasing so that by the 1980s, from 51 people, 80 trips were made. The 1990s saw an even bigger increase in frequency with 128 trips made from the pool of 54 people.

These figures, however expressed, show the huge increase in the number and frequency of trips being taken by nearly all the immigrants who responded to the request for information. For the immigrants of the 1980s and 1990s, their migration experience was obviously quite different from that of the immigrants of the earlier postwar years with respect to visiting Ireland. The people who migrated earlier made the bulk of their trips to Ireland in the later part of the century for reasons already discussed. An interesting observation, which can be tentatively suggested with regard to the visiting pattern of the 1980s immigrants, is that of the nine who have been in Australia for 15 or more years, the visiting rate appears to have slowed compared to their earlier pattern. It is too early to tell but there is a possibility that this pattern of slowing could continue which would be the opposite of the pattern of the earlier immigrants. If it did slow down, it would be consistent with the comments being made by many about the effects the visits have on them.
which, more often than not, is to increase their attachment to Australia and decrease their attachment to Ireland. From the evidence which follows in this chapter, it does not appear that the marked frequency of visits has much, if any, deleterious effect on the propensity of the later immigrants to settle in Australia. The effect of having family and friends come from Ireland to visit the immigrants in Australia is another unquantifiable factor.

The time and frequency of visiting Italy by older immigrants from San Fior who live in Perth is similar to that of the Irish. A table tracking the visiting pattern of nine couples shows there were few visits in the 1950s and 1960s. Visits increased in the 1970s with all couples visiting in the 1980s, many several times.48

Table 5.7: FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO IRELAND BY DECADE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950s (12)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s (14)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s (10)*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>54*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s (19)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-totals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (55)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>248</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* R71M11 omitted as specific dates of visits are not known.

Only five visits were made to Ireland pre-1970 with the remaining 243 being made post-1970. Over half of the 243 post-1970 visits were made in the 1990s.
Chapter Five: Disconnection and Reconnection

The effect of visits to Ireland had a substantial bearing on focussing people’s minds as to whether or not they intended to remain in Australia. Following is a table drawn from Q27b and Q27c which shows how visits to Ireland affected those who went with regard to where they wanted to live.

Table 5.8: EFFECT OF VISITS TO IRELAND ON SURVEY PARTICIPANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pro-Australia</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Pro-Ireland</th>
<th>Ambivalent*</th>
<th>No visit made</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Ireland</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These people were undecided whether or not to stay in Australia at the time of their arrival and have remained so. Visiting did not help them to reach a decision.

The effect of visits to Ireland was a major influence on people’s decision to stay in Australia. Comments indicate that for most people, the visits had the effect of confirming that Australia had become home. There is obvious ambiguity in the use of the word ‘home’ and what it means to individual people. David Fitzpatrick, after his examination of nineteenth-century correspondence between Ireland and Australia, states that “‘home’ is among the most ambiguous of four-letter words”.


He classified the connotations of the word into what he described as ‘nine crude categories’ which include home as dwelling place; as a social environment; as neighbourhood; and as country. This ambiguity is apparent in the answers given to the survey. Images of ‘home’ (Q26a and 26b) do not necessarily tally with ‘home’ meaning where a person chooses to live. Fitzpatrick suggests that the varied use of the word home illustrates the ‘duality created by migration’.

Baldassar expressed a further shade of meaning when she said of the Perth San Fiorese that ‘Perth became “home” to the emigrant San Fiorese and San Fior was transformed into a shrine to be visited for cultural and spiritual renewal’. In the context of the Perth San Fiorese, Baldassar elevates the return visit to become in itself a type of home as it is where both other ‘homes’ meet. While the Perth survey and interviews did not look in such detail at visits, it appears that only very


ibid., pp.622-3.

ibid., p.622.

ibid., p.339.

ibid., p.327.

ibid., p.339.
few of the conceptions of home could be understood in that way. Another way to look at what immigrants may mean by home is influenced by the fact that for them, the past is in another country (with apologies to L.P. Hartley and David Lowenthal).54 For immigrants, nostalgia for the past, childhood memories, once familiar scenes exist in a physically distant place. Spatial distance is added to temporal distance. The rupture caused by migration leaves these images forever distant from the individual. People can retain images of ‘home’, which may well be images of their past without this preventing them from establishing a present ‘home’ in a physically different location.

The effect of being able to visit the spatial (if not the temporal) part of their ‘home’ in another country [Ireland] caused most of the survey group to realise that their decision to come to Western Australia was a good one and that their new ‘home’ was now out of Ireland. The realisation that Ireland was no longer their ‘home’ did not rob them of their memories but expanded their concept of ‘home’. A detailed examination follows of the effect of visits to Ireland on the immigrants’ process of settling in Western Australia and making it their permanent place to live.

Analysis of the effect of visits on survey participants who were originally intending to return to Ireland but who now intend to stay in Australia

Tables 5.1 to 5.5 have shown the changes in intention of the immigrants with regard to staying permanently in Australia. The most interesting evidence to consider is the responses of those 15 people who, at the time of the survey, indicated that they now intended to remain permanently in Australia although at the time of emigration they intended returning to Ireland. All 15 have visited Ireland. By their original stated intentions, they should fit the category of those who came with ‘a ticket home in their heads if not in their pockets’.55 After visiting home, twelve out of the 15 found that their trips served to make them feel more settled in Australia. There was an increase, not a decrease of commitment to Australia made apparent and influenced by their visits.

They were asked 'could you comment on the reason for your visit(s), how you felt after visiting and whether anything changed regarding how you feel for either Ireland or Australia' and 'has a visit to Ireland had an effect on where you might consider “home” to be'? Comments included: '[went to] visit my mother, other relatives and friends. Last few visits felt strongly that I preferred living in Australia. Felt home was Australia' and 'back in 1982 holiday, 1983 back to get married, 1985/6 toured Ireland exhibiting Australian film “World Safari” … I loved each visit but it also helped me settle in Perth where I am very happy'. Another wrote on returning from holidays in Ireland that she 'valued the space and cleanliness of WA – also appreciated WA weather … home is WA now'. A woman who came to Western Australia in 1955 wrote: 'after being here thirty years, my 2nd husband took me back to allay my ghosts. Always thought of mother's house as home until I went back and found family home sold to strangers. Now 25 Marmion Avenue, Inglewood is HOME'.

Other comments about visits echoed similar experiences: 'reason [I went]: holiday and to see family – feelings: good to see family and old haunts but glad to get back to Australia. Australia is home' and '[went for] vacations and family bereavement. Felt nostalgic and sad however realised that I would be most unlikely ever to return permanently (due to climate, traffic and insularity of Ireland – lack of cosmopolitan feel). Felt like I was coming home on arrival back in Perth. Strengthened my feelings of Australia as home'. Another person wrote: 'five years was up – went home for family wedding and to see family and friends. Found that everything had altered but nothing had changed. Was convinced that move to Australia was a good one and finally realised that Australia was home'. Of the remaining three out of 15 who changed their intention from returning to staying, their visits to Ireland appear not to have been a major influence on their decision to remain in Australia. One reported: ‘no change that I can detect in my feelings either way’, one that: ‘I now feel deeply that I have two countries to call “home”’, and the last one stated, ‘my main reason for visiting is to see family and old friends. If it was not for my grandchildren in Perth, I would like to return to

56 Q27b; and Q27c.
57 R68M16; and R79M20.
58 R7/F16.
59 N55F4. To protect her anonymity, this is not her real address but is how she expressed herself.
60 N68M2; and R86M16.
61 N88M1.
Ireland permanently. The attractions Australia (mainly) held for me were of an economic nature. At my age (64) this is no longer of importance. I have always considered Ireland home. Overwhelmingly, for this group who perhaps did have ‘a ticket home in their heads’, visits appear to be an important step for confirming and consolidating Australia as home.

Analysis of the effect of visits on survey participants who were originally undecided in their intentions but who have now decided to stay in Australia

The situation is similar for those who, at the time of their emigration, were undecided whether or not their move to Australia was to be a permanent one but who by the time of the survey had decided that it was. Of the 27 who comprise this group, one has not visited Ireland and two made no comment about the effect of their visit(s). Of the remaining 24, 14 have had their feeling towards Australia strengthened by a visit or a number of visits to Ireland. Comments which illustrate this include: ‘[went] to visit family – after visit I felt I would make Australia home’ and ‘[went for] family visits – I consider Australia home now’. Some respondents when commenting on their visits, expressed the pain that emotionally moving away from Ireland as a permanent home caused them. This is well expressed by two men: ‘First visit made me very homesick [but visit made me realise] Australia is home’ and ‘my visits have been due to illness or deaths of family members. I feel emotionally disorientated when visiting Ireland. I feel I am supposed to be “at home” but can’t wait to “go home”. I would have to say I feel more Irish when out of Ireland. Visits to Ireland have convinced me that Australia is home. Deaths of parents would have a large bearing on this as ties were broken’. These statements are typical of the 14 whose feelings for Australia were strengthened by a visit(s) to Ireland.

Two others previously undecided, made comments about their visits in which they did not overtly state that the visit made them now see Australia as home but which indicated they could still see the benefits of both countries. ‘[I went] to visit “home” and family … I know that home for me is Australia but I will always call Ireland “home”’ and ‘visited Ireland 1982 and 1987. All my family live in Ireland.

62 R49M1; R69M1; and R70M14.
63 R58F1; and R69M19.
64 R90M1.
65 R82M30.
so the visits were to see my family. Both times were at Christmas so the weather was pretty miserable. Looked forward to getting back to Australia’s beautiful weather but I was sad to leave my family again’.66 The comments of another four indicated that visits did not affect them either for or against Ireland or Australia as a place to live. One man ‘[went for] funerals, holidays. Parliamentary delegations. Change? – not really – each visit had a purpose and the objective fulfilled on each occasion’ and another went to ‘visit on holidays twice and to parents’ funerals twice. Little effect on how I felt about either country’.67 The most succinct response from those who were not apparently influenced one way or the other was simply ‘holiday’ with no further comment offered.68

For the four remaining people who had moved from being undecided to staying, visits to Ireland were apparently not a factor in the change of attitude regarding staying in Australia as their comments indicate. One man wrote ‘the oftener I go [to Ireland] the more I feel I should have stayed [in Ireland]. Ireland is home, Australia is where I live’.69 This man had been living away from Ireland for 28 years at the time of the survey, five years in England which he described as a ‘terrible place’ and 23 in Western Australia. A woman wrote that ‘we go back for holidays, to visit family. We were back for last Christmas and I can’t settle back here [Australia] at all now. I would go back tomorrow if I could but my husband and eldest daughter want to stay. The youngest daughter would return also’.70 A man resident in Western Australia since 1970 goes to Ireland for ‘regular visits to family. Difficult to leave Ireland due to realisation of significant events missed and aging of family members – it seems to get harder each time. Promotes feelings of confusion, dissonance’.71 He feels he could quite easily retire to Ireland but is aware that his wife would be unhappy with the weather. To leave members of his family in Australia would cause him to feel emotionally divided.72 Visits may well be keeping these four people more attached to Ireland than they would be if they were unable to visit.

66 R54M6; and N80M5.
67 R69M5; and R69M4.
68 R86M17.
69 R74M8.
70 P84F25.
71 R70M15.
Confirmation of commitment to Australia after visiting Ireland was the majority response for those who were undecided but who now intend to stay in Australia although they were less emphatic about the effect of visits on their decisions than the previous would-be returnees. Factors other than visits such as the evidence of the anchoring effect of bringing up a family in a new country were more important. The effect of other members of the family being settled in Australia outweighed the unsettling effect of visits to Ireland on individuals. The effect of weakening of family ties in Ireland caused, for instance, by the death of parents can also be observed. This point raises the interesting question of the relative influence of family versus place. In Baldassar’s detailed anthropological research, place – campanilismo – or ‘spatial self-identity’, was very important. The customs and representative symbols of the towns in the area from which the San Fiorese in Perth came were very important in the framing of their own identity.\(^{73}\) The town or village bell-tower has come to be the symbol for the link to their place of origin and its social system.\(^{74}\)

The Perth survey seems to suggest that for urban Irish immigrants, place is considerably less important than family. This is not to suggest that place, cultural symbols and traditions from Ireland are not important. Australia, as an English-speaking country where Irish have come since the founding of the colonies, is less different for the Irish migrants than it is for the Italian. After all, two-thirds of the survey participants found evidence of ‘Irishness’ in Australia.\(^{75}\) As such, the Irish may feel less need to define themselves by reference to their place of birth and its traditions. Additionally, there is the role of the potential effect which family visits to Australia, which were rare among the San Fiorese of Baldassar’s work, may have on migrants. If more of the ‘bell-tower’ came to Australia, then there may be less need to define one’s identity through the town of origin.

Analysis of the effect of visits on survey participants whose plan was always to stay in Australia and who have not changed in their intentions

Of the survey participants, 49 indicated that they originally came to Australia with the intention to stay. Of these, 45 out of 49 have visited Ireland. Did the visits unsettle them? Apparently not, as 75 per cent indicated that their visit(s) had

\(^{73}\) Baldassar, *Visits Home*, pp.110-17.
\(^{74}\) ibid., p.117.
\(^{75}\) Q28.
reinforced their decision to stay in Australia. These are comments from a man who has had ‘three visits – mainly to visit parents – happy to visit but glad to be coming back to Australia. Especially on my most recent visit. I felt less a part of Ireland and more a part of Australia due to loss of contact with old friends, current affairs, politics etc whereas these things are well established in Perth. Home? Perth!’.” Another man went to ‘introduce family to Ireland. Intolerant of Irish approach to business; confirmation of my acceptability of Australian way of life, business attitudes, more freedom of expression – [home] I think Australia’.” A 1966 immigrant went ‘to see family on “cultural business” [and was] surprised at lack of interest in Australia; confirmed that Australia is home”. A woman who arrived in Western Australia in 1967 wrote: ‘I visited primarily to visit relatives – such joy to be among close family. While my parents were alive, it was important to try and visit every five years. Since they died it is less important although brothers and sisters are still there. It is great to visit family but it is also good to get back to Australia now. While parents were alive, [felt] sadness. Ireland’s countryside is still magnificent but there is a huge suburban sprawl which saddens me. After being here 30 years, Australia is “home”. It probably developed after death of second parent in 1984’.” A woman gave her reason to visit Ireland and her responses as ‘visiting relatives – couldn’t wait to return to Australia – confirmed we had done the right thing in emigrating”. This was echoed by ‘[went for] holidays to visit family – after four weeks wanted to return HOME to Australia – WA’. There are many examples in similar vein. Of the remaining 11 who always intended to stay in Australia, ten reported no change in their feelings after visiting and one felt ‘immediately at home in Ireland’ and a ‘little homesick once back in Australia’ but it did not alter his intention to stay permanently in Australia.”

76 R87M15.
77 R57M5.
78 R66M12.
79 R67F9.
80 R82F31.
81 R71M11.
82 R88M5.
Chapter Five: Disconnection and Reconnection

Issues in Ireland which affected the decisions taken by the visitors to make them more pro-Australia

There are obviously many factors which influence why a person stays in a particular place or why they are happy or unhappy. In considering the role of visits back to the country of origin, it is interesting to look at why the visits mainly had the effect of either reinforcing the decision to stay in Australia or of causing those who originally were going to return or were waiting to see how they liked Australia before committing to stay permanently, to decide in Australia's favour.

It is likely that it is the tempering of memory with three-dimensional reality. For some of the survey group, it caused them to reconsider why they had left originally. For others, aspects and experiences of their new lives in Australia inevitably changed them in some way. Coming face to face with a different spatial and temporal reality than they had left, made them aware that they were no longer an exact fit in Irish society. It became obvious that they, and Ireland, had changed. Visiting does not allow the previous society or country to remain static in an immigrant's memory. 'Images of home' can remain frozen in time because they may be from the past such as childhood memories. 'Reality of home' has to be faced and lived. Three such realities were the weather, social issues and physical appearance of the country.

Weather

'Now Ireland has her madness and her weather still' wrote W.H. Auden. 83 'Her weather', negative to Ireland and positive to Australia, emerged as a significant issue as a close reading of the responses regarding visits shows. This is consistent with responses to other questions in the survey. As outlined in Chapter Three, climate, sometimes in combination with health, was the fifth most common reason why people left Ireland. Climate was nominated by 24 people out of 116 and health by six people, as significant reasons to leave. In response to being asked if there was a particular event or moment which made the person decide to leave Ireland, several responses were given reflecting unhappiness with the climate.84

84 Q8b.
These included: ‘we were sitting in a cinema on a WET evening. The place smelled of wet clothing. There was an ad. on the screen showing Australia’s sunny beaches etc – calling for migrants. I think the slogan was “Don’t sit there – get up and go!” After a very short discussion, that is exactly what we did’; ‘wet climate wasn’t suitable for asthma’; ‘Boxing Day 1967, I took 14 nappies off the line and had to stand them up around the bedroom before they had thawed enough to hang in the dryer’; ‘quite simply, a very bad spell of weather’ and ‘tired of looking up at grey skies, being wet and cold at a Dublin bus stop’. 85 In answer to the survey question ‘do you intend to go back to live permanently in Ireland’, there were also climate-related explanations such as ‘I fear the climate will make me both ill and depressed’; ‘the climate is too amenable here to return to the cold, damp misery of Ireland’; ‘couldn’t live with Irish winters again’; ‘climate does not suit me [in Ireland]’ and ‘lousy climate’. 86 A woman who had worked in Nigeria and returned to Dublin in the 1970s, found that she and her husband could not settle down after returning from Nigeria due mainly to what her husband called ‘the eight months of hibernation ... where the weather was so abysmal that you couldn’t get out and do things’. It had been their intention to stay in Dublin after a few years in Nigeria but facing the reality of the climate made them apply to emigrate to Western Australia. 87 Many who remarked about the weather in response to the effect of visits were not those who had originally nominated climate as important.

References to climate appeared quite frequently in comments made about visits. Some of these responses were: ‘appreciated WA weather’; ‘Australia (Perth especially) has a lovely climate’; ‘the weather and lifestyle in Australia is great’; ‘reminded of the interminable rain [in Ireland]; ‘[Irish] weather too cold and wet and ‘children ... will not live in Ireland, mainly because of the weather’.88 One man (previously undecided) wrote that what he likes about Perth is ‘INTENSE BRIGHTNESS, BLUE skies and the WARMTH ... when I start to feel a bit homesick for Ireland, I deliberately conjure up images of days and days of never-ending rain and dreary grey skies’.89 Other examples are: ‘weather in Australia is wonderful,
it would be hard to put up with snow and frost'; 'the Irish climate in winter is too awful'; 'the Irish winter is however almost impossible'; 'if the weather had been more favourable, it would have been quite difficult to return to Australia'; 'I hate the dull grey skies in Ireland – I don’t believe I could live through Irish winters again' and the wonderfully expressive; 'I went by boat from England. I was in tears as it entered the harbour at Dunlaoghaire but when they docked and I stepped on Irish soil again, the cold East wind blew and killed my homesickness for ever'.\(^90\) The last quote particularly shows what can happen when nostalgia meets reality.

Social issues

Visits also highlighted conflicts concerned with social issues. The conflicts became apparent, either as new situations caused by the divergence of lifestyles between the emigrant and those who remained in Ireland, or which already existed but could be pushed aside in Australia. The ‘reality shock’ experienced by the later emigrants appears to be more of a social or interpersonal nature. A woman who came to Western Australia in 1986 wrote: ‘I’ve changed while I’ve been away [but] my family expect me to be the same. In some ways Ireland is too claustrophobic; church too strong’.\(^91\) Another 1980s immigrant wrote: ‘returned to visit friends, family many times. Usually I return [to Australia] with feelings of powerful affection for Ireland but on my last visit I had a rude awakening with my family and this exposed a great deal of bitterness, resentment and hostility towards me from my family. I now feel very ambivalent about Ireland and family. Home is now Perth.’ She wrote when asked if she intended to return to live in Ireland that she did not because of ‘family disapproval of defacto lifestyle and other family conflicts’.\(^92\) A man who came to Western Australia in 1986 said when reflecting about Ireland after visiting there that ‘there’s a sort of parochialism about it … I still see it there even in the modern, very modern well-to-do society … your business is everybody’s business sort of approach that I think would drive me crazy if I had to put up with it for any length of time’.\(^93\)

Visiting Ireland caused these people to become re-aware of aspects of the

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90 R67M11; R68M17; R69M3; R90M2; R88F7; and R88F9.
91 R87F14.
92 R86F18.
closeness of their previous society which was now (and perhaps previously) not to their taste. The last man quoted says he was always conscious of some degree of the interfering in other people's lives.\textsuperscript{94} His original intention was to come to Western Australia for two years but he liked it and has stayed. He was quoted previously as reporting as a result of his visits to Ireland that he would be unlikely to return permanently due to 'climate, traffic and insularity'.

**Physical appearance of the country**

There were also changes to the physical appearance or the general ambience of Ireland which were jarring for the visitors. Some examples of the latter were '[going to] Dublin in 1985 and seeing beggars, drunks and drug addicts on the streets'. This comment came from a man whose [Irish] images of home were 'Lough Oughter in Cavan where I spent childhood holidays ... the avenue of beech trees and the rhododendrons near the great estate close to my home'.\textsuperscript{95} The 'home' images can remain but the reality of some aspects of modern life cannot be ignored. The woman who wrote that she was saddened when she observed 'the huge suburban sprawl' on visits to Ireland also wrote that her [Irish] images of home were 'the smell of grass growing in May; the trees – so green in their new green in spring. The beauty of autumn as leaves turn and fall. The Irish mist where it rains all day for nothing in the rain gauge. The daffodils growing wild, bluebells, primroses, foxgloves; the hedgerows; the long evenings in summer; the magnificent view as you turn each corner on a county road'.\textsuperscript{96} Home images, special, preserved country idyll images, are better not tarnished by unattractive aspects of modern Ireland. Another woman wrote that she was 'disappointed with Ireland in later years'.\textsuperscript{97} Had she not visited, she may have been spared those feelings. In her mind, Ireland could stay as it had always been. The people quoted in this paragraph came to Australia in the 1960s (although the first person left Ireland in 1947 as a young graduate) before Ireland joined the European Union and before the social, economic and environmental changes of recent years. The contrast between the Ireland they left and modern Ireland is greater than that experienced by the emigrants of the 1980s.

\textsuperscript{94} ibid., p.15.  
\textsuperscript{95} R63M15.  
\textsuperscript{96} R67F9.  
\textsuperscript{97} R68F18.
‘Duality of migration’

There is much evidence in other survey participants’ responses to support a positive feature of the ability to visit Ireland; that is, it allows immigrants to feel comfortable in both countries. ‘I now feel deeply that I have two countries to call “home”’. This man was originally intending to return to Ireland after a time in Australia but has since decided to stay permanently in his new country. Two others wrote: ‘I need to go back to Ireland every few years to “recharge my batteries” culturally – to catch up with old friends, relatives, familiar places. I love both Ireland and Australia but in different ways’; and ‘I continue to regard both countries as special in a number of ways’. Others were less overt in stating that they were comfortable in both countries but their comments clearly reflect that they were. ‘My home was always with my wife and children here in Perth. To visit the land of my birth I always regarded as a wonderful holiday, but after holidays it is nice to return home’ and ‘I have visited Ireland every two years for the last 12 years. I wish my family lived closer but I would not like to live there full time. I love going there for holidays in the summer’.100

There is a gap in our language to describe this state of being. Fitzpatrick refers to a ‘duality created by migration’, ‘binational’ is used for it by Almeida and ‘transnational’ is used by Loretta Baldassar. I do not find the latter two words helpful to describe the emotional state which occurs when a life’s trajectory is voluntarily interrupted in one country and restarted in another as is the situation of the migrant group comprising this study. Baldassar points out that migration has a cultural as well as an economic dimension and that receiving and host societies need to be understood in ‘the same social field’. I think the gap in the language needs to be filled by words or phrases which reflect what Baldassar suggests but also spatial and particularly, temporal difference. Duality of migration approaches this. I think the ability to feel comfortable in both countries is, for many people,

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98 R69M1. This is probably a common immigrant response with or without the ability to visit as a 1981 survey of 325 immigrants found that ‘regardless of citizenship status, half of the respondents felt they belonged to both country of birth and to Australia’. Rosemary Wearing, ‘Correlates of Choosing Australian Citizenship’, in The Australian & New Zealand Journal of Sociology, vol. 21, no. 3, November, 1985, p. 411.

99 R69M4; and R51M7.

100 N52M5; and R75F7.


more related to the fact that some of their past coincidently ‘resides’ or occurred in another country than that they wish to live there. There is no evidence to support the importance of ‘spatial self-identity’ – *campanilismo* – as was evident in Baldassar’s study. That they can call both countries ‘home’ may well refer to the ‘home’ of their previous self – the connections gained and retained through experiences frozen in time and geographically discrete – and the ‘home’ as the living, current, evolving experience which is happening within a different set of geographical boundaries. The two concepts are compatible and can logically co-exist. Everyone has a past which shaped them; for immigrants the difference is that this past happened somewhere else.

The majority of responses, from 62 of the 91 people who at the time of the survey indicated that they intend to stay in Australia, were that visiting reinforced the correctness of their decision to migrate to Australia. Included among the 62 were those who stated that they feel comfortable in both countries but are happy to live in Australia. The next most common response, given by 17 people, was that they felt the visits did not affect them with regard to deciding where to live. Five had not visited at all and two who had visited made no comment to say how they felt. Only five, although staying in Australia, found that visits to Ireland compounded feelings that Ireland remained home. Other factors, such as family in Australia, influenced their decision to stay.

A minority of the survey participants give credence to O’Farrell’s ideas that the flexibility available to modern Irish immigrants, which includes the ability to visit Ireland, does prevent them from settling. However, consideration of the effects of visits on those who still intend to return to Ireland or who remain undecided about where to live, will show that generally the visits themselves were not of major importance in establishing Ireland as the desired country of residence rather than Australia.

**Analysis of the effect of visits on survey participants who still intend to return to Ireland**

There were only five people, who at the time of the survey, indicated that they intend to return permanently to Ireland. For two of the five, visits helped to confirm their desire to return. One of these commented that after visiting Ireland
she ‘always came back wanting to return ASAP [to Ireland]’.\textsuperscript{103} Visits may be inhibiting her from settling but it appears from other responses she gave that she is not happy anyway. The other person came in 1992 aged 27.\textsuperscript{104} He is much more positive about Australia than the previous person quoted but is also one of the minority of the survey group who found that his frequent visits to Ireland (nine trips – seven work related – in five years) reinforced the idea that ‘Ireland remains as home’.

For two others, visits appeared unimportant as deciding factors. One woman, in Australia since 1979, says she never intended to stay permanently and says in her mind ‘I’m always going home’. Visits to Ireland reinforce ‘that Ireland is home’. She has married and divorced twice in Australia. The father of her second child will not give permission for the child to live out of Australia so she comments that ‘in a sense then I’m actually imprisoned here unless I abandon the children and go’. She has no intention of staying and regards herself as transitory. Due to the issue with her children, it is an elongated transition. It is difficult to assess whether her visits to Ireland affect her attitude but it does not appear so as she is very determined to not be Australian or live here any longer than she can avoid.\textsuperscript{105} Another who intends to return came to Australia in 1988 when he was aged 30.\textsuperscript{106} He cites his reason to return as: [it was] ‘always our intention coming here and haven’t changed’. He does not make any specific comment about how visits affect him but it does not seem that visits are very significant in his case. For the remaining person who still intends to return to Ireland, her comments about visits paradoxically show pro-Australian sentiments. She ticked the box for ‘yes’ regarding her intention to return but her other answers such as that there is ‘no prospect to live a normal life’ (in Northern Ireland) and that she ‘enjoys visiting but glad to be back in Australia; can’t stand the narrow minded people I meet’ contradict that stated position.\textsuperscript{107} She probably selected the ‘return to live in Ireland’ option as her stated ambition on retiring is to ‘stay six months in Ireland and six months in Australia’.(She was aged 42 when she completed survey.) Visits, however, seem to reinforce the pro-Australian part of her attitude.

\textsuperscript{103} R88F6.
\textsuperscript{104} R92M4.
\textsuperscript{105} Sarah Jane Murphy, interviewed by author, 1998, transcript p.13. Tape and transcript held by author.
\textsuperscript{106} R88M11.
\textsuperscript{107} N80F6.
Chapter Five: Disconnection and Reconnection

To return to Ireland at age 60 or so would not be an unusual migration pattern. Graeme Hugo’s work shows that a considerable proportion of permanent return migration is retirement migration. He describes it as ‘significant among the UK-Ireland-born’. In 1989, 4,435 people in the United Kingdom and Ireland were receiving an Australian pension overseas. Of those, 3,872 were age pensions. Also in 1989, the ratio of overseas-born aged pensioners living in Australia compared to those receiving their age pension overseas for the four countries who account for most of the overseas-paid age pensions is 4:1 for Greeks, 10:1 for Yugoslavs, 17:1 for Italians and 45:1 for United Kingdom/Ireland-born. As noted earlier in this chapter, the intention of most Italians was always to return to Italy to live and some obviously have achieved this aim as have many Greeks and Yugoslavs. It is not possible to work out the proportion of Irish in Hugo’s combination of United Kingdom and Ireland. As immigrants from the United Kingdom far outnumber those from Ireland, the numbers of Irish are probably quite small but may well be proportionately the same.

There is considerable ambivalence shown by the five potential ‘returnees’. It is a reasonable possibility that all have the means to make the move to Ireland yet none intend to sever their links with Australia. Even the woman who ‘in her mind is always going home’, may find it difficult to go even when her children grow up should they remain in Australia. It is probably an obvious but valid observation to make that as migrants live in another country, factors of integration of life in that country start to influence them so that the choice between staying and going becomes difficult to make. As Linda Dowling Almeida found in her work on the new Irish in New York, many of her respondents are attempting to hold onto what they value about Ireland but are not prepared to give up what they have come to value in America. She observes they are ‘exploring a binational existence — selecting what they need from both countries but refusing or unable to commit themselves to one or the other’. It is difficult to draw definite conclusions about the effects of visiting from this small sample who say they intend to return permanently as visits confirm that Ireland is home for two, appear to have a neutral effect for two and have a pro-Australian effect for the remaining person.

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109 Hugo, Economic Implications of Emigration from Australia, Table 6.25, p.96.
110 Ibid.
111 Almeida, ‘And they still haven’t found what they’re looking for’, p.207.
Analysis of the effect of visits on survey participants who remain undecided about staying in Australia

There are 20 people who remain undecided about returning permanently to Ireland. The effect of visits reflects their ambivalence. One woman wrote, 'I have a dream I will be rich enough to live one year in Ireland, one year in Australia'. Visits to Ireland have been frequent and her comment on the effects of these visits has been 'I always consider Ireland home but I make my home also here [Western Australia] and try to be happy'. Her musings on the position people find themselves in when trying to live in two countries quite subtly expresses the reality, or perhaps the unreality, of these situations. 'I visit regularly to keep up with my family and to get to know my nieces and nephews and renew acquaintances with my friends who I can take up with again as if I never left. Also my family and many friends have visited me in Australia. Most times I cry when leaving Ireland but as time goes on, feel partly out of touch.' She came here on a working holiday intending to return to Ireland, but marriage and four Australian-born children changed that plan.

A man from the Republic who arrived in 1979 indicated that originally he intended to stay a while and then return to Ireland. Although attachment to Australia grew, this attachment did not overtake his feeling for Ireland as visits caused him to 'always miss Ireland more especially after a visit'. He 'felt very lonely coming back' after visits which were undertaken 'to see family and friends [and] to go home'. He remains undecided about where to live permanently. Another man, who had lived in England since the age of 11 and came to Australia at age 31 in 1983 because he was 'getting over a divorce', considers that 'Ireland will always be home'. All his images of home lie in Ireland and after two visits, in 1995 and 1996, he felt: 'unsettled, lonely after returning'. Visits to Ireland seem to exacerbate his unsettled state. A woman wrote: 'My family is still in Ireland and I go back to visit them. I also go to revisit my childhood memories. I have been back every year for the past five years and each time I find it more difficult to get on the plane back to Australia. I love the weather in Perth and my boyfriend is here but I feel I leave my heart back in Ireland and the homesickness is harder to overcome with each trip. My home is and always will be Ireland. This is a

112 N71F3.
113 R83M27.
home away from my real home'.\textsuperscript{114} It appears visits may be having an unsettling effect on these immigrants.

Another man from the Republic, who came to Australia in 1972 with the intention of seeing what the experience would be like and to then make up his mind, is still undecided 25 years later. Trips to Ireland leave him ‘generally very sad upon returning to Australia’.\textsuperscript{115} The reason given in 1997 as to why he claims to be still undecided about whether to return to Ireland was the ‘changing economic situation’ there. This is ambiguous but my original understanding was that he meant that if the economy in Ireland continued to improve then he might return. If that was his meaning, then ironically the so-called Celtic Tiger economy would probably exclude him just as effectively as did earlier, leaner times. As a person who indicated his income is between $30,000 and $49,000 per annum, he would be extremely lucky to buy or rent any housing in Ireland. House prices in Ireland rose by 27 per cent in the first three months of 1998\textsuperscript{116}. The ABC’s ‘Background Briefing’ program reported in September 1999 that ‘most Irish are simply priced out of the buyer’s market ... the rental market is tiny ... rents are steep’.\textsuperscript{117} A house in Dublin, described as a dump, was selling for the equivalent of $A800,000. This man may claim to be undecided, but in reality, he probably has little choice but to remain in Australia.

The possibility of return in combination with a visit appears to have had an unsettling effect on one person. She was originally intending to stay in Australia but has shifted her position to ‘undecided’. She wrote: ‘I have built a new life for myself and my daughters here in Australia however I cannot say whether, in 20 years time I will not return to Ireland’.\textsuperscript{118} At the time of writing, she was 41. She writes that she returned to attend a family wedding and ‘felt very homesick for some time after returning to Australia’. She did not think it changed her idea of home as she already felt that her ‘perception of home is divided between Ireland and Australia’. The possibility of return does seem to keep her from totally settling in Australia.

Chapter Five: Disconnection and Reconnection

An impression is gained from the comments of the ‘undecided’ group that their indecision could be as much a product of wishful thinking as a genuine decision-making process. Some have told of family ties where partners and/or children’s preferences will (and do) constrain them. Another person, on the information supplied, is very likely constrained on economic grounds. The influence of visits has some significance as it reinforces unsettledness in Australia, and allows immigrants to keep participating in social networks in Ireland, which may obviate the need to make closer ties in Australia. The stories from a minority of the survey group partly supports O’Farrell’s view of the new Irish and their potential not to settle. O’Farrell was referring to the ability to return to Ireland to live. For immigrants with that intention or for those still undecided, visits may have nothing to do with the restlessness expressed.

O’Farrell identifies four types of new Irish (compared with nineteenth-century migrants) from whom late twentieth-century migrants to Australia are drawn. Three types are those from the twentieth-century creations of Northern Ireland and the Republic as well as the Irish who come to Australia by way of Britain. His fourth Ireland is comprised of Irish who constantly travel the world. He describes them romantically as ‘those wandering Irish scholars of mankind’. Some of the survey group may or may not be described as ‘wandering Irish scholars’ but they fit the profile of perpetual travellers.

One man came to Australia from Indonesia in 1984. In response to the question asking why, he wrote ‘my employer wanted me to go (back) to Africa. I was tired of being assigned all over the world and left them to migrate to Australia’. He originally left Ireland because of the ‘hopelessness of prospects of employment at end of 1950s’. The reason cited as to why he is undecided about returning to Ireland to live is ‘I’m not sure my wife could adjust to living in Ireland – as a foreign born academic [she is] not likely to find university position there’. His trips to Ireland are to visit family and he comments that ‘after visiting I feel confused as to where I really belong. On my most recent visit felt less sense of identity with booming economic conditions in Ireland ... At the end of the day though I feel strong sense of “this is where I come from!”’ Having lived all over the world (UK, Luxembourg, Nigeria, Malawi, Zambia, Indonesia etc) I still

120 ibid., p.311.
retain sole feeling of strong identity of Irish origin and no other – certainly not Australia". The ability to travel seems to exacerbate this man’s lack of commitment to Australia in a sense reinforcing O’Farrell’s ideas about the new Irish. There were others who indicated that they love to travel and that their goal is not to settle down in one place for ever. A woman who remains happy with the idea of change and who came to Australia in 1994 is currently living in Ireland although she has not made a definite decision to stay there. Some may never settle. It has probably always been so.

The bulk of the group who remain undecided, were undecided even when they left Ireland to come to Australia. They fall roughly into two categories; those who appear to be quite content although they remain undecided about returning to Ireland and those who are displeased with either Australia or their decision to come here originally. There are also a few among this group of people who like to travel and whose goal is not to settle down in one place forever.

In considering the reactions and reasons given by those who remain undecided, it seems from the information given that few of them will actually go. They may have a longing, a nostalgia for Ireland which, contrary to the experience of the bulk of the survey participants, visits to Ireland intensify. Eight of the 20 still unsettled in Australia fit the profile O’Farrell has drawn of immigrants having a lack of commitment to Australia attributable to the ability to travel, especially to Ireland. As with those intending to stay, visits tend to confirm the status quo of how the immigrant feels towards Australia. Those unhappy with Australia and their decision to come here are made more so. It is not possible to say whether the ability to visit really exacerbates their feelings of unhappiness any more than if they could not visit. Trips taken in the imagination in lieu of the real thing are probably even more capable of being unsettling. For those who are using visits to maintain a high degree of social interaction with Ireland, they lend support to Baldassar’s observation that the two worlds of the immigrant should be considered as part of the same social field. Having their social field spread across two countries is different from the connotation which O’Farrell puts on interaction with Ireland; that is that it precludes commitment to Australia because of a continuing emotional attachment to Ireland. This need not be the case. The

121 R84M24.
122 R94F7.
bulk of the evidence from the Perth survey suggests that physical interaction with Ireland, for most, facilitates the process of attachment to Australia. For the majority, visits seem to act as ‘the last nail in the coffin’ of wanting to live in Ireland.

Citizenship

There is a strong link between the mobility of modern immigrants, their ability to travel and to visit Ireland, and the adoption of Australian citizenship. An interesting fact about all the people apparently intending to return and those still undecided, is that the vast majority have become Australian citizens despite an expressed ambivalence towards Australia. Of the 25 (five nominating they will return and 20 remaining undecided), 21 are Australian citizens. All of the 21 who are citizens made a comment on why they had taken this step. Those who state they intend to return, with the exception of the pre-1980 person who is held here by her children, have become Australian citizens. Comments include that they became citizens because ‘our children are citizens and it gives us freedom of movement from Ireland and Australia’ and our ‘kids [were] born here’. One person chose to become a citizen because he was ‘able to have dual citizenship’ and another because she ‘wanted to be Australian’.

Thirteen responses were concerned with practical issues of citizenship, particularly that travel in and out of Australia would be facilitated. There were ten specific responses which nominated travel or obtaining visas as the primary or sole reason for becoming an Australian citizen. The remaining three practical responses were concerned with enhancing the chances of employment. The minority response, eight out of 21, cited reasons concerned with becoming part of the Australian community such as being able to vote and to feel part of the country. As these people have not made a decision to stay permanently, it could be inferred that becoming a citizen is as likely to be an indicator of uncertainty as it is of commitment.

The situation regarding citizenship of the 91 who now intend to stay is that 13 of them are not citizens. Five said that they had an objection to pledging
allegiance to the Queen but did not pursue citizenship after the oath of allegiance was changed in 1994.128 'Not being bothered' is consistent with the three who reported that they were too lazy to organise citizenship. A further three, all in Australia since the 1950s, felt there was no point becoming citizens because they could vote, receive the pension and did not intend to leave the country. For the remaining two, it was too early at the time of the survey for one to apply and the other person, who was from Northern Ireland, had chosen not to become a citizen as he believed it would be more advantageous to his children with regard to their working in Britain if he remained a British citizen.

Among the 78 who intend to stay in Australia and who have become citizens, there was less expressed concern with travel and more expedient or practical reasons for citizenship than was the case for those not intending to stay. Issues to do with travel accounted for 14 answers (18 per cent), one wanted dual citizenship, two thought citizenship would assist with employment and one person commented that he became a citizen 'to secure my ability to live in Australia as the immigration laws seem to change all the time'.129 There was a high proportion who cited their reasons as linked to voting and participation, 'becoming Australian' or who couch their answers in terms of 'commitment', 'duty' or the 'right thing to do'. Answers of this type account for two-thirds of the group (52 of the 78). Eight made no comment.

Although citizenship rates are high for all respondents, whether intending to stay or not, the response to why people take out citizenship, like the effects of visits, seems to echo the status quo. If people are settled and like Australia then they are more inclined to become citizens to affirm this decision. If they are still undecided, then they are more likely to take out citizenship to keep their options open as to whether or not they will stay in Australia permanently. The changes in 1983 whereby all immigrants have to be citizens in order to vote is a further incentive for people to become citizens even if they do not intend to stay. The figures for the total Irish-born population in Australia vary a little from the findings of this survey. In 1991, 64 per cent of the Republic-born in the survey group were Australian citizens compared with 50 per cent of the Irish-born in

129 R83M28.
Western Australia.\textsuperscript{130} The figure of 50 per cent is a bit misleading as shown when broken down by year of arrival. For the total Western Australian Irish-born population, pre-1976 arrivals show that 63 per cent are Australian citizens, 1976-1980 arrivals as 64 per cent, 1981-1985 as 57 per cent, 1986-1987 as 46 per cent, 1988-1989 as 20 per cent, 1990-1991 as 3 per cent with 2 per cent not stated. It is reasonable to assume that the very recent immigrants may well take out citizenship so the figure could rise. There are people included in the total population figures who are not in the survey figures such as under 25s and short-term travellers and their absence will affect the comparison. The non-random nature of the survey could contribute to the difference in figures between the survey participants and the total Irish-born. Irrespective of the differences in the figures, citizenship alone does not appear to be a reliable indicator of commitment to Australia.

The analysis of the effects of the modern phenomenon of frequent visits to Ireland, especially by those who arrived in the 1980s, shows that for most of the immigrants, the effect is to cause them to become more committed to Australia than to Ireland. Visits seem to reinforce the existing situation of the immigrants. If people were unhappy with Australia, then visits to Ireland emphasised their dissatisfaction. In the survey group this was the minority position. Most found that visits to Ireland made them more aware that they have moved away emotionally from Ireland, which is the converse of O'Farrell's opinion that the new Irish are not 'making that movement of the mind and heart, away from Ireland, into Australia'.\textsuperscript{131} The journeys back to real Ireland are different from journeys of the imagination where Ireland can remain as the immigrant wants to remember it. Unattractive as well as attractive features must be confronted in a real, as opposed to an imaginary, journey. As this group of immigrants are essentially not just economic immigrants, factors such as climate and social constriction are important to their lifestyle. Many found these issues came to the fore when they visited Ireland. For these reasons, paradoxically, their reconnection with Ireland crystallised their disconnection with Ireland. The fact that the families of immigrants were settled and happy in Australian life outweighed the immigrant's own feelings of dislocation intensified by their visits back to Ireland. Broadly,

\textsuperscript{130} Bureau of Immigration and Population Research, \textit{Community Profiles 1991 Census Ireland Born}, Canberra, 1995, Table 6, p.17; Q15a; and Q15b.

\textsuperscript{131} O'Farrell, \textit{The Irish in Australia}, 2000, p.321.
visits are not very significant with regard to whether a migrant is likely to settle in Australia as they seem to reflect and amplify individuals’ pre-existing attitudes to either Australia or Ireland. What effect they do have is to clarify and perhaps hasten conscious commitment to Australia or to allow people peace of mind regarding their obligations to family remaining in Ireland. Being comfortable in both countries and not being compelled to abandon what is valuable in one at the expense of the other is a further effect of visits. They do not militate against commitment to Australia.
CHAPTER SIX

MIGRATION CULTURE AND GRADUATE MIGRATION
Case studies which demonstrate links between a migration culture and graduate migration to Western Australia

The profile of the Irish migrant in Western Australia has inevitably been shaped by the immigration requirements of the Australian government. The migration culture apparent in Ireland and examined in Chapter One has produced well-educated, often tertiary-educated people who are prepared to leave jobs in Ireland and come to Australia. It is difficult to discern why people choose to travel so far when they are apparently not in distressed circumstances where they currently live. Most of the literature on graduate emigration from Ireland seeks to explain why people leave Ireland rather than where they go. While the economic structures are always important, it may well be that intangible factors such as a spirit of adventure or curiosity to experience life in a country well away from Ireland are significant issues to consider when analysing migration. Propositions of that nature are hard to prove or disprove. Whatever the case, a close look at the reasons given by the graduates in the Perth study to leave Ireland and travel to Australia is warranted. These reasons are compared with the discussions and explanations of graduate migration from Ireland as mooted by several writers on the subject.

This chapter will expand the profile of Irish migrants in Western Australia who arrived in the late twentieth century by focusing particularly on those who were graduates. The historiography of the Irish in Australia to date has demonstrated that this is a group who have received little attention. As the chapter will show, graduates from Ireland generally and to Australia in particular are not a new phenomenon. What is new is the attention they are now receiving from those interested in Irish emigration, their increased numbers as a proportion of Irish emigration and, in my work, how they illustrate the strength of a migration culture.
in Ireland. As Australia has always been a country which is a minor destination for Irish emigrants compared to the United States and the United Kingdom in particular, this chapter may help to illustrate why some migrants wish to relocate themselves so far from Ireland.

The chapter will address the debate regarding the significance of graduate migration from Ireland in the last twenty years and will introduce an Australian perspective. It will discuss how graduate migration is influenced by a migration culture, which is a reason why some people decide to leave Ireland. It will be argued that migration culture is intrinsically linked with graduate migration. Four case studies of Irish graduate immigrants to Western Australia who arrived after 1980 will be examined in detail to see how they illustrate theoretical points put forward by writers discussing graduate emigration. The role of Australia, particularly Western Australia, as a graduate destination will be considered.

There is considerable debate among the writers analysing Irish emigration as to whether graduate migration justifies terms such as 'new wave emigration' which have been used to describe this apparent phenomenon. The core of the debate is whether there is anything new about this type of emigration and whether the numbers involved are significant. In essence, those arguing that it is neither different nor new say some educated Irish have always emigrated. Ireland's position in the world economy and its internal social and economic structures have caused it to be an emigrant nursery, and the circumstances surrounding current graduate emigration are just a modern version of the same core/periphery cause of emigration. This is an economic interpretation and discounts lifestyle reasons for leaving Ireland including the proposition that a migration culture has evolved which could predispose individuals to leave. Those who argue that graduate emigration of the 1980s is different and new, highlight the role of

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voluntary choice and of more subtle influences which may cause an individual to leave Ireland.

This chapter argues that the migration culture causes personal and lifestyle concerns to become a major determining reason for some to emigrate, especially to minor destinations like Australia (as opposed to the United States or Britain). Economic and career objectives remain important, but, on their own do not account for the graduate emigration. Aspects of modern migration by sophisticated, educated people, such as having the means to frequently visit even from distant destinations such as Australia, are not considered by the writers examined below as they attempt to explain the phenomenon. Visits and frequent communication can ameliorate the emotional upheaval which migration can cause and the evidence of the Perth survey is that they help people to live more comfortably out of Ireland. The knowledge that migration need not be forever may well make it easier to consider as an option and hence influence the willingness of people to try it. As will be seen from the case studies, temporary migration can easily become permanent once the first steps are taken. There is also resistance in the literature to the idea that to leave Ireland may be a positive and attractive choice for some of its residents. The case studies outlined below provide evidence to support the proposition that migration can be a positive choice taken by an individual and is not necessarily a decision of last resort.

Jim Mac Laughlin argues against the apparent newness of graduate emigration. He writes that 'new wave emigrants from Ireland today are portrayed as a people set apart from their predecessors by their professional and other educational qualifications, and from their peers by their spirit of adventure and enterprising spirit'. He vigorously attacks this proposition saying that it falls within the 'hegemonic status of behavioural and geographical explanations of Irish emigration'. Emigration, according to Mac Laughlin, is more correctly understood through a structure in which Ireland is functionally linked to overseas

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2 Jim Mac Laughlin is a political geographer at the National University of Ireland, Cork. He has published widely on nationalism, ethnicity, racism, state-formation and ideology in the social sciences. His books include Ireland: The Emigrant Nursery and the World Economy, Cork, 1994 and Travellers and Ireland: Whose Country, Whose History?, Cork, 1995. His argument as presented in this chapter of the thesis is mainly drawn from 'Emigration and the Construction of Nationalist Hegemony in Ireland: The Historical Background to “New Wave” Irish Emigration', in Mac Laughlin, Location and Dislocation, pp.5-35.

3 Mac Laughlin, ‘Emigration and the Construction of Nationalist Hegemony’, p.5.

4 ibid.
labour markets and that this structure reflects Ireland’s peripheral status. This is not a popular explanation. In the main, and as discussed in Chapter One, historical accounts present nationalist explanations for emigration and a notion of national exceptionalism dominates. Mac Laughlin states that emigration today is still explained away by the unique geographical location of Ireland and by the idea that it is simply a cultural tradition of the Irish to leave because it is too small a country to provide work for all. All of these approaches, in Mac Laughlin’s view, mask class reasons and structural change within Ireland which caused many people to become ‘surplus’. He outlines how world-systems theory shows this to be the case. In this theory, ‘core’ and ‘periphery’ have historical and geographical meanings wider than merely spatial. They refer to structures which reveal underlying development or underdevelopment. Regions, not just whole nations, are significant. He demonstrates the complexity of reasons for emigration and is particularly keen to discount behavioural or personality reasons for emigration.

Mac Laughlin regards those such as Roy Foster who find something positive in the fact that young graduates leave Ireland and who ‘portray “new wave emigration” as a welcome development in Irish youth enterprise culture’ as propagandists. He disagrees with their belief that this ‘new conventional wisdom’, that it is a good trend to be leaving Ireland, is attributable to ‘the social psychological attributes and aspirations of young adults’.\(^5\) As early as the 1960s, J.A. Jackson wrote that ‘the habit of emigration has become incorporated into Irish life’.\(^6\) Mac Laughlin interprets this ‘fatalistic perspective’ to mean that young Irish people automatically consider migration as their first objective before even attempting to enter the Irish workforce.\(^7\) It is beyond the scope of this thesis to prove or disprove this contention, but at least three studies show that it is not the case. Linda Dowling Almeida’s survey of 98 ‘new Irish’ in New York found that 66 out of 98 people were employed when they left Ireland to go to the United States.\(^8\) Ian Shuttleworth found that 66 out of 114 students in the third year of their tertiary course were either not intending to emigrate or were unsure about

\(^5\) ibid., p.6.
\(^6\) Jackson, *The Irish in Britain*, p.63 quoted in ibid.
emigration as their first choice after graduating. In the Perth survey, all of the people who arrived in Western Australia after 1980 and had come directly from Ireland were employed before they left. None of this group were new graduates but as they had not lived in other countries, they obviously had entered the workforce in Ireland. From Almeida’s work and my own, it is not possible to tell if they had considered emigration before entering the workforce but given that they did actually have employment in Ireland, it appears emigration was at least a second option.

Mac Laughlin is hostile to the idea of emigration being a behavioural trait of the Irish because he considers that it masks the structural nature of the causes of emigration and dulls political debate on the subject. In this vein, he quotes Brian Lenihan, Irish Foreign Minister in 1987:

We regard emigrants as part of our global generation of Irish people. We should be proud of them. The more they hone their skills and talents in another environment, the more they develop a work ethic in a country like Germany or the US, the better it can be employed in Ireland when they return.

He also quotes a senior Irish education planner working for the World Bank as saying that young people should take up European opportunities and ‘think of “mobility” and “migration” as natural solutions’. Shuttleworth also takes up this point. It is more palatable in debates about emigration for the Irish government to emphasise the skills and the globalism of Irish youth than to focus on unemployment and collapsed labour markets in Ireland. Whether adopting the positive tone of Lenihan or being critical of this position, the issues at hand are economic only.

While Mac Laughlin’s argument about the structural and economic causes of Irish emigration is very plausible, there can be little doubt that the long historical habit of emigration has had an impact on how emigration is regarded by at least some individuals. It could be argued that the circumstances which cause some people to leave Ireland would not cause a person in similar circumstances to leave

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9 Shuttleworth, 'Graduate Emigration from Ireland', p.88.
10 Q57b. Questions or responses from the survey are referred to in the footnotes by number.
12 ibid.
13 Ian Shuttleworth, 'Graduate Emigrants: A "New Wave" in Irish Emigration?', in Mac Laughlin, Location and Dislocation, p.320.
Chapter Six: Migration Culture and Graduate Migration

a country like Australia which has a culture of being a receiving country, a place people come to, not leave in great numbers. There is also an element of a new form of national exceptionalism occurring in the arguments put forward to say that nothing is new about graduate employment. International movements of graduates occur in many countries, not just Ireland, so its causes are not necessarily ‘Irish’. For example, 1.5 million British citizens left the United Kingdom in the 1980s. By the late 1980s, the number of British citizens entering Britain was nearly equal to the numbers leaving. Many of those returning had only been abroad for three years or less. The percentage of professionals or managerial migrants among the re-entrants rose from just over half of the total in 1980 to nearly three-quarters by 1985.\(^\text{14}\) Regarding other immigrants to Britain in the late 1980s, between 80-90 per cent of non-European Union citizens who were given United Kingdom work permits were professional or managerial staff.\(^\text{15}\)

Allan Findlay discusses what he terms ‘the invisible migration streams of highly skilled persons moving internationally’.\(^\text{16}\) The ‘invisible streams’ are characterised by highly skilled people working away from their home country for relatively short periods of perhaps up to three years and then returning to their country of origin or moving to another international destination.\(^\text{17}\) Another potential scenario from this type of migration is illustrated by the case studies drawn from the Perth survey. They show how exposure to congenial environments abroad can cause short periods to become permanent migration. Most research has focussed on internal transfer processes within large international companies but this is not the whole story as Shuttleworth’s work also indicated. In his survey of 383 graduates, only nine responded that they left Ireland to take up a transfer abroad within a multinational company.\(^\text{18}\) World-wide, internal movement within companies is a major part of graduate migration but it is certainly not the only channel through which migrants flow.\(^\text{19}\)

A further part of the debate is whether the numbers of graduates emigrating is significant enough to warrant all the attention and whether their reasons for


\(^{15}\) ibid., p.516.

\(^{16}\) ibid., p.515.

\(^{17}\) ibid.


\(^{19}\) Findlay, ‘Skilled Transients’, p.521.
leaving and their destinations are any different from other emigrants, historically or in current times. Critics of what is perceived as political inaction on emigration point to the inadequacy of statistical collection and analysis.\(^\text{20}\) Two statisticians from the Irish Central Statistics Office were described as ‘extremely courageous’ when they published a paper with very detailed estimates of gross migration flows related to the mid-1980s which presented figures well above the government’s official estimates.\(^\text{21}\) Whatever the difficulty of finding accurate figures, some information is available. A further complication in the discussion of graduate emigration is that the term is used ambiguously. It sometimes refers only to young graduates who have just completed their study and sometimes to any professional person. Historically and currently, emigration from Ireland has mainly been by young people whether graduates or not.\(^\text{22}\) The numbers of graduates has increased as a proportion of those emigrating but graduate emigration has long been part of the emigration pattern from Ireland.\(^\text{23}\) Some of the early graduate emigration was quite different as it was within the context of British colonialism, such as engineers going to India, but it showed that Ireland had highly educated people to draw from.\(^\text{24}\)

Australia received graduate immigrants from Ireland in the nineteenth century who became very prominent in the legal, engineering and university fields. There are many celebrated examples such as C.Y. O’Connor, Sir John Hubert Plunkett, Professor W.E. Hearn and Sir Robert Torrens.\(^\text{25}\) The 1950s was a time when a ‘brain-drain’ was causing anxiety.\(^\text{26}\) No information is available on the occupations of the emigrants of the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s.\(^\text{27}\) In the emigration statistics, figures for the late 1980s show that professional groups were over represented relative to their numbers in the home population. Overall, people with third level qualifications still only represented about 6 per cent of the gross

\(^{21}\) ibid., pp.301-2.
\(^{22}\) National Economic and Social Council, The Economic and Social Implications of Emigration, no. 90, Dublin, 1991, p.93.
\(^{27}\) National Economic and Social Council, Economic and Social Implications, p.83.
migratory outflow in 1988/89. One set of figures compiled about new graduates showed that in 1980, 80 per cent were at work in Ireland, 11.6 per cent were unemployed and 8.4 per cent had emigrated to find work. By 1988, the proportions had changed to 62.5 per cent working in Ireland, 8.1 per cent unemployed and 29.4 per cent had emigrated to find work. Although hard data is difficult to find and estimates vary, it is obvious that graduate emigration, whether just the young or any highly skilled person, is a cause of concern and interest to commentators.

Hanlon argues that the modern version of the core/periphery idea is the mechanism at work in graduate migration but also agrees with the sentiment expressed in 1990 in the Labour Market Review that 'much of this graduate emigration must be deemed to be voluntary'. He points out that unemployment figures for graduates in Ireland in the mid-1980s were low but this could be because some had already migrated thus reducing the potential labour pool. Hanlon explains the apparent voluntary nature of graduate migration as being caused by the need for an international career path if a professional career, as opposed to just having a job, is to be pursued. The multinational companies who have invested in Ireland and who provide so much of the graduate employment have their headquarters in other countries. According to Hanlon, Irish would-be professionals are faced with the choice of controlling 'a rather backward indigenous industrial sector' or managing a more modern foreign-owned enterprise where key decisions are made elsewhere. If individuals wish to do more than that, then they must seek employment abroad. He concludes that Ireland has exchanged one form of economic marginalisation for another because of the dependence on multinational or foreign-owned firms. This may be so but a major difference between the 1980s and earlier times is that if the professional middle class now choose to stay in Ireland, they would be employed which may not have been the case earlier.

28 ibid., pp.84&87.
29 ibid., p.85.
30 Hanlon, 'Graduate Migration: A continuation?', p.188, note 34.
31 ibid., p.188.
32 ibid., p.193.
33 ibid., p.187.
34 ibid., p.193.
Mac Laughlin only considers economic factors in his analysis of so-called New Wave emigration. Although he reinterprets reasons why people emigrate, all the theories or conventions he takes issue with are based on economic factors. In Mac Laughlin’s opinion, even where emigration could be attributed to behavioural or cultural reasons, the underlying or perhaps unconscious motivation had its origins in economic precedents. Work by Shuttleworth indicates that economic reasons are not always the motivating force. Shuttleworth’s research with graduates showed that the major reason given for leaving Ireland was the anticipation of a more congenial ‘lifestyle abroad’. He grouped responses into three major areas: Employment group, Education group and Personal/other group. The Employment group provided various options such as ‘job offer abroad’ and ‘problems finding work in Ireland’ and the total majority of responses fell within the Employment group with the Personal/other group the next most frequently chosen. The single most popular response from any of the three groups was ‘lifestyle abroad’ as mentioned. Shuttleworth understands this response to be a very traditional one of curiosity for life away from Ireland, a feeling of restriction caused by moral sanctions within Irish society and the pull of friends and relatives who live outside Ireland. These findings do not fit comfortably the model proposed by Mac Laughlin. While economic factors are very important, the ‘habit’ of migration also has other roots.

Shuttleworth makes a strong case to say that there is nothing essentially new about the graduate emigration of the 1980s. However, there are two new elements which his work and the Perth survey support. One is the level of voluntarism and the other is that this variety of migration may be unrelated to previous patterns of Irish emigration. In presenting the case that the graduate emigration is not substantively new, Shuttleworth writes that the graduates go to virtually the same places as other Irish emigrants. These places are mainly the traditional Irish destinations such as Britain and the United States. The graduates find work overseas in the same manner as other Irish emigrants and through the usual channels such as answering job advertisements or applying through an agency.

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35 Shuttleworth, ‘Graduate Emigrants: A “New Wave”’, Table 4, p.314.
36 ibid.
37 ibid., p.315.
38 The conventional wisdom which has developed that Irish graduates are going abroad for international career moves within multinational firms is not borne out by Shuttleworth’s
The Irish graduate emigrants do not all work in 'graduate occupations' abroad and many, like other Irish migrants as discussed in Chapter One, are under-employed compared to their qualifications.

If Hanlon and Mac Laughlin are correct in their assertions that only mediocre jobs are available to graduates in Ireland, then why bother to go abroad to also have a mediocre job unless the motivation to go was for reasons other than economic? As Shuttleworth has shown, the single most popular answer given by graduates as to why they left Ireland was 'lifestyle abroad'. While it is true that overall the responses which indicated 'employment' totalled 343 while those which indicated 'personal or other group' totalled 169, the latter group is still a sizeable number, which suggests a degree of voluntarism within the graduate group. Graduates may be going abroad in the hope of something better in employment but that in itself is also part of a migration culture. While the sort of questions which Shuttleworth asked may not have been asked of earlier emigrants thus making it hard to make direct comparisons, it seems likely that there is more voluntarism in this graduate cohort than was the case for 'traditional emigrants', although is it difficult to prove. I argue that while the same destinations, the same methods of seeking employment and the same degree of underemployment are certainly similarities between the old and new emigrations from Ireland, the level of voluntarism is likely to be higher in graduates and they are more likely to be influenced by considerations beyond the economic.

As a further argument that the graduate emigration is not new, Shuttleworth claims Ireland has exchanged one type of peripherality for another more modern version. Graduate migration therefore 'is as much a response to socio-economic marginalisation as the population outflows of the past'. The United Kingdom example provided earlier by Findlay demonstrates that skilled and professional migration is a world-wide phenomenon and its roots are not just Irish. In Ireland, graduate emigration could be unrelated to previous reasons for migration other than to the propensity to migrate which is a legacy from earlier times. I suggest that the level of voluntarism is something which is new about graduate migration from Ireland. Another is the issue that the Irish graduates are demonstrating that

39 ibid., p.314.
40 Shuttleworth, 'Graduate Emigrants: A "New Wave"', pp.316-17.
they behave in the same way as other skilled people world-wide. The skills and training which the graduates possess give them the opportunity and confidence to try living in a new country. 'They can therefore they do'. Perhaps that is also why some come to Australia.

In an earlier article, Shuttleworth suggests that a migration culture exists due largely to what he describes as the internationalisation of the Irish.\textsuperscript{41} He attempts to measure this idea by ascertaining the level of overseas contacts of a group of final-year tertiary students from Ireland, Scotland and England. The questions he asked were: 'were your parents ever resident or employed abroad?', 'during your time at university did you ever take a holiday job abroad?', 'have you brothers or sisters abroad at present?', and 'are you aware of graduate opportunities in other countries than Ireland/Scotland/England'?\textsuperscript{42} The Scottish students approached the Irish results on the knowledge of graduate opportunities abroad but on all indicators, the Irish had much more experience or interaction with places other than their home country than did the English or Scottish students.\textsuperscript{43} Shuttleworth's conclusion was that early exposure to influences from outside Ireland predisposed individuals to consider emigration.

According to Shuttleworth, the migration culture effect works in two ways. Firstly, the Irish overseas disseminate information back to Ireland and secondly the actions and intentions of peers influence others. As friends or other significant people consider or take up emigration, their example influences other individuals to also consider emigration.\textsuperscript{44} As discussed in Chapter Three, there is evidence of peer influence in many of the responses from the participants in my survey. Economic factors remain extremely important in the maintenance of the migration culture. Shuttleworth's work showed that the Irish graduates were pessimistic about opportunities for graduates in the Irish labour market.\textsuperscript{45} The National Economic and Social Council's Report on emigration lists facilitating factors 'which even without "adequate cause" may impel people to migrate'.\textsuperscript{46} These factors are largely congruent with Shuttleworth's ideas of a migration culture.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{41} Shuttleworth, 'Graduate Emigration from Ireland', p.89.
\item \textsuperscript{42} ibid., p.90.
\item \textsuperscript{43} ibid
\item \textsuperscript{44} ibid., p.91.
\item \textsuperscript{45} ibid., p.92.
\item \textsuperscript{46} National Economic and Social Council, \textit{Economic and Social Implications}, p.131.
\end{itemize}
They are the ‘extent of involvement in migration networks, previous migration experience and a general public opinion “climate” of migration acceptance’.  

It is hardly surprising that a migration culture exists in Ireland given the amount of emigration over the last 150 years. Ireland had been an independent country for only 30 years when the massive emigration of the 1950s occurred. The majority of the population who were born in the 1930s left Ireland during the 1950s. These are the aunts and uncles of the graduate generation of the 1980s. Ireland as an independent country nearly collapsed economically in the 1950s. When the recession of the 1980s occurred, it is reasonable to assume that an internalised lack of confidence reactivated the traditional notion that when times are bad or are likely to become bad, a solution is to emigrate. A community memory of emigration and of economic uncertainty can subtly influence an employable educated population who are well informed about opportunities abroad. When they also have the means and confidence to make decisions for lifestyle as well as economic reasons this combination can quite obviously lead to voluntary emigration. Fintan O’Toole points out that Belgium and Britain also had very high unemployment in the 1980s but few people responded by emigrating as happened in Ireland. He states that ‘there is something particular about Irish culture that makes it respond in this way to economic recession’. He attributes a willingness to emigrate to a sense of internal exile caused by profound social changes dating from the 1960s, which cause people to ‘feel less and less at home in Ireland’. Overseas influences, overwhelmingly American and caused partially by the presence of multinational firms in Ireland, create this feeling of unsettledness. This interesting perspective could be included under the general rubric of internationalisation, which in turn reinforces the migration culture idea.

Most of the articles referred to are concerned with graduates leaving Ireland and not generally with where they emigrate to. What emphasis there is focuses on

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47 ibid.


50 ibid., pp.169-70.
emigration to the United Kingdom and other European countries. Australia as a destination is virtually unmentioned except perhaps as a place where the majority of Irish emigrants can no longer go due to 'stringent qualification requirements [and] strict quotas'.  

Consistent with the broad pattern of Irish emigration commented on by Hanlon, there were, in the Perth survey, graduates who arrived in Western Australia in each decade from the 1950s to the 1980s and 1990s. Of the 16 people who arrived in the 1950s, three had university qualifications. There was a doctor and a teacher, both from Northern Ireland, and one person from the Republic who did not specify the nature of his university degree. There were four university graduates among the 25 arrivals in the 1960s, two doctors from Northern Ireland and an engineer and a veterinary surgeon from the Republic. Six out of the 24 immigrants of the 1970s had degrees, a psychologist and a teacher from Northern Ireland and a doctor, a teacher, a geologist and a radiographer from the Republic. A much increased number proportionately arrived in the 1980s when 20 of the 51 arrivals had tertiary qualifications. In addition to the professions already mentioned, included in the new group were four accountants, three commerce and two computer science graduates.

The 1991 Census showed that the Irish in Australia were generally better qualified than the total Australian population both in the number of people with academic post-secondary qualifications and those with the skills to work in the basic vocational and skilled vocational. The gap between the two populations was highest in the post-secondary area with 17.6 per cent of the Irish-born (Republic only) having tertiary qualifications compared to 12.8 per cent of the total Australian population. Figures for Northern Ireland-born are subsumed within those for the United Kingdom. Those with tertiary qualifications for the United Kingdom and Northern Irish population in Australia in 1991 were 14.7 per cent compared with the total Australian population figure of 12.8 per cent. Although these figures do not necessarily mean that the qualifications were gained before the immigrants came to Australia, they indicate that graduates form a significant

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51 Ellen Hazelkorn, ""We can't all live on a small island": the political economy of Irish migration", in Patrick O’Sullivan (ed.), The Irish in the New Communities, The Irish Worldwide, History, Heritage, Identity, vol.2, Leicester and London, 1992, p.188.
52 Q58b.
part of Irish migration to Australia. There are proportionately more people in the
survey group with tertiary qualifications than in the total Irish-born population in
Australia. As discussed in Chapter Three, this is due to the non-random nature of
the sample, the fact that there are no people aged under 25 years in the survey
group (which makes the base figure for the total population more diverse) and
because a large part of the survey group came to Australia post-1980. Due to
Australia’s selective immigration policies and to the increase in graduates leaving
Ireland, it is likely there would be more graduates among the latter group.

In light of the attention which graduate migration has attracted in recent years,
a close examination of the situation of the graduate immigrants in the survey
contributes to the debate. Some differences may be discerned between those who
arrived pre-1980 and those who arrived later. Evidence of internationalisation and
other relevant issues which could be described as migration culture will be shown.
Job transfers with international companies are another point of interest as are
differences or similarities in reasons to migrate and intentions on emigration with
regard to settling permanently abroad.

Exactly one-fifth of the 65 people in the pre-1980 group were graduates. They
gave a variety of reasons as to why they emigrated. These encompass economic
factors, job dissatisfaction, political unrest, international connections and
influences, unhappiness with climate and what could be described as a spirit of
adventure. Three people were married to Australians, which influenced their
decisions to come to Western Australia but only one commented in detail. His
story is typical of graduate migration of an earlier time as he originally left Ireland
in 1947 when he was a young honours graduate in Engineering from Trinity
College. When his results became known, he had job offers from three London
firms. Shuttleworth points out that this recruiting from Irish campuses, especially
Trinity College, by British companies in the past has a parallel in recent times
with multinational companies ‘poaching’ Irish graduates. He notes this as a
continuity in graduate migration. The young engineer applied for a job in Scotland
because his cousin was the secretary to the chief engineer, which he thought
would enhance his chances of success. He subsequently worked in many places in
the United Kingdom and overseas including Pakistan. He met his Australian wife

on a ship en route to Canada but as they were not keen on aspects of life there, they came to Australia to live in 1963. Like some of the young graduates Mac Laughlin, Hanlon and Shuttleworth have written about, in 1947 this man automatically looked overseas for employment. His reasons however were that, in addition to a shortage of jobs, he felt that as a Protestant he would be unlikely to be offered one anyway. This is an aspect of earlier graduate migration which could warrant further investigation especially in relation to Trinity College graduates.

Another Trinity College graduate, a veterinary surgeon, came to Western Australia in 1967 for quite different reasons. These reasons illustrate major features of Irish emigration namely economic difficulty, too close proximity to family and/or community and a migration culture. The person married a dairy farmer when she graduated. On the farm there was only one house which they would be required to share with her husband’s parents. As this was seen as a potentially stressful situation, and as her husband would have difficulty earning a living if they left the farm but remained in Ireland, emigration was discussed. A family friend back in Ireland for a holiday from Australia brought first-hand news of opportunities in Western Australia and that sealed the decision to emigrate. The husband’s father died suddenly as arrangements to go were under way. They sold the farm anyway and the couple, accompanied by the widow, emigrated to Western Australia. In this migrant’s story, the mechanism of a migration culture and the internationalisation of the Irish were important influences to taking action to solve the existing structural problems.

A doctor who came to Western Australia in 1957 was also following a pattern similar to graduate emigrants of recent times in that although employed he was looking for something else and he had a marketable skill. He was from Northern Ireland but had been working in South Wales and the Midlands of England for six years. He was dissatisfied with the National Health Service and was offered a job in Western Australia which he accepted. The West Australian government paid for first class passages for him and his wife to travel to Perth by ship. Although he was employed at the time of leaving, he indicated on his survey form that apart

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57 Marjorie Smith interviewed by author, 1998. Transcript and tape held by author.
58 N57M3. As explained in Chapter Three, the returned surveys have a coded number where N or P indicates that the person comes from either Northern Ireland or the Republic; the next two digits are the year of arrival; F or M indicates gender and the last digit is a consecutive number in a decadal group for either Northern Ireland or for the Republic.
from having a specific job to go to, he was unhappy with job prospects and was responding to a challenge and an opportunity. He also mentioned that he found the religious situation unsatisfactory. He is a Catholic and may have been experiencing the same sort of religious discrimination in Northern Ireland as did the Trinity man in the Republic. Another Catholic doctor who came from Northern Ireland had a similar story although he did not have a specific job waiting for him in Western Australia. He was also unhappy with the health system and found the economic and religious situations unsatisfactory. He is described by a friend as having been 'ethnically cleansed' from Northern Ireland.

A clinical psychologist from Northern Ireland demonstrates evidence of the influence of a migration culture on other reasons to leave. She reports that her work with troubled children was deeply depressing; and she was unhappy with the political situation. The combination of an advertisement for her profession in Western Australia, having a close friend in Perth and a family history of emigration culminated in her decision to emigrate after a particularly bad day: 'the ceiling fell down in my bedroom during a rain storm when I was on sick leave with a painful back injury. [This was] the straw that broke the camel's back'. In common with the more recent professional graduates, possessing a marketable skill and connections overseas facilitates the decision to leave even when people are employed in Ireland.

The remaining six pre-1980 graduate immigrants all nominate some variation on the issues mentioned above. Three from the Republic who left in the 1970s state that they either needed a job or that their job was uncertain. Apart from the Trinity College engineer, the others indicated that they either had a job (even if they were unhappy in it) or else there was no mention that jobs were a major issue. The veterinary surgeon mentioned was not concerned about finding employment for herself, only for her farmer husband. It would appear that a migration culture and the international contacts of other Irish overseas had a significant bearing on why most of these professional people left Ireland. Eight recall that they always intended to make their move a permanent one, four thought

59 N66M4.
60 Pigott, interview, transcript, p.16.
61 N77F1.
62 ibid.
they would come for a while and then return while one thought she would come and see what it was like and then decide. Their situation at the time of the survey was that ten now intend to stay, two are undecided and only one still intends to return.

About 40 per cent, 20 out of 51, post-1980 survey participants gained a tertiary qualification in Ireland before emigrating to Australia. While this percentage is much higher than for the total Irish-born population in Australia, it presents an opportunity to look in detail at why these particular people came to Australia and to consider the influence of internationalism and migration culture on their decision. As mentioned previously, the National Economic and Social Council's Report of 1991 describes 'facilitating factors, which, even without “adequate cause”, may impel people to migrate.'63 The report also points out that the climate of migration acceptance, so fiercely argued against by Mac Laughlin and other critics, is 'bound to have become much more favourable as the overall level of emigration increased rapidly from the early 1980s'.64 A close look at the remainder of the graduates in the Perth survey seems to support this view.

A difference between the two groups of graduates under discussion, those who arrived in Western Australia before 1980 and those who arrived later, is in their intentions regarding whether or not their move to Western Australia was always intended to be permanent. In the earlier group, 62 per cent (eight out of 13) say they always intended to stay. This increased to 78 per cent (10 out of 13) by the time of the survey. In the later group, only 30 per cent (six out of 20) intended to stay permanently at the time of arrival in Australia. This had increased to 50 per cent (ten out of 20) by the time of the survey. Another interesting difference between the two groups is the increase in the proportion in the later group (45 per cent) of those who were undecided at the time of coming to Australia whether or not to stay or return. There is a sense of sojourning in their answers and reasons given for their move. By 1997, the numbers still undecided had dropped only slightly to 40 per cent (eight out of 20) and of those, three think that they might move, not back to Ireland but to another destination if the opportunity presented itself. Although only a few people are involved, there is no evidence of plans to move elsewhere in the earlier group. For them, it is either Ireland or Australia.

63 National Economic and Social Council, Economic and Social Implications, p.131.
64 Id., p.132.
The consideration of moving on is consistent with Findlay's observations about the migration of skilled professionals in general.\textsuperscript{65} The impression gained from comparing the two groups by intentions is that there is more fluidity in the second group.

Nobody in the post-1980s group indicated that they were unemployed in Ireland and that this was the reason for their migration. One woman, a law graduate employed as a university administrator, wrote that her bar-manager husband's redundancy was the catalyst for them to come to Western Australia.\textsuperscript{66} Only six other people of the 20 indicated that jobs and the economy were significant in their decision but all except one of these indicated that other reasons were important. These included climate, training, specific job opportunity and for one person from the Republic, the ongoing trouble in Northern Ireland. Significantly, six people mentioned climate as important in their decision to leave Ireland. The reason this is significant is that while climate is very important to quality of life, it seems like a 'luxury' reason to pursue the huge upheaval which migration, even a temporary one, involves. While emigration for health reasons connected to the weather was not uncommon in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to consider that nineteenth-century emigrants in general might have moved from Ireland for climatic reasons of lifestyle gives some perspective as to the changed circumstances of this group of late twentieth-century migrants. It supports the idea of voluntarism and moving 'toward somewhere else'.

A close look at the circumstances of some of these professional migrants will give an insight into what influenced their decisions. While it would be foolish to say that economic factors were not important, other issues appear to be at least equally so. The absence of economic issues as the major determinant is that, because of their qualifications, they are confident of employment either in Ireland or elsewhere, so that for them economic well-being appears to be a given.

The story of one professional emigrant encapsulates many of the aspects which influence modern Irish migration. These are the ability to become highly educated, the lack of promotional opportunities in a small economy, the internationalisation of the Irish and the (for some) unattractive climate. Tom O'Donoghue was a teacher in Ireland having gained his qualification in the early

\textsuperscript{65} Findlay, 'Skilled Transients', pp.515-22.
\textsuperscript{66} R95F8(a).
1970s.\(^{67}\) He was never without a teaching job but had aspirations to teach in a teacher's college or become involved in Adult Education. To this end he completed a master's degree in Education at Trinity College. It was now the early 1980s and the economy was contracting. The master's degree did not open any doors so he did a second master's degree at University College Dublin on the History of Education. His supervisor encouraged him to tackle a doctorate which he duly completed while at the same time broadening his aspirations to include university teaching. The completion of his doctorate coincided with the closure of Carysfort Teachers College in Dublin. When O'Donoghue realised that effectively the training college staff were being relocated into the universities he felt as far as advancement in an academic teaching career for himself was concerned that 'the world had closed up for another 20 years'.\(^{68}\) Although where O'Donoghue lived was 'a beautiful part of Ireland ... just a lovely place to live,' he now began to consider going abroad to add experience to his qualification and publication credentials.\(^{69}\)

O'Donoghue tapped into Irish networks abroad by using his contacts with various religious houses he had interacted with over the years. He sent off 52 letters to all parts of the world where he considered he would have something to offer. There was only one positive reply which was from the Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Nuns in Papua New Guinea who were looking for a director of a small teachers college in Rabaul. He accepted the position and paid his own way for himself, his wife and two small daughters to Rabaul with the intention of staying one year. They had a low salary but were supplied with a house, the use of a car and were located 'in the middle of a coconut plantation, not far from a coral reef. It was just idyllic'.\(^{70}\) Although O'Donoghue intended to return to Ireland after one year, that soon became two and by 'the end of the second year, I began to break into a cold sweat at the thought of going back to Ireland'.\(^{71}\) The potential isolation from family which can accompany emigration was ameliorated in the O'Donoghue's case by another feature of modern Irish migration which is the relative ease of visits to Ireland or, for the O'Donoghues, visits from Irish relatives. Both the O'Donoghues' mothers visited them in Papua New Guinea.

\(^{67}\) Tom O'Donoghue interviewed by author, 2000. Tape and transcript held by author.
\(^{68}\) ibid., transcript, p.3.
\(^{69}\) ibid., p.4
\(^{70}\) ibid., p.6.
\(^{71}\) ibid., p.7.
O’Donoghue realised that they could not stay at the teachers’ college for the rest of his working life as, apart from any other reason, the money was very poor. He was offered a job as a senior lecturer at the University of Papua New Guinea. He had never intended coming to Australia but on the advice of a friend who had been observing the volatile political situation in Papua New Guinea generally and Port Moresby in particular, applied for permanent residence status. He was accepted. Civil disturbance in Port Moresby coincided with the Australian High Commission contacting him to nominate when he intended to come to Australia. O’Donoghue had no job to go to in Australia but wished to leave Papua New Guinea quickly so again drew on international networks. The Missionaries of the Sacred Heart where he was working put him in contact with the principal of a boys’ boarding school in Darwin who offered him a six-month contract. This was a backward career step but facilitated entry to Australia. He applied for and accepted an associate lecturer job at Queensland University of Technology where he stayed for about one year until gaining a lectureship in Education at the University of Western Australia. This led to a Senior Lecturer position and then a further promotion to Associate Professor.\(^{72}\)

O’Donoghue achieved an improved career path by leaving Ireland. What is particularly interesting about his story is the effect being out of Ireland had on his plans. His original intention had been to obtain some overseas experience to bolster his chances of an academic career back in Ireland. The role of internationalisation in various forms is also interesting. Living in a warm climate eased problems with his health which dampness exacerbated although he did not leave Ireland for this reason. He reports his West Australian doctor as saying ‘if you were in Ireland, I’d be advising you to go and live in a place like Western Australia’!\(^{73}\) Because of this climatic link to his health and because of the price of houses in Ireland, O’Donoghue believes he will never return to live there. A temporary career move had turned into a lifestyle move. He was recently invited to apply for a chair at University College Dublin but commented that he ‘didn’t even think twice about it’.\(^{74}\) The international nature of his useful contacts has been outlined above. A further part of the migration culture in which he was raised is that four of his siblings also live or have lived out of Ireland; at different

\(^{72}\) Tom O’Donoghue was promoted to Professor in August 2002.

\(^{73}\) ibid. p.33.

\(^{74}\) ibid., p.32.
times in Mozambique, South Africa, Bangladesh, Scotland and Kuwait. His youngest brother was most encouraging about O'Donoghue's move to Papua New Guinea and for the others it was a question of, with so many away, 'well, what's another one going?'. Although O'Donoghue is happy in Western Australia and with his academic position and is sure he will not return to Ireland to live, he remains quite open to moving internationally again for job satisfaction.

O'Donoghue's story illustrates several issues of late twentieth-century migration from Ireland. He is a university graduate and, although employed in Ireland, felt that his chances of promotion to higher level work were very slim. Migration whether temporary or long term was quite common in his family. International networks facilitated his finding a job both in Papua New Guinea and later in Australia. His story reflects what writers such as Shuttleworth are saying. Although O'Donoghue reports never liking Irish weather, it was not until experiencing a different and warmer climate that the effect of climate became a serious disincentive to living in Ireland. The frequency of visits of close family members to the O'Donoghues abroad and O'Donoghue's frequent trips to Ireland, maintain and nurture personal links and reduce the potential for homesickness and familial disruption. A further feature of being an academic graduate abroad is that international conferences, which are a part of university life, allow more frequent trips to Ireland as such visits can be combined with conference attendance.

O'Donoghue's experiences are similar in significant ways to that of Jennifer Dagg and her family. The Daggs left Ireland in 1973 to work with Guinness in Nigeria. Guinness had many people working around the world at that stage so this was a career move combined with adventure. Their time in Nigeria was always intended to be short term. They stayed there for six years before returning to Dublin to live. The Daggs found settling down in Ireland very difficult and after three years, applied to come to Australia. Alan Dagg held an executive position with Guinness which he gave up to come, without a job waiting, to Western Australia. They did not originally intend to come to Perth, as having looked at a map of Australia they 'thought nobody would want to live there – it's far too isolated'. They eventually chose Western Australia after corresponding with

75 ibid., p.11.
76 ibid., p.36.
77 Jennifer Dagg interviewed by author, 1998. Tape and transcript held by author.
78 it-d., transcript, p.2.
friends in Perth, realising that its location would be perfect for water sports which they enjoyed, and after Andrew read that the most stress-free executives are reputed to live in Perth.

The primary reason to leave Ireland for Western Australia was the weather. Like the O'Donoghues, after living in a warm climate, the Daggs found it difficult to adjust to the dampness although health was not a factor; rather it was lack of amenity. Alan felt it was like experiencing 'eight months of hibernation where the weather was so abysmal that you couldn't get out and do things'. Jennifer reported that they had a nice house in Dublin, the children were happy at school, the neighbours were fantastic and the family was close by. Given this, the authors of the National Economic and Social Council's Report would likely describe the Dagg's migration as being without 'adequate cause'. Like Tom O'Donoghue, Alan initially accepted a job in Australia beneath his qualification level but within a year obtained a highly successful position. Also in common with the O'Donoghues, the Daggs' migration experience has been enhanced by the ability to make trips to Ireland. Jennifer commented that, 'I think really it's just made it much much easier to keep in touch with family and know that we can go back for a visit any time we want to without too much inconvenience'. Ability to visit regularly is facilitated by an executive salary.

John O'Grady and his wife came to Western Australia in 1986 with an intention of staying for two years. He was an accountant and came to a job in Perth with the same multinational company he was employed by in Dublin. In common with many of the survey respondents in Shuttleworth's work, he had always intended to travel after graduation. He 'always had a leaning towards coming to Australia [as it] was more exotic, further away, but at the same time not requiring any new language skills'. The company wished him to come to Perth although he was hoping to go to Sydney or Melbourne. Speaking to people who had been to Perth convinced him to take the job there rather than insist on the larger cities. Perth was described in glowing terms as being 'the best place to

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79 ibid., p.4.
80 ibid.
81 National Economic and Social Council, Economic and Social Implications, p.131.
82 Dagg, transcript, p.3.
83 ibid., p.11.
84 John O'Grady interviewed by author, 1998. Tape and transcript held by author.
85 ibid., transcript, p.1.
come to in Australia'. O'Grady displayed the confidence of the well-educated Irish with regard to their chances working abroad. He recalls feeling that 'the attitude then was – for accountants – we really could work anywhere – you could get visas to get into any country in the world practically'. If his own company could not offer him anything in Australia, he was intending to go to another multinational to see what they could offer. He was confident that 'there was such a shortage of accountants that somebody would employ me to go to Australia'.

Like O'Donoghue, O'Grady has been able to visit Ireland frequently largely because of travelling to the United States and United Kingdom with his job. In 12 years he has been to Ireland about seven times assisted by work trips and in addition has had two longer holidays. As has been pointed out through the experiences of the O'Donoghues and the Daggs, this level of contact with the country of their birth ameliorates the potential homesickness and guilt which may be felt when leaving parents and other family. O'Grady was able to go quickly to Ireland when his mother died and Mrs O'Grady returned to Ireland on short notice to help nurse her ill father.

The experience of living out of Ireland affected the O'Gradys as it did the others. Climate which had previously not been an issue became important. A perceived religious and social parochialism, which had created part of the desire to experience something else, became an ambience which the O'Gradys no longer wished to live within. O'Grady sometimes considers that to have returned to Ireland permanently in 1989 could have been a good move financially as the Irish economy was picking up when the Australian one was slowing. He has some degree of regret that he did not avail himself of that opportunity but recognises that the lifestyle they experience in Perth is more important to them than the compromises they would have to make to live in Ireland.

Geraldine and Julian Taylor's story is very similar to the O'Gradys'. Both the Taylors are graduates and had decided to go abroad when they qualified. Julian Taylor is a chartered accountant and worked for an large international firm whose

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86 ibid., p.4.
87 ibid.
88 ibid.
89 ibid., p.14.
90 ibid., pp.14 & 15.
91 ibid., p.15.
92 Geraldine Taylor interviewed by author, 1998. Tape and transcript held by author.
policy included overseas transfers of staff. They were offered several destinations, mainly in Africa. As they had a one year old child, the Taylors were reluctant to take an African position. When Perth was offered, a person in the office gave it a glowing report so they accepted. Geraldine says they did practically no research but were attracted to the fact that it was a small city. The evidence of internationalisation is obvious with regard to the company network and the opportunities offered. It is also apparent as Geraldine reported that their friends expressed no surprise that they were leaving as many of their group went abroad, particularly to America. Julian’s father served in the British Navy and the family lived abroad, so to be away from Ireland was normal for the family. His family live ‘all over the world’ and his mother has moved to Australia to live with the Taylors as none of her family remain in Ireland.93

The pattern and effects of visiting Ireland are similar to the other respondents. The Taylors recognised that they were likely to remain in Western Australia when Julian’s mother decided to come out to live. This necessitated selling the family home in central Dublin. As they considered they would be very unlikely to be able to afford a house like that again in Dublin, the action of selling marked a tangible break from Ireland. When asked if she could isolate one factor which really stopped them taking the decision to return to Ireland, Geraldine answered, ‘the weather, without doubt’.94 The importance of the weather emerged after living in Western Australia. The choice of activities which fine weather allows was attractive as was the positive effect on people’s dispositions which she perceived. Geraldine visits Ireland, particularly her elderly parents, frequently and over the last eight years, has visited every year.

Julian did not remain with the international accounting firm who had provided his original job. He left within two years of coming to Western Australia and moved into industry, which he enjoyed as it was a more dynamic job. Geraldine, after some initial difficulty, found a job in her profession of laboratory scientist.

The O’Donoghues, Daggs, O’Gradys and Taylors could all be described as having migrated without ‘adequate cause’. The National Economic and Social Council’s report which contains that telling quote, in common with most writing about Irish emigration either in the nationalist style or the more recent analytical

93 ibid., transcript, p.8.
94 ibid., p.12.
economic genre, is predicated on the proposition that no-one would leave if they were not forced to. A result of this not unreasonable position is that all or any other reasons to emigrate are discussed as though deviant from the economic norm rather than existing in their own right. While the economy is the basis for many to leave, perhaps most, the long history of emigration has produced the development of a mindset where 'lifestyle' or '(in)adequate cause' emigrations occur. It is difficult to view the stories of the immigrants detailed above without considering factors other than the economic. None were unemployed when they left Ireland. Not only were they employed but they were in steady reasonable jobs for which they were trained. All owned houses. All were linked in some way to international contacts either professional or personal. Two came to jobs through their multinational employers. What is interesting here is that the jobs were not promotions nor could Western Australia or even Australia be described as a 'core country'. The argument that graduate migration of the 1980s is the modern version of core/periphery theory does not appear to explain the Australian situation. The influence of a migration culture is obvious in the actions of these immigrants. They had either lived abroad, had family or friends abroad or had contacts and networks abroad to facilitate their emigrations. Some had always wanted to travel and intended to do so after graduating, a common idea in Ireland as Shuttleworth's work has shown.

Apart from the Daggs who had an earlier short-term migration to Nigeria, all were only intending to be away for about two years. They came to prefer life in Australia. Their marketable skills enabled them to earn enough money to take advantage of the activities the climate of Australia could provide. Climate in fact had become very important since living away, as the Irish climate, by contrast, was now experienced as uncomfortable and restrictive. Close family contacts through telephone calls and frequent visits, in both directions, made possible by their level of income, enable all four families to live comfortably outside Ireland.

Irish graduates have always played some role in Australian life. The percentage of tertiary-trained Irish-born in Australia is higher than for the total Australian population. There are no figures to show that the percentage of graduates is increasing within the intake of Irish immigrants but one may assume that it is, given the Australian immigration requirements and the increased number of graduates in Ireland. This chapter has shown that graduates from Ireland are
leaving in numbers higher than ever before. Writers like Mac Laughlin, Hanlon and to some extent Shuttleworth have argued that there is nothing intrinsically new about graduates leaving or the reasons why they leave. The arguments are essentially economically based and focus around Ireland being a peripheral country whose skilled graduates will be attracted to core countries to find job advancement not possible within Ireland. Shuttleworth, and to some extent the National Economic and Social Council's Report, speculate how a culture of emigration has developed and how it functions. Mac Laughlin argues against this deterministic behavioural idea as it masks structural flaws and allows politicians to avoid dealing with problems in the economy. While I agree that politicians can manipulate emigration figures by emphasising a behavioural model at the expense of deeper economic analysis, that does not mean that an emigration culture, a willingness to embrace emigration positively, does not exist. The expanded case studies and the other less detailed survey results show that voluntarism is part of the Irish-Australian migration experience. Australia, especially Western Australia, is not regarded as a core country. In Chapter Three it was shown that reasons such as lifestyle and climate were important reasons for immigrants (including those outside the Perth survey) to choose to live in Perth. All the detailed cases showed sufficient similarity with the elements identified as forming a migration culture to say that the people were influenced by that culture. A migration culture and perhaps that undefinable concept 'a sense of adventure', were more important motivators to migrate for the people in the case studies than were the economic factors which the analysts propose as cause.

95 For instance, the headquarters of the large accounting firms which form part of the graduate experience abroad are not located there.
CHAPTER SEVEN

IRISH CLUBS AND ORGANISATIONS

The changing pattern of Irish immigration made visible through Irish organisations in Perth

Although most Irish-born people in Perth do not belong to Irish clubs or organisations, an examination of those organisations can reveal something of the changing situation of the Irish-born in Perth.¹ The focus of this thesis is on the Irish-born, the migrant generation, not those who are a generation or more away from being Irish-born but who may well identify as Irish. This chapter examines what the secular clubs reflect about postwar immigrants. Not all Irish associations in Western Australia have been examined. The clubs chosen for close attention were largely those with the propensity to attract diverse membership rather than those where possession of a particular profession or talent is the focus of the club. The chapter will also examine why people choose not to join Irish clubs.

The number of Irish-born in Western Australia halved between 1901 and 1947.² There was insignificant immigration in the first half of the twentieth century from Ireland to Western Australia and as a consequence no need for new clubs to meet the needs of what few immigrants arrived. This situation changed with the resumption of immigration in the postwar years and the Irish Club was founded in 1950. A further significant change occurred in the 1980s and 1990s. As previously stated, the Irish immigrants arriving in that period were likely to be from urban backgrounds and to be more highly qualified than their immediate

¹ Versions of some parts of this chapter have been previously published. See Jean Chetkovich, 'Modern Irish in Western Australia' in James Jupp (ed.), The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and Their Origins, Canberra, 2001, pp.485-6 and Jean Chetkovich, 'The Scattered Re-gather: Irish Clubs in Perth, Western Australia in the late Twentieth Century' in Australian Journal of Irish Studies, vol.1, 2001, pp.70-80.
² James Jupp and Barry York, Birthplaces of the Australian People: Colonial & Commonwealth censuses, 1828-1991, Canberra, 1995, pp.17&55. The numbers of Irish-born Australia wide were reduced to less than a quarter of the 1901 total.
Advances in transport that made it both fast and reasonably priced enabled many later immigrants to visit Ireland regularly. Fares became affordable both because of relative lower costs compared to earlier times and because the late twentieth-century immigrants were more likely to be employed in well-paid professional or highly skilled jobs than were their counterparts in the 1950s and 1960s. Visits to Ireland were not unknown among the earlier immigrants but the length of time between coming to Australia and a first trip to Ireland was much longer than for later arrivals.

Advances in telecommunications allowed immigrants to stay in close contact by phone, fax and more recently by e-mail in a manner not possible in the early postwar years. These altered circumstances provided the impetus for several new clubs to form in the 1980s and 1990s to suit the different circumstances of the later immigrants. The growing significance of multiculturalism in Australian society from the 1970s onwards and what it might mean for the Irish (whether Irish-born or Irish-derived) is also of great importance when examining why the Irish supported particular clubs after this time. The impact of multiculturalism and government support to ethnic groups who were not perceived to be subsumed within the mainstream (as were the Irish and other English-speaking groups) was a likely impetus for Irish-Australians who had arrived in the earlier years to act to form new associations. These organisations and associations were suitable in style for the new immigrants of the 1980s and 1990s.

Although this chapter deals in detail with clubs and stresses their importance, it is salutary to remember that membership figures indicate that most Irish-born do not belong to Irish clubs. Precise membership of Irish-born in clubs is difficult to determine but it is probable that perhaps less than 10 per cent of Irish-born belong to identifiably Irish clubs. Ten per cent of the Irish-born in Western Australia in 1996 was 1,300 people. All the organisations, including the major clubs, the Irish Club and the Celtic Club, have memberships which fluctuate considerably. The Celtic Club membership in 1993 was 574 and that of the Irish Club was about 600

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4 See Tables A.5-A.8 in Appendix III.
5 See Table 3.1.
in 1998.\(^6\) The Australian-Irish Heritage Association (AIHA) had a membership of 250 in 1997 and the Irish Australian Business Association (IABA) had a membership of 135 at the same time.\(^7\) Other organisations are considerably smaller and some, like the Tara Club and Claddagh, do not sustain a membership base. The total for the club membership detailed here is 1559 which could be increased to 1700 to allow for the other smaller clubs. Membership figures are misleading as there is some overlap between clubs and not all members of Irish clubs are Irish-born. Two-thirds of 1700 is 1134 which is a reasonable estimate of Irish-born members when allowing for duplicate memberships and non Irish-born. Conversely, the numbers could be said to be higher than these figures as there are also Irish-born who may participate in club activities but who do not formally join. Table 7.1 shows the Irish clubs to which the survey participants belong.

As shown in Table 7.1, the membership pattern of my sample is roughly divided into thirds. Those who do not belong to any club accounted for 36 per cent (42 people), 32 per cent (37 people) belonged to several clubs and the remainder, 32 per cent (37 people) belonged to just one club. There were 135 memberships spread across 74 people. The number of multiple memberships gives some indication of how difficult it is to estimate how many individual Irish-born people belong to Irish clubs in Perth. The Irish Club had the largest individual membership which is interesting as the survey was not directly distributed to Irish Club members. As detailed in Chapter Three, it was (in part) distributed to the members of the AIHA and the IABA. There were 32 members of each of these clubs among the participants. Survey participants from the Republic were much more likely to belong to clubs (72 per cent) than those from Northern Ireland (33 per cent). Despite this, there is a particular Northern Irish influence in some of the clubs which will be discussed later in the chapter.

The growth and development of the Perth Irish clubs of the postwar period provides another view of the Irish-born revealed partly through their own comments, observations and motivations for either forming or participating in them or by their decisions not to join. It is pertinent to remember that the survey group represents a much higher incidence of club membership than the wider

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\(^7\) See Chapter Three re distribution of Perth survey via these organisations.
Irish-born population because of how the survey was distributed. This fact adds even more weight to the point of how well settled these Irish are in Western Australia, as was shown in Chapter Four, as it could be assumed that the Irish who choose to form and join 'ethnic' clubs may well be wishing to be separate from the rest of the population. Evidence previously presented has shown that this is not the case.

Over a quarter of the people surveyed gave specific reasons as to why they had chosen not to join Irish organisations. They included suspicions about latent political agendas: 'fear they may be covers for IRA promotion' or that they could be divisive in other ways: 'Irish organisations in other countries seem to me to encourage the differences between Irish descendants'. Others were against what they perceived as backwards-looking attitudes. Examples include: 'those I observed were too inward looking and dwelling on the past'; 'I wanted to be free of sentimentality' and 'I came to Australia to be Australian not to live in the past'. Class attitudes are evident in: 'I wouldn't drink or associate with them in Dublin - why would I do so here?' Some specifically mentioned that they wanted a wider social group than just Irish people: 'wanted to meet people of other nationalities' or 'most of my friends are not Irish' or 'we wanted to make friends with Australians which we did and are glad of their friendships'. This attitude is consistent with the information reported in Chapter Four regarding Irish friendships (see Table 4.1). Most of the comments reflected that people felt no need to join rather than that they were antagonistic towards Irish clubs. Comments included: 'I did not feel it was necessary to my life to be part of an organisation - Irish or otherwise'; 'not interested'; 'don't feel the need'; 'no interest' and 'don't need outside reinforcement of something intrinsic to me'.

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8 Q31. Questions or responses from the survey are referred to in the footnotes by number.
9 R67F8; and N68M2. As explained in Chapter Three, the returned surveys have a coded number where N or R indicates that the person comes from either Northern Ireland or the Republic; the next two digits are the year of arrival; F or M indicates gender and the last digit is a consecutive number in a decadal group for either Northern Ireland or for the Republic.
10 R70M15; R89F4; and N74F2.
11 R63M15.
12 R77F16; R68F18; and R69F2.
13 R88F7; R58M2; R90F3; R70F17; and R79F3.
Table 7.1: MEMBERSHIP OF IRISH CLUBS (CURRENT OR PAST) BY SURVEY PARTICIPANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of people &amp; arrival date</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Irish Club</th>
<th>Celtic Club</th>
<th>AIHA*</th>
<th>IABA*</th>
<th>Irish Theatre Players</th>
<th>WB Yeats Society</th>
<th>GAA*</th>
<th>CCE*</th>
<th>Shamrock Soccer</th>
<th>Shamrock Club (defunct)</th>
<th>Member of multiple clubs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950s N Ire (5)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950s Rep (10)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s N Ire (6)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s Rep (19)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s N Ire (4)</td>
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<td>1970s Rep (20)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980s N Ire (9)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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Q31a.
Chapter Seven: Irish Clubs and Organisations

As would be expected, the reasons given as to why people did join clubs are reflected in the aims of the clubs which will be discussed in this chapter. The predominant reason was for social interaction with an Irish flavour. To enjoy and/or to promote Irish culture was the next most common aspiration of those who were club members. These comments were common to all the clubs whether established before 1945, early in the postwar years or within the last twenty years. A more modern reason, networking, was a common response from members of the Irish Australian Business Association, and to a lesser extent from members of the Celtic Club, but was not a word used in relation to membership of other clubs.

In 1945, the only Irish Club in Western Australia was the Celtic Club which was established in 1902 by city professional and business men. It grew from the United Irish League and had strong Irish Nationalist sentiment. The Record reported in 1904 that ‘each candidate for membership shall be of Irish birth or of Irish descent, and shall be in sympathy with the Irish National movement’. Just how Irish this club was by 1945 is questionable. Certainly references to Ireland in the Minutes of the club decline in number over the period from 1905 to 1971, although a form entitled ‘Application For Nomination Card For New Member’ which appears to have been used in the 1950s and 1960s, asks the nominator to state about the nominee: ‘to what extent is he of Irish Descent?’, ‘is he in sympathy with the National Aspirations of the Irish Race for an undivided Ireland?’ and ‘is he a member of the Communist Party or does he sympathise with Communist Ideology?’ Superficially on the evidence of this form, there would appear to be a strong Irish connection. A more likely explanation is that the club probably never bothered nor perceived a need to alter its membership criteria with regard to the Irish question. In the context of the times, for example Prime Minister Menzies’ attempt in 1951 to outlaw the Communist Party and particularly the split in the Labor Party stemming from this issue which resulted in

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15 Rule 3 of its constitution stated that members ‘shall be in sympathy with the Irish National movement’, Ian Chambers, “I’m an Australian and speak as such”: The Perth Irish community’s responses to events in Ireland, 1900-1914’, in Bob Reece (ed.), The Irish in Western Australia, Studies in Western Australian History, no.20, Nedlands, Western Australia, 2000, p.121. The United Irish League was founded in Sydney in 1900 to revive Irish national interests in Australia and to raise support for the Irish National Party and their bid for Home Rule.

16 J. Derbyshire, ‘Formalization of a Voluntary Association – Celtic Club’, Honours Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Western Australia, 1971. This comment was made under a general heading ‘Minutes 1905 – 1971’, p.34.

17 Form held by author.
the formation of the Democratic Labor Party (DLP) with its strong Catholic support, the question about the Communist Party is quite significant.\textsuperscript{19}

The new immigrants from Ireland who were starting to arrive in the postwar period did not see the club as one that met their needs although in 1962 the Celtic Club informed the Irish Legation that its facilities were available to Irish migrants.\textsuperscript{20} One of these immigrants, Paddy Costello, commented that his perception was that the Celtic Club was only for the elite and would certainly not welcome a raw, young Irish country lad like himself when he arrived in the early 1950s.\textsuperscript{21} Between 1926 and 1969 the Celtic Club owned a fine two-storeyed premises with verandahs upstairs and down and complete with two full sized lawn bowling links at the prestigious address of 26 St George's Terrace, Perth.\textsuperscript{22} The club was strictly male only during its time at 26 St George's Terrace and would not have met the social needs of the predominantly single male Irish immigrants of the 1950s nor indeed the needs of any of the women. The club held virtually no social events, had a culture of heavy drinking (but not in an Irish pub atmosphere), was the haunt of many of the racing fraternity and had little to offer young single immigrants or young families. Its exclusive St George's Terrace address also contributed to its image of being for the elite.\textsuperscript{23} It was a club which provided accommodation and was seen by some as a model of an English gentleman's club.\textsuperscript{24} The Celtic Club was expensive to join with fees of $40 per annum (including nomination fee and building levy) in 1971\textsuperscript{25} compared to the Irish Club a decade later when the fees were $20 for a family, $12 for males and $8 for females.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{19} I have not seen any evidence linking the Celtic Club specifically to the DLP. It is possible that a closer look at memberships of both organisations for example, could suggest a link but that is beyond the scope of this thesis. A perusal of F.G.Clarke's Masters Thesis on 'The Democratic Labor Party in Western Australia: Evolution and Early Development', MA Thesis, History Department, University of Western Australia, 1969 did not reveal a connection.

\textsuperscript{20} Derbyshire, 'Celtic Club', p.35.

\textsuperscript{21} Paddy Costello, interview, 1998.

\textsuperscript{22} Derbyshire, 'Celtic Club', p.38.

\textsuperscript{23} Conversation with Jim Hayden, 10 February 1999 - former Honorary Secretary, Honorary Treasurer, Managing Secretary of the Celtic Club and long-term member of the Irish Club of which he is currently a Trustee. Jim is a single man, an accountant, who came to WA in 1952. He is one of very few men who were members of both clubs in the early days of the 1950s and 1960s.

\textsuperscript{24} Conversation with Bill Motherway, 11 February 1999. Bill came to Western Australia in 1949. He was involved for many years with the Irish Theatre Players and was awarded the Brendan Award for services to the Irish Community in 1998.


Chapter Seven: Irish Clubs and Organisations

It is difficult to know how much the elite image of the Celtic Club was a reality or just a perception although the effect was the same, as the Irish immigrants of the 1950s and 1960s did not join in any significant numbers at that time.\(^{27}\) As excerpts from the Minutes of the club show, it appears to have been exclusive in the literal sense of keeping people out rather than being the haunt of a socially elite group. The Managing-Secretary from 1969-1971 commented that ‘the club was very parochial and dominated by a few older members. It went downhill [in the 1960s], although it was fairly strong years ago’.\(^{28}\) The Minutes of the 1960s record many references to misconduct. Members were charged with walking on the billiards table, bringing women onto the premises, and using obscene and abusive language; and some were accused of circulating an anonymous publication, the ‘Celtic Courier’, which reported dissension within the club.\(^{29}\) In February 1968, a Mr F. reported that he had heard several unfavourable reports from outsiders regarding the conduct in the club. There appears to have been a moral decline in the 1960s which was characterised by excessive drinking by both members and bar staff.\(^{30}\) In common with other licensed clubs, the Celtic Club had a 24 hour license at a time when hotels closed at 9pm. It was not uncommon for the bar to stay open to 1am or 2am if the drinkers contributed to pay the bar staff to keep serving. Take-away liquor could also be bought through the club.\(^{31}\)

The relationship between the Celtic Club establishment and the Catholic Church could have caused a mutual lack of interest between incoming Irish migrants and the club. In the early days of the club there was a strong link with the Catholic church and it was ‘a convivial place for Irish priests ... to catch up with their countrymen and “have a jar” ’.\(^{32}\) There was perhaps one too many ‘jars’ as an incident in 1935 involving an Irish priest resulted in the St Mary’s Cathedral hierarchy forbidding any of its clerics to go there. This ban was reported in 1971 as being only ‘recently lifted’\(^{33}\) although Jim Hayden reported that priests frequented the Celtic Club when he was involved from the early 1950s.\(^{34}\)

\(^{27}\) The Celtic Club has changed over the years as will be shown in this chapter so some of the earlier immigrants may have joined in later years.
\(^{28}\) Derbyshire, ‘Celtic Club’, interview with Mr P. Bowler, p.63.
\(^{29}\) ibid.
\(^{30}\) ibid., p.62.
\(^{31}\) Conversation, Hayden.
\(^{32}\) Record, interview with Celtic Club president, Bob Johnston, 2 January, 1997.
\(^{33}\) Derbyshire, ‘Celtic Club’, p.29.
\(^{34}\) Conversation, Hayden.
However seriously this ban affected Irish or other Catholic priests in Perth or however seriously it was adhered to, it may well have discouraged some newly arrived Irish migrants from seeking membership of the Celtic Club. Indeed, membership of such a club was discouraged before emigrants even left Ireland. In 1947, the Bishops of Ireland meeting held at Maynooth expressed concern regarding emigration. They were particularly concerned that 'our young people are leaving Ireland to take up employment in circumstances and under conditions which, in many cases, are full of danger to their religious and moral well-being'.

The description of the Celtic Club in the 1950s and 1960s could well be seen to contribute very little to 'religious and moral well-being'. In contrast, the Irish Club gained a reputation as a marriage bureau with an estimated 300 marriages resulting from couples meeting there. There was suspicion that Irish priests were keen to foster this aspect of the club. The lack of women and the absence of social activities at the Celtic Club certainly precluded any chance of it being a marriage bureau. Its culture would have had quite the opposite effect so it is no wonder the Catholic Church supported the Irish Club with its family values.

Another characteristic of the Celtic Club seems to have been the lack of Irish culture or a flavour of things Irish. In 1971, when a survey was distributed to 200 randomly sampled members of the club, 102 responses were received. In answer to the question, 'how could Celtic Club help to increase knowledge of Irish customs, folklore etc.?', there were many suggestions including film evenings, artefact displays, cultural promotion, news items, wall plaques, celebration of Irish National Days and Irish decor. Apparently these things were not already provided by the club. Jim Hayden confirms that this was so although he believes that, if sufficient Irish immigrants had joined, they could have made the club their own. As it was, he and a few friends who joined with him did make changes including introducing Ladies' Nights and a little more 'Irishness'.

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35 National Archives of Australia, A1068/7, E 47/11/2/3, Letter from High Commissioner for Australia in Dublin to H.V. Evatt, Minister of State for External Affairs, 10/7/47.
37 Conversation, Motherway.
38 Derbyshire, 'Celtic Club', p.123. Survey was undertaken by Ian Jackson a Sociology student at the West Australian Institute of Technology (now Curtin University) in 1971. Derbyshire has included the results at the end of her dissertation as she was not aware of the survey in time to incorporate them into her own work.
39 *ibid.*, p.126.
40 Conversation, Hayden.
The Irish Club was formed in September 1950 at a meeting in the Shenton Park Hotel, a popular meeting place for young Irish migrants in the early 1950s. The main aim as remembered by one early participant was to have ‘a common goal – that of uniting the Irish in their adopted homeland’. The first Annual General Meeting (AGM) was held in April 1951. The original Object of Institution submitted when applying for registration was:

(a) To establish maintain and conduct a Club of non-political non-sectarian character for the accommodation and use of the members of the Club and their friends and to provide a Club-house and other conveniences and generally to afford to members and their friends all the usual privileges advantages conveniences and accommodation of a Club.

[(b) to (e) cover ability to raise money, dispose of assets and items of this nature.]

(f) To keep alive the spirit of Irish Nationality.

(g) To preserve the glorious traditions of our immigrant ancestors.

(h) To promote due regard for the Irish language Culture and Pastimes.

(i) To commemorate with due honour our National Apostle and Patriot Dead.

The club’s motto is ‘Do chun Gloire Deis onora na hEirrean (For the Glory of God and the Honour of Ireland)’. The sentiment pervading the newsletters (Nuacht) of the Irish Club from the late 1970s through to the 1990s was that the club should be a ‘home away from home’ for Irish immigrants. ‘When you walk in for a pint or a game of cards, or even to watch TV, you can look around and feel at home amongst familiar faces in pleasant surroundings’ was a typical entry. The editorial of the December 1986 Nuacht cautions members that:

we must never lose sight of the basic reason for the existence of The Irish Club … namely, to provide a social forum where every member will be proud to take his or her guests, to enjoy hospitality which is undeniably Irish, in surroundings which are comfortable and pleasant, and in an atmosphere of friendship which is undeniably Irish in nature.

42 Nuacht, December, 1986.
43 ibid.
44 Constitution of The Irish Club of Western Australia Incorporated, registered 26 February 1952.
45 Nuacht, August, 1982.
46 Nuacht, December, 1986.
In addition to the 'home away from home' idea, the keeping alive of Irish culture is also absolutely to the forefront in the Irish Club. Many activities including the *Fleadhs* (staged annually in most years since 1981) concentrate on Irish music, sport and drama. The *Nuacht* of June 1982 states the 'general trend of this newsletter is written around the social activities of the club ... the whole purpose of our existence is to retain Irish culture in the lives of the Irish and associated communities in West Australia through the medium of social get-togethers'. This sentence encapsulates the nexus between the social and the cultural functions of the club.

Two interrelated themes can be perceived in the Irish Club. Firstly, the recreation of an Irish home now existing only in memory and secondly, the keeping alive of Irish culture which also serves the first aim. There are also two threads of nostalgia discernible in the Irish Club. One is for the Ireland left behind; evidence of romanticising appears in many of the newsletters. An item reports that two members 'are off on well deserved pilgrimages to the ould (sic) country. I’m sure that most of us wish silently that we, too, could be making the trip'.\(^{47}\) Another item written as Christmas approached stated: 'at this time of year we all think a little more of our Homeland and Families'.\(^{48}\) A eulogy on the occasion of the death of a long-term member stated that on the man's last trip to Ireland in 1985, he had 'walked the fields and boreens which he had known as a child and had never been as happy as he was on that particular visit to his native Carlow'.\(^{49}\) There are echoes of the exile motif, of Ireland being their 'real' home apparent in these references.

The second form nostalgia takes is for the early days of the club. In an effort to rally support from the membership in December 1986, members were reminded that 'we have come a long way through our “oneness” in the past; let this oneness of spirit continue to flourish...'.\(^{50}\) Paddy and Lena Costello, members since the 1950s and both former presidents, remember fondly the halcyon days of the 1970s when all work was done voluntarily and people really pitched in and worked together.\(^{51}\) The time taken to do this ensured that the Irish Club and its activities

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50 *Nuacht*, December, 1986.
51 Paddy and Lena Costello interviewed by Catherine Hall, 1994 (tape held by interviewer) and *raddy and Lena Costello interview*, 1998.
had a major role in the lives of the participants. The advent of paid staff and alternative Irish-style activities in the community worked against this level of commitment as the staff could do a great deal of the work and there was competition for the Irish-centred leisure time which the Irish immigrants had to spare. The ability of more recent migrants to maintain contact with Ireland as compared to those arriving in the 1950s or even the 1960s, reduced the drawcard of the 'home away from home' theme and thus reduced the need for an Irish Club of this style.

While the stated objective of the Irish Club is to be non-sectarian, there was a strong association with the Catholic Church in the early decades. The first two Presidents were Catholic priests, Fr. Michael Ryan and then Fr. Peter McCudden. Lena Costello commented that in the early days prospective new members would be put in contact with the Club by their local church. Thirteen Irish priests were sent to Western Australia from the missionary institution All Hallows College, Dublin, in the postwar period, the last arriving in 1976 and this influence can be observed through some activities at the club. In 1961, before the formation of the West Australian branch of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), a hurling game was played against some visiting Irish seamen. The team fielded by the Irish Club included seven Irish-born priests. To the chagrin of the visitors, the 'locals' won! The level of association with the Catholic Church has decreased over the years. The club has had two non-Catholic presidents, both from Northern Ireland and both elected in the 1980s.

Another indicator of the close link between the Catholic Church and the Irish Club is that since the Club purchased its premises at 61 Townshend Road, Subiaco in 1976, a Mass has been held in St Joseph's Church, Salvado Road, Subiaco each St. Patrick's Day morning. Most newsletters comment very favourably on this event and the church is usually reported to have been full, sometimes to overflowing. A typical entry in the Nuacht is: 'many a person has told me of the pride they feel and sometimes the few tears that fall as they and their fellow Irish men and women pray and sing together in honour of our

54 Informant is Fr. Tim McCormack, All Hallows College, Dublin, September, 1997.
National Saint'. In 1992, the Mass at St Joseph's was celebrated by 'Archbishop Hickey and a multitude of Irish priests. The church, as usual, was crowded to capacity and the choir was in fine voice on the day'. Given that 77 per cent of Irish immigrants from the Republic living in Western Australia in 1991 were Catholic and that 61 per cent of Catholics in Ireland still attend Mass regularly (although attendance dropped from about 85 per cent in 1990), a strong attendance is hardly surprising. In 1988 members were reminded that 'this [Mass] is the highlight of St Patrick's Day'. It was not until March 1997 that a promotional piece for the Mass included the words 'all denominations welcome'.

Changing attitudes to religious issues can be seen in the pages of the Nuacht. A joke which was printed in the Nuacht in 1983 probably would not go into the newsletter today. The joke was that the Mother Superior when asking children at the local (Irish) school what they wanted to be when they grew up, was shocked by one child's answer. She asked the child to repeat her answer and the girl replied 'a prostitute'. 'Oh that's a relief...I thought you said a Protestant!' The joke can be read equally as anti-Protestant or anti-Catholic but either way the changes of tone of the newsletters and the changing nature of the Club as it sought to keep going and maintain its purpose in the 1990s would most likely preclude its publication.

By the 1980s and 1990s, the profile and circumstances of Irish immigrants to Western Australia had changed from the preceding decades. The difficulties of attracting some of these people to the Irish Club can be read in its newsletters of the 1980s and 1990s and identified through interviews with some of the later arrived immigrants. The 'home away from home' of the Irish Club was an imagined home grounded in an Ireland now past and consequently had little appeal for the newcomers. A woman who came to Western Australia in the 1970s commented that on attending a function at the Irish Club soon after arriving she thought the whole set-up, dresses and all, was 20 years out of date. A man who

57 Nuacht, March/April, 1986.
59 BIPR, Community Profiles 1991 Census Ireland Born, p.34.
63 Joan Mangan, interviewed by author, 1998. Tape and transcript held by author. The comment was made off tape.
also came to Western Australia in the 1970s commented in reference to his experience of Irish Clubs in general that ‘the common element was that people were there who had been in Australia for over 20, some of them 30 years and hadn’t moved on in their views of the world’. A man who arrived in the mid-1980s said that he considered the Irish Club to be in a timewarp of Irishness. It was also his opinion that there is a polarisation of Irish in Perth between those who wish to recreate Ireland in Australia and those to whom this is anathema. A young woman member wrote in 1994 to comment on the lack of young people in the club. In 1995 it was raised at the AGM that Irish theme pubs (the first of which, ‘Fenians’, opened in 1987) were competitors for young clientele previously attracted to the club and that the average age of Irish Club patrons appeared to be increasing each year. These are fair comments particularly when the Irish Club lost its monopoly on serving Guinness in Western Australia as a result of the Irish pubs. However, considering the remarks made by people who arrived years before Irish theme pubs were gracing the streets of Perth and Fremantle, it is likely that problems already existed which the theme pubs only exacerbated. Opportunities due to technological changes in transport and telecommunication which make both cheaper, faster and more available mean the more recent immigrants can comparatively easily and cheaply revisit or telephone Ireland than could their predecessors of the 1950s and 1960s. All these circumstances reduce the need for the Irish Club model. The leaving of Ireland did not have to be so final any more.

A merger between the Celtic and Irish Clubs was proposed in mid-1985. The Irish Club, still at Townshend Road Subiaco, was at full capacity at that time (550) with a waiting list of 150. The Celtic Club had sold their property at 26 St George’s Terrace in 1969. The selling process was by tender and they received an unexpectedly good price of $800,000. They built large new premises at 2 King’s Park Road, West Perth which were opened in 1970 by the Premier, Sir David Brand. Numbers soared as there was a ‘rush on membership by young

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65 Off-tape comment from a 1998 interview.
67 Nuacht, August, 1996.
68 Paddy and Lena Costello interview, 1994. The first Guinness poured in Western Australia was at the Irish Club on St Patrick’s Day, 1981.
professional men’. Membership peaked at 3,184 in 1974 but was down to 2,401 by 1981. It continued to fall; to 800 in March 1983; 600 in March 1984 and 400 by May 1985. Reasons attributed for the dramatic drop in membership were essentially stricter enforcement of drink driving laws and increased competition from hotels and taverns due to the liberalising of liquor laws with regard to opening hours and entertainment. Many of the new members were from the State government building across the road and as these workers were relocated to, for instance the Water Authority in West Perth and the Education Department in East Perth, membership fell. The Celtic Club, having sold this property in 1984 because it had proved too large and expensive for their needs, were in temporary premises at the time of the proposed merger. They had about two million dollars to invest. The benefits of merging were that a property jointly purchased would require no borrowings plus the membership would double. From the Irish Club’s point of view, although there was some concern that the happy Irish Club atmosphere would disappear, members voted 135 to 33 in favour of the merger at the AGM held on 10 July 1985. All Irish Club members had to become members of the Celtic Club in order that the liquor license of the Celtic Club could be transferred to the new premises as no new license would be issued by the Licensing Court. All was set to go ahead and a property had been purchased in Leederville by the Celtic Club, when in January 1986 Irish Club members were advised that a dissenting group within the Celtic Club had obtained a temporary court injunction preventing the Celtic Club committee from admitting the Irish Club members. In the March/April newsletter it was reported that the Celtic Club committee had been sacked and an Interim Committee appointed. The merger was in abeyance.

72 Conversation, Hayden.
74 Nuacht, April, 1985.
75 Nuacht, September/October 1985.
76 Battye Library, Irish Club Papers, Letter from Irish Club President to members, 2 September 1985.
78 Battye Library, Irish Club Papers, Letter from Irish Club President to members, 29 January 1986.
Due to the impasse, the Irish Club formally withdrew all applications for membership and the merger sub-committee turned its attention to consideration of alternative futures for the Irish Club. The Celtic Club made a profit on the sale of the Leederville premises and decided to remain at and renovate their 'temporary' premises at 48 Ord Street, West Perth. By 1991, Celtic Club membership was up to 705 but fell to 616 in June 1992. Jim Hayden, who was in favour of the merger, felt that it was defeated during some bitter debates by a group who were resistant to change and who wanted to keep all the Celtic Club’s assets for the existing members. Paddy Costello ventured the opinion that the merger failed on elitist grounds as the expressed aims of the clubs were similar and it made good financial sense. He mentioned dress code as a stumbling block and as representative of this elitism. By October 1994, the dress code was relaxed at the Celtic Club to allow dress jeans after 5pm but tee-shirts and runners were still banned.

That the Celtic Club still has an obviously different and more formal tone than the Irish Club can be discerned through the newsletters. It is more expensive to join – a nomination fee of $150 plus $115 per year in 1992 as compared with a $10 nomination fee and $36 per annum to join the Irish Club. Affirmation that the Irish Club is a family club occurs throughout its newsletters. This is not without its problems. Notes in the newsletters mention that ‘children are welcome … parents are expected to exercise sufficient supervision … unfortunately, this has not always been the case’. In an Open Forum reported in 1990, a major issue raised was the problem of parents not controlling their children. Uncontrolled children were mentioned again in 1991. As the Celtic Club was very much a business club, the addition of children could well have caused problems and was a further indication of the difference in style of the two clubs.

The Irish and Celtic Clubs were the two major clubs of the early postwar decades and both remain in existence into the twenty-first century. The longevity of the Celtic Club appears to be due to prudent economic management and to its

80 Conversation, Hayden.
82 Conversation, Hayden.
reshaping as an attractive business club. It also benefited from the newer organisations springing up amongst the Irish in Perth. The establishment of corporate membership drew some of the clubs of the 1980s and 1990s (and many of their individual members) to the Celtic Club. The longevity of the Irish Club is testament to the fact that it obviously met real needs of some of the immigrants (and others) who chose to frequent it. Irish music, such an important medium of culture, was (and is) constantly in evidence. Newcomers with little chance of going home to Ireland could go there and be warmed by friendships and social contact. Useful connections regarding potential work, accommodation or finding relatives could be made in the Club.88 It was a family club from the beginning and developed a reputation as a marriage bureau89 The Irish Club has a well-established reputation as a place to enjoy yourself in Perth for both the Irish and non-Irish but its value to some of the new immigrants of the 1980s and 1990s is questionable.

Other Irish-associated clubs developed from the Irish Club, some existing separately, others remaining basically within it. The Irish Theatre Players grew out of the first Fleadh in 1981.90 The struggle over how to accommodate the old and the new of things Irish is also played out in the ranks of the Theatre players through the choice of which Irish plays to stage. Plays which have a rural formula of publican, priest and farmer work, as they suit what mature Irish audiences in Perth wish to see about Ireland. A member of the Players who has been involved from its beginning has found that some of the older patrons of the Irish Club wish to remember or idealise Ireland as different from how it is today, even though so many of them now travel frequently to Ireland. They do not want to have Ireland represented in any way which, in their opinion, contaminates it.91 Those wishing to produce contemporary plays tread a fine line as to what will be acceptable to their primarily Irish audience.

The Theatre Players have now been operating for two decades. As was the experience of the Irish Club, their days of having nothing drew them together to create a successful unit. As the group became more affluent, it became harder to attract people to audition. An Irish Theatre restaurant, the Blarney Castle

91 Tony Bray, interviewed by Catherine Hall, 1994. Tape held by interviewer.
Restaurant, was opened in 1987 by Paddy and Vera Larkin who had been very active in the Irish Club, appropriately in organising entertainment and food respectively. A visit there by Irish arrivals in 1989 drew the following response in answer to the survey question concerning why people did not join Irish organisations: ‘on our first night out in WA we found the atmosphere to be stage Irish and totally different to the Ireland we had just left – very off putting’.\(^92\) As far as the Theatre Players were concerned the establishment of the Blarney Castle had the effect of diluting the pool of available actors. Another Irish-flavoured theatre group, the Celtic Circle, was formed in 1991 which, while not exclusively looking to produce Irish plays, provided even more competition for the Irish actors in Perth. The flow of immigration also has had its effect with the slowdown in the 1990s causing a noticeable drop in potential players. Despite these difficulties, the Irish Theatre Players is still a viable and active organisation.

The Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), formed from an Irish Club nucleus in 1969, was part of the founding Association of GAA of Australia in 1974 and was registered as an incorporated body in 1981. By the mid-1970s there were nine active GAA clubs in Western Australia but their number had reduced to six by 1999. Gaelic football is the main game played. There is very little hurling or camogie.\(^93\) This association now operates outside the Irish Club and has been discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

Another group operating from the Irish Club is the Rose of Tralee Committee which was formed in 1987.\(^94\) Its purpose is to organise to send an entrant to the annual (since 1959) competition held, not surprisingly, in Tralee in Ireland. It is a type of beauty contest searching for a girl who meets the description of Mary, the Rose of Tralee as in the song of the same name:

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\begin{align*}
've & \text{ she was lovely and fair as the Rose of the Summer,} \\
& \text{ yet it was not her beauty alone that won me,} \\
& \text{ oh no, ‘twas the truth in her eyes ever dawning ...'} \\
\end{align*}
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The competition seeks to connect young women of the diaspora to Ireland by idealising the notion of the Irish colleen. This perpetuation of such a stereotype is

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\(^{92}\) R89F2.

\(^{93}\) Tom Kearns interviewed by Catherine Hall, 28 January 1994. Tape held by interviewer. Also Program of the Australasian Gaelic Football and Hurling Championships, Perth 1999.

Camogie is women’s hurling.


\(^{95}\) Nuacht, August, 1993.
a conscious tourist-attracting ploy and an example of modern marketing, which is not to say that all involved do not enjoy it. The competition is romantic and whimsical, and its international aspect means it is aimed very strongly at the internationally scattered Irish. Paul Tanham, the chairperson during most of the 1990s, describes it as ‘a charming competition’ which ‘puts many of the girls in touch with their Irishness for the first time’.96 One Western Australian winner, Nyomi Horgan, who is fourth generation Australian on one side of her family and fifth generation on the other is a good example of what Tanham means.97 The Rose of Tralee group stays within the ambit of the Irish Club. A glamorous ball with a raffle which has a trip to Ireland as the major prize is the main means of funding the quest. It seems to be a very light-hearted affair which gives everybody pleasure. It is not quite the same type of romanticised vision of Ireland as the Irish Club appears to be preserving and as is illustrated by the experiences of the Irish Theatre Players. That ‘romanticised vision’ differs from ‘fake and touristy’ in that it appears to come from people’s nostalgia and sense of a lost home and is not orchestrated by Bord Failte (Irish Tourist Board). The Rose of Tralee competition can be seen as charming and does not have to be defended as ‘real’. It also fits well into establishing Irish as ethnic by having such a direct connection with Ireland and highlighting apparent Irish characteristics.

There are other groups within the ambit of the Irish Club such as the traditional musicians who comprise a Perth branch of the worldwide Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann which formed in Perth about 1982 who operate partially from the Irish Club.98 Many Irish groups have performed at the Irish Club over its years of operation. The Celtic Pipes and Drum Band, which was to change its name in 1971 to the West Australian Irish Pipe Band, began in 1967 at the Irish Club. The band was still performing in 1982 but had very few Irish members by that time. It still exists but has been renamed the Armadale City Pipe Band to reflect the support it receives from Armadale City Council. It has lost its connection with the Irish Club.99 Interest in Irish dance supports seven dance schools in Perth. Teams

97 Nuacht, September, 1995.
98 Nuacht, May, 1988. The English translation is Traditional Irish Musicians Association. It is a worldwide non-political, non-denominational association with headquarters in Dublin. Its aims are focused on promoting traditional Irish music, dance and to foster the Irish language.
99 Conversation with June Corcoran who has had an association with the band for over twenty years, 9 January 2002.
have been sent to national competitions in the eastern states since the early 1980s although national competitions have been held since the late 1960s. Perth hosted the national competition for the first time in 1998. There are also Gaelic language organisations which have associations with the Irish Club.

Interest in matters Irish received a boost in the last couple of decades for a combination of reasons. The visit by the Irish President, Dr Hillery in 1985, the Prime Ministers Hawke and Haughey meeting in Australia in 1987 and in Ireland in 1988 highlighted the Irish-Australian connection. The first of the bi-ennial Irish-Australian Conference series was held in Canberra in 1981 and Patrick O'Farrell published his acclaimed book, *The Irish in Australia* in 1986. There was a changing demographic profile of immigrants. The 1970s saw the beginning of an increase in the numbers of backpackers both to and from Ireland as the cost of airfares dropped. The number of short-term arrivals (intending to stay 12 months or less) to Australia from both the United Kingdom (UK) and Ireland had increased dramatically. Australia-wide, the number of short-term arrivals changed from virtually zero in 1947 to 300,000 in 1993. It is not possible to isolate the actual figure for the Irish in this category in Western Australia at any particular time but these short-term stayers must inflate the figures of Irish-born. Although not permanent settlers, they add a substantial presence and colour to the Irish scene in Western Australia; a small example of which is by their contribution to the GAA.

A further and significant change was a growing awareness of multiculturalism in Australia which caused some to worry that Irish identity could easily be obliterated as other cultures were celebrated. Ireland itself was a generation into rapid economic growth closely followed by social change which was creating a society very different from that of the 1950s. The fact that the second highest number of migrants from the Republic who arrived in Australia between 1986 and 1991 settled in Western Australia, contributed to a mushrooming in this state of Irish activities to meet their needs which were in many instances different from

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102 Ibid., p.319.
the needs of those who arrived in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s. The earlier postwar group came from a mix of rural and urban backgrounds with the typical migrant being a young, male construction or building worker. This profile gradually changed to include more women, young families and an increasingly skilled and professional population of Irish immigrants. Given the presence of the new immigrants, combined with the growing concern of existing Irish-Australians about being rendered invisible by multiculturalism, it is not surprising therefore that the 1980s heralded a change in the face of Irish clubs in Western Australia. Several new clubs and organisations were formed including the W.B. Yeats Society, the Australian-Irish Heritage Association (IABA), the Irish Australian Business Association (IABA), the Tara Club and the Claddagh Club. Only these five will be discussed in any detail. Also formed were the Trinity College Dublin Association (mid-1970s), the Irish Graduates Association and the Irish General Practitioners Association among others.

The W.B.Yeats Society, formed in 1982, had as its genesis a reaction to the ubiquitous Irish joke which had resurfaced in the 1970s and 1980s. John Kirkaldy in an article ‘The Return of the Irish Joke’ traces the history of the English-generated anti-Irish joke. He identifies the same issues which sufficiently irritated Irish immigrant Joe O’Sullivan, prominent Irish-Australian author Dame Mary Durack (now deceased) and others, to attempt to negate the images presented through the jokes in which the Irish were made to appear not only stupid but often malicious and vindictive. The outbreak of the Troubles in Northern Ireland in 1968-69 spawned a huge upsurge of anti-Irish jokes in Britain. The standard format of Mick, Paddy and a sensible Englishman could be used quite comfortably as an analogy for Irish fighting each other with the role of the superior Englishman being played by the British army (and the British Government). Such a view blocks an understanding of the previous or current role of the British in contributing to the conflict and allows the Irish to be totally blamed. After all, what more could be expected from thick, violent people?

104 BIPR, Community Profiles 1991 Census Ireland Born, p.7. The highest number went to NSW.
105 ibid., p.5.
107 Group Captain Joe O’Sullivan came to Australia in 1966. He is Irish-born but lived in England serving in the RAF from 1939-1966. He was awarded the Order of Australia Medal for services to Irish organisations in Perth in 1999.
At first the role of Protestant violence was virtually completely ignored as the joke paradigm is also predicated on people being priest-ridden and ignorant. By the late 1970s, the inability of the Protestants to behave in a way acceptable to English standards ensured that they too, became the butt of anti-Irish humour.¹⁰⁸ The Irish joke gave a (flawed) framework for people to ‘understand’ what was happening in Northern Ireland and enabled them to distance themselves from the events. Massive changes and improvements in communication since earlier waves of Irish jokes have facilitated their nearly instant dissemination not just throughout Britain via television, radio and newspaper but also internationally. Kirkaldy comments that during a period of residence in Australia between 1974 and 1979 he observed Irish jokes to be very popular. He accounts for this as a legacy of anti-Irish sentiment from colonial times when there certainly were Australian versions of Irish jokes expressing similar sentiments to those published in *Punch* and other English papers during the nineteenth century.

As stated earlier, this upsurge of jokes was noticed and resented by Joe O’Sullivan. The final straw for him was in 1981 when he saw that the house magazine of the large supermarket chain, G.J. Coles Pty Ltd, contained a complete page of ‘jokes’. He sent it to the Irish Ambassador, Mr Joseph Small, who threatened a nationwide boycott by the Irish unless the store apologised, which it did. O’Sullivan and others believed that satisfying as that result was, more was necessary to counteract the images of the Irish which were being understood from the jokes. They concluded that action to highlight the cultural achievements of the Irish would be the answer. The formation of the W.B. Yeats Society was the result.

The W.B. Yeats Society has no office bearers or constitution. In 1996, the mailing list had about 100 names on it.¹⁰⁹ Its collective occasions are called ‘gatherings’ and the invitations or program of events have a poetic, rather romantic charm. The gatherings of 1987 record mentions of the Annual Yeats Summer School in Sligo, Ireland and a scholarship committee is formed.¹¹⁰ The Society funded a Bicentenary gift of memorial doors with handles featuring the

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¹¹⁰ Professor Denis Haskell of the English Department, University of Western Australia was a recipient of one of these scholarships. He advised that the scholarship is awarded from Ireland and covers costs of attending the Summer School and but not the fare from Australia which individual recipients meet. Conversation, 10 February 1999.
black swan of Western Australia and the mute white swan of Ireland designed by Charlie Smith and Joan Walsh-Smith, sculptors and designers from Waterford and now resident in Western Australia. The doors are in a church in Drumcliffe, Co. Sligo where Yeats is buried and were presented by a delegation of members in 1989.

By 1990, a more public profile for the society was emerging as it combined with the Westralian Library Foundation and the Library Information Service of Western Australia to present an exhibition in the Alexander Library entitled ‘The Literary Laureates of Ireland’, which was opened before an invited audience on 11 June 1990. In the same year, the society, with the Irish Theatre Players, organised what is believed to be the first West Australian celebrations of Bloomsday named after the central figure in James Joyce’s novel, *Ulysses*. Membership of the W.B. Yeats Society is by word of mouth and effectively is by invitation only.

The emergence of the W.B. Yeats Society is significant in several ways. That it was formed at all was an interesting reflection of the reaction of certain members of the diaspora to unflattering and inaccurate stereotyping of Irish people. Why did Coles respond to the request to excise the jokes and apologise? Was the threatened boycott an effective threat? Were there enough Irish who would respond to it to make a dent in Coles’ business? Was there a new respect for the Irish in Australia filtering down from official channels? The most likely explanation is that the effect of multiculturalism as a way to view immigrants in Australia was having some effect on Australian businesses and people in general. The rapid advances made by the Whitlam government in the early 1970s with regard to multiculturalism paved the way for a protest of this type to be worth making. An outcome of the ambassador’s action was that it inspired others to also act with pride.

At that time in Perth, the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Irish Club was not presenting a view of Irish culture diverse enough or highbrow enough to satisfy the sprinkling of well-educated Irish people who arrived in the early postwar decades and whose numbers among the immigrants were now increasing. The rich Irish literary tradition of drama was finding voice but not the prose or poetry. An element of self-deprecation typical of earlier responses by Irish to Irish jokes

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111 *Artswest*, vol. 1, no.4, July-August 1991, p. 28.
112 Conversation with O’Sullivan, 4 February 1999.
Chapter Seven: Irish Clubs and Organisations

existed in the Irish Club. For example, the Irish Club advertised the first Bloomsday performance mentioned previously as a flower show, ‘Blooms Day’. Notices were sometimes written backwards on their windows with an explanation – ‘we’re Irish’. Apart from a likely philosophical difference of opinion on Irish culture, the Irish Club was very busy establishing and running its newly acquired premises in Subiaco and was a successful enterprise as it stood. The Celtic Club was concerned with establishing itself as a business club in West Perth and Irish culture of any style does not appear to be a concern. A vacuum existed which could be filled by those wishing to show a different picture to Australians of the Irish both in Ireland and Australia.

The W.B.Yeats Society was formed as part of an attempt to present the Irish in a way which negated the green beer, quaintly stupid (and potentially violent) stereotype. With its strong literary focus it was not strictly speaking just an ‘Irish’ club. Despite that, it had the effect of bringing together several members, mainly Irish-born, who contemplated and discussed what their ‘Irishness’ meant in Western Australia. They considered ways to develop awareness amongst the Irish community and the general public of the contribution made by the Irish in the development of Australia and of ways to highlight Irish culture. These reflective discussions took place in the late 1980s at the home of the sculptors Charlie Smith and Joan Walsh-Smith in Gidgegannup and became known to the participants as the ‘Gidgegannup Dimension’. The meetings were the genesis of a further Irish group which was to become known as the Australian-Irish Heritage Association (AIHA).

The 1988 Bicentennial is noted in the papers of the AIHA as having been a catalyst for the Irish to start to consider themselves more self consciously as either an ethnic group in Australia or alternately as co-founders of Australia and therefore not ‘ethnic’ at all in the sense that it is popularly understood as a separate cultural or national group. There is obviously a potential for difference implicit in that statement between recently arrived Irish-born and those who are Irish-Australian of several generations. The consideration of whether the Irish

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114 *Celtic Connections*, vol.11.1, 1996. In 1996, membership was estimated to be about half Irish-born, quarter of Irish descent with the rest reflecting the international appeal of Yeats.

115 Papers of the Australian-Irish Heritage Association (AIHA), copies held by author.
were ethnic was already an issue within the Perth Irish community. The Irish Club had been presenting a program on the community radio station 6NR since 1981. Unlike ethnic groups which broadcast in a language other than English, no specific government funding was available to subsidise their program. The station in most years provided them with a subsidy which was half of what non-English language programs received.\(^{116}\) A submission to the Committee of Review of the Special Broadcasting Service in 1984 which argued that language alone was not the determinant of culture and that mainstream English language broadcasting did not address the cultural heritage of the Irish in Australia, did not assist the situation.\(^{117}\)

The inability of the loosely termed 'Irish Community' in Western Australia to organise themselves to mark the Bicentennial in any tangible way apart from the memorial doors of the W.B. Yeats Society, gave rise to informal talks between the Irish Club and the Gidgegannup Dimension to attempt to form some sort of structure which could prevent this happening again. The specific target in 1990 was to plan some type of Irish-oriented project in Western Australia to mark the centenary of Australian Federation in 2001. The initial suggestion was that the two founding groups would control the project but would encourage participation from the other major Irish groups in Perth.\(^{118}\) The draft proposal emphasised culture because 'Ireland is a major player in cultural matters, a minor one economically and Irish politics is far too hot a potato'.\(^{119}\) Mooted cultural events were the sponsoring of Irish artists to Western Australia and vice versa and working on gaining publicity for these events. Artist was intended to be used in a wide sense.

By late 1990, a draft of the then named 'Irish-Australian Cultural Heritage Trust of W.A. Inc' was in existence. The major aim stated that the 'Trust is a non-political, non-sectarian organisation which has been formed to highlight to the Australian public the cultural contribution made to Australia by the Irish people through their involvement in the arts, sport, the professions, agriculture,

\(^{116}\) Conversation with Joe Crozier 15 January 2002, broadcaster of the Irish program under the auspices of the Irish Club from 1981 to its completion in 2000 by which time the radio station, now Curtin Radio, had effectively ceased to be a community station.

\(^{117}\) *The Western Gael* (Irish Club), December 1985, p.10 and Crozier.

\(^{118}\) Draft Proposal for an Australia/Ireland Cultural Trust, January 1990. Papers of the AIHA held by author.

\(^{119}\) ibid.
commerce and industry.’ Spheres of activity traditionally associated with the Irish such as law enforcement, labouring (either as domestic servants or navvies), religious orders and politics are singularly absent, perhaps indicating that the more recently arrived Irish wished to disassociate themselves from either humbler or controversial pasts. A new Irish ethnicity was to be forged. The cultural contribution to be highlighted here was presumably not to be found in the Irish Club although by this time the Irish Theatre Players had been running for nine years. The *Fleadh* of 1990 was cancelled because of lack of content so perhaps something else was needed to boost Irish culture in Perth.¹²⁰ Among other aims, the new Trust stated that the ‘Trust attaches particular emphasis on maintaining the awareness of Australian-born Irish of their Irish heritage and the contribution made by their forefathers to the development of Australia’. This was quite a different emphasis from the Irish Club which, particularly in its early days, was catering for the Irish immigrants, striving to create a ‘home away from home’ for them.

After a year or so of organisational experimentation, the newly formed Australian-Irish Association was launched at a black tie St Patrick’s Day dinner in March, 1993, and by the end of the month, its first *Journal* was ready. The push for publicity and recognition continued. By March 1994 the organisation had been incorporated as the Australian-Irish Heritage Association (AIHA), the ‘heritage’ being added at the suggestion of Patrick O’Farrell. The aims were consolidated as:

- To disseminate information on Australia’s Irish heritage.
- To research and record material related to this research.
- To recognise and honour significant contributions to Australia by persons of Irish extraction.
- To co-operate with organisations having similar aims.
- To foster closer cultural relationships with Ireland.

The motto is ‘Non-Political, Non-Sectarian, Emphatically Australian’ which is quite a contrast with that of the Irish Club formulated over 40 years previously namely ‘For the Glory of God and the Honour of Ireland’. The *Journal* of Autumn 1994 made clear what the association is not about, namely ‘maudlin sentimentality’. Nor does it ‘plan to attract members who pine for a green land far

¹²⁰ *Nuacht*, June, 1990.
away peopled with saints and scholars’. It also states that it does ‘not presume to speak for the Australian/Irish community’. The first two statements make it plain that this is an organisation quite different in style from the Irish Club. In the interests of diplomacy, the latter statement could be an assurance to other Irish clubs or organisations that the AIHA does not have hegemonic aims.

The AIHA has developed a close association with the Celtic Club which was now in very gracious premises at 48 Ord Street, West Perth. This association with the AIHA suited the Celtic Club, not just by providing more income and custom but as part of the re-Hiberianisation of the Celtic Club which was beginning to occur.121 Corporate membership was introduced to the Celtic Club in June 1993. The AIHA was accepted as a corporate member in mid 1994.122 A note of caution was sounded at the AIHA meeting of 26 September 1994 that association with the Celtic Club could indicate a weakening of ties with the Irish Club. An attempt at even-handedness between use of and association with the Irish and Celtic Clubs is evident in the subsequent Minutes. There is no question that the premises and facilities of the Celtic Club are superior in terms of decor and appointment to those of the Irish Club as might be expected from such a wealthy organisation.

Association with high status people and events continued to be the fare of the AIHA. Mary Durack was the first patron until her death in 1994. A lecture series featuring prominent Irish or Irish-Australian speakers and named in her honour was instituted in 1995. The second (and current) patron is Sir Ernest Lee-Steere, the grandson of C.Y. O’Connor.123 The role of patron since 1998 has been shared by Denis McInerney, a successful Perth businessman (not Irish-born) who has shown great generosity through sponsorship to the organisation. The Brendan Award was instigated in 1996 ‘for conspicuous service to Australia’s Irish heritage’.124 Two prizes were presented in 1997 with one going to local (Irish) musicians Sean and Margaret Doherty of Comhaltas Ceoltóiri Eireann. The second was a master stroke for both publicity and prestige as the prize was

121 Bob Johnston who had been on the Celtic Club committee since at least 1991-92 (Celtic Club News, June 1992), on becoming president was reported in the Celtic Club News of August/September 1996 as saying that he is keen to restore more of an ‘Irish flavour’ to the club.
122 AIHA papers, Minutes 26 July 1994. Papers held by AIHA.
124 It was named for Saint Brendan the Navigator, the quintessential traveller in Irish lore and able to be appropriated as the first of the Irish diaspora for the purposes of the award, A-IHA papers, Minutes 1 August 1996.
awarded to the high profile and well respected President Mary Robinson of Ireland. The Irish ambassador came to Perth to accept it on her behalf on 22 March 1997 and President Robinson accepted it personally at a reception at Aras an Uachtarain on 25 August 1997 when 29 people, some from Perth, attended. A literary prize was introduced 1997 and various lectures and seminars are conducted regularly.

In 1997, the AIHA started to negotiate with representatives from the Murdoch and Notre Dame universities towards the establishment of a Centre for Irish Studies. By December, agreement had been reached that a Centre would be established at Murdoch where a room and administrative support would be provided. Further support was given in 1998 when Murdoch University allocated one of its PhD scholarships, commencing in 1999, to be awarded to someone working through the Centre. Associate Professor Bob Reece was appointed Director with Ian Chambers, then a PhD student, acting in a voluntary capacity as Executive Officer. The Centre, which was the first in Australia, was a joint venture with the AIHA. Other scholarships, some for academic pursuits, some for people or projects outside of academia, were funded through donated money raised by the Irish Heritage Scholarship Foundation (IHSF). The Foundation members included many influential members of the Perth Irish or Irish-Australian community in addition to some with academic connections. The Foundation was directly linked to the AIHA. The opening of the Centre itself was timed to coincide with a visit to Western Australia by the recently elected President of Ireland, Mary McAleese. The President opened the Centre amid considerable publicity on 1 September 1998. In 2000, differences of opinion on the role of the Centre precipitated a split between the AIHA and the Centre resulting in the AIHA withdrawing from it. The scholarship foundation has been reconstituted as the Australian-Irish Cultural Foundation (AICF) and works through the AIHA only.

It is significant that a driving principle of the AIHA was to attach 'particular emphasis on maintaining the awareness of Australian-born Irish of their Irish heritage and the contribution made by their forefathers to the development of

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125 President Robinson was popular for, among other attributes, the attention she paid to the diaspora symbolised by the light always left shining in the kitchen window of her residence, Aras an Uachtarain in Phoenix Park, Dublin.

Australia'. This is quite a different emphasis from the Irish Club, which particularly in its earlier days, was catering for the Irish immigrants, striving to create a 'home away from home' for them which was an Irish-leaning view and rather past-oriented. While the AIHA often looks at historical issues, its focus is on the importance, past or present, of Irish in Australia, a view which is both present and future-centred. It is ironic that those more recent immigrants who arrived at a time when to return was a real option and to revisit certainly was, are the group which choose to focus on the consolidation of the Irish in Australia. Conversely, the earlier postwar immigrants who, in fact, are likely to form part of a consolidated Irish-Australia through lack of choice enabling them to leave Australia, choose to focus on a more past-centred view with Ireland in the forefront, not Irish-Australia.

The AIHA emerged in the same period as then Irish President Mary Robinson was harnessing the word 'diaspora' to indicate diversity and as 'embodying the multifaceted nature of native Irish identities'. She was encouraging this attitude of diversity in Ireland so that all varieties of Irishness can be accepted and not split on sectarian or any other lines. While the Irish Club had an informal aim to unite all Irish in Western Australia, it maintained a close connection with the Catholic Church particularly in its earlier years, which was alienating for some. The AIHA is determinedly non-sectarian and conducts ecumenical services to coincide with Australia Day. A Protestant (Church of Ireland) man from the Republic states that it is the only Irish organisation which he has felt that he could truly belong to in 50 years spent outside of Ireland. The culture of other Irish organisations had always made him feel uncomfortable and regarded as 'not quite Irish'.

One of the other new organisations which formed in 1980s was the Irish Australian Business Association (IABA), which was established in 1985. Its aims are to increase business networks and social contacts. An advertisement states 'we are not a charitable organisation ... we are totally business

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127 AIHA papers. Document entitled 'Draft' of The Irish-Australian Cultural Heritage Trust Of W.A. Inc., 1990. The organisation name is a precursor of what was to evolve into the AIHA.
129 R63M15.
130 Comments made on survey form by R63M15.
131 Constitution of Irish Australian Business Association Incorporated.
While it was happy to be associated with the Irish Club (as is the case in Queensland for instance) and grew out of the Irish Club to some extent, it was perceived as a group of white collar professional people and did not attract people whose businesses lay in trade areas. The organisation faltered but by 1989 there was sufficient interest to re-establish it. A new Object clause was added to the constitution in 1990 which did indicate its target group to be white collar rather than trade related. It reads [The objects of the Association shall be] 'advancing the business interests of the individual members by providing a network of business contacts for the Irish and Irish connected people in Australian professions and business as managers or owners'. A new clause relating to membership is also added, namely that 'prospective members must be involved in business or be a member(s) of a professional body'. Links to the emerging Celtic Tiger are facilitated by modern communication technology and ease of travel. The IABA has an association with the Celtic Club as it became the first corporate member of that club in 1993. Unlike the Irish Club, but in common with its contemporary the AIHA, the IABA is an organisation with a present and future-centred orientation rather than a leaning towards a previous life in Ireland.

Another new and major Irish organisation to emerge in the late 1980s-early 1990s was the Tara Social Sporting and Cultural Club of WA (Tara Club) which was established and incorporated in 1990. Most of its founders were either immigrants from the earlier postwar decades or Australian-born Irish. It has quite distinct differences from its contemporaries, the business and heritage associations. For instance, in its constitution, it only claims to be non-sectarian but does not mention being non-political. The nationalist sympathies in the wording of its constitution have echoes of the early Celtic Club although the motto of the club is 'two traditions, one nation, one family'. There are two categories of membership. A full member needs to be 'of Irish birth or Irish descent and in sympathy with Irish unity or nationality'. A loophole is provided as 'any associate member may be granted full membership at the discretion of the committee'. Associate members need to be 'in sympathy with Irish cultural, traditional and

133 Conversation with Paul MacKell, member of IABA, 13 August 1998.
nationalistic aspirations’. The president has to be Irish-born. By contrast people eligible to be members of the AIHA are those ‘with an interest in Australia’s Irish heritage’. No other indicators of Irishness are necessary. The aims of the Tara Club are similar to those of the Irish Club namely ‘to actively encourage and promote the Irish Language, Cultures, Pastimes and Traditions’ while the references to nationalist sympathies has echoes of the early Celtic Club.

The name of the club is not so much indicative of its activities as of the interests represented on its committee, which are sporting and cultural. It serves these interests and its objects through its sole function, the organising of an annual St Patrick’s Day march and family concert in Fremantle. The first of the Tara Club-organised marches was in 1991. They marked a return to secular celebrations of St Patrick’s Day. As discussed in Chapter Two, the Catholic Church did not play a major role in St Patrick’s celebrations until 1896 in Sydney. Previously, the day was an Irish festival, not specifically Catholic, and declarations of loyalty to the British crown accompanied the declarations of Irish nationalism. This appears to have been the case in Perth in 1896, as St Patrick’s Day was ‘largely observed as a holiday’ with a cycling race, procession, river excursion and picnic sports for participants to enjoy. As in the eastern states, the Perth St Patrick’s Day celebrations in the 1950s and 1960s were inextricably linked to the Catholic Church particularly the schools. In 1952, The Record reported that 4,000 children were expected for Solem High Mass at Subiaco Oval with the Archbishop presiding. Sports and Irish dancing would follow later. The following year the event was held on Perth Oval but Subiaco was the usual venue until the central mass and rally stopped in 1965. Archbishop Mannix, a great supporter of St Patrick’s Day, died in Victoria in 1963, and after his death the spirit went out of the triumphalist Irish-Catholic marches or rallies. Equally significantly, by this time there were fewer Irish among the Catholic religious and among the congregations to support the emphasis on St

137 ibid.
138 Constitution of the AIHA of W.A. Incorporated.
139 Program of the fourth march held in 1994.
141 ibid., p.143.
142 *West Australian*, 17 March 1896.
143 *Record*, 13 March 1952.
144 *Record*, 12 March 1953; and *Record*, 9 March 1967.
Patrick. At the head of the local Catholic hierarchy, Irish-born Archbishop Redmond Prendiville died in 1968 and was succeeded by English-born Archbishop Sir Launcelot Goody. In 1966, The Record reported that the St Mary's Cathedral Choir was to sing at the Irish Concert and mentions that there will be seven different nationalities in the choir and their families will be in the audience. Readers were assured that this mixed group will all ‘love the Irishness’.

St Patrick’s Day marches originated in the United States at the end of the 1700s but even there, their popularity ebbs and flows. Parades were discontinued in 1896 in Chicago but were revived in the 1960s when ‘a new generation of Irish-Americans began to seek their cultural roots’. This is a similar sentiment to that expressed by a founding member of the Tara Club in Perth, Francis Conlon, the English-born son of a fiercely nationalist Irish father. He had several motivations for starting the club. He felt it was ‘appropriate to be aware of and have pride in your cultural ancestry’. He considers it was necessary to have a public celebration of Irish culture, that it needed to be showcased and brought out of a cloistered atmosphere and that that was missing in Perth. The Irish Club was busy and fully committed to its own program and he felt there was no reason why they should have a monopoly on matters Irish in Perth. There was also satisfaction to be gained from pursuing one’s own idea. In common with the AIHA, he felt Irish culture had been popularly downgraded in Australia. He also considers that to honour Irish culture was good for Irish-Australians and for Australian culture generally, comprised as it is of migrants. He had felt as a child that Irish jokes were unfair especially in view of his father’s suffering but he does not regard this as a conscious motivation to start the club. Awareness of what the role of the Irish might be in a climate of multiculturalism was a later point for consideration for him. The GAA, the Australian Irish Dancing Association,

147 Record, 3 March 1966.
149 ibid., p.88.
150 Conversation with Francis Conlon, 24 November 1998.
151 This feeling that there is something for Australia to gain from exposure to Irish culture was also expressed by Tony Bray, an early and long term member of the Irish Theatre Players. He feels Australia is a cosmopolitan, rootless, consumer society and that the Irish Club (by housing Irish culture) somehow taps into the soul of both Irish and non-Irish people. Bray, interview.
152 Conversation, Conlon.
Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann, and Irish Language Groups are all encouraged by the Tara Club and their contribution to Irish culture is shown through their participation in the parade and the family concert which follows it.

Although Conlon is of Irish descent, most of the committee are Irish-born. The current President, Orla McCarthy, said that there were founding members who were outspoken IRA supporters but this is their private position and not that of the club. It could explain however why the club does not declare itself to be ‘non-political’ and why its membership requirements are so nationalist in tone and why it is separate from the Irish Club, which steers away from politics although they obviously surface there from time to time. Right from incorporation in 1951, the Irish Club was declared to be non-political. Official discussions and arguments are avoided as they are unconstitutional so those with strong political (pro-IRA or nationalist) views do not get the floor at meetings. Tony Bray tells a slightly different story. He believes that if trouble is spotted in advance, the meetings are organised to manage the issue. If such political discussion does arise, most people are conservative on IRA issues so it is defeated. He says there have been moves at various AGMs to support republicans in the north with part of the fundraising being the selling of the Sinn Fein newspapers. This is actively and passively discouraged by the Irish Club, even to the point by the late 1980s-early 1990s of banning some rebel songs as they tend to incite some patrons. Some pro-IRA activity does take place perhaps covertly, as another interviewee, Dan Donovan, tells of being at the Irish Club in the 1980s when there was a collection taken up for the IRA. As a result, he never went back. As mentioned earlier, fear of IRA activity is a reason why some Irish-born do not attend Irish clubs in general. A woman previously quoted does not join Irish organisations due to ‘a fear that they may be covers for IRA promotion’. References made by some other survey

153 Conversation with Orla McCarthy, 17 November 1998. These particular people are from Northern Ireland and are scathingly referred to as ‘armchair republicans’ by a woman who came to W.A. in 1972 but spent 1975-1995 back in Northern Ireland. The founders of the Tara Club to whom she refers came to W.A. in the early 1970s and she feels they have no idea what they are talking about with regard to issues there. Anonymous, 16 February 1999.

154 Paddy and Lena Costello interview, 1998. They firmly feel that the constitution has protected the club and its members from much strife in regard to this issue.

155 Bray, interview.

156 Dan Donovan interviewed by Jean Chetkovich, 1998. Transcript p.11. Tape and transcript held by author.

157 R678.
participants are more oblique: ‘nationalism worries me’ and ‘there is enough of this sort of thing in Ireland [politics]. We didn’t want to be involved here’.158

The Tara Club parade, like St Patrick’s Day parades in many countries, is popular and attracted 6,000 or 7,000 people by its second year, 1992.159 By 1996, police estimated the crowd at between 12,000 to 16,000 spectators with 1,500 people actually in the parade.160 By 1997, there were 74 separate groups or floats participating, including banners carried from each of the 32 counties. Some floats are entered by commercial entities and pay to parade. Others, such as the Irish cultural ones like the GAA, participate for no charge. Marching bands which participate charge the Tara Club a fee. The parade starts after a special Mass at St Patrick’s Basilica. (There is no suggestion that this could become an ecumenical service. The link between St Patrick’s Church which lends its statute of St Patrick to the parade and the fact that it is a St Patrick’s Day march is rather irresistible.) The parade ends at the Esplanade where a free family concert is presented. The aim is to make it a family day, so to this end there is no beer tent although it would be a great money spinner. Funds are raised mainly through sponsorship. The parade appears successful and is certainly a public showcase for Irish culture of the physical (GAA) and musical kind, especially dancing. This is reinforced by the concert and the displays of Gaelic Football and hurling held during the afternoon. In 2000, the *West Australian* rather unkindly described it as ‘a triumph of Irish clichés’ where participants had ‘their hair dyed emerald, nibbled verdant fairy floss, [and] dressed as over-tall leprechauns’ which may tell as much about the reporter as it does about the parade.161

The most recent Irish organisation of any prominence to have been formed in Western Australia is Claddagh (originally the Irish Information and Support Association of W.A.) which was established and incorporated in 1997. The founding members are a mix of postwar immigrants who arrived from the 1970s onwards. This group seems somewhat at odds with the other new organisations which emerged from positions of confidence and strength in a resurgent Irish sense of identity. It is a link back to earlier times of hardship in the Irish population of the postwar period. The Irish Club traditionally ‘passed the hat

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158 N58F4; and N68F1.
160 *West Australian*, 18 March 1996.
around' to help fellow immigrants. In an ironic twist on the traditional Irish wake, where tragedy is mixed with gaiety, dances were usually held to assist those in misfortune. The level of support given, and in particular the amount of money raised at any of these functions, varied according to how well known or how popular the person concerned was. The giving of money became the way in which concern was expressed, even if the person did not have financial problems, as in the case of severe illness where the person was fully insured. The founders of Claddagh wanted to create a structure to deal with crisis situations experienced from time to time by members of the rather problematic term the 'Irish community' rather than leave assistance to be administered on an ad hoc basis.162

Claddagh aims to make the process of helping those in need more equitable. Money is obtained through fundraising and donations and is given out on application. There are criteria established to ensure that the money is for crisis situations only. If problems are outside their area, they try to ensure that the person concerned is informed of any help available from the state or other caring agency. The type of crises addressed are situations such as acute illness or death of close family in Ireland necessitating a flight to Ireland which could not be afforded. As an example, a young Irish backpacker was assaulted in Margaret River and Claddagh organised accommodation for him in Perth and gave him money to fly home. His family has since given back the money, which has been treated as an unrelated donation as they are not allowed to lend, only give. Another young backpacker who had been robbed, remained down on his luck and was sleeping rough until assisted by Claddagh to meet some debts and look for employment to assist him to return to Ireland.163 It is believed that the similarly named Claddagh Club in the USA assists the 'illegals' there.164 There is no hard evidence that the Western Australian organisation does anything of the kind but anecdotal sources suggest that it may be the case. As there are now hundreds of thousands of short-term arrivals coming to Australia annually from the United Kingdom and Ireland and given that this group are second only to the Chinese as

163 Irish Scene, May-June, 2001. The story was reported to the paper by a worker at the Catholic Migrant centre.
164 Idea was presented to me in a conversation in 2000 with Ainé Foran who was then a PhD student at La Trobe University.
Chapter Seven: Irish Clubs and Organisations

over-stayers, some will no doubt experience difficulties and require discreet assistance.

The ethos behind the formation of Claddagh is essentially that of neighbourhood and a feeling that people should look after their own. It is also seen by its founders as a means of channelling to the most in need what they see as natural Irish generosity and hospitality. It is about community. The parameters of the ‘community’ are loosely defined. The prime movers and nearly all the organising committee are Northern Irish Catholics. Joan Ross feels that the sense of community could well be stronger in that group as they have experienced some sense of being forced out of their country. Other Irish organisations support Claddagh in various ways such as allowing them to run fundraising activities at events. They do not have a telephone number and meet in the Irish Club but they find out about people in trouble through networking. The existence of this association is a reminder that immigrant experiences can still be unhappy for some despite the current buoyancy of the Irish in Australia.

One issue suggested by this examination of the Irish who form and join clubs in Perth which invites further investigation is that of the influence of Northern Irish Catholics on clubs, particularly Tara and Claddagh, which could reflect the situation of their home country. While the Republic was consolidating and gaining confidence as a nation state, Northern Ireland was plunged into the ‘troubles’ in 1968 with all its attendant problems, one of which is identity. The experience of people both in and from any part of the island of Ireland is not homogeneous. The choice of clubs which people form or join is a means of both expressing identity and meeting needs. While Northern Irish, both Catholic and Protestant, are probably involved in all the clubs mentioned in this paper, it may be that Tara and Claddagh are a reflection of yet another variety of Irish identity which can be read through the Irish organisations in Western Australia.

The organisations formed in the 1980s and 1990s benefited from the cultural base laid down by the Irish Club and by the infrastructure provided by both the Irish and Celtic Clubs. (The latter was well recovered from its ‘moral decline’ of

165 Hugo, Migration between Australia and Britain, pp.61&64.
166 Conversation with Joan Ross, President, IISAWA (now Claddagh), 16 February 1999.
167 ibid.
the 1960s and was very much a business club, which by the 1990s, was attempting to restore more of an ‘Irish flavour’.) The breadth of Irish pursuits (provided mainly by the Irish Club) was not wide enough to encompass the needs and interests of the new wave of late twentieth-century immigrants. Those arriving in the 1950s, 1960s and early-to-mid 1970s had ‘the Irish Club ... one little bit of Ireland here in Perth’ as by the 1950s, the Celtic Club was not providing anything very Irish at all. The early Irish Club patrons typically did not have the time and the means to keep revisiting Ireland and were very unlikely to return to live there. To compensate, they created their own ‘home away from home’. The need for a ‘home away from home’ was less pressing for the later and generally more affluent arrivals primarily due to technological changes in transport and telecommunications. Their communal activities focussed on business, intellectual and cultural pursuits all of which also have a social component and a present-centred orientation. With the mooted possible exception of the role of the Northern Irish who come to Western Australia from a different political situation than those from the Republic, there is an outward-focussed self-confidence apparent in the later groups and their organisations which mirrors the economic and social changes in Ireland that have occurred post-de Valera. This examination of some major clubs formed in Perth over the last 20 years and contrasted with earlier ones, shows that the internalised lack of confidence identified by Joe Lee, still discernible in the earlier postwar immigrants, appears to be absent in the diasporic Irish of the 1980s and 1990s. Ironically, while the Australian-Irish may take confidence from the new Ireland and wish to represent themselves and their achievements in new ways, their position in Australia was under threat of vanishing due to the raised profile of other culturally and ethnically diverse groups as recognised by the policy of multiculturalism. By the 1980s, the desire to be recognised as different from other English-speaking people, especially those from the United Kingdom, was a strong inducement to form new organisations. There was a convergence of interest between those threatened with loss of identity due to multiculturalism, and the new immigrants of the 1980s and 1990s, which

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led to the formation of new Irish organisations.\textsuperscript{171} Although most Irish-born do not join the collective Irish organisations, they may well benefit from the positive profile which the groups present and as such their own identity is enhanced.

\textsuperscript{171} The Irish Club is reported to be responding to the challenge of the new and re-organising to make itself more relevant to the twenty-first century. Editorial, \textit{Irish Scene}, vol. 3, no. 5, May-June 2001.
CONCLUSION

The postwar or 'new' Irish, especially those who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s, presented a challenge as to how they were to be understood in Australia compared with their colonial antecedents who comprised the largest non-English group of immigrants until 1921. Australia had a long history of Irish influence, social, political and religious, which, as Patrick O'Farrell has outlined, had helped to shape the country. In the years up to and during the First World War, Irish influence may have appeared to be predominantly Catholic because of the prominence of individuals such as Archbishop Mannix. By the end of the Second World War, those days of influence, especially of the Irish-born as opposed to the Irish-descended, were nearly past. Clearly O'Farrell's thesis of the Irish as the dynamic force in the development of Australia and even Oliver MacDonagh's oft-quoted expression that the Irish were a 'founding and a forming people' would no longer suffice as a way to analyse the experiences and influence (if any) of the newly arriving Irish.

O'Farrell, in the revised editions of The Irish in Australia in 1993 and 2000, introduces the phrase 'new Irish' to the Australian historiographical lexicon and endeavours to discover who they are and to determine their distinctive characteristics and attitudes. The evidence of this thesis contradicts many of his conclusions. His major observation that the level of commitment to Australia by the postwar Irish was low is not sustained by the Western Australian evidence. It is possible that the divergence of findings is due to regional differences not apparent to O'Farrell who writes as though his work is applicable to all of Australia although it contains sources drawn primarily from Sydney and Melbourne. The methodology and sources of the thesis are quite different from O'Farrell's. His sources, such as material published in the Irish Echo/Exile, may reflect the views of the minority of Irish migrants who choose an 'ethnic badge of identity' and are focussed on 'being Irish'. The interviews and survey which form the bulk of the evidence of the thesis were designed to draw out personal
experiences and attitudes of ordinary Irish people rather than to accept the public, but not necessarily representative, face of Irishness.

The phrase, the 'new Irish', useful as it is to differentiate the Irish from their colonial antecedents, is less useful when applied collectively to all postwar Irish migrants. Apart from differences which are found in any group of people, such as class, gender and religion, there is a temporal difference within the new Irish, both in Australia and in Ireland, which is masked by the collective term. Some northern hemisphere writers use 'new Irish' to mean only the migrants of the 1980s and 1990s. Both in O'Farrell's writing and in this thesis, a tendency developed towards understanding the new Irish as only the later arrivals. The absence of an appropriate collective term for the earlier postwar immigrants has caused some confusion as to who or what is meant by new Irish. The imprecision in the use of the term was not resolved by this thesis but it did expose the ambiguity of the nomenclature as a problem which needs to be addressed in future research on Irish migration to Australia.

Emigration from Ireland, both Northern Ireland and the Republic, remained a constant part of Irish life throughout the postwar period. The changes in the Republic of Ireland provide a context from which the new Irish to Australia come and underline why the 1980s and 1990s are different from the early postwar period. The 1950s in Ireland were arguably more like the earlier decades of the twentieth century than like those which followed. The emigrants of the 1950s, who numbered nearly half a million, were leaving a largely rural country described as depressed, socially and economically. Changes in Irish society, beginning in the 1960s and accelerating into the following decades, brought about dramatic social and economic upheaval. The erosion in the authority and power of the Catholic church as it affected individuals and public policy was both cause and consequence of social change. Economic conditions improved in the 1960s and emigration slowed until there was positive net migration in the 1970s. Those who continued to emigrate were increasingly from urban backgrounds as the twentieth century progressed. Although foreign investment and assistance from the European Union, which Ireland joined in 1973, brought further change and a rise in the standard of living, an economic downturn in the 1980s caused emigration levels to soar. Increased investment in education, commencing in the 1960s, had changed the skill profile of the population so that by the 1980s and
1990s there were growing numbers of professional or skilled workers among the emigrants although the majority were still drawn from the lower part of the socio-economic scale. The destinations of emigrants did not change significantly with Britain and the United States still the most popular. Australia remained a minor destination.

Australia also experienced great change in the postwar period which affected the fortunes and attitudes of the Irish immigrants. These Irish arrived as part of an extensive postwar immigration program. As has always been the way in Australia, people from the United Kingdom in general, and England in particular, were the most numerous among the immigrants. However, in marked contrast to colonial times, the Irish in the second half of the twentieth century were no longer the largest non-English group. Instead they formed a very tiny component of the total immigrants, as many others were now arriving in large numbers from countries such as Italy, the Netherlands and Yugoslavia.

The Irish involvement in postwar immigration can also be understood by dividing it into two periods which were influenced by the migration needs and policies of Australia. The first period ends in the late 1970s and the second period continues into the twentieth-first century. Those arriving up to the late 1970s, like their colonial predecessors, were largely from rural backgrounds and practically anyone who could pass the medical requirements was welcome. By the 1980s, Australia was seeking professional and skilled immigrants, which obviously affected the selection of Irish as well as other migrants. As Ireland was producing many graduates, they were well-placed to take up Australian opportunities. A further difference in Australia regarding post-1980 immigrants, which adds to the ambiguity of who should be described as 'new Irish', is that the later migrants could keep in much closer contact with Ireland than could their earlier counterparts, due to improvements in telecommunications and affordable, available air travel.

Another basic problem with the use of 'new Irish' in the Australian context is that it denotes a group to be compared and contrasted with the 'old Irish' of the nineteenth century. The differences are so great that it is almost a meaningless exercise. There are many obvious temporal and societal differences but of particular significance is that the role of the old Irish in Australia was played out on a British-influenced stage. By the late twentieth century, the change in the
relationships between any combination of the three countries, Ireland, Britain and Australia, has virtually removed the basic Ireland/Catholic – England/Protestant dichotomy which was so pivotal in defining the role of the earlier Irish in Australia. It is probably only of concern now to the Northern Irish in Australia who make up nearly a third of all Irish-born.

The remarkable popularity of the Irish in the late twentieth century as evidenced for instance by the proliferation of Irish pubs, the Riverdance phenomenon and Irish rock music stars, further underlines how different the situation is from the nineteenth century. Many people in the survey perceived that it was now advantageous to be Irish in Australia which is a far cry from the days of ‘no Irish need apply’.

O'Farrell points to a link between the old and new Irish by observing that the old had provided a welcoming base for the new by providing firm shoulders for them to stand on. The findings of the survey support this view as about two-thirds of the respondents found evidence of Irish influences in Australian society. O'Farrell speculates that evidence of Britishness which may be apparent in Australia could be alienating to the new Irish. About one-third of the survey group found what they perceived as British influences but there was no evidence that they were unhappy about such influences. Ironically, what some observed as Irish influences embedded in Australian history and politics, were in fact structures inherited from Ireland’s and Australia’s shared British background.

Apart from agreement on the positive legacy from the old Irish, a close examination of O'Farrell’s conclusions did not reveal points of congruence on major issues. His main observation of the new Irish (however defined) is that they are not disposed to settle into Australia or to commit to the country and are living life ‘happy apart’ from Australian society. He also holds the obverse of the proposition to be true; that by not committing to Australia, they are looking back to Ireland. He contrasts their perceived intransigence with the disposition of the old Irish, of whom he writes; ‘they were simply a variety...of the ordinary Australian scene’. Analysis of responses from the participants in the Perth survey presents a different picture. Most of the migrants involved were very much part of ‘the ordinary Australian scene’.

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Using Donald Akenson’s maxim that the best place to find Irish migrants in a country is to look where everyone else is, the survey participants were asked about preferences in sport, a quintessential Australian pastime. This revealed, that of the participants who indicated that they have any interest in sport, 58 per cent prefer to follow sport played in Australia rather than in Ireland, 33 per cent follow sport in both countries and the remainder prefer only Irish-based sport. Pushing the point further, when they were asked to nominate which sports they followed in Australia, cricket was equally the most popular with Australian rules football. Each was nominated by 68 people. Much further down the list of preferences after rugby union, tennis and soccer, came the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) which attracted just 18 people. A predilection to follow cricket and Australian rules football as the most favoured sports does not suggest the new Irish are keeping themselves apart from Australian pursuits. The corresponding lack of enthusiasm for Gaelic football underlines this point. The situation with the GAA is quite different from O’Farrell’s claim that the new Irish are more involved with Gaelic games than were previous generations. The GAA in Perth is a small football competition with about 400 people altogether (players, officials, supporters), a substantial number of whom are not Irish-born or even second generation Irish-Australian. The organisation appears to be a good example of an Irish activity well integrated within Australian society rather than a segregated Irish enclave.

There were many other indicators of Irish integration with Australian society. Interest in Australian national days had mainly overtaken Irish ones with the noticeable exception of St Patrick’s Day. Observation of Anzac Day, another quintessentially Australian ritual, had been embraced by many or was at least respected as important and relevant for Australians. Some welcomed the opportunity to join others in mourning the war dead, a possibility not open to them in Ireland. Only one person echoed O’Farrell’s view that the new Irish considered the observation of the day to be ‘disturbingly obsessive’.

A major objective of the thesis was to examine the effect of visits to Ireland on the new Irish. O’Farrell does not specifically write about visits but he comments about the migrants’ easy mobility and accuses them of continually looking back to Ireland. The thesis investigated what happens to their ideas about Ireland when they re-experience it. Analysis of the pattern of visits showed that the later
migrants return to Ireland frequently and that earlier postwar arrivals gradually increased their number of visits as airfares dropped and flights became more available. Evidence from the survey and from interviews also showed that the ability to leave Australia and visit Ireland quite frequently, which is an outstanding difference in the migrant experience from earlier times, paradoxically allows the migrants to be more settled in Australia. Visits allow participation in significant family events which occurred in Ireland. For some, joyful occasions such as weddings could be attended but more commonly the survey participants commented on the ability to respond to crises such as illness or death in the family. In this way, guilt, particularly at leaving parents, could be assuaged. For the migrants who had not had reason to respond to any urgent or important occurrence, the knowledge that it would be possible gave peace of mind. The ability to visit reduces the ‘distance’ between them and their family.

Visits to Ireland, while often very pleasant, reinforce that Australia has become where the immigrants want to live. The reason appears to be that reality replaces nostalgia in relation to Ireland. The effect of the Irish weather, while not a reason for most to leave Ireland originally, becomes a reason to stay away. There were many comments such as ‘reminded of the interminable rain’ and ‘the Irish climate in winter is too awful’. There was considerable evidence to suggest that frequent or even single visits to Ireland militated against the development of rose-coloured memories. This point was well made by the woman who wrote: ‘I went by boat from England. I was in tears as it entered the harbour at Dunlaoghaire but when they docked and I stepped on Irish soil again, the cold East wind blew and killed my homesickness for ever’.  

Visits also highlight conflicts concerned with social issues which can be ignored in Australia. Visiting caused people to become re-aware of the sometimes claustrophobic closeness of Irish society which they chose to leave. A further consequence of visiting is that unattractive aspects of modern Irish life such as suburban sprawl cannot be denied. There were of course very positive aspects to visiting mainly to do with family reunion, but, overwhelmingly, Australia was viewed more positively after visits. For most of the people in the survey, visits to

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2 R88F9. As indicated in Chapter Three, the returned surveys have a coded number where N or R indicates that the person comes from either Northern Ireland or the Republic; the next two digits are the year of arrival; F or M indicates gender and the last digit is a consecutive number in a decadal group for either Northern Ireland or for the Republic.
Ireland either confirmed or hastened the realisation that their decision to come to Australia was successful for them.

The evidence for the value of Australian citizenship as an indicator of commitment was ambiguous. Within the survey group, a large majority had decided both to stay in Australia and to take up Australian citizenship but there were also several people who intended to stay permanently who had not become Australian citizens. Additionally there was an apparently contradictory link demonstrated between citizenship and the ability to travel whether for short term visits or for extended stays. Virtually without exception, the minority group in the survey who indicated they remained undecided about staying permanently in Australia, had all adopted Australian citizenship. The reasons given were that citizenship would enable them to maintain their level of choice about their place or country of residence. Australian citizenship could therefore not be interpreted as an unequivocal commitment to Australia. Equally it could be argued that it provides some level of attachment to Australia as the immigrants were unwilling to relinquish links to the country. Although the majority of the group were staying permanently in Australia and had become Australian citizens, citizenship alone is an unreliable indicator of commitment.

Not all migrants, Irish or otherwise, commit to Australia. Graeme Hugo points out that some return migration is a normal rather than an abnormal part of migration. Within the Perth survey, about 20 per cent remain undecided or wish to return to Ireland. However with regard to one aspect of return migration, namely retirement migration, the Irish-born appear to be less inclined to return to their country of origin than other Europeans. Drawing on combined 1989 United Kingdom/Irish-born figures, pensions are paid to an overseas country (presumably country of origin) at a rate of 45:1 compared with 10:1 for Yugoslavs and 4:1 for Greeks.

What O'Farrell may have interpreted as lack of commitment can also be understood as an illustration of the duality of migration. Loretta Baldassar shows that the social field of the Perth-based San Fiorese migrants of her study includes their country of origin and their country of residence. The demonstrated interaction with families of the Irish immigrants reinforces this idea. This interaction was just one of several indicators from the survey participants which illustrated they were comfortable with, and connected to, both countries.
About three-quarters of the group nominated that their images of home lay in both countries, one-quarter in Ireland only, and a very few, Australia only. The responses reinforced the idea that, on some level, people can be quite at ease with more than one notional idea of where home lies. Home is a very fluid concept. In his analysis of nineteenth-century Irish-Australian correspondence, David Fitzpatrick observed that references to home could be classified into what he described as ‘nine crude categories’. These include home as a dwelling, a neighbourhood or an emotional association. It is not surprising that meanings for home will be found in more than one place.

Three-quarters of the survey participants make some attempt to pass on Irish culture to their children (or grandchildren) but less than half do the same for Irish history. Nearly all have some Irish friends but less than 20 per cent report that all or most of their friends are Irish. They maintain high and frequent contact with Ireland, primarily with close family but also friends and less often, with extended family. Visits are important but telephone is the favoured method especially among the more recent arrivals. The group are obviously quite strongly connected to other Irish people in Australia and to Ireland. With regard to self-identity, most people reported that they described themselves as ‘Irish’ if asked but some also point out that, with their accents, it is not possible to say anything else without attracting quizzical looks or comments. The impression gained, virtually without exception, is that this group took their Irishness for granted, as unexceptional, and did not choose ethnicity as a focus of identity.

The important point is that connection with Ireland does not preclude commitment to Australia. The immigrants keep interacting with Ireland while simultaneously creating new memories, friends, family (children and grandchildren) and new images of places significant to them in Australia. Being both Irish and Australian are not mutually exclusive positions.

The ability of migrants to visit Ireland affected the Irish clubs and organisations in postwar Perth. The ‘home away from home’ created by the early postwar migrants in the Irish Club was a home grounded in an Ireland which no longer existed. The more mobile and affluent later group of immigrants, could fly ‘home’ so clubs of a different style were needed. Additionally, there was a need to

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meet the desires of the settled Irish, who due to the cultural efflorescence of other national or ethnic people were growing increasingly worried about a diminution of Irish identity in Australia. There was a convergence of purpose where the interests of the later-arrived professional immigrants were able to be met in the same clubs as the settled Irish even though their needs had different sources. The clubs and organisations in Perth reflect the diversity of the new Irish in ways other than temporal. Some evidence emerged that Catholics from Northern Ireland are strongly involved in two clubs in Perth which were formed in the 1990s. Further investigation as to what prompts Northern Irish involvement and whether the motivation or benefit is any different from the Republican experience could be fruitful.

In considering why the postwar Irish, especially the later ones, left Ireland for Australia, Ian Shuttleworth's idea of a migration culture created by the internationalisation of the Irish, and Akenson's concept of considering migration as moving 'towards somewhere else' rather than just leaving Ireland, provided an analytic framework. Although there is nearly always an underlying economic rationale for migration, economic reasons alone appear to be insufficient to explain why some of the survey participants left Ireland and came to Western Australia. Other European countries with similar economies, such as Portugal, do not produce so many emigrants which suggests something else influences the Irish to leave. Shuttleworth identified what can collectively be called lifestyle reasons such as climate as important in the decision-making of emigrants. There is evidence from the survey material to support this view.

It is particularly in the reactions of the emigrants of the 1980s and 1990s that the working of a migration culture, perhaps unique to Ireland, can be seen. When there was a recession in Ireland in the 1980s, emigration surged. Conditions were not as bad as in the 1950s but the collective memories were recent. Among the survey participants, reasons for leaving were chiefly stated as to respond to challenge and opportunity. Dissatisfaction with economic conditions, the employment situation and the climate were the next most important reasons. As most of the survey participants were employed when they left Ireland, they clearly were not desperate but believed their situation, whether economic, social or environmental, would be better in Australia. As most Irish emigrate to Britain or
to the United States, to come to Australia, particularly Western Australia, is a very specific choice.

The importance of these two migration debates, as presented by Shuttleworth and Akenson, with regard to the new Irish in Australia is that they reinforce the point that the migrants are in Australia by choice. There is no strong underlying reason, nor is there evidence from the Perth survey, to assume the postwar immigrants are unsettled or unwilling to ‘become Australian’. If the idea is accepted that the immigrants were influenced by a migration culture and that they positively and deliberately chose Australia, rather than just leaving Ireland and going to the nearest and most common emigrant destination of Britain, then it seems that their state of mind would be well disposed towards Australia rather than inclined to stand apart from it as O’Farrell implies.

I speculatively propose that the key point which underpins the differences between my findings and O’Farrell’s, even allowing for regional and methodological differences, is the assumption made about the mentalité of the new Irish with regard to choice. Having found evidence for the existence of a migration culture, and having found value in the concept of considering emigration as moving ‘towards somewhere else’, I consider that these factors will predispose the new Irish to be content in Western Australia. They have exercised deliberate and positive choice in coming to this minor Irish emigrant destination. It appears that O’Farrell considers that the question of choice, accessible to the new Irish because they are well educated, confident and can travel easily, will predispose them to not settle; instead it could encourage them to move on or to move back to Ireland.

There are three areas of interest revealed by the investigations of this thesis which warrant further research. The first is the possible distinctiveness of the Northern Irish, especially the Catholic Northern Irish, in Australia. Neither O’Farrell nor Grimes has dealt with this in any detail. There is no significant research which analyses the effect of the ‘troubles’ on the Irish in Australia. The sample group of Northern Irish in my thesis was too small to use in this way nor was it the intention of the thesis. Within Australia, census figures for Northern Ireland and the Republic were first differentiated in 1954. As shown in Chapter Two, doubt surrounds the accuracy of the numbers of Northern Irish in Australia due to the fact that there were three categories of Irish descriptors which appeared
in 1954 – Northern Irish, Ireland (Republic of) or Ireland (undefined) - the latter being the largest category. It is quite reasonable to assume that many people from Northern Ireland – arguably mainly Catholics – would have described themselves as being from Ireland –undefined rather than from Northern Ireland. This points to issues of identity which have not been explored. Evidence of their active participation in Perth clubs has been highlighted in this thesis. Unresolved involvement with Britain is another factor which differentiates the Northern Irish in Australia from other Irish immigrants.

The second area which warrants further research is the continuation of a regional or state-based case study approach to uncover the experiences and circumstances of the postwar Irish. This thesis has demonstrated that the picture of the postwar Irish in Western Australia is quite different from that described by O'Farrell which was based on east coast material. Regional difference in historical writing is not a new theme in Australian history but its importance is again highlighted by the dissimilarity in findings which this thesis has revealed.

A third area for further research is an analysis for the reasons which caused an apparent drop in the number of Irish-born Catholics in the Australian population in the 1950s and 1960s. Census analysis by religion of Irish-born in Australia showed that in the 1954 census, only 52 per cent of Irish-born (all Ireland) in Australia were recorded as Catholic and the 1961 census shows that the figure had dropped to 49.8 per cent. By 1991, the figures for Republic-only Catholics in Australia had risen to 73.9 per cent. Northern Ireland, and as a consequence all Ireland, figures were not freely available. What is startling about the 1954 and 1961 figures is that they are so different from the nineteenth-century Irish population in Australia where roughly 75 per cent were Catholic and 25 per cent Protestant. It appears that an unexplained, subtle and hidden ‘Protestantisation’ of the Irish-born in Australia occurred for a time and has passed unremarked.

The thesis has demonstrated that the Irish-born who formed the basis of the Perth survey are settling into Australia while maintaining whatever they choose from their life in Ireland. In most cases the evidence from the survey reveals a steady progression towards ‘becoming Australian’ without losing ‘being Irish’. The notion that an Irish-ghetto mentality might exist is dispelled by the evidence. Despite their frequent trips and ease of communication, there was no evidence to support O’Farrell’s proposition that the new Irish of the later decades of the
Conclusion

twentieth century were living with their hearts and minds in Ireland and keeping
themselves apart from Australian society. By contrast, there was evidence to
suggest that they were well integrated in an Australian society which is
welcoming to them partly due to the influence of the Irish who preceded them in
the nineteenth century. Previous Irish emigrants, whether they went to Australia
or not, created a migration culture wherein some Irish are pre-disposed to leave
Ireland even if their circumstances are not desperate or even especially difficult.
An analysis of the survey participants' responses indicates that reasons to leave
Ireland had positive overtones. The most frequently occurring responses were to
take up a challenge or to respond to an opportunity. As nearly all the surveyed
group were employed when they left Ireland, the impression gained is that going
'towards somewhere else' was of equal importance to them as was 'just leaving
Ireland'.

I suggest that emigrants leaving in such arguably discretionary circumstances
and who decide to go to such a distant place as Western Australia or any part of
Australia, are likely to have a positive attitude to their country of choice. The
evidence of the thesis confirms this supposition. The postwar or new Irish,
especially those who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s, can comfortably take
advantage of what a slightly Irish-tinged Australian mainstream can offer
confident, increasingly well-educated English-speaking immigrants. The majority
of the survey group have embraced Australian life while simultaneously retaining
whatever they choose from a now not-so-distant country of origin – in their case –
Ireland.
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APPENDICES

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Appendix I
Survey: Irish Migrants to Western Australia Since 1945 1-15

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General Questions Asked of Interviewees 1-3

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SURVEY

Irish Migrants to Western Australia Since 1945

THE LEAVING

Q1. What year did you arrive in Australia?

Q2. What was your place of entry to Australia?
   Perth/Fremantle □
   Other ____________________ □

Q3. How did you arrive?
   ship □
   plane □

Q4. What county in Ireland did you come from?

Q5. Which best describes where you came from in Ireland?
   city □
   village □
   town □
   farm □

Q6a. Have you ever lived in Britain?
   no □-------→ GO TO Q7
   yes □........ For how long, when and where did you live?

Q6b. Did you come to Australia after a period of time in Britain?
   no □
   yes □...... Please comment on why you left Britain

Q7. Did you come to Australia after a period of time in a country other than Britain?
   no □-------→ GO TO Q8a
   yes □........ Which country?
Q8a. Why did you decide to leave Ireland? If a reason is not listed, please write it in.

TICK ALL APPROPRIATE BOXES IN COLUMN 1. IN COLUMN 2 NUMBER CHOICES TO SHOW MOST SIGNIFICANT AS ‘1’, NEXT MOST SIGNIFICANT ‘2’ UNTIL ALL TICKED BOXES HAVE A NUMBER.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 1(S)</th>
<th>Column 2 (number)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic situation unsatisfactory</td>
<td>□ ............ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious situation unsatisfactory</td>
<td>□ ............ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job prospects not good</td>
<td>□ ............ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To join family</td>
<td>□ ............ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To accompany family</td>
<td>□ ............ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political situation unsatisfactory</td>
<td>□ ............ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common for family members to emigrate</td>
<td>□ ............ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate uncomfortable</td>
<td>□ ............ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health could be improved elsewhere</td>
<td>□ ............ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhappy with IRA activity</td>
<td>□ ............ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhappy with Unionist activity</td>
<td>□ ............ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To take up a challenge</td>
<td>□ ............ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To respond to an opportunity</td>
<td>□ ............ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>□ ............ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>□ ............ □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>□ ............ □</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q8b. If there was a particular event or moment which made you decide to leave, could you explain what this was?
Q9. Did you consider any countries apart from Australia?
   no  
   yes  □...........which?

Q10. Had you visited Australia as a tourist or on business before deciding to emigrate?
   no  
   yes  □................tourist  □
       □........................business  □

Q11a. Did you have any financial assistance or sponsorship?
   no  □--------> GO TO Q12
   yes  □............ government (Ten Pound passage scheme) □
       □........................ other government □
       □........................ business □
       □........................ family □
       □........................ other private □
       □........................ other - please describe □

Q11b. Could you give some detail of the assistance received?

Q12. Which of the following best describes your intentions when you emigrated?
   To live in Australia for a while then return to Ireland □
   To live permanently in Australia □
   To see what it was like and then make up my mind □

Q13. When you decided to leave Ireland, did your family who were remaining in Ireland:
   Approve □
   Disapprove □
   No feelings expressed either way □
   No family remaining □

Q14. Which of the following best describes your family’s reaction to your decision to emigrate?
   Excitement □  Sadness □
   Anger □  Disappointment □
   Surprise □
   Other reaction □ please describe
Q15a. Are you an Australian citizen?  yes  □
no □---------->GO TO Q15d

Q15b. When did you become a citizen?

Q15c. Why did you choose to become a citizen?

Q15d. Why have you chosen not to become a citizen?

Q16a. Are you currently married?  no □----------> GO TO Q17
yes □

Q16b. Where was your spouse born?
Australia □---------->GO TO Q17
Republic of Ireland □
Northern Ireland □
England □

Q16c. If your spouse is not Australian-born, is he/she a citizen?
yes □
no □

Q17. If applicable, are your Irish-born children Australian citizens?
no Irish-born children □
yes □
no □
some are, some are not □

Q18. Have you lived in countries other than Australia since you first came to Australia to live?
no □-----------> GO TO Q19
yes □...........Country       When


Appendix I

Q19. Do you currently live in:
Perth or a suburb of Perth ❑
Country town or city in WA ❑
Elsewhere in Australia ❑

Q20. Excluding different Perth suburbs if you currently live in Perth or a suburb of Perth, have you ever lived anywhere else in Australia? no ❑
yes ❑ ............ Where When

Q21a. Some people think of themselves in more than one way. Which of the following terms describe how you think of yourself?

TICK ALL APPROPRIATE BOXES IN COLUMN 1. IN COLUMN 2, NUMBER YOUR CHOICES TO SHOW THE WAY YOU MOST THINK OF YOURSELF AS '1', NEXT MOST '2' UNTIL ALL TICKED BOXES HAVE A NUMBER.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 1 (✓)</th>
<th>Column 2 (number)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>❑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>❑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish-Australian</td>
<td>❑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian-Irish</td>
<td>❑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaelic</td>
<td>❑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo-Irish</td>
<td>❑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celtic</td>
<td>❑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Irish</td>
<td>❑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>❑</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q21b. Which, if any, of the following terms would you definitely NOT use to describe yourself?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>❑ British</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>❑ Northern Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish-Australian</td>
<td>❑ Celtic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian-Irish</td>
<td>❑ Anglo-Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaelic</td>
<td>❑</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix I

Q22. Do you make a point of passing on Irish culture to your children/grandchildren?
- no children
- no
- yes

Q23. Beyond family history, do you attempt to teach Irish history to your children/grandchildren?
- no children/grandchildren
- no
- yes

Q24. Would you prefer if your children/grandchildren married someone with Irish connections?
- yes
- no
- have no preference

Q25a. Have you encouraged other family or friends to emigrate to Australia?
- no
- yes

Q25b. Have you helped them in some way?
- no
- yes

Q26a. You now live in Australia but it is likely that 'a fragment of your heart' will always remain in Ireland due to family ties, nostalgic memories of events and other perhaps less tangible reasons. Landscape, misty rain, dense greens or perhaps brilliant sunshine, red earth, intense blue skies, the smell of gum trees can all powerfully affect what we feel attached to as 'home'. If there are images of landscape or the physical environment which contribute to your sense of 'home', where are these places or images?
- Ireland
- Australia
- There are places in both Ireland and Australia
Q26b. Could you briefly describe these places or images?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Q27a. Have you ever been back to Ireland?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q27b. Could you comment on the reason for your visit(s), how you felt after visiting and whether anything changed regarding how you feel for either Ireland or Australia?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Q27c. Has a visit to Ireland had an effect on where you might consider “home” to be?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Would you like to comment?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Q27d. If you have never returned to Ireland, could you comment on why you have not done so?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
Q28. Irish people and Irishness had considerable effect on the shaping of Australia. Could you say whether you were conscious of the Irish influence in Australia either when you first came or when you had been here for a while?

no
not really
yes 

In what way did you feel or see this influence?

Q29. When you first came here, or later, did you find Australian society to be what you would consider to be "British"?

no
no opinion
yes 

Can you comment on how this "Britishness" affected the way you fitted into Australian society?

Q30. Irish jokes have existed in Australia since the nineteenth century. What is your reaction to them?

amusement
irritation
exasperation

anger
bemusement

Q31a. Could you please list any Irish organisations have you ever participated in or joined in Australia and give a brief statement as to why you participated/joined?

Have never joined or participated 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Why joined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q31b. If you are no longer a member/participant, which organisations did you leave and why?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Why left</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q31c. If you have not joined or participated in any Irish organisations, could you comment as to why not?

Q32a. Please estimate what number of your friends in Australia are of Irish origin.

- All or nearly all [ ] Few [ ]
- Most [ ] None or virtually none [ ]
- Some [ ]

Q32b. How do you know them?

TICK ALL APPROPRIATE BOXES IN COLUMN 1. IN COLUMN 2, NUMBER CHOICES TO SHOW MOST AS '1', NEXT MOST AS '2' UNTIL ALL TICKED BOXES HAVE A NUMBER.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 1(S)</th>
<th>Column 2(number)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knew them from Ireland</td>
<td>[ ] ............ [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Met on the boat coming out</td>
<td>[ ] ............ [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through a club</td>
<td>[ ] ............ [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through church</td>
<td>[ ] ............ [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through other friends or relations</td>
<td>[ ] ............ [ ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q33a. If applicable, please estimate what number of your Australian business contacts are Irish?

- Not applicable [ ] ............ GO TO Q34
- All or nearly all [ ] Few [ ]
- Most [ ] None or virtually none [ ]
- Some [ ]

Q33b. How are these contacts made?

TICK ALL APPROPRIATE BOXES IN COLUMN 1. IN COLUMN 2, NUMBER CHOICES TO SHOW MOST AS '1', NEXT MOST AS '2' UNTIL ALL TICKED BOXES HAVE A NUMBER.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 1(S)</th>
<th>Column 2(number)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knew them from Ireland</td>
<td>[ ] ............ [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Met on the boat coming out</td>
<td>[ ] ............ [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through a club</td>
<td>[ ] ............ [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through church</td>
<td>[ ] ............ [ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through other friends or relations</td>
<td>[ ] ............ [ ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q34. Do you regularly buy or read Irish-Australian publications?
   no  □
   yes □....Which of the following do you read or buy?
      Irish Echo □
      The Crack □
      Other(s) □

Please list______________________________

Q35a. Which sporting competitions in Australia do you follow?
   do not follow any □
   Basketball (mens) □
   Australia Football League □
   Basketball (womens) □
   Westar Rules □
   Tennis □
   Soccer □
   Hurling □
   Rugby League □
   Cricket - interstate □
   Rugby Union □
   Cricket-international □
   Gaelic Football □
   Baseball □
   Netball □
   Other___________________________ □

Q35b. Do you follow sporting competitions which are played in Ireland?
   no □
   yes □..........................which sports? _______________________

Q35c. Are you more interested in following sport in Ireland than in Australia?
   Not interested in sport in either place □
   More interested in Irish sport in Ireland □
   More interested in Australian sport □
   Interested equally in both □

Q36a. Australia has National days such as Anzac Day whose history and significance were probably unfamiliar to you when you first arrived. If you consider that Australian National days are now of some importance to you, can you indicate how long you had been in Australia when these days became significant to you?
   No interest in Australian National days □
   0 to 5 years □
   6 to 15 years □
   16 to 30 years □
   31 to 50 years □
Q36b. Are Australian National days more important to you now or are Irish National days more important?
- Australian more important
- Both equally important
- Neither important
- Irish more important

Q37. During your time in Australia, can you recall anything occurring in Australia which was of particular significance or interest to you in the following periods?
- 1945-59: not applicable
- 1960-69: not applicable
- 1970-79: not applicable
- 1980-89: not applicable
- 1990-97: not applicable

Q38. In general, when Australian people realise you are Irish, what is their first reaction to you if any?

Q39. Have you noticed a change in Australian attitudes to you as an Irish person between when you first arrived and now?
- no
- yes

Q40a. When you were newly arrived in Australia, perhaps still in your first year, if you had been asked what you thought of Australia and Australians, what would you have said?

Q40b. What do you think of Australia and Australians now that you have been here for some time?
- same as Q40a
- different from Q40a
MAINTAINING THE IRISH CONNECTION

Q41a. What personal contact do you keep with Ireland?
- None [ □ ]
- Close family [ □ ]
- Extended family [ □ ]
- Friends [ □ ]
- Business acquaintances [ □ ]

Q41b. What are the most common methods of contact?

PUT NUMBERS IN THE BOXES WHERE '1' IS MOST FREQUENT IF MORE THAN ONE METHOD IS COMMONLY USED.

- Phone [ □ ]
- Mail [ □ ]
- Fax [ □ ]
- E-mail [ □ ]

Q41c. How frequently do you keep contact?
- Weekly [ □ ]
- Six-monthly [ □ ]
- Monthly [ □ ]
- Annually [ □ ]
- Three-monthly [ □ ]
- Less than annually [ □ ]

Q41d. Over the years, has contact become
- More frequent [ □ ]
- Less frequent [ □ ]
- No change [ □ ]

Q42. Do you follow Irish current affairs beyond Australian coverage of events?
- Yes [ □ ]
- No [ □ ]

Q43. Do you buy or read Irish newspapers or other current publications from Ireland?
- Yes [ □ ]
- No [ □ ]
Q44. To what extent do you think your family or friends in Ireland have an interest in your life in Australia?
   High interest ☐  Little interest ☐
   Fair interest ☐  No interest ☐
   Some interest ☐

Q45. To what extent do you think your family or friends in Ireland have an understanding of your life in Australia?
   Good understanding ☐  Little understanding ☐
   Fair understanding ☐  No understanding ☐
   Some understanding ☐

Q46. Do you intend to go back to live permanently in Ireland?
   yes ☐  no ☐
   undecided ☐

Why?

____________________________
____________________________

FAMILY AND PERSONAL PROFILE

Q47. What age are you now?_______________________

Q48. Are you male ☐
   female ☐

Q49. What is the current country of residence of your mother? (If deceased, what was the last country of residence?)
   Ireland ☐  mother still alive ☐
   Northern Ireland ☐  mother deceased ☐
   Australia ☐
   England ☐
   Other ☐

Q50. What is the current country of residence of your father? (If deceased, what was the last country of residence?)
   Ireland ☐  father still alive ☐
   Northern Ireland ☐  father deceased ☐
   Australia ☐
   England ☐
   Other ☐
Q51. If you have brothers or sisters still alive, which countries do they live in?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>England</th>
<th>Northern Ireland</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of checkmark</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q52. If you have children, how many were born in Ireland? ________ In Australia? ________

Q53. What schools did/do your children attend in Australia?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other religion</td>
<td>Other religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other private</td>
<td>Other private</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q54. Do you have any family (other than parents, brothers and sisters, children) living in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Yes/No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other parts of Australia</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q55. What is your religion?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Yes/No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no religion</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of Ireland or Anglican</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q56. How often do you attend church?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Yes/No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>weekly</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monthly</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three-monthly</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six-monthly</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>annually</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less than annually</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>never</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q57a. Which describes how you are employed?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Type</th>
<th>Yes/No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time student (no part-time work)</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time student (part-time work)</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired-private means</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home duties/carer</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pension</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q57b. What is/was your major occupation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>In Australia?</th>
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</table>
Q57c. Do you belong to a Trade Union?
- yes
- no

Q57d. If self employed, what is the nature of your business?

Q58a. Did you complete secondary school?
- In Ireland?
  - yes
  - no
- In Australia?
  - yes
  - no

Q58b. Did you complete university?
- In Ireland?
  - yes
  - no
- In Australia?
  - yes
  - no

Q59. What is your usual voting choice?
- Liberal
- Labor
- National
- Democrats
- Greens

Q60. Who did you usually vote for in Ireland?
- Did not vote
- Sinn Fein
- Fianna Fail
- Unionist
- Fine Gael
- Labour

Q61. What is your family income?
- $ per annum
  - less than $20,000
  - 20,000 - 29,000
  - 30,000 - 49,000
  - 50,000 - 69,000
  - more than 70,000

ANY OTHER COMMENTS:-
GENERAL QUESTIONS ASKED OF INTERVIEWEES

Decision to Leave
Could you tell how you came to your decision to come to Australia?
Why Australia and not England or somewhere else?
Why Western Australia?
What was the reaction of your family and friends? How long was the process of application?

Arriving in Australia
Can you describe your feelings or impressions on arriving in Australia or in the first few days or weeks?
What sorts of things struck you as different from Ireland?
How did you (or your spouse) get employment in Australia?
How did that compare – conditions, pay – with Ireland or with what you had been expecting?
Could you tell me of your (their) employment history in Australia? Was it what you expected? Are you satisfied with it?

Irish Identity in Australia
Do you ever consider how you fit in with Australian history – for instance – do you feel part of the Anzac Day tradition?
What are your memories of Remembrance Day (poppy day) in Ireland?
Many Irish came to Australia in the nineteenth century. Do you see yourself in any way as part of a continuing Irish-Australian tradition – could you explain in what way?
Can you comment on whether you consider yourself ‘Irish’, or ‘Irish-Australian’ or ‘Australian’? If you were asked that question in another country, not Ireland or Australia, how would you answer?
What do you think your children regards themselves as?
Could you tell me how much, and how, you pursued having Irish friends or contacts in Australia?
Appendix II

Why do/don’t you join Irish organisations?
To non-Australian citizens – Is there something which holds you back from becoming an Australian citizen?
To Australian citizens – Would you have become an Australian citizen if that meant renouncing your Irish citizenship?
What is your reaction to Irish jokes?
Do you ever feel that non-Irish people who tell them believe that the Irish (including you) are stupid?
Have you ever felt patronised because you’re Irish?

_Irish Background_
What type of school did you go to in Ireland?
Can you tell me what you were taught at school about Irish history?
Could you tell me about any family stories passed down or that you personally remember about any of the great dramas in Irish history such as the Famine, 1916, the creation of the Free State…?
What do you think about Irish being taught in schools? Why?
Did you, or do you, ever use Irish?
Is it important to your sense of being Irish?
Do you make a point of passing on what you consider to be Irish culture to your children? How and why?
Did the influence of religion in Ireland have any influence on your decision to leave Ireland?
What do you think of the comment that ‘the Irish without religion are not really Irish’?
Did the ‘troubles’ in Northern Ireland have any influence on your decision to come to Australia? Or to stay here?

_Returning to Visit_
How often have you returned to Ireland?
In terms of where you were born, and where you now live, what does ‘home’ mean to you?
How does (or did) returning to Ireland affect your notion of ‘home’?
Could you tell me what it's like for you when you go back to visit? What do you do? Who do you stay with? Have you had relations come to stay with you or to visit?

Returning to Live

Do you think that knowing it's fairly possible to get on a plane and return makes it harder or easier to be settled in Australia? What about phone calls? Why do you think you don't return to Ireland? What do you consider is the most important thing which keeps you in Australia?

Given the benefit of hindsight, would you still have made the decision to move to Australia?
Shaded sections of the tables indicate that the shaded area is not applicable. This relates to the arrival dates and period of time resident in Australia.

Table A.1: ARRIVAL DATES 1950s – YEARS IN WHICH VISITS MADE TO IRELAND

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* Further visits not possible due to wife's illness

1950s: Of 12 people - two never visited; two have not made trips since the late 1960s or early 1970s; five have made from four to nine trips. There is some reduction in the numbers travelling in the 1990s very likely due to age or health.
Table A.2: ARRIVAL DATES 1960s – YEARS IN WHICH VISITS MADE TO IRELAND

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</table>

*N68M2 - went in 1975 intending to stay permanently – stayed six years.

1960s: Of 14 people - one never visited; one has not travelled since the early 1980s; nine have made from four to ten trips. There is a fairly regular pattern for the trips with some individual increases in the 1990s as well as an overall increase.
Table A.3: ARRIVAL DATES 1970s – YEARS IN WHICH VISITS MADE TO IRELAND

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1970s: of 10- all have visited; one has not travelled since the late 1980s and seven have made from four to nine visits.
Table A.4: ARRIVAL DATES 1980s – YEARS IN WHICH VISITS MADE TO IRELAND

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* R88F9 went to New Zealand in the 1950s and came to Western Australia in 1988. She visited Ireland in 1976.

1980s: Of 19, all have visited; eight have made three or less trips; nine have made from four to nine visits and two have made ten to 13 visits.
Table A.5: NUMBER OF YEARS IN AUSTRALIA WHEN VISITS MADE TO IRELAND – 1950s – FROM ARRIVAL DATE TO 1999

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<th>5-9 years</th>
<th>10-14 years</th>
<th>15-19 years</th>
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<th>25-29 years</th>
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* N68M2 - Intended as permanent move - stayed for six years then returned to Australia.
Table A.7: NUMBER OF YEARS IN AUSTRALIA WHEN VISITS MADE TO IRELAND – 1970s – FROM ARRIVAL DATE TO 1999

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Table A.8: NUMBER OF YEARS IN AUSTRALIA WHEN VISITS MADE TO IRELAND – 1980s – FROM ARRIVAL DATE TO 1999

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